THE VALUE OF ARTS AND CULTURE TO PEOPLE AND SOCIETY

an evidence review
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1 Foreword
The general value of arts and culture to society has long been assumed, while the specifics have just as long been debated. Try to imagine society without the humanising influence of the arts, and you will have to strip out most of what is pleasurable in life, as well as much that is educationally critical and socially essential.

When we talk about the value of arts and culture, we should always start with the intrinsic – how arts and culture illuminate our inner lives and enrich our emotional world. This is what we cherish.

Life without the collective resources of our libraries, museums, theatres and galleries, or without the personal expression of literature, music and art, would be static and sterile – no creative arguments about the past, no diverse and stimulating present and no dreams of the future.

Of course the inherent value of arts and culture is, in part, a philosophical assertion that can’t be measured in numbers. Quantifying the benefits and expressing them in terms of facts and figures that can evidence the contribution made to our collective and individual lives has always presented a problem, but it is something that arts and culture organisations will always have to do in order to secure funding from both public and private sources.

When we talk about the value of arts and culture, we should always start with the intrinsic – how arts and culture illuminate our inner lives and enrich our emotional world. This is what we cherish. But while we do not cherish arts and culture because of the impact on our social wellbeing and cohesion, our physical and mental health, our education system, our national status and our economy, they do confer these benefits and we need to show how important this is.

We need to be able to show this on different scales – on individual, communal and national levels – so that we can raise awareness among the public, across the cultural, educational and political sectors, and among those who influence investment in both the public and private sectors. We need this information to help people think of our arts and culture for what they are: a strategic national resource.

We also need this information to see where the impact of our work is felt, and where we don’t yet reach. We want to understand how we can do better, so that arts and culture can be truly enjoyed by everyone.

As this evidence review shows, there is a considerable body of research literature available – but there are also many gaps. There is a lack of data, for example, about the economic benefits of museums and libraries, and about the importance of the arts to the creative industries, particularly in regard to innovation.

We lack longitudinal studies of the health benefits of participation in arts and culture, and comparative studies of the effects of participation in the arts as opposed to, say, participation in sport.

We cannot demonstrate why the arts are unique in what they do. And when it comes to crime, we have little knowledge about the effect that participation in the arts may have on reducing the numbers of people who re-offend.
In some areas, such as the environment and sustainability, and science and technology, we have a general lack of suitable research – yet these are areas in which our own experience and common sense tell us that the arts play an essential educational and communication role.

This evidence review is an important stage in making ‘the holistic case’ for arts and culture – the argument that arts and culture have an impact on our lives in complex, subtle and interrelated ways, and that each benefit relates to a cluster of other benefits.

This was also the theme of last year’s series of seminars we organised in partnership with the Royal Society of the Arts, ‘Towards Plan A: A new political economy for arts and culture’.

We know there are similar projects. Both the Arts and Humanities Research Council’s Cultural Value Project and the Warwick Commission on the Future of Cultural Value will be reporting in 2015. We will work closely with both of these.

But for the first time, the Arts Council will also be committing substantial research grants to plug some of these gaps in our knowledge. One of the main problems is finding the framework and language with which to express these benefits – creating the right lens through which this transforming ghost of art, everywhere but often invisible, at last shows up as an identifiable presence. But we’ve a lot more work to do in just learning to ask the right questions. In particular we will be looking to form partnerships with the higher education research departments, drawing on their specialist knowledge, facilities and links across the cultural sector.

We won’t solve this problem overnight; such studies take time. But if we can work together, we will in time articulate a new language of cultural value that will help all of us to understand better the essential contribution that the arts make to our lives.

Sir Peter Bazalgette
Chair, Arts Council England

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2 Executive summary
**Economy**

Businesses in the UK arts and culture industry generated an aggregate turnover of £12.4 billion in 2011.

The subsets of the arts and culture industry’s productive activities of book publishing, performing arts and artistic creation are the largest contributors to the industry’s aggregate turnover performance – an estimated £5.9 billion of gross value added (GVA) to the UK economy.

The arts and culture industry employed, on average, 110,600 full-time equivalent employees in the UK and 99,500 in England during the period 2008–11. This represents about 0.45 per cent of total employment in the UK and 0.48 per cent of all employment in England.

For every £1 of salary paid by the arts and culture industry, an additional £2.01 is generated in the wider economy through indirect and induced multiplier impacts.

In 2011, 10 million inbound visits to the UK involved engagement with the arts and culture, representing 32 per cent of all visits to the UK and 42 per cent of all inbound tourism-related expenditure.

Overall in terms of culture, the UK is perceived to be the fourth best nation out of 50. This is as a result of Britain being seen as the fourth best nation in terms of having an exciting contemporary culture (eg music, films, art and literature).

There are five key ways that arts and culture can boost local economies: attracting visitors; creating jobs and developing skills; attracting and retaining businesses; revitalising places; and developing talent.

Looking at the spillover effects between the commercial and publicly funded arts and culture sectors found that there was high labour mobility between the two. The flow of work is often not one way, with individuals moving between publicly funded and commercial sectors in both directions, potentially more than once, as well as working concurrently in both.

**Health and wellbeing**

Those who had attended a cultural place or event in the previous 12 months were almost 60 per cent more likely to report good health compared to those who had not, and theatre-goers were almost 25 per cent more likely to report good health.

People value being in the audience to the arts at about £2,000 per person per year and participating at £1,500 per person. The value of participating in sports is about £1,500 per person per year.

Research has evidenced that a higher frequency of engagement with arts and culture is generally associated with a higher level of subjective wellbeing.

Engagement in structured arts and culture improves the cognitive abilities of children and young people.

