

Classical Music Policy and Practise in

A British City

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Abstract

The argument in my thesis regarding cultural policy points out a fundamental contradiction about the nature of democracy. The impulse that should motivate public cultural policies is primarily democratic: it is to give universal access to what are deemed unique cultural practices. However, these practices are often socially and culturally inaccessible. For instance, in the case of the high arts and the world of classical music, works are often prized precisely because of their high degree of sophistication within a particular tradition, something that tends to prevent such works from being immediately understood or enjoyed by the general public. Therefore, it seems, an effective cultural policy is crucial to offer universal access to unique cultural practices, like classical music.

Based on the theoretical work of Jim McGuigan (drawing upon Habermas's notion of the public sphere) and of Tony Bennett (drawing upon Foucault's notion of governmentality), my research starts at a local city level in a British context, and then focuses on the relationship between classical music and cultural policy. I also pose the question of how the value implicit in a 'culture in common' and the plural forms of cultural expression help the development of self-respect and esteem and thus contribute to democratic values in a British context.

My thesis is designed to contribute to a critical understanding of how classical music policy has been exercised at a local level. This has been achieved by adopting a qualitative research approach. Thus, my research findings show that power differentials exist in the field of cultural policy. The research focus in this thesis suggests that music policy might focus too much on the imposition of a top-down model that is unable to deal adequately with the dispersion of power. Further, the current debate does not take into account the importance of tradition and the critical role of multiculturalism. The theory points to ways these features can be incorporated into future debates on cultural policy.

Chapter 1: Introduction Session

Introduction

From a young classical music performer to a research student in sociology, I have always had a passion for music, especially for classical music. This passion has led me throughout my life to engage with classical music participation and even research into classical music. Music is a constant background to our daily lives; it also has been understood to have social power in relation to humans as social beings. However, as a unique cultural form, it seems classical music has been forgotten nowadays, so how can we formulate an appropriate cultural policy for the classical music world to make classical music accessible for everybody? More importantly, how can local stakeholders and policy makers provide a more supportive policy for relevant local classical music practitioners, regional arts officers, and professional and non-professional music organisations? These questions are crucial not only in this research field, but also in the practical world. Therefore, this thesis will concentrate on music empirically; it will identify the relevant social power and offer theoretically grounded accounts of classical music's structuring properties in our everyday experience.

Theoretical Function of Cultural Policy Study and Critical Debate of Cultural Policy

Regarding the issue from a policy-oriented perspective in cultural studies, it can be seen that cultural policy is undergoing a partial shift from the attention paid to cultural texts to the condition of culture. In a more general sense, cultural policy has a close affinity with the political economy perspective on communications and culture. According to McGuigan (2003), cultural policy is principally about the material and the discursive determinations in the time and the space of cultural production and consumption. The study of cultural policy does not deny the importance of criticism and textual interpretation, but rather puts issues concerning how texts are made and circulated socially into the foreground. Fundamental to the position on cultural policy is the normative view that, in a democratic society, the public should influence the condition of culture due to their persistence and their potential for change.

This is where a Habermasian view differs most sharply from a Foucauldian view. McGuigan (2003) argues that a Foucauldian might typically regard such thinking as rooted in an Enlightenment rationality and humanism, although a Habermasian perspective might be just as suspicious of Foucauldian claims concerning democracy and public accountability. The literature on cultural policy offers an account of cultural practices that should be productively rethought as normalizing apparatuses central to both the conceptualization and operationalization of modern democratic processes. Of course, Bennett's (1999) conceptualization of culture as a set of practices integral to 'governing at a distance' has usefully directed attention towards the historical inscription of conceptions of culture in a set of practices deployed as part of the political technologies concerned with the limits of state power. The issues in relation to how we use culture as a set of practices for social management have been rethought critically in his writing.

Therefore, under Bennett's influence, the Foucauldian perspective informs a definition of culture that is closely linked to a particular understanding of policy. The cultural policy studies literature has been subject to critical discussions in Australian academic circles as well as international cultural studies forums (Cunningham, 1992; Hawkins, 1992; Jones, 1994; O'Regan, 1992; Jameson, 1993); most of the writing is centred on the relationships between culture and policy in the formation and continuing vibrancy of cultural studies. However, what really emerges from those critical commentaries is that there is a sharper distinction between the analysis of the culture-policy nexus on the one hand, and engaging in the practice of policy-making on the other.

Origins of My Research

The literature of cultural policy studies tends to assume a high degree of fit between the political rationalities of institutions and the actual processes of subject-formation. James Donald (1992: 2-3) suggests that "there is a tendency in works on governmentality more generally to present an image of citizens being completely controlled and regulated by governmental practices by positing a pre-formed self as

the necessary target on which the machinery of government works". His assumption here helps to present the cultural realm as capable of being effectively managed and regulated in detail, an image that underwrites the political imagery of a refashioned cultural study able to regulate successfully cultural practices for progressive political ends through policy interventions (Barnett, 1999).

However, there is still a lack of critical discussion within the cultural-policy studies paradigm, which is indicated by the ritual invocation of Foucault's authority from Foucauldian works. Less attention has been paid to the conceptual implications of the contemporary spatial restructuring of cultural practices for the general applicability to all cultural technologies of Foucault's 'diagrammatic' conception of disciplinary power. As part of the broader literature on governmentality, the reconceptualization of culture in relation to the practices of the government and the management of conduct are underwritten by an understanding of disciplinary power. From a Habermasian point of view, the fundamental position on cultural policy is underpinned by an account of a democratic society; here, the public should decisively influence the condition of culture. Culture in this respect should promote critical thinking, civic value and participation in the dominant institutions in society. The crisis of culture from a democratic perspective emerges when the market displaces public values.

However, the arguments over cultural policy point to a fundamental contradiction about the nature of democracy. The impulse that motivates public cultural policies is primarily democratic, and yet, cultural policy makers are required to give universal access to what are deemed unique cultural practices. Nonetheless, these practices are often inaccessible in a deeper sense. For instance, in the case of the high arts and the world of classical music, these are often prized precisely because of their high degree of sophistication within a particular tradition, something that tends to prevent such works from being immediately understood or enjoyed by the general public. Yet, although we need to celebrate cultural diversity as a sign of freedom within a multicultural society, we seem to reduce the potential of certain cultural practices if we see them as merely the outward signs of so many life-style choices. For instance, an effective classical music policy will give those who do not have access to specialist music practices the chance to be a classical music audience, rather than it being

available only to an elite. Policy should also help to avoid the situation where the market is allowed to determine people's choices; in other words, policy should avoid the dominance of the popular music market due to the supremacy of certain cultural industries. Classical music can be used as a tool to promote social good, and it should take the responsibility to engage young people in cultural pursuits that are of value; it should also use the policy to maintain classical music's social value and help build self-respect and esteem among the younger generation.

An appropriate cultural policy as a whole seems essential for there to be universal access to unique cultural practices, like classical music. My research starts from a local city level in a British context, and then focuses on the relationship between classical music and cultural policy. Issues are examined, such as the value implicit in a 'culture in common', plural forms of cultural expression and the development of self-respect and esteem, which are all democratic values in the British context.

As I stated earlier in this chapter, my thesis is designed to contribute to a critical understanding of how classical music policy has been exercised at a local level. This has been achieved by adopting a qualitative research approach. The advantage of this approach is that it is designed to build up a significant practical model for current cultural policy practitioners by reaching a wide range of official institutions, government officials, officers from the government arts agencies (both local and national), musicians (professionals, semi-professionals and amateurs), venue organisers, and music co-ordinators in both local authority and national arts agencies. This thesis also aims to fill in the gaps in the literature by examining the current state of the symphony orchestra as well as chamber music, the state of music education and recreational musicianship, training programs and employment opportunities for professional musicians and composers, and other relevant, tangible measures of the culture of, and the marketplace for classical music.

One of the key research questions in this thesis is why and how cultural practice at both national and local levels engages with a politics of classical music activities, including policy analysis and policy formulation, and under what kind of power structure and in what kind of political and public sphere this occurs.

On the one hand, for instance, at the national level, Arts Council England's (ACE) supportive policy to some degree helps to provide a rich classical music scene in British cities. The reason for this is that as the most critical role player in the British cultural policy system and cultural policy making in the UK, ACE believes that all citizens should have the opportunity to play a musical instrument; thus, it has been working with a range of partners to make music more accessible to people and to enable more members of the public to buy an instrument. In addition, ACE aims to support the development of classical music in order to achieve its ambition of placing culture and the arts at the heart of people's everyday life. Thus, its policy on classical music has helped musicians and music organisations to pursue new opportunities for their career at a national level.

However, on the other hand, at a regional level in the UK, there are now a considerable number of public or quasi public sector regional development agencies (for example, East-midland Arts, the East Midland Development Agency) and some private sector agencies that are heavily involved in regional cultural policy making, and the regional arts councils are often responsible for the development and agreement of regional strategies.

Thus, what happens at a national level may be very different to what happens at a regional level. In some of the cases, classical music activities have been forgotten at a regional level, despite there being a rich classical music scene at the national level. This largely depends on whether the regional cultural policy makers can fully implement national policy in the locality. In the later chapters (Chapter 3 and Chapter 6), I provide the in-depth analysis of this argument.

In addition, in this thesis, I seek to defend the idea of cultural policy and its relationship with classical music in terms of public value. Further, the critical commentary on Bennett, McGuigan and Sennett relates to the theoretical debate on how cultural policy studies can help formulate the answers to the research questions of, firstly, under what kind of power structure and, secondly, in what kind of political

and cultural sphere classical music policy and activities are exercised in a British context.

The Study and its Framework

This study sketches a rather simplified picture of power, dominance and relationships with regard to the sphere of musical practice at a national level. It focuses on the methodological problems of a) the relationship between national and local level attempts to formulate cultural policy, and b) the discussion produced by the administrators of culture and the problems of culture. This enabled me to investigate the critical understanding of direct involvement in the organisation and performance of culture and to investigate how this relates to wider questions of governance and democracy.

Classical music activities seem to have been forgotten in this new century, mainly because other forms of music dominate the music market in the UK. The research argument of why classical music policy should be highlighted and why classical music activities should be promoted is justified in terms of classical music's social value, and illustrates why this research is vital in the cultural policy and classical music studies field. The key research questions together with the research methodology were the fundamental part of the practical strategy in this study; they were the method used to achieve the fundamental research aim in this thesis. The thesis examines the relationships between national music agencies, local authorities and regional arts agencies and their attitudes towards the classical music policy at a local level. It also examines the tension, conflicts and degrees of consensus within relevant musical organisations (venues, directors, and performers), policy makers and local stakeholders and discusses how to use the analytical outcomes of classical music activities and the music policy-making process in Nottingham to evaluate how the national music policy functions at a local level. It should be noted that my research was not based on any preconceived idea of what cultural policy should be; deciding what would be the most effective cultural policy formed part of the investigation. However, drawing upon the normative debates available in the work of Raymond Williams, Jim McGuigan, and Tony Bennett and others; I have moved the analysis beyond issues relating to description.

The Structure of the Thesis

In Chapter 1, I offer a detailed answer to the question of why the literature on cultural policy is important for current cultural policy studies. The reason might be that cultural policy research always actively shows its own influence on many different aspects within arts and social science research, and relevant governmental institutions pay special attention to current cultural policy research both empirically and theoretically.

In Chapter 2, I introduce three cultural policy theorist's (McGuigan, Bennett and Sennett) interpretations of cultural policy studies from a distinctive and discursive perspective of the social and political conditions that have contributed to a broader philosophical framework of the cultural policy literature. McGuigan's theory, which emphasises how to provide a reasonable cultural policy to promote an ideology of cultural democracy (the term 'ideology' here means a system of beliefs or theories, usually political, held by an individual or a group) by offering an independent analysis of Habermas's notion of the public sphere, will be examined. The term 'cultural democracy' here means promoting cultural diversity and the right to all forms of culture for everyone in society; enabling people to participate in policy decisions that affect the quality of our cultural lives; encouraging participation in community cultural life; and ensuring equal access to all forms of cultural resources (Webster's World of Cultural Democracy, 1995). Further, by offering a discussion on the affective dimensions of culture, McGuigan also provides a critical dimension and rationality in Habermas's original model of the public sphere. In this chapter, I discuss the idea of the importance of the public sphere and McGuigan's thoughts on the affective dimensions of communication and I seek to extend the relevance of those views for the formation of an empowered common culture.

In comparison with McGuigan's theory, Bennett's theory, which focuses on a mechanism of cultural management and how culture could be used as a social tool for governmentality, is discussed. In addition, Sennett's (2008) work on how the concept of craftsmanship is engaging with the process of developing craft skills is discussed and analysed here. Further, the further implications for cultural policy development

and how to establish the outcome of the theoretical debate (between McGuigan, Bennett Sennett and other theorists) are also critically analysed.

Moreover, in this chapter, I look further into how Habermas's theoretical framework differs from Foucault's work on the relevant concepts, such as power, liberalism, social relations and so on. In light of such considerations, I try to contextualise both Habermas's and Foucault's frameworks within the broad Western tradition of Marxism, and offer an in-depth analysis of the philosophical differences between Marx's account of power structure and social mechanism. Both theorists' (Foucault and Habermas) views on the above issues are examined in detail. In addition, beyond those views and debates, in this chapter, I also illustrate how the social value of classical music can be related to the dispute between McGuigan, Bennett and Sennett, and why the social value of classical music can become a focal point of discussion and analysis in their debates.

In Chapter 3, I examine the historical roots of cultural policy development and offer a comprehensive understanding of the questions on how the UK system of cultural policy has been regarded as an "arms-length" model, with successive governments choosing quasi-governmental bodies (such as Arts Council England) and the Department of Culture, Media and Sports (DCMS) as the instruments that administer government funds for culture. I also discuss how arts and culture activities in England are funded through a diverse range of sources at both a national and a regional level.

Chapter 4 provides an explanation of why music as a special form of culture has been widely defined in an ideological and social sphere in people's everyday lives. It also provides a theoretical analysis of why classical music has always been treated as a kind of cultural form belonging only to certain social groups who have the relevant educational background and who are able to access the classical music field, by discussing the relevant theoretical issues on the relationship between classical music, cultural consumption and cultural diversity. Further, this chapter gives an outline and an overview of how classical music activities have been exercised, with an investigation into what are the most important classical music activities at both a national and a regional level.

In Chapter 5, firstly, I identify my main research interests and my key research questions together with a justification of why I chose a qualitative research method as my main research methodology. Secondly, I outline the process of how I gathered the primary data by conducting an analysis of governmental documents, official text evidence, individual organizations' documents, and relevant newspaper texts, for example, Nottingham City Arts and Events Strategy (from Arts Council of England Regional Office), regional arts organizations' development plans, Nottingham City Council meeting minutes—Culture & Community Services Strategic Board, and articles in the local Evening Post in relation to local theatres. Further, I highlight how 22 semi-structured interviews with relevant members from both local government and music groups were brought into the research. Thirdly, in Chapter 5, I explain how my data from the interviews was tape recorded and fully transcribed and how a qualitative analysis of these interview data has focused on questions such as how cultural policy objectives can be oriented towards development within the different types of organisation, as specified above in my research aims. Finally, in Chapter 5, the process of familiarising myself with the data and ensuring sensitive data would remain anonymous is explained in detail. Furthermore, I discuss the process of coding and re-coding, and how the identification of the key themes was completed throughout the process of the data analysis.

Through a systematic qualitative data analysis process, in Chapter 6, I continue to explore issues such as how the current stake-holders within the cultural policy field have neglected to promote cultural complexity and diversity but instead have treated classical music as a cultural form belonging only to a certain social group. In Chapter 6, I also critically analyse how the local arts agencies, such as the regional office of the Arts Council of England, together with the regional arts development agencies, are working together with the local authorities to achieve the goal of meeting the public's needs regarding music and cultural services. Throughout this chapter, I will explore further some significant research themes that are closely related to the key research question, such as how Foucault's notion of governmentality is embedded in a local cultural public sphere, whether the relative power at the different levels can lead to a distinct structuring of state power at macro, meso and micro levels, and how local

authorities mobilise funding for classical music. I also consider what kind of lessons we can learn by examining the relationship between local authorities, local public arts agencies and other public agencies and co-operation between local government and arts agencies, how the local policy has helped break down the resistance to classical music, and how classical music can help the development of the local community.

The research aim was to discover whether

- 1) the cultural service in Nottingham has a reasonably comprehensive understanding and knowledge of the needs of the local community
- 2) the strategic plan has been delivered through its services
- 3) the cultural service has had an analytical impact on the cultural activities within the local community and whether such an impact would encourage smooth communication between the local government and local residents.

Chapter 7 deals with how a particular form of power structure in a British city has encouraged individual musicians or music events organisers to re-think the relationship between the governmental structure and individual agencies within the local music sphere. This chapter also raises the question of whether the music exercise is simply created by individual musicians or individual music organisations, or is developed through the political cultural sphere and society, and whether the local government needs to reform the neo-liberal forms of governmentality. In this chapter, I highlight again the arguments regarding how cultural policy is related to a fundamental contradiction about the nature of democracy. I also discuss whether cultural policy has brought cultural democracy to the local public, whether local government really takes the necessary steps to make democracy widely available for all forms of music organisations and for everybody in the cultural sphere, and what are the views and the concerns of the local public regarding these issues.

Chapter 7 is the final data chapter, and explores how a notion of governmentality works in a local cultural sphere (especially in relation to classical music activities in a British city, namely, Nottingham) and how local public values have been achieved. It explores how a notion of cultural consumption and class distinction in a contemporary sense affects local music policy making and discusses how to promote democracy in a local cultural sphere. Following this, the consequences of the music policy-making process are explored including an examination of the tension, conflict and degree of

consensus within relevant musical organisations (venues, directors, performers) in the city, and the relationships between national musical agencies, local authorities and regional arts agencies regarding classical music policy at a local level are critically analysed. Finally in this chapter, I explore how applying a liberal model of the public sphere to the cultural public sphere would not only mean reversing the cuts in arts funding, but would also mean empowering different groups, agencies and performers in the democratic process. The interviews in this chapter are explicitly concerned more with how culture ‘gets done’ and less with how it is administered. In particular, the term of ‘doing culture’ here would mean how culture becomes everyday cultural practices, how our everyday life interacts within a cultural sphere and how culture can ‘be done’ within a framework of cultural consumption and political engagement together with a notion of ‘high’ and ‘popular’ culture.

Chapter 8 offers the conclusion to the thesis and draws together the theoretical and empirical materials put forward in the two data chapters to consider how the research questions can be answered. In this chapter, I also make some concluding comments on what lessons can be learned from a local policy analysis, how we could make this empirical outcome into a wider debate on cultural policy in the UK, what sort of implications we can draw from the outcome and whether cultural policy makers at both a national and a local level can learn any lessons from this critical outcome. Also discussed is how ideas of craft, affectivity and respect, as I demonstrated earlier, can be related in helping promote the case for the social value of classical music

Finally, I explore how the question of culture or classical music policy is not simply a matter of finance, but also concerns the ways in which democratic norms are translated into particular contexts.

Chapter 2: A Theoretical Framework of Cultural Policy Research: McGuigan and Bennett's Debate on Cultural Policy

Introduction

Why is the theoretical literature on cultural policy important for current cultural policy studies? The reason might be that cultural policy research actively demonstrates its own influence on many different aspects of arts and social science research, and that relevant governmental institutions have paid special attention to current cultural policy research both empirically and theoretically. On the one hand, it is not hard to see that a clear theoretical framework of cultural policy is crucial to help cultural administrators and practitioners understand better the rationale of cultural policy studies; such an understanding could also encourage governmental agendas to provide support for all forms of cultural activities. On the other hand, a comprehensive cultural policy theory could also provide a politically provocative view on some critical and independent analyses of cultural policy research, especially as cultural policy is becoming a central political and social concern. Further, within a capitalist society, almost everything can be seen as a commodity; that is also why cultural activities have begun to be associated with the terms 'consumption' and 'marketization'. Therefore, a cultural policy analysis could offer a substantial account of what is the political aim of cultural activities in terms of its own economic determination and its practical effects. Despite the concern that culture is public, in recent years, the issues on cultural rights and cultural citizenship mean critical energy has been brought to cultural policy studies by scholars (Stevenson, 2003). Therefore, the goal of providing a democratic cultural policy for the public to gain universal access to all forms of cultural practices has become very pressing for people who work for cultural institutions, the government and research institutions.

In terms of British cultural policy, the historical root of cultural policy in the UK in the past few decades has undergone its own evolution. Broadly speaking, the evolution of British government policy for culture over the past half century can be seen as a shift from a deeply rooted tradition of elitism and cultural conservatism to a new philosophy of liberalism and economic and social instrumentalism. However

these changes within the dominant culture have been contested by a number of key intellectuals and other critical agencies working within the policy arena. In the light of such political and social changes, two cultural policy theorists' interpretations of cultural policy studies from a distinctive and discursive aspect of the social and political condition have contributed to a broader philosophical framework of cultural policy literature. So, in this chapter, I shall discuss the work of Jim McGuigan (1996) and Tony Bennett (1993). The reason for discussing these two scholars' work here is because McGuigan's (1996) theory, on the one hand, emphasises how to provide a reasonable cultural policy to promote an ideology of cultural democracy by offering an independent analysis of Habermas's notion of the public sphere. This theory assists us in connecting cultural policy to a wider context of liberalism and in seeing how certain political and practical management strategies could fit into Habermas's (1989) notion of public accountability and its influence on the condition of a society's culture.

On the other hand, in comparison with McGuigan, Bennett's (1993) theory focuses mainly on a mechanism of cultural management and on how culture could be used as a social tool for governmentality. Bennett's theory is generated from Foucault's theoretical discourse on governmentality and power, and his position (together with that of other Foucauldians) is opposed to the Habermasians' theoretical position. However, both groups have made some useful critical analyses of cultural policy studies, which is also why I chose the above two theorists' work to be the fundamental theoretical framework for this thesis. Together with the theories of Foucault, Habermas, McGuigan, and Bennett, in this chapter, I discuss other relevant theories, such as cultural Marxism and cultural marketization, to explain the relationship between culture, power, capitalism and political economy. Moreover, the issues on the further implications for cultural policy development and on how to apply the outcome of the theoretical debate (between McGuigan, Bennett and other theorists) are critically discussed.

Following the above discussion, I look further into how Habermas's theoretical framework differs from Foucault's work on the relevant concepts, such as power, liberalism, social rationales and so on. In light of such considerations, I try to

contextualise both Habermas's and Foucault's framework within the broad Western tradition of Marxism, and provide an in-depth analysis of the philosophical differences between Marx's account of power structure and of social mechanism; the theory of both theorists (Foucault and Habermas) regarding the above issues are dissected and examined also.

What is 'Culture'?

How do we define culture and why is it important to do so? Lewis (1990) defines culture as an assemblage of imaginings and meanings. These may operate through a wide variety of human social groupings and social practices. Culture is constructed by people in order to communicate and to create a community. Similarly, Raymond Williams (1983), along with other cultural theorists, defines culture as the generation of ordinary meaning. In Couldry's view, "The idea that culture is ordinary suggests that Williams is simply replacing the familiar idea of culture (...) with another, familiar from anthropology; culture as all the practices and distinctions that go to make up 'a way of life' in a particular way" (Couldry, 2000:23). In Williams' words,

Culture is ordinary: that is the first fact. Every human society has its own shape, its own purpose, its own meaning. Every human society expresses these, in institutions, and in arts and learning. The making of a society is the finding of common meaning and direction, and its growth is an active debate and amendment under the pressure of experience, contact, and discovery, wiring themselves into the land. The growing society is there, yet it is also made and remade in every individual mind. ... A culture has two aspects: the known meaning and directions, which its members are trained to: the new observation and meaning, which are offered and tested. These are the ordinary processes of human society and human mind, and we see through them the nature of a culture: that is always both traditional and creative; that it is both the most ordinary common meaning and the finest individual meaning. (Williams, 2000:32)

In the light of such a definition, we can see, first, that culture refers to the difference between two or more social groups, which may encompass character traits, behaviours, beliefs, values, customs and so on. Secondly, culture is used to specify the distribution of certain characteristics within groups.

The above definition of culture is potentially both political and ideological. 'Culture' is a type of term that is always transitional, open and unstable; it can be subject to an infinite array of meanings, disputes and arguments. This means that we can speak of culture in different ways, such as a national culture, a work culture, a religious culture, a university culture, and a technological culture. In addition, all these different types of culture are always related to beliefs, political ideals and so on.

History and Context of Cultural Policy in the UK--British Debates

What is cultural policy?

Cultural policies are most often made by central governments and cultural institutions, but also can be made by many other relevant institutions in both the public and the private sector, from corporations to community organizations. Cultural policy is made through a process defined by the specific agency charged with this responsibility. Yet, policies could provide signposts for those making decisions and taking action within a cultural sphere that affects people's cultural life. For instance, in the UK, the DCMS or a specific arts agency might draft a policy articulating its goals and operating principles in supporting the cultural activities in various regions. Both decision-making and the implementation of cultural policy involve procedures and interaction between the government and parliament and, on the one hand, arm's length bodies (such as Arts Council England in the UK), local government, cultural institutions, NGOs, and on the other, individual artists and their associations.

Williams (1983) explains that the word 'culture' is used to refer both to a process of development of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic value and to the work and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity. In the broadest sense, the evolution of national policy for the arts and all forms of culture over the last half century can be

viewed as a shift from a deeply rooted tradition of elitism and cultural conservatism to a new philosophy marked by economic and social instrumentalism. Although it is not necessary to trace out this evolution in detail in this thesis, it is possible to give a broad indication of the main phases.

Cultural studies, cultural analysis and cultural policy

Cultural studies has experienced significant development in the field of social science and humanities in the past decade. Such successful growth provided an explanation of different forms of social and political practice within a cultural sphere and a definition of how social structure and cultural power are related to each other through a symbolic repression of a social and cultural system. Yet, despite theoretical achievement, cultural studies' theoretical and instrumental approach ('instrumental approach' in this thesis meaning that culture is used as a tool to promote economic development or as a means simply to reformulate the governance of policy) claims to play a crucial role in engaging with cultural issues on the policy agenda, and it is only in recent decades that cultural studies has started to be seen as a meaningful political enterprise. Here I seek to defend a broader understanding of culture that includes ideas of meaning and value as well as more affective and craft-laden dimensions.

It is also due to this that cultural studies has often been related to the political economy. For instance, as Hesmondhalgh (2007) states, political economy approaches have more to offer than have cultural economic studies in terms of analysing power relations with regard to cultural production.

A contemporary cultural study theory together with an understanding of the deep values of culture has become crucial for cultural policy studies; the relation to cultural representation is 'political' because it is bound up with questions of power. For instance, Bennett (1993) argues that textual politics, with which cultural studies has been associated, ignores the institutional dimensions of cultural power. Here Bennett introduces a policy orientation into cultural policy. As cultural policy studies was developed from cultural studies, it will help us to bring a policy analysis to the field of cultural studies and will assist us in understanding how power is exercised within a cultural and political sphere. However, cultural policy embraces the broad field of

public processes involved in the governmental intervention in, and support of cultural activity (Cunningham, 1992).

There is no doubt that cultural evaluation and policy-making is a very complex business, and various levels might need to be examined, for instance, the work of the system, channels, specific performance, and different roles in the assessment. Therefore, without the relevant apparatus of cultural analysis, the role of cultural policy will be both unclear and un-manageable. So, all types of cultural analysis research required to investigate policy will need to be capable of dealing with a much wider set of social problems, such as the issue of social equality and inequality, aesthetics, identity, social inclusion and exclusion, regeneration, marketization and consumption and so on. The complex fusing of cultural analysis and cultural policy can make a key contribution to these debates.

Cultural policy and marketization

Hesmondhalgh (2002) argues that governments and businesses in the Western world responded to the downturn in the 1970s by starting to move away from the traditional manufacturing industries and towards new sectors in order to maintain profit and productivity levels. Therefore, the cultural industries, as the agents of economic, social, and cultural change, became the key sectors to which the governmental communication policy turned. However, what is the relationship among cultural policy, cultural industry and market mechanism in relation to the issues on individualism and cultural consumption?

For instance, McGuigan (2004:122) argues that “for Adorno and Horkheimer, commodity exchange and serial production signalled the degeneration of culture under monopoly capitalism. The products of the cultural industries were formulaic and repetitive; and they espoused pseudo-individualism”. The message of the cultural industry was that everyone could achieve personal happiness through commodity consumption. Whereas today in material production, the mechanism of supply and demand is disintegrating, in the superstructure, it still operates in the rulers’ favour. The consumption of culture for most consumers most of the time has nothing to do with public subsidy. The performance of market-oriented cultural industries and

mass-popular consumption are the main features of the dominant system (Garnham, 1990). Especially during the 1980s, the combination of cultural populism and free market economics appeared in British society when the Thatcher governments transformed Britain from a European social democracy to a free-market economy (Hoggart, 1995). Cultural populism here can be broadly understood as a view that offers a critical perspective on the relationship between culture and the broader society and simply celebrates the postmodern plurality of the market system.

However, the consumers are also workers, and most importantly, citizens. The question that should be asked here is whether ordinary people can achieve their cultural needs when the cultural market has simply followed a policy on privatisation in the capitalist society prevalent in Britain since the 1980s. For instance, in the culture-led strategies employed by urban authorities as production- or consumption-oriented models, a new parlance of 'cultural investment' has become common currency. This is used by those authorities keen to promote themselves as efficient partners for the private sector to encourage capital inflows in the form of public-private partnerships (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Garcia, 2004; Matarasso, 1996). Private partnerships and stakeholders have dominated the cultural market since then, and a more critical public voice seems to have been left behind. Cultural products have simply followed the rules of the market mechanism; a demand not only from individuals, but also from mass consumers' needs for a diverse cultural market is becoming a serious issue. Here my argument is that the needs of citizenship have been displaced by the wants of consumers.

Cultural policy studies are often generated from a cultural study, and the theoretical transformation from one to the other does not always provide the necessary expertise. Thus, it is very difficult to understand how cultural studies might offer unbiased expertise when one considers the kinds of cases that critical cultural policy studies characteristically addresses. For instance, certain important concepts, such as the locality, which has been discussed frequently, have been partially forgotten in cultural policy. The questions within a cultural policy study field that require attention are how much 'local content' a particular cultural and arts industry should have and what sorts of cultural industry should be constructed in this locality. Individual intellectuals who are trained in cultural studies might have a productive role to play in answering

these questions theoretically, practically and philosophically. However, these questions need to be discussed not only by experts, but also by the relevant interested parties, both democratically and politically. As an academic discipline, it seems that cultural policy studies itself could not represent such an interest, and the relevant policy advice could not offer the truthful answers that need to be applied in a wide political sphere. Therefore, based on the above concerns, my research was designed to examine the issues in terms of how a concept of cultural policy practice is exercised within a certain locality. Furthermore, later in the thesis, I will take a close look at how the field of contemporary cultural studies is related theoretically to current cultural policy studies by bringing in Foucault, Habermas, McGuigan, Bennett, Sennett and other theorists' examination of the relationship between culture, power, the public sphere, cultural mechanisms, social inclusion and exclusion, cultural identity, cultural consumption, and the current culture-led regeneration policy in the UK.

The Nature of Capitalizing on Culture

Many cultural studies scholars agree with the majority of Marxists in highlighting the debate between social system, mass culture, consumption and capitalist hegemony; for example, Kellner (2006) states, "Cultural studies from the early 1960s to the early 1980s adopted a Marxian approach to the study of culture and cultural politics, one especially influenced by Althusser and Gramsci" (Kellner, 2006:142). Previously, he had commented on the development of cultural studies, arguing that Marxism has historically been central to both its formation and the development of many of its central concepts. This has been significant given the role of the economy more generally in shaping the production, circulation and meanings of culture (Kellner, 2004:1). In his view, Marxian theory is employed to analyse cultural forms in relation to social formation and economic function. Further, the traditions of cultural Marxism are important to the trajectory of cultural studies and to the understanding of its various types and forms in the present age (Kellner, 2004).

The term 'cultural Marxism' is frequently used in discussions regarding culture, politics, ethics, and current affairs. In particular, in the classical period of British

cultural studies from the early 1960s to the early 1980s, many theorists continued to adapt a Marxist approach to the study of culture, as I discussed earlier. Yet, philosophers like Horkheimer and Adorno (1997) argued that to be able to translate Marxism from economic into cultural terms, we need to contradict Marx's own theory on some points. For instance, they argued that culture was not just part of Marx's notion of the 'superstructure' of society, but should be understood in terms of changes in the broader capitalist system. In their view, culture became increasingly central to the organisation of capitalism and the extent to which it was converted into an industry, and was increasingly utilised to manipulate mass opinions of loyalty. Culture, then, was both a commodity and an ideology.

On the one hand, British cultural studies have developed a form of post-Marxism concerned with discourse and the new configuration of capitalism and politics that emerged in Western society. On the other hand, as Kellner points out, "British cultural studies concluded that mass culture was playing an important role in integrating the working class into existing capitalist societies and that a new consumer and media culture was forming a new mode of capitalist hegemony" (Kellner, 2003:168). However, what is meant by 'a new mode of capitalist hegemony' within the field of cultural studies? Antonio Gramsci offered an explanation of the theory of hegemony. His model of hegemony and counter-hegemony is based on an understanding of the social and cultural forces of domination and the social forces of resistance and struggle (Gramsci, 1971). He also aimed to explain social transformation and attempted to specify forces of domination and resistance in order to aid the process of political struggle and emancipation from oppression and domination. In Kellner's view, that cultural representations promote racism, sexism, classicism, and other forms of oppression can be analysed through notions of hegemony. If Gramsci's explanation is correct, this kind of new force of cultural capitalism could end up devouring public cultural resources, from classical music to modern arts; when the culture is absorbed into the economic circle, only commercial goods will be left to hold society together.

The critical question in this new age of capitalist society is whether civilization can exist when more and more of our social relationships outside the family become a

paid-for experience. Can life experiences take place in one kind of culture form, a certain type of culture that can also be paid for? Can the quality of that experience be measured economically? Has capitalist society actually adopted culture as another form of commodity or commercial product in order to serve the purpose of capitalist hegemony? The capitalist system is based on private ownership and consolidation of the means of production where the production of commodities is guided by the profit motive to satisfy human desires.

Hall (1996) argues that culture is a mode of ideological reproduction and hegemony in which cultural forms help to shape the modes of thought and behaviour that induce individuals to adapt to the social conditions of capitalist societies (Kellner, 2004). It seems that capitalist society has actually adopted culture as another form of commodity or commercial product in order to serve the purpose of capitalist hegemony, as I argued earlier. In other words, culture here has been treated as a form of commodity; the impact of capitalism on culture has become a serious issue that really stands apart from all of the other economic concerns (Hall, 1980). Based on this argument, in Chapter 4, I aim to explore the relationship between culture, capitalism, economic regeneration and cultural consumption to offer a clearer picture of how culture operates in a capitalist society and how the economic impact has shaped the real value of culture.

Questions of culture and democracy suggest that we need to maintain a relatively non-commodified public sphere to maintain cultural public values. Capitalism is mainly concerned with balance sheets, profit and more instrumental concerns. On the other hand, public values, such as pluralism, service and democracy, are not best served by market principles. Society needs effective policies to provide guidelines for those making decisions and taking actions that affect cultural life rather than simply celebrating the arrival of cultural capitalism. In Rifkin's opinion, cultural capitalism is about the transformation from cultural production to physical production in world commerce and trade (Rifkin, 2000). The question here is whether cultural policy should really serve this purpose, and should the current cultural policy be allowed simply to follow the rules of the market mechanism and economic regeneration in a capitalist society. These issues will be discussed later in this chapter.

As Rifkin (2000) also highlights, the market has greatly influenced the idea that a common culture is mined for accountable and potential cultural meaning that can be transformed by arts activities into a commodified experience. However, we may have to choose to believe that the market rules our lives; especially in a capitalist society, individuals may have to encounter the market as an ideological framework that has influenced our sense of social reality. The question here is whether cultural policy should pass from politics to economy, if cultural policy has already made this transition, or if these sorts of practice are really different from one another.

Culture is about creativity. During the process of producing, individuals can gain valuable aesthetic and emotional experiences that are reproduced through engaging with all kinds of cultural activities. Such a view of culture, then, is critical of attempts to reduce its meanings and practices to the needs of the economy or simply to questions of meaning. My understanding of the practices of culture concerns issues of meaning and affectivity, craft and learning, and value and complexity. Cultural policy should help to promote this kind of creativity. The ideology of a creative industry has been highlighted in the UK for some years; the results of this have been to show how the arts could bring employment and social benefit to our society. It may be that some forms of culture have been omitted from the economic circle because they are not perhaps ready to serve the purpose of current capitalistic development. However, my view is not only to question the role of the economy in determining dominant notions of the culture, but also to rethink ideas of culture in relation to questions of craft, value, difficulty and creativity.

As I argued earlier in this chapter, cultural policy studies has been rationalised in various ways. Beyond Marxism's notion of culture in economic and social terms, many other theorists and scholars have addressed issues concerning culture, economy and power academically in recent years. Some of them have offered an in-depth critical analysis of cultural policy's historical roots and theoretical function in contemporary society. For instance, Bennett and McGuigan offer a distinctive

analysis of British cultural policy for those who are interested in cultural policy studies.

How do Habermas's and Foucault's views on culture differ from Marxist theory? How do they criticise Marxist theory? Marxism's account of culture largely agrees that culture is there to make a profit and is being gradually turned into a commodity. Habermas's views, to some extent, belong partly to that tradition; he is also critical of the Marxist tradition, in particular, of Marxist theory on communication. According to Habermas (1996), Marx tries to put together two different understandings of communication. Marxism, on the whole, confuses communication that aims to manipulate and control with communication that also aims at emancipation and reflection. This conclusion is evident in the idea of the false consciousness that fails to recognise members of subordinate classes and groups as equal partners in dialogue and discussion. Marxism, then, in this sense, has historically failed to develop a theory of democracy.

For instance, Stevenson (2002) outlines Habermas's theory in the following way:

For Habermas, the fact that we are language users means that we are communicatively able to reach an understanding of one another. Habermas argues that in every act of speech we are capable of immanently raising three validity claims in connection with what is said. These three validity claims, he adds, constitute a background consensus of normal everyday language in Western society. The three claims-that are used by agents to test the validity of speech could be characterised as propositional truth claims, normative claims related to appropriateness, and the claims connected to sincerity. (2002:52)

Yet, Habermas does appreciate some of Marx's theory; his earlier involvement with the Frankfurt school demonstrates this (Eriken and Weigard, 2003). Habermas, for example, values the way in which Marx tries to develop a genuinely cultural theory of society aiming at human emancipation. In Habermas's view, all citizens need a place that is not fully dominated by capitalism; this place should be able to encourage the public to have a kind of critical reflection. Eriken and Weigard (2003) reinterpret

Habermas's point in the following way:

Habermas's break with early critical theory is expressed among other things in his wish to revise Marx's old substructure—superstructure model completely, and assign independent meaning to 'superstructure phenomena' such as argument, norms and scientific truths. (Eriken and Weigard, 2003:5)

By debating Marx's ideology of a social system, Habermas is trying to bring together the idea of traditional and liberal freedoms and critical ideas from Marxism. He thinks that Marxist theory has not taken liberalism or liberal ideas seriously enough. For instance, Habermas's interrogation of this debate has important points of reference; he emphasises that "it should be clear that the democratic constitutional state on the one hand requires, in a functional sense, civic virtue and a population that values freedom" (Habermas, 1996:130). On the other hand, Foucault criticises Marxist theory because it considers that society is organised on a single fault line (that is, the struggle between capital and labour); this is the most significant struggle and it has been going on for a long time.

According to the Marxist understanding of power, there is no alternative to an economic analysis of power. Yet, as we shall see, a Foucauldian understanding of power explicitly rejects the idea (central to Marxism) that the class struggle is essential for a more multi-dimensional view of power (Smart, 1985). Here power is dispersed and multiple rather than simply contained in the economic sphere. As we shall see, these critical questions have implications for the ways in which we understand wider questions of culture and policy.

Habermas's Theory Approach to McGuigan's Theory on Cultural Policy

Habermas's historical effect of a cultural public sphere

The public sphere is an area where all citizens should feel enabled to discuss societal problems freely. Habermas's work is concerned with how we make sense in public, especially how we negotiate our differences with one another and decide upon our common purposes. In Habermas's early work, he demonstrates how the literary public

sphere is converted into a political public sphere. The role played by the development of the coffee house in eighteenth-century Europe was gradually replaced by newspapers and more commercial concerns. In this respect, the public sphere ended, as it was eventually displaced by a capitalist-dominated media. Habermas, in this later work, substantially revised this view of the rise and fall of the public sphere. Later, in his book *Between Facts and Norms*, Habermas (1996) states:

The public sphere cannot be conceived of as an institution and certainly not as an organisation; it is not even a framework of norms. The public sphere can best be described as a network of communicating information and points of view (i.e. opinions expressing affirmative or negative attitudes); the streams of communication are, in process, filtered in such a way that they coalesce into bundles of topically specified public opinion. (Habermas,1996:360)

In this book, Habermas (1996) also tries to explain the relationship between a notion of a public sphere and his theory of communicative action. According to his understanding, the public sphere is also governed by law; therefore, in this respect, the public sphere carries an instrumental rationality together with communicative reason. It is not hard to see why Habermas encourages us to think of the democratic possibility of building a liberal public sphere. For instance, Douglas Kellner (2004) argues that Habermas introduced a concept of public sphere to us by drawing our attention to an idea of mediation between the private opinions of all individuals in their economic and social life in contrast to the demands of social and public life.

According to Habermas, the idea of the public sphere involves the process of overcoming private thoughts and interests to discover common interests and to reach a societal consensus (Kellner, 2004). Moreover, Habermas's notion of a public sphere also discusses a sphere that will encourage a kind of exercise between the private opinion of all individuals' everyday life in society and the power exercise of the state. Habermas's notion of a 'bourgeois public sphere' means a social sphere where individuals gather together to somehow express their opinions and to act against the unreasonable and domineering form of social power.

Accordingly, Kellner reinterprets Habermas's understanding of the public sphere in following way:

The principles of the public sphere involved an open discussion of all issues of general concern in which discursive argumentation was employed to ascertain general interests and the public good. The public sphere thus presupposed freedoms of speech and assembly, a free press, and the right to freely participate in political debate and decision-making. (Kellner, 2004:5)

Yet, it is not hard to see that the notion of a bourgeois public sphere in Habermas's terms also guaranteed various forms of political rights that would be exercised between individuals, groups and state.

Furthermore, Kellner also points out,

Despite the limitations of his analysis, Habermas is right that in the era of the democratic revolutions a public sphere emerged in which for the first time in history ordinary citizens could participate in political discussion and debate, organize, and struggle against unjust authority, while militating for social change, and that this sphere was institutionalized, however imperfectly, in later developments of Western societies. (Kellner, 2004:5)

In Habermas's (1989) analysis, he demonstrates the value of the public sphere as it progresses through the physical battle of culture with the pre-modern authorities. Today, however, the public sphere is shrinking rather than expanding, and this has much to do with the resurgence of economic liberalism. The development of communication conglomerates, spin doctors and the increasing variety of forms of media manipulation all point to the decline of the public sphere. However, the possibility of democratic communication remains an inherent possibility in societies based upon liberal democratic procedures, and the increasing complexity of communication is evident in the development of new media, such as the internet. Democratic communication, therefore, remains a possibility if not an actuality.

Habermas hopes to create a dialogue that will occur outside the realm of government and the economy, but his public sphere model attempts to focus on the Enlightenment values of reason and freedom in a modern discourse that aims too much at pragmatic consensus. Habermas (1992) highlights how, within the public sphere, discourse becomes democratic by unifying all participants, thus enabling them to overcome their first subjectively biased views in favour of a rationally motivated agreement. Therefore, within this debate, he attempts to introduce democratic judgements that can have a universal application while remaining anchored within the practical realm of discourse among all individuals (Habermas, 1992). Habermas also (1990) posits that the participants in a political sphere share assumptions about communicative practice. These assumptions are produced by an Enlightenment notion of reason that is characteristic of democracy. It is this rationality that makes decisions formulated in discourse binding (Habermas, 1990).

The democratic public sphere is activated by social movements, pressure groups and critical intellectuals. By addressing questions of key public controversy, these individuals and groups seek to highlight a number of critical problems and questions. Thus, a public sphere can say it is effective according to the extent to which it is able to connect with wider public norms.

In addition to the above views, Habermas (1990) lists certain criteria of freedom and equality that are necessary for an 'ideal speech situation' to occur in a democratic society. He also offers another theoretical justification of the public sphere by pointing out that social movements and campaigning organisations that force issues onto the public agenda are also closely associated with democratic values.

Habermas's theory of the public sphere demonstrates that 'public sphere' refers both to practices and to normative ideals (Habermas, 1989). In his view, it was also during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that a liberal form of the public sphere was transformed into a realm in which the formulation of public opinion is superseded by mass consumption and publicity (Habermas, 1989).

McGuigan's theory on the cultural public sphere and cultural policy

McGuigan begins his argument on cultural policy studies by dealing with the question: What is cultural policy? His answer focuses on the issue of the administration of the arts; he tries to explore what cultural policy is about and to examine the politics of culture in the most general sense. Further, he illustrates the institutional struggles and power relations in the production and circulation of symbolic meanings. In doing this, McGuigan introduces the concept of a cultural public sphere, as he thinks a deep analysis of such a concept will help us to obtain a better understanding of what kind of cultural policy cultural practitioners and intellectuals need. For instance, McGuigan (1996) argues, "Fundamental to the position on cultural policy stated in this book, then, is the normative view that, in a democratic society, 'the public will', however that is understood and constructed, should decisively influence the condition for culture, their persistence and their potential for change" (McGuigan, 1996:22).

McGuigan (2004) defines the cultural public sphere as "a development of the literary public sphere to include all aesthetic practices in which questions of everyday life and meaningfulness are given articulation" (McGuigan, 2004:144). Within this definition, there are two dimensions: a commercial culture and a public culture. He seems realistically to separate these two different cultural concepts. A cultural public sphere is the space that involves more than making a living or exercising power over others. The cultural public sphere is by no means secure; McGuigan (2004) argues that public culture refers to more than just public sector culture; it is more like the perpetual interaction between the public interest in culture and the dynamic operations rather than exercising power over others. For instance, in his article on the cultural public sphere, McGuigan (2005) argues that:

The concept of a cultural public sphere refers to the articulation of political, public and personal, as a contested terrain through an affective (aesthetic and emotional) model of communication. The cultural public sphere trades in pleasures and pains that are experienced vicariously through willing suspension of disbelief, for example, by watching soap

opera, identifying with the characters and their problems, talking and arguing with friends and relatives about what they should and should not do. (McGuigan, 2005:435)

Yet, McGuigan (2004) argues that there is an economic fundamentalism to the practice of cultural policy; everything in the cultural public sphere is being reduced to economic terms. In broader terms, McGuigan (1996) discusses the idea that cultural policy cannot be treated simply as an exclusively administrative matter, but should be seen as a manifestation of cultural politics in the widest sense. His theory highlights how an effective cultural policy needs to be critical of purely instrumental approaches, and argues that there should be a place for democratic values in culture. In the light of such concerns, McGuigan (1996) asks what the role of intellectuals is and what kind of critical and administrative work cultural policy studies should adopt.

Further, he offers a more contemporary understanding of the issues among culture, the political sphere, the social and economic structure, and civil society. For instance, his understanding focuses on the capitalism that seeks to convert the public sphere into a business. He questions whether we should reframe this as private capital within a public administration. This becomes a key question in the cultural policy field. In his terms, cultural policy studies marks an acceptance of the state hitherto unknown in cultural studies. In addition to this, he connects Habermas's notion of a cultural public sphere to contemporary cultural policy studies. This has offered both researchers and professional practitioners a new way of thinking on the issues among cultural policy, public value and political power.