A number of studies have reported findings of applied arts and cultural interventions and measured their positive impact on specific health conditions which include dementia, depression and Parkinson’s disease.
The use of art, when delivered effectively, has the power to facilitate social interaction as well as enabling those in receipt of social care to pursue creative interests. The review highlights the benefits of dance for reducing loneliness and alleviating depression and anxiety among people in social care environments.

Society

High-school students who engage in the arts at school are twice as likely to volunteer than those who don’t engage in the arts and are 20 per cent more likely to vote as young adults.

Employability of students who study arts subjects is higher and they are more likely to stay in employment.

Culture and sport volunteers are more likely than average to be involved and influential in their local communities.

There is strong evidence that participation in the arts can contribute to community cohesion, reduce social exclusion and isolation, and/or make communities feel safer and stronger.

Education

Taking part in drama and library activities improves attainment in literacy.

Taking part in structured music activities improves attainment in maths, early language acquisition and early literacy.

Schools that integrate arts across the curriculum in the US have shown consistently higher average reading and mathematics scores compared to similar schools that do not.

Participation in structured arts activities increases cognitive abilities. Students from low income families who take part in arts activities at school are three times more likely to get a degree than children from low income families do not engage in arts activities at school.

Evidence gaps

Most of the studies reviewed cannot establish causality between arts and culture and the wider societal impacts.

The need for larger sample sizes, longitudinal studies and experimental methods is referred to in many of these studies.

There is no up-to-date information on the economic impact of museums and libraries and how they contribute to the wider economy.

There is little research that quantifies the savings to the public purse that are achieved through preventative arts and culture interventions, or other contributions to public services.

The use of digital technologies and how arts and cultural organisations are using this technology to become more resilient.

Equality and diversity: those who are most actively involved with the arts and culture that we invest in tend to be from the most privileged parts of society; engagement is heavily influenced by levels of education, by socio-economic background, and by where people live.
3 Introduction
In 2006 Arts Council England launched the arts debate, a major programme of qualitative research into the arts and their funding. The outputs of this piece of work help shaped a new mission at the time – ‘Achieving great art for everyone’ and the five outcomes that underpin it: excellence, innovation, diversity, engagement and reach.

In 2011 Arts Council England inherited new responsibilities for museums and libraries. In order to fully understand the needs and priorities of these sectors we undertook an evidence review of the museums and libraries policy landscape. This informed a second strategy, Culture, knowledge and understanding.

In the autumn of 2013 we launched a refreshed strategy – Great art and culture for everyone. This document updates our strategic framework for the arts, libraries and museums, which were set out in separate documents in 2010/11. Achieving great art for everyone and Culture, knowledge and understanding aimed to focus our work over the next 10 years and encourage shared purpose and partnerships across the arts. They provided the rationale for our investment in the arts and museums and will inform our future funding decisions, and our development role for libraries. These documents were shaped by the views of artists, arts organisations, the public and our many stakeholders and partners.

Our refreshed strategy, Great art and culture for everyone, builds on these documents and sets out our continuing commitment to our mission and five goals. It brings together our responsibilities across the arts and culture and aims to set out a clear vision of what success will look like, and how we intend to measure progress towards our goals.

With the launch of Great art and culture for everyone the time is now right to build on previous reviews of evidence over the years and refresh our thinking on the impact arts and culture can have on the social and economic landscape.

The main objectives of this review are to:

- assess the strength of the evidence base between 2010–13 about the economic, social, health and wellbeing, education, lifelong learning and environmental impacts and outcomes of arts and culture in England
- assess the evidence base about what works, and among whom and in what circumstances to create value for the arts and culture in England
- assess the methodologies and approaches adopted for evidencing the instrumental impact of art and culture
- assess the evidence base in relation to the Arts Council’s five goals
- identify the gaps and weaknesses in the current evidence base to inform the Arts Council’s future research programme, which will in turn shape future policy in the arts and cultural sector
The value of arts and culture to society has long been debated. We know that arts and culture play an important role in promoting social and economic goals through local regeneration, attracting tourists, the development of talent and innovation, improving health and wellbeing, and delivering essential services. These benefits are ‘instrumental’ because art and culture can be a means to achieve ends beyond the immediate intrinsic experience and value of the art itself. This review concentrates on identifying robust research that explores to what extent arts and culture bring these benefits to individuals, communities and society.

However, we are also conscious that there are intrinsic benefits of arts and culture experiences, such as aesthetic pleasure, which are seen as private and personal. These intrinsic benefits to an individual spillover to ‘instrumental’ impacts:

“These intrinsic effects enrich individual lives, but they also have a public spillover component in that they cultivate the kinds of citizens desired in a pluralistic society. These are the social bonds created among individuals when they share their arts experiences through reflection and discourse, and the expression of common values and community identity through artworks commemorating events significant to a nation’s (or people’s) experience.”


In recognition of the intrinsic benefits of arts and culture, we are commissioning an international literature review between October 2013 and February 2014 about the intrinsic value of the arts and culture to complement this evidence review.

We acknowledge the varied, complex and sometimes unpredictable context in which arts and culture exist and create the types of benefits discussed in this review. In 2012 the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the Warwick Commission have opened a call for research on the theme of cultural value. These research programmes will add to thinking around the value of arts and culture, as well as developing some of the more complex questions about how this value operates – for example, how the benefits of art and culture can be negatively experienced, to what extent they are equitable, and how different types of engagement, full or partial, change the experience and benefits gained from engaging in arts and culture.

Taken together, these pieces of work will deepen our understanding of the impact of arts and culture and will map out and reinforce the changing and complex role that art and culture plays in our experience as individuals and on the fabric of our society.
4 Methodology
The methodology adopted for this review consisted of a number of approaches. We were clear from the outset that this review would focus on research and evaluation studies that present evidence from practice and practical examples of impact, rather than more discursive material that presents opinions, theories and ideas. Therefore we chose to exclude the following sources from this review: policy and strategy documents; sector and public consultations; and think pieces or critical commentary.

We used the following criteria to identify sources for inclusion:

- published since 2010
- published in English
- a research study, outcome or process evaluation based on scientific principles containing primary data gathered using sound methodologies or robust analyses of secondary data

With these criteria in mind we put out an internal ‘call for evidence’ to staff within the Arts Council to understand what research and evaluations have been conducted that match the criteria above.

In addition, we sourced material either through email, telephone or web searches from our national partners. We also sourced material from higher education institutes, using Google Scholar searches to identify relevant studies. One limitation on this way of searching for material is that not all studies we found were available in full.

We structured our searches around 10 themes: the economy; creative and cultural industries; health and wellbeing; educational attainment and development; citizenship; crime; tourism; international development; environment and sustainability; and science and technology. Three of these themes—international development, environment and sustainability, and science and technology—did not return any suitable evidence.

This review was conducted between July and September 2013. During this period the research team within Arts Council England, using the criteria set out above, have endeavoured to source as many research reports as possible. Whilst every effort has been made to capture a comprehensive list of research reports, given the wealth of information available in this area, inevitably some reports will have been missed. Despite this well over 500 reports were sourced initially and so in order to ensure the research we sourced was of sufficient quality we considered these reports against a second set of criteria:

- has a clear and explicitly stated set of research questions to be answered, or a hypothesis to be tested
- has a clear and robust methodology, with an appropriate sample to enable exploration of the research questions
- explores issues relevant to policy and practice

The research author or organisation:

- has no vested interests in the research topic
- has a track record of conducting robust, independent research

Applying this second set of criteria reduced the number of reports to 90. These have been analysed in some detail in relation to understanding the wider benefits of arts and culture to society.
5 Key themes
Key themes for the evidence review

Given the evidence that we found, we have drawn our findings together under the following key areas:

5a Economy
- national economy
- local economy
- artists
- creative and cultural industries
- savings to the public purse

5b Health and wellbeing
- health and wellbeing
- ageing population

5c Society
- social inclusion and citizenship
- crime

5d Education
- educational attainment
- school curriculum
- employment outcomes
- ‘soft outcomes’ and socio-cognitive development

We also explored the themes of international development, environment and sustainability, and science and technology; however they did not return any suitable pieces of research that met our criteria.
5th Economy
National economy

In May 2013 Arts Council England and the National Museums Directors Council commissioned the Centre for Economics Business Research (CEBR) to help develop a clear and robust account of the contribution that the arts and culture make to the economy. The contribution of the arts and culture to the national economy includes an analysis of the ‘direct’ contribution of the arts and culture as measured by macroeconomic indicators like gross value added (GVA), employment and household incomes. It also analysed the ‘indirect’ contributions made by the arts and culture to the wider economy and to other sectors. It outlines how these spillovers can occur and presents some limited evidence in support of them. For example through tourism, improvements in national productivity and through the role of the arts and culture in developing skills, nurturing innovation and fostering growth in the commercial creative industries.

The arts and culture industry employed, on average, 110,600 full-time equivalent employees in the UK and 99,500 in England during the period 2008–11. This represents about 0.45 per cent of total employment in the UK and 0.48 per cent of all employment in England. The performing arts and artistic creation subsets of activities were the largest contributors to all employment by the arts and culture industry, at 33.1 per cent and 25.6 per cent respectively.

The findings within the report revealed businesses in the UK arts and culture industry generated an aggregate turnover of £12.4 billion in 2011. This led those businesses to contribute an estimated £5.9 billion of GVA to the UK economy, also in 2011. However, the GVA contribution of these businesses has grown since 2008, in contrast to turnover. Closer analysis reveals that businesses in the arts and culture industry have been successful in cutting costs and have thus, by increasing their GVA, increased their contribution to UK GDP even as the wider economy contracted.

The report found that labour productivity in the arts and culture industry might be considered relatively low, however, significant subsets of the productive activities that make up the industry do have high productivity relative to national averages. For instance, GVA per full-time equivalent (FTE) in book publishing was 44 per cent higher than the national average in 2011, while artistic creation was 21 per cent higher.

The report analyses the arts and culture industry within the Office for National Statistics national accounting framework and concludes that the sector accounts for approximately 0.4 per cent of total GVA in England. Using their own input-output models CEBR calculate that this rises to 1 per cent of UK GDP when direct and induced multiplier impacts are taken into account.
The arts and culture industry pays nearly 5 per cent more than the UK median salary of £26,095, thereby making a positive contribution to average household earnings. Furthermore, for every £1 of salary paid by the arts and culture industry, an additional £2.01 is generated in the wider economy through indirect and induced multiplier impacts. The industry has a high salary income multiplier relative to other broad sectors of the economy, which CEBR relates to the relatively high levels of pay in the sectors and industries from which the arts and culture sources intermediate inputs, including not least the creative industries, which account for 26 per cent of the arts and culture industry’s supply chain. However other evidence considered later in this section suggests that practising artists as a sub-sector of this industry tend to earn a lower than average wage.

The CEBR report also reports on a number of other mechanisms through which arts and culture lead to an economic impact – for example, the authors review research which claims arts and cultural education can lead to higher earning and better job prospects, improved wellbeing and regeneration of places. Whilst this report presents limited evidence of these impacts, it highlights some of the more complex ways in which other types of social impact ultimately have an economic effect.