McGuigan also offers three in-depth theoretical discourses on cultural policy: state discourse, market discourse and civil discourse. He claims, "All those three discourses have a number of variants and are by no means internally unified" (McGuigan, 2001:125). He restates his point on such issues in his book 'Rethinking Cultural Policy', in which he argues that "all three discourses and the forces they represent - state, market and civil/communicative - remain in play, albeit with differently ordered powers at their respective disposal" (McGuigan, 2004:60).

Based on his first discourse on the state, McGuigan (2004) argues that there is a complex internal relationship between the nation and the state, between local and global. We need to examine the question of “how the modern state’s cultural policy has been constructed and deconstructed, assuming that the nation-state was and continues to be important for the condition of both social and cultural citizenship” (McGuigan, 2004:35).

McGuigan also tries to connect an ideology of economics to an ideology of culture by introducing his second market discourse for cultural policy studies. In doing this, he offers an insightful analysis of the process of neo-liberal globalisation and its implications for culture in-general and cultural policy in particular from a critical perspective. In a more recent article, McGuigan argues that “culture is now saturated with a market-oriented mentality that closes out alternative ways of thinking and imagining” (McGuigan, 2005:229).

Habermas’s theory approach applied to McGuigan’s theory on cultural policy

McGuigan (1996) brings Habermas’s theory of the public sphere into cultural policy. His work has been seminal in changing the focus of debate in the study of cultural policy. Critically, McGuigan has enabled scholars in this field to imagine how cultural practice might become more democratic. As I discussed earlier, in McGuigan’s definition of the cultural public sphere, there are two dimensions: a commercial culture and a public culture. The cultural public sphere is more like the perpetual interaction between the public interest in culture and the dynamic operations of culture rather than exercising power over others. Furthermore, by discussing the affective dimensions of culture, McGuigan offers a critique of the dominance of reason and rationality in Habermas’s original model of the public sphere. Missing from Habermas’s concerns are the ways in which culture connects with more affective sensibilities that are more often central features of most cultural encounters, from looking at pictures in an art gallery to watching an exciting film on television. Encounters with questions of culture, then, need to include a broad range of sensibilities and sentiments, not all of which can be accounted for through notions of rationality.

McGuigan's theory of cultural policy is concerned with a much broader area than the professional discourses of arts management. While Habermas's explanation of social modernity has its persistent commitment to democracy, it has been influential in the critical analysis within a cultural sphere. Similarly, McGuigan queries whether we should reframe these, as private capital within a public administration has become a key issue to be discussed in the cultural policy field. Therefore, in relation to the above critical debate on cultural policy studies, my argument here is that McGuigan (drawing upon Habermas) defends an idea of cultural policy in terms of the public values that are necessary to create a democratic society. However, he expands these dimensions by looking at the affective dimensions of culture.

Foucault's Governmentality Applied to Cultural Policy Research

Foucault's theory on power

Foucault's studies focus on psychiatry, medicine, the prison system, the history of human sexuality and various social institutions. His work on power and relationships, knowledge and discourse has been introduced into a wider social and political debate. The study of Foucault's theory has always been seen as a complex area; in particular, his philosophical and insightful explanation of power and governmentality has had a significant impact on many disciplinary researches. To be able to have a clear understanding of Foucault's theory and its relationship with the notion of governmentality concerning cultural policy study, we need to understand this theory of power. Moreover, there are also related concepts such as power, bio-power, and disciplinary power, and their relationship with a conceptualization of governmentality. Foucault's notion of power is complex, and many of his followers try to offer a comprehensive explanation of this notion. Taking Danaher, Schirato and Webb's (2000) theoretical understanding as an example, they state:

This is one of the most important of Foucault's insights with regard to power - that it is more effective when it is hidden from view. In other words, although power and technology are being used to control and regulate individual and population, the official version of things is that they are 'working in our interests', 'taking care of us', looking after us and

watching over us ‘for our own good’ (‘the system is working for you’).
(Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000:68)

In addition to the above theoretical discovery, Foucault’s notion of power is actually exercised with a specific intention; he wants to focus on comprehensive knowledge about how to exercise power. For instance, in Smart’s (1985) reinterpretation of Foucault’s notion of power, he points out:

Power is not conceived as a property or possession of a dominant class, state, or sovereign but as a strategy; the effects of dominance associated with power arise not from an appropriation and deployment by subject but from ‘manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings’; and a relation of power does not constitute an obligation or prohibition imposed upon the ‘powerless’, rather it invests them, is transmitted by and through them. (Smart, 1985: 77)

Yet, as the above explanation indicates, on the one hand, Foucault’s notion of power is a complex concept and involves a set of relations between individuals, different groups and various areas of society, that changes with circumstances and time; on the other hand, power is not completely negative - in terms of working to repress or control people, it is also highly productive (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000). For instance, Danaher, Schirato and Webb state, “Power produces resistance to itself, it produces what we are and what we can do, and it produces how we see ourselves and the world (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000; xiv).

In addition to this, Foucault also offers an insightful discussion on how power is associated with individuals; for instance, he says that “one of the prime effects of power is that certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires come to be identified and constituted as individuals” (Foucault, 1980:98). Smart (1985) offers his explanation of Foucault’s argument when he says that Foucault’s model of power considers that “individuals are not agents of power; they neither possess power nor have their potential crushed or alienated by it” (Smart, 1985:79). Instead, Foucault argues that power and knowledge are reconceptualised through

the development of certain discourses. In this respect, the limits of certain discourses are the limits of our shared world. Foucault (1980) redefines the above ideas as undeniable truths; in his view, such normalized truth helps human beings to gain a certain way of seeing society. On the other hand, such a complex relationship between knowledge and truth also produces a certain kind of power struggle (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000). Beyond the above exploration in terms of the complicated relationship between society and individuals, Foucault also sees power as an enabling force; at the same time, he also tries to explore the ways in which power operates at the micro level of our society. Thus, he sees this focus on the nature of the power relation as a microphysics of power.

Foucault's notion of governmentality

Foucault, in the later years of his life, started to develop a new concept of governmentality that was based on his previous theoretical discourse on power and bio-power. Foucault presents governmentality as a form of the art of government that includes ranges of techniques closely associated with his other theories of bio-politics and power-knowledge. Foucault's notion of governmentality offers a new understanding and development of power; he directs us to think that power not only performs as a top-down model, but that it includes the social control of disciplinary institutions and a concept of knowledge. According to Thomas Lemke's (2002) understanding of Foucault's notion of governmentality,

The concept of governmentality suggests that it is important to see not only whether neoliberal rationality is an adequate representation of society but also how it functions as a 'politics of truth', producing new forms of knowledge, inventing different notions and concepts that contribute to the government of new domain of regulation and intervention. (Lemke, 2002:55)

Foucault's (1984) idea of governmentality is developed in his later work. Here he is concerned to correct the view of power that ignored the possibility of agency. However, Habermas is broadly correct in his criticism that Foucault fails to link the

democratic ideal of self-reflection and cultural debate to the potential to reform coercive institutions (Guess, 1981).

Hence, governmentality is concerned with not only the disciplinary or bio-power of institutions, but also with how power produces knowledge so that individuals can act upon it themselves. Such a view of power does not oppose agency and structure, but looks at how individuals play an active role in their own self government. Hence neo-liberalism or free market capitalism requires not only institutions but the active production of certain identities and subjectivities. In this sense, then, governmentality is concerned with quality of regulation and with how individuals produce themselves in relation to others. Governmentality is concerned not only with institutional design, but also with knowledge and culture.

Yet, on the one hand, Foucault's model of power relations is all about to how to facilitate an appropriate understanding of modern forms of rule, new forms of political power, and the proliferation of public policies and systems of social administration that affect the conduct of individuals while, on the other hand, Foucault uses his interpretation of power relations to explain the ways in which the modern state seeks to monitor individuals. In addition, he indicates that an individual's capability will be also enhanced and empowered by disciplinary techniques.

Foucault's Governmentality Approach to Cultural Policy Research - Bennett's Position

Since the 1980s, writers in cultural policy studies have used Foucault's writing on governmentality to rethink the relationship between intellectuals in the humanities, governance and liberal states. The recent reconceptualizations of culture have been guided also by Foucault's work on governmentality, discipline, and technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988; 1991). Foucault's notion of 'governmentality' is relatively different from a traditional idea of state power, and it is broadly characterized by its own definition of culture as an administrative measure that is subject to historical investigation (Foucault, 1998). The 're-tooling' of cultural studies along Foucauldian lines has been particularly evident in the new movement of a 'cultural-policy studies'

paradigm in Western society (particularly, Britain and Australia) during the late 1980s and 1990s (Craik, 1994).

Tony Bennett was one of the first theorists to make an explicit connection between cultural studies and a wider context of cultural policy studies. The aim of Bennett's intervention was to move cultural studies away from issues related to domination and resistance into a sphere where it could have more practical relevance. Bennett's central proposition was concerned with whether "cultural studies' habitual modes of more or less radical theoretical and utopian critique, which do not have to account for their theoretical practicability, be marginalised in favour of forms of cultural analysis which can feed into policy-formation" (Bennett, 1993:479).

Bennett (1999) argues for the model of an intellectual as a cultural technician that works within state bureaucracies. In Bennett's arguments (1997a), Foucault is concerned with the disciplinary structure of institutions including cultural institutions, such as museums, in order to explain both their internal mechanisms and their external effects. Further, beyond Foucault's notion of governmentality as an explanatory matrix of a contemporary cultural policy study, Bennett (1998) challenges the idea that culture is regulated to its own institutional exercises as a form of agency with a modern liberal state under the notion of a rational assumption of agency. Meanwhile, as the chief protagonist of the Foucauldian conceptualization of culture and government, he emphasises that cultural studies needs to accord greater attention to the variable forms of power that characterize particular cultural technologies (Bennett, 1998).

It is worth noting that Bennett focuses on questions about the role of the critical intellectual, the nature of state power and bureaucracy, and the function of culture. It is not difficult to see that his approach retains the Foucauldian notion of governmentality as the explanation of governance as a form of rule (Bennett, 1998). Following the Foucauldian notion of governmentality, Valentine (2002) offers a discussion of the political agency of cultural studies within the contemporary conjuncture. Valentine (2002) argues that the relevance of governance to cultural

studies is shown through the argument that the political agency of cultural studies rests on an administrative structure that can no longer be verified empirically or conceptually (Valentine, 2002). However, both Bennett and Valentine have challenged the view that the political agency of culture is expressed through governance from a Foucauldian point of view.

Bennett's theory

Bennett's cultural theory is based on contemporary social theory, and he has also applied this theory to numerous relevant museum issues, adequately supporting his beliefs with the writings of other philosophers such as Foucault, Bourdieu, Gramsci, and Williams (Bennett, 1998). Particularly, in more recent years, Bennett has engaged with the national agenda concerning culture and cultural policy studies. He has also conducted introductory research for a national inquiry into the social distribution of participation in everyday cultural practices (Bennett, 2001).

Bennett, then, explores cultural policy (both historically and theoretically) by looking into the many different forms of cultural governance and cultural conduct within a certain society. However, better known is Bennett's work on cultural policy.

Bennett (1992) points out that the question of culture and citizenship is extremely diffuse and reflective. He distinguishes between three very general discursive formations of cultural policy in what is, admittedly, an over-simplification, but one with a specific purpose. Yet, while cultural studies has generally been represented as "political", cultural studies in the political process cannot be subsumed by such a general notion. Therefore, Bennett (1992) suggests that cultural studies as normally practised is largely detached from the real world of politics, in the sense of policy-making and administration. Meanwhile, he is also concerned that cultural studies in general need not and should not confine itself to research in an exclusively policy framework. Bennett challenges the dominance of both cultural Marxism and ethnography within cultural studies. The diverse history of cultural studies has produced a certain characteristic, according to Bennett's understanding, that relies on a commitment to certain cultural practices from the point of view of their interaction within relations of power (Bennett, 1993). Thus, in this sense of power relations,

cultural studies, to some degree, is always about politics. In particular, Bennett (1998:25) is critical of a cultural studies that seeks to develop 'a certain ethical style' rather than 'practicable courses of action' or specific applicable policies. Rather than simply seek to defend a radical sensibility (as much Marxist-inspired work does), he advocates a cultural studies that seeks to become of more use to the policy-makers and practitioners.

--Focusing on the routines and operating procedures of cultural institutions

The core of Bennett's argument on cultural policy is more focused on the detailed routines and operating procedures of cultural institutions from the perspective of the function of cultural resources in the politics of social relations and the shaping of human conduct (Bennett, 1998:82). He emphasises that the relation of works of culture to the social order does not have a general theoretical character, but depends on different discursive and institutionalized forms of culture's action (Bennett, 2000). Following Foucault, intellectuals need to be careful about making over-generalisations and should instead engage in more specific and concrete models of analysis. He also claims that every site of meeting between any cultural technology and any subordinate relationship involves communication through discursive means, and that these meetings also involve communicating different ideological and cultural values in the process of identity formation. The questions concerning how to develop cultural engagement in administrative programmes are one of his key arguments. He also argues that the communicative cultural engagements are not restricted to the governmental programmes through which particular fields are organised and regulated within a communicative sphere (Bennett, 1998).

Bennett's theory on cultural policy's practical consequences

Culture is considered to be more cogently conceived when it is treated as a historically specific set of institutions embedded in relations with the government. Within this context, the forms of thought and conduct of extended populations are designed for transformation through the social body of the forms, techniques, and regimes of an aesthetic and intellectual culture (Bennett, 1993).

In British cultural studies, a culture used to be thought of as a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, or a group or of humanity in general (Williams, 1983). This extended definition is always understood to be an analytical model and to be structured by the concept of social hegemony, which is situated in opposition to a concept of aesthetic culture (Williams, 1989).

However, in Bennett's view, this way of doing cultural studies has its own limitations, primarily because of its practical consequences. Based on Bennett's observation, on the one hand, this limitation is a sort of social consequence of the politics of articulation that has been pursued by culture in association with its signifying and discursive means (Bennett, 1993). Yet, the processes of this kind of politics of articulation have produced a collective political force that acts in opposition to a power (Bennett, 1992). In addition, within this process, the issues in relation to the institutional conditions and governmental aspects have influenced the social meaning of different fields of culture.

On the other hand, Bennett sees this limitation as a consequence of the politics of articulation that has been pursued by a certain cultural existence in the sense of identifying the most common social meaning (Bennett, 1992). This political consequence has been understood as the endeavour to produce subjects contradictory to the varied form of power in which those subjects are managed with the intention that these can become a political force in a collective way and act in opposition to that power (Bennett, 1993). Bennett also argues that, in doing this, insufficient attention is paid to the institutional conditions and governmental aspects that inform the social meaning of different fields of culture. Further, social classes, ethnicity, and gender, are not identifiable as active social agents in the different cultural spheres (Bennett, 1992). In the specific context of Bennett's theory, he refers his philosophical thoughts to a real social agent while he tries to locate these issues closely in the field of cultural technologies (such as public museums, public schools, and public libraries). This seems to allot a rather restricted place and purpose to the policy analysis. Yet, by bringing this argument into his theory, he explains that attention needs to be paid to the institutional condition and governmental aspect that helps inform the social meaning in the different fields of culture (Bennett, 1998).

Bennett's main charge against the Gramscian form of analysis is that it tends to split the cultural field into a 'bipolar context' (Bennett, 1998:68), that is, the organising centres of hegemonic power as opposed to the counter-power of subordinate groups. Following Foucault rather than a single fault line defining the cultural field, Bennett identifies a multiplicity of struggles and contract points. In terms of governmentality, the problem is less one of ideological control from above and more one of how 'truth' becomes 'produced' through complex social and cultural relations. Culture, then, is a way of governing conduct and, crucially, a way of using knowledge to change conduct. This process is not well adapted to metaphors of control from above, but is concerned with the administrative argument regarding the role institutions play in different kinds of human conduct. Cultural intellectuals, then, are less preoccupied with the location of sites of resistance and more with the detailed mapping of complex institutions in a shifting force field of power. Similarly, cultural policy is less concerned with a top-down strategy and more concerned with the detailed mapping of cultural institutions and the identification of sites of intervention. Thus, the intellectual is identified as a technician who is concerned with certain specific effects and bureaucratic forms of regulation (Bennett, 1998:31).

After Bennett (1998) had studied museums as a form of cultural technology, he sought to demonstrate the instrumental value of the Foucauldian version of cultural policy studies. However, he (1992) is very precise about his instrumentalist agenda for policing the training of cultural technicians, because in his view, intellectual works are less committed to cultural critique as an instrument for changing consciousness than they are to modifying the functioning of culture by means of technical adjustments to governmental development. Here, Bennett highlights the need to focus on governmental development processes rather than content in order to apply the best set of tools in a variety of cultural settings (Bennett, 1998). So, governmentality as a social and political term is somehow invoked as a way of understanding and engaging with policy environments (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000). Bennett here has critically referred this concept to the practices of governance in a cultural setting. Governmentality in this sense is about how to facilitate an appropriate understanding of modern forms of rule and new forms of political power and the proliferation of public policies and systems of social administration that affect the conduct of individuals.

--A discourse on culture and power

Up to this point, Bennett had been concentrating his arguments on the reformation of cultural studies. This is evident in relation to his theory of the meaning of resistance and of how this concept has been used in works in the British Gramscian tradition of cultural studies. Thus, Bennett discovered a productive set of relations between culture and power; he also thought a further investigation into this relationship would be necessary for there to be productive research on cultural policy (Bennett 1998). As a result of his thinking, he came to define culture as “a historically specific set of institutionally embedded relations of government in which the forms of thought and conduct of extended populations are targeted for transformation – in part via the extension through the social body of the forms, techniques, and regimens of aesthetic and intellectual culture” (Bennett, 1992b:26).

At the same time, Bennett seems to accord a restricted kind of relevance or legitimacy to different kinds of cultural analysis set up in a new model of power. Bennett’s ambivalence is justified, but his argument leaves some confusing loose ends concerning the theoretical orientation of cultural policy analysis that he is promoting. Therefore, in a later section, I offer a critical analysis of how Bennett’s cultural policy theory leads us to consider future cultural policy research both positively and negatively in a practical and a theoretical way.

Sennett’s position

Despite the previous analysis on a wider theoretical difference in the work of McGuigan, Bennett and other scholars, one of the main purposes of this research is also to contribute to a discussion on why classical music might be said to be ‘valuable’. Missing from the analysis thus far are the specific forms of value that might be attached to the learning, performing and more generally engaging with classical music. Classical music as a practice does not really promote cultural reflection, but is important as a craft or complex practice that, once mastered, can be an important source of self-respect and self-esteem. Such a view is poorly represented by Habermasian analyses that concentrate upon the exchange of reasons and Foucault’s idea of governmentality. Here we need to defend the specific forms of

value that might be said to be connected to classical music and its importance to wider definitions of public culture.

For Sennett (2003), the social vocabulary of respect might be made to come to life by returning to music. Sennett (2003) also claims that welfare clients are urged to “earn” self-respect, which often means becoming materially self-sufficient, but, as Sennett asserts, this kind of self-respect cannot be “earned” in the same way people earn money; this is particularly relevant for individuals who have grown up in the welfare system, but have the opportunity to escape from it by virtue of their musical talent.

Taking music training as an example, such practice often requires learners to concentrate on practising for long periods of time (in Sennett’s view, this kind of practice can be seen as a process of craft making); this kind of learning process also provides them with self-respect. This example demonstrates Sennett’s argument (2008) on how the development of any musical talent involves an element of craft, of doing something well for its own sake, and it is this craft element that provides the individual with an inner sense of self-respect (Sennett, 2003).

Self-respect, then, could be gained through musical talent, stage experience, and appreciation from others. For instance, while classical music training requires learners to concentrate on practising for a significant amount of time, which, as discussed above, improves their self-esteem, the concert-performing experience may help the music practitioners gain social status or help them increase further their levels of self-respect.

Sennett (2008) develops this theory further discusses how the concept of the craftsmanship is engaging with the process of developing craft skills and how craftsmen become knowledgeable public persons and good citizens through concentrating on work rather than on themselves. In his view, the best craftsmanship depends on a non-stop involvement; such a kind of craftwork often requires many years of physical practice of complex skills.

MacCarthy (2008) comments, “Sennett views the satisfactions of physical making as a necessary part of being human. We need craft work as a way to keep ourselves rooted in material reality, providing a steadying balance in a world which overrates mental facility” (MacCarthy, 2008). Yet, in supporting this view, Sennett (2008) suggests that a craftsman works in different ways, and this variety (such as developing skills, tools and materials) offers different patterns for individuals to utilise their own talents. So, this can be recognised if the motivation of individuals becomes understood.

As an example of this, Sennett (2008) suggests the social value of practising a classical musical instrument can be seen from his later thoughts on how the experience of physical coordination has suggested an idea of social cooperation. For instance, Sennett (2008) utilises the musical instrument as a medium for exploring coordination and cooperation among unequal members of society and also helps us to understand what the experience of physical coordination suggests about social cooperation (Sennett, 2008). In piano playing, the weakest fingers - the fourth and fifth on both left and right hand - often require a player’s special attention in order to achieve a balanced and beautiful melody; the thumb has to practise hard to coordinate with the fourth and fifth fingers by holding back power. So, Sennett (2008) says, “the player’s hand coordination encounters the problems of reconciling inequalities” (Sennett, 2008:162). In the case of playing arpeggios, both right and left hands need to coordinate from the start, and the left thumb often needs to help out the weaker right fourth and fifth fingers; this can be seen as the most demanding physical task in cooperative coordination. Thus, Sennett suggests, “rather than the combined result of discrete, separate, individualized activities, co-ordination works much better if the two hands work together from the start” (Sennett, 2008:165). He further suggests that the arpeggio theory offers a hint about the fraternity of people who share the same skill: “the real test of their bond comes when they recognize that they share it in unequal degree” (Sennett, 2008:165). Sennett concludes that “The ‘fraternal hand’ represents finger restraint among stronger digits that Yves Guiard sees as the crux of physical coordination; has this a social reflection?” (Sennett, 2008:165).

Further, Sennett's argument may point out a fundamental issue regarding how to build up a positive music education system. For instance, Sennett argues,

Educators frequently seek to interest children mentally and emotionally in subjects in order to develop their skills of concentration. The theory on which this is based is that substantive engagement breeds concentration. The long-term development of hand skills shows the reverse of this theory. The ability to concentrate for long period comes first; only when a person can do so will he or she get involved emotionally or intellectually. The skill of physical concentration follows rules of its own, based on how people learn to practice, to repeat what they do, and to learn from repetition" (Sennett, 2008:172).

These features suggest, therefore, that classical musical practice is related to questions of self-respect not only for the individual but for the collective as well. The development of a skilled musical practice has benefits not only for the self but also for the wider society. Hence, it is noticeable that questions related to the actual practice of culture and its benefits are missing from some of the earlier debates.

Argument between McGuigan, Bennett, Sennett

Argument between McGuigan and Bennett

McGuigan (2004) is not in agreement with the direction for cultural policy research that was advocated by Bennett during the 1990s regarding how to incorporate policy into cultural studies. The strength of such a position was that this is a question concerning the political pretensions of text-based cultural studies. It seems that both McGuigan and Bennett agree that cultural studies should become increasingly concerned with public questions and public culture. However, the weakness of this pragmatic move is that while Bennett wishes this movement to be immediately useful at a practical level, this is unrealistic. Bennett applies Foucault's (1991) notion of governmentality, as I discussed earlier in this chapter; he aims to provide policy-oriented cultural studies with philosophical evidence. Cultural policy studies, in this version, would see management consultants as administrative researchers in a beleaguered public sector and with little credibility in the burgeoning private sector. Therefore, in McGuigan's understanding, firstly, Bennett lost the aspect of culture by

focussing on the cultural governance and social conduct theory too much. McGuigan discusses whether we should simply agree with Bennett's version of the Foucauldian framework for cultural policy studies. The formation of cultural and governmental relations, according to the modern version of democracy, requires further discussion. Bennett's view of cultural studies is accused of being overly instrumental. A democratic understanding of culture would be more concerned with generating public debate and controversy and less concerned with a technocratic form of management.

Secondly, in McGuigan's book, 'Rethinking of Cultural Policy', he states his view that

In effect, the Foucauldian approach to cultural policy tends to repeat the elementary sociological fallacy of treating society as a nation state. This is not unrelated to the conflation of state and capital in 'governmentality'. It is symptomatic of such a theoretical position, in terms of apparently innocent research, that Tony Bennett himself, the leading exponent of Foucauldian cultural policy studies, has engaged with nationalistic agendas concerning culture and cultural policy (McGuigan, 2004:16).

Thirdly, McGuigan argues, "The anti-economism of the Foucauldian-Bennett perspective has no in-depth account of how the late-modern world may be changing with regard to the balance of power between nation-states and economic forces in their command or beyond their control" (McGuigan, 2004; 17). Here, my understanding is that McGuigan describes how the Foucauldian-Bennett perspective has not quite provided an in-depth analysis of how late-modern society may be moving forward with a number of issues concerning power structure and so on.

Fourthly, McGuigan challenges Bennett in his book *Culture and the Public Sphere*, in which he says:

When Tony Bennett (1992a:406) suggests that the educational purpose of the 'cultural policy studies' should be to train cultural *technicians* capable of

making governmental adjustments to culture, he bends the stick deliberately away from the practise of 'cultural critique as an instrument for changing consciousness'. (1996:186)

McGuigan argues that the words 'culture' and 'policy' should not be restricted to the arts and public administration. He is also concerned that

Bennett does not, however, discuss how a proper balance is to be struck between 'useful' knowledge and 'critical' knowledge in the field of cultural policy studies ... Under such conditions, it is very difficult for a policy-oriented research programme to observe the critical aims and responsibilities that have characterised a 'disinterested' cultural studies (McGuigan, 2003:29).

However, McGuigan also recognises the strengths of Bennett's Foucauldian account. As he (2003) describes, "The basic weakness of a neo-Gramscian perspective, now for Bennett, is that it is unable to deal adequately with the micro-political level, that is, with the specific regional properties of the museum and so, therefore, does not really address the social agents who are actually in a position to do something about museum policies" (McGuigan, 1996:17).

However, Bennett's study is accused of being complicit with the attack on democratic involvement launched by Thatcherism and outlined by New Labour. As the public sector, since the 1980s, has been increasingly subjected to the logic of privatisation, performativity and balance sheets, so issues of democracy have been displaced. The reduction of cultural policy to a technical exercise is part of this transformation.

In contrast, Bennett states that the early 1990s witnessed the publication of the critical studies that form a disciplinary paradigm if sociology seeks to call cultural studies into question on both theoretical and political grounds (Bennett, 1997:42). In Bennett's view, McGuigan's (1992) criticism of the populist aspect of cultural studies is a case that demonstrates this point well. However, McGuigan's work falls short of his original theoretical target. For instance, Bennett argues that "both tend to attack positions which had already been substantially criticised within cultural studies while failing to register the new positions that have been taken up in their place" (Bennett,

1997:43). Here, by ‘both’ Bennett means McGuigan and Harris. Further, according to Bennett, “Both also limit their attention more or less exclusively to Britain, and consequently take inadequate account of the extent to which much of the impetus for new initiatives and direction in cultural studies has come from other places” (Bennett, 1997:43). Bennett’s claims, then, are that cultural studies can offer useful skills, interventions and knowledge beyond abstract theories and the romantic understanding of resistance.

Argument between McGuigan, Bennett, Sennett - The case for the social value of classical music

The social value of classical music can be related to the dispute between McGuigan, Bennett, and Sennett. In the thesis, I seek to defend an idea of cultural policy and its relationship with classical music in terms of its social and public values. The social value of classical music is a set focal point of discussion and analysis in these debates. However, it is possible to make a case for the social value of classical music drawing on their work.

In this sense, Bennett in particular has not much to say about the importance of cultural traditions and the social value of classical music. His debates do not contribute to a discussion on why classical music might be said to be ‘valuable’.

Regarding this issue, McGuigan in his article ‘The Cultural Public Sphere’ points out,

In the late-modern world, the cultural public sphere is not confined to a republic of letters – the 18th century’s literary public sphere – and ‘serious’ art, classical, modern or, for that matter, postmodern. It includes the various channels and circuits of mass-popular culture and entertainment, the routinely mediated aesthetic and emotional reflections on how we live and imagine the good life. (McGuigan, 2005:435)

Yet, in McGuigan’s view, affective communications help individuals to reflect on their own life experience. If we take classical music as an example, when we watch a classical music concert or opera, sometimes the anxieties, ambivalences and discordant sensibilities from the real world are experienced. In McGuigan’s words, “the cultural public sphere trades in pleasures and pains that are experienced

vicariously through willing suspension of disbelief” (McGuigan, 2005:435). Therefore, the social/public value of classical music can be seen as affective vehicles for thoughts and feelings, for imagination which are closely associated with our own life-world situations.

Yet, as discussed earlier, classical music as a practice does not really promote cultural reflection, but is important as a craft or complex practice that, once mastered, can be an important source of self-esteem. For instance, as Sennett (2003) points out, his argument on how the social vocabulary of respect might be made to be highly relevant to our everyday life by returning to music. As discussed earlier, Sennett (2003) also claims that welfare clients are encouraged to learn about themselves and to gain self-respect, but he thinks this kind of self-respect cannot be gained in the same way people earn money. Both McGuigan and Sennett in their admittedly different ways could be said to be making a case for the social and cultural value of classical music. For McGuigan, we would need to emphasise the affectivity of classical music and its ability to be able to open up certain emotional responses within the audience, the players and the wider public. Here, culture is not merely the site of instrumentality, economics or the exchange of reasons, but depends upon ideas of the emotions and more complex understandings of human experience. Sennett, on the other hand, argues that the practice of music can be seen as a complex craft that can increase the performers’ sense of self-respect, but also allow them to appreciate other values like co-operation. Classical music, if we seek to bring these perspectives together, might be said to have a unique value in terms of learning an instrument but also as a performed practice within a shared community of understanding. Of course this is not to discount the importance of policy-level questions concerned with deciding the orientation of music policy at the public level, but it is to argue that cultural policy analysis needs to look more closely at questions of emotion, craft and value.

Critical Commentary on Bennett and McGuigan

Referring back to Bennett and McGuigan’s analysis of different concepts within cultural policy discourse, what would be the consequence for all cultural policy analyses? The assumption of the study under consideration is that cultural policy arrangements are situated in complex discursive contexts where different conflicting

social interests, policy objectives and values are important conditions in the everyday life of social actors in the policy field. Therefore, it would be useful for cultural policy researchers to offer a productive analytical model for a cultural discourse in this field. This is my aim in this thesis.

To some degree, both cultural policy practitioners and scholars need to rethink some crucial issues in association with contemporary cultural policy studies, as I discussed earlier. However, Bennett has drawn attention to the progressive aspects of cultural policy making and practice. He is engaged with some new cultural study projects; these include theoretical and historical investigations into Australian cultural activities and British museums, and preliminary work on a critical aspect of the history of western forms of cultural policy from the Enlightenment to contemporary cultural diversity policies.

Stanbridge (2002) simply argues that cultural theory offers an excellent collaborative source for cultural policy studies in the Australian context. He agrees that Bennett, together with other scholars, has offered some insightful thinking on the productive relationship between academic theory and administrative practice (Stanbridge, 2002). However, Stanbridge also comments that “although Bennett’s empirically-based work on museums has been a source of rich and suggestive insight, his more theoretically-oriented interventions in the field of cultural policy studies reveal a reductionist emphasis that is less problematic than the populist and textualist biases noted” (Stanbridge, 2002:127).

Stanbridge further argues that:

Although Bennett’s studies of the development of the public arts museums are “thick” in terms of a historical description of the governmental forces which have served to regulate culture, they are rather “thin” on an understanding of the full range of social, artistic and creative processes which, in the first place, serve to bring into being the artefacts, ideas and knowledge which constitute the objects of regulation. (Stanbridge, 2002:127)

Therefore, under Bennett's theoretical discourse, the Foucauldian perspective informs a definition of culture that is closely tied to a particular understanding of policy. For instance, Pawley (2008) agrees that Bennett works with the notion of governmentality, and has examined the historical deployment of cultural goods in the name of engineering particular capacities in citizens. Further, in terms of a particular understanding of policy, in Pawley's view, "Bennett advocates a specific micro-regulation of cultural provision, oriented towards progressive outcomes (such as representation for minority and non-elite culture, defining cultural right/citizenship in similar terms to the multicultural theorists)" (Pawley, 2008, p599). The above view presents a more optimistic take on the notion of governmentality for political reinvigoration (Pawley, 2008). It also seems that most of those writing is centred on the relationship between culture and policy in the formation and continuing vibrancy of cultural studies and a critical claim on cultural policy studies. However, what really emerges from those critical commentaries is that there is a sharper distinction between the critical analysis of cultural policy on the one hand, and of engaging in the practice of policy-making on the other. Clearly, as I argued earlier, certain groups of intellectuals are interested in exploring the critical and instrumental approaches to cultural policy and the cultural policy-making process.

In their view, the critical and instrumental approaches will provide a great opportunity for researchers and professional consultants who work in the cultural policy field to discuss and seek a better solution for these matters. Nevertheless, it seems that there is still much to be done, and it has to be done empirically and critically as well. The cultural policy scholars have tried too hard to find any significant linkage between the political rationalities within governmental institutions and the actual processes of subject-formation within a public sphere. The discussion from Donald (1992) helps to present the view that culture is a realm that is capable of being effectively managed and regulated, at the same time presenting an image that underwrites the political imagery of a refashioned cultural study that is able to regulate cultural practices for progressive political ends through policy interference (Barnett, 1999). Barnett (1999) argues that there is still a lack of critical discussion in the cultural-policy studies paradigm of the explicit understandings of a state power structure implied by the invocation of Foucault's philosophical authority from Foucauldian works. He also

points out that less attention has been paid to the implications of the contemporary spatial reforming of cultural practices for the general applicability to the cultural technologies of Foucault's conception of disciplinary power, in other words, bio-power. Yet, as part of a broader literature on governmentality, the reconceptualization of culture in relation to governmental practices and the management are underwritten by an understanding of disciplinary power.

Cultural policy in Britain, during the 1980s, had gradually shifted from a focus on high culture and heritage to include what have become known as the cultural industries of broadcasting, film, popular music, video, fashion, and so on. Some scholars began to consider why and how the social practice engages with a politics of culture, including policy analysis and policy formulation, and under what kind of power structure and in what kind of political and public sphere. This consideration led the cultural policy research discussion in the UK to progress to a discussion of governmentality and the public sphere, which has been closely associated with the recent cultural policy research at a global level, which I discussed in Chapter One.

Without a doubt, one of the results of the increasing 'Foucault effect' in cultural studies that is closely associated with Bennett's theoretical discourse on governmentality is a movement towards a much greater involvement in the details of cultural policy and administration. The following view from Bennett demonstrates this account:

The Foucauldian perspective suggests that any effective involvement of intellectuals in the cultural sphere must rest on a 'political detail' that entail ways of addressing and acting effectively in relation to the governmental programs through which particular fields of conduct are organised and regulated. (Bennett, 1998:84)

However, scholars like Thompson (2001) offer criticism of this discourse; for instance, he argues that Bennett's approach to incorporating cultural policy into cultural studies has not met with universal approval. In Thompson's view, McGuigan's theory on the cultural and public sphere represents a widespread concern

about whether critical intellectuals can be practical and whether practical policy-makers can be critical. Yet, as I argued earlier, referring to Habermas's theory, McGuigan successfully challenges the prevailing instrumental imperatives of cultural policy-making, where policies are formulated for economic and social purposes that are not especially cultural. McGuigan (2003) points out that his was "to contribute to the radical-democratic perspective on rational-critical debate concerning communication and culture through the discussion of a series of linked and substantive issues of cultural policy" (McGuigan, 2003:38).

From a Habermasian point of view, the fundamental position on cultural policy is the normative view of a democratic society: the public should decisively influence the condition of culture. McGuigan (2003) points out this is the crucial point where a Habermasian view parts company most sharply from an exclusively Foucauldian view. Bennett's position is unable to offer much help with regard to the normative values. The question that might be asked is whether a culture can become democratic and what should guide the future of cultural policy? Who should be consulted and involved in setting the cultural policy agenda? Whose culture should be formed and why? How are the values of questioning best preserved in the cultural realm?

According to McGuigan (1996), "That is what cultural policy is principally about, the conditions of culture, the material and, also, the discursive determinations in time and the space of cultural production and consumption" (McGuigan, 1996:22). A cultural policy study does not deny the importance of criticism and textual interpretation, but rather concentrates on the issues concerning how texts are remade and circulated critically. However, from a normative point of view, that fundamental position of cultural policy studies is also situated within a democratic society, so the ideas from the public should influence the condition of culture, their persistence and their potential for change. It is clear that this is where a Habermasian view differs most significantly from a Foucauldian view.

However, McGuigan also (2003) has repositioned himself theoretically somewhere between Foucault and Habermas. His theory has become more focused on the insight

of both Foucault and Habermas where appropriate in order to illuminate particular issues of cultural policy. McGuigan (2003) thinks that scholars need to look at the theoretical framework of cultural policy from both a Habermasian and a Foucauldian perspective. He also emphasises that it is necessary to engage critical reasoning with the issues that are generated routinely in the practical discourses of culture and society. It is not hard to see that both Foucauldians and Habermasians share some common ground. Furthermore, in the book edited by Miller and Lewis (2003), McGuigan argues that Habermasians are just as suspicious as the Foucauldians are of the official claims concerning democracy and public accountability; they choose to wager upon the possibility of turning formal claims into substantive truths. The problem is that we do need to overcome the interpretation that the Foucauldian view relies too much on governmentality, and we have to avoid the situation where the Habermasians choose to turn formal claims into the substantive truth on cultural policy.

Conclusion

This thesis aims to look beyond both the Habermasian and Foucauldian analytical perspectives of cultural policy. It also aims to challenge both critical and practical intellectuality within a cultural policy study field. Therefore, I shall defend an idea of cultural policy in terms of the public value that is necessary to create a democratic society. The dispute on cultural policy studies between McGuigan, Bennett and Sennett will also be related to my research question regarding what kind of power structure and in what kind of political and cultural sphere cultural policy and activities are exercised in a British context, and how we are going to make a case for the social value of classical music. Further, by engaging with McGuigan and Sennett, I have sought to broaden the mainstream debate within cultural policy to include ideas such as craft, value, affectivity and other features missing from overt concerns with economic efficiency, public reason or the more instrumental features of policy making. The effect of more concern is not to discount any of these aspects, but to broaden more critically the scope of what we might understand as falling under the rubric of cultural policy studies.

The questions that also emerge here are, first, what is the most appropriate position from which cultural policy researchers should carry out their research critically and empirically, and what is the most effective direction for cultural policy researchers to take? Second, where is the debate of cultural policy theory and cultural policy practice heading? In answering these questions, my overall arguments in this thesis on cultural policy will point out a fundamental contradiction about the nature of democracy. The impulse that motivates public cultural policies is primarily democratic: to give universal access to what are deemed unique cultural practices. However, these practices are often inaccessible in a deeper sense. For instance, in the case of the world of high arts, classical music is often prized precisely because of its high degree of sophistication within a specific tradition, something that tends to prevent such works from being immediately understood or enjoyed by the general public. Therefore, an effective cultural policy is needed to help the public gain access to all forms of arts and culture. In this sense, neither Bennett nor McGuigan have much to say about the importance of cultural traditions. Here, my argument is that this is central to contemporary debates in cultural studies. Further, the split between ideas of instrumentality and democracy says little about exclusion based upon the question of social class and about how this might be overcome. Finally, my main point is that these debates do not contribute to a discussion on why classical music might be said to be 'valuable'. Classical music as a practice does not really promote cultural reflection, but is important as a craft or complex practice that, once mastered, can be an important source of self-esteem. It is my aim to develop these arguments in the rest of the thesis, seeking to extend critically the seminal debate between McGuigan, Bennett and Sennett.

Chapter 3: The System of Cultural Policy

Introduction

In Chapter 3, I will be examining the historical roots of cultural policy development and also offering a comprehensive understanding of the questions of how the UK system of cultural policy has been regarded as an “arms-length” model, with successive governments choosing quasi-governmental bodies (such as the Arts Council of England) and the Department of Culture, Media and Sports (DCMS) as the instruments that administer the disbursement of government funds for culture. I will also be examining how the arts and culture activities in England are funded through a diverse range of sources both at national and regional level.

What is Cultural Policy Making?

According to an online resource centre for the study of cultural policy, the ideas that have informed cultural policy come from many sources, from traditional practices in diverse societies, from philosophers and theoreticians, and from accounts of history and utopian speculations. The “cultural policy” describes the values and principles that guide any social entity in cultural affairs (Girard and Gentil, 1983). Cultural policy is an unstable concept; it often separates the relationship between communication and media policy. On the one hand, in the UK, cultural policy is most often made by governments, from school boards to the Arts Council, but also by many other institutions in the private sector, from corporations to community organizations. Policies provide guideposts for those making decisions and taking actions that affect cultural life. On the other hand, cultural policy is also made through a process defined by the agency charged with this responsibility, for instance, a ministry of culture often drafts a policy articulating its goals and operating principles for supporting arts companies in various regions (Girard and Gentil, 1983). Yet, the implementation of cultural policy involves various procedures and the interaction between the Ministry of Culture, the Government and Parliament, on the one hand, and the arm's length bodies, local government and self-government, cultural institutions, NGOs, and individual artists and their associations, on the other. Furthermore, the challenges to

cultural policy are global, as cultural policy is manifested in different ways from place to place, depending upon local economical, social and political conditions.

In Europe, when cultural policy-makers first began the post-war strategy of democratizing high culture, different methods were used; for instance, museum shows were promoted like movies, and ticket-subsidy programs were used to lure less affluent people into the theatres (The European Cultural Foundation, 2006)). However, the result of this strategy was still not very positive, as the segment of the population that voluntarily participated in different music and arts activities remained the same: a very small percentage of the public, highly educated, financially well off, and middle-aged or older demographic group. Therefore, the European cultural policy makers emphasised the idea of promoting a cultural democracy. From the mid- to late-1970s, it looked as if cultural democracy would become the primary form in European cultural development (The European Cultural Foundation, 2006). However, with Thatcherism in Britain and other strong right-wing voices affecting the cultural policy dialogue, there have been many retrenchments since. Due to these trends, governments throughout Europe and around the world accelerated the phase of privatising functions that were considered an essential aspect of the public cultural commonwealth during 1990s (The European Cultural Foundation, 2006).

The Historical Roots of Cultural Policy in the UK

The cultural policy in the UK within this period had its own evolution. As Raymond Williams (1983) explains, a ministry of culture referred to some specific activities, “it is difficult to date precisely because it is in origin an applied form sense (1): the idea of a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development was applied and effectively transferred work and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity” (Williams, 1983:80). Broadly, the evolution of national policy for the arts and culture over the last half century in the UK can be viewed as a shift from a deeply rooted tradition of elitism and cultural conservatism to a new philosophy marked by economic and social instrumentalism (The European Cultural Foundation, 2006). While it is not necessary here to trace out this evolution in detail, it is possible to give a broad indication of the main phases.

Cultural policy from 1940s to 1970s

The current British cultural funding system has its origins in the 1940s; the international political climate initiated a debate on whether there was a key responsibility for the UK government to fund cultural activities and the arts as an expression of a democratic society (Maycock, 1992). Maycock (1992) also points out that, in 1940, the first national body to support the arts, the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA), was set up by the government. Following this, CEMA evolved in 1946 into the Arts Council of Great Britain, which is still considered the first arts agency in the world to distribute government funds at "arm's-length" from politicians (Maycock, 1992). Although, at that time, the Arts Council had a temporary existence during the rebuilding of cultural life in the aftermath of the Second World War, it shows that the government had started to play a role in supporting the arts. The Council was primarily reactive - allocating funds for arts organisations and artists and providing help and encouragement.

During the thirty-year period of the post-war social democratic consensus, the policy of the national state in the cultural field revolved around the basic principle of maintaining standards of artistic excellence. A system of state patronage for the arts, conducted primarily through the mechanism of the Arts Council, provided the main institutional support for this philosophy (Maycock, 1992). In common with the situation in many other policy fields, the fundamentals of this approach to culture and the arts were not seriously challenged. There were critical voices, such as Richard Hoggart (1995), who was beginning to mount a critical appraisal of the traditional division between high arts and popular culture and call attention to the depoliticising effects of the established cultural consensus. However, such lines of criticism had relatively little purchase on the policies of the mainstream Left, for whom the cultural agenda was mainly a matter of disseminating official culture to the public in general (Williams, 1979; Hewison, 1987).

The 1970s were characterised by considerable debate about what forms of art and culture should be subsidised. The protagonists were advocates of the traditional

method of supporting excellence in the classical or contemporary arts on the one hand, and on the other hand, the growing number of practitioners from what might be called "alternative culture" movements (Maycock, 1992) who labelled the Arts Council's approach as "elitist". Local governments began to expand their support, building or refurbishing regional theatres, museums and galleries and multipurpose civic halls, as well as running their own programmes and festivals. Although legislation from central government in the 1970s had given local government the legal authority to support culture and entertainment, the 1970s can still be seen as a period when the regional arts associations were intermediate organisations, acting as a link between the Arts Council and the regions (Maycock, 1992).

Further, the transfer of responsibility in 1975 for the funding of a number of major arts bodies to the Arts Council underlined the Council's status in acting as the state vehicle for the arts. Despite low funding, from this period dates the more independent stance of the agency as well as a greater seriousness of intention in relation to its brief; in particular regional development and education was emphasised.

Another distinct feature of this period is that Margaret Thatcher's ideology on radical social transformation had gone beyond the simple boundaries of politics and touched upon all aspects of civil, legal and cultural spheres. It formed a distinct epoch in the history of modern British politics. During the 1970s, Thatcher's revolution aimed to restore Britain to its purported Victorian heyday, when it was assumed free-trade economic politics as well as Victorian cultural vultures supported unprecedented industrial productivity (Maycock, 1992). In addition, Thatcher's government redressed the issue of "economic decline" in 1979 and castigated elite cultural forms, which became an effective role for the revival of British conservatism. It was also during this period that the term 'enterprise culture' came to be seen as a key component of the radical Thatcherist agenda for Britain. On the one hand, Thatcherism was seen to be characterised by an energetic faith in the forces of the free market and the corresponding ethos of competitive individualism, along with the privatisation of public services and an attack on the dependency of cultural forces by the welfare state (Sarah, 1992). However, Sarah argues, on the other hand, that

Thatcherism was also seen to be defined by an authoritarian, right wing conservatism, which emphasised law and order and ‘Victorian’ values.

Cultural policy in the 1980s

The 1980s were a period when political and economic pressures led to a fundamental change in the funding and management of culture in the UK. The 1980s was also the decade in which the arts began to acquire a new strategic significance in politics, as ideas about the role of the arts in local economic development were imported from North America (Bianchini, 1991).

However, the rise to prominence of the New Right had a deep and characteristically ambivalent impact on the form and content of cultural policy in the decade, and the importance of asserting a dominant national culture was reinforced; culture, including all aspects of the arts, was required to adapt to a market-led, business-oriented philosophy. Therefore, the government required the arts and culture organisations to look for new sources of revenue to supplement their income and to search for public sector support. As a result of this change in public policy, a “the Business Sponsorship Incentive Scheme, which for the first time matched funds from business with a government grant, administered by Arts & Business to encourage new sponsorship” (Fisher, 2006).

One aspect of this new climate was the increased emphasis on attracting funds for arts activities from the private sector through business sponsorship. The arts were no longer considered as being intrinsically valuable, as expressions of national character and national worth; they were now to be viewed as an investment. The arts were saved by proving they were an industry (Sinclair, 1999). Another aspect of the New Right revolution was the pressure brought to bear on cultural organisations to transform themselves internally, by adopting organisational models from the business world: business planning, cost centres, contracting out, and similar ideas (McGuigan, 1996).