There are a wealth of other economic studies of arts and culture and their contribution to national economies. A notable publication is DC Research’s study for Creative Scotland (2012), which, using a Scottish approach to classifying the arts and creative industries, estimated the direct employment contribution from the industries in Scotland in 2010 was 84,400 jobs. Arts and creative industries GVA accounted for £3.2 billion to the Scottish economy in 2010.

**Spillover impacts through tourism**

The arts and culture can create additional spending by tourists in two ways. Some visit the UK primarily to visit arts and cultural attractions, while others take part in arts and cultural activities during trips that are made for other purposes, potentially extending trips and generating additional spending as a result.

CEBR’s report on the spillover impact of the arts and culture industry through tourism revealed that in 2011 10 million inbound visits to the UK involved engagement with the arts and culture, representing 32 per cent of all visits to the UK and 42 per cent of all inbound tourism-related expenditure and amounting to £7.6 billion.

The British Council’s report, *Trust Pays* (2012), examined the impact that cultural engagement with the UK has on people from other countries. A large scale survey of people in 10 countries showed that cultural engagement led to a higher level of trust in the UK, and this was associated with a greater attraction to visit or do business in the UK. Whilst this research report concentrates on attitudes and perceptions rather than actions taken and therefore can’t be seen as a report on impact, it does highlight the role that UK arts and culture plays as a factor in promoting a positive image of the UK internationally and its potential to lead to economic impact.

The *Culture and Heritage Topic Profile* from Visit Britain (2010) emphasises the importance of culture and heritage to the tourism economy. Visit Britain estimate that Britain’s cultural and heritage attractions generate £4.5 billion worth of spending by inbound visitors annually which is the equivalent to more than one quarter of all spending by international visitors. These attractions also sustain over 100,000 jobs across Britain.
The global perception of Britain as a key tourist destination and the high status of its cultural offering are evidenced through the Nation Brands Index (NBI) which is featured in Visit Britain’s report: ‘Overall in terms of culture, the UK is perceived to be the fourth best nation out of 50. This is as a result of Britain being seen as the fourth best nation in terms of having an exciting contemporary culture (e.g., music, films, art, and literature), seventh as a nation with a rich cultural heritage, and eighth as a nation excelling at sports.’ Findings show that visiting museums is regarded as the fourth best activity in Britain (out of 32) and ranks third on potential visitors’ to-do-lists. This ranks particularly high for older visitors and Visit Britain describe museums as ‘a key strength for Britain and a motivator to visit’.

**Overall in terms of culture, the UK is perceived to be the fourth best nation out of 50. This is as a result of Britain being seen as the fourth best nation in terms of having an exciting contemporary culture.**

A collaborative study between UK Music and Visit Britain, *WISH YOU WERE HERE* (2013), demonstrates the significant impact that the UK music industry has on attracting international and domestic tourists and thus boosting the tourism economy. In 2012 music tourism generated £1.27 billion in direct spending and an additional £914 million in indirect spending. They also calculate that music tourism directly and indirectly sustained over 24,000 full time jobs.

**Local economies**

Arts and culture can have a number of economic impacts on local economies (for example within a city or town), and there has been a set of publications since 2010 that attempt to estimate the diverse economic impacts within individual localities. In 2013, the Local Government Association (LGA) published a range of case studies on how local investment in arts and culture impacts on local economies and economic growth. The report (LGA, 2013) identifies five key ways that arts and culture can boost local economies:

- attracting visitors
- creating jobs and developing skills
- attracting and retaining businesses
- revitalising places
- developing talent

The case studies that follow all refer to the first four of these impacts and how they are achieved in particular places and contexts. A notable gap in the evidence base is how arts and culture develops talent, and how this subsequently impacts on local economies.

The LGA refer to the ‘pulling power’ of arts and culture: visitors to a theatre, museum, or festival spend money on their ticket or entrance fee, meals in local restaurants, spending in local shops, or perhaps hotel bookings as part of their visit. The 500,000 visitors to the Hepworth Wakefield during its first year contributed an estimated £10 million to the local economy in Wakefield and a recent economic impact of the Yorkshire Sculpture Park estimated its annual contribution to the local economy to be £5 million (LGA, 2013).
In 2012, BOP Consulting measured the economic benefits of the 2012 AV Festival to the North East of England. AV Festival is a biennial international festival of contemporary art, music and film held in Newcastle, Gateshead, Sunderland and Middlesbrough. BOP Consulting’s findings suggest the benefits were substantial. The festival had a gross economic impact of £1.87 million, including in-kind support leveraged by AV, and net economic impact, after adjusting for additionally and multiplier effects, of £1.09 million. This implies that the 2012 AV Festival achieved a return on investment of £2.88 of net benefits for the region for every £1 of public funding it received. The festival also made a £516,000 GVA contribution, supporting the equivalent of 24 jobs in the region. Other festivals show a similar level of economic impact. For example, Lakes Alive, an outdoor arts festival in Cumbria, has seen local economic impact measured between £2 million and £3 million benefit to the Cumbrian economy each year between 2009 and 2012 (CRESC, 2009; 2010; Helen Corkery Research and Marketing, 2011; 2012). The Whistable Biennial held on the Kent Coast is a festival of performance and moving image arts. An evaluation of the 2010 festival using the Cambridge Economic Impact model estimated the impact to be £1.3 million, an 88 per cent increase in the estimate for the same event held in 2008 (Herbert, 2010).