These factors, together with the general spending ethos of the Thatcher period, combined to make the financial climate increasingly tough for the subsidised sectors of cultural provision. For instance, the Thatcher government, by reducing or freezing public subsidy for the arts, forced arts institutions to develop new advocacy arguments. The Greater London Council (GLC), during the 1980s, formulated and implemented its cultural policies through its Arts and Recreation Committee (ARC) and Industry and Employment Committee (IEC). The ARC organised cultural initiatives associated with the GLC's various political campaigns, including the Peace Year's radical critique of social integration as an objective for cultural policies in urban areas. The ARC organised cultural initiatives associated with the GLC's various political campaigns (Maycock, 1992).

The emergence of new demographic patterns, the proliferation of taste cultures, the shift from class-based politics to the so-called politics of identity (Keith and Pile, 1993), and the growing availability of commercial cultural products were just some of the elements in a profound transformation taking place in the cultural sphere, serving to break down even further the traditional hierarchies and boundaries between different forms of cultural expression (McGuigan, 1996). Some of the former concentrations of cultural power were also being weakened by the administrative changes introduced by the government, such as the devolution of funding to the regional arts boards. Yet, overall, 1980s can be seen as the decade in which culture began to acquire a new strategic significance; at the same time, an ideology about the role of the arts and culture in local economic development appeared on the political agenda.

Cultural policy in the early 1990s

The 1990s were characterised by fundamental policy and especially structural changes in arts and culture. For the first time, the Conservative government established a co-ordinated ministry, the Department of National Heritage, to deal with the arts, museums, libraries, heritage, media, sport and tourism (Fisher, 2006). In addition, a fundamental decision was taken in the 1990s to devolve the responsibilities and functions of the Arts Council of Great Britain to three new separate bodies: Arts

Council England, Scottish Arts Council and Arts Council of Wales. Each nation therefore began to run its own affairs in relation to arts funding (Maycock, 1992).

However, the 1990s witnessed an accelerated change in national policy for the arts and culture. The most significant single development concerned the apparatus of cultural funding, with the setting up of the National Lottery in 1994. Initially, the proceeds were divided equally between five nominated causes: the arts, heritage, sport, charities, and projects to celebrate the millennium. It was expected that each cause would receive up to £250 million per annum. While three of these causes (arts, heritage and millennium projects) were explicitly concerned with cultural provision, the other two were also used to support projects with a cultural content. An indication of the significance of this new stream of funding can be gained by comparing the lottery income received by Arts Council England (ACE) in 1996 (£241 million) with the total government grant to ACE in 1995/96 (£191 million) and estimated expenditure on the arts of all English local authorities in the same year (£195 million) (Davies, 2005; Selwood, 2001). It is not surprising, therefore, that the lottery funds have been widely viewed as the dominant force in cultural funding in recent times, leading some commentators to describe it as the single most exciting opportunity for cultural services since the 1990s (Selwood, 2001).

Although the massive inflow of resources to the cultural sector from the lottery unquestionably did much to compensate for the steady withdrawal of public funding (Maycock, 1992), the arts have not benefit equally from the funding. There are a number of reasons for this. One is that lottery funds have been directed mainly towards capital projects rather than towards ongoing revenue expenditures and support for artistic production. Although the lottery distributors and the government have taken a number of steps to shift the balance more towards revenue support, the main impact of the lottery in the 1990s was to stimulate a huge programme of investment in the physical infrastructure of cultural consumption (Maycock, 1992). It has become clear that many of the funded projects were based on optimistic visitor forecasts, calling into question their future viability. Another reason is that arts- and culture-related lottery funding was, at least in the early years, strongly biased towards

elite institutions and London-based flagship projects, with local, grassroots provision in the regions achieving lower levels of success in attracting funds (Maycock, 1992). For instance, in the new century, London is being 'regenerated'; this regeneration includes new Labour flagship projects, such as the Dome, the Millennium Bridge across the Thames, and the new Tate Modern. Tate Modern's corporate sponsors are the heart, not just of British, but of the imperial capital: among them are Barclays, Europe's largest institutional investor; Lloyds, the world's largest insurance company; British Telecom, one of the backbones of the communication industry Holmes(Holms, 2003), a top advertiser and now the great British art patron; and BP, British Petroleum, re-branded 'Beyond Petroleum', using art along with all the other forms of advertising to plant the seeds of a future in the oil-guzzling imagination. For corporations like these, as Holms (2004) states "creating belief, manipulating desire, and maintaining the political anaesthesia of public life is the most important production" (Holms, 2004:550).

A third reason is that lottery-funding mechanisms have generally required substantial sums to be raised as matched funding, leading to concerns about the budgets of cultural providers and sponsoring bodies being distorted in favour of lottery-oriented initiatives and away from other socially and culturally valuable projects (Maycock, 1992).

Cultural policy in late 1990s

Although the lottery has been a dominant feature in the cultural policy landscape of the last decade, the arrival of the Labour government in May 1997 brought with it a number of changes(Griffiths, Bassett and Smith; 2003). According to Griffiths, "from the outset Labour were explicit about seeing cultural activity and the 'creative economy' as mainstream concerns, capable of playing a significant role in achieving the government's objectives of social and economic regeneration" (Griffiths, 2001). He also points (2001) "the desire of the government to set up a new agenda for culture, and to distance itself from what it saw as the nostalgia, introspection and lack of ambition of the previous period, was symbolised by the change of name of the culture ministry."

Creative ideas and processes have become important as a key source of commercial and cultural value in the arts and wider Creative Industries in the late 1990s. The terms “culture”, “the arts”, “Cultural Industries” and “Creative Industries”, particularly the last two, are used as if they are interchangeable. The Creative Industries are seen as the businesses that are motivated by profit as much as by creativity. The infrastructural needs of the arts are more about access, whilst the Creative Industries need access to markets. Yet, technology is seen as more of a driver in the Creative Industries than in the arts where the emphasis is on expression and creativity. As a result of this movement, the Creative Industries (and the Cultural Industries, for that matter) were more strongly concentrated in some of the British cities (like Glasgow) during this period.

British Cultural Policy System since 2001

The UK system of cultural policy has been regarded as an “arms-length” model, with successive governments choosing quasi-governmental bodies (such as Arts Council England) and NDPBs (Non Departmental Public Bodies) as the instruments that administer the disbursement of government funds for culture and determine who the beneficiaries will be.

Arts Council England is one of the most important quasi- governmental bodies, and plays a crucial role in the British cultural policy system. For instance, on the one hand, Arts Council England was formed as a quasi-governmental body for the arts and to provide a cultural service in 1994 when the Arts Council of Great Britain was divided into three bodies for England, Scotland and Wales. It is an executive agency and an arm’s length agency of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (Arts Council England, 2002). On the other hand, Non-Departmental Public Bodies also receive funding directly from the DCMS. This was done for some years, to allow bodies freedom when planning funding agreements, which are available, and set out the objectives and targets that each NDPB has agreed with the DCMS(Fisher, 2006).

The arm's length principle has been seen as a "convention" between central government and the different cultural agencies; therefore, the relationships between them are set down in management standards (Arts Council England, 2002). The strategic co-operation between them in recent years has had several effects. First, it has provided the Arts Council with a deeper understanding of its performance and capacity; second, it has acted as a catalyst for improvement; and third, it has encouraged the DCMS and ACE to work more closely together for the purpose of engaging more actively with stakeholders, also based on the facts that ACE co-operates with the central and local government, especially work the DCMS). The aim of this strategy is to create a "more focused, streamlined and effective organisation that is better able to provide national leadership and planning, build new partnerships and make a stronger case for the arts"; the shift is clearly towards such strategy (Fisher, 2006). Certainly, the relationship between central government and the arm's length cultural agencies has shifted since the early 1980s, during this period of time, government is being seen as more interventionist on issues in terms of setting out effective policy.

The arts and cultural activities in England are funded through a diverse range of sources. These include government subsidy, box office earnings, private donations and business sponsorship, as well as funding from trusts and foundations; local authorities are the second largest supporters of the arts in England in general. They are not required to provide funding for the arts, but most do; many also support the arts through providing venues, advice, and information services (DCMS, 2007a).

Further, that some of the cultural activities are funded through the European Union. For instance, in recent years, European Union funding has been widely available for the arts and culture; simultaneously, Structural Funds also highlight regional inequalities in the EU, with their mission of promoting more balanced economic and social development. They are jointly funded by the European Commission (EC) and the governments of EU member states. There are two main Structural Funds: first, the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) with the aim of improving economic prosperity and social inclusion by aiding infrastructure development and

diversification of industry; second, the European Social Fund (ESF), which supports the creation or retention of jobs and which funds training and equal opportunities initiatives to improve people's employability (DCMS, 2007b).

Also, in terms of other relevant cultural co-operative activities, the UK Government, through the DCMS and in consultation with the devolved administrations, has the leading responsibility for cultural co-operation in the EU, and for cultural policy issues in the Council of Europe (DCMS, 2007b).

The British Government was one of the founders of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and the UK government rejoined UNESCO in 1997. The UK UNESCO National Commission sector committee for culture was set up in 2000 and currently is administered by the British Council. The Commission, along with the culture committee, was demolished in 2003, but was reinstated in 2004, the culture committee was re-established in 2005, comprising 20 elected members, supported by a Cultural Network (Fisher, 2006).

Together with Arts Council England, the DCMS plays a central role in supporting the arts and cultural activities in the UK both financially and strategically. For instance, the DCMS is a member of the Six Presidencies' group, which has become a key feature of the EU cultural programme in Europe. This is a Europe-wide initiative, which is working for the EU promotion of the mobility of museums' collections, DCMS is also the government department responsible for the implementation of the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, for instance, DCMS undertook a consultation with key organisations in 2004 (Fisher, 2006).

It is not hard to see that both the arm's-length governmental body (Arts Council England) and the central governmental body (DCMS) support the arts and cultural activities in terms of setting up an effective funding strategy for them. For instance, according to the DCMS's own website information, Arts Council England has

opened up lottery funding to arts organisations, Arts Council England also gives lottery money to three organisations that act as ‘delegate distributors’: the National Foundation for Youth Music; the Crafts Council and the Film Council (DCMS, 2007b). In addition, the Arts Council’s Capital Programme provides National Lottery grants of between £100,000 and £5million for a range of projects, including new buildings for the arts, improvements to existing arts buildings, buying equipment, technology and training (DCMS, 2007b).

Together with the above funding strategy, the following major UK trusts that fund the arts:

- 1) National Foundation for Youth Music distributes lottery money to music-based arts projects working with young people;
- 2) Jerwood Charitable Foundation provides funding for a wide range of arts-based activities from circuses to literature;
- 3) Paul Hamlyn Foundation funds arts projects that address issues of inequality and disadvantage, particularly in relation to young people;
- 4) Esmée Fairbairn Foundation funds arts projects that “serve audiences” and “support artists”;
- 5) Clore Duffield Foundation places an emphasis on supporting children, young people and vulnerable individuals;
- 6) Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation supports the development of new art-making in any art form;
- 7) Baring Foundation provides funding for arts-based programmes

(DCMS, 2007b)

Regional cultural policy system

The British cultural policy system, on the one hand, operates through its central government’s mechanism and, on the other hand, integrates with its regional strategy. For example, in Nottingham the policy towards culture, music and arts events in the city is made within the broader policy framework for the arts provided by local

government and other key national and regional agencies, including the DCMS and Arts Council England. It is delivered through a partnership approach, which is fully integrated within the Cultural Strategy for Nottinghamshire and the Greater Nottingham Partnership, and addresses a number of crosscutting issues identified by the government. Furthermore, it links into programmes designed to assist the regeneration of the city and contributes to raising public services in key areas, such as education. The arts and music policy are closely linked to the City Development Plan, the Departmental Plan for Leisure and Community Services and key corporate policies of the City Council. In addition, a number of key strategies have been produced, which will be fitted together in terms of giving an overarching approach to developing culture in Nottingham: Nottingham and Nottinghamshire Tourism Strategy; Towards a Capital Strategy for Arts and Creative Industries in Nottingham; Nottingham Creative Industries Strategy and Neighbourhood Arts Strategy. Further, the opportunities for arts and events within the city of Nottingham offer the possibility of influencing a number of national policy issues, often referred to collectively as 'cross cutting' agendas, which include Community Development, Regeneration, Healthy Lifestyles, Lifelong Learning, Social Inclusion and Community Safety (Nottingham City Council, 2007).

Regional co-operation cultural policy

It is not difficult to see that cultural policies in the different regions of the country are determined by regional agencies working in DCMS sectors. The DCMS established the regional assemblies and set out the role for the elected regional assemblies in relation to culture, the arts, sports and tourism, heritage, and the National Lottery (DCMS, 2007d). The government's intention is that elected assemblies and national and regional arts bodies should work together, and that those bodies are designed to promote and develop cultural initiatives and activity and to contribute to improved economic performance and quality of life for their region. This approach also gives people more say about the issues that affect them and their region. Regional assemblies have also been established by the government to facilitate partnerships working within the regions, with responsibilities for regional planning, advocacy and policy development and for scrutinising the work of the Regional Development Agencies (DCMS, 2007b).

In particular, in relation to culture, there is, on the one hand, an elected assembly responsible for the regional cultural consortium (for instance, DCMS has established a Regional Cultural Consortium as a non-departmental public body in each of the eight English planning regions outside London) (Fisher and Hill, 2006). The assembly is also responsible for appointing the members of the consortium, offering funding, and giving the policy direction for the cultural strategic plan for the region. The cultural consortia are responsible for implementing their Regional Cultural Strategy, and play a role in local cultural policy making (Fisher, 2006). Taking the East Midlands as an example, Culture East Midland, as one of eight Regional Cultural Consortia, is funded by the DCMS, and its regional role is to produce a regional cultural strategy embracing the full cultural spectrum, and to support the role of culture wealth creation, social inclusion and regeneration in the East Midlands.

On the other hand, elected regional assemblies are involved in the regional arts council, the regional sports board and other cultural bodies, alongside other regional stakeholders, in the development and delivery of their overall visions for the future of the region. Through their regional cultural consortium, elected regional assemblies also engage with other cultural delivery bodies in the preparation of the regional cultural strategic plan (DCMS, 2007D).

Further, at a regional level in the UK, there are now a considerable number of public, quasi public sector regional development agencies (for example, the East Midland Development Agency) and some private sector agencies that are co-operating to develop regional economies and inward investment and to broaden further social and cultural agendas. For instance, there are various regional development agencies in the East Midland area with the aim of providing a better cultural strategy for the local public. The East Midlands Development Agency is one of nine Regional Development Agencies in the UK that were set up in 1999 to bring a regional focus to economic development; it takes a partnership-led approach to cultural policy and also forms a partnership with the Regional Cultural Consortium and Culture East

Midlands, and with the region's other cultural agencies, including the regional office of Arts Council England and Regeneration East Midlands (DCMS, 2007c).

In addition, the EU offers funding for social, cultural and economic development in the regions. For instance, the main way in which the EU supports economic restructuring is through Structural Funds. The EU Structural Funds had a budget of €195 billion for the period 2000-2006 to encourage the development of less-favoured regions and to promote social development (Warren, 2004).

The Structural Funds often provide the bulk of the EU's expenditure on cultural activities, where they act as a source of employment and help to promote local development through a range of activities such as tourism (European Commission, 2007) . Their main objectives are to help all the regions in the EU to catch up where their development is lagging behind, and to support economic and social conversion in areas facing structural difficulties (Warren, 2004). For instance, the regional government offices in the UK (such as Regional Cultural Consortia) often develop an integrated regional cultural strategy with regional offices of Arts Council England on issues such as how to apply for a European Union Funds. Several regions of England, namely, Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly, South Yorkshire and Merseyside, West Wales and the Valleys have received EU Structural Funds. Northern Ireland and the Highlands also received EU Structural Funds between 1994 and 1999. The East Midlands area, EMDA (East Midlands Development Agency) regularly receives two of these funds from EU, namely, the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), which invests in projects to promote development and encourage the diversification of industry into sectors that may be lagging behind others, and the European Social Fund (ESF), which invests in training, human resources and equal opportunities schemes to promote employability (House of Lords, 2003).

Meanwhile, in the UK, the Voluntary Arts Network (VAN) continues to work with the DCMS to promote the importance of the voluntary cultural sector in delivering cultural and social policy objectives (Fisher, 2006). VAN is the UK development agency for the voluntary arts, and works with policy-makers and those who offer

funding to improve the environment for those participating in the arts by providing information, training and networking opportunities to those who participate in the voluntary arts sector. Developing the voluntary and community sector, and encouraging people to become actively involved in their communities, particularly in deprived areas, is a key focus for the government (Fisher, 2006).

Other non-governmental organisations also play a role in the national and regional development of cultural activities, specifically, in the local urban regeneration programs. For instance, Arts and Business (A&B) with funding from central government, promotes mutual benefits, helps the business sector to be more successful in engaging with the arts, increases resources from business, and helps to build up a long-term partnerships between business and the arts through a range of investment programs. Organisations like the Skills Bank also help business volunteers share their professional skills with arts organisations.

The role of governmental bodies and quasi-governmental bodies in cultural policy making in the UK

--Arts Council England and its role in cultural policy making

As mentioned previously, Arts Council England, a quasi-governmental body for the arts and cultural services, was formed in 1994. It is an executive agency of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport. Since 1994, Arts Council England has been responsible for distributing lottery funding. This investment has helped to transform the building stock of arts organisations and to create many additional high quality arts activities.

Arts Council England is an independent, non-political body working at arm's length from the government. It is the national "voice for the arts," increasing awareness and support for the arts; it promotes the case for the arts through national debate and research and by identifying important trends (Cultural Policy & the Arts National Data Archive, 2007). According to Centre for Research in Social Policy's website information, "Arts Council England also maintains an overview of the arts and seeks to raise standards, as well as working with others to ensure the arts are given priority

in sectors such as education and employment” (Centre for Research in Social Policy, 2007). The Arts Council distributes public money from the government and the lottery to artists and arts organizations, both directly and through the regional arts boards. It also uses funding to spearhead initiatives to develop the arts, make arts widely accessible for all individuals in wider society. In particular, the Arts Council has established for itself a clear role in supporting arts and culture development in the country. Its aims are to improve the opportunities available throughout England for people to engage with the arts and in particular to increase the number of people from priority groups who participate in the arts and attend arts events, to improve the opportunities for children and young people to experience the arts and develop their artistic and creative skills, to support an infrastructure of excellence producing internationally recognised artistic work across the arts sector, and to be an authoritative development agency and advocate for the arts (DCMS, 2007b)

Although the Arts Council is a relatively small player in the wider culture and arts economy of the UK, its funding has a significant impact, supporting organisations and partnerships and developing contemporary practices and new talent. The Arts Council invests around £120 million a year in music (Arts Council England, 2005). For example, it funds music organisations; those organisations reflect the diverse music and culture and range from community-based organisations at a local level to international flagships (Arts Council England, 2005).

Arts Council England also provides development grants to many more regional-based music organisations. However, in return, it expects them to work in partnership with each other. Part of the reason for doing this is to make their communities and the wider music industry work together in terms of creating the best possible opportunities for musicians and audiences and to develop the art form. According to the Arts Council report on music policy, during the 1990s, there was a high level of creative development in the music sector; the British Government’s increased funding for the arts together with the National Lottery enabled this arm’s-length government agency to support the development of world-class performing facilities (Arts Council England, 2005).

As a result of this new movement, the new educational facilities, broadcasting partnerships, youth choirs and youth orchestras, recording labels and touring networks have been brought into the public life. In an expanding global market, the English classical music sector is artistically vibrant and continues to attract strong audiences. In addition to this, Arts Council England supports a more diverse range of music; for instance, South Asian classical music, folk and roots music, world music and chamber music have been well supported both financially and strategically.

Further, to be able to make connections between education and music activities, ACE has made a high profile commitment to music education in its Music Manifesto. For instance, the education sector and the Arts Council began to work together to introduce a new educational strategy for schoolchildren and to provide a supporting strategy to those who want to develop their interest into a career in music.

One of main missions for Arts Council England is to make music accessible for all citizens. According to the Arts Council's music policy report, Arts Council England believes that all citizens should have the opportunity to play a musical instrument; for instance, they have been working with a range of partners to make music more accessible to people and to enable more members of the public to buy an instrument. Clearly, one aim of this is also to provide opportunities for the younger generation to have an enriching engagement with world-class musicians. As a result of this strategy, a number of projects have been undertaken, such as Creative Partnerships, Youth Music, Young People's Arts Awards and the Music Manifesto. In doing this, Arts Council England leading music organisations have started to realise their potential to play a more strategic role in education by coordinating high quality experiences, contributing to raising the standards of musicianship, inspiring and passing on their expertise to young people and creating opportunities for young people to work with outstanding artists.

In addition, ACE aims to support the development of music in order to achieve its ambition of making the culture and arts at the heart of people's everyday life. Thus,

their policy on arts has helped artists and arts organisations to pursue new opportunities for their career. ACE's policy also summarises the context for music and ACE's role; its policy clearly sets out its vision for music and the priorities that ACE has set to deliver this policy smoothly. On the one hand, such a policy prioritises strengthening and developing the infrastructure for all forms of the arts. On the other hand, the policy helps to identify particular areas of contemporary cultural and music practice that ACE wants to help develop in terms of its strategy of supporting individual artists and musicians at all different levels.

Regarding organisational strategy, ACE has a national council of 14 members, council meets around five times a year; it is made up of representatives of the arts community with nine of the members also representing the regional councils (Arts Council England, 2005). The nine regional councils have boards of 14 members comprising representatives of their regional arts communities and local governments, the nine regional councils are East, East Midlands London, North East, North West, South East, South West, West Midlands, and Yorkshire (Arts Council England, 2005).

The regional arts councils are responsible for the development and agreement of regional strategies, that is, plans and priorities for action within the framework of national policies (Arts Council England, 2006b). They are also responsible for approving three-year regional investment plans, to enable them to do this, ACE had provided the bulk of the Regional Arts Boards' funding, but the separate constitution of each body had led to each region having different priorities (Arts Council of England, 2005).

--DCEM (Department of Culture, Media and Sports) and its relationship with Arts council England

The DCMS has wide-ranging mission in culture, media, sports and tourism sectors in the UK; its responsibilities include the arts, sport, the National Lottery, tourism, libraries, museums and galleries, broadcasting, press freedom, licensing and gambling and the creative industries from film to the music industry (DCMS, 2007b). It is also

responsible for the export licensing of cultural goods, the management of the Government Art Collection, the Royal Parks Agency and the historic environment, including the listing of historic buildings and scheduling of ancient monuments (DCMS, 2007b).

The DCMS implements government policy and administers government grants to national museums and art galleries in England, Arts Council England, the UK Film Council, the British Library and other national culture and heritage bodies. Its aims are as follows:

1. to improve the quality of life for all through cultural and sporting activities,
2. to support the pursuit of excellence and to champion the tourism, creative and leisure industries,
3. to increase and broaden the impact of culture and sport,
4. to enrich individual lives, strengthen communities and improve the places where people live, now and for future generations,
5. to make a broader access for all citizens to have rich and varied artistic and cultural life,
6. to ensure that the artistic activity reaches world-class standards
7. to ensure that everyone has the opportunity to develop artistic talent and to achieve excellence in the arts,
8. to develop the educational potential of all the nation's artistic and cultural resources.

(DCMS, 2007b)

Other responsibilities of the DCMS include regulating music broadcasting and the media industries. For instance, the DCMS is committed to encouraging a fully integrated approach to the delivery of cultural services in England, in the light of this mission, in 2005, 13 local councils were chosen by the DCMS and the Local

Government Association to become part of the new national "Cultural Pathfinders" programme to promote the government's social, environmental and economic agenda through cultural initiatives at a local level (Fisher, 2006).

In May 2005, new ministerial responsibilities within the DCMS were announced: the Secretary of State was given responsibility for departmental strategy. For culture, this includes the creative economy, BBC Charter review and digital switchover, and international policy. The Minister for Culture is responsible for the arts, heritage, museums, galleries and libraries, while the Minister for Creative Industries and Tourism is responsible for broadcasting, creative industries (including film and music), tourism and licensing (Fisher, 2006). There is also a separate parliamentary Select Committee for Culture, Media and Sport, appointed by the House of Commons, to examine the expenditure, administration and policy of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport and its associated public bodies (House of Commons, 2005). As discussed earlier, "in all parts of the UK, spending on culture operates on an "arm's length" basis, through a number of Non-Departmental Public Bodies (NDPBs), these include organisations responsible for the arts, sport, film and heritage in England and their counterparts in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland" (Fisher, 2006).

It is worth noting that the responsibility for the DCMS in 2008 has focused too much on the 2012 Olympic Games and Paralympics Games and on Liverpool as the Capital of Culture. Yet, there is no doubt that 2008 will see the start of the Cultural Olympiad, celebrating culture and creativity across the UK and a worldwide programme of events and activities. The Olympiad will showcase a pure British culture, and inspire people to participate in a wide range of cultural and arts activities.

The DCMS firmly believes that the Cultural Olympiad needs to include a host of major projects, such as an International Shakespeare Festival, UK Film and Video Festival, Live Sites and 2012 Sounds. These projects, along with many others, will celebrate unique internationalism and cultural diversity; and will generate a positive legacy, for example, through cultural and sports participation, cultural skills, urban

regeneration, tourism and social cohesion and international links (London City Council, 2008).

According to the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games Annual Report - January 2008, the estimated cost of the Games was £4bn: £3bn for the Olympic Park and an element for elite and community sport, and £1bn as part of the wider Lower Lea Valley regeneration (excluding tax and wider security costs)(London City Council, 2008). Following the announcement in July 2005 of the winning of the bid, the Government undertook, as promised, a thorough review of costs and of alternative sources of funding. The revised £9.325bn funding package announced on 15 March 2007 is the result of that review (London City Council, 2008). Of the £9.325bn, £6.090bn including tax and a £500m contingency fund was identified. The full financial breakdown of the March announcement and sources of funding for the whole £9.325bn package has been made public (London City Council, 2008).

Together with the 2012 London Olympics, Arts Council England's funding contribution for Liverpool, European Capital of Culture 2008 is delivered through its North West office based in Manchester.

Apart from spending money on government public funding, according to the Liverpool City Council report, Liverpool 08 will also bring a number of great opportunities to the community. Independent consultants estimated the title would attract £2bn of investment, 14,000 new jobs and an extra 1.7 million visitors (Liverpool City Council, 2008a). In addition, it is estimated an extra £220 million will be spent by tourists, supporting 3,000 jobs (Liverpool City Council, 2008a). Although a culture-led regeneration will benefit hugely from a European Culture Capital city event, the question that arises here is to what degree and in what way Liverpool 08 and London 2012 Cultural Olympics could best encourage the government to conduct the best performance for British cultural policy development. A further question is whether such events encourage an improved dialogue between the DCMS and regional and national arts agencies and thus provide better guidance for regional and national cultural activities. As a result of celebrating these two major cultural events,

£675m of lottery funding is being diverted from the arts in order to pay for the Olympics. One result of this is that Arts Council's grants for the arts schemes will suffer a whopping 35% cut, this means that during the funding year 2007/2008 only £54m will be awarded, down from £83m in the current financial year (Liverpool City Council, 2008a).

A reduction in funds means some applications from arts organisations will be rejected; also, all relevant projects must start and finish in the year in which the funding is awarded. Clearly, this is not something that relevant organisations want, but it is something they have to deal with. According to Brown's (2007) article, nearly 200 arts organisations in England have been told that their funding will end from next April, which clearly means that they cannot expect to continue receiving public money. He also reports that, "in Derby, funding for the well-regarded Playhouse has been withdrawn because it was forced into administration. It returned from the brink last week when a skeleton staff put on its Christmas show, *Treasure Island*. In music, two respected chamber orchestras, the City of London Sinfonia and the London Mozart Players, have been told to brace themselves for the worst"(Brown, 2007). Yet, as the above clearly indicates, in terms of cultural policy making, the DCMS has been keen to work with Arts Council England in terms of making cultural policy. For instance, the most significant of these was the creation, in 2002, of Arts Council England (ACE) by the merger of former regional arts boards in the country to create a unified development body for the arts (Fisher, 2006). A positive result of this strategy has been the creation of four new departments. The first of these was the Arts Strategy department, which aims to provide national leadership and an international overview for the arts and art forms, to develop new policy and strategy taking into accounts the needs of artists and arts producers and to encourage wider participation in the arts activities. The second department was the Arts Planning and Investment department, which has the task of developing investment strategies for funding programmes and taking an overview of project delivery and information management. The task of the third department, the Advocacy and Communications department, is to bring a sharper central campaigning focus to the Arts Council's communications across the organisation. Finally, as Fisher (2006) states "the Resources Department aims to

guarantee operational delivery across the organisation, providing leadership on finance, human resources, information technology and corporate governance”.

Cultural Policy-the Heart of Urban Regeneration?

As Dicks (2003) argues, culture is central to the revitalisation of city-life in four respects. First, the aesthetic, design-central principle that guides it is based on the visual referencing of particular times, spaces and ways of life. Second, cultural display becomes a means of urban management. Third, traditional urban cultural institutions are themselves embracing the principle of cultural display and design by reimagining themselves with the promotion of the city in mind. Finally, culture in urban design has come to be identified with the transmission of a clear message (Disk, 2003).

The use of cultural policy in Europe during the 1950s and 1960s was relatively unimportant; it was largely based on the narrow identification of culture with the pre-electronic ‘arts’. The connection between urban cultural resources, the development of tourism and economic development had scarcely been made. However, a number of social movements in the late 1960s and 1970s in Europe made cultural policy more important and controversial, such as feminism, youth revolts, racial/ minority action and so on. Therefore, the use of cultural policy in city urban regeneration during the last twenty years increasingly became an uncontested issue. These issues included cultural policy being used as a significant component of the economic, physical and spiritual regeneration strategies in many European cities. The significant historical transformation is the shift from the social and political concerns prevailing during the 1970s to the regeneration priorities of the 1980s (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993). In the 1980s, the cultural strategies in Europe focused on political consensus, the important partnership between business and public sector agencies, and the use of certain cultural projects in the urban image. However, this consensus masked serious dilemmas regarding strategic choices in economic, cultural and community development. Urban cultural policies aimed at developing tourism gave rise to conflicts. Examples include the tensions between cultural provision in the city centre and in peripheral neighbourhoods, between consumption-oriented strategies and

support for local cultural production, and between investment in buildings and expenditure on events and activities.

According to DCMS's report (2004) that "cultural regeneration can bring economic benefits by providing employment and generating revenue, it also attracts people and businesses". Sargent (2005) also states that the economic and cultural well-being of an area can be assessed by measures such as inward investment, job creation, tourism, retention of graduates and increased property prices. Yet, evidence shows that culture can play a key role as part of the economic drawing power that is central to the transformation of an area to areas with high quality cultural provision (Sargent, 2004). Cultural activities can be highly effective in improving the individuals' skills and confidence; such activities can contribute to the physical, economic and social regeneration of an area if they are meaningful to and owned by the local community. The attraction and retention of skills as key initiatives and the quality of place are increasingly seen as playing a key role in regeneration. In addition, "the re-population of run-down areas by clusters of creative industries can have major regenerative effects leading to the increased use of local amenities and the opening of ancillary businesses"(DCMS, 2004). For instance, in the UK, "culture drives regeneration in many ways, from inspiring landmark buildings through to reviving the decaying centres of market towns and to bringing a community together around an arts event: iconic buildings such as Tate Modern in Southwark and BALTIC at Gateshead Quays show how ambitious cultural centres can contribute to the economic, as well as the physical, social and creative regeneration of an area" (DCMS, 2004). It is clear that physical regeneration impacts positively on the community in which it is rooted, if the regeneration is responsive to the nature of the community and reflects its needs and aspirations (DCMS, 2004).

The urban regeneration and city cultural policy research in the UK has attracted a great deal of attention since both the Conservative and the Labour party failed in their plans to integrate cultural policy into a wider urban regeneration context in 1980s. Culture-led strategies employed by urban authorities to drive economic regeneration are defined by Bianchini and Parkinson (1993) as production- or consumption-

oriented models (DCMS, 2004). A new term of 'cultural investment' has become common currency; this is used by authorities to act as efficient partners for the private sector to encourage capital inflows in the form of public private partnerships (Bianchini, 1991; Garcia, 2004; Matarasso, 1996). A co-modified cultural policy, expecting tangible, quantifiable returns on investment took root. The returns expected from investing in music events, theatres and 'creative industries' were in the form of profits, jobs and physical regeneration; policy was driven by what appeared to be some remarkable successes. However, critics have purposely attacked such use of cultural policy for a significant economic agenda as crude and divisive, (Garcia, 2004), "worn to serve the needs of business or wealthy tourists, that hides the social deprivation in the peripheries, and papers over the 'real' culture of their residents" (Binns, 2005:1). City decision-makers saw cultural policy as a valuable tool in diversifying the local economic base and in attempting to compensate for jobs lost in traditional industrial and services sectors. A lively, cosmopolitan cultural life was increasingly seen as a crucial ingredient of city marketing and internationalization strategies, designed to attract tourists, mobile international capital and specialized personnel.

Cultural policy means thinking about the culture in the local context in terms of employment and industry, such as how many jobs the local arts create and how to develop new opportunities for artistic and musical production. In the UK, the well-know Sheffield 'Music Factory' was originally drawn up by the City Council's Employment Department in response to lobbying by local musicians for rehearsal space and recording facilities. This project was designed to co-ordinate and expand involvement in musical education, the arts and employment and to extend training into a new area of service activity. Clearly here, the interest by the Sheffield music policy maker in music was an aspect of its version of cultural industry policy. Music was important economically to Sheffield at that time not only as source of employment but also as a post-modern way of making the city attractive to tourists, young people and skilled service workers. In other words, it gave local unemployed people a great chance of new employment. Music has gained increasing attention, with local authorities attempting to create or promote 'local music industries'.

Similarly, the regeneration strategy for the Birmingham Jewellery Quarter has led to the creation of new places to live, work, shop and visit. The project had a total scheme value of £1.1million, of which £210,000 was provided by Conservation Area Partnership funding with the remainder from the private sector (DCMS, 2004). The Quarter remains a thriving centre for the manufacture and retail of jewellery, with 6,000 people employed by 1,500 separate businesses (DCMS, 2004). Its historic importance has been recognised by DCMS's recent listing of 106 buildings in the area (DCMS, 2004). The tourist industry has utilised the locality's cultural heritage to help create new jobs, encourage private investment and attract outside visitors to the Quarter (DCMS, 2004). The introduction of a more structured approach to tourism has clearly attracted additional visitors through the use of Pavement Trails, the Museum of the Jewellery Quarter, the Pen Museum and the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists (DCMS, 2004). For instance, Andrew McIntosh, Heritage Minister said:

The Jewellery Quarter is absolutely unique, exceptional in the large number of historic original purpose. It is a wonderful example of a vibrant 21st century community, thriving in its original architectural environment.

(DCMS, 2004)

Another positive example in the UK is the Liverpool city regeneration plan. In Liverpool, the focus on cultural regeneration in the run-up to its potential status as European Capital of Culture helped drive the city to achieve its social and economic objectives. A report by Liverpool City Council has predicted that from 2008 to 2013, Liverpool's cultural sector will see a rapid expansion with investment of £2 billion from public and private sources (Liverpool City Council, 2008a). The planned developments will reinforce the city's role as a regional shopping centre, its role as a UK and European tourism destination and promote awareness of its cultural heritage; - employment in the cultural sector is estimated to grow by at least 14,000 jobs; and - the cumulative effect of the Capital of Culture will be an extra 1.7 million visitors generating spending of over £50 million a year from 2004 to 2008 (Liverpool City Council, 2008a).

However, it seems that arts programmes in the context of city regeneration always address 'softer' aspects of social development, such as building social capital and a sense of community; they do not address the 'harder' aspects of social regeneration, such as a lack of schools or cultural facilities, and do nothing to counter physical dereliction (Binns, 2005). The problems also lie in acquiring a meaningful appraisal of their social worth (Binns, 2005). In Binns (2005) view, "Sara Selwood (2002) claims the existing research of quantitative data in the UK is not only patchy, inconsistent and incomplete, but also fails to generate useful information on the outcomes of the services or on their social impact" (Binns, 2005:5) . Selwood is sceptical of qualitative attempts to measure the socially regenerative impact of arts investment. However, others argues, in Binns's (2005) interpretation "that the solution for this is to develop a more thorough and rigorous investigation of the relationship between cultural policy and social, environmental and cultural improvement" (Binns, 2005:6) . This according to Binns (2005) echoes "Selwood's (2002) call for more data collection and evaluation methodologies regarding the social, as opposed to economic, impact of cultural policy" (Binns, 2005:6) . Satisfying the need for tangible results is essential, for it is hard to put forward a social argument if it is not supported by hard evidence. Binns argues (2005) "participation is the key to answering Mooney's (2004) 'whose culture' critique and to counter accusations of regressive taxation of the poor (where lower earners' lottery money is used to buy expensive cultural infrastructure for use by the financially well off)" (Binns, 2005:6). Further, he says, "accessibility is vital to participation; if there is little geographic spread of amenities then there must be good, regular servicing of marginal areas by cheap public transport, The culture-led regeneration requires consultation with and input from citizens; their subsequent participation, acceptance or 'ownership' of the infrastructure or programme in question cannot be depended on without it" (Binns, 2005:6).

Regeneration is a complex, long-term and often fragmented process. To succeed, it usually requires the involvement of a wide range of action that can happen at all levels. At the same time, it is important to avoid the negative impact from the cooperation, for example, government departments not working together closely

enough on crosscutting policy issues (or not having a clear understanding of each other's agendas), regional and local planners not engaging with cultural bodies and practitioners during the early stages of planning, cultural bodies not articulating THE potential contribution enough (or Local Strategic Partnerships not having cultural sector representation), and LOCAL community groups not being consulted properly, not being seen as part of the partnership, or not having the right skills (DCMS, 2004). There may be tensions caused by conflicting objectives; for example, "cultural regeneration is often more focussed on social and environmental outcomes, which may conflict with economic outcomes, such as business and property development" (DCMS, 2004). In addition, developers may come into conflict with those responsible for protecting the historic fabric of an area. Furthermore, according to DCMS's statement (2004) "multiple funding streams, each with their own application and monitoring requirements can be unduly onerous and may actually deter projects from bringing on board new partners".

Therefore, the question is how to see culture (including classical music) as a social tool to help urban and city regeneration plans within both a local and a national context, to attract people into the city and especially the younger generation. How do we ensure that the gentrification of an area does not lead to displacement? In urban regeneration, how do we strike a balance between meeting the needs of the so-called "creative class" community, particularly those from disadvantaged groups? How can we ensure that cultural regeneration projects offer a range of employment prospects for the local community, not just low paid service jobs?

Conclusion

Recent years have seen an increased recognition in the way in which DCMS sectors in England can contribute to the achievement of certain government objectives, such as promoting social inclusion and its commitment to investment in cultural capital. There is also a closer working relationship between central and local government, in recognition of jointly shared aims and the need for services to be effectively delivered. However, the question that needs to be asked is, what is behind the cultural policy system in the UK?

New Labour's cultural policy agenda to some extent remains consistent with that of the Conservative party given its emphasis on privatisation, but also remains distinctive in the sense that they have made funds available for large cultural projects. Under such an agenda, London has been regenerated; this regeneration includes New Labour's flagship project, such as the Millennium Dome and the Tate Modern. However, there have also been significant cultural developments outside of London including the Quad at Derby, the development of the cultural quarter in Sheffield and the addition of Nottingham Contemporary as well as other artistic ventures with a more regional flavour.

Both political parties are slowly becoming aware of the need for a cultural identity as their social tools. Therefore, the formation of Red Wedge in 1985 by some of the most successful rock musicians in the UK, like the anti-Vietnam movement, was as much a reaction to the effects of Thatcherism as a positive endorsement of Labour. It marked a potential shift in the relationship between artists and political parties (Mulgan & Worpole, 1986). In comparison with the Conservatives' cultural policy on encouraging private partnership, according to Smedley, "New Labour was generally uncomfortable with the assertion that the state might have a role to play in the arts" (Smedley, 2002). At same time, they were unwilling to withdraw entirely from the cultural sphere, retreating instead into a number of flexible fictions, such as public partnership and lottery funds.

However, culture benefits from wealth and relative physical security, also through cross-fertilisation and from the sorts of self-confidence that intelligent and generous patronage instils, whether the patronage be public or private (Smedley, 2002). The Conservatives' ideology of liberalism and socialism seems to have a positive association with the above idea; thus, they tried very hard to encourage more citizens to participate in all forms of art, with the old liberal hope that exposure to high culture would not only civilise the masses but would make them more peaceful and virtuous. As Fisher (2006) states, "the period since 1996 has been one of policy review and change with a new incoming UK Government with its own objectives, the responsibility for culture to the Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly, and the creation of the Northern Ireland Assembly". In this period of upheaval, certain kind of

cultural issues have been given priority, such as multiculturalism, excellence, cultural diversity, creativity and so on (Fisher, 2006).

The questions raised here are, where is the future for cultural policy development in the UK? How does an ideology of governmentality fit into the current social and political agenda for the best interests of public cultural choice? Do government structures determine the human agency in a wider cultural public sphere? Alternatively, do public cultural choices determine the government structure? Despite those concerns, city-based cultural policy planning should be formulated at a sub-national level on arts programmes and a culture-led regeneration in the city should be re-examined. To be able to make a theoretical contribution and to re- address the above-mentioned practical issues, I will focus not only on an examination of the potential tension, conflict and degree of consensus among the city cultural planners, and cultural practitioners within relevant musical organisation at a sub-national level, but also on the formulation of cultural policy in relation to the issues involved in urban regeneration in a city context in my thesis. Further, in my later chapters, I will offer a detailed analysis of those issues.

Chapter 4: Classical Music Activities and Policy in a British Context

Introduction

In this chapter, firstly, I will explain why music as a special form of culture has been widely defined within an ideological and social sphere in people's everyday life. Secondly, I will offer a theoretical analysis on why classical music has always been treated as a kind of cultural form belonging to a certain social group that has the relevant educational background, and that also has access to the classical music field, by discussing the relevant theoretical issues regarding the relationship between classical music, cultural consumption and cultural diversity. Further, in this chapter, I will provide an overview of how classical music activities have been exercised, and will discuss what the most important classical music activities are, at both a national and a regional level. Finally, I will discuss how classical music activities are exercised in the country and what the political and strategic support for classical music activities is at both a national and a regional level in the UK.

Music and Cultural Policy

Cultural policy and music policy

In recent years, cultural, arts and music policies have been rationalised in different ways. Theorists have addressed academically issues in relation to culture, economics and power. The terms of culture policy have been often associated with contemporary cultural studies and studies on political activities and cultural industries (DiMaggio, 1987; Hesmondhalgh, 2005). The study of cultural policy also appears on the cusp of urban regeneration studies, cultural economy studies and political theory. It has been redefined and reshaped by some new questions arising from the field of cultural citizenship, social movement, cultural identity, cultural diversity, multiculturalism, power structure and governmentality. It also covers those who champion the traditional government support for heritage and cultural community development, those concerned with the policies for ethnic minorities, and those engaged at a global level in research and consultation on cultural resources from society (Meredyth and Minson, 2001). Clearly, cultural policy has become a social and political agenda and

is associated with other scholars working within other institutions. It also has become clear that if we speak of cultural policy as shared, we must always be aware of questions, such as who governs cultural policy, in what way, and under what kind of social and political conditions. What is the close relationship between contemporary cultural studies and current cultural policy research? Moreover, who are the key thinkers with whom we should share and argue those issues? Do cultural policy researches play a special role in the public sphere? How can governments mobilise public resources for cultural spending when their policies in this area are so uncoordinated?

When answering those questions, there is always the concern of why music as a special form of culture has been widely defined in an ideological and social sphere in people's everyday life. However, it seems there has always been a lack of formal studies in the field of classical music policy research.

The value of music and classical music

The power of music has been widely recognised and this is reflected in the field of social theory from Plato to Adorno, who portrays music as an influence on character, social structure and action (DeNora, 2000). For Adorno, "music was linked to cognitive habits, modes of consciousness and historical development" (Adorno, 1976: 53). Music, Adorno believed, had the capacity to foster critical consciousness. By preserving dissonance instead of offering musical resolution and progression, music had the power to challenge cognitive, perceptual and emotional habits, habits as a matter of reflex, and the relation of power and administration in ways that made those relations seem natural and real (DeNora, 2000).

Music is also often used by the ruling elite to perpetuate certain ideologies aimed at political socialisation. Music is also a form of cultural resistance. In the postmodern period, music has occupied a special position in capitalist society because the creation of musical commodities is a site of struggle (Bloomfield, 199: 80). A review of the existing literature on popular culture and popular music makes it clear that musical political economy is often divided into specific categories, namely, "the role of the

record companies, independent labels, marketing and publishing (Cvetkovski, 2004; Wale, 1972; Stratton, 1983); the making and cultivation of popular stars (Frith, 1997; Longhurst, 1995); technological inroads into music recording and production techniques (Negus, 1993; Frith 1992); counter-culture, political subversion and the general politics of musicians (punk movements, rock concert benefits and political defiance) (Mabey, 1969; Frith, 1986; Jones, 2000); and independent musical identities in emerging scenes such as techno dance music and raves (the drug culture and dance parties)” (Cvetkovski, 2004). What is generally missing from the debate is a thorough analysis of the impact technological advancement has had on the popular commodification process, essentially, the political economy of the industry as a whole (Cvetkovski, 2004).

Cvetkovski (2004) also states, “according to Frith that popular music is the term used to explain music commodification as a process that is driven by the need to maximise profit and reward commercial enterprise and the production process is precise and formulaic; however, the possibility of commercially exploiting music products successfully is extremely low because ‘hit making’ is primarily based on cultural gambles”.

Hesmondhalgh (2005) points out that the music business appears to be an ordinary consumer industry, yet it is a strange industry on the borderline between the most sophisticated marketing and the most unpredictable of cottage industries. However, by identifying, controlling and organising the key players in the industry, the major attempt to organise music as a product is becoming more effective in a bid to minimise unpredictability.

Firstly, in comparison with popular music, in economic terms, classical music is not perceived in such a variety of ways. The dominant meaning of classical music as an art form does not account for the fact that classical music is an economic product (Johnson, 2002). Although the commodification of music always results from the market system of democratic capitalism, sound technology and the recording industry have made classical music widely available to the average listener. However, why

does classical music still appear ill equipped to defend its values in debates on public funding and policy support? In many cases, the classical traditions have grown complacent and their supporters often make the argument that certain kinds of music are so important they should be supported at the public expense, even though, in general, they are enjoyed by a small and often wealthy minority.

Secondly, Johnson argues (2002), in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, classical music was accessible only to the elite, and even today, through a lack of support for music in public education, an understanding of classical music is accessible only to those who have the economic means and intellectual interest to procure music lessons. In other words, classical music accounts only for a special social group. That is why classical music has such a strong social value.

However, classical music can be defended in terms of the attempt to build a 'culture in common'. The word 'common' means something shared, but it also has the further meaning of something low, vulgar and unrefined. The word 'culture' is always assumed to refer to a shared set of meanings, beliefs and values between people, which somewhere coheres into an integrated whole (Featherstone, 2002). For Raymond Williams (1967), a culture has a common meaning, being the product of a whole people and society, and offers an individual meaning, the product of people's social experience (Williams, 1967). Williams (1967) illustrates that the danger in imagining a situation in which all people mean the same thing and value the same thing is to have an equal possession of cultural property.

Nonetheless, it must be remembered that nobody will test cultural property in the same way in all societies and people will have different perceptions of "the culture", just as each individual will have his or her own desires, no matter how complete the society might be. Therefore, Williams suggests that the only solution for this is to keep clear all the channels and institutions of communication. In this sense, Williams (1958) suggests that a culture will be better described by the phrase "a culture in common". Thus, my main argument is that classical music as one of the unique cultural forms can be defended in terms of the attempt to build a culture in common

(as discussed earlier). However, Featherstone (2002) argues that a common culture existed in the past, but now is in the process of being destroyed by a mass consumer culture, so a way must be found to revitalise the cultural tradition. Alternatively, common culture can be created in terms of the education project of cultural elite who will ultimately achieve the elimination of the cultural residues.

Classical music has been always treated as a kind of cultural form belonging only to the social group that has the relevant educational background, and that has access to the classical music field. Williams (1989) explains,

It would also mean changing the educational system from its dominant patterns of sorting people from so early an age into “educated” people and others, or in other words, transmitters and receivers, to a view of the processes of determining meaning and values as involving contribution and reception by everyone.”

(Williams, 1989:36)

To convert classical music into a ‘culture in common’ would not be simply to make it accessible to everyone. Instead, such a process would involve the education system giving all citizens the opportunity to learn an instrument, listen to different types of music and, of course, visit a concert hall. However, the form in which people would become more involved in classical music would change. Not only would the lines of education be transformed, but the institution and meaning of classical music would become an ‘ordinary’ aspect of culture.

Secondly, classical music can be defended in terms of seeking to promote cultural diversity. Why do cultural goods exist as different styles? In other words, why is culture different? Why is culture related to other cultures? Couldry (2000) in his rethinking of culture coherence based on the theory of cultural complexity, argues that contemporary complex societies systematically build a non-sharing culture into their cultures. So, working with cultural complexity, in other words, promoting cultural

diversity, has become a new challenge not only for the stakeholder and policy-makers, but for the educators and intellectuals as well.

It is important to remember that cultural goods convey different ideologies and a variety of symbolic lifestyles in our everyday life, and are an intrinsic part of the cultural identity of the diverse community that produces them. Subsidies for museums, ballet, classical music and other cultural products and services are widespread and accepted in all free market economies. However, were we simply to leave cultural products to the mercy of the market, then any idea of cultural diversity would soon be forgotten. Kenny and Stevenson(1998) argue that too much academic criticism has been focused on rejecting the ‘instrumentality’ lurking behind cultural policy, or celebrating the pleasure of consumer practice. Bourdieu’s ideology of culture is often treated as a sociology of cultural consumption, for instance, cultural form-museums that, being cheap or cost-free in economic terms, are in theory equally open to all groups and classes. Yet, Bourdieu (1986) argues, the classical classification system is rooted in the class system. Bourdieu offers us a ‘three-zone’ model of cultural tastes: ‘legitimate’ taste, ‘middle-brow’ taste and ‘popular’ taste. Those tastes correspond to educational level and social class; in short, it is the beginning of a model of class life-styles (Jenkins, 1992). However, culture should be free for all individuals, no matter what kind of educational and social class background they have. Therefore, it is important to consider how voices from a minority might be organised to make sure they are heard and supported in cultural terms. How can such groups be empowered so that they are not subject to the exclusions that state policy and the market logically produce (Kenny and Stevenson, 1998)? The answer is that cultural goods need public and political support and the relevant stakeholders have to ensure that cultural liberty and cultural diversity will meet people’s choices. Multicultural policies have often been seen as a way of protecting cultural liberty and expanding people’s choices in the ways they live and identify themselves, and not penalizing them for these choices.

Therefore, many theorists argue that cultural diversity could promote an ideology of cultural liberty and enrich people’s lives; it is an outcome of the freedoms people have

and the choices they make. It also implies an opportunity to assess different options in making these choices. Thus, classical music, a unique cultural form, should be used as a social tool to promote cultural diversity and to help maintain cultural complexity. Further, an effective music policy should also be devised to help expand people's cultural choice. In other words, classical music should be presented to people whose normal experience is outside classical music, no matter what their educational background, income, occupation and social status.

Thirdly, classical music is a skilled form of practice. Musical talent has often been related to the term "respect" sociologically. So, what does respect mean? In sociological terms, there are many synonyms indicating different aspects of "respect". These include "status", "prestige", "recognition" and "honour". For instance, for Sennett (2003), the social vocabulary of respect might be made to come to life by returning to music. Sennett (2003) also claims that welfare clients are urged to "earn" self-respect, which often means becoming materially self-sufficient, but, as Sennett asserts, this kind of self-respect cannot be "earned" in the same way people earn money; this is particularly relevant for individuals who have grown up in the welfare system, but have the opportunity to escape from it by virtue of their musical talent.

Quite often, this self-respect could be gained through musical talent, stage experience, and appreciation from others. For instance, classical music training requires learners to concentrate on practising for a significant amount of time, which improves their self-esteem. The concert-performing experience may help the music practitioners gain social status or help them increase their levels of self-respect. As Sennett (2003) argues, the development of any musical talent involves an element of craft, of doing something well for its own sake, and it is this craft element that provides the individual with an inner sense of self-respect. The craft of music offers that gift to all classical music learners.

Further, Sennett (2003) argues that people born with unequal abilities ought not to be treated with contempt. Dignity and respect should belong not only to those who have the chance to inherit it or who are born into an elite; dignity should also belong to

those who work hard to achieve it. Therefore, the questions in relation to these issues would be how to use essential music policy to help construct a good relationship between respect and inequality, and whether classical musical talent could be used as a tool to assist those who live at the bottom of the social order and those who might achieve self-respect but whose possession of it is fragile.

As it was discussed in the theory chapter, Sennett (2008) discusses how a concept of craftsmanship is engaging with the process of developing craft skills and how craftsmen become knowledgeable public persons and good citizens through concentrating on work rather than themselves. In his view, the best craftsmanship depends on a non-stop involvement; such kind of craftwork often requires many years physical practice of complex skills. Yet, if we take classical music as an example, the social value of practising classical musical instrument can be seen from Sennett's above thoughts that craftsmanship is engaging with the process of developing craft skills, through focusing on practising such skill, than the craftsmen can become knowledgeable public persons and good citizens. This is generally done by promoting a sense of esteem and of a wider sense of the skilled competencies involved in the production of a cultural form with a long historical tradition. The value of classical music then comes not only out what it offers to the individual but also to the wider community in terms of opportunities for aesthetic experience, complex affective meanings, the sense of having mastered a difficult practice and of working closely with others. It is my argument and judgement that classical music is particularly well placed to be able to facilitate these features.

These three aspects of classical music can be related to the dispute between McGuigan, Bennett/Sennett. In the thesis, I seek to defend an idea of cultural policy and its relationship with classical music in terms of public values. The question is what sort of cultural policy is appropriate in a democracy? The values implicit in a culture in common, in plural forms of cultural expression and in the development of self-respect and esteem, are also demonstrated in democratic terms. Hence, in the British context, we can defend the maintenance of classical music as being connected to the maintenance of a democracy. Therefore, my thesis will examine the above

aspects of the formulation of cultural policy and classical music activities in the context of the British city of Nottingham.

Cultural consumption and classical music

--Classical music and class distinction

Bourdieu (1986) states that cultural capital is distributed in such a way that social groups have different capacities to vest cultural value in symbolic goods. Therefore, culture is about the process of identification and differentiation. Thus, according to the above debate, our identity is made up by our consumption of goods, and our class difference is constructed through consumption. Similarly, Baudrillard (1998) argues that we become what we buy: if we take this line further, for instance, if our consumption of goods has been classified as 'high arts' or 'high culture', so our class will be different to that of those who prefer consuming 'low arts' products. The question here is what kind of social element determines our cultural choice. Whereas the ideology regards taste in legitimate culture as a gift of nature, scientific observation shows that cultural needs are the product of upbringing and education: surveys have established that all cultural practices (museum visits, concert-going, reading and so on), and preferences in literature, painting or music, are closely linked to educational levels (measured by qualifications or length of schooling) and secondarily to social origin. The relative formal education (the effectiveness and duration of which are dependent on social origin) varies according to the extent to which the different cultural practices are recognised and taught by the educational system. The problem here is the simplistic notion of "culture" involved. If cultures consisted merely of "attitudes", then it would be a simple matter to change them, but clearly they do not. The public always tries to develop cultural styles and attitudes in terms of their material existence; culture is rooted in people's life experiences and developed from how they experience the world both as individuals and as part of a wider social and cultural system of beliefs.

There is no doubt that classical music has served as a tool of class distinction, but can this kind of ideology provide all the evidence for our cultural choice? Its claim to be different, which is derived entirely from this function, exemplifies a theory that never

confronts musical works themselves. Similarly, Bourdieu's position is also based on a vision of humanity that art rejects; he argues that taste is based on an aversion to the "facile," by which he means the immediate, the bodily, and the simple (Johnson, 2002). His logic is persuasive, for example, in his demonstration of how class distinctions are reinforced by the criteria for the selection and presentation of food that have nothing to do with its nutritional value. However, I would argue here, purely from an artistic point of view, that classical music provides a sense of transcending those origins to become an aspiration. Furthermore, classical music also helps us reflect on our own experience of exceeding the immediacy of the bodily experience; it is more complex than an argument just about the relationship between class divination and culture choice.

--Consumption and classical music

The approach in this chapter implies a specific perspective on the various positions regarding the relationship of cultural consumption to cultural production, classical music in particular. How does the producers' view of consumption connect to the theories of mass culture analysts? Sociologically, the approach of consumption has always been associated with the patterns of inequality and social differentiation with the consumer reproducing their class position (Bourdieu, 1984). Therefore, if we want to take this view further, we have to break with the traditional division between production and consumption and focus on the practice.

As was discussed in chapter 2, the message of the cultural industry can be seen, as a way of making individuals achieve their happiness through commodity consumption. However, cultural products have followed the rules of market mechanism; the demand resulting not only from individuals but also from mass consumers' needs for a diverse cultural market is becoming increasingly serious. The consumption of culture for consumers has nothing to do with public subsidy; it is tied to the performance of market-oriented cultural industries and mass-popular consumption (Garnham, 1990). For instance, during 1980s, the combination of cultural populism and free market economics appeared in British society, when successive Thatcher governments

transformed UK from a European social democracy to a free-market economy (Hoggart, 1995).

Featherstone (1991) argues that a post-modern culture is about the flattening of hierarchies, such as the collapse of the distinction between high arts and mass/popular culture; he also states that the blurring of boundaries between classical music and popular music is not only to do with formal interactions, but is also related to the mode of consumption. However, it seems there is a lack of analysis of any critical examination of the relationship between classical music and post-modern consumption. As Finnegan (1989) argues, classical music activities have not been analysed properly through the terminology of 'consumption' either in the narrow sense of consuming or its extra meaning, like the strategic support by the state, and so on. Furthermore, she also states there is another use of the model of consumption, namely, as appreciation and resistance, such as when the consumer is pictured as the liberated single individual choosing from among the goods on offer whereby the musicians and their associates are essentially engaged in a kind of struggle to somehow 'resist' or 'appropriate' something generated by larger forces and institutions, which are in a sense external to them. There is indeed a need to explore those issues, to analyse classical music properly through the terminology of consumption, strategic support by the state, the local political structure, market forces, and so on. In Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, my detailed investigation into how cultural policy, in particular classic music policy, has been located at a local level helped me explore the above concerns.

Classical music and an ideology of cultural diversity

What is meant by an ideology of cultural diversity? Dhand (1991) states cultural diversity could mean a commitment to the maintenance of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, providing a natural reinforcement of this ideology. It means to accept, tolerate, respect and appreciate diversity and it expresses a social goal. It also means the freedom of all individuals as well as groups to retain and develop their cultures.

Yet, culture often expresses people's creativity and identity. In all societies, the term 'diversity' can be founded in the local and regional experiences that profoundly enrich this term and ensure its renewal. According to the Coalition's (professional associations of the cultural milieu) mission statement, these kinds of characteristics and experiences find their expression through individuals' creativity and the dynamism of enterprises that make possible its production and dissemination both domestically and abroad (Coalitions Worldwide, 2003).

However, as the Coalition states, "the vitality of those cultural activities is intimately linked to a country's resources; the accelerated globalization of trade, given that it involves countries and enterprises of such vastly differing resources, can hinder the dissemination of culture and severely limit access to cultural diversity by all" (Coalitions Worldwide, 2003). The Coalition claims that cultural diversity is a fundamental human right and that countries should ensure its preservation and promotion. However, the questions that emerge here are why cultural goods exist as different styles and how one form of culture relates to other forms of culture.

The importance of cultural diversity to the vitality of the arts and culture cannot be overstated. Cultural diversity, that is, the full engagement with the range of different cultures, communities and complex identities that make up a contemporary cosmopolitan image is imperative for everyone, for social, moral and business reasons.

Devlin and Ackill (2005: 9) again points out, "the repertoire and sounds of classical music activities have been central to the cultural tradition of Western Europe for more than three centuries". And "despite this broadening of horizons, the world of the western classical orchestra can present imposing barriers to those not directly involved, including many promoters in multi-art form venues" (Devlin and Ackill, 2005). The language used to describe a performance or programme, the complexities of the musical score, the range of instruments, and the formal concert experience itself can be daunting at best. Nevertheless, in the political sphere, classical music has been simply forgotten as a tool that could be used, as other forms of culture or the arts, to

achieve the goal of youth education, social exclusion, urban and economic regeneration and so on. There are some broader cultural reasons for this; for instance, Devlin and Ackill (2005) argues, the traditional audience for classical music concerts tends to comprise mainly older, white people, and those audiences might not appear to have any kind of social problems. This is a matter of concern to many in the classical music world who note that, whilst younger people do attend certain sorts of orchestral event, it is hard to attract young people to the majority of classical music concerts.

The issue can be viewed in terms of whether the young generation in the future will inherit the concert-going habits from their parents' generation, instead of restricting themselves to the mainstream of pop and rock music and the diversification of public taste. Despite these concerns, outreach education works, together with a range of relevant innovative work by classical music organisations or professional orchestras, are often supported by local authorities, and have shown that behind the potential barriers lies music that everyone can experience, enjoy, and find relevant to contemporary life. According to Devlin and Ackill (2005: 9), "such projects can also feed directly into strategies for engaging newcomers in the arts, for regeneration, for skills development, and for bringing out creativity in young people".

Classical Music in Contemporary British Society

In recent time, the concerns on issues regarding a lack of appreciation for classical music have been re-addressed. For instance, the 1970s were seen as a significant moment in the history of state cultural policy in the UK, during which the politics of contemporary cultural style meant classical music had an increasingly negative status. For example, during the debates about government funding, the specific claims of high art and classical music were simply not heard in contemporary culture, and indeed were hardly voiced. As Johnson (2002) argues, "classical music is not consciously rejected; it is simply one cultural option among many that an individual chooses not to take up. But it is symptomatic of a profound shift in attitudes toward high art that such arguments have increasingly become part of academic discussion" (Johnson, 2002:20).

The question is, have classical music activities been forgotten in this new century in Britain? However, the fact is that Britain has a rich classical music life. For instance, the Royal Albert Hall's season of Promenade concerts is bigger than any other annual music festival, and the BBC, which sponsors the Proms, has long been the world's premier musical patron (detailed information on how the BBC Proms, together with BBC Radio 3 services, have helped bring about a renaissance of classical music in the UK will be provided in later sections regarding BBC radio and BBC Proms in this chapter). Together with Symphony Hall in Birmingham and Manchester's Bridgewater Hall, Wigmore Hall is becoming the focus for Britain's thriving chamber-music scene. This richness is also due to the extent and depth of Britain's music resources; young musicians come from all over the world to study at Britain's conservatoires, which turn out a steady stream of superbly accomplished soloists and orchestral musicians.

Together with various distinguished music theatres at both a national and a regional level, the UK also has a number of major orchestras. For instance, in London, there are the English Chamber Orchestra, the London Philharmonic Orchestra, the London Symphony Orchestra, the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, the BBC Concert Orchestra, the BBC Philharmonic, and the BBC Symphony Orchestra. Outside London, there is the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra and the BBC National Orchestra of Wales together with other UK leading orchestras, such as the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra, the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra, the Hallé, the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra, the Ulster Orchestra, and Royal Scottish National Orchestra (Pitchford, 2005). There are also a number of world-famous theatres in the UK, and an extensive list of music festivals, which play an important role in bringing classical music into the public view.

Not only has Britain many national and regional orchestras, but also many international musical festivals take place in the UK, for example, the largest and most famous international arts festival, the annual Edinburgh International Festival, takes place during late August-early September. This festival attracts musicians and performing artists from around the world and features opera, theatre, music and

dance. There are also several national festivals that take place each year in the UK, such as the BBC Proms, as briefly described earlier (for instance, from July to September, over 70 concerts take place at the Royal Albert Hall, with every concert being broadcast live on BBC Radio 3). Again, according to Karen Pitchford's report, the Chelsea Festival, the City of London Festival, London String Quartet Week (including music and educational activities), the Lufthansa Festival of Baroque Music, and the Spitalfields Festival also take place in the UK annually (Pitchford, 2005).

It is also worth noting that, recently, "Sheffield City Council ran an orchestral season in the 2,300-seat Sheffield City Hall, comprising at least 16 concerts, including two chamber orchestra concerts, by British and international orchestras, such as the Manchester Camerata, London Sinfonietta, and others" (Devlin and Ackrill, 2005:17). One of Britain's leading professional orchestras, the Halle, also established a significant working relationship with Sheffield City Council, whereby the Halle orchestra regarded Sheffield as its second home for repeating Manchester concerts. With orchestral audiences dwindling and ageing, a commercial company, Sheffield International Venues, was appointed to run the Hall programme in April 2000, with a financial subsidy from the Council. A minimum of 12 concerts is required according to the terms of SIV's subsidy from the Council, and a closely monitored business plan including long term repayment of capital loans is in place (Devlin and Ackrill, 2005).

Clearly, Sheffield City Council plays a positive role in promoting classical music in its city, especially in helping support classical music financially. Arts Council regional research, reported by Devlin and Ackrill (2005), again has also shown that Manchester is another major UK major city that often wins a large amount of funding to support classical music activities by concentrating on an effective supporting strategy for those activities; as the result of this, Manchester Camerata, Northern Sinfonia, Opera North have become the most famous regional even national orchestras (Devlin and Ackrill, 2005).

Further, in Birmingham city, classic music activities have been running successfully as can be seen by the fact that the city is home to several distinctive city resident

orchestras, such as the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra. As a world-class symphony orchestra, this has received a £1,955,496 budget from Arts Council England. It offers a season of concerts at the Symphony Hall in Birmingham, commissions new works, tours nationally and internationally, and operates an extensive education programme; it also plays a leading role in the classical musical practice at a national level (Arts Council England, 2006).

Finally, taking Nottingham city again as an example, as (stated in the earlier chapter music activities in Nottingham were chosen as the case study in this thesis and the reasons for choosing such this case as the case study will be explained in the later methodology chapter), I will provide some detailed information on how classical music activities have been located in the city both in this chapter and in Chapter 6. Nottingham itself is classified as a multicultural city, and culture and music activities are a crucial part of people's everyday life. For instance, the Cultural and Community Services Board within the city council has provided many kinds of opportunities to promote the arts and music events and to support the arts and the cultural infrastructure. In terms of music resources, Nottingham has a wide range of public and private music organisations, for instance, Nottingham Royal Concert Hall, Nottingham Playhouse, and University Lakeside Arts Centre. In relation to the professional and semi- professional music groups, there are also a number of orchestras in the city, for instance, the Nottingham Philharmonic Orchestra and the Nottingham Symphonic, and the Nottingham Youth Orchestra has become the most influential music organisation in the Midlands area in recent years.

According to the information on the Nottingham Philharmonic Orchestra's website, this orchestra was founded in 1974, with the aim of providing a platform for local musicians to perform orchestral music to the highest musical standards, and by 1985, the orchestra had grown significantly in size (Nottingham Philharmonic Orchestra, 2005). The Nottingham Philharmonic Orchestra is a non-professional orchestra and always attracts players from a wide surrounding area, for instance, many players are music teachers, people from various professional occupation, as well as retired people and students (Nottingham Philharmonic Orchestra, 2005). One of the distinguished

characteristics of such an orchestra is that all the players share common interests; they also enjoy the opportunity to play together. Yet, despite being non-professional, the Nottingham Philharmonic Orchestra always aims to achieve the highest standards possible. As a result of such quality, the orchestra in the last few years has played under many professional guest conductors. The orchestra usually gives five concerts per year, in the Nottingham Royal Concert Hall, Nottingham Albert Hall and Southwell Minster (Further details of Nottingham Philharmonic Orchestra can be found at <http://www.nottinghamphilharmonic.co.uk>).

In setting out a descriptive overview of Nottingham Philharmonic Orchestra, I will also introduce another regional amateur orchestra, namely, Nottingham Youth orchestra. Nottingham Youth Orchestra was founded by Derek William (a regional leading conductor) in 1985, with the aim of encouraging young people to play to the best of their ability, and to provide professional tutors to lead each orchestral section (Nottingham Youth Orchestra, 2002). This orchestra now comprises three orchestras involving some 240 players, it has also gained its reputation through a number of national performances and international tours (Nottingham Youth Orchestra, 2002). In recent years, the orchestra has performed in many countries. It is also worth noting that at the Edinburgh International Festival 2002, Nottingham Youth Orchestra gave a world premiere performance of a new work commissioned by the orchestra. Based on the Nottingham Youth Orchestra's website information, "Nottingham Youth Orchestra is an established part of the Nottingham music scene giving at least four major concerts in the Nottingham area each year" (Nottingham Youth Orchestra, 2002). For instance, in recent years, the orchestra has often worked closely with local music theatre, and in 2003, the orchestra gave a highly acclaimed performance of Russian music at Nottingham's Royal Concert Hall (further relevant information can be found at <http://www.nottmyo.org.uk>).

Another example is the Nottingham Choral Trust, "it was founded in 1983, with the aim of promoting weekend choral courses and concerts for singers from all walks of life in the Nottingham area and to introduce an adventurous approach on how to enjoy choral music and perform to the local public" (Nottingham Choral Trust, 2003).

Today, the Nottingham Choral Trust has eleven performing groups, adult and youth, choral and instrumental, involving over one thousand participants; they also present a varied programme of twelve high quality concerts per season. One of the Choral Trust's performing groups is the Symphony Chorus (250 singers). The Symphony Chorus offers a number of workshops and high-quality performance opportunities and provides a rewarding experience for singers (Nottingham Choral Trust, 2003; available at www.nctmusic.org, accessed 11, October 2007). It is worth noting that Nottingham Choral Trust has as its unique mission to bring choral music to everyone. In the light of such a mission, the Choral Trust decided there would therefore be no auditions for potential members; by doing this, Choral Trust has attracted people from Nottingham and much further field. It is not hard to see that such a mission from a local amateur orchestra help us achieve a goal of making music widely available for all citizens. The problem is whether such a case can be transferred into a wider context of classical music activities across the country (for instance, could other amateur orchestras learn the positive experience from Nottingham Choral Trust in terms of promoting a cultural democracy or could we implement relevant political and strategic support on assisting regional amateur orchestra's development).

Together with above local-based classical music organisations, Nottingham Symphony Orchestra also plays a major role in the classical music of the City and County of Nottingham. According to the Nottingham Symphony Orchestra's website's, Nottingham Symphony Orchestra is another amateur orchestra in the region; especially, under the expert and enthusiastic guidance of their Musical Director, the orchestra always tries to achieve a high musical standard (Nottingham Symphony Orchestra, 2002). The orchestra plays four concerts each year; the repertoire spans all types of classical music and the choice of programmes is varied. One notable achievement is that some of the members have won local artists' awards and a number have been winners of the BBC Young Musician of the Year competition. Together with the above achievements, Nottingham Symphony Orchestra has featured internationally known soloists in their concerts. Nottingham Symphony Orchestra also plays a vital role in helping to promote local music events with local theatre and national television. For instance, in 2002, the orchestra was invited to play a major part in Nottingham's Golden Jubilee celebrations at the

Nottingham Ice Centre. In 2004, the orchestra made a very successful debut in Nottingham's Royal Concert Hall, joining forces with Nottingham Festival Opera. Later that year, Nottingham Symphony orchestra appeared in an episode of one of BBC1's leading drama programmes. Again, in May 2006, the orchestra returned to the Royal Concert Hall for another successful visit in a concert featuring Aled Jones and Keedie.

Although all above facts indicate that Britain has a rich music and classical music life, there are still a number of concerns raised by Arts Council England; for instance, empirical evidence from Arts Council England has shown that the attendances of classical music activities in the UK are facing serious problems. In addition, a research report conducted by Arts Council England in 2003, *Focus on Cultural Diversity*, presents, "the information on attendance at a wide range of arts events and cultural venues in the 12 months before the interviews, along with participation in cultural activities and attitudes towards the arts and culture, including views on public funding" (Arts Council England, 2003:5). The results of the survey show that only nine percent of respondents had been to a classical music concert in the previous year. However, the results of this survey also show that, although there were some differences between individual and ethnic groups, there were very high levels of engagement with the support for classical music activities. In addition, as technological innovation and the internet have arrived in this high-tech world, networking and access to desirable experiences are becoming more important than producing and consuming in the world of music. Brown (2007) states that there is a stirring in the world of classical music, and it comes from an unexpected source: the web. In a market whose consumers have been written off as so doddering they have barely recovered from the loss of 78s, the statistics are striking. Classical music currently accounts for about 3%-4% of total sales of music in shops (Brown, 2007).

As Johnson argues (2002), classical music is generally considered 'old' music; this is important both for those who value it highly and for those who consider it largely irrelevant today. That culture is practised in one form or another seems to be widespread, probably universal, in human society and is also true of contemporary

society. Therefore, what is the contemporary value of the classical music? One argument for this is that this music form has stood the test of time and been judged as great music by successive generations, so classical music has some kind of security for its market value. Another argument is posed by new classical music, a phrase that underlines the awkwardness of our historical understanding (Johnson, 2002). If new classical music means pastiche Mozart, then the new classical music (or contemporary music, as it prefers to be called) paradox causes problems for both the lover of older classical music and the listener who cares for no classical music at all. Yet, classical music as a particular high cultural form exists in contemporary society in many different styles, with new technology and a high level of artistic creativity that has arrived in this new century. Therefore, the issues in relation to how the new technology has influenced the classical music participant in contemporary society and the relationship between classical music and contemporary society, along with the examination of the dilemma of how to keep classical music in terms of its values in contemporary society seem crucial for a study of classical music. The above issues will be discussed in later chapters.

National strategy and funding structure in classical music activities and classical music policy

Arts Council England, as the key governmental agency for classical music development in the UK has planned a variety of projects to support the regional classical music activities. Recent years have seen a number of national developments that have changed the context in which the professional orchestral sector operates. In particular, a National Review of Chamber Orchestras commissioned by Arts Council England in 2002/3 made a number of recommendations, several of which were accepted and budgeted for action. The results were as follows:

- 1 The lack of orchestral provision identified in the Welsh borders, Yorkshire, the South West and Kent was to be addressed through developmental work with promoters by the Eastern Orchestral Board (EOB Orchestras Live).

2. A second initiative, to develop a national chamber orchestra network for more experienced promoters, was to be launched for a pilot year in 2005/6
3. In collaboration with local authorities, several national chamber orchestras would undertake regular residencies in communities around England
4. More detailed research was to be conducted on orchestral provision in the South West, the South East England and Yorkshire

(Devlin and Ackill, 2005:5)

Arts Council England's Stabilisation Programme has worked with the eight funded symphony orchestras to mitigate their combined £10m debt, in term of developing a range of new, more flexible operating models. According to Devlin and Ackill's report (2005:5), "several are now making modest annual surpluses. Plans are well underway for the creation of junior academies for the advanced training of exceptionally talented young musicians; the first of these are at The Sage, Gateshead, and in Leeds, meanwhile, symphony orchestras are increasing contact with youth orchestras, and some are forming their own".

Classical music organisations (including professional classical music and amateur classical music) in Britain have been always funded by local government and Arts Council England. In July 2004, Arts Council England and the Millennium Commission jointly allocated £19.5 million of lottery money to support cultural programmes in 19 urban areas, including Birmingham, Brighton and Hove, Norwich and Bradford. In addition, the arts, as a unique form of culture, have always been one of the core good causes supported by the National Lottery. For instance, the musical sector received £457 million in 2004 from the National Lottery (Arts Council England, 2006).

Classical music, on the one hand, has been supported by local government, but only spasmodically because funding came from the leisure department. Local government has traditionally focused on the services of its own direct promotions. However, due

to the combination of declining power and financial resources and the availability of various kinds of national grants for economic and social regeneration, a growing debate about the importance of independent voluntary organisations in civil government is leading some authorities to see encouragement of the arts less as a discrete activity and more as an essential component of community development.

It is true that the public music budget was under pressure; this is clear from the financial figures; for instance, local government spending in England and Wales fell by about £3 million in 1995-1996 and the Arts Council's Treasury grant for 1997-1998 was £186 million – the same amount as for 1992-1993. However, the fears of the classical world regarding lottery funding are not borne out by the Arts Council's explicit intention to help both the amateur and the professional, although should the resources available fall short of overall demand at some stage in the future it is not unreasonable to foresee trouble ahead for competing interest groups.

Further, the British Council, another important supporting organisation for classical music in the UK, also works across the spectrum of classical music – from early music to choral music (British Council, 2004; available at www.britishcouncil.org, accessed 16 August 2007). One of its aims is to focus on new work by living composers and new repertoires, and to find imaginative ways of presenting contemporary classical music to new audiences. Together with the British Council, the Arts Council and the DCMS, according to Musicians Union's own website information,

Musicians' Union offers a range of services tailored for the self-employed by providing assistance for full and part time professional and student musicians of all ages. The Musicians' Union has specialist full time officials available to tackle immediately the issues raised by musicians working in the live arena, the recording studio, or when writing and composing.

(Musicians' Union, 2003)

That many services that the Union provides aim to assist its members throughout their professional careers and beyond:

The role of the BBC in promoting classical music in the UK

--BBC Radio 3 service

Together with Arts Council England, the British Council, and the DCMS, the BBC plays a vital role in promoting classical music in the UK; for instance, the BBC has its own orchestras: the BBC Concert Orchestra, the BBC National Orchestra of Wales, the BBC Philharmonic, the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra, the BBC Singers and the BBC Symphony Orchestra. BBC Radio 3 is the major radio station in the UK that offers a mix of music and cultural programming in order to engage and entertain its audience (BBC, 2007b). Classical music is its core programme; it uses a speech-based programming with the aim of seeking to educate the audience about all forms of music (BBC, 2008). Such service also intends to bring music to any age of audience to expand their cultural horizons through engagement with all forms of music (BBC, 2008). Its core mission is also “to bring new work and performances from composers, musicians and writers, and draw on the best talent from across the world to create its wide-ranging portfolio of programmes” (BBC, 2007a). Radio 3 also aims to “provide an entry point for listeners, giving a context and stimulus for their exploration of classical music, and providing entry points to less experienced listeners”(BBC, 2007a), while fostering debate among the more knowledgeable with the following priorities:

- To strengthen coverage of the international music scene in daytime programming;
- To provide listeners with a new appointment for the appreciation of poetry, interleaved with a sequence of complementary music,
- To broadcast programming to complement the Radio 4 historical introduction to classical music in 60 programmes.

(BBC, 2007a)

As stated on the BBC's website, the BBC's own music policy (especially in relation to classical music) is to stimulate creativity and cultural excellence. Thus, "Radio 3 is committed to presenting music from across the UK and from a broad range of venues and festivals, including every programme in the BBC Proms"(BBC, 2007b).It also aims to "celebrate creativity specifically through our involvement in the Royal Philharmonic Society Awards, the British Composer Awards and the Radio 3 Awards for World Music"(BBC, 2007b).It also states, "building on the exploration of British music during 2006, we will marks the Edward Elgar anniversary, extensively presenting his music and cultural context" (BBC, 2007b). For instance, in 2007, "that BBC ensured 50% of the station's music output consisted of live or specially recorded music and commissioned at least 30 new musical works"(BBC, 2007b).

Also, The second major music policy which ahs been decided by BBC in its aim to represent the UK's nations, regions and communities is to promote education and learning. Thus, the BBC aims to "seek to stimulate interest and music debate across Radio 3's musical genres. Furthermore, the BBC's orchestras and the BBC Singers bring live orchestral and choral music to a wide range of venues. Our regular coverage of musical performance and the arts reflects creativity from across the UK"(BBC, 2007C).

Finally, the aim of sustaining citizenship and civil society has also been added to the agenda with the following the promise: BBC Radio 3 will address following key issues:

"Contemporary issues in programmes such as Night Waves and Music Matters, debating issues from a cultural perspective, offering a variety of opinions, and encouraging our listeners to come to their own conclusions, and also again to organise a weekend of speech events based around major issues facing society, and involving the public both in the Liverpool-based festival and through a high degree of interactivity on air and online.

(BBC, 2007c)

As the evidence indicates, BBC Radio 3 services have played a significant role in bringing UK music to the world, especially its classical music programme. For instance, BBC Radio 3 works very closely with some international partner broadcasters in nations outside the UK. In addition, BBC Radio 3 aims to continue to develop its international profile to strengthen the representation of their main performances, such as the opera broadcasts (BBC, 2007a).

--BBC Proms

As stated on the BBC Prom's website, in August 1895, the first Proms concert (organised by Sir Henry Wood and Robert Newham) took place at Queen's Hall in London. Woods' aim was to "reach a wider range of audience by offering popular musical programmes, adopting a less formal promenade arrangement, and by trying to keep ticket prices low"(BBC, 2007d). Wood was also keen to provide an ever-wider range of music. For instance, "in the first seasons, a tradition was established of a Wagner Night on Mondays and a Beethoven Night on Fridays, after that Wood continued to present an enterprising mixture of the familiar and the adventurous, programming new works each season" (BBC, 2007d). So, since 1895, "the scope of the Proms has increased enormously, but Henry Wood's concept for the season remains the same: to present the widest possible range of music, performed to the highest standards, to large audiences"(BBC, 2007d). Woods also tried to promoted young and talented musicians; in doing this he managed to raise orchestral standards. By 1920, Wood had introduced to the Proms many leading composers; for instance, music by Richard Strauss, Debussy, Rakhmaninov appeared at the Proms (BBC, 2007d).

The 1920s and 1930s was the most important period for the Proms; during those years, the BBC gradually took over the Proms, and for three years the concerts were given by 'Sir Henry Wood and his Symphony Orchestra', until the BBC Symphony Orchestra was formed in 1930. Soon after, the BBC took over the responsibility for the Proms, and the BBC radio channel was available for the nation; thus the BBC Proms have become a cornerstone of British classical musical life. For instance, now

that the Proms reach a wider audience, it is easy to see how the BBC Proms have gradually reached Woods' original aim of "truly democratising the message of music, and making its beneficent effect universal" (BBC, 2007d).

The achievement of that goal can be seen in the 100th Proms season, which took place in 1994. Nowadays, the festival includes over 70 main Prom concerts every year, with an ever-widening range of symphonic and operatic music presented. In addition, the BBC Proms still opens its doors to welcome leading international performers, while, at the same time, it is showcasing some outstanding acts from the British music scene (including the BBC's own orchestras and choirs).

The BBC Proms in the Park series was launched in 1996, together with Proms Chamber Music and the Proms Lecture. The Proms in the Park, is sponsored by National Savings and Investments; it is centred around a series live concerts with high-profile musicians around world, culminating in a live Big Screen link-up to the Royal Albert Hall (BBC, 2007c).

As stated on the BBC Prom's website, "the first Proms recital followed in 1997, and there have been special events, such as 'Choral Day' in 1998, '1000 years of music in a day' in 1999), 'Proms Millennium Youth Day' in 2000"(BBC, 2007e). Together with "the launch of Poetry Proms at the Serpentine Gallery and 'Composer Portraits' at the Royal College of Music alongside the ever-expanding series of Pre-Prom talks at the Royal Albert Hall, the 2000 season saw more extra events than ever before" (BBC, 2007e). All the Proms are broadcast live on BBC Radio 3. Since 2002, more Proms have been broadcast on BBC Television than ever before and many Proms series have been video-webcast through the BBC's Proms website (BBC, 2007c).

However, the question is how have audiences felt about the Proms? To answer this question, the audiences in the past and present need to be defined in relation to other audiences for classical music events in London and elsewhere. This may well be why the BBC decided to make the Proms interactive for the first time with BBC4, the BBC's digital TV service, which allows members of the public to email in their own thoughts and questions to be used during the live broadcasts, and by pressing the 'red

button', digital viewers to BBC1, 2 and 4 TV could enjoy synchronised programme notes. As a result of this policy, in 2005, the Proms launched its first WAP site, accessible via mobile phones, together with a free daily text message alert service, so almost every Prom can now be heard 'on demand' via the Proms website for a week after it was broadcast.

Despite this seemingly extensive audience involvement, it is hard to see that what the Prom audience thinks is given much importance. The involvement of the Prom audience is symptomatic of bigger trends, such as the increasing democratisation of access to the high arts, and more recently, the fragmentation of the monolithic public into niche interests by taking serious positive action. Nevertheless, the Proms audience is also distinctive, a fact revealed by the taste, opinion and value judgement of individual members of the audience, which shows the Proms audience has fervently embraced the ideology of populist elitism that until recently was the main arts policy of the BBC and the government funding body. In addition to this, the Prom audience is aware of itself as something distinctive. This awareness is reinforced by the media, which reflects the audience back at itself in a constant self-reinforcing loop. Therefore, the question remains whether classical music should be simply treated as a form of the arts that only belong to an elite group.

Conclusion

As the facts discussed above demonstrate, the argument about why classical music policy should be highlighted and why classical music activities should be promoted is the fundamental justification in terms of classical music's social value, and illustrates why my research is vital in the field of cultural policy and of classical music studies. The key research questions together with the research methodology were the key part of the practical strategy to achieve the fundamental research aim of this thesis. There was no preconceived idea of what cultural policy should look like; that was the part of the investigation.

Chapter 5: Methodological Consideration

Introduction

In this chapter, first, I will identify my main research interests and the key research questions together with a justification of why I chose a qualitative research method as my main research methodology. Second, I will examine the process of how I gathered my primary data by conducting a documental analysis of government documents, official text evidence from relevant websites, documents from individual organizations, and relevant newspaper texts. For instance, Nottingham city's Arts and Events Strategy (from Arts Council England regional office), the Regional Arts Organisation Development Plan, minutes of meetings from Nottingham City Council's Culture and Community Services Strategic Board, and articles from the local evening newspaper in relation to the development of a few local theatres. Further, I conducted 22 semi-structured interviews with members from local stakeholders (local music policy makers), local music managers of venues and directors, local musical performers, regional arts agency officers, and directors of local main concert halls. Those data were brought into my research as interview data. In this chapter, I will also explain how the data from the interviews was tape recorded and fully transcribed and how a qualitative analysis strategy of interview data focused on the main research questions (such as how cultural policy objectives can be oriented towards development within the different types of cultural organisations. I will give a full examination of what the main research questions are in the following section of this chapter). Finally, in this chapter, I discuss how familiarisation with the data through reviewing and reading, and how making the data anonymous and dealing with sensitive data were crucial elements of this research. Further, coding, re-coding work and identification of the key themes were completed throughout the process of the data analysis in this chapter.

Identifying the Research Interests

As was discussed in earlier chapters, classical music research demands serious attention from cultural studies scholars, cultural policy makers and music practitioners. Although the existing literatures have investigated music making in a local English town, it seems that the relationship among urban classical music

activities, national music policy and local music industries has hardly been examined. Further, existing studies have paid hardly any attention to the current state of the symphony orchestra, to chamber music, to the state of music education and recreational musicianship, to the community music business, to training programs and employment opportunities for professional musicians and composers, or to other relevant, tangible measures of the culture of and marketplace for classical music.

The main research aim

Therefore, in my work, I attempt to introduce some new thinking about the contribution made by classical music programs at the sub-national level, and to illustrate these ideas by looking into the music policy making process in a British city, namely, Nottingham. The research aims are as follows:

1. to examine the relationships between the national musical agencies, the local authorities and regional arts agencies towards the classical music policy at local level;
2. to examine the tension, conflict and degree of consensus within relevant musical organisations (venues, directors, performers), policy makers and local stakeholders;
3. to use the analytical outcomes of classical music activities and music policy making process in Nottingham to evaluate how the national music policy has been implemented at a local level;
4. to contribute to the ongoing theoretical debate in cultural policy based on my theoretical analysis and the current debate regarding cultural policy among cultural studies scholars.

Research methods meet research aims

Classical music activities seem to have been forgotten within the political sphere in this new century; this is partly because other forms of music have dominated the music market in the UK, and partly because other forms of music, such as popular music, have been seen as a political weapon to target certain social agenda. The research questions together with my research methodology will be the key part of the practical strategy in this study to achieve the fundamental research aim in this thesis (as discussed earlier in this chapter). Therefore, within an 18-month period research was conducted regarding such issues as how to locate the research aims as the key justification for this thesis and how to achieve the research aims by answering the key

research questions in this study. The research had no pre-conceived idea of what cultural policy should look like; this was part of the investigation. However, by drawing upon the normative debates available in the work of Raymond Williams, Jim McGuigan, Tony Bennett, Michel Foucault and Jurgen Habermas and others, I have moved the analysis beyond issues relates to description.

The research question

Over a 12-month period, I gathered data from various different music organisations in Nottingham (for example, a local arts centre, a local concert hall, two semi-professional orchestras, and an amateur choir). I also gathered data from a city- and a state-level governmental support agency, namely, the East Midland office of Arts Council England. The local authorities were the main target for this research. To supplement the data analysis, I conducted 22 interviews with key persons who held diverse positions within the cultural and music management world, for instance, concert hall directors, arts agency officers, city councillors, coordinator of regional arts servers and also managers of regional arts servers. My research questions will be examined as set out below:

1. How do music policy administrators conduct the best practices to achieve a particular mission for music policy today in Nottingham and to conduct the best systems of government support designed to foster the maintenance and development of cultural identities and cultural practices?
2. Why and how does the above-mentioned social practice in Nottingham engage with the politics of classical music activities, including policy analysis and policy formulation and under what kind of power structure and in what kind of political and public sphere does this occur?
3. How can governments mobilize public resources for music spending effectively when so many funding agencies are involved?

The Choice of Research Methodology: a Case Study Strategy

Cultural policy research is interdisciplinary. It should draw on the social sciences for both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies and to articulate its social and economical role. There have been a number of concerns that research relating to

the links between culture, art and policy has been poorly conceptualised and suffers from a lack of methodological rigour. It seems that the cultural policy research in the UK is more interested in developing a quantitative-orientated research instrument to look into the cultural policy's movement rather than they are in qualitative-orientated methods. In other words, cultural policy researchers are more interested in exploring the instrumental approach to cultural policy research (for example, Cultural Trends, the UK's leading source of regular statistical information on the arts and wider cultural sector). On the other hand, American cultural planners, such as DiMaggio, are cited as key intellectuals (DiMaggio, 1987; Millers, 1996), along with British intellectuals who combined the Birmingham-school of cultural studies with local government traditions in the UK during the 1980s (Bennett, 1998b; Jones, 1994), are more willing to focus on the debate on the politics of difference and politics of entitlement by conducting surveys. It also seems not many qualitative-orientated researches using case study strategy on cultural policy research projects have been conducted at a global level. Further, in comparison with quantitative research, qualitative research often involves the analysis of social phenomena in a manner that does not entail any kind of numerical or statistical measurement. Qualitative research also draws on a style of investigation traditionally used by social anthropologists, which includes methodological techniques, such as observations, interviews and focus group discussions. The logic of such an approach is to explore the way people or a group of people construct their behaviour, feelings and interactions, without a desire to quantify these processes (Hammersley, 1993).

Qualitative research methods also have the following strengths in comparison with quantitative research methods: 1) Depth and detail — the researcher who is conducting the research may not obtain such in-depth information as they would using a standardised questionnaire 2) Openness - qualitative research can generate new theories and recognise phenomena ignored by most or all previous researchers and literature 3) Emphasis on the world views of the people involved in the topic being researched, rather than the researcher imposing their own views onto other people's experiences.

Qualitative research has often been criticised because, as it involves fewer people, it could easily become dependent upon the researcher's personal attributes and skills, and the findings are less easily generalised as a result. However, after careful consideration, I felt a qualitative research approach would be the most suitable for my research based on the above reasons. Therefore, my aim was to develop an analytical instrument together with a historical and philosophical rationale to examine the cultural policy research movement, specifically classical music policy, in a wide context by adopting a qualitative research approach.

The use of case study as a research methodology has become more popular in the recent years because of the inability of data sources to answer significant questions. The reason why many researchers use the case study method is that it is the most appropriate method for the research purposes, that involve exploring new areas and issues or explaining a complex phenomenon. From Hammersley's point of view, case study strategy always involves the process of data collection and the analysis of qualitative rather than quantitative data, and it often focuses on meaning rather than on behaviour (Hammersley, 1993; Feagin and Sjoberg, 1991).

Yin (1994) also suggests the case study may actually be more powerful for methodological purposes due to its ability to answer questions regarding how and why something happens, especially when researchers realise that the case study approach allows the use of a variety of research methods in order to capture the complex topic under scrutiny. For instance, the case study can give researchers access to places they would not normally be able to visit; the case study also allow researchers to experience vicariously unique situations and unique individuals; furthermore, "the case study can also help those who are uninitiated into a particular theoretical viewpoint come to understand that viewpoint"(Donmoyer, 1990). Hammersley and Foster also emphasise that a properly conducted case study can often add nuance and subtlety to the ideal-typical perspective of crucial details.

Yin (1994) argues that the case study involves a kind of inference or generalization that is quite different in character from statistical analysis, being 'logical',

'theoretical' or analytical in character. Others suggest that there are ways in which case studies can be used to make what is, in effect, the same kind of generalizations as those that would be produced by a survey (Feagin, Orum and Sjoberg, 1991). Further, in terms of causal or discourse and narrative analysis, in contrast with experiments, case study research can investigate the causal process rather than relying upon an artificially created setting. However, whichever form the case study takes, there is still the question of how to distinguish contingent from necessary relationships among events if only one or a small number of cases is being studied (Gomm, Hammersley and Foster, 2000). One of the limitations often raised is that because only a single case, or at any rate a small number of cases, is studied, the representativeness of the findings is always in doubt. Mammersley and Atkinson (1983) remark that ethnographic research is concerned with a case that has intrinsic interest; therefore, generalization is not always the primary concern. Whether to choose adopt a case study strategy also depends on whether the research is directed towards the development and testing of a theory or whether the aim is to produce a generalisation about a finite population of cases (Schofield, 1990). In other words, the aim of case study research should be to capture cases in their uniqueness, rather than to use the case study as a basis for a wider generalisation. Therefore, one of the reasons why I adopted a case study strategy is to provide great amount of detail from the viewpoint of the participants, to provide multiple sources of data from the sphere of classical music policy making and to examine the uniqueness of cultural practice in a British city, that is, Nottingham.

Thus, this thesis investigates one aspect of British cultural policy at a regional level. In the thesis, I explore the cultural character in a British city; I do not aim to compare cultural policy in a British, European or a global context.

One of the reasons for choosing Nottingham as the case study is that, in recent years, diverse cultural events have taken place in the city. For instance, according to Nottingham city council statistics, the Royal Centre has had a £20million impact on local economy; also, Nottingham Playhouse, Lakeside Centre and the D.H. Lawrence Centre have had their own impressive diary of events, including some famous international events, such as the visit by the Bolshoi Ballet to Royal Centre for the

first time in 2006 (Nottingham City Council, 2006). Nottingham City Council also hosted the British Art Show of best contemporary artists in Britain in 2006, and later in 2006, the city council started to make links with Derby and Leicester for the purpose of promoting cultural diversity with the Caribbean Carnival benefiting particularly from this collaboration. The wide range of events on offer in terms of improving the provision of culture have enhanced the city's national and international reputation; these events include events such as a series of classical music concerts at an international level at the Royal Centre (for example, the annual St Petersburg Ballet Theater), and a series of music concerts by the regional based orchestras with access transformed through Arts Council funding. The contribution of culture to the economic vitality of the city was recognised by the Beacon Council Award in 2001/02 for 'Regenerating through Culture, Sport and Tourism' (Nottingham City Council, 2005).