The economic value of the ‘pulling power’ of arts and culture goes further: arts and cultural organisations may also buy some of their supplies from local firms, and their staff may spend their wages in the local area. The effects of the initial spend are multiplied as the money passes through the supply chain. A 2010 economic impact study of the Anvil Arts Trust in Basingstoke which runs The Anvil, The Haymarket and The Forge, and which gets most of its funding from the local council, found that it generated a net economic impact to the borough of £5 million (LGA, 2013). An evaluation of the first year of Turner Contemporary in Margate (Five Lines Consulting, 2012) measured a total impact of £13.9 million to the Kent economy. This breaks down to £6.3 million direct and indirect contribution and £7.6 million in destination profile benefits in the equivalent cost of advertising coverage. The evaluation found that 49 FTE jobs had been created by the gallery, and a further 81 FTE have been supported. It argues that the opening of the gallery may be linked to other changes in the area, such as 35 new businesses setting up in Margate, although there is no indication of how this relates to growth in previous years.

The evaluation report, Creating an impact: Liverpool’s experience as European Capital of Culture (Cox et al, 2010), calculated that 9.7 million visits to Liverpool were motivated by the European Capital of Culture programme (ECoC). This generated an additional economic impact of £753.8 million. The evaluation found that by the end of 2008, 68 per cent of UK businesses believed the ECoC had a positive impact on Liverpool’s image. The region’s creative industries sector felt that the Liverpool ECoC had improved the profile of the city, particularly externally, and that it had improved the ‘local morale’ of the sector and increased its credibility within the city region. Many anticipate long-term, positive impacts for their businesses.

There is little research regarding the economic impact of grassroots and amateur organisations; however their contribution to the local and national economies cannot be ignored. The Third Sector Research Centre (TRSC) estimated that during 2009–10 there were 49,000 grass roots or amateur arts organisations in England. The Third Sector Research Centre (TRSC) estimated that during 2009–10 there were 49,000 grass roots or amateur arts organisations in England. These amateur arts activities are often run by unpaid staff, receive donated goods and services and are able to create revenue through membership subscriptions and advertisements in newsletters and magazines (Ramsden et al, 2011).
In 2011 the TRSC published *The role of grassroots activities in communities: A scoping study* (Ramsden et al, 2011). The study reviewed the small amount of policy and academic research available and conducted a review of ‘grey’ literature from magazines and newspapers published by arts societies and grassroots organisations. The report acknowledges there are significant gaps in the gathering of empirical evidence relating to the economic impact of grassroots arts activities. However it has reviewed a number of claims made that illustrate how the local and national economy is impacted upon by these grassroots arts activities. Local and national economies gain revenue from the purchase of materials, equipment and services. Local organisations also benefit through the hire of indoor and outdoor spaces such as church halls, community centres and land for regular activities, exhibitions and festivals. The study states that a considerable amount of revenue is raised in order to donate to charitable causes through arts activities. It also highlights the potential for participants to increase their employment potential through skills development and networking. Further research is required to quantify the extent to which these claims impact on the local and national economy.

*There are significant gaps in the gathering of empirical evidence relating to the economic impact of grassroots arts activities.*

### Artists and the economy

Interestingly, despite strong evidence of the contribution of arts and culture to national and local economies, there is also considerable evidence that individual artists can face precarious economic security. Research by the Creative Graduates Creative Futures Higher Education Partnership and the Institute for Employment Studies used longitudinal research conducted between 2008 and 2010 into the early careers of more than 3,500 creative graduates (Ball, 2010). The research also involved qualitative research into creative careers some five to seven years after graduation from creative higher education courses.

The research (Creative Graduates Creative Futures Higher Education Partnership and the Institute for Employment Studies, 2010) found that low pay is a key feature of early careers in the creative sector, and unpaid work is becoming a pre-requisite for career entry in a more competitive market. Graduates often take on a number of short-term, unpaid, speculative, low-paid, or freelance opportunities. The report claims that graduates have little opportunity to develop leadership and managerial skills, and imply that this could have a long-term impact on the health of the creative sector, on business growth, on promotion prospects and career progression.

The DC Research study for Creative Scotland on the economic contribution of the arts and creative industries identifies challenges relating to accurately identifying the scale of self-employment, sole traders, and portfolio and project-based workers that are operating within the arts and creative industries – these activities being more prevalent in the arts and creative industries than in other sectors of the economy. Related to this, it can be challenging to capture the contribution of such activities using standard economic contribution methodologies.
There are other studies from England (eg Kretschmer, Singh, Bentley and Cooper’s 2011 research into designers, fine artists, illustrators and photographers) and internationally (the Canadian Conference of the Arts 2010 study of income and earnings among Canadian artists, NCA, 2010) that point to lower than labour force average earnings, poor social rights and collective bargaining opportunities among individual artists, despite artists often having completed higher education degrees, certificates or diplomas. Kretschmer, Singh, Bentley and Cooper (2011) surveyed 5,800 British designers, fine artists, illustrators and photographers about their copyright contracts and earnings. The research found that visual artists have typical earnings well below the UK national median wage. However, despite low mean and median earnings, the potential rewards can be high. The research found that the top 7 per cent of visual creators earned about 40 per cent of total income (they earn at least £50,000, with £120,000 per annum being the norm) while the remaining 93 per cent earn 60 per cent of the total income, giving a Gini Coefficient of 0.59, compared to a Gini Coefficient of 0.36 for the UK working population in 2011.

Bille et al (2013) analysed artist job satisfaction across Europe and found that despite high unemployment and low pay, artists enjoy higher job satisfaction than other employees. This higher than average job satisfaction was attributed to their role as artists involving more autonomy. Results were based on the synthesis of findings from a selection of papers on happiness research including survey data from the British Household Panel (2001–08) and the Swiss Household Panel (1999–2010). The question asked through the surveys was: ‘Overall, how satisfied are you with your job?’ This measure of happiness is confirmed by objective measures of wellbeing (Oswald and Wu, 2010).