It is also worth noting that both the Lakeside Arts Centre and the Royal Concert Hall have their own outstanding seasonal educational programmes, which involve building up a closer relationship with the local community through more active engagements, and by promoting a series of specialized education projects.

Another reason to choose Nottingham for this case study was that, in comparison with other British cities, classical music activities in Nottingham city are facing a variety of challenges. The total population in Nottingham in 2001 was 275,100. Nottingham has a highly multicultural society. Culture and music have become a crucial part of people's everyday life; in particular, the Cultural and Community Services Board in the city council have provided the chance to develop the council's role and leadership in the promotion of arts events to support and develop the arts and cultural infrastructure including the Creative Industries. For instance, in term of music resources, Nottingham has a wide range of public and private music organisations; for instance, Nottingham Royal concert hall, the Lakeside Arts Centre (as discussed earlier), a number of regional based professional and semi- professional music groups, such as the Nottingham Philharmonic Orchestra, the Nottingham Symphonic, and the Nottingham Youth Orchestra, have become the most significant music organisations in the Midlands area in recent years. Further, in terms of the state-level governmental support, the East Midlands office of Arts Council England, which is located in

Nottingham, together with those regional music activities, was one of my main research targets to help me to answer the first research question.

Conducting the Research

Process of selection and access

When I began to explore the classical music organisations and the relevant governmental department that is involved in the cultural policy-making process in Nottingham, it soon became apparent that such organisations are difficult to identify. For instance, it was difficult for me to identify which organisations were amateur and which were semi-professional. Nonetheless, I was certain that I wanted to conduct research into both amateur and semi-professional classical music organisations. In Chapter 6, I will offer a comprehensive explanation of what is meant by semi-professional and amateur music organisations.

The next stage in my decision-making process concerning which classical music organisation, which regional Arts agency officer, which directors of concert halls and which governmental official in culture to include in the study was influenced by whether those organisations were involved with the regional cultural policy-making process in Nottingham. Therefore, it made sense for me to conduct the interviews within relevant classical music organisations in the city.

Once the decision had been made to focus on the relevant classical music organisations, I contacted the managers and conductors of a few orchestras, the key local cultural policy makers from the city council, music officers from the regional arts agency and the directors of local theatres to discuss my research aim. The reason for such research action was to gain insight into their interests in order to develop further my research focus and purpose. Following my initial conversations with the above people, I found that a few local orchestras were heavily involved with local classical music activities, and had regular contact with cultural and leisure departments both within the city council and within the regional office of Arts Council England. At the same time, among three local theatres, one local theatre seemed to be very involved with contacting local classical music followers by

offering a series of good quality of classical music concerts, and another had a close relationship with the city council in terms of the city's political agenda.

Therefore, I decided to concentrate on those concert halls that I thought would help me further develop my research focus and purpose, specifically, a local city concert hall and a local arts centre. Also, in relation to the professional and semi-professional music groups, I decided to focus on three local orchestras that were becoming the most influential music organisations in the Midlands region in recent years. This was not only because they were pioneer music organizations in the region, but also because I felt their conductors and managers may have been able to offer me a crucial insider's view of how the government system works in terms of classical music strategy, and how the policy re-formulation always raises the question of how to mobilize public resources for cultural spending. Further, I thought their answers might help me to understand how public funding had been spent in all forms of cultural activities and why the public spending on music often goes to sustaining the relationship with professionals, either soloists or musical directors.

In terms of state-level governmental support, the East Midlands office of the Arts Council of England, which is located in Nottingham city, was my main research target in helping answer my research question, specifically, the first research question. I therefore decided to re-approach the above relevant organisations by conducting 22 semi-structured interviews. Whilst I made it very clear with the relevant respondents that this research was not designed to produce any generalised findings, both interviewees and I agreed that our interests in the research were complementary. I also felt that the whole process of gaining access into those organisations was smooth; this was partly because the relevant government officers were supportive. In addition to this, a consent form was sent out for all my interviewees to sign; the purpose of being again to inform my interviewees about my research aims and of how the interviews would be conducted and also to let them know that all interview materials would be kept as confidential data. Further, this would make all interviewees aware that they had the right to withdraw their participation in this study at any stage. (Please see the appendix 1 for details of the consent form that was sent out).

Documentary materials

Documentary research was carried out as part of the background orienting work for this research. The reason for using documentary materials was to offer an interpretive quality to support my interview data. This section will focus on a discussion of the status of documentary data in qualitative research, and I will also describe why I selected relevant documents and how these documents were accessed.

There are different types of document, ranging from informal to formal or official, each with a distinctive style. For instance, as Murphy and Dingwall (2001) state, documents are a major feature of contemporary society and are important sources of data. Like interview data, documents are the products of the context in which they were generated. The texts I draw on for this research fall into the following three categories: 1. news media, 2. policy documents and official text evidence (including relevant meeting minutes from local authorities), 3. individual organizational documents.

In addition to my interview data, which comprised my main research fieldwork, documentary sources were also gathered during my fieldwork. I spent some time searching for newspaper articles concerning city cultural and classical music activities. Most of the relevant newspaper articles covering the local art centre and regional music activities were available from the city's central library and University library, which were not too difficult to search. However, it was hard at the time to identify the relevant policy documents because few dealt explicitly with the topic; also the relevant departments in the local government could not inform me where to search for the recent policy related documents. Fortunately, one of the my supervisors quite rightly pointed out that minutes from council meetings of previous years (such as minutes from Culture and Community Services Strategic Board meetings) in the city central library might well be the relevant policy related documents that I needed. Further, most of the individual organizational documents, (for instance, Lakeside Arts Centre Development Plan and Nottingham City Arts and Events Strategy from the arts council regional office) were also accessed through the relevant person within the organisation. Some of the documents were actually given or suggested to me during the interviews.

The documentary materials are referred to throughout the data chapter, as I felt they support my arguments well and could also offer an interpretive quality to support my interview data. It is worth noting that a few of the respondents involved in the interview referred to their publicity literature, such as the regional newspaper and Nottingham City Arts and Events Strategy.

The analysis of these documentary materials (which included governmental documents, official text evidence, individual organizational documents, and relevant newspaper data) took a more sociological turn and helped me establish my research basis in a more detailed way. The relevant documentary materials also helped me gain a deeper understanding of some crucial questions, such as how the arts and culture services have been delivered, what the local authority's role and leadership in promoting arts events was, and how the cross cutting issues through programmes in the arts had been addressed by various different relevant parties.

Throughout the process, some important articles were found that could be linked into a broad Foucauldian and Habermasian framework within which the thesis is based, exploring how democratic knowledge in the cultural space contained within these materials is produced, how the texts work to achieve the particular research aim and how they construct the reality.

'Internet' text

In recent years, there has been an increased use of texts from the internet with social scientific research. Clearly, as with other forms of texts, information obtained from the internet varies in content and purpose and its status as data cannot be taken for granted. Although I cannot state that I have sampled web-based information in a purely systematic way, regular searches on the internet helped me to keep track of the "cultural policy and classical music activities in the region" in the public arena and I also made use of internet texts that I found as evidence of the social constructions of such issues. It is my view that internet texts play a crucial role in terms of shaping and solving social problems.

As Mason (2002) states, ethical issues in research using documents are less immediate than those involving people, but still need to be considered. However, I discovered that some 'hidden' documentary materials, such as organisational internal memos, unpublished reports, organisational development plan and policy guidance also needed to be cited in the final bibliography.

Conducting interviews

Over the twelve months time, I gathered data from various different music organisations in Nottingham (for example, a local arts centre, a local concert hall, three Nottingham amateur orchestras, and a local amateur choir), together with a state-level governmental support agency (the East Midlands office of Arts Council England). Further, local authorities were also the main target for my research. To supplement the data analysis in total, I conducted 22 interviews with the following key persons from diverse positions in the field of cultural and music management (please see Appendix 2 for details of the questions I asked all interviewees).

Local stakeholders (local music policy makers):

- Senior member from Nottingham City Council
- Senior officer of Nottingham City Council
- Officer 1 of Nottingham City Council
- Officer 2 of Nottingham City Council

Managers of venues and directors:

- A very experienced local orchestra director
- The leader of local semi-professional orchestra (phone interview)
- A experienced conductor from local orchestra
- The chair from a local amateur orchestra 1
- The chair from a local amateur choir 2
- The conductor from local amateur choir 2
- A staff member of a local arts venue

- The education manager of a professional orchestra
- The manager of a local cultural agency (telephone interview)
- The chair of a local amateur choir 1

Performers:

- Semi-professional musician 1
- Amateur musician 2
- Amateur musicians 3

Arts agency officers:

- A senior staff member of Regional officer (Arts Council England)
- Officer 1 of Nottingham City Council
- Officer 1 of Nottingham County Council
- Officer 2 of Nottingham County Council

Directors of concert halls:

- The director of city major arts venue

One of the key reasons for choosing the above relevant people to interview was that they occupied an important role that could help me answer the research questions. For instance, city councillors have the most exclusive views on how a city-based cultural policy has been operated at a political level. Senior cultural officers from local authorities could provide me with a more detailed view of how policy has been determined at a practical level. The venue managers and managers from the different music organisations were more likely to focus on issues concerning the financial outcomes and on co-operation between local government and the local community. Therefore, I felt that I could accurately evaluate what were the potential tensions and conflicts or the positive relationship between the government and arts organisations. Further, performers and directors were more likely to concentrate on the quality of music shows or of the arts. Therefore, interviewing them would enable me to obtain

better answers for the question of how classical music activities had been placed in a contemporary society and whether a general public view of cultural activities influences the policy making process. Further, an in-depth analysis of those interview data was necessary in this study; certainly, more investigation will be required and I believe the outcomes from such an investigation would be useful in addressing the key research questions in this study.

The interview approach has been considered one of the most widely used research methods in qualitative research projects. For instance, Potter (2004) illustrates that the advantage of the interview approach is that, firstly, it allows research to focus on particular topics or themes in a concentrated manner; secondly, it facilitates a certain degree of standardisation across a sample of interviewees, with the same issues being addressed in each case; and, thirdly, it allows a degree of control over the sampling of participants. Furthermore, Fontana and Frey (1994) point out that different types of interview are suited to different situations. Many scholars have begun to realise that attempting to compare one type of interview against another is futile, a technique left over from the paradigmatic qualitative history of the past generation of research. As a result of this debate, an increasing number of researchers are starting to use multiple method approaches to achieve broader and often better results (Denzin and Lincoln 1998). For instance, in comparison with the structured interview, the semi-structured interview is more flexible because of the need to standardize the way in which each interviewee is dealt with.

The semi-structured interview is designed to allow the same major questions to be asked each time, but the researcher is free to alter the sequence. Further, the semi-structured interview strategy allows the respondent to explain more complex feelings and attitudes. So, by adopting a semi-structured interview approach, I was adopting a more exploratory research design that would allow me by other methodological procedures. All in all, the semi-structured interview approach was the key methodological approach adopted in this study together with a few telephone interviews. The reason for using the telephone interview approach to interview three of the interviewees was that they were living a significant distance from Nottingham, but after several attempts to arrange a meeting, they still could not commit a time for me to interview them in Nottingham. I could have travelled to them to conduct the

interviews, but unfortunately, at that time, I was facing a serious financial crisis; I did not have sufficient funding for the travelling expenses. Therefore, I decided that if I could obtain enough valuable data from all three telephone interviews, then the face-to-face interview would not be required. Fortunately, I felt the data from the three telephone interviews were sufficient for me to enter the final stage of analysing the data, though I realise that face-to-face interviews might have provided more substantial data. During this time, I designed the interviews including the major questions I wished to ask my interviewees (see Appendix 2).

While conducting the interviews, I generated the following principles of conducting a semi-structured interview, which I felt were crucial for a successful interview: 1. I would start with questions that were easy and generally interesting, 2. I would always keep the question short and clear to enable my respondents to understand the questions fully. Further, when interviewing the semi-professional musicians, I found that their personal story could help me understand their point of view, so I decided to ask the questions in a 'logical' order (leading respondents easily through the questions) and try to leave the 'personal' questions until the last few minutes.

Data Management and Analysis

Issues on managing qualitative data

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) argue that the triangulation of data sources involves the checking of inferences drawn from one set of data sources by collecting data from other sources, and the comparison of data in relation to the same phenomenon but derived from different phases of the fieldwork, the accounts of different participants and different locations in the setting.

An effective triangulation of data sources often includes, first, using multiple sources; and, second, reducing the chance of systematic bias. There are four main types of triangulation:

1. by source - data is collected from different sources (for example, different people or resources);

2. by method - different data collection strategies are used (such as individual interviews, focus groups and participant observation);
3. by researcher, which involves the use of more than one researcher to analyse the data and develop and test the coding scheme;
4. by theory - multiple theories and perspectives are considered during data analysis and interpretation.

As Robson (1993) points out, “triangulation in its various guises (for example, using multiple methods, or obtaining information relevant to a topic or issue from several informants), is an indispensable tool in social scientific research. It certainly provides a way of testing one source of information against other sources”(1993:383). Therefore, the issues related to the triangulation of data sources in this research will be presented in two ways: first, multiple methods were used in this research (documentary analysis and interview strategy, and, second, different participants were involved. For instance, data in this research in relation to the issues on conflicts and tensions between the different musical organisation and musical venues comes not only from the interviews with the concert directors, musical organisation managers and performers, but also from the official documents obtained from the local authorities and the gatekeepers of the relevant musical organisations, as discussed earlier. Further, the use of diverse sources was crucial for the data collection stage for this research; for instance, the people I interviewed came from a wide range of different settings, such as official institutions, governmental arts agencies (both local and national), musicians (professional musicians, semi-professional musicians, and amateur musicians), venue organisers, and music co-ordinators both at local authority and national arts agencies.

The final analysis based on the data I gathered helped me to achieve the best answers for the key research questions, which I examined earlier. Also, the following chart provides a fundamental methodological reason for the research questions, and research methods.

Chart linking research question and methods

Research questions	Data sources and methods	Justification;
1 How do music policy administrators conduct the best practices to achieve a particular mission for music policy today in Nottingham and also to conduct best systems of government support designed to foster the maintenance and development of cultural identities and cultural practices?	Governmental music and cultural officers interview Also possibly: Documentary analysis on city council meeting minutes	Interview will provide me with music officers (who work in local authorities and arts agency) accounts of how they handle policy making process at the local and national level. Document analysis will reveal how those legal and official document have recoded the previous cultural policy making process formally. Also, these documents will help to assess whether the systems assist the local community to develop their cultural practices.
2 Why and how those above social practices in Nottingham engage with a politics of music activities, including policy analysis and policy formulation and under what kind of power structure and in what kind of political and public sphere?	City music practitioners interview Also possibly: Document analysis of literature on cultural and music policy research	Interviews will offer music practitioners a chance to report their experiences, and their views about those music practice and relevant politics in Nottingham city. Interviews will also provide data on the formal expression of classical music practitioners' wishes and also provide information about the politics of music activities. Document analysis will help me search the reason and meaning on why music activities have to associate with the local politics and what the epistemological answer is for this and where the theory of ontological knowledge comes from.
3 How does the organisation and governance of the state and other agencies effect the practise if culture?	Official documents and previous document analysis	Document analysis of the official document and previous analysis on cultural and music policy in Britain will yield data on the formal and administrative regulation of performers, and the wishes and needs of managers of venues and of directors (of concert halls).
4. How can governments mobilize public resources for music spending when their policies in Nottingham are so uncoordinated?	Music officers in East Midlands Arts Council, arts and educational officers, directors of concert hall, community music organisers: interview	Interviews here will also provide music officers in the East Midlands region a chance to report their experience, and their judgement about those music practice and relevant politics in Nottingham city.

Recoding and transcribing

The interview data from the interviews were tape recorded and fully transcribed. Before each interview commenced (including both face-to-face interviews and telephone interviews), I obtained the interviewee's permission to record the interview. In addition to tape-recording the interview, notes were taken throughout all my interviews. Further, all my interview tapes were marked and stored in a confidential location due to the issues relating to confidentiality. Although at the time, I could have chosen to pay professionals to transcribe all the interview data for me, I found that going through and transcribing all the recorded data myself (and also by using specialised transcribing equipment), I benefited greatly from, first, familiarising myself with the data (and further research finding), second, concentrating some interesting points and, third, discovering some potentially important issues that I considered merited further exploration. Because I listened to the recorded tapes very

carefully, the process of each interview then stayed firmly in my mind. This process helped me to remember the details of each interview (such as the setting of the interview, how my interviewees presented themselves to me, and the interruptions). There is no doubt those details offered me an overall sense of each interview, which took shape in my head, and I then began to be able to see them as a whole unit with their different and distinct dimensions. It was also during the transcribing process that I began to make clearer connections between the research hypotheses, and that the theoretical themes provided insights for the further development of the prescriptive concept for the research.

Data Analysis

Interpreting qualitative data

The aim of conducting a Qualitative Data Analysis is to illustrate the significant and symbolic content of qualitative materials. Qualitative Data Analysis in the research project often engages with the summary of the great amount of data collected and draws conclusions from the research results in a way that allows important features to emerge.

Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) often requires two major steps: identifying key themes and reporting. Finding the key themes frequently involves the process of analysing data. In order to help researchers recognise the differences and similarities between the various themes, QDA often starts by coding the relevant information related to the key themes. The procedure of Qualitative Data Analysis is usually the same, whether the qualitative data has been collected from interviews, focus groups, observations or documents.

The qualitative data (such as data from a field notes or recorded interviews) can be very lengthy and often needs an interpretative examination that only the researchers themselves can perform. Thus, to have a clear idea of choosing right type of Qualitative data analysis method and not feel overwhelmed by the complex management of a huge amount of data, I decided I would need to discover an effective

approach to manage the qualitative data in this research. To achieve such goal, I compared two approaches that are commonly used for analysing qualitative data:

A choice of analytical methods

--Manual methods

A manual method often requires researchers to annotate their transcribed interview data. Also, by using filing cabinets and folders, researchers are able to gather similar themes or analytic ideas together. Such an approach requires researchers to have more than one copy of the original data, as the same data may represent more than one theme. Such technique also requires researchers using different coloured pens to distinguish between original data and comments.

--Computer based methods

The use of CAQDAS has been the subject of debate in both qualitative and quantitative research and has raised some important questions. As there are many advantages and disadvantages to adopting such programmes, these issues need to be considered carefully. The advantages in terms of the organisation and retrieval of coded data are obvious; such computer software packages often help save time. However, an over-reliance on such software can result in the researcher 'losing touch' with their data.

There are criticisms in the current computer-assisted software literature. For instance, Seidel (1991) argues that computer-assisted software will distance researchers from their data, furthermore, while such an approach may increase homogeneity in the process of data analysis, it might become difficult to manage, and hi-jack the qualitative analysis process. Most features of computer-assisted software might indeed lead researchers to perform types of analysis more suited to quantitative data; that was one of the main reasons why I chose not use computer-assisted software, such as Nvivo. Another reason was that it might have taken me a long time to learn how to use them. In a later section of this chapter, I will offer a full description on coding data, how to turn data into fragments and also on reporting data in general.

--Why do we need to develop a coding strategy?

Coding is an important process that helps the researcher sort the data and uncovers underlying deep meanings of the data; it also helps in bringing both the central and peripheral referents to the researcher's attention (Morse, 1994). Thus, a good coding strategy enables researchers to make sense of the data, and also to deconstruct and reconstruct data. The codes often act as collection points for significant data, so a good coding strategy will continually help the researcher to continue to make discoveries about a deeper reality in the data.

The way codes are developed and the timing of this process depends on whether the coding strategy approach is inductive or deductive. This will be one crucial implication of the methodology used in all research projects. If researchers are working inductively (for instance, using Grounded Theory), they need to let codes emerge from the data, as part of the noticing process. However, a deductive approach means that the researcher may need to seek the test with existing theories or expand on them. In this case, the researcher might have to develop codes that represent the ideas, concepts and themes within that theory, before they start assigning passages of the data to those codes (Lewins, Taylor and Gibbs: 2005). However, this kind of approach was not suitable for my research; therefore, I decided to adopt an inductive approach, which meant I would let all the codes emerge from the interview data as part of the noticing process, as this kind of coding strategy would allow me to make discoveries about the deeper realities in all the interview data.

--Key steps for using manual methods for qualitative data analysis

Firstly, I read 'across' the data from start to finish and re-read until I had achieved a 'sense' of the notes. I familiarised myself with the field notes and then identified the major recurring themes, constantly reminding myself of the main theoretical concerns/hypotheses, and giving the themes a shorthand name or 'tag'. For instance, at the first of stage of analysing all the interview data and documentary materials, the following themes started to emerge: cultural consumption, classical music, cultural diversity, governmentality in the local cultural sphere, governmental structure and individual agencies, and local public value. I then read the data horizontally by themes (codes) and using the cut-and-paste facility on the word processor; meanwhile I cut out extracts and placed them in piles relating to the themes. I tried to find out

whether the themes made sense, what was the interrelationship between the themes and what were the commonalities/differences between them.

When the new themes emerged, I wrote them down quickly. I then tried to identify those new themes especially when the new themes and the new codes combined. I then reread the data in terms of the new themes. Finally, I reread the themes and reread the new developed themes until I was satisfied with the result. Throughout the process, I always kept the following questions in mind:

- 1) Does this new theme work better than the previous one?
- 2) Is it necessary to develop the 'new' themes?
- 3) Is it necessary to return to the old themes?

After a careful consideration of the above questions, I decided the new theme of multiculturalism was crucial for the project.

Doing Qualitative Data Analysis

Bryman (2001) illustrates that there are two general strategies of Qualitative Data Analysis: analytic induction and Grounded Theory. He also advises that the analytical induction strategy does not provide useful guidelines (unlike grounded theory) as to how many cases need to be investigated before the absence of negative cases and the validity of the hypothetical explanation (whether reformulated or not) can be confirmed.

Seidel (1998) also states that qualitative data analysis can be described in everyday language as a process of noticing, of collecting things. However, my main concerns were that my analytical approach needed to depend on what I wanted my text to reveal, but this cannot always be predicted. Therefore, an effective and reflective practice seemed important in terms of enabling the full potential of the qualitative research data in this thesis to be revealed through analysis and interpretation. As my research questions in this area (as examined in an earlier section on the research questions) are so uncoordinated, this helped to emphasise the action in relation to cultural policy-making and classical music activities and also helped to explicate the everyday behaviour of local authorities, the local arts agency setting and classical music practice, thus, enabling me to find out the true answers for the research

questions. I then decided to read my data interpretively and reflexively, as Mason recommends (2002). Further, I needed to emphasise that this kind of analytical approach in this research was not simply treated as an excuse for a vague discussion of meaning, but was about helping me to describe and explicate cultural content in a public and institutional setting.

Further, as one of the research aims in the thesis was to re-examine the power relationship in a local cultural sphere by employing different types of materials (such as interview data, documentary materials), I thought that a qualitative analytical approach would help me to observe the research materials (both interview data and documentary materials) at a wider range of social levels and allow me to identify them as a discourse of power.

The qualitative analytical approach fully supported me in my search for the key themes from my research manuscripts, rather than just looking at the structure of the sentences and the meaning of the text. More importantly, I learned how to focus on the methodological problems of the relationships between a) the level of interpretation that was produced in the interview materials and in everyday classical music activities observed as 'social texts' (in particular talk) and b) a level of clarification of the key analytical options available within the interpretive and reflexive analysing process and the consequences for the study of relevant social practice (such as policy analysing, policy formulation and classical music practice) in a city context.

Alternative Approaches

Throughout the whole research and analysis process, I felt I could have adopted different approaches to this research topic. For example, I could have asked more interviewees to participate in my research. However, in a research project like this one, there are a large number of people who could be interviewed, but in this project, the people I chose from the various organisations were those who occupied the position that I felt was important at the time. However, had I been able to spend more time on this research project (or if I could continually research into this topic after three years PhD study), I would have recruited more respondents from a wider range of organisations to enrich my research data.

Furthermore, as discussed earlier, I was unable to interview three potential respondents who lived a significant distance from Nottingham and who could have contributed valuable data. Therefore, I have learned to avoid such a situation in the future by making sure there is enough funding for the necessary travel expenses. Further, during the interviewing and data analysis processes, the theme of 'multiculturalism' emerged only after I had conducted all the interviews, meaning I did not have the opportunity to question any of my interviewees regarding the issue of multiculturalism. Had I had extra time, I would have asked my interviewees about their views on multiculturalism.

Lee and Field (2004) argue that discourse analysis concentrates on the construction of written and spoken text; this means that hypertext tools developed to aid navigation around textual corpora serve it well. Also, as Potter (2004) asserts, discourse analysis, with its roots variously in hermeneutics, structuralism, post structuralism and conversation analysis, has been used to emphasise some aspects of social theory, for instance, Michel Foucault's work on post-structuralism. I have to admit that I did consider adopting discourse analysis as my key analytical strategy, as at some stage it seemed that discourse analysis could help me to understand interaction and cultural life in the public sphere. Potter also (2004) argues that the discourse analysis approach is the key to understanding interaction and social life; also, it pays particular attention to analytic practice and the role of evidence. But, after I had completed further readings of the literature of discourse analysis, I discovered that it focuses mainly on the actual linguistic interpretation of the existing text, rather than on observed social texts from an interpretive perspective and discussing the real meanings behind such social texts. Although discourse analysis is an increasingly popular area of the study on language, society and culture, it remains a vast and somewhat vague subfield of linguistics (Schiffrin, 1994). Based on the above theoretical reasoning together with the fact that I did not have a deep knowledge of the study of English linguistics, I decided that discourse analysis would not be suitable for my research at this stage.

Ethical Considerations and Dissemination

Gaining informed consent

The process of gaining informed consent can be complex, as Mason (2002) points out. Also, as Murphy and Dingwall (2001) suggest, in a complex and mobile setting, it may be practical for the researcher to seek consent from everyone involved in the research. Although a signed consent form cannot not guarantee the participants' full understanding, it may be a useful to reminder to both parties of the nature of their relationship.

Dingwall (1992), Hammersley (1990), and Athens (1984) claim that an ethnographic study calls for the retention of many long-standing cannons of ethical ethnography, including the critical commitment to search for members' understanding, contexts and so on. Similarly, Altheide and Johnson (1998) agree that an ethnographer's responsibility is to obtain the member's perspective of the social reality of the observed setting and to know that many settings in modern life have a variety of perspectives and voices. Therefore, the ethnographers should faithfully report the research outcome and, if possible, show where the author's voice is located.

Therefore, during the process of recruiting my interviewees, I always ensured I explained clearly both who I was, and the purpose of conducting this research. As I discussed in a earlier section that consent forms were sent out for all my interviewees to sign, as I feel this would make all interviewees aware that they have the right to withdraw their participation in this study at any stage. Finally, I gave all my interviewees the opportunities to ask me questions, especially any general questions they were not sure about.

Confidentiality

The initial expectations and unique role of relevant stakeholders were crucial to my understanding of the policy-making process within a local cultural sphere. As Pubch (1994:145) points out, "confidentiality must be assured as the primary safeguard against unwanted exposure, all personal data ought to be secured or concealed and made public only behind a shield of anonymity". Therefore, I did my best to ensure

the confidentiality and anonymity of all my interviewees. In addition, I thought carefully about how I would fulfil such promises, as most of my interviewees were identifiable due to their occupations, so it was going to be difficult for me not to give any noticeable details of those interviewees. Mason also addresses similar concerns regarding such issues; interviewees can recognise data whether or not the interviewee's name is attached to them; also, they may be recognizable to other people who work in the same field (Mason, 2002).

Conclusion

Throughout this research, a significant amount of my time was taken up with the writing-up process; I was also constantly making diary entries to account for my interview experience and reflective field notes along the way to re-concentrate my ideas. I gradually felt that the writing was becoming a vital part of my research at every stage. The writing process is acknowledged as a continual process throughout this research, especially during the stage of data analysis; the writing-up process seemed crucial to re-shaping my ideas.

Further, throughout this research, I have always tried to show the reader an honest and accurate representation of my three years' experience as a doctoral research student. Therefore, I have been thinking how this research could be improved, what are the strengths and weaknesses of this research design, and what the further opportunities for this type of qualitative research are. Further, as Ann Gray (2003) suggests, one of the most important factors for all researchers is to feel centred and confident in what they are doing. In Gray's view, this is why we best achieve research aims by stepping back, also by re-thinking what the research purpose is about, and by the researcher asking himself or herself exactly what it was about the phenomenon that interested them. Therefore, throughout my fieldwork, I was aware of my role as a social scientific researcher, Furthermore, I often reminded myself about my motive for doing this research and asked myself what was the motive of the respondents.

At the same time as I was attempting to offer a reflexive account of my research process, I realised that there were some aspects of this research did not go as smoothly as I would have liked, especially the issues in relation to the selection process for the interviewees. The problems that I was facing during this research journey have

actually encouraged me to look at this research in a more realistic way. It is also worth noting that when working in a political and public sphere, peoples' motives change over the time of the research and therefore the reliability of the research data can be questionable.

Finally, by being transparent about my doctoral research, I have gained a great amount of research experience, which I hope I can apply to future research in a more knowledgeable way. Further, I believe this experience will help me to analyse continually the degree of social constraint and the social system compared to the individual agents in the cultural practice and to seek the relationship between an explanation of holistic social systems and an understanding of the individual agents.

Chapter 6: Administering Culture – the Practical Implications of Cultural Policy at a Local Level

Introduction

As I queried in Chapter 5, with the aim of answering the key research questions regarding the kind of political form or governmental structure both central and local government should adopt in relation to the issues on administering and policing culture, should cultural policy be treated as a management issue or as an administrative exercise in a beleaguered public sector (drawing upon on the Foucauldian theoretical notion of cultural policy)? And what do I mean by administering culture?

Administering culture in this thesis means specifically managing culture through the relevant cultural organization, through promoting cultural partnerships, through mobilizing cultural spending and through the formation of cultural policy. Alternatively, should we defend the idea of cultural policy in terms of the public value in relation to all forms of culture that are necessary to create a democratic society, thus drawing upon Habermasian idea of cultural democracy? Foucauldian analysis suggests that the relationship between culture and power typically characterises modern societies and can be best understood regarding the way in which culture has been increasingly organised and constructed governmentally. Clearly, there is a real economic fundamentalism; everything in the cultural public sphere is reduced to economic terms and, universally, there is a hidden connection between culture and power, as was discussed in Chapter 2.

As this research focuses on only one form of culture, that is, classical music activities, the research aim was to examine how national cultural policy has influenced and helped the presentation of classical music's social value to the public at a local level.

This chapter explores further some significant research themes that are closely related to the key research question, such as how Foucault's notion of governmentality is

embedded in a local cultural public sphere; whether the relative power at the different levels can lead to distinct structuration of state power at macro, meso, and micro levels; how a local authority mobilises its funding of classical music; what kind of lessons we can learn by examining the relationship between local authorities, local public arts agencies and other public agencies and the co-operation between local government and arts agencies; how the local policy has helped break down the resistance to classical music; and how classical music can help the development of the local community. In particular, macro level here means that culture at a national level and a central movement level, meso level indicates a regional and local level, and micro level illustrates cultural activities performed at the level of interaction of everyday life.

Therefore, the research data (including interview data and documentary evidence) gathered during fieldwork in Nottingham over a period of several months was examined and analysed using a qualitative analysis strategy. As the later discussion in this chapter demonstrates, and as has been mentioned previously, the researcher had no pre-conceived idea of what cultural policy should look like; discovering the form cultural policy took was part of the investigation.

Classical Music Policy in Nottingham

The policy regarding music in Nottingham is made within a broader framework for the music venues and activities that are provided by the local government and other key national and regional agencies. It is delivered through a partnership approach, which is fully integrated within the cultural strategy for the city and the Nottingham Partnership, and which addresses a number of crosscutting issues identified by the government. Furthermore, it is linked into programmes designed to assist the regeneration of the city and contribute to increasing the public services in key areas, such as education. The arts and music policy is always linked with the city's departmental plan for leisure and community services and with the key corporate policies from the city council. Since the strategy was designed in 2001, a number of other key strategies have been produced that could be fitted together with the aim of offering an overarching approach to developing culture (Nottingham City Council, 2004).

The local councils, together with East-Midlands Arts, have a very important and distinctive role to play according to the local needs. For instance, various criticisms have been levelled regarding Arts Council England:

They have a highly controversial music policy; they consistently spend more than 90% of their music budget on opera, at the expense of other music styles. For example, jazz has an equivalent audience size but receives less than 1% ... this policy is clear evidence that Arts Council England has an unusually limited view of the accountability that is expected by public bodies in the UK

(Arts Council England, 2007)

Yet, as was described in the first chapter of this thesis, the above texts illustrate how, at the national level, Arts Council England's (ACE) supportive policy helps to provide a rich classical music scene in British cities. For instance, ACE spends more than 90% of its budget on opera; this shows that they really want to see a rich classical music scene in the UK. However, the question is, can locals always benefit from such a supportive policy?

Given the number of different bodies involved, how does music policy really function in Nottingham? The following comments from a senior member of staff from the regional office of Arts Council England indicate some basic facts regarding this question:

I have some kind of power to operate music policy. We and the rest of the regional office within Arts Council England all agreed to link with a very big planning cycle for the whole of the Arts Council. We would take priority actions ... the orchestra always builds their relationships around the country with the local authorities. Because the local authorities always

control the funding, they have the power to invest in classical music. This is how things work today. People don't just say, "We don't know"; they say, "We like orchestras". What I am saying is that there are people in the Arts Council who work really hard every single day to make the policy,

and to make it into reality. We do not do the real work - the arts organisations do the real work - but we do play our part to try to reach more people, to try to make sure people will have a quality experience, to also try to make sure the artists have access to the opportunities.

As the above comments indicate, local arts agencies together with local authorities decide what kind of strategic approach they will adopt for the local public regarding cultural and music services at the meso level. However, in terms of funding issues, it seems that local government holds the power and makes the decisions on how to operate the funding and regarding which orchestras the city council would like to invite to be the local resident orchestra for the public in Nottingham. For instance, one of the senior members of Nottingham City Council also indicated a similar view on such issues:

As far as music is concerned, lots of changes have been made. We try to change our programming for our classical music concerts. When I started my work here, the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra had a residency here; however, after a period of time, the contract was coming to the end. My view was that their programme in Nottingham was quite challenging, but it was not a balanced programme. I don't know whether it is good practice for the people in Nottingham. We discussed whether they should continue their residency or move on. We then decided they should move on. Halle Orchestra intended to come along; we had a very good working relationship with them. However, the fact is that such an orchestra wouldn't take the residency in Nottingham, because this is a very sensitive topic. They did contribute to many events here in Nottingham. There was also the EOB (Easton Orchestral Board), which I also sat on, and they did help us to generate the musical workshops and other events. Because of that, people could actually be included in the classical music; they could also go to the cultural related trips, projects like that.

The above statement shows the process of how, inevitably, cultural policy-making has seen the ever-increasing involvement of local government in music funding. This means that local authorities together with local arts agencies (in this case, East-Midlands Arts) become important contributors in terms of exercising a collective power at the meso level to the ongoing debate on cultural policy.

Interestingly, this debate is very closely associated with connections and conflicts between central government policy at the macro level and local government policy towards classical music activities at the meso level in Nottingham, which is also why such debate needs a comprehensive answer on how to make any real sense of Foucault's idea of governmentality at a local level. For instance, the explanation from the senior member of Nottingham City Council highlighted his concern on such issues:

What I may understand is that, the central government wants a different thing from the local government; that is ok at some points, but from a central government point of view, if you are going to see a concert, it doesn't mean that is necessary, I really think so ... and it is very difficult when I am arguing about the budget...

How do those conflicts influence local cultural policy making and what are the power relationships between local and central government regarding the cultural service for classical music? One of the senior members from the city council offered his view on central government policy on cultural and classical music in Nottingham:

In terms of central government policy toward classical music, I don't think there is any central government standard, which is unusual. They are getting into health and educational projects. To some degree, they are interested in culture, but just not classical music. We find it difficult to measure what we do. I mean, the central government always wants hard measurements, rather than the soft materials. So, what I may understand is

that the government wants different things from the local government; that is ok. But, as you know, it becomes extremely difficult for us and I am not doing it.

The above comment to some degree indicates that regarding cultural policy and music policy at the macro level, policy from the central government has very heavy influence on local cultural and music activity. However, the question is, how do the tensions between central government policy and local government policy towards classical music activities really affect the local classical music groups and activities? The following comments from one of the senior members of Nottingham City Council suggest that the central governmental policy on cultural service is implicit rather than explicit in terms of the needs of the locality and the local public.

Central Government actually does not know what the local government should be doing as far as the arts are concerned. Supporting, yes, but it is not prescriptive at the moment. I hope it never gets too prescriptive, as you will end up being too dictated by it. If they say that is how much you end up spending on the arts, you won't get a penny more; if they say this is how much you can spend on classical music, and you better produce good amount of audience for it, you will end up not doing any challenging work at all.

Another local policy makers' view of classical music policy also illustrates that there is an element of decentralisation in music policy making in Nottingham; in other words, a "top-down " system is in place. So, this is exactly where we can situate Foucault's notion of governmentality in the local sphere. Foucault directs us to think, on the one hand, that power performs as a top-down model, but on the other hand, that it also includes the social control of disciplinary institutions and a concept of knowledge.

Yet, as Wee and Shaheed (2008) point out, the policy towards decentralization sometimes has been embedded in meso-level power structures. To make real sense of

such an interpretation in a local context, let us look at the following explanation from a senior member of the city council:

They always tell you how much you can end up spending on the arts; you cannot spend a penny more than this. They tell us what to do all the time; I am forced to do certain things for the money for the local government. Because without it, there is no money ... If central government start to say, "This is the criteria, this is what we want you to do", the way to do it is going to be very limited. You have to do it anyway, there is no choice.

The above statement demonstrates in terms of the governmental structure on operating a classical music service at a local level how the local government has paid too much attention to decentralisation rather than considering the locality. Such a statement also leads us to ask whether we need to adopt a bottom-up approach, if the path from the bottom going upwards is impeded by powerful interests and obligations by local government. Criticism can also be levelled at those policy-makers and decision-makers who are interested only in making macro level policies and decisions and somehow denying agency to all others.

For instance, interview data with a senior member of staff from the regional office of Arts Council England and with a senior member of the city council show their concerns on how to make a link between the issues on locality and taking the regional situation into consideration.

According to a senior member of staff from the regional office of Arts Council England:

That means the music policy will be based on the regional situation. So, for instance, if you are the head of music nationally, you would come forward saying that you need to re-write the policy according to the regional situation, and you would like to update the policy.

The following view is from a senior member of the city council:

I passionately believe in local government; I simply don't want central government telling local government what to do.

In particular, statements from senior members of the city council indicate that cultural services in Nottingham need to represent local people rather than simply following the central government policy, as expressed in the following excerpts from the interviews:

Let the local government make the local decision. I wouldn't work for local government otherwise. The way we are heading in this country is that the local government is hamstrung by the national government in all areas. Not just for the culture area; less in culture at the moment than others.

Our job is to represent local people. There is a difference between what central government wants and what local people need. Yet it is their right to say what they want; that is their right to want. And everybody should get equal chances. Having said that, we should choose what we want to do without considering the money; otherwise, it is unfair. Some cities go on some piece of culture; some cities go on others....

Local government officials are aware that policy on cultural and music services needs to represent local public needs. The reason why local government is given autonomy is because of a belief that the needs and wants of the local public vary from one locality to another. For instance, Curtice (1999) states,

Local government is intended to be a democratic institution that is able to exercise a degree of relative autonomy in exercising its functions. Those functions include the provision and delivery of state services to local populations, but also, and perhaps increasingly, acting as a leader or catalyst in securing the delivery of publicly desired goods by private and voluntary organisations (Curtice, 1999:2).

He also argues (1999) that the crucial point in ensuring that local government is democratic is holding local elections. However, it appears that Great Britain has the lowest level of turnout in local government elections in Europe; in 1999, local election turnout in the UK reached its lowest level since the 1997 general election. (Curtice, 1999) Therefore, serious attention needs to be paid to how to promote an idea of local democracy. The question in relation to local democracy also in this research appears to be whether actions on classical music policy really match what the policy makers say, what the public thinks of local government, and why their views matter. Has the public voice been taken into account during the classical music policy making in Nottingham?

Fieldwork in Nottingham revealed that the views of the general public on classical music policy in Nottingham differ from the view expressed in the policy makers' statement. For instance, some of the respondents illustrated their views as follows:

Views from officer 1 from Nottingham City Council:

I am not sure that it is the city and county council's responsibility to support local orchestras. For instance, Nottingham Symphony Orchestra is a registered charity, so it is really up to them to do what they want to do. They support themselves by asking for membership fees from their members.

Also, I am aware that the county council does offer support to those groups through their grant aiding funds, but for that kind of group, it is not a huge amount of money, but it is the kind of money to help a local group to stand on their own feet. I know what they do, as I just had a meeting with one of our community arts officers at the county council. He was telling me there are some kinds of groups they do support.

I mean, I think I can totally understand why both local authorities want to run an event which has a wide appeal. Because this is tax payers' money; they are accountable for that. So, you can understand why they want to run the riverside festival, as it will attract thousands of people.

My personal view is that local authorities should support Nottingham Classics. Because you know, if you want to be regarded as the major city, one of the things that defines a major city is that you have an arts programme like Nottingham Classics, the smaller cities wouldn't have the opportunity to do this.

View from a staff member at a local theatre:

No, there is no money from the East-Midlands office of the Arts Council. We can actually manage it just about with the money from the university. The thing is that if ticket income can sustain, then classical music concerts can sustain.

Despite all above statements, whether from the relevant music events organisers or from governmental officials and so on, it seems that a more co-operative and strategic policy on cultural services needs to be made to serve the public's needs at the micro level. Therefore, a discussion on the public voice at the micro level on classical music policy in Nottingham will be provided in Chapter 7. The cultural policy is at the meso level (the regional and the local level) where regional and local actors become more active because the level is relatively distant from the power dynamics at the macro level (central government level) while at the same time it has provided opportunities for intervention with the general public and individuals at the micro level.

The question is that whether and to what extent macro level policy (here I refer to the national policy from Arts Council England and Department of Culture, Media and Sports) is intended to support all the cultural activities that actually touch individual cultural life (such as musicians, music venue organisers and music educationists) on the ground. The questions raised are how policies are unavoidably filtered through meso-level dynamics (for instance, the regional arts agencies' interventions at meso-level) before reaching individuals, how their action interacts with the meso-level structure, and with what policy implication? Yes, the importance of the problematic meso-level also becomes very visible through its inevitable filtering of macro-level policy before it can even reach individuals. It is also clear that it is at the meso-level that non-state actors become very active, because this level is relatively distant from the centre of power at the macro-level, while at the same time, it also provides social-cultural opportunities for intervention with individuals at the micro-level. Therefore, once the meso-level power structure has been captured by the para-state level, then the policy from the state can also be blocked; more close attention needs to be paid to meso-level forces that are operating on the ground. The following sections of this chapter provide a close analysis of how the power structure has been operated at the meso-level (local and regional levels) and how relevant forces from local state actors and non-state actors (such as local authorities and local arts agencies) at the meso-level will shape cultural policy.

Funding Strategy towards Classical Music

The problems connected with policy re-formulation always raise the question of how to mobilize public resources for cultural spending. For instance, when asked how much money was spent on classical music per year by the city council, one of the senior officers gave the following answer:

The money often operates through the arts educational officer in the city, in terms of where the funding goes. The funding often goes to the training project for young people who want to play an instrument. In terms of performance, then the figure is up to £60, 000. This money comes jointly from the city and county to subsidise the concert series; anything else that appears would generally be something that city and county need to make a decision on whether they want to pay for it.

The total budget is about £26 million for culture; that is tiny in terms of paying for the Royal Centre and paying for the tennis centre, then paying for the national ice centre and all parks we've got in the city. So, that is a very small percent within the whole budget. We can work out what percentage percentage [is spent] actually on culture ... It is tiny. I can't think of any reasons why it should be more....

The above statements demonstrate that the funding from the city council for classical music is only a very small amount of money. Yet, public funding in relation to specific types of cultural forms, for instance, public spending on music, often goes into sustaining the relationship with professionals, either as soloists or as musical directors. However, this is where a concept of consumption and a market-orientated pattern has emerged in the public sphere. The consumption of culture for most consumers most of the time has nothing to do with public subsidy; it is a side show to the main show, the performance of market-oriented cultural industries and mass-consumption (Garnham, 1990). For instance, in some areas of music making, the former distinction between amateur and professional is blurred still further, to the extent that it is no longer relevant, or simply does not apply. What is the reason for this? To some degree, the culture-led strategies employed by urban authorities have been seen as a type of either production- or consumption-oriented models, so a new parlance of 'cultural investment' has become common currency.

Beyond this, it is also clear that the nature of the relationship between the local government and local classical music organisations has some kind of impact on funding issues. By "nature" here I refer, first, to the modal type of interaction (such as funding and cooperatives). Classical music, on the one hand, has also been supported by local government, but only spasmodically because funding comes from a poorly resourced leisure department as opposed to a comfortably financed local department. Local government has traditionally focused on the services that will help its own direct promotions, but the combination of declining power and financial resources, the availability of various kinds of national grants for economic and social regeneration, and a growing debate about the above issues in civil government is leading some

authorities to see encouragement of the arts less as a discrete activity and more as an essential component of community development.

For instance, in Nottingham, the music organisations (which have been often mentioned by government officials) are more likely to receive better financial support from local government. A senior officer from Nottingham City Council commented:

I think a view taken about certain form has been important, and I think for the same reason, through the grants and so on, subsidy has been given to Nottingham Playhouse, so that live theatre is available for people to see. And in relation to the funding we make available for the Royal Centre, there is the expectation that some of the popular stuff will subsidise some of the work that would be less popular. But, it is still important artistically to have it.

An example of that would be Joyce Penner, which was controversial; some people would say that it shouldn't have... it is not a sort of thing to put on stage. Yes, artistically is very good and it is a sort of thing we should have in order to put people to make up their mind and choose for themselves. But, in the end, that would cost the city money, Joyce Penner might not have done, risks are always involved in these sorts of things.

In addition, by "nature" I also refer to the degree of centralization or dispersion of the responsibility for cultural services from local government at each level. Several respondents reflected upon this ideology of centralization in the following ways:

View from a senior member from the City Council:

As far as funding is concerned, we will fund the classical music, we will fund the music education and so on. We will also try to fund other kinds of projects as well; we will always look into that...

View from officer 1 from Nottingham County Council

I have heard people from local authorities say that it is more sensible to support the big venues, like the Riverside festival in Nottingham in comparison with the small classical music concert at the Lakeside.

Views from the director of a major arts venue in the city

We do follow the city council, may something loosely follow. But, nevertheless, there is a policy there which we do follow; we always know that.

Once again it can be seen that the degree of centralization or dispersion of the responsibility for cultural services from local government at meso-level does influence cultural policy making and classical music activities in Nottingham at different levels. However, an ideology of centralization is not the only element that involves the local policy-making on cultural services (especially on classical music activities). Ironically, the policy of centralization, in aid of good governance, has sometimes resulted in the capture of the meso-level power structure by para-state actors.

For instance, the views of other respondents (as discussed earlier) indicate that the nature of the relationship between local government and the non-profit driven classical music organisations (like most amateur music organisations here in Nottingham) influence the music funding strategy in the region.

Therefore, the question that arises is what is the governmental funding structure towards classical music and what are the differences between profit-driven organisations (for example, major arts venues in the city), and amateur and professional orchestras in Nottingham in terms of obtaining funding from the local government? A further question is how those related elements are associated with a

notion of power structure at both macro and meso levels? The key theme in relation to this question will be discussed later in this chapter.

Capacity and Governmental Structure at a meso-level

To discover a reasonable answer to the above question, a close and detailed analysis was made of the data gathered during the fieldwork in relation to the theme of governmental structure. It is clear that the funding structure of local authorities and arts agencies makes it difficult for many classical music organisations to obtain support from the local government and local arts agencies at the meso level. This can be seen in the following statement from a staff member of a local arts centre (the same statement has also been used for the different purpose elsewhere in the current chapter):

No, there is no money from the East-Midlands office within the Arts Council, as we just can actually manage on the money from the university. The thing is that if ticket income can sustain, then classical music can sustain.

An experienced conductor from a local orchestra also explained:

I think the local authorities, East-Midland Arts, they tend to give the money to the professional events, not the amateur events. That is what they are there for, but it is quite hard for us.

The above discussions show that there is not enough financial support for local music organisations either from local government or local arts agencies. This fact actually indicates that the relevant policy towards music activity in the region has been strategically organised (see the diagram in the previous section of this chapter). Therefore, in order to make an in-depth analysis of such issues, firstly, we have to understand what the government structure of cultural services and classical music

services is. For instance, the following statement from a senior officer at the local authority highlighted some key elements of the local governmental structure of the cultural services:

I am with the county council; the department I work for in the county council is the Leisure and Culture Department division, which is part of the Culture and Community Service in Nottinghamshire County Council. And then within the county council, there is the arts service. I work for the arts service. If you can imagine you've got the county council, and within that you've got a number of departments, Culture and Community is the department I work in. But within that department, there are different divisions: Culture and Leisure is the division I work for, and art comes with the leisure and culture. And the Leisure and Culture Department also includes sports, country parks and arts; that is where I fit in. If you can also imagine that classical music is just a very small part of a range of different activities, which makes the culture offer in the city, you know when we use the word 'culture', we don't mean high culture, we mean a very broad culture. This can include the sports and other stuff. Classical music is only very small part of the total culture.

As the above explanation shows, the governmental structure of the cultural services and the classical music service, on the one hand, has been supported by local government, but only because the relevant funding operates only through a poorly resourced leisure department. On the other hand, many classical music sectors are often seen as non-profit organisations, in that they comprise a very large number of small amateur and semi-professional music organizations in the region.

For instance, one of the cultural officers on Nottingham City Council commented:

One reason that we are suffering from the shortage of the budget is because of the widespread appointment of arts developments officers in recent years. Some of them are acting as *agents provocateurs*, presenting

all kinds of community-based projects. Unfortunately, because local authority arts budgets often have to be devoted to the management of council-owned facilities (like the Royal Concert Hall here), most of this work is poorly resourced and limited to one off-projects.

As another officer who works for the culture and leisure department within the city council explained:

Both local authorities have suffered the quite significant budget cut across both local authorities and all services. So we take the budget cut like everybody else. Some of the cuts are heavier on some departments than others; because of other funding cuts during the last couple of years, the decision has been made to not support the concerts in the city...

He also emphasised:

The total budget for culture is tiny, the budget that is used to pay for the city major arts centre, pay for the tennis centre, all the parks that we've got in the city. That is a very small percent within the whole budget, you can work out how many percentages that music events in the city can get...

So, this comment (the same statement has been used elsewhere in this chapter for a different purpose) again reinforces the reasons why the budget from the city council only goes towards sustaining the developing field of professionals; taking Nottingham as an example, it would be the major arts centre in the city and similar venues.

The local authorities' funding structure for classical music may be seen as no more than a neutral question of administrative details. So, what is the real governmental structure of music and culture services in Nottingham? Do the funding strategies at the meso-level play a positive role in helping the classical music activities in the city? Do non-state actors, such as regional arts agencies, become very active (as was stated

earlier on) because this level is relatively distant from the power centre at the macro-level? Have those related actors provided positive social-cultural opportunities for intervention with individual activities at the micro-level? Can the policy from the state also be blocked because the power structure at the meso-level has been captured by the para-state level? The aim in the following sections is to provide a more detailed analysis to help answer the above question.

Funding Policy for Profit-Driven Organisations and Non-profit Organisations

Funding policy for profit-driven organisations

The answer to the above question is that the funding for profit-driven organisations is unbiased, especially according to the data obtained during the fieldwork in Nottingham. For instance, in Nottingham, funding is available for most profit-driven organisations (in other words, commercially driven professional music organisations in the region). For example, one of the respondents reflected upon this view in the following way:

Nottingham City Council, the Leisure and Community Service operate the building. The funding is actually from Nottingham City Council. This is the city's council-owned building. I suppose it is their responsibility to find the money to run it.

As can be seen from the above statement, this respondent held a positive view of the nature of the government funding structure for local profit-driven music organisations. It is not difficult to see that local stakeholders in Nottingham provide most of the contributed income or power for this kind of music organisation in the region. However, what is more interesting is that, in a sense of comparing and competing with other city authorities in the country, the funding structure for culture and classical music services seems to start to follow a common idea regarding what other local governments do with their culture, their locality and their regional situation; once again, classical music has simply been left behind.

Hence, following Bennett (1998), there would seem to be a multitude of agencies at work in the determination of policy. Yet what an emphasis upon complexity and multiplicity fails to grasp is the central importance of key determining agencies, like the relation between the state and the local authority and the attack on local democracy. In other words, ideas of multiplicity risk ending up as a form of uncritical pluralism that is unable to take account of the main determining features of a social and cultural field. Yet, while we need to rethink the relationship between culture and the wider society, however a more in-depth understanding of how to celebrate the pluralism of the market system in a postmodern society needs to be reconsidered.

Thus, while Bennett's strength lies in a rejection of economic determinism, his weakness is his failure to offer a sustained critical analysis of the way that power operates through a number of powerful agencies. As one respondent put it:

For instance, like Birmingham City Council, they have given quite lot of investment into the Birmingham Symphony Hall. Most of the city's concert halls have city council investment somewhere along the line. Because of the sustainability of the projects, at the end of the day, no matter what happens, the city will always pick up the bill and keep it running.

Again what matters here is recognition both of the public value of culture to the prestige of the city and of the role of local government in its regulation.

Funding policy into non-profit organisations

As the result of a certain kind of government structure for music activities, it is more difficult to obtain funding from the local authorities for a local orchestra or a local choir than for a profit-driven organisation. A chair for a local amateur choir highlighted the crisis in the following way:

Local authorities know about us; they recognise that we are a very good thing. But, I don't get any money from them at all. The reason for it is that they are very much struggling for money, so they want to cut their funding

for organisations like us. When we started, we used to get the concerts regularly promoted by the leisure services within the county council, which was seven years ago. It is a shame really; they don't actually support us. They think we are not like a professional orchestra. They only want the top people.

This view again further emphasises the support that local authorities are likely to give to 'esteem' projects, like attracting well known orchestras, rather than to supporting the grass roots organisations.

Further, the above comments refer directly to the difficult experiences for amateur orchestras in obtaining funding from local government; they also demonstrate that the problems linked with policy re-formulation always come with the question of how to mobilize public resources for cultural spending. To respond to such issues, it is obviously vital to differentiate between the specific public sources of support that need to be mobilised to overcome particular sources of obstruction. More importantly, the identification of such public resources and institutional support of local cultural activities requires a policy assessment framework at national and regional levels to understand the discourses and content of cultural policy relevant to track policy implementation, especially at the meso level.

However, the question is whether those involved in cultural activities or cultural policy-making have realised the importance of the process of tracking policy implementation. None of the interviewees from local government or local arts agency had addressed this issue.

Local authorities seem to attach no importance to different strategies of engaging local musicians and orchestras. Interestingly, instead of government officials, it is musicians who have shown an interest in having a clear understanding of the content of cultural policy. For example, another conductor from a local amateur orchestra offered his view on obtaining funding from the local authorities: "I think the local authorities, East-Midlands Arts, they tend to give the money to the professional music groups events, not amateur groups. That is what they are there for."

Of the three local amateur classical music groups (two amateur orchestras and an amateur choir in the city) into which research was conducted, none were actually receiving any subsidy either from the regional arts agency or from the local authorities. The subsidy from the local authorities is simply not given to non-profit driven classical music groups, because amateur groups cannot secure the box office income. Therefore, non-profit driven classical music organisations are distinctive in that they rely more on individual donations and less on government support and contracts than do non-profit making organisations in most other fields (DiMaggio, 2006).

The above discussion illustrates the distribution of public funding in Nottingham in relation to some specific types of cultural forms; for instance, musical spending is always dedicated to sustaining the relationship with professionals or soloists. In some areas of music making, the old distinction between amateur and professional still exists for a variety of reasons.

It is clear that the local government will have to take the risk of not following the rules of profit-driven organisations, balancing the input and output of the costs for classical music activities. Yet, the rules of the market mechanism should be followed to some degree. However, as was asked in Chapter 4, should only local cultural policy follow this new parlance of 'cultural investment'? Can culture be treated differently from other forms of commercial products? It is also clear here that the regional and local government and the regional arts agencies have become relatively active in terms of making cultural policy at both regional and local levels.

Music Policy and Co-operation at the Meso Level between Local Government, Arts Agencies and Music Organisations

As was discussed in an earlier section of this chapter, "nature" refers, first, to the modal type of interaction at the meso level (both funding and co-operative). So, beyond the funding issues, is there any strategic co-operation between local government and music organisations?

The response shows that music policy on co-operative action at a local level has either been intentionally spread across a number of local arts agencies and regional-based organisations, each with related but distinctly different notions of itself, its role, and its aims, or it has been picked up by agencies that historically one would not have expected to become involved in music activities. For instance, an educational manager from a professional orchestra commented as follows:

Around the region, we have the local authorities, and the local authorities are the important part of the team in terms of funding in classical music. In Nottingham, city and county council, they together host our orchestra. The Hallé is one of the resident orchestras (along with the ViVa Chamber Orchestra) at The Royal Centre. I think they have been here about four years now.

The question that needs to be raised here is why the local authorities chose a certain kind of professional orchestra as the resident orchestra in Nottingham. As one of the most nationally famous professional orchestras, such an orchestra has already developed many long-term funding partnerships with many organisations, and receives tremendous support from many national trusts and foundations. Yet, on the one hand, the city council wants to bring the best quality music into Nottingham while, on the other hand, from a local authority point of view, there is no doubt an orchestra such as the Halle can always secure the box office income for the city's major concert hall. For instance, the following comment from the director of a major city arts venue at a local concert hall showed his concerns on such issues, when he said, "We always have to make sure that we are on target; otherwise, if we are not on target, we need to take a step back to see where went wrong."

It is worth noting that the word 'target' in the above statements means 'financial' target. Yet, such concerns indicate that the decision-makers think that cultural activities are another form of commodity, there to serve the economy. To this extent, in the context of helping to promote all forms of cultural activities at a local level, the impact of capitalism on culture seems to have become a serious issue that really

stands apart from all of the other economic concerns. However, the question is whether the state needs effective policies to provide guideposts for those making decisions and taking actions that affect cultural life rather than simply celebrating the arrival of cultural capitalism.

So, this kind of symbolic approach to supporting music activities has meant that the music policy in Nottingham is implicit rather than explicit. For instance, the following is a typical response from the conductor of a local choir when asked about financial support from local government:

Local authorities, Nottingham City Council and Nottinghamshire County Council, have occasionally supported us. Although they supported us in the past, they are not doing it at the moment. We have to apply for the grants from somewhere else as well.

This indicates there is still an issue on the lack of practical considerations from local authorities in terms of co-operating with local music organisations at a local level (in other words at the meso level). The music policy is implicit rather than explicit, being the result of actions and decisions taken without any strong sense of practical intention.

‘Implicit’ here means that the policy is much more supportive of those organisations with which the local authorities have a direct connection, such as a local concert hall that is fully funded by the City Council. The director of a major city arts venue stated:

Nottingham City Council, the Leisure and Community Service operate the building. Funding is actually from Nottingham City Council. Several years ago, an education manager worked with us; that project was funded by the East-Midlands Arts. That was only for three or four years; that funding was only for those years. The city council owned the property here, as far as I am aware. In 1977, they bought the Theatre Royal from a company

called North Empire. The city council then refurbished the concert hall. Many years down the line, they still own it. I think they did a very good job during those years. They funded us; there is no one else. The county does not fund us, just the city council.

However, other music organisations, like local orchestras, have been seen as one of the implicit organisations politically. For instance, a local orchestra manager explained,

When our orchestra plays at the Royal Concert Hall, we have to pay £5000 to play in there; that is the cost of playing there. The problems between us and the city, I think our conductor has tried to talk to the Educational Service Manager from the city council on whether there is any further to co-operation with them. I think the answer is no.

The above comment shows that, despite the impact of an unbalanced cultural policy from local government, the respondent seems to believe there is also political tension between the local government and certain amateur music groups. In other words, in their view, cultural policy should be made to serve both professional and amateur music groups' needs and be able to promote an idea of cultural democracy in the public sphere. In terms of democratising cultural policy, there is an argument for seeking to empower local orchestras and musicians in respect of access to resources and high profile musical venues. From a democratic and grass roots point of view, it is unacceptable that local actors are marginalised in the ways this thesis has sought to describe. Hence, cultural policy would need to work specifically with a range of voices and experiences promoting the idea of the inclusive city in respect of musical performance.

The comment also indicates that a strategic and balanced cultural policy needs to appear on the local political agenda. Such a balanced political and practical agenda often requires a holistic approach to strategic co-operation between local government,

public arts agencies and individual music organisations; therefore, the practical implications from the interview data collected during the fieldwork have placed a high value on the importance of such co-operation between local arts agencies and local music organisations. For instance, the following statements from some of the respondents are typical of a positive outcome from a strategic co-operation between local arts agency and local music organisation:

Comment from local orchestra manager 1:

We had grants from East-Midland Arts two years ago to do a project with the Royal Concert Hall. We will be applying for another grant, as I have been talking to the music officer from East-Midlands Arts; we will commission a concerto, a jazz violin concerto. We are going to use the grants to do the project for local schools again.

Comment from the manager of a local cultural agency:

The annual grant from ACE (Arts Council England) helps to support our costs and artistic programme (for orchestral concerts and projects). Occasionally, we do receive additional support for significant initiatives, such as a current Organisational Development award. Symphony Viva is also a regular client who often receives a grant from ACE.

Comment from officer 2 from Nottingham County Council:

We received a very small amount from the Arts Council; it might help toward the concert. It might be something between £1000 to £3000. You know, that sort of funding level.

In comparison with the above positive outcomes, some other interview evidence demonstrates that strategic co-operation between local music organisations and local arts agencies is poor.

View from the director of a major arts venue in the city:

We don't have the greatest relationship with them, as far as the Royal Centre is concerned. You know, the Department of Leisure and Community Services has quite a number of projects; they use the East Midlands Arts for advice. We do not have any working relationship with them, not at the moment; I don't know the future involvement with them. Maybe some years later, we will go to East Midland Arts for advice.

Views from the chairman of local amateur choir 1:

We don't actually get any funding from the Arts Council, as I don't think we quite fit into their boxes.

Yet, the local arts agencies did not see themselves only as in competition with one another for the limited public resources. Instead, they were willing to see themselves as being able to make a contribution to a broader set of cultural initiatives; however, they wanted music activities to fit into the certain kinds of social purpose outlined by central government. For instance, the organisers of some of the local classical music events highlighted the following consequences in relation to these issues:

View from a local orchestra manager:

That is always the problem with the Arts Council; you've got to have the right things to say in the application form to be able to apply for grants from them (such as how our plan fits into their social goal, like outreach

works and social deprivation works and so on). They are good at going through things with you and trying to advise you on what is the best way of putting your case forward.

View from a staff member of a local arts theatre

I guess we just have to learn how to tick the right boxes on our application forms to be able to get the grants from the Arts Council. I mean we have to understand what they really want to do in terms of meeting their needs as well. We know them, and they know us; they think what we do is actually very good, but, we don't actually get any funding from them.

View from a local orchestra manager:

I don't think we do fit into any boxes with them because we do a variety of things. If we were going to do a new project with local schools, we would probably go to the local authorities to try to get some funding.

The above comments suggest that the local authorities do want to use music to promote the idea of social inclusion, and to meet the need to improve the quality of local people's lives.

Yet there is also a degree of ambivalence here given the extent to which local musicians are asked to 'tick the boxes'. Again, a more democratic model of arts funding would need to balance the cultural authority of local cultural producers while recognising the necessity to promoting certain public goods, like education, and to broaden access. Notably, no such requirements are made of large orchestras and, not surprisingly, this is then judged as being unfair.

The Social Dimensions of Promoting Classical Music

So, what are the social dimensions in terms of the use of music in a local public sphere? The characteristics and needs of local communities vary greatly, but some issues are universal. For instance, some respondents have a general understanding of how to take account of social inclusion at a local level:

View from a senior officer from Nottingham City Council:

You know, for Nottingham to be considered as a major UK city, it needs some good stories, but there are a lot of problems, like gun crime and so on...

View from a senior staff member from the regional office of ACE:

All music organisations and the arts organizations and local authorities wanted them to do some work in their area, and it is much about what they will try to achieve. It might be to do with the disabilities, it might be to do with health, it might be to do with youth educational projects. City and county say they want the Halle orchestra to achieve certain things; it might be education, it might be the youth projects.

We have to deal with the local authorities; we have the whole social agenda: young people, diversity, health, regeneration, all sorts of these kinds of things. It is a real challenge to make all these kinds of things fit.

View from the chair of a local amateur orchestra:

I think it is also about the inclusion policy, which is trying to involve as many people as possible, so all the local population could join in...

From the above responses, it is easy to see that the local authorities in Nottingham have the following four priorities in terms of promoting social inclusion: health and

community, vital neighbourhoods, celebrating cultural diversity, and engaging young people. In particular, the role of music in health is being increasingly recognised by the local government. Furthermore, the use of cultural policy in city urban regeneration has increasingly become a contested issue.

For instance, during my fieldwork in Nottingham, I discovered that the Leisure and Community Services in the city work through arts and sports schemes towards greater social inclusion. This result is well demonstrated by DCMS's progress report (2001) on Social Inclusion. In this report, DCMS states that such a strategy helps people from ethnic minorities and disabled people to attend projects as wide-ranging as inclusion arts training, holiday sports schemes, and nature conservation schemes that involve local people.

The Leisure and Community Services department works with partner organisations to tackle social and economic regeneration through culture, sport and tourism. For instance, two officers from the city council expressed the following views on such issues:

View from a senior officer from the city council:

Culture in its widest definition of the arts, sports heritage and architecture does define our lives and times and the cities in which we live and is used across the world to regenerate cities. Cities use culture to promote themselves (like the Opera House in Sydney) and culture also is used as a leading process of regeneration across the globe, (like the Guggenheim in Bilbao, Baltic and The Sage at Gateshead and Newcastle). Nottingham can use culture through its cultural and sporting assets or capital, and by attracting major events and, through both, inspires local people.

View from a senior member from Nottingham City Council

The city is a driver of cultural development, made possible through our commitment to partnership working with private and voluntary sectors and with educational institutions. We are proud of the fact that residents rate

highly the quality of life the city offers and of Nottingham's attractiveness to visitors. Beacon status highlights how, through arts and sports schemes aimed at promoting access for disadvantaged communities and particularly disillusioned young people, everyone is given the opportunity to develop their talents. (Nottingham City Council, 2007b)

However, the degree to which those priorities have been achieved by the local government is debateable. Do city decision-makers continually see cultural policy as a valuable tool in diversifying the local economic base and in attempting to compensate for jobs lost in traditional industrial and services sectors? Do stakeholders really see a lively, cosmopolitan cultural life as a crucial ingredient of city regeneration and internationalisation strategies, designed to attract tourists, mobile international capital and specialized personnel?

Later in this chapter, I will explore these issues in relation to how local government promotes an ideology of cultural diversity at a local level and whether an idea of using classical music to promote community cohesion has really taken its place in a multicultural society.

Encourage Business Partnerships with Organisations: Cultural Policy Exercises at a Meso Level

In accordance with the employment and benefits that regional arts agencies have brought to the local community, the business partnership also seems to take part in this kind of social and political agenda in the local cultural public sphere. For instance, to be able to achieve the aim of promoting the arts at the heart of national life, and of reflecting England's rich and diverse cultural identity, Arts Council England seeks to build mutually beneficial partnerships with business through in-depth support that will enhance the development and delivery of specific Arts Council England objectives (www.artscouncil.org.uk, accessed on 19th August 2007). Arts Council England has also aimed to build partnerships proactively with business, working together to meet shared objectives.

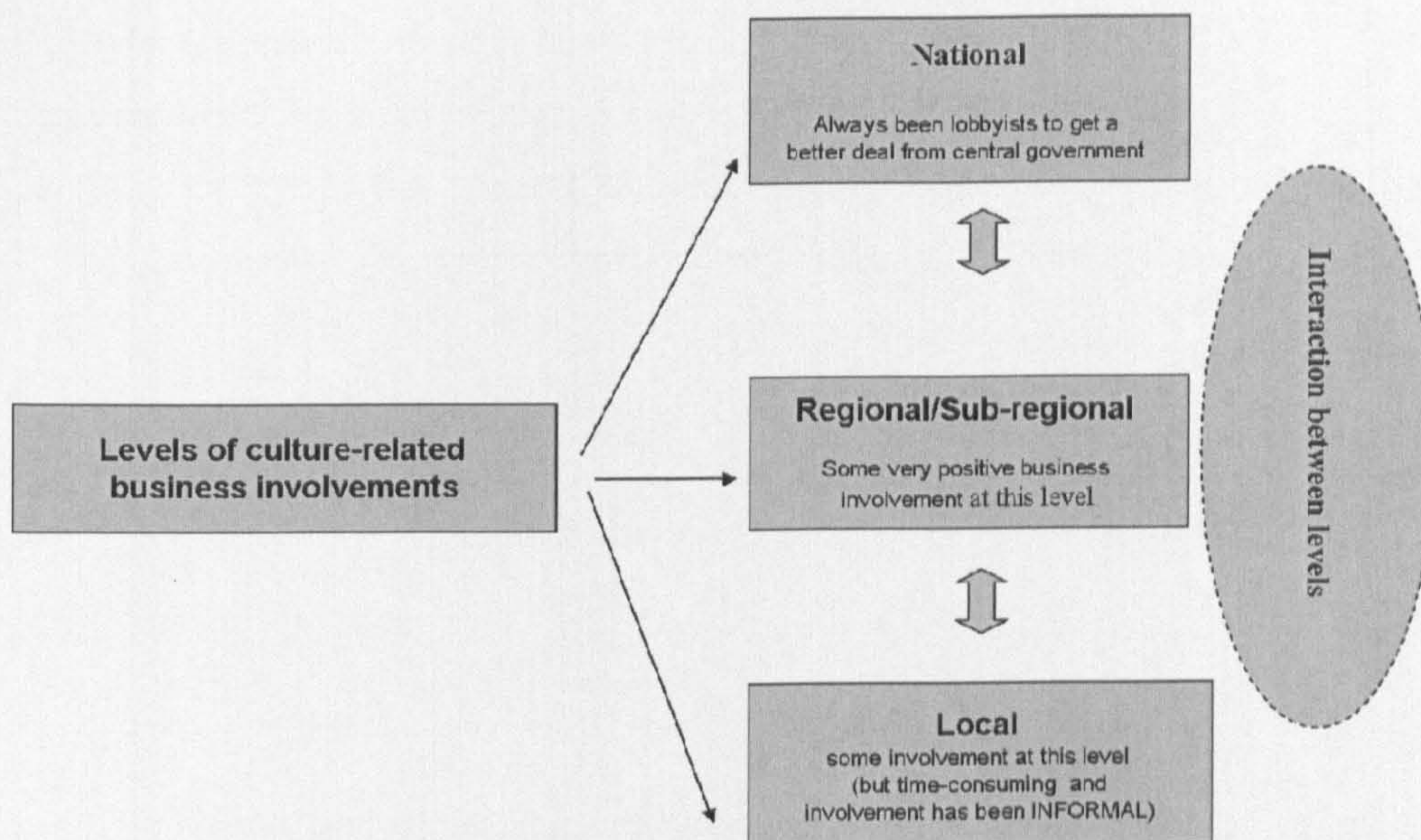
Business partnerships could help develop sustainable, mutually beneficial partnerships between business and the arts, encouraging businesses to try something new with the arts, thus generating increased benefits for all. For instance, Arts & Business is the world's leading art agency and has the aim of enabling business and its people to be more successful when engaging with the arts, and to increase resources for the arts from business; its people have shown a very positive example in the UK.

A chief executive from Arts & Business pointed out:

Arts & Business is delighted to be involved in such an important scheme that can benefit hundreds of thousands of urban dwellers and visitors by bringing a cultural experience to them in the everyday environment. It is evident that the arts have benefited many town centre initiatives and we look forward to working with town centre managers to build on this trend. (Arts& Business, 2007)

Arts & Business also provides customised services to their business members to help them find and develop a sustainable relationship with an arts organisation or artist.

For instance, as was stated in Chapter 3, Arts and Business (A&B) with funding from central government, promotes mutual benefits, helps the business sector to be more successful in engaging with the arts, increases resources from business, and helps to build up long-term partnerships between business and the arts through a range of investment programs. Organisations like the Skills Bank also help business volunteers share their professional skills with arts organisations. However, what can we learn from the indication that associates with culture-related businesses are involved at different levels?



The above diagram shows that culture related business involvement has always been civic and organisational, but mainly individual. The level of involvement also varies, for instance, at a national level, Such involvement has always been by lobbyists to obtain a better deal and greater support from central government, while, at the same time, trying to obtain some very positive support from regional and local government. As was discussed in Chapter 3, quasi-governmental bodies, such as the Arts Council England, have their own business link strategies to promote more business involvement by introducing UK trade investment and the Skills Bank into cultural activities at a national level. At regional and sub-regional levels, such involvement always has its own positive impact on regional cultural activity, as was evidenced in Chapter 3. Furthermore, there are a considerable number of public, quasi public sector regional development agencies (for example, the East Midland Development Agency) and some private sector agencies that are co-operating to develop regional economies and inward investment and to broaden further social and cultural agendas.

However, culture-related business involvement at the local level has been informal, as the responses from the local public demonstrate. There is some strong culture-related business involvement at the local level, but only by self-appointed groups of individuals.

Further, business partnerships have been considered by local government as a positive way to obtain support for classical music; local firms and music organisations will

benefit from each other in developing a business partnership. For instance, the chairman of a local amateur orchestra highlighted such issues in the following way:

We are an independent charity. We are funded by membership fees and sponsorship; we sometime get sponsorship, but not much. We've had some money from HSBC in the past; it has been very helpful.

In addition to the above comment, there are the positive responses from individual classical music organisations who have built business partnerships with local firms.

For instance, respondents showed satisfaction that they are actually able to use a variety of ways to obtain support from local business firms. This can be seen in the following comments.

View from officer 1 from city council:

Now, the mass majority of sponsors, they don't offer cash, but they do offer the services to the value of the cash. For instance, the Nottingham Evening Post offers us three thousands pounds for the publicity. There is a design, which is they come on board, they gave us three thousand pounds worth of design to the cost.

View from a local orchestra manager:

We are doing quite well with the strong links with the local communities. For instance, we have local advertising, like small firms can do it for....

Further, the view of how to work out a better way to ensure cost-efficiency was also embedded in the respondents' views. Because many music organisations in Nottingham are struggling to survive, most of the classical music groups in the region have had to find a way to obtain financial support from local firms. However, the

main idea for any business is to make sure their investments will bring them something in return. Therefore, local music organisations in Nottingham together with local business firms have worked out more effective ways to ensure cost-efficiency, such as increasing the benefit part of the cost, creating a resource that lowers the price to local firms and so on. An experienced director from a local orchestra put it as follows:

We also search for some sponsorship from local firms and companies. They are also getting a good deal, like good seats, opportunity to have a party, receptions and things afterwards.

There is a design company we work with, a local firm; they come on board, they gave us three thousand pounds worth of design to the cost. What we do with the sponsorship is that we offer them a profile-raising benefit in return. They get the chance to do the Nottingham Classics programme; they are allowed to bring guests to the concert hall for the corporate hospitality and so on. So, it is a real chance for them to raise their profile by associating with something which has some really high quality.

It is not surprising that, in the absence of funding from the local authority, local music organisations are forced to hunt for forms of sponsorship from local business. This will come at a price, as noted previously. The conversion of classical events into showcases for corporate sponsors obviously detracts from issues related to local democracy and the idea of the inclusive city. This method of funding reinforces the idea of classical music as an elite practice and undermines its potential to act as a form of common culture.

Further, the response from the local classical music organisers shows that professional musicians spend too much time and effort trying to obtain business partnerships. For instance, there are negative views regarding spending time this way.

View from an officer from the county council

Yes, I would gladly spend more time on doing more sponsorship, just the time for me really. I just have too many things to do, but next year I will certainly get them to re-commit.

The question appears to me to be why only classical music organisations need to spend a lot of time getting financial support from business: why do other forms of cultural survive better in contemporary British society.

The Resistance to Classical Music and Local Music Policy

The real value of classical music has simply been forgotten in contemporary society. For instance, classical music is a skilled form of practice. Musical talent has been often related to the term “respect” sociologically. So, what is meant by “respect” in this context? Sociology has indeed many synonyms indicating different aspects of “respect”. These include “status”, “prestige”, “recognition”, and “honour”. As was discussed in Chapter 4 (and I want to re-emphasise the point here), the social vocabulary of respect might be made to come to life, however, by returning to music. Sennett (2003) also offers his view that welfare clients are urged to “earn” self-respect; this often means becoming materially self-sufficient, but often it is not possible to “earn” self-respect in the same way people earn money. However, someone who grew up in the welfare system can manage to escape from it by virtue of their musical talent, as Sennett asserts.

Sennett (2008) develops this theory further by taking music training as an example to demonstrate his argument on how the development of any musical talent involves an element of craft, of doing something well for its own sake. Yet, MacCarthy(2009) points out, in Sennett’s view, the satisfaction of physical making can be seen as a necessary part of being human, craft work can also be understood as a way to keep ourselves rooted in material reality, and provides a steadying balance in a world which overrates mental facility. The development of musical talent, then, depends upon the co-ordination of the hand, the eye and the ear. Once skills have been mastered and endlessly practised, this offers the possibility for improvisation, experimentation and the ability to bring something new into the world. If, however,

these skills are not passed on and learned, then the fear is that our ability to be genuinely innovative goes into decline or at least falters.

Johnson argues (2002) that classical music is generally considered 'old' music; this view is important both for those who value it highly and for those who consider it largely irrelevant today. That culture is practised in one form or another seems to be widespread, probably universal, in human society and is also true of contemporary society. Therefore, what is the contemporary value within classical music? The interview data with a senior staff member of the regional office within ACE and a senior officer from the city council illustrate the above view:

View from a senior staff member from the regional office within ACE

We fund contemporary arts; we support a contemporary attitude. So, what I mean, the business, the thing is to itself, this product we have, this classical music. My attitude is to forget everything that I know and try to find the most radical and progressive way to try to reach people.

View from a senior officer of the city council:

They may be more likely to get involved in music through popular music than classical music; this is just a hypothesis, through bands and groups, rather than thinking 'I want to play for an orchestra'.

View from an officer of the county council:

Because we feel that the orchestral music is very exciting, if you get the right kind of concerts for the young people, they may properly need it later in their life; they may want to come to the orchestral concert.

The question raised is what is the real artistic value of classical music and why does the stereotypical image of classical music hold such a strong contemporary value? The following comments from government officials indicate some of the reasons for this:

Views from a senior member of the regional office of ACE:

The western orchestral traditions go back 500 and 600 years. What about the music before then? Should music survive? What is it? Where is it?

You can argue that it did or didn't survive. What I am saying is that why do we need to support this kind of music to survive? I am not saying it shouldn't; I want all the music to survive, I want all the music to be heard. But, should it survive? The audience and the organisation should tell us why; they do try to.

Views from a senior officer of Nottingham City Council:

I am struggling to think of anything that classical music has brought into this idea of cultural diversity. I think, with classical music, there is a danger there. It is mainly enjoyed by the high class groups; therefore, why should we subsidise that?

But, what I would say is that it would be for those people who are particular supporters for classical music to argue the case why the subsidy should be there, and part of that would be always on the basis of the artistic quality. You would want a balance of activities. Classical music is a tradition. Tradition does have the reasons to survive, I believe.

The above statements clearly show that the local cultural policy-makers have some kind of stereotypical images of classical music; thus, an ideology of the resistance of classical music in contemporary society has become such a debatable topic in this century.

Classical music, as a unique cultural form, should be used as a social tool to promote cultural diversity and to help maintain cultural complexity. Further, an effective music policy should be formed to help expand people's cultural choice. In other words, classical music should be presented to people outside the classical music world, no matter what their educational background, income, occupation or social status. For example, an effective music policy could offer everyone a new channel to experience

different forms of the arts; for instance, if we go to a classical music concert or opera, sometimes the related anxieties and ambivalences from the real life world are experienced. So, the social/public value of classical music can be seen as an affective vehicle for thoughts and feelings, for imagination which are closely associated with our own life-world situations. The question is whether the cultural policy practitioners need to make all cultural channels open to everyone, for instance, by making music events open to all kinds of emotional responses within a wider range of participants. Also, how to connect policy-making process with public's opinion?

For instance, when people were asked for their views on contemporary attitudes towards classical music, respondents were split between those who agreed and those who disagreed with the classically elitist view that only a few people have the knowledge and ability to judge excellence in the high arts, such as classical music. Nevertheless, responses to the statement that artistic excellence can be found in popular culture as much as in the fine arts were the most unbalanced, reflecting the aesthetic ideas about a privileged high culture.

In terms of the social use of high arts, the following statements from the interview data demonstrate that people have a positive view of the social values of classical music, and indicate that the speakers felt that classical music does have some traditional aesthetic value in itself.

View from senior staff member 2 from the regional office of ACE:

What I am saying is that we need to understand what we try to achieve. We are trying to achieve more young people engaging with music. If we try that with classical music, and for whatever reason it doesn't work, we should try that with other forms of music. I am making it very simple.

View from officer 2 of Nottingham City Council:

Yes, you have to have certain knowledge to be able to understand it. But, if you like the way it sounds, you don't have to know all the knowledge. You are right; it does have a certain kind of stereotype image within it.

Many people are interested in classical music, yet many of the people connected with classical music actually do not need to know when a piece of music was written or why.

View from amateur musician 2

Classical music has always been getting help to make sure it is always available for the public. People like this kind of tradition, as it is always a tradition. People don't like to see the traditions die; in our eyes that tradition has its own value.

View from amateur musician 3

I think classical music still has an important value with itself. It has become very important part of our everyday life ... Yes, of course, classical music should survive in this contemporary society for all reasons.

However, respondents also had some negative views on the use of classical music for the social agenda in contemporary society. For instance, one respondent (a senior staff member from a local arts agency) argued in the following way whether classical music could fit into some kind of social agenda (for example, youth education, educational outreach work and so on) associated with local and central government's best political interests:

But, I also think, other forms of music sometimes achieve things better. I also feel that classical music could learn from other styles and approaches of other music. I am a little critical about classical music organisations,

because we support all forms of arts. Sometimes we think we give them money, we have to ask them to do all these things for us. Sometimes classical music groups can't achieve that goal; it is not their strength, and it is not the natural way to work it out. They might achieve that goal within five or ten year's time; that is where the problems appear. There are many attitudes within the Arts Council; there are many attitudes within the classical music sector, sometimes we struggle to see that development.

I think we need to ask people to work on this strength. That is the debate on the arts. Because we try to provide the best possible access for everybody in this region, for as wide as possible range of music. But, you can't do everything; that is why you have to set the priorities. I think with classical music, there is danger there .Because it is mainly enjoyed by the high class social groups... therefore, there are some serious marketing jobs to be done, in terms of saying to the public what classical music is.

Interestingly, another government official also argued that classical music could not be used positively for targeting some crucial aspects of the social agenda:

View from a senior officer from the city council:

In fact, I think about my own growing up, is defining an important period of life by popular music at the time. I am not sure that classical music does that. People who are interested in classical music will continue to be interested in one form of music. Those who are interested in popular music would be that group; those who are interested in classical music would be the other group. People who are interested in classical music may well be interested in popular music as well, you know, they may have a wide taste. So, that is the question on whether we need to broaden people's tastes.

Furthermore, some others even considered that we need to make classical music ordinary, to help it escape its elitist image. So, why does classical music need to be made 'ordinary'?

The argument for why classical music needs to be made 'ordinary' is as follows. This cannot be achieved by simply reaffirming its elite status. First, it is a mistake to think of 'classical' and 'popular' music as simply opposed categories. There are numerous examples of the ways these categories overlap or intersect in contemporary experience and practice. Part of the democratisation of classical music being called for here would be to encourage young people in education to become what Henry Groux (1993) calls critical boundary crossers. This would mean promoting new kinds of cultural literacy in respect of classical music through education, where classical music is seen in monolithic terms (as the property of various elites); this reaffirms its concentration in the circuits of class privilege. Instead a more democratised classical music policy and practice would ask us to rethink questions of borders. How do popular music and classical music flow into each other? How might classical music be made more inclusive? These critical questions are stifled by both the practise of corporate sponsorship and some of the stereotypical language of policy makers. There is evidence above that at least some policy makers have a tendency to split the audience into reified categories and miss the connections between them.

View from a senior officer from the regional office of Arts Council England:

What I try to achieve is that I want classical music to be ordinary, I want for people to think they can choose classical music, as it is part of their life, just like the TV. But, we don't have that. I am not blaming the orchestras, or asking from the government. I am saying that we are on that journey: for me, we found two things; forget about all the policies.

View from a senior officer of Nottingham County Council:

When we use the word "culture", we don't mean "high culture", we mean very broad culture. This can include the sports. Classical music is a very

small part of the total culture offer. It is more associated with, like you say, “the high culture”.

View from officer 2 of Nottingham County Council:

In terms of classical music, you just have to make sure there is enough opportunity for people to hear, and make it more accessible; that is hard work. That is what the Arts Council and local authorities need to do; they need to make sure it is accessible and enjoyable. People will come for it.

Not to be excluded, because people think this form of art is only for the middle classes to enjoy. We should not just hold classical music in a concert hall; we need to let it to go outside, like in the street and so on. Don't let the fact that people have to wear a suit to a classical music concert or to pay £20 make people walk away from classical music.

The above statement demonstrates that classical music can also be defended in terms of an attempt to build a ‘culture in common’. A culture in common, as a critical part of cultural policy, can become revitalised only to the extent to which arts organisations and educationalists encourage people to cross rather than reaffirm cultural borders. Here, classical music would be seen as a complex musical practice amongst others not owned by any elite or by the world of corporate sponsorship.

Cultural Diversity and Local Music Policy

The evidence from the data further demonstrates that people's belief in the value of classical music is negatively associated with racism. For instance, respondents discuss the use of classical music in connection with the idea of community cohesion. Why? As we live in a multicultural society and people come from different ethnic traditions, communities come together to celebrate their many strands, and artists come from different backgrounds. Therefore, one form of arts and culture alone cannot serve those purposes. This is why there are many arguments among the government officials in Nottingham regarding the use of classical music in terms of promoting

cultural diversity to help community development. For instance, one government official explained that:

What we think our policy is changing is that, at one stage, we would support the Caribbean events, from the point of view to see it as a celebration within the community. I think the important thing is that this celebration is across the community. And there is a broad audience, because part of the agenda is about enabling people to celebrate their own culture, the ownership; it is also about enabling the wide community to have a better understanding of the different cultures they live alongside.

View from a senior staff member of the regional office of Arts Council England

So what I am saying is that if we are investors we still say for classical music and orchestras, we want to see a certain sort of work on cultural diversity, a certain sort of work on young people and so on and so on.

Further, classical music, in the opinion of some respondents, has always been considered as a practical art form among other forms of the arts in terms of social use. For instance, one respondent stated:

I think there are specific challenges about classical music. And I do believe very much, when we talk about classical music, it struggles. Because it is not a fast moving form of music, the organisation can be, not always, quite old fashioned. So what I am saying is that if we are investors, if we ask a classical music group for orchestras, we want to see classical music does a certain sort of work in terms of cultural diversity, a certain sort of work in terms of young people for us. Then what we have to do is to say this is what the money is for, when the review points come; we have to ask: have you achieved that yet, and if not, why not?

Indeed, there are many positive statements from government officials supporting all forms of the arts and music, and supporting all forms of music organisations (semi-

professional, professional and amateur groups). For instance, government officials demonstrated their view on such issues as follows:

View from senior staff member 2 from the regional office of Arts Council England

It is very important to work on community cohesion; we want to people live together in the city peacefully. So we will encourage things like the Caribbean culture events and so on. All these activities are about celebrating all the different cultures. If you look at contemporary music, contemporary dance, there is a much bigger element of new experimental and culturally diverse work, it must be quite difficult presenting, say Mozart or something like that, as something other than the European culture.

View from a senior staff member from the regional office of Arts Council England

I have a role to develop music. So my approach is not to take one form of music, to think how it can grow throughout that whole region; my feeling is that we need to understand what we try to achieve.

We try to achieve more young people engaging with music; if we try that with classical music, for whatever reason it doesn't work, we should try that with other form of music. I am making it very simple.

In addition to those positive statements (the same materials have been used elsewhere in the current chapter for a different purpose) from government officials on supporting all forms of the arts and music, there are also negative suggestions among the government officials who were interviewed in Nottingham,

View from a staff member of Nottingham City Council:

For people who have been brought up within a certain kind of tradition and also within a certain range of experience? They can be international and all the orchestras want to be sustained as a real high quality orchestra; the real

pressure will come to those orchestras who are not very good, semi-professional orchestras, or amateur orchestras. For instance, once you become less professional or you become a chamber orchestra, and then you become a sort of semi-professional and amateur basis, you have to say, is that actually a bad thing or not?

Again, the suggestion that all semi-professional music is of poor quality reaffirms the elite nature of classical music. Further, there was also evidence that even the idea that classical music has a long history can be a reason to under fund it.

View from a senior staff member from the regional office of Arts Council England

We do have an important role; the aim is there. If we talk about music, there are huge amounts of music that we don't fund. I often ask the question why is it just a certain sort of music that deserves funding; a certain sort of music just survives. For instance, there is a lot of contemporary music we call pop music that is just on the TV and on the radio; actually, these high amounts of contemporary music don't easily sell the records and it isn't going to get the contract with the big companies. There are also huge amounts of music; we say we want to support creativity, innovation, young people; there are young people out there making music we don't always engage with. What I am saying is, music is not a dead thing, it is a living thing, it is growing, changing; our challenge is to take the music that has been around for four, five hundreds years and then find the way to fund that (as well as the music that has been made yesterday in a studio in Nottingham). How do we find the way to fund that also? It is a big challenge.

Finally many policy makers saw classical music as anti-multicultural. A concept of multiculturalism often refers to a theory of racial, cultural and ethnic diversity, but classical music is often seen as elitist, as something that can be enjoyed only by a certain group of people; classical music is even seen as an element of anti-multiculturalism. So, it has become important to analyse public attitudes on the

concept of resistance in a context of culture and views on multiculturalism and how classical music is treated as an element of anti-multiculturalism. For instance, there were also negative views on the use of classical music for community cohesion from one of the government officials from the city council.

View from a senior officer of Nottingham City Council (some of the quotations were used elsewhere in this chapter for a different purpose)

Not sure it does. I am not sure ... What kind of contributions does classical music bring into the cultural diversity in the city? If you look at the make of the audience, the major audience for classical music is white middle-aged, elderly people. You have to think what kind of other contributions are there.

There is a broad audience, because the agenda is about enabling people to celebrate their own culture, the ownership; is also about enabling the wide community to have a better understanding of the different culture they live alongside. It is a key thing. And you will be asking what kinds of contributions classical music bring into the cultural diversity?

Beyond this comment, there are also debates within the Arts Council on the political use of classical music in cultural diversity. For instance, a senior staff member from the regional office of Arts Council England explained to me:

There are many attitudes within the Arts Council; there are many attitudes within the classical music sector. Sometimes we struggle to see that development.

Hence, the idea that classical music is a respected tradition can be seen to cut two ways. It is offered as a reason to value classical music as part of 'our' musical

heritage, yet it is also seen increasingly as a 'dead' culture with little relevance for more contemporary audiences. Again, such a view reifies how new music is being watched and performed and thereby neglects to look at how it might become significant in more democratic terms. Hence despite having value as a tradition, classical music is seen as regressive. What is missing is the way contemporary classical music has itself become hybridized and globalised in terms of contemporary practice. Again, to complain of its anti-multicultural quality converts it (quite unnecessarily) into an elite practice for elites.

What is missing from the discussion is any idea as to how classical music crosses borders in its more contemporary and social value. For instance, Sennett's (2008) view is that classical music training as a kind of practice promotes the satisfactions of physical making that is a necessary part of how individuals could be transformed to knowledgeable and good citizens.

Cultural policy and empowerment-Community Development and Local Music Policy

The Arts have an incredible potential to heal the individual, and to heal communities at times of need and turmoil. BUT.... perhaps even more important, the arts can empower us to become agents ourselves towards the healing and empowerment of others.

(<http://www.artslynx.org/heal/index.htm>, accessed on 31st May 2009)

Indeed, it is true that the arts can empower people to become agents ourselves for the healing and empowerment of others. Similarly, Jermyn (2001) points out the need "to identify social cohesion, community empowerment and self-determination, and local image and identity amongst the outcomes of arts programmes" (Jermyn, 2001:25). He suggests that particular arts projects contribute to social cohesion in various ways. At a basic level, they can help bring people together; they can also encourage partnership and co-operation, and promote understanding of different cultures. In his view,

There should be connections between social inclusion and community development because those people who are socially excluded are prevented from participating fully in society, and community development seeks to work with those people who are the most marginalised. (Jermyn, 2001:25)

Jermyn (2001) also argues that cultural impact studies have indicated that community developments often benefit from certain activities, such as cultural and arts participation. In his view, arts-related programmes can be effective in producing the positive development of community identity, and the outcome is a decrease in social isolation, improvements in urban regeneration, the development of local enterprise and improvements in public facilities (Jermyn, 2001). Similarly, Williams (1996:19) states,

The process of creating or strengthening communities and developing social capital frequently generates the desire for social change; so, the community group to some degree could benefit from creative action and social achievement.

For instance, Bleckmann, regarding his case studies with young people in the YEPP programme sites, states that “self -confidence and a subjective feeling of strength play a major role in their concept of empowerment” (Bleckmann, 2004:24).

Bleckmann (2004) points out, “Cultural activities have often proved [the] most efficient means to increase self-confidence and to encourage young people”. For instance, he also lists a number of reasons explaining why the effect of cultural activities increases young people’s self-confidence. For instance, cultural activities often taken place in a public place, such as music that is performed on stage, poems that are published, and paintings that are exhibited in a public space; thus, public recognition and applause are inherent in cultural activities (Bleckmann, 2004). Yet, the same principle may also apply to music and classical music in particular. As was argued in Chapter 4 of this thesis, quite often, this self-respect could be gained through musical talent, stage experience, and appreciation from others. In particular, classical music training requires a large amount of concentration from learners for

practising, which improves their self-esteem. Further, the music concert-performing experience on stage may help music practitioners gain social status or help them increase their levels of self-confidence and self-respect. So, cultural activities, music activities and classical music activities in particular can achieve the goal of empowering individuals

Moreover, the presence of classical music activities by community members may have an impact on community norms. Many of the respondents at different levels within the community recognised the role of empowering people and citizens as cultural educators and participants.