In order to examine the reasons for artists having higher job satisfaction, work attitudes are considered. Artists view the process of working to be of special importance. They particularly value the opportunity to use initiative in their job, the fact that they have an interesting job, have a job which meets their abilities, and that they can learn new skills on the job. These aspects relate to procedural aspects of work rather than to what is produced. In contrast, artists pay less importance to other aspects, such as job security.

The study continued to discuss the fluctuations in happiness that artists encounter and also asks why there is evidence that artists are more prone to ending their life. A possible explanation could be that artists, while exhibiting high job satisfaction on average, over time experience particularly large fluctuations in subjective wellbeing. In the phase in which they are severely depressed, they may end their life more often than other individuals. In psychiatry, this phenomenon of bi-polarity has been noted to apply to artists and other creative people (Kyaga et al, 2011; Tremblay et al, 2010; Vellante et al, 2011). This brief discussion highlights gaps in the evidence base surrounding the working life of artists.

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1 The Gini coefficient is a statistical measure that represents the income distribution of a nation’s residents. A Gini coefficient of zero expresses perfect equality (where everyone has an exactly equal income). A Gini coefficient of 1 (or 100 per cent) expresses maximum inequality (where only one person has all the income).
Creative and cultural industries

Creative and cultural industries act as a source of creative input that adds value or supports other industries – for example in the CEBR report there is some limited evidence gathered of wider impacts felt by industries co-located with creative ‘clusters’. NESTA have explored the notion of creative diffusion, and have conducted a small number of studies into this relationship, most notably a small randomised control trial to test the impact of creative advice and support being provided to small and medium enterprises (SME) through the ‘Creative Credits’ programme (NESTA, 2013). This research found working with a creative company led to increased innovation in SME that wasn’t seen in those who hadn’t taken part in the programme. However this impact was not observable between six and 12 months after the collaboration ended.

Another argument made about the creative industries is the inter-relationship between the commercial and publicly funded arts and culture sectors, and how these together make a contribution to the national and local economies. However, evidence in this area is limited to a handful of small scale studies of aspects of this relationship. For example, through talent development (Publicly funded arts as an R&D lab for the creative industries, CC Skills, 2012) and supply chain benefits of publicly funded arts organisations purchasing commercial creative industry goods (CEBR, 2013).

However, these complex relationships, and the impact that they contribute, have not been empirically evidenced beyond either small scale studies or surveys of industry views.

Savings to the public purse

In the literature, some reports argue that there is potential for preventative interventions which use arts and culture to reduce the need for other public services, thereby creating an overall saving to the ‘public purse’. Examples include three small case studies on how arts and culture based initiatives contribute to reduced re-offending by prisoners and improve their job prospects (New Philanthropy Capital, 2010), how an arts education can reduce the social cost of truancy (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2010), and how arts in clinical settings has reduced the length of hospital stays (Clift and Staricroft, 2011, cited in RSPH, 2013) and fewer GP consultations (unreferenced, cited in RSPH, 2013). Whilst these studies do not demonstrate the associated reduction in public spending, this is an area where further evidence would be valuable. The impact demonstrated in these studies is discussed under the relevant theme in this report.
5b Health and wellbeing
Participation in culture is significantly associated with good health and high life satisfaction. A detailed study by Scottish Government analysts, based on data from the Scottish Household Survey 2011, confirmed that, for the first time in Scotland, participating in culture or attending cultural places or events has a positive impact on health and life satisfaction. The report, *Healthy Attendance: The Impact of Cultural Engagement and Sports Participation on Health and Satisfaction with life in Scotland 2013*, identifies a positive link with wellbeing, even when other factors including age, economic status, income, area deprivation, education, qualifications, disability or long-standing illness and smoking are accounted for.

The survey involved nearly 10,000 respondents. Those who had attended a cultural place or event in the previous 12 months were almost 60 per cent more likely to report good health compared to those who had not, and theatre-goers were almost 25 per cent more likely to report good health.

The income compensation approach can be used to convert estimates of the gain in subjective wellbeing associated with policy outcomes, such as engagement in culture and sport, into estimates of the monetary value of these policy outcomes. Fujiwara’s analysis of Taking Part data (2013) uses income compensation to assign a monetary value to the participation in arts and culture and so establish a measure of its indirect economic impact. Specifically, it finds that:

- people value visiting museums at about £3,200 a year
- the value of participating in the arts is about £1,500 per person per year
- the value of being an audience member to the arts is about £2,000 per person per year
- the value of participating in sports is about £1,500 per person per year

However, studies of this kind reflect only some of the ways in which museums, libraries and arts organisations can contribute indirectly to the economy. Arts Council England intends to explore this area of work further through commissions to measure the contribution of museums and libraries to the economy in 2014.

Arts and culture has an impact on improved self-reported subjective wellbeing (eg life satisfaction) while controlling for other factors influencing wellbeing, such as age, background and socio-economic circumstances. Further research has evidenced that a higher frequency of engagement with arts and culture is generally associated with a higher level of subjective wellbeing, though the Scottish Government study (2013) concludes that further longitudinal and cross-sectional research should also be carried out on the effect of frequency of participation in culture and sport on quality of life measures. An ongoing piece of research to be published by early 2014...
These studies show that arts and cultural activities can have a positive impact on the symptoms of conditions, for example improved cognition, physical stability, or self-esteem, and the ability of people to manage them, for example through changes in behaviour and increased social contact.

Through the CASE programme on the social benefits of engagement in arts and culture will present further evidence on the wellbeing impacts of arts and cultural engagement.

Relationships between engagement with arts and culture and health and wellbeing among young people were captured via research through the CASE Programme (2010b). A set of systematic reviews were undertaken to examine the impact of young people’s engagement with arts and culture on their learning, which is discussed more fully in the ‘education’ chapter that follows. A key finding from the systematic review in relation to health and wellbeing is that engagement in structured arts and culture improves the cognitive abilities of children and young people. Our evidence review found a considerable number of studies that have examined specific examples of applied arts and cultural interventions and measured their impact on specific health conditions. These include studies on impact of reading groups, and wider art therapies on people with dementia (Centre for Research into Reading, Information and Linguistic Systems, 2012; Beard, 2011), and depression (Liverpool Health Inequalities Research Institute, 2010), and of dance on people with Parkinson’s disease (Houston and McGill, 2012). A number of literature reviews, reviewed by the Royal Society of Public Health, have also found evidence of improved clinical conditions when music or visual arts are used in hospital environments, for example improved vital signs, reduced stress, anxiety and blood pressure (RSPH, 2013).

Consilium Research and Consultancy (Consilium) was commissioned in November 2012 by Skills for Care, in partnership with Skills for Care and Development and Creative & Cultural Skills, to inform future thinking around the role of arts in the delivery of social care by carrying out an evidence review. The report (2013) concluded that the use of art, when delivered effectively, has the power to both facilitate social interaction and enable those in receipt of social care to pursue creative interests. The review highlights the benefits of dance for reducing loneliness and alleviating depression and anxiety among people in social care environments. Dance has the ability to promote creativity and social integration and allow nonverbal stimulation and communication. The review evidence demonstrates the considerable physical and psychological benefits of using arts with people in receipt of social care. Further research may be required to obtain a more accurate picture of how arts are used to deliver social care, the level of investment in training and professional development and models of workforce development that have proven effective in using arts effectively.

The review highlights the benefits of dance for reducing loneliness and alleviating depression and anxiety among people in social care environments.

These studies show that arts and cultural activities can have a positive impact on the symptoms of conditions, for example improved cognition, physical stability, or self-esteem, and the ability of people to manage them, for example through changes in behaviour and increased social contact. However there is no evidence that these improvements are sustained in the long term, and the majority of studies have been small scale and unable to do more than report a correlation between the intervention and these benefits.
Some studies have identified how arts and culture can lead to improved health and wellbeing. For example, a mixed method study into the effects of dance on people with Parkinson’s disease (Houston and McGill, 2013) used qualitative interviews to explore the link between dance and its benefits and found that the value of dance was that it was ‘multi-layered’ and provided stimulation – not just physical, but emotional, intellectual and social. A study by Clift and Hancox (2010) set out to investigate the causal mechanisms linking singing with wellbeing. They conducted a large cross-national survey of choral singers drawn from choirs in Australia, England and Germany. Findings suggested six ‘generative mechanisms’ by which singing may impact on wellbeing and health: positive affect; focused attention; deep breathing; social support; cognitive stimulation; and regular commitment. Women were more likely to report the value of singing for health and wellbeing than men. These apparent gender differences, which are present in each nationality, are also present in the findings of Cuypers (2011) and raise some interesting questions which merit further study.

The value of introducing movement and dance within a cultural framework that participants can identify and feel comfortable with is evidenced in a study by Murrock et al, *Culturally Specific Dance to Reduce Obesity in African American Women* (2010). Participants over the age of 35 took part in dance classes choreographed to gospel music which were delivered by a respected member of the community in the participants’ respective local churches. The intervention ran twice a week for a period of eight weeks. The results showed a significantly decrease in the body fat and body mass index of women who regularly attended the sessions and effects were observed in those who attended only seven of the 16 sessions. A qualitative survey of participants reported that the activity provided a positive platform for participants to improve their health and wellbeing. The study emphasised the importance of cultural relevance in relation to participant engagement and enjoyment of an activity.

There is little research investigating the impact of the arts in public spaces on individuals, community and wellbeing. However in 2011 the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) and the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) published *People and places: Public attitudes to beauty* (IPOS MORI, 2011). This mixed methodology study aimed to examine how people relate to the places where they live. The study initially looked at the meaning of beauty to individuals, places and communities, and society. They established that beauty is ‘regarded as a positive experience strongly related to bringing about happiness and wellbeing in individuals’ lives and that access to beauty is felt to contribute to overall welfare and a “good society”’.

Findings from the results of a national survey showed that the arts played a key role in the respondents’ experiences of beauty. Respondents answered the question, ‘In which of the following have you experienced beauty?’ Almost half (47 per cent) had experienced beauty through art, which ranked second to experiencing beauty in the natural environment (65 per cent) and music ranked fifth (38 per cent).

*People value being in the audience to the arts at about £2,000 per person per year and participating at £1,500 per person. The value of participating in sports is about £1,500 per person per year.*
In the 2011 study, CABE and AHRC included qualitative ethnographic work conducted in Sheffield. The findings from this part of the research concluded that the arts did not play as much of a key role as the findings from the qualitative survey suggested. They found that participants reported that art and music has the potential to be beautiful but often did not relate this to their personal experiences. This presents an interesting distinction between how people think they should feel about the arts and their actual experiences. Although the study confirms that beauty has an impact on wellbeing, it raises questions about the direct impact that public arts interventions with a perceived quality of beauty can have on wellbeing. It would be interesting to see the qualitative elements of this study conducted in different communities across the country. It would also be interesting to see a similar study integrated into the evaluations for public art interventions.

There are numerous pieces of research that evidence the positive impact that the arts can have on the physical, mental and social wellbeing of older people.