On the contrary, we can see that individuals in a public place have found themselves already located within disempowering power structures. In other words, they have become empowered after having been in a position of disempowerment within the complex web of power structures they inhabit that have political, social and cultural dimensions.

The questions I would like to raise here are, if individuals can be empowered only through their own actions or through actions undertaken as subjects of their own empowerment, how can individuals within a community use their own strategies for empowerment, and what sources of support are individuals able to mobilize for their empowerment?

For instance, I discovered that community development might be affected positively by the support for certain musical activities in the region. In addition, a successful community music organisation might influence the perception of key government officials and make them more likely to support such programmes in the future. For instance, the following statement demonstrates this point:

View from a senior member staff from the regional office of Arts Council England

If we see some organisation's activities achieved a certain goal of bringing communities together, and then we will all be happy to give them money next time.

So, the above statement illustrates that the local public's own strategy (such as establishing a community music organisation) can increase the state's support for their initiative.

Furthermore, the evidence from the data also indicates that a successful music event based on a neighbourhood revitalization programme will help the local government to target particular social problems and such a strategy also help locals to mobilize their empowerment. For instance, one of the respondents expressed his view (the same material has been used elsewhere in this chapter for a different purpose) on this issue in the following way:

We want to people peacefully to live together ... you know, there is wider audience ... the agenda is about enabling people to celebrate their own culture and ownership; it is about enabling the wider community to have a better understanding of the different culture they live alongside.

Finally, the documentary analysis (based on the documentary analysis of Cultural Services Inspection Executive Summary, 2006) shows the following facts in relation to how the local government sets up the political agenda regarding the use of classical music to help community cohesion:

- a) the city council had a clear understanding of the role of culture in helping to meet local people's needs;
- b) the council's cultural priorities are also concentrated on promoting a quality of cultural services as well as improving the quality of life for local residents;
- c) cultural partnership strategies in the local community are also becoming an important social agenda for local authorities;

d) the city council started to consider becoming an effective partner with other local key stakeholders (Nottingham City Council, 2006b).

The above facts demonstrate that the use of culture for empowerment as a whole (including all forms of culture) in community developments does meet some political and social goals in this field. At the same time, the above facts also show that the process of the local public to achieve their own initiative for empowerment has very positive outcomes.

As is stated on the Audit Commission's website, "The local government in Nottingham is also encouraging more people to take part in physical cultural activities across all age groups" (Audit Commission, 2006:5). The Audit Commission (2006) claims that "more people are using the leisure centres and taking part in cultural activities in the city".

Yet, what are the cultural activities (especially classical music) in education and how can citizens be empowered by such activities? For instance, the responses from council cultural officers have shown that the focus of the classical music initiative on education has been on training teachers in the region that these initiatives might prove sustainable. However, it is vitally important, if such work is not to be limited, to know what single individuals can achieve on their own. The relevant evidence in this chapter indicates that it is still currently challenging to make such training widely available for the majority of music teachers and to give more pupils the opportunity to learn an instrument. Yet, giving pupils the opportunity to learn and play an instrument may also help to empower them: for instance, Caroline van Niekerk (2009) points out that "playing instruments affords pupils with new means for dealing with their feelings and has a clear therapeutic effect". So, as a result of understanding the rationale of the classical music initiative on education and empowerment, at the beginning of this year (2009), the Conservative Party's Music Taskforce announced plans for an annual National Music Week. The aim of this week would be to "combine the efforts and energy of teachers, pupils, parents, schools, community groups, the music industry, broadcasters and all those wishing to improve grassroots

music education provision” (Gove & Hunt, 2009:2). In addition, in this report, Gove and Hunt (2009) point out, “In 2001 the Government promised that, ‘in time’, all children of primary school age would have the chance to learn a musical instrument. ... However, using official figures and Government estimates it is still the case that, despite this pledge, more than a third of primary pupils who would like to play an instrument do not currently have the opportunity. That 34% equates to approximately 1.44 million children missing out” (Gove and Hunt, 2009:4).

So, what is the government’s reaction to such a problem? There are some positive indications regarding government support on such issues. According to Gove and Hunt (2009), “The Arts Council has also worked successfully in this area. Their Take It Away scheme, for instance, has provided interest-free loans for more than 16,000 people in priority groups to buy musical instruments. More importantly, the £10 million in Lottery funds that is distributed each year by Youth Music supports the development of young musicians across all genres” (Gove and Hunt, 2009:5). However, on the other hand, in some areas, such as teacher training programmes, progress is still very slow; for instance, Gove and Hunt (2009) claim, “Over 2000 teachers were supposed to benefit from the £2m music teacher training programme announced in 2006 to support professional development. 2 years on just 304 teachers have completed the course” (Gove and Hunt, 2009:5). Therefore, the aim is to promote more music events, such as ‘National Music Week’, nationally and regionally to “provide the opportunity for children to continue an interest in music when they have left school and reduce the music drop out rate of school leavers” (Gove and Hunt, 2009:7). Hence while we need to be careful in using the policies of the Conservative opposition (especially given their broader commitment to the neoliberal project) some important critical points are made here.

Yet, according to the Audit Commission’s website, “Although the music policy and service is aware of its weaknesses and of where it needs to make improvements (for instance, comparing with central government, at regional level, the city council has set out its plans for the future direction of the service to enhance music initiatives in education), all service standards are communicated to residents” (Audit Commission, 2006:5). The performance management framework does not currently enable the council to monitor the full impact of all music policies and services on corporate

priorities and on meeting local needs and some issues (such as how to promote classical music to new audiences and build up partnerships between key national and local organisations committed to musical development, understanding and appreciation) still require continuing attention from both central and local government. Therefore, I will offer a detailed analysis of these issues in the next chapter.

Conclusion

Overall, according to the detailed analysis based on the interview data and documentary materials offered in this chapter, it can be seen that the service has a reasonably comprehensive understanding and knowledge of the needs of the local community and uses this to plan, manage, and deliver its services. Although there is a broad range of initiatives across the cultural services that need to be promoted, for example, cultural diversity has not been fully integrated into the delivery of all cultural services, the negative externalities of the use of classical music for community cohesion still exist. The interview with one of the government official illustrated this point (this quotation has been used for a different purpose elsewhere in this chapter):

And there is a broad audience out there, because part of the agenda is to enable people to celebrate their own culture and ownership; it is also about enabling the wider community to have a better understanding of the different culture they live alongside. It is a key thing. So does classical music bring any contribution into the cultural diversity for the community at all? The answer is no.

Yet, as is not hard to see from the above comments, the reason people want to celebrate their own culture and their ownership is because affective communications help individuals to reflect on their own life experience (McGuigan, 2005). Cultural and music events often help to open up certain emotional responses within both the audience and the wider public; of course, this also leads us to consider policy level questions, such as how cultural policy makers need to look more closely at questions of emotion and value.

As was discussed earlier, multiculturalism often refers to a theory of racial, cultural and ethnic diversity; however, while classical music is often seen as elitist, to be enjoyed only by a certain group of people, it can also be viewed as an element of anti-multiculturalism.

The question here is whether classical music events can build a social solidarity among all ethnic groups and lead to the greater balkanisation of the community. Yet, classical music can be defended in terms of seeking to promote an idea of multiculturalism. So, working with multiculturalism and cultural complexity, in other words, working against anti-multiculturalism, has become a new challenge not only for stakeholders and policy-makers, but for educators and intellectuals as well.

This chapter has further explored how the local arts agencies, such as the regional office of Arts Council England, together with regional arts development agencies are working together with the local authorities in order to achieve the goal of meeting public needs regarding music and cultural services by implementing the new interpretation of Foucault's notion of governmentality at micro and meso levels. Throughout this chapter, there has been an examination of some significant research themes that are closely related to the key research question regarding the relationship between local authorities, local public arts agencies and other public agencies, the relevant co-operation between local governments, arts agencies, the local policy in helping overcome the resistance to classical music, how classical music helps local community development and so on. Although the cultural service in Nottingham has a reasonably comprehensive understanding of the needs of the local community, the service does not place enough emphasis on the impact of its policy on targeted groups. So Chapter 7 will continue to look into those issues by offering an in-depth examination and analysis of the relevant research themes.

Chapter 7: Doing Culture

Introduction

This research has been framed theoretically in terms of Foucault's work on power and Habermas's writing on the public sphere, and in particular, has sought to explore and develop further how governmentality has been located in the public sphere. Clearly, the Foucauldian notion of governmentality in some cultural theorists' view is simply a kind of explanation of governance as a form of rule. For instance, Bennett focuses on questions about the role of the critical intellectual, the nature of state power and bureaucracy, and the function of culture (Bennett, 1998).

Yet the state power in a local cultural public sphere was seen to operate in a variety of ways, and also at the different levels such as macro, meso and micro levels (as was discussed in Chapter 6). The information within both the interview materials and the documents is presented as fact, thus implying its objectivity and accuracy. The purpose of this section is to see whether a notion of governmentality, in other words, a political agency, has worked well in a contemporary context and within a local public sphere. For instance, Habermas (1991) critically discusses the social interface between state and society, which he recognised as the "public sphere". He also valorises the idea of the 'public sphere' as a benign force 'made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs for society with the state' (Habermas, 1991:176).

This chapter attempts to offer answers to these queries by looking into the analytical results from both the interview data and the documentary evidence for the question in relation to how a notion of governmentality really performs at a local cultural level (in other words, at a micro level), especially in relation to classical music activities in

Nottingham; how power is exercised at a local music level; how local public values have been achieved; how a notion of cultural consumption and class distinction in contemporary terms affects local music policy making; how to promote a democracy in a local cultural sphere; and finally, what the relationship is between the education system and public rights and what is needed from a national music curriculum. The interviews here are explicitly concerned with how culture 'gets done' and less how it is administered. In particular, the term of 'doing culture' here refers to how culture becomes part of everyday cultural practices, how our everyday life interacts within a cultural sphere and how culture can be 'done' within a framework of cultural consumption and political engagement together with a notion of 'high' and 'popular' culture.

Governmentality at a Local Cultural Sphere

The results from a comparative analysis between the views of a senior officer from Nottingham City Council and those of the chair of a local amateur choir show that the responses to the question about how a notion of governmentality functions in a local cultural sphere were split almost evenly between those who believed that governmental power plays a positive role in listening to what music organisers want and those who simply think that the political structure is merely following a top-down system. For instance, the senior officer from Nottingham City Council expressed his view on how governmental power plays a positive role in listening to what music organisers want:

...I got the whole region to catch up. ..Now, there is a strong relationship between the Halle, city and county...

...You know, it is all about ... the city and county say what they want Halle to achieve, and therefore, they choose who they need to be in those meetings. It might not be the arts team; it might be the education team. So, whatever the city and county try to achieve is about them working with the orchestra, and to show the leadership, and also to say we want our money to achieve the certain thing.

However, in the following comment, the chair of the local amateur choir illustrates the negative view of cultural policy that fails to provide what the public wants; in other words, the political power is simply following a top-down system:

In the end, it is all a government-led model; it is not high up on the agenda. The government has a really dynamic lively arts scene in the country with a lot of professional orchestras because they are not prepared to put the money into it.

Because there are so many other things they feel are more important; so people who want to win the election, if they go to people to say, "We've decided we are not going to fund the local hospital so much, we are going to fund the local orchestra", no one would say yes to them.

The above evidence also shows that there are some negative responses to the government's top-down system on arts strategy. In addition, such a statement also highlights interviewees' concerns on the question of how the local music activities and music educational outreach work benefit from such a government-led cultural strategy. Clearly, the public has already started to challenge the issues on what kind of cultural strategy local government needs to adopt, that is, a bottom-up system or a top-down model.

Further, some other respondents even considered that the political history of music activities in Nottingham had had a very strong impact on the current relationship between the local authorities and music organisations. For instance, an experienced director from a local orchestra expressed his view as follows:

I think the county orchestra started to run at the same time as our orchestra. So, I think that is why they are probably suffering now, because

of our success. Our orchestra has gone from strength to strength. Now we have to feed the orchestra as well. We currently have two hundred children turning up at the Thursday nights at the Nottingham High School every week. It is a successful organisation, just because the standard is good. People want to join in to get the further development. I don't regard that as elitist. That people are good at something doesn't mean they are elitist; because a child is good at football and joins the Nottingham Forest football club doesn't mean this child is the elitist. Just he happened to be good at something.

Despite the above concerns, throughout my fieldwork, I discovered that the notion of governmentality has embedded in it various dimensions. The first dimension is the cultural authorities' strong impact on individual music organisations' development ('cultural authorities' refers to the acknowledged legitimate authority of specialized authorities, such as local authorities and regional arts agencies, to evaluate outcomes or actions, operating the funding in a specific cultural sphere of a certain responsibility).

The following statement from an interviewee demonstrates the above view:

Statement from an experienced director from a local orchestra

I think, going back to the local authorities, perhaps I should let you know some of the political issues. As the youth orchestra was suffering under the political cloud in 1981, the old county youth orchestra was run by the county and got invited to take part in the conference (International Society for Music Education conference) over the west coast of America, which is the great honour. The conductor said, "I got this invitation, I don't want anybody to leave this orchestra for the next two years", which clearly meant nobody could get into the orchestra who was at the school. By that time, most of the players were twenty-

three years old; nobody was at the school at that time at all. So, the county decided enough was enough; they brought the age limit down to 19 years old overnight. They also banned all privately educated children from attending this orchestra.

That is what they said: "This is now the orchestra for state educated children, not public school children." You know, at that time, I was teaching for the local authorities. I was brought up in the boys' schools. I thought, I would like to start my own orchestra, and a person from the boys' high school told me that he was also going to start his own orchestra as well. So, that is how we started.

It also seems that an ideology of political movement in the country has become embedded in a strong current political influence on the cultural authorities' decision-making. For instance, a very experienced local orchestra conductor explained how a certain political movement had a strong impact on both individual organisations' operation and on individual young people's musical development.

The chairman of the education committee at the time was very left wing and he was also a member of the Labour Party and against anything to do with private education. And he saw classical music as elitist; only those who could afford to do it will do it because it was very expensive to do it; therefore, classical music is only for those whose parents had a lot of money. Obviously, he didn't play any instrument himself. So, his policy was to make children in the school play the instruments. But what he didn't take into account is that he only gave a child a chance to start playing an instrument, but didn't offer the following chance to let them continue to play. They want to get better; they want to improve. For the children, they do very well to have a lesson to start with, and then they've got to pay for it after that, as the funding wasn't there after a period of time.

This shows a certain piece of policy towards regional musicians and young students can have both positive and negative impacts. The paradox here is perhaps how a narrow-minded anti-elitism can end up reaffirming classical music as an exclusive activity. The strategy being followed is actually reaffirming the borders of classical music rather than dissolving them or rendering them more ambivalent and democratic. The above comments also illustrate that the public (in this context, the music educationist) had very strong views on changing the 'top-down' system for cultural strategy, simply because, without a real assessment of the regional situation, it is not possible for the policy towards regional music activities to have a positive impact on the local public's cultural life. As we saw earlier, questions of cultural empowerment and democratisation can not be followed unless citizens are encouraged to cross borders.

Power and resistance at a local public sphere

Within a certain kind of cultural public sphere, power can be seen to operate in different ways. As was argued in the literature review, power in the public sphere is more like the perpetual interaction between the public interest in culture and governmental dynamic operations. That power is also enabling; for instance, Danaher, Schirato and Webb state (2000), "Power produces resistance to itself, it produces what we are and what we can do, and it produces how we see ourselves and the world (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000; xiv). According to Foucault, "where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (Foucault, 1976:85). Foucault's notion of power is a complex concept and involves a set of relations between individuals, different groups and various areas of society that changes with circumstances over time. On the other hand, power is not completely negative and should not be seen only in terms of working to repress or control people; it is also highly productive (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000). So, here we can understand that power is also about empowering and enabling and about promoting resistance.

Yet, despite such concerns, the status of resistance might also be linked to or, in other words, be tied up with the particular forms of resistance, and those particular forms of resistance may also inform us about the forms of power that they are competing with.

So, according to the rationale of the relationship between power and resistance in this thesis, the first form of resistance in a local cultural sphere comes through the clear process of 'doing' culture in which the local musicians and music events organisers engage in order to work out their position under such a power structure.

According to Habermas, the notion of a public sphere also includes a sphere that will encourage a kind of exercise between the private opinion of all individuals' everyday life in society and the exercise of power by the state. Further, as was discussed in Chapter 2, it includes a public and social sphere where individuals are gathering together to somehow express their opinions and to perform against the unreasonable and domineering form of social power.

Yet, in terms of my analysis, there is little possibility of cultural empowerment without state intervention. What is required is a democratised state pursuing a strategy of empowerment and border crossing.

The evidence from a very experienced local orchestra conductor further demonstrates that the power structure has a very strong influence on the cultural practice in the local music sphere. For instance, the following statement highlights the above view:

I think the rot started with Margaret Thatcher's period; it was around the late 80s. Because the Conservative party was in power for a long time, they actually destroyed the teaching system; they destroyed the youth orchestra system in this county.

The youth orchestra system existed in the 80s, 70s and 60s. In the late 60s, I was in the Nottinghamshire Youth Orchestra. The youth orchestra system in Britain was never for the whole world. I believe the reason the Conservative government destroyed the whole system is that, because they

think it was only elitist, it should pay for itself. You know, all the funding at that time has been cut gradually. New Labour is not much different really; there is just less funds in this field. They say their policy is about making people have more choice, but where are the results?

The chairman of local amateur Choir 2 stated:

I think that is actually a Thatcher government's decision. It goes back to that period; there are both right and left wing ideas. Thatcherism is about insufficiency and modernism: anything that isn't producing will have to be cut and to bear down all the cost; that was absolutely essential with their policy. But, there has never been a suggestion in relation to local authorities' funding in the music field. And the old Labour government, part of their agenda was to see classical music as an exclusive thing and elitist. I think some of that is still leading us on as well. That is another reason why political parties find it difficult supporting the arts. I guess it will all be ended one day. But, on the other hand, this kind of political situation also inspired all the music activities in the region.

Both comments illustrate that a particular form of power structure encouraged the individual musicians or music events organisers to re-think the relationship between the governmental structure and individual agencies within the local music sphere. To some extent, the governmental political structure determined the local musical agencies' movement, but rather than a negative relationship between the governmental structure and individual agencies in the local cultural sphere, a positive relationship is urgently needed. In other words, a more effective strategy needs to be devised in terms of transferring individual action into collective efforts and then becoming more organised. The following diagram may indicate how a detailed

strategy can be devised for the purpose of transferring individual action to collective efforts and then becoming more organised.

The question is how public opinion can be captured and transformed at the different levels; it may also help to analyse the strategic option for individual empowerment at all levels. On the other hand, when the public space expands to encompass individuals' actions, public opinion can be translated into a decision to become more organised and then institutionalised. For instance, individuals may get together to express their opinions. The question raised here is how such a transformation to be made to occur at a macro level, in other words, how such a transformation can be institutionalised and be made more permanent by the state.

Such a process of empowerment for cultural producers can be pursued only if a neoliberal cultural strategy is rejected. Neoliberalism increasingly reaffirms classical music as an elite practice. The practice of cultural democratisation requires an active social state encouraging citizens to act as cultural border crosser helping them gain access to the relevant skills, knowledge and dispositions to engage in classical music as active listeners and producers. This would require a change not only in the arts, but also in the educational policy that has down-graded music education and sought to impose a central educational strategy around standardized testing and traditional methods of learning.

Local Public Value

It may be worth asking why we should be interested in 'public opinion' in cultural and music policy. The reason might be that hearing the public voice is a central ritual of a democratic society, and the purpose of having a public sphere is to listen to the public's needs and voice. For instance, Habermas's notion of the public sphere also discusses a sphere that will encourage a kind of exercise between the private opinions of all individuals' everyday life in society and the exercise of power by the state.

Further, from a Habermasian point of view, the fundamental position on cultural policy is underpinned by an account of a democratic society (as was argued in Chapter 1), so the public could decisively influence the condition of culture. Culture in this respect should promote democratic and civic values and encourage participation in the dominant institutions in society. The crisis of culture from a democratic perspective emerges when the market displaces public values.

Yet, as argued in Chapter 6, the arts and music policy are always linked with the city departmental plan for leisure and community services and with the key corporate policies from the city council. In particular, according to local needs, the question is whether the local councils together with East-Midlands Arts have played a very important and distinctive role to support local music activities at both meso and micro levels in terms of promoting democratic values. Therefore, what role has public opinion played in the national and regional cultural policy making-process in the local public sphere?

The respondents' views have the following two indications:

1. Public attitude towards the cultural policy in the regional carries little conviction.

The policy makers are simply ignoring the public's preferences, especially on issues regarding the extent to which the regional public needs local government support for local music groups' future development. For instance, one of the respondents (a senior member of Nottingham City Council) expressed his view on how local music groups need local government support:

Why is government not supporting the local groups? These people are local tax payers. Why does Nottingham have to invite an orchestra from Manchester to be the resident orchestra for us instead of supporting the local youth orchestra?

I regard my job as not necessarily producing the future London Philharmonic Orchestra; I am producing audiences for the future London

Symphony Orchestra. After some years, several former Nottingham Youth Orchestra players, they come back to Nottingham and join the Nottingham Symphony Orchestra, which is the lovely thing to see. So that is why the Nottingham Symphony is keeping up the good standards.

2. The evidence also demonstrates that some music organisers have become even less sympathetic to classical music funding. For instance, when the respondents were asked whether regional policy towards classical music has really met public needs, the respondents' answers showed their positive understanding of the local government funding strategy towards classical music. To some degree, they understood that, within a contemporary multicultural society, the cultural and arts strategy needs to match the wider social target. The following statement from officer 1 from Nottingham County Council demonstrates the above arguments:

I mean, I think I can totally understand why both local authorities want to run an event which has a wider appeal. Because this is tax payers' money, they are accountable for that. So, you can understand why they want to run the Riverside Festival, as it will attract thousands of people. I think this is a great idea. I also go to them. However, I do think a city like Nottingham city and a county like Nottinghamshire, they must have a diverse arts offering.

You know, for Nottingham to be considered as a major UK city, we need this kind of cultural diversity. And there are a lot of problems within this city; you know gun crime and so on. So, it needs some good stories. I have to think about how to use a good orchestra concert series to bring a major orchestra into Nottingham and help to define it as the major city in the UK.

You know, only a UK major city would have this kind of programme.

However, others, in their responses regarding the current policy, consider it to have failed to support artistic excellence within the local community. For instance, the statement from the chair of a local amateur choir illustrates the above issues,

We talk about supporting the community, because this is the community choir. We talk about celebrating the excellence, reaching the high standard which we could reach by doing things like engaging more expensive solo musicians to come to sing with us. You know that sort of thing. But, when they are making policy, those facts have been simply forgotten.

3. Public opinion (such as views from a local classical music organiser and the music officer from a local music theatre) also focuses strongly on supporting increased spending on classical music in the region.

Statements from amateur musician 1:

My personal view is that we should support things like Nottingham Classics, because, you know, if you want to be regarded as a major city, one of the things that defines the major city is that you have an arts programme like Nottingham Classics ... You know, they don't have the opportunity to do it in smaller cities. We do have the Royal Concert Hall; it was built for orchestral concerts and it is a great venue for orchestral music.

Statement from a staff member of a local arts theatre

If we want to listen to contemporary music, you should go down to London; I think it is really important to acknowledge that we have composers based regionally; you don't actually need to go to London to work and to have your music performed.

... it is very important to us; again, for example, I refer to a local composer who lives locally, who has a lot of work at the London side. But it is important that we do support local composers and say 'yes' to them. You

know, we have got local composers; they should receive national recognition, and yet we need to acknowledge that.

... from my understating, as a programmer, it is important that we keep finding the opportunity to support those people who have a link with Nottingham, if their standard has achieved national recognition.

4. Regarding the question in terms of whether the government's cultural policy has met the regional priority, the respondents' views are split into two categories. Some respondents thought that the government officer had a good understanding of the policy makers' needs to target meeting the regional priority. For instance, senior staff member 2 of the regional office of Arts Council England illustrated the above view in the following comments:

...cultural policy, our Arts Council policy, national policy in Nottingham city together with local policy means nothing, unless it is turned into action. And my job is to take action into making our policy. All these policies should be working together in terms of what the local community people's needs are and what they want...

...you must remember that policy is good; for instance, Nottingham art policy or education policy, where the music may join in with both of them...

If that policy is good, it is not just the document you get out from a meeting one day. The policy is built on talking to the community, so when it becomes policy, and then the action plan flows into the policy, all of that should really come from the local community. It is relevant to all local community people, whether it is the business community (whatever community it is). City, county council and Arts Council should consult

people that they want to work with in order to create a policy. But, the action does not go on. You know, if it is good, it should work.

In answer to another question regarding whether the senior member from Nottingham City Council would be happy to work with central government officers on telling local government what they do, he answered that they had a good understanding that the policy makers needed to target meeting the regional priority:

I wouldn't be happy with that. The local choice for the local people would be next turn around. When people start to say we have been very prescriptive as a government, let us be less prescriptive. I think these things are just fashions. I won't be happy, even sit at the office; if they do that for the culture, they will do that for everything else...

However, what is the public's opinion, in other words, the local music organiser's view on this issue? The views of other respondents indicate that local government has failed to target the regional cultural priority, in other words, local public needs have simply become lost in the public sphere and, at the same time, the public space is shrinking rather than expanding.

Local people's cultural attitudes and musical preferences need to be heard to some degree or other, and more effective actions need to be taken towards helping expand of the opportunity for local public rights and individuals' needs to be asserted. The following views from a staff member of a local arts theatre and from the chairman of local amateur choir 2 support this view:

When I think of the composers who have a strong connection with other regions, but perhaps haven't a high profile nationally, I have to say no to this composer (as I don't think we should use him for our concert). It's interesting; when I weighed up the situation here, I started to realise I can only have x number of concerts, so I have to make the decision.

We are having a different situation with the local authority. We can have the Halle as a resident orchestra. But, I have to make sure I can support the local musicians and meet local followers' needs. I had a case where I was very impressed by a composer who has a link with several regions in England; I have drawn the line to say that I actually don't think he has enough profile among the audience (I mean Nottingham audience); they certainly wouldn't necessarily know him at a national level. Therefore, I am actually going to say no, as there is not enough local following; so in that case, I have to say, "Sorry! We actually can't help you."

Similarly, when I asked the chairman of a local amateur orchestra for his opinions on meeting regional priorities, and would he rather say to the Arts Council that classical music does need more funding for support, he told me:

Not just for the classical music groups, but for all the groups. I think we need to present the significant things which have connected with the local community, supporting the needs for the local people because, in this area, we have two orchestras; there are also groups and society people that all fight for the same people for the audience, so it is difficult to survive. Even just a small amount for what has been recognised as a local group.

Yet, to some extent, the conflicts between individual music organisations and local government on funding issues show that the small associations have been taken into account, as was argued in earlier chapters. The evidence in this chapter also deals explicitly with the question regarding public reference and individuals' initiatives on such issues. For instance, the respondent's own views on classical music also offer a strongly significant predictor of attitudes towards music funding at a regional level; the public reference rather than the political reference needs to be taken account in the policy-making process in Nottingham. Therefore, the public voice needs to be more of a collective voice, so it can be heard and thus bring about the desired result in the relevant organisation. This is why public opinion (in other words, individuals'

initiatives) at the micro level should not be treated as an important fact without the cumulative effect on cultural policy-making at the macro level or at a state level.

This would necessitate what we might call a double-sided process of democratisation. Here, the wider public sphere would need to reject policies of neoliberalism for an empowering cultural state while at the same time local musicians and educational initiatives would need to follow a strategy of empowerment. Such a strategy would fuse together a Foucauldian approach (precise investigation of cultural strategies and policies) and a Habermasian approach (the radical democratisation of music), but would take them further by seeking to make classical music an 'ordinary' as well as a genuinely popular practice.

Cultural Consumption and Classical Music

As argued in Chapter 4, our identity is often made up by our consumption of goods, and our class difference is constructed through consumption; we become what we buy. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1986) states that cultural capital is distributed in such a way that social groups have different capacities to invest cultural value in symbolic goods. We can take this line further, for instance, if we buy goods that have been classified as 'high arts' or 'high culture' for many years, so we will make a difference to our class compared to those who prefer consuming 'low arts' products. So, the question here is what kind of social element determines our cultural choice?

Should a specific form of culture (for example, classical music) be treated simply as a kind of commercial product in the current market rather than in the context of aesthetic enjoyment, the production and reproduction of life, intellectual capacities, and the creation of non-commodity use values? Yet, we should not simply turn cultural policy away from power and from market forces. The question to be raised here is what is the relationship among cultural policy, cultural industry and the market mechanism in relation to the issues on individualism and cultural consumption?

For instance, McGuigan (2004) says that "for Adorno and Horkheimer, commodity exchange and serial production signalled the degeneration of culture under monopoly

capitalism. The products of the cultural industries were formulaic and repetitive; and, they espoused pseudo-individualism” (McGuigan, 2004: 122). The message of the cultural industry was that everyone could achieve personal happiness through commodity consumption while individualistic values were promoted, and individualism was effectively suppressed. Adorno and Horkheimer (1979) state, “Whereas today in material production the mechanism of supply and demand is disintegrating, in the superstructure it still operates in the rulers’ favour” (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979:133). The consumption of culture for most consumers most of the time has nothing to do with public subsidy; it is a side show compared to the main show, the performance of market-oriented cultural industries and mass-popular consumption (Garnham, 1990). Especially during the 1980s, the combination of cultural populism and free market economics appeared in British society, when the Thatcher government transformed Britain from a European social democracy into a free-market economy (Hoggart, 1995).

Some of the respondents’ views highlight that market choice sometimes does determine people’s choice of cultural goods. The views from a cultural officer from a regional arts agency and a government cultural officer from the local authority demonstrate the above view in the following comments:

View from a senior staff member from the regional office of Arts Council England

These orchestras, they are businesses. If you are a business, if you can’t survive, you don’t have somebody to turn around to say that you need more funding. The market has said that you can’t survive, I don’t want your products, and it isn’t relevant to me.

Statement from a senior officer of Nottingham City Council (same statement has been used elsewhere in the current chapter for different purposes)

It is the market that measures the product, how those feedbacks influence the policy makers. The policy makers should measure the wide range of activities which is available whatsoever; the classical music is where it is

and they have always been subsidised and help us make sure that it is always available. It is a tradition; it is always traditions. People don't like to see the traditions die. Traditions have the values always.

However, some other respondents' views demonstrate that the blurring of the boundaries between classical music and popular music is not only to do with formal interactions, but also is concerned with the mode of consumption. The opinions from a senior officer of Nottingham City Council illustrate this view in the following way:

It is interesting. The popular stuff is largely consumer driven; if you want to buy a CD, if you want to see a popular music group, you will go to see them. What you won't know is that all popular music is commercially reliable, and requires no subsidy; it also has a universal appeal and a multicultural appeal.

Yet, classical music, because it is currently enjoyed by a narrow band of people, needs to be subsidised. In order to survive, people take various different views, some realising that if subsidies were not available, classical music would be lost, whereas culture normally has been seen as something sustained by a popular consumer market.

Some of the areas have popular iconic figures, for instance, those individual artists and musicians who have played classical music, who cross the divide, who make classical music popular (or widely popular) by offering a mixed presentation. Nevertheless, it is still very difficult for orchestral music to make that transaction; it is more likely to be made by the individual.

Further, the evidence also shows that while the consumer is pictured as the liberated single individual choosing from among the goods on offer, the musicians and their associates are essentially engaged in a kind of struggle to somehow 'resist' or 'appropriate' something generated by larger political forces and institutions, which

are, in a sense, external to them. The following statement from a senior officer of Nottingham City Council demonstrates this:

In terms of cultural decision-making at Nottingham City Council, it is more likely to follow the trend of consumer driving than put some work to help this form of arts to survive or help that form of arts to exist also. This is a question about the balance, isn't it? What I would say is that a lot of effort and a comparatively large amount of resources go into sustaining the classical music concert series; from a market driven point of view, it is not reliable. If you tell the people to go to the concert, the price of the ticket would be double; I don't know whether you would like to get that kind of support.

The above views from the senior officer of the city council demonstrate that, in some of the cases, classical music activities have been forgotten at a regional level, despite the fact that there is a rich classical music scene at the national level. If the regional cultural policy makers do not make extra efforts to subsidise local classical music organisations, classical music activities will still be forgotten at a local level.

Hence the strategy of marketized popular culture and state-driven high culture ends up with public authorities trying to make up for the market. Again, the logical conclusion to this view is the reaffirmation of ideas of consumer sovereignty and class-based distinctions. By thinking in these binary terms, questions of critical cultural democratisation are banished from more public forms of reflection. Yet, we need to fully recognise the role that class currently plays in the discursive and cultural construction of classical music.

Class Distinction and Classical Music

Sociologically, the approach of consumption has always been associated with the patterns of inequality and social differentiation, with the consumer reproducing their class position (Bourdieu, 1984). As was stated in Chapter 4, Bourdieu (1986) argues that the classical classification system is rooted in the class system. Bourdieu offers us a 'three-zone' model of cultural tastes: 'legitimate' taste, 'middle-brow' taste and

'popular' taste. Those tastes correspond to educational level and social class; in short, it is the beginning of a model of class life-styles (Jenkins, 1992).

Yet, it is not hard to see that Bourdieu's position is based on a vision of humanity that art rejects; he argues that taste is based on an aversion to the "facile," by which he means the immediate, the bodily, and the simple (Johnson, 2002). This is further illustrated in Bourdieu's (1986) demonstration of how class distinctions are reinforced by the criteria for the selection and presentation of food that have nothing to do with its nutritional value.

Arguably, classical music has served as a tool of class distinction, but can this kind of ideology provide all the evidence for our cultural choice? It is often claimed that classical music is different; this exemplifies the inadequacy of a theory that never confronts musical works themselves.

Yet, there is a certain connection between musical characteristics and social groups; in other words, social categories do play an important role in people's musical choices. But, why are musical choices mechanically determined by a social base; in other words, why can only certain forms of music be enjoyed by certain social groups? An ideology of promoting musical complexity has been simply left behind by both the public and by music participators. For instance, certain social categories, such as class distinction, have been understood with a pervasive concern with social identity during 1990s, but, in this new century, how is musical choice located within this framework of social identity and how are certain forms of music associated with an idea of class distinctions?

There are diverse voices, such as Richard Hoggart (1995), who was beginning to mount a critical appraisal of the traditional division between high arts and popular culture and call attention to the depoliticising effects of the established cultural consensus. However, such lines of criticism had relatively little purchase on the policies of the mainstream political left, for whom the cultural agenda was mainly a

matter of disseminating official culture to the public in general (Williams, 1979; Hewison, 1987).

The proliferation of taste cultures, the shift from class-based politics to the so-called politics of identity (Keith and Pile, 1993), and the growing availability of commercial cultural products were just some of the elements in a profound transformation taking place in the cultural sphere, serving to break down even further the traditional hierarchies and boundaries between different forms of cultural expression (McGuigan, 1996).

However, during my fieldwork, I discovered that some respondents had very positive views on promoting a musical complexity; in other words, they simply refused to associate classical music with a certain kind of social identity. The following statements from two of the respondents (one respondent was a local orchestra manager and the other was the leader of a local semi-professional orchestra) illustrate the above view:

Views from a local orchestra manager:

Age wise, people are at all different ages, right across from 18 years old to people over 60 years old. People also come from different social backgrounds as well. We have students here, professional players, semi-professional players, amateur players. Racially, people are also coming from a wide range of backgrounds; but members here are mainly white British.

View from leader of a local semi-professional orchestra

No, really! We have a majority of people here who are European based. We also have people here who have Asian backgrounds, oriental-looking people, and black people. All in all, racially, we are open to everybody. There are also quite a few people who are also going to the Nottingham Symphony Orchestra as well. Again, we are very similar to Nottingham Symphony Orchestra.

Another experienced conductor from a local orchestra highlighted the above view as follows:

But, I think it is also a very narrow view with classical music. Music is for everybody. You live in a house of state, but this doesn't mean that you only like rock music or something; you may like classical music as well.

Also, not all the children in the youth orchestra are from the private school, not at all. I would say over 220 children, that is, about 30% of the children are privately educated, and around 70% from state schools.

I think policy-makers have relaxed their educational rules. Now they have the music schools on a Saturday morning, and anyone could go to there. They don't say that only state-educated children can go (like they used to do).

However, some others still prefer to hold this kind of traditional ideology on music education; they even consider that a certain type of music belongs only to a certain social group. Again, the notion of class system and cultural capital has been linked with education. For instance, according to Reay (2004), Bourdieu clarified school success by taking into account the amount and type of cultural capital inherited from the family milieu rather than judging merely by measures of individual talent or achievement:

The notion of cultural capital initially presented itself to me, in the course of research, as a theoretical hypothesis which made it possible to explain the unequal scholastic achievement of children originating from different social classes by relating academic success, i.e., the specific profits which children from the different classes and class fractions can obtain in the academic market, to the distribution of cultural capital between the classes and class fractions. (Bourdieu, 1986: 243)

The question is whether the value of different forms of culture can be judged? Are some art forms inherently superior to others? For instance, McGuigan (2006) again argues

In order to elaborate on these discriminations within rather than between genres and media, Hoggart distinguished between “the processed” and “the lived”. Processed culture is utterly consumer-oriented – the audience typically conceived of as a homogeneous mass, whether large or small – whereas “living culture”, to quote Hoggart (1973, p. 131), “recognises the diversity, the particularity, of all experience”. (McGuigan, 2006:206)

So, to recognise the diversity within culture is crucial in terms of judging cultural value. How does this point relate to the public sphere? In other words, do cultural practitioners and the public adopt a liberal view towards understanding cultural value? The evidence gathered in this thesis has shown that a liberal attitude towards cultural diversity has not appeared among relevant cultural practitioners, especially government officers. The explanations from both a senior officer of Nottingham City Council and a senior staff member of a regional office of the Arts Council England illustrate well the above idea:

Comments from a senior officer of Nottingham City Council:

I think, with classical music, there is a danger there. It is mainly enjoyed by the high class groups; therefore, why should we subsidise that ... there is some kind of marketing job to be done, in terms of saying what it is...

Comments from a senior staff member of a regional office of Arts Council England:

When you talk about classical music, people would only think that is for a certain type of people, not for everybody. You know, there is always an old kind of image there in people's minds. You can't change it

Further, beyond all the above considerations, it even seems that some members of the public firmly believe that it was political power that determined this kind of ideological relationship between musical characteristics and social groups in society. For instance, the leader of a local semi-professional orchestra showed her understanding in terms of above ideology as follows:

...people who are associated with classical music, who would also say that we are doing well here, and we are middle class people. It is all political in the end. When we try to fill those application forms, we have to consider whether any ethnic people are going to be involved with us. Basically, we tick 'white British'.

Democracy at a Local Music Level

In contemporary society, a notion of cultural democracy has often been understood as supporting traditional culture and multiculturalism with democratic attitudes towards a broad definition of aesthetic value.

As was discussed in Chapter 2, arguments over cultural policy in this thesis try to point out a fundamental contradiction about the nature of democracy. The impulse that motivates public cultural policies is primarily democratic; it is about giving universal access to what are deemed to be unique cultural practices. However, these practices are often inaccessible in a deeper sense. For instance, Johnson (2002:24) argues,

In the case of the high arts and the classical music world, most of the works are often prized precisely because of their high degree of sophistication within a particular tradition, something that tends to prevent such works from being immediately understood or enjoyed by the general public.

A traditional ideology of culture with a democratic attitude needs to be understood by the cultural authority. Yet, cultural democratization in some ways is an expansion of cultural diversity. Moreover, under the umbrella of market forces, cultural diversity

presents a risk of fragmentation. Cultural democracy requires not just diversity, but respect as well. However, is artistic value implicit in a culture in common? Do a plural form of cultural expression and the development of self-respect and esteem really share all the democratic values in the British context at a local level?

Here it can be argued argue that there is no need to assume as do the political right that cultural democratisation will lead to a reduction in cultural values or quality. Empowering cultural producers at the local level through empowering cultural polices and, of course, a different approach within education, will mean that quality is maintained while classical music becomes a 'common' practice.

On the one hand, the government officials point out that their cultural policy is all about bringing democracy to the local public. For instance, in their view, the local cultural policy-makers do have a general understanding of the ideology of cultural democracy; in other words, culture should belong to all individuals. Interestingly, the statement from a senior member from Nottingham City Council recalled this kind of understanding, as follows:

Talent can be nurtured, but it can't be invented. So, there are a lot of people who've got the money, who may be able to have the talent because their parents may be able to let them play instrument and make them become a talented person. But, I am sure there is also somebody who maybe was born to play the violin, but who would never have a chance to afford to do that.

Fair level is that music should belong to everybody, because there is talent everywhere. As we all know, we only look at people's educational grades. But people who come from poor areas play poorly, but that doesn't mean they are less intelligent. There is also a big question on whether people who live in poor areas lack self-confidence.

People who could have a sense of believing in themselves are actually very lucky in many areas. You know, there are a lot of things like this for us to sort out. Music is another kind of language, a universal language. The instrument which is picked up by somebody who is rich should also be picked up by somebody who is poor; simple as that.

On the other hand, the local public still have concerns on whether local government really acts to make democracy widely available for all forms of music organisations and for everybody in the cultural sphere. The interview evidence shows that the local music organisers and orchestra managers doubt whether a cultural democracy policy has been put into action in all areas, in other words, whether the policy has helped everybody to have an equal chance to access all forms of culture. The following statement from the chairman of local amateur choir 2 highlights this view:

What is the point of educating the people, if people are not getting the chance to use that skill? That has been defining by the people who are semi-professional or amateur, it is not something to do with the policy-makers. Ok, Nottingham Symphony and Nottingham Philharmonic Orchestra are not the Halle, but they are still producing good quality concerts; they are exciting. At the end of the day, it should be all about making the music available for people and letting people have a chance to be involved in the music, which is how it should be done.

From the point of view of some local music organisers, giving people the chance to engage with a local music choir or music group is the key element to support this ideology of cultural democracy for all citizens. For instance, the statement from the chairman of local amateur choir 1 reinforced this view, as she explained to me:

We also run things for adult players who used to play and then did not play any more, or for those who never have a chance to play any

instrument, and just start to play the instrument. We did run this programme for three years; we got about 150 adults to come along...

They just loved it; this gave them an opportunity to play again. You know everybody wants good players, but a lot of people are not very good players or singers. It is actually more to them to have a chance to perform and to do music generally. Without the certain support, it is really impossible for them to play for an orchestra. We very much give the chance to people to do things and also to have the chance to join in, not to make them feel they are not wanted in any way. That is why, for the big group, they don't need an audition. This has certainly opened the whole new door and a whole new world to them. Say a choir gets about 200 people to sing; if you get 40 people who are not very good singers, it doesn't matter.

With the big choir, we pay for some semi-professional orchestras to come along; we also pay them to play for the concert. That is really going to make the difference; that means that orchestra has the top rate quality.

Education and Public Culture Rights

The question of whether an ideology of cultural democracy could really be located in a certain society is always associated with issues of what kind of social structure an education system could offer to a society. For many decades, education has frequently been treated as a collective choice in the social legislation. The question is, do education systems express the aspiration of a society and associate with social reality? Those who teach music classes in schools or those who teach a musical instrument have realised it is becoming more difficult to defend the relevance of classical music in the current multicultural society. So, what is the purpose of music education? Should a music education policy focus only on making classical music accessible for its own people, or should music education policy encourage making classical music accessible for everybody? According to the School Music Curriculum in England, "all pupils, from 5-14, have a statutory entitlement to music education in class. Individual

instrumental lessons are not part of the National Curriculum and are therefore not statutory” (The National Music Curriculum in England. For a quick summary, go to <http://www.bbc.co.uk/music/parents/yourchild>

/england.shtml, accessed on 28th May 2009). But, the question is why individual instrument lessons are not part of the National Curriculum and why students do not have the right to access to instrument lessons.

Further, Hargreaves, Marshall and North (2003) point out that music education is changing very rapidly in the UK, as in many other countries, as a result of rapid social and technological change. The following questions have been raised in terms of the rapid changes: “What should be taught and learnt at school? What is taught and learnt out of school? How much attention should be paid to instrumental tuition? What are the modern-day roles of conservatoires, universities, and community organisations in music learning?” (Hargreaves, Marshall and North, 2003:147). However, others have given serious thought to how to use the positive results of the rapid change to demonstrate the purpose of music education. To be able to answer such a question, firstly we need to take a look at what happens at a local level? For instance, the following responses from an experienced conductor of a local orchestra and the chair of local amateur orchestra 2 highlight the above view:

Comments from an experienced conductor of a local orchestra:

I don't know why local government sees classic music as not the right music for everyone. There is the scheme called Wide Opportunities in the region. They gave these children wide opportunities, and the children often got interested and excited about it. Local government says the funding can't pay for all the children to learn an instrument. This scheme lasted for one year, and they got 200 children as the result of them being given this opportunity for only one year. Surely, children want to learn for another year, they (I mean the local authority) will say no, no ... we can't do that, as we haven't got enough funding. It is nonsense. All children should have the chance to continue to learn how to play instrument.

Views from the chair of local amateur orchestra 2:

If something is a stereotype, something is difficult to be accessible, when Symphony orchestra's players on stage wearing a suit, beginning to feel too formal. You are going to find the way to make it more accessible, like doing some kind of workshop and so on. From an educational perspective, not from my orchestral perspective, if we can get young people from 5 to 18 to think that music is something great to be involved in, therefore, you will secure your audience in the future. But, it is hard work.

This view shows there is no doubt that the music organiser thinks classical music has always been displayed as a social practice, but, the reality is that those who have always engaged in classical music activities have always practiced on their own. Therefore, it is not hard to see that the reason for the failure of the music education system is that classical music is still being seen as a form of elitism.

However, why have those who have been involved with classical music education and classical music activities found it increasingly difficult to defend the relevance of the classical repertoire? For instance, one of the respondents recalled this view in the following way:

Statements from a government official from the senior staff member of regional office of Arts Council England:

It is the young musicians now learning the certain instrument; if they are lucky, they will end up playing for a conservatoire. What they do is they learn a repertoire for the orchestra. Yet, what if it is for a kid who wants to learn an instrument and then wants to be in a rock band? I am not talking about the artistic quality; what I am talking about is what he is trying to achieve is actually something related to creative expression.

I work with the education department, and there are people from the lifelong learning team as well. What we try to do is to offer children a good system, although it is a very difficult job to do.

Yet, the above statement shows there is a misunderstanding of how to locate classical music in the big picture of multiculturalism and how to introduce a multicultural music education into the music curriculum. As a descriptive term, 'multicultural' refers to the coexistence of unlike groups in a common social system (Pratte, 1979, p. 6). In this sense, 'multicultural' means culturally diverse. Yet, as Elliott (1989) states, music education offers a unique chance to make the goals of dynamic multiculturalism a reality.

Most discussions of multicultural music education tend to focus where the light is best: on the elements of world music, on the cultural contexts of musical 'objects', and on curriculum planning and implementation. As a result, several key concepts in multicultural music education remain hidden in the darkness of critical neglect.

There is no doubt that under this ideological umbrella of multiculturalism, the purpose of a music education is to help individuals develop their aesthetic experience and understanding by exercising their power of discrimination. On the one hand, the government does support music education in the way that they think will fit into some kind of social target (such as using music events to help children from poor areas in the region). The following interview with the chairman of a local amateur choir illustrates this view in a positive way:

Last year, we had a project, this one actually founded by the education department within the city council. We worked with the schools in the Radford area; there are 10 primary schools. The money was paid by the Education Action Zoo (EAZ). I think this one was actually from central government.

The Radford schools are actually qualified by EAZ, so they got money to run the projects. So, we put together a project on African songs. One member actually went into the schools to teach the children different songs. The schools then can produce something, like a concert. We also

supported 30 students from each school; let them go to the Albert Hall to sing for a concert. We also engaged with a professional actor. The concert was great. Everybody really enjoyed it because of the support from the government; other children in the poor area weren't having that kind of exciting experience.

It was a really successful concert. Part of the box office income actually went to produce the CD for all the children to make them remember this for the rest of their life...

On the other hand, the evidence from the fieldwork has shown that the government and LEAs have little interest in encouraging young children's personal and creative development through music education. What is the reason for that? For instance, Tomlison (2001) points out that "at the end of the twentieth century, education in England remained a major agent in the reproduction of a social division of labour, and social class, race and gender remained reliable indicators of individual levels of economic poverty or prosperity (Tomlison, 2001:261).

Tomlison also describes an overview of New Labour's education policies between 1997-2000: "It is the continued reproduction of upper and some middle class groups via private schooling, the strategies of other middle and aspirant groups in their jockeying for positional advantage in education, and reviews the prospects for the poor under a government that preached inclusion but pursued exclusionary policies (Tomlinson, 2001:261).

The local government's plan on public expenditure for music education is to concentrate on some kind of social purposes that will feed into both central and local governments' social agenda. It is not intended that the music education team will receive explicit funding from the councils for courses that cater for children's musical interests.

The opinion from a manager of a local youth orchestra highlights the above view and emphasises that there is also no financial support from the senior officers of Nottingham City Council to support children's music interests. As he put it:

I think because Nottingham Youth Orchestra is joined by children. It must affect what county tries to do so as well. But, I am not sure with city; they don't have their own youth orchestra, although they try to run their Saturday morning music workshops. County still runs the orchestral weekends; there is no doubt children want to belong to those.

That is the problem; I think our conductor has tried to ask the education officer in the city whether there is any further chance to co-operate with them. I think the answer is no.

We have a lawyer who is on the committee, and who had quite lot of experience in helping us get trust funds. City council often says, we are practically interested in helping young people in the arts and education. We've had a few thousands pound from the trust fund in the past. But, you know, it is still not enough.

When Nottingham Youth Orchestra plays at the Royal Concert Hall, we have to pay £5000 to play there; that is the cost to play there. If you are going to encourage classical music in children, you need to give the support; I mean that it is really important that they play. There is no other orchestra for children in Nottinghamshire that will meet often and give concerts often, apart from us.

We get no support at all from the LEA (local education authority). Since 1999, we have got absolutely nothing from them. We run three orchestras with over 200 children who come from more than 50 schools in Nottinghamshire.

We are an independent school orchestra, in fact, the number of children who come from independent schools is less than a quarter, and the rest of them come from the state schools.

The above view indicates that the contrast between the music educationalist and the local policy makers (one promoted by the LEA and the other a music teacher engaged in curriculum development) is not dissimilar to the dialectical process that set the regional music education movement in opposition to the established state-funded music activities. Taking such orchestral development as an example, without the music educationalist and LEAs concentrating on the child-centred expressive policy, the children who play for the youth orchestra could not possibly have the chance to continue their participation.

As Everitt (2003) discusses, the local authorities abolished one-third of their advisory posts during 1980s and 1990s. Furthermore, the Education Act allows LEAs to charge for instrumental provision if it is for an individual or for small groups of up to four pupils. Anthony Everitt's report also shows that the budget for instrumental music that has been passed down from the LEAs to schools has decreased from 70% to 63%, while the average hourly fee rate has doubled. Thus, it is easy to see that the music education policy has potentially damaged the provision of instrumental teaching in schools.

What we need from a National Music Curriculum

The notion of a deliverable core music curriculum is set against personal development, instruction against discovery, and public performer against private self-development. Yet, youth orchestras in the UK have always played a positive role in British music education history. For instance, an important consequence was the emergence of youth orchestras, which play to high standards and ultimately give children the future opportunity to join a professional orchestra. Therefore, a positive policy needs to be encouraged to support the regional youth orchestras' development.

However, the evidence I have gathered on this issue shows there is a massive political change regarding support for the development of regional youth orchestras. For instance, one experienced conductor of a local orchestra made the following comment:

The youth orchestra system existed in the 80s, 70s and 60s. In the late 60s, I was with Nottinghamshire Youth Orchestra. The youth orchestra system in Britain was important for the whole world. I believe the Conservative government destroyed the whole system, because they thought it was too elitist; it should pay for itself. You know, all the funding was cut gradually. New Labour is not a lot different really; there are still less funds, as there is less income tax coming in. People pay less income tax now, which means they've got more money in their pocket. They say you have more choice; you know, still the rich get richer, the poor get poorer.

The above statements raise the question of why some policy-makers still think participation in classical music is elitist. Is it because only parents with sufficient financial capital are likely to fund their children to take part in such activities? Yet, as Julian Johnson (2002) argues, state education policy somehow reinforces the social division it pretends to oppose. For instance, according to the school music curriculum in England, "Students from age 11 to age 14 perform and compose music in different styles with increasing understanding of musical devices, processes and contextual influences. They work individually and in groups of different sizes and become increasingly aware of the different roles and contributions of each member of the group. They actively explore specific genres, styles and traditions from different times and cultures with increasing ability to discriminate, think critically and make connections between different areas of knowledge" (The National Music Curriculum in England, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/music/parents/yourchild/england.shtml>, accessed on 28th May 2009). It is not difficult to see that there is a strong emphasis on learning music from other cultures and being able to make connections between different areas of knowledge.

Hence, the issue is less multiculturalism versus traditionalism and more a question of state support, cultural empowerment and educational effect to foster new skills as opposed to government cuts and the narrowing of educational agendas that are increasingly focused on league tables and passing exams. The argument that classical music is opposed to multiculturalism is a veil obscuring the real issues at stake in respect of the promotion of the practice of classical music for everyone. Of course once young people have learned a particular instrument they may then use this knowledge to cross other cultural boundaries. However the most pressing issue in respect of music policy and education remains the cultural empowerment of young people and the promotion of complex forms of literacy in respect of musical cultures that is not simply restricted to the consumption of popular music for the many and the playing of classical music by the educated middle class. The lack of state support for arts education was recognised by many cultural producers and musicians:

Comments from the chairman of local amateur choir 1:

I taught for five years; personally, I haven't seen any support from a music curriculum point of view. I have to teach the whole group of children, unless the parents pay extra money for their child to have individual lessons. They're never allowed to have a lesson on their own. Each child only gets 10 minutes. In some way, it is good. In some way, it is not so good. They never get enough time for the lessons. But, to be able to learn an instrument well, they need more individual lessons for that. I don't know when this kind of thing started. I don't know.

Children learn a thing very slowly, you know, very slowly, they need individual lessons

Comments from semi-professional musician 1

In the independent school, I only teach one child at the time; there are good and bad things on each side.

It is not hard to see from the above statements that a “child-centred” model has been replaced by a kind of ideology of letting students taste what instrumental learning is like, but not providing enough teaching resources to support its continuity. In comparison with the teacher-centred model, the child-centred model has been discussed by some scholars. For instance, Hargreaves, Marshall and North (2003) state that, on the one hand, arts educators in some countries, such as Korea, Japan, and China, aim to develop the character of pupils. On the other hand, they point out the Indian guru-shishya system, for example, which is very heavily teacher-centred: it adopts an apprenticeship model in which the pupil (literally) sits at the feet of the teacher and learns the philosophy, traditions, and techniques of the music over months and years (Hargreaves, Marshall and North, 2003:156). So, they argue that this teacher-centred model stands is the opposite of the highly pupil-centred ‘creativity’ movements that exist in the UK. So, the question here is whether this kind of movement will help empower a pupil’s learning ability and enhance their self-expression during the leaning process. Therefore, it seems that a consistent music education curriculum is vital to help students to complete this transmission process.

Yet, there is no doubt that, in some way, teacher-centred model offered only one aspect of what a modern liberal education could be. On the other hand, it has destroyed children’s ability to take part in any professional music group in the future. The decision must be taken about what is more important for the children and what would be a positive education strategy for music education for all children. For those who want to play an instrument well it is far less important to have a taste of what different musical instrument are like. The experience of a semi-professional musician who was interviewed can be taken as an example:

When you say ‘the support’, what do you mean by that? I teach in five different schools, one of the independent schools. When you talk about support, the arts support service is changing now. They’ve got a new job application for people who are already teaching; they start with five people who have been called team leaders. All the people in arts support service

have been grouped with a leader and they are going to be trained to be able to observe the lesson and be able to help with our teaching skills.

I suppose you can say that county council supports us in that way; the whole system has been re-structured. There will be more support for us, and there will be a coordinator or whatever that is called; this is all a very new start. We will see how it goes.

Another semi-professional musician (who was also the instrumental teacher for the county council) explained to me:

My role is the instrumental teaching for the county, to give people the opportunity to learn the instrument and so on. And also weekend workshop things; we look after all that. There is a team to do it.

As the above comments show, the local music educationalist does have some positive feedback on the government's arts-education supporting strategy. However, it is doubtful whether this new structure of arts-education supporting strategy will work for local children.

Another positive case in the region is the Royal Centre's Education Programme and the Community Theatre Programme. The Community Theatre Programme, the Royal Company, was established in 2001, with the launch of the Royal Centre's Education Programme. The purpose of this programme is to provide challenging and stimulating professional quality work for both its audiences and participants. This is achieved through an active programme of performances, workshops and other events (Nottingham Royal Centre, 2007). Membership of this programme includes people of all ages and all ethnic backgrounds. Four community productions have been completed to date: the Government Inspector in 2002 (promenade production), Fahrenheit 451 in 2003 (UK stage premiere, presented in partnership with Nottingham Arts Theatre), Oliver Twist in 2004 (in the Theatre Royal and the Mysteries in 2005),

and three full length plays depicting the entire Old and New testaments presented at Nottingham Castle (Nottingham Royal Centre, 2007).

This kind of programme contributes to personal music development, increases the participator's self-confidence and self-esteem and provides lasting enjoyment for the participants. Therefore, there is no doubt that this kind of experience will offer the participators a great sense of achievement.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that a particular form of power structure in a certain city has encouraged individual musicians or music events organisers to re-think the relationship between the governmental structure and individual agencies within the local music sphere. As was discussed in an earlier section in the current chapter, it is important to emphasis again that the governmental political structure determined the funding of local musical agency, but rather than a negative relationship between the governmental structure and individual agencies in the local cultural sphere, a positive relationship is urgently needed. It has become clear that musical exercise is not simply invented by individual musicians or individual music organisations, but through their political cultural sphere and through society. However, should local government reform neo-liberal forms of governmentality? As discussed earlier, the arguments over cultural policy in this thesis try to point out a fundamental contradiction about the nature of democracy. On the one hand, government officials pointed out that their cultural policy is all about bringing democracy to the local public, but, on the other hand, the local public still have concerns on whether local government really takes the steps necessary to make democracy widely available for all forms of music organisations and for everybody in the cultural sphere.

A further issue is whether a music education policy system together with a national musical education curriculum has played a positive role in such issues. In the next chapter, I will continue to discuss some critical issues in relation to the key research questions in this study by examining further interview and documentary materials.

Chapter 8: Lessons from Local Cultural Policy Analysis

Introduction

In Chapters 6 and 7, the relationship between national musical agencies, local authorities and regional arts agencies regarding classical music policy at a local level was critically analysed. The outcome of the analysis of classical music activities and the music policy-making process at different levels, which included an examination of the tension, conflict and degree of consensus within relevant musical organisations (venues, directors, performers), policy-makers and local stakeholders in Nottingham city, assisted in the further evaluation of how national and local music policy has been functioning at a local level. One of the key research aims in this thesis was to make a tangible contribution to the ongoing debate in cultural policy, which is firmly based on a theoretical and empirical analysis of the current debate about cultural policy among the scholars of cultural studies. Therefore, in this chapter, I will make some concluding comments on what lessons can be learned from a detailed analysis of local policy-making. I also discuss how this empirical outcome could be applied to a wider cultural policy debate in the UK, what sort of conclusions can be drawn from the outcomes, and whether cultural policy-makers at both a national and a local level can learn any lessons from such a critical analysis.

Complexity and Cultural Diversity

The arguments over current cultural policy have been associated with a fundamental contradiction about the nature of diversity and complexity. The impulse that motivates public cultural policies is primarily complex and diverse to give universal access to what are considered unique cultural practices. So far, through an in-depth analysis of the data, I have explored how the current stake-holders within the cultural policy field

have forgotten to promote cultural complexity and diversity, instead treating classical music as a kind of cultural form belonging only to a certain social group. Under the dual umbrellas of the cultural industry and the creative industry within all forms of society, cultural diversity is heavily associated with economic trends, but the question is whether cultural diversity presents a risk of fragmentation. The answer, according to the research finding in this thesis, is that cultural diversity requires not just diversity, but respect as well.

Clearly, a single form of art and culture cannot meet all the public's cultural needs; an ideology of diversity promotes cultural liberty, and helps to enrich public life; it is an outcome of the freedom and liberalism that people should have. It should also offer various opportunities for people to assess different options in terms of making their choice. In this context, cultural complexity refers to all forms of culture and music. In this thesis, regarding the analytical outcomes of cultural diversity and cultural complexity within a framework of the government's cultural policy, I mean that a notion of cultural complexity might need to be associated with the idea of supporting all forms of the arts and music, and all forms of music organisations (semi-professional, professional and amateur groups). However, the research data show that most cultural developments within local government and regional arts agencies want to achieve the goal of celebrating the ideology of cultural diversity given Britain is rapidly developing into a multicultural society; thus, they often concentrate too much on a particular form of culture and music to achieve certain goals. For instance, contemporary music and the arts have been used quite often for this purpose, whereas high art and the world of classical music are often prized precisely because of their high degree of sophistication within a particular tradition, something that cannot be enjoyed or understood by the general public. Based on this argument, I refer this point back to William's notion of a culture in common.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, according to Williams (1967), a culture is a common meaning, the product of all citizens, and offers an individual meaning that is the product of people's social experience. Williams (1967) claims there is a danger in conceiving of a situation in which all people mean the same thing, value the same thing, and have an equal possession of the cultural property. In the sense of testing cultural property in the same way in all societies, people will have a different view of

“the culture”; all the channels and institutions of communication will be wide open to all citizens. However, classical music has been treated as a kind of cultural form that belongs only to the particular social group that has the relevant educational background, and that has access to the classical music field. It is hard to see that this traditional view is different to Williams’ argument on a culture in common. So, classical music needs to be defended in terms of cultural democratisation and empowerment, not simply diversity. The difficulty is how to work with cultural complexity; in other words, how to promote cultural diversity has become a new challenge not only for the stakeholders and policy-makers, but also for the educators and intellectuals.

Classical music should be presented to people outside the classical music world, irrespective of their educational background, income, occupation and social status. Further, an effective cultural policy might also be made to help expand people’s cultural choices, while enabling them to cross cultural boundaries. Here my argument has been that a neoliberal culture which largely preserves classical music for elites thereby promotes the idea of classical music as a form of cultural distinction. The democratisation of classical music can only be advanced through educational strategies that seek to teach young people to be musicians as well as critical listeners. At present classical music then serves as a means of solidifying elite groups when it should be made ‘ordinary’ and accessible to everyone. Unless this strategy is pursued then an overly liberal approach to music education (simply allowing young people to enjoy the music they ‘like’) will end up in reaffirming the class divide and not challenging it. Hence my model of musical education would be to break with the current practices of underfunding for the poor and private tuition for the rich to make classical music into an artistic form for the community.

Issues on Cultural Policy, Consumption and Regeneration Strategy

Under the notion of consumption within a post-modern society, people easily become what they buy; for instance, the section of the public that has been buying goods that for many years have been classified as ‘high art’ or ‘high culture’ will be recognised as a consumer of ‘high art’. However, should certain forms of culture, like classical music, be treated simply as a commercial product in the market without regard for

aesthetic enjoyment, intellectual capacities, and the creation of non-commodity use values? Regarding this issue, I explored the relationship between cultural policy, the cultural industry and the market mechanism in relation to the issues on individualism and cultural consumption.

As was discussed in Chapter 7, some of the respondents' views indicated that market choice does determine people's choice of cultural goods most of the time. The research findings also clearly show that when the mass consumer is pictured as the liberated single individual choosing among the goods on offer, as was discussed in Chapter 6, musicians and their associates are essentially engaged in a kind of struggle to somehow 'resist' or 'appropriate' something generated by larger market forces.

It is easy to see why cultural products are left to the mercy of market forces. Culture obviously needs to be free for all individuals, no matter what kind of social and economic background they have. What is needed is a well-balanced policy, as cultural goods need public and policy support and the relevant stakeholders must ensure they are promoting an ideology of cultural liberty and cultural diversity to help meet the public's choices. The United Nations Development Programme's 'Human Development Report states (2004), "The aim of flexible cultural policies is to protect cultural liberty and expand people's choices in the ways people live and identify themselves—and not to penalise them for these choices" (United Nations, 2004:88).

Further, the documentary analysis in Chapter 3 on the issues in relation to a cultural regeneration strategy helps us understand how to see culture as a social tool to help urban and city regeneration plans within both a local and a national context and to attract people into the city. In terms of urban regeneration, cultural regeneration projects offer a range of employment prospects for the local community, not just low paid service jobs. There is no doubt that a culture-led regeneration can offer economic benefits by providing employment for the local residents (Sargent, 2005). The economic and cultural well-being can be assessed by measures such as inward investment, job creation, tourism, the retention of graduates and increased property prices; culture plays a key role in the economic drawing power of the country that is central to the transformation of an area into an area with high quality cultural provision, as was argued in Chapter 3 (Sargent, 2005).

However, regeneration is a complex, long-term process that often requires the involvement of a wide range of the relevant institutions, and this can happen at various levels (Bianchini, 1994). For instance, this process needs the relevant governmental departments to have a clear understanding of its agendas; also, planners and practitioners need to engage with cultural bodies during the long process of planning, and community groups need to be consulted properly while at the same time having the right skills. Therefore, Tessa Jowell (2004b) stated, "There may be tensions caused by conflicting objectives; for example, cultural regeneration is often more focussed on social and environmental outcomes, which may conflict with economic outcomes, such as business and property development" (Jowell, 2004b:45). Further, it seems there has been too great a focus on city-based cultural policy planning at a sub-national level on arts programmes (and a culture-led regeneration in the city), and so authentic values of culture and the arts are simply forgotten, as was discussed earlier.

Co-operation, Co-operation and Co-operation?

This thesis has also explored how the local arts agencies, such as the regional office of Arts Council England, together with regional arts development agencies are working with the local authorities to achieve the goal of meeting the public's needs on music and cultural services. Are co-operation and partnership simply an administrative matter? The answer is rather complicated. Strategic co-operation sometimes can be seen as a political matter as well. In recent years, the national cultural policy has always been referred to as the "cross-cutting" agenda in order to achieve certain social and political goals including economic and urban regeneration, community development, social inclusion and educational development. Therefore, it seems that all the relevant governmental bodies (for instance, the DCMS and local government), and the national and regional arts agencies are working towards to this political framework of "cross-cutting" agendas. Yet, on the one hand, the weakness of operating governmental policy by simply following this kind of "cross-cutting" agenda is that some significant issues may be overlooked. For instance, based on the empirical and documentary evidence gathered in this thesis, Arts Council England seems to be one of the relevant governmental bodies that have made a serious effort to

promote the social values of cultural diversity, but it is still not clear whether implementation of this strategy has been successful.

Therefore, the social value of all forms of culture, especially the social value of classical music, has been forgotten. On the other hand, certain issues in relation to this “cross-cutting” agenda have been emphasised too much, such as the use of cultural policy on urban and economic regeneration. Yet, the cultural services provided by the city council make some kind of contribution to the economic and social priorities of Nottingham and of the East Midlands region. To some degree, the cultural services have met some of the local residents’ needs, for instance, providing full financial support for a local theatre that delivers some high quality performances for the local residents, organising a cultural festival for people from different regions and cultural backgrounds, and promoting regional music education workshops for the children of the local community.

Further, it was discovered that social inclusion was one of the key priorities that has been delivered well by the city council. For instance, according to the cultural self-assessment document from Nottingham City Council, the city council has undertaken some effective work in this area. Interestingly, the regional arts agencies also agreed that one of their key strategies has been to target social inclusion, and they admitted that there are difficulties in achieving this. Therefore, in my view, strategic co-operation will be most helpful in allowing both parties to resolve such problems in the most mutually beneficial way.

To some extent, the conflict between individual music organisations (including regional semi-professional music organisations and regional amateur classical music groups), local government and the arm’s length government arts agencies (like Arts Council England) regarding the funding issues demonstrates that a comprehensive co-operation among those organisations needs to be taken into account, as was argued in Chapter 3. The research data also demonstrate that there is still an issue regarding the lack of practical considerations from local authorities in terms of co-operating with local music organisations. The music policy is implicit rather than explicit, being the result of actions and decisions taken without any strong sense of any practical intention.

There is no doubt that a strategic and balanced cultural policy needs to appear on the local and national political agenda. However, a balanced political and practical agenda often requires a strategic co-operational strategy between local government, public arts agencies and individual music organisations. Therefore, the practical implications from the fieldwork for this thesis have placed a high value on the importance of such co-operation between local arts agencies and local music organisations. Further, the overall research finding has dealt explicitly with the question of public reference on such issues; that is, the public reference rather than the political reference needs to be taken into account in the policy-making process in Nottingham.

Yet, all the data in this thesis show, on the one hand, that co-operation is indeed vital for both central and local government to operate a better cultural policy in the local sphere. However, the issue is that if one meso-level power structure has been captured by regional actors, then formulated policy at this level can be blocked. Therefore, close attention needs to be paid to all types of operation at the meso level, especially when the local government's regional cultural agency has shaped the cultural policy systems.

Power Structure at different levels - Right or Wrong?

Power has always been seen as an instrumental weapon that operates in different ways. Therefore, a power performance in the local cultural public sphere has a great influence on the relationship between the governmental operation and individual agencies. Indeed, the research findings have demonstrated this point well, based on the fact that the power structure has a very strong influence on the cultural practice in the local music sphere. However, a mainly positive influence is needed rather than a negative influence. The research findings also show that power differentials exist in the field of cultural policy. Although the issue of power is implied in the points already covered, researchers and policy makers still need to keep the question of power at the forefront of their minds when discussing cultural policies both empirically and theoretically.

Further, the discussion over cultural policy raised by many scholars suggests the importance of issues of power, as discussed previously. However, it is the specifics of economic and national power that generally provide a debate about a notion of democracy. Such a debate includes a new form of liberalism, which in turn includes the fulfilment of individual rights; for instance, Lessig (2004) argues that the public want an expanded public domain for such rights and a radical movement towards liberalism.

Throughout the process of a qualitative analysis approach in this thesis, the research data also show that a particular form of power structure in a specific city has also encouraged individual musicians or music events organisers to re-think the relationship between the governmental structure and individual agencies within the local music sphere. To some extent, the governmental political structure determined the local musical agencies' movements, but rather than a negative relationship between the governmental structure and individual agencies in the local cultural sphere, a positive relationship is urgently needed.

Further, as also was discussed in the data chapter, policy at different levels (such as macro level, meso level and micro level) has different aims. As a result of this, also shown from Diagram1 in Chapter 6, the importance of the meso level also becomes very visible through its inevitable filtering of macro-level policy before it can even reach individuals. For instance, it is at the meso level that non-state actors become very active, because this level is relatively distant from the centre of power at the macro level, while at the same time, it also provides social-cultural opportunities to intervene with individuals at the micro-level. Therefore, once the meso-level power structure has been captured by the para-state level, then the policy from the state can also be blocked; thus, it is important that more close attention needs to be given to the meso-level forces that are operating on the ground.

The research findings also indicate it is unclear what the suitable form of power structure is at different levels for the cultural sphere. In discussions over cultural policy, many scholars suggest the importance of issues of power structure. However, the question is whether the government should implement reform on neo-liberal forms

of governmentality at all levels. As discussed earlier, the arguments over cultural policy in this thesis try to point out a fundamental contradiction about the nature of democracy. On the one hand, the government officials point out that their cultural policy aims to bring democracy to the local public, but, on the other hand, as mentioned above, the problem is that policy from the state can also be blocked once the meso-level power structure has been captured by the para-state level.. This is why local music actors still have concerns about whether local government really takes the necessary steps to make democracy widely available for all forms of music organisations and for everybody in the cultural sphere. However, it is the specifics of the economic and national power that generally provide a challenge regarding the promotion of democracy.

Here, the critical vision offered by this thesis is of an empowered democracy with educational and material resources redirected to help the excluded population become critical boundary-crossers at all levels. The aim here being the democratisation of classical music at a number of different levels of policy and practice, such a strategy would seek to link a Foucauldian and Habermasian practice of making power work in an empowering and democratic way.

Public Funding-who gets the Benefit?

Lewis (1990) argues that the people who benefit from public funding of the arts are the well-educated middle class. For instance, as discussed in Chapter 4, Pierre Bourdieu, in his work on French musical taste, uses a complex survey to demonstrate that three different zones of musical taste correspond to the participator's educational level and social class: legitimate taste, middle-brow taste and popular taste.

In Bourdieu's view, legitimate taste is always associated with highly educated people and so will be publicly subsidised. In this view, 'popular' aesthetic taste is left to the commercial sector. However, this kind of traditional value funding system existed only from the 1940s to the 1980s in the UK, after which the funding system attracted serious criticism. For instance, the BBC (a public corporation) including Radio Three and Radio Four are heavily subsidized by the TV licence fee for the benefit of a small

middle-class audience, while the popular music station, Radio One, receives less funding, but attracts a much bigger audience (Lewis, 1990). Hence, the cultural sphere remains hierarchically organised and reinforces relations of social claims and the preferences of elites.

Similarly, the major source of funds for public arts together with Arts Council England adopted a similar strategy to meet the needs of local communities and tried to achieve a balance in the provision of legitimate arts activities. However, those community-based audiences again were more likely to comprise highly educated middle-class people. As a result, a new set of value systems started to appear in the cultural policy sphere; this kind of value system is firmly associated with the value of diversity, social pleasure and economic development (Lewis, 1990). The problem with this new set of value systems is that some arts funding bodies, such as Arts Council England, are under huge pressure to justify public subsidies. As a result of this, Arts Council England's funding strategy has focused on economic development. A more balanced value system is needed urgently. Arts and culture activities were seen as a social tool to develop local tourism or culture-led regeneration during the 1990s. To change the nature of this 'cultural economy'-centred system means that other important values, for example, the value of complexity and diversity together with an aesthetic value, should be put on the political agenda. In other words, all forms of cultural and arts activities (such as mass cultural, high cultural and popular cultural activities) should receive subsidies. Further, some non-profit making music organisations (like community-based arts groups and activities) and music educational projects may need some kind of public funding. Much of the interview data with cultural policy makers emphasise the effects of chronic under funding. In the context of British society in the early 21st century, the arts are seen as a luxury with little public value; thus, I have sought to establish the public value and importance of classical music.

No form of orchestra (professional, semi-professional or amateur) can survive without subsidy, and, in most countries, this comes from the government. Further, the research findings show that funding is available for most profit-driven organisations (in other

words, commercial professional music organisations in the region), but for most non-profit driven music groups it is actually very difficult to obtain funding from the local authorities compared to profit-driven organisations. In other words, the subsidy from local authorities will rarely be given to the non-profit driven amateur classic music groups. The research findings also demonstrate that the funding structure of local authorities and arts agencies makes it difficult for many classical music organisations to obtain any support from the local government and local arts agencies.

Yet, democratic governments can offer subsidies only with the consent of the electorate. Letter states (2006) that if the electorate does not care about local classical music activities, or is hostile to them, the subsidy is at risk. If the subsidy disappears, the orchestra disappears. If the orchestra disappears, how long can the ideology of cultural diversity and empowerment survive as part of our common lives? That is the predicament facing modern society. There is also the problem that when the government gives the subsidy to local orchestras, they are only considering supporting the professional orchestra at local concerts rather than subsidising the running costs of local amateur groups. For instance, of the three local amateur classical music groups in Nottingham involved in this research, none received any subsidy either from the regional arts agencies or from the local authorities, as discussed in Chapter 6. Subsidies are not given to non-professional classic music groups because amateur groups cannot secure sufficient box office income. Therefore, the local government will have to take the risk of not following the rules of profit, balancing the input and output of the costs of classical music activities. While the rules of the market should be followed to some degree, as discussed previously, the issue is whether local culture policy should also follow this new parlance of 'cultural investment', and whether culture should be treated differently from products.

To integrate the new values into the existing funding strategy and funding system certainly requires new operational thoughts from the central government, Arts Council England and local authorities together with other forms of arts agencies. This is where co-operation between all the above relevant institutions is needed, as was discussed earlier in this chapter. Further we need to be careful that arguments like

'who benefits' do not end in instrumentalising culture. As I have pointed out at some length the point is to democratise classical music not to reconfirm it as an object of ownership for the middle-classes. The 'who benefits' argument then needs to become one about current privileges and of course potential transformations.

A Bottom-up or a Top-down Model?

The research findings have highlighted the question of how a notion of governmentality located at a local cultural sphere is split almost evenly between those who believe that governmental power plays a positive role in hearing what music organisers want, and those who think that the political structure is merely following a top-down system.

Further, the research also indicates that there are some negative views from the local public regarding the government's top-down system on cultural strategy. It highlights concerns with how and whether local music activities and music educational outreach work could benefit from a government-led cultural strategy or whether those kinds of cultural activities would not benefit from a government-led strategy at all, as the general public have already started to challenge the issues regarding the kind of cultural strategy local government needs to adopt: a bottom-up system or top-down model.

The research provides the results from a comparative analysis between government officials and local music organisers giving various responses to questions on such issues. On the one hand, the risk of following a top-down model is that the local government could pay too much attention to decentralisation rather than taking the local public's view into consideration. The problem is that if we simply follow a top-down model, how can a free cultural and political dialogue between private and state levels of society actually take place?

In a democratic society, the public should influence the condition of culture; the public should also present their views on how the government should govern the cultural sphere. Based on McGuigan's (1996) theory of cultural policy in relation to

Habermas's notion of a public sphere (as was discussed in Chapter 2), the question is how to avoid seeing cultural policy as an exercise in the public sphere, as just an unrealistic symbolic practice rather than as a more achievable goal. However, unless a cultural state seeks to democratise 'high culture', it will continue to be seen as the preserve of an elite. The question that arises is whether a democratic consensus can be constructed to oppose neoliberal policies and promote cultural empowerment and democracy.

Further, in the post-modern world, there is an increasing demand for a place to be given to value judgement in the arts and the media, so the public voice should at least be heard and taken into consideration by the cultural administrators when it comes to the process of making cultural policy. There is no doubt that all forms of society should have some kind of mechanism, but should culture be seen only as an inherently governmental tool, a set of practices for social management, and as a realm that is capable of being effectively managed and regulated in detail according to Bennett's theory on cultural policy? So, what is the right pattern for a cultural policy: a top-down or a bottom-up approach? In addition, does a practical engagement with the cultural policy movement need to emphasise the fact that working for the community may also mean working through and by governmental means (Bennett, 1993)?

It is a rather complex question. On the one hand, according to Bennett (1993), all cultural activities are formed within governmental practice. For instance, the ideals of the cultural institution, by which Bennett (1993) means museums, constitute a top-down model that sees a certain kind of cultural institution as a model through which the public value is transformed into an administrative activity. Hence, in the contemporary debate over cultural policy, an adequate analytical perspective on cultural policy needs to be alerted to a top-down or bottom-up pattern to respond to the complex relations between governmental administration, cultural practice, community participation and so on.

Yet, cultural policy needs to achieve the best performance between cultural institutions, governmental practices and cultural activities in a cultural sphere. The way to achieve this goal is to make an active public dialogue between those explicitly

involved in the construction, practice and performance of culture and/or cultural policy.

As has been stated, the arguments over cultural policy in this thesis have also pointed out a fundamental contradiction about the nature of cultural democracy. The research finding shows that the emergence of the public's voice from within a cultural public sphere, calling for a cultural democracy in local terms, leads to a sense of democratisation from the inside out; that is, the internally directed development of a democratic society that is accountable to all its citizens and their interests. Yet, the question is whether the cultural policy study has focused too much on the imposition of a top-down power model that is unable to deal adequately with dispersions of power, particularly as these are expressed through governmental instrumentalities and institutional organizations. So, the suggestion here is that democratisation from the inside out needs a bottom-up process to allow members of the public to assert their citizenship at all levels.

Governing through Community

The presence of all forms of cultural activities by community members may have an impact on community norms (Guetzkow, 2002). Throughout my fieldwork in Nottingham, I explored how the city council set out its plans for the future direction of the service, and established that the service has a reasonably comprehensive understanding and knowledge of the needs of the local community and uses this to plan, manage and deliver its services. However, the service does not analyse the impact of its pricing policy on targeted groups and not all service standards are communicated to residents. The performance management framework does not enable the council to monitor the full impact of the service on corporate priorities and on meeting local needs.

I further discovered that the presence of multicultural cultural activities in the city also reinforces norms about multiculturalism and diversity. The results demonstrate that letting the local authorities make their own cultural policy according to their unique locality would be the most effective way to provide a better cultural policy for local residents. Further, community music activities also mean amateur music

activities should take place in the community; such activities help the local public access all sections of the community, particularly those activities that might help those who may otherwise find themselves excluded from the arts and from any opportunity for creative expression. Therefore, if the local government could also see this benefit of putting the correct cultural policy in place in the local community of their governance, this culture-related social exclusion strategy would be of greater benefit to the local public. As Jermyn (2001) discusses, all culture-related projects could be effective in offering positive outcomes of community development, local public identity, and the development of local enterprise and an improvement in public facilities.

Referring back to the earlier discussion on Habermas's (1991) notion of communicative action and the public sphere together with Foucault's (1979) notion of governmentality, the research findings agree with this theoretical judgement. For instance, according to Habermas, all citizens need a place where all forms of knowledge can be transformed and developed, and the individuals within this kind of place could be socialised and thus form a well-developed personality. On the one hand, as Habermas (1991) argues, a liberal model of a public sphere needs to be made accessible for all citizens, so the public sphere is the place for all citizens to redevelop their personality. To apply this model to the cultural public sphere would not only mean reversing the cuts in arts funding, but would also mean empowering different groups, agencies and performers in a democratic process.

Current Challenges

In this final section, I want to point out what can be considered the main challenges surrounding the current cultural policy in the UK. I have organised my thoughts on such issues around three themes: aesthetic value and complexity, a local policy implementation within the cultural sphere, and a wider knowledge of cultural policy research.

Aesthetics value and complexity

The question of seeking aesthetic artistic value within a cultural policy will always retain its own importance. For instance, in the current British cultural policy, an

instrumental value of culture has received too much emphasis while other values of culture have simply been forgotten. In 2004, the then culture minister, Tessa Jowell (2004), sought to find a position from which to promote what she called an ideology of 'complex culture'. It also implies an opportunity to assess different options in making these choices. Therefore, cultural and authentic values need to help promote cultural diversity while maintaining cultural complexity. An effective music policy needs to be made to help expand people's cultural choice. Bennett (2000) also relates his notion of cultural aesthetics to this debate; he argues that scholars and cultural administrators need to support the notion of an acceptance of a parity of esteem for the aesthetic values within a cultural sphere and the tastes of different social groups within a culturally diverse community. While these formulations can be broadly welcomed, they do not focus enough on the ways that arts funding is currently being privatised and downgraded. What is missing here is a more closely reasoned account based upon ideas of cultural complexity, craft and the affective dimensions of culture. As I demonstrated in my earlier discussions cultural policy needs to more carefully interrogate questions of cultural value and worth beyond more instrumental concerns. It is only by making a case for public funding and support in these terms will it be possible to more generally engage wider publics beyond the need to support private consumption. While many have given up these positions as they are uncomfortable with questions of value it is my argument that the continued support of classic music is dependent upon them. Here then we would need to introduce ideas of craft, affectivity and respect as I demonstrated earlier. The struggle, as I have sought to emphasise, is still that culture has a public value not captured by the increasing dominance of capitalist values or private forms of consumption. This point can be related to recent art funding in the UK. For instance, Vanessa Thorpe, arts and media correspondent for The Observer, in her recent article (2008) 'Legal war looms on arts cash cuts' says that "the Arts Council of England is to face a succession of legal actions if it goes ahead with cuts to many of the country's arts venues, orchestras, independent publishers and theatre companies" (Thorpe, 2008). Yet in a time of austerity it is true to say that the programme for cultural empowerment outlined here will be a difficult case to make. However this should not be allowed to detract from the need to reassess our cultural priorities in ways that have been called for in the context of this thesis.

The need for a wider knowledge

The current cultural policy literature indicates policy-related research needs to provide a more empirical and qualitative analysis of some fundamental practical issues at a regional level. There is a democratic imperative to study the impact of the current policy framework and to make it more inclusive. Both academics and cultural administrators need to know more and have a greater depth of knowledge about how cultural policy and the cultural industry operate at a regional and local level. Not enough research has yet been done at this level and my thesis is a small contribution in terms of correcting the balance.

Market research has been undertaken in recent years adopting qualitative research methods, but it still seems that there is a lack of available quantitative and qualitative data availability on the most basic issues, as indicated above. In addition, none of the research offers a practical understanding of what may well provide evidence for cultural policy-making or any other intellectual enquiry. Further, the lack of a more comparative analysis over cultural policy research within a European context has made British cultural policy research more difficult, while learning the lessons from the relevant European projects for universal agreement on certain issues looks very unrealistic. In this respect, a cultural democracy will not be served by a universal consensus. Rather, democracy in the sphere of cultural policy requires different voices, perspectives and viewpoints to be made visible and to be heard. In the short term, this could emphasise disagreements and conflicts, but this is preferable to the rule of experts or administrators. However, as I have argued at length, this needs to be a process of empowering cultural producers from the bottom up.

Further, cultural policy research is interdisciplinary; it should draw on both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies and articulate its social and economic roles. The concern that cultural and art policies have been poorly conceptualised and suffer from a lack of methodological rigour has been raised. Yet, an examination of previous cultural policy research shows that in the UK this has been more interested in a quantitative-orientated research instrument to look into the cultural policy's movement than in the qualitative-orientated methods (a few examples were offered in Chapter 5). Therefore, a balanced methodological approach needs to be considered by cultural policy scholars.

Further, the concept of multiculturalism often refers to a theory of racial, cultural and ethnic diversity, but classical music is often seen as 'elitist', to be enjoyed only by a certain group of people; classical music is even seen as an element of anti-multiculturalism. The research finding in this thesis also indicates that there is a misunderstanding of how to locate classical music in the big picture of multiculturalism and how to introduce a multicultural music education into the music curriculum. As a descriptive term, 'multicultural' refers to the coexistence of unlike groups in a common social system (Pratte, 1979: 6). 'Multicultural' in this sense means culturally diverse, but scholars, such as Elliott (1989), offer a different view point towards such statement; Elliot states that classical music education offers a unique chance to make the goals of dynamic multiculturalism a reality. Despite Elliott's interpretation, most arguments of multicultural music education seem to focus on where the light is best: on the elements of world music, on the cultural contexts of musical 'objects', and on curriculum planning and implementation. However my argument is that classical music needs to be defended as a specifically skilled cultural practice. This is precisely the reason that it should be valued and moves the argument beyond concerns about neutrality as such.

A local policy implementation within a cultural sphere

As argued in Chapter 5, very few relevant projects have conducted research into music-making in an English urban area and it seems that the relationships among classical music activities, national music policy and the local music industry in cities have hardly been examined; cultural policy research in the UK is more interested in a national-orientated research instrument to look into the cultural policy's movement than in regional-orientated methods. In other words, as Bennett are more interested in exploring the instrumental approach to cultural policy research. Yet, this thesis is about an investigation into British cultural policy at a regional level. Part of the reason for adopting this approach was to research in greater depth the viewpoint of the participants and to use multiple sources of data from the sphere of cultural classical music policy-making (especially the policy related to classical music activities) and to examine the uniqueness of cultural practice in a particular city in the country. Another part of the reason was to provide a much more in-depth and comprehensive understanding of local policy implementation from the local cultural public sphere

and political public sphere, as the context, process and action in relation to policy-making and application can add an additional value to finding the truth and objectives.

Further, by adopting a local (or regional) based instrument, some of the original research aims in this thesis were achieved; for instance, the close relationships among national musical agencies, local authorities and regional arts agencies regarding the classical music policy at a local level have been critically analysed, and the analytical outcomes of classical music activities and the music policy-making process, which include an examination of the tension, conflict and degree of consensus within relevant musical organisations (venues, directors, performers), policy-makers and local stakeholders in Nottingham, helped provide an evaluation of how the national music policy has been placed at a local level. Based on my theoretical analysis of the current debate of cultural policy among the scholars of cultural studies, I have tried to make a tangible contribution to the ongoing theoretical debate in cultural policy.

The research data come, first, from a very close observation of various different music organisations in a local British city (for example, a local arts centre, a local concert hall, two semi-professional orchestras, and an amateur choir), and second, from interviews with the key persons holding diverse positions within the cultural and music management world. The analytical evidence assisted me in understanding the research questions. Thus, I have generated a conclusion that pays closer attention to and gives an analysis of the processes and institutions of policy making and implementation at a local level that is crucial for both empirical and theoretical research on cultural and music policy at regional, national and international levels. However, apart from those issues, there is still the question of how to evaluate the tension between instrumentalism and aesthetics and how concepts such as governmentality, the public sphere, instrumentalism, aesthetic value, and liberalism can be understood within a local cultural policy-making context. I believe the process of searching for a clear answer to those questions will help both local and national cultural practitioners to achieve their planning aims and aid them in the making of future regulations.

Classical Music and Music Education in Promoting “Self-respect”

As argued in Chapter 4, classical music is a skilled form of practice. Musical talent has been often related to the term “respect” sociologically. As discussed previously, according to Sennett (2003), the social vocabulary of respect might be made to come to life by returning to music. Sennett’s argument may point out a fundamental issue regarding how to build up a positive music education system. For instance, Sennett (2008) argues that learning an instrument can build concentration and persistence.

In Sennett’s (2008) view, concentration has an inner logic; this logic can be applied to working steadily for a very short period of time (as little as one hour) as well as for several years. In this framework, then, classical music no longer works primarily as a form of class distinction but as a shared practice which could benefit the community as a whole. Clearly, this would require a tremendous effort amongst educationalists, policy makers and the state more generally to reduce inequality within society. However, such a process would both reclaim classical music for the community as a whole while also respecting the integrity of its practice as a craft. Such a strategy would then both respect the value of classical music, of the performers and practitioners and enable it to operate as a shared culturally complex practice. Further, it would require music education more generally to become more central to educational practice than it is currently defined.

However, throughout the fieldwork (based on both the empirical data and the documentary evidence), it was discovered that local government often concentrates too much on how to use a music education strategy to meet some kind of social target (such as using music events to help children in poor areas in the region). In light of this view, the idea of the purpose of music education being to help individuals to develop their aesthetic experience and understanding by exercising their power of discrimination has been forgotten. This leads us to ask what a positive music educational programme contributes to children’s personal music development, whether it increases their self-confidence and self-esteem and provides lasting enjoyment for those participants, and whether the relevant government officials need to transform their policy into a music education strategy; some of the evidence has been given in Chapter 7. Through a detailed analysis of some local music

educationalists' statements concerning this view, it was discovered that most of the respondents' opinions differed from those of the local government officer. They agreed that a continual music education curriculum is vital to support children's music education journey, and that local government, together with the relevant educational authority, needs to reconsider the question of how the craft of music has made that gift available to all young classical music learners rather than simply treating the music education strategy as some kind of tool to meet their political agenda.

The debates in this chapter have examined the cultural policy-making process at the regional (meso level), the national level and the micro level; it has also examined the relevant stakeholders' initial expectations and their unique role in making and evaluating cultural policy. Clearly, the policy-making regarding classical music is still multidimensional and multifaceted in many cases today. In this respect, in this thesis, I have dedicated a considerable amount of time to examining and reflecting on the McGuigan / Bennett debate. Here, I have sought to look at the complexity of institutions, knowledge and agencies that determine the policy, rather than reducing the cultural field to questions of capitalism and class. However, McGuigan demonstrates that the market and the state (at all levels) continue to play a determining role in the formation of policy.

Further, as was discussed in the theory chapter, Sennett's discussion on craftsmanship has added an extensive commentary on classical music's social value. In his view, classical music training as a kind of practice not only promotes cultural reflection, but also helps us to understand how the process of developing craft skills can encourage individuals to govern themselves best and finally become good and knowledgeable citizens. Further, I have taken from McGuigan the idea of the central importance of democracy, the public sphere, and his work on affective communication, and sought to extend the relevance of these ideas for the formation of an empowered common culture.

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Appendix 1

Consent Form

Judy Wang

School of Sociology and Social Policy

University of Nottingham

NG7 2RD

Tel: 0115 951 4630

E-mail: Lqxjw2@nottingham.ac.uk

Dear xx:

You are invited to join a research project investigating cultural policy and classical music activities in Nottingham with a current research student, Judy Wang, from the School of Sociology at the University of Nottingham. The aim of this research is to look at how music policy administrators conduct the best practices to achieve a particular mission for music policy today in Nottingham, and to examine the relationships between national musical agencies, local authorities and regional arts agencies regarding classical music policy at a local level. The research also aims to contribute to the ongoing theoretical debate in cultural policy based on a theoretical analysis of the current debate of cultural policy among scholars of cultural studies.

Tape-recorded interviews will be used at this stage; all the interview materials will be kept as confidential data. However, please do not hesitate to let me know if there are certain parts of the conversation during the interview that you do not want to be tape-recorded. You also have the right to withdraw your participation in this study at any stage, if you feel it is necessary. Further, if you have any questions about this study, please contact me at the above address.

Your participation is much appreciated.

Date Participant's Signature for Consent

Date Person Obtaining Consent

Appendix 2

A. Question to ask local authority officer (city councillors in charge of cultural and community services)

1. Would you briefly describe your role as city councillor in charge of the cultural and leisure services?
2. How long have you been doing this job? Are there any changes that you can think of since you started your job?
3. What is the main strategy of the city council regarding the cultural services, especially about classical music activities in the city?
4. How does the funding operate at the city level regarding classical music activities?
5. As a local authority officer, how do you think your team helps the different forms of classical music organisations to play a wider role in society, to contribute to social targets and to engage with regeneration initiatives?
6. At what kind of level do you think that the city council's strategic plan regarding classical music activities has met the public's needs?

B. Question to ask music officer from East Midlands regional office of the Arts Council England

1. What is the title of your full-time job in the Arts Council England? And how long have you been here?
2. How many music organisations do you generally look after, especially classical music organisations?
3. What opportunities exist for funding collaboration, and how can current funding arrangements be developed?
4. How can existing and future provision best meet national and regional Arts Council priorities, particularly with reference to cultural diversity, economic/social deprivation, and regional geographical priorities?
5. How can the sector best encourage more performances of classical music and how can innovation work?

C Questions to ask the professional musicians.

- 1 What kind of orchestra are you generally involved with in the Nottingham area or elsewhere?
2. What kind of interaction is there between you as the professional musicians and participative organisations?
3. Is there any regional support for you as a professional musician to develop your skills, such as education, training and mentoring (where appropriate, in conjunction with the classical music services in the Nottingham area)?

D. Questions to ask the director of the different orchestras

- 1 What is the relationship between your orchestra and the regional arts agencies? Do you receive any regular funding from the Arts Council England?
2. Is there any strategic support from the East Midlands regional office of the Arts Council England? If there is, can you briefly describe it for me?
3. Is there any sustainable outreach work coordinated with the classical music concert series in the Nottingham area or elsewhere?
- 4 Do you have any connection, partnership or collaboration with the local authorities? If you do, could you describe what those partnerships, connections or collaborations are and how they work?
- 5 Have you any further opinions that you want to make known here in terms of the relationships between your orchestra, regional arts agencies and local authorities?