Ageing population

The impact of an ageing population on public services presents a considerable challenge. There are numerous pieces of research that evidence the positive impact that the arts can have on the physical, mental and social wellbeing of older people and many that focus on the merits of participation in dance activities in particular. While the research often discusses physical, mental and social wellbeing as separate entities they often recognise the interdependency of these categories.

An Evidence Review of the Impact of Participatory Arts on Older People (2011) by the Mental Health Foundation (MHF) reviewed a selection of high-quality academic research and ‘grey literature’ which included unpublished and non-peer reviewed work. The reviewed literature covered the 60–69-year-old age group and a range of artforms including music, drama, visual arts, storytelling, festivals and combined arts.

Alongside the physical benefits of more overtly active art forms such as drama and dance the MHF review found that increased levels of general activity gained through activities such as storytelling and visual arts also had positive impacts on the overall health of participants. The review also made connections between involvement in community arts and mental wellbeing.
Well-designed qualitative research can point to how and why the wellbeing impacts of arts and cultural engagement are perceived and experienced by people in different settings. Newman, Goulding and Whitehead undertook a purely qualitative study in 2013 involving in-depth interviews and focus groups with older people in visual arts settings over a 28-month study period in art galleries in north east England. The researchers concluded that engagement with contemporary visual art facilitated identity formation processes among older people. The research participants who did not have an existing identity-defining commitment towards art used the art to make symbolic links to aspects of their identity. The meanings created were then used to help satisfy current identity needs. In contrast, those with an existing commitment to art used the experience of the visits to deepen their current knowledge. This research illustrates the ways in which encounters with arts and culture can be personally and collectively beneficial for older visitors. The researchers claim that cultural encounters create meanings that help to maintain a positive sense of self and identity formation among older people.

In 2011 BUPA published the *Keep Dancing* report which highlighted a number of issues relating to old people and exercise, and identified the key benefits of dance. Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance (TLCMD) published a literature review on the impact of dance on health and wellbeing in older people, also in 2011, called *Dancing towards wellbeing in the Third Age*.

TLCMD’s literature review (2011) makes a distinction between dance therapy (a psychotherapeutic activity focusing more on therapeutic than artistic outcomes) and dance interventions and focuses on studies looking at dance interventions. They acknowledge that this boundary is sometimes blurred and included some therapy-weighted studies that are relevant to a dance and health research context.

The reports from BUPA and TLCMD shared key findings relating to the physical and psychological benefits of dance. Many featured studies focused on activities that were specific to particular conditions such as arthritis, Parkinson’s, dementia and depression. The benefits of dance in relation to the prevention of falls were also evidenced (BUPA, 2011). Alongside evidenced benefits related to particular conditions, overall physical improvements include increased cardiovascular, strength and flexibility and improved balance and gait. These physical benefits vary depending on the individual participant and style of dance undertaken.

Evidenced psychological benefits include quicker reaction times and cognitive performance. The 2011 BUPA report presents a number of studies which have had mixed success in reducing depression in diverse groups of participants through different dance activities. The music played within a dance context has also been studied and found it can be used to elicit memory and feelings of nostalgia through recognisable songs; conversely it can promote a fresh reaction through playing unheard of or new music (TLCMD, 2011).

The physical benefits when contrasted with sports or other exercises are bolstered by the social and creative aspects which can enhance overall wellbeing. Dance activities create a sense of community and can help counter feelings of isolation. The BUPA report details studies that demonstrate the benefits of freedom of expression and identity, learning new skills, gaining a sense of achievement through creating a performance and having an opportunity to dress up and counter the invisibility many older people experience on the streets. The evidence appears to indicate that individual and cultural interests play a key part in driving older people to dance. BUPA also report the attraction of engaging in inclusive and non-competitive activities.
Dance is a key component of many cultures and traditional dance activities can present a more relevant choice of activity for individuals in particular communities. Both reports reference pieces of research that highlight the value of culturally specific dance. Participants can make connections to their cultural heritage through traditional dance (TLCMD, 2011) and the traditional activity aids reminiscence which can benefit older people experiencing memory loss (BUFA, 2011).

Dance is a key component of many cultures and traditional dance activities can present a more relevant choice of activity for individuals in particular communities.

Each of the previously discussed reports, BUPA (2011), TLCMD (2011) and MHF (2011), acknowledge there are significant gaps in available evidence. Although further study would be welcomed, when compared with other topics discussed within this evidence review the impact of dance activities on the health and wellbeing of older people appears relatively well served.

One key question that requires further study in relation to all demographic groups is, what factors are distinctive about participation in arts activities when compared to other interventions such as sport? The current body of research appears to suggest that arts activities present a very holistic offering; many activities benefit physical, mental and social wellbeing. Also participants are attracted to and demonstrate higher levels of commitment to activities that are culturally relevant to them.
5c Society
One of the aims of this evidence review is to better understand the added value arts and culture give to the wider society. In our review we have come across much research which tries to capture the complex ways arts and culture impact on wider social measures such as education, social inclusion, citizenship and crime. This section summarises our findings in each of these areas.

**Social inclusion and citizenship**

There is growing evidence that children and young people’s engagement with the arts and culture has a knock-on impact on their wider social and civic participation. Systematic reviews carried out via the CASE programme (CASE, 2010b) and Cultural Learning Alliance (2011) cited American research evidencing that high-school students who engage in the arts at school are twice as likely to volunteer than those that don’t engage in the arts and are 20 per cent more likely to vote as young adults. In the UK, recent research by Bennett and Parameshwaran (2013) used data from wave two of the Understanding Society survey dataset to provide the first comprehensive analysis of the factors predicting the frequency of volunteering among 4,760 youths aged between 10 and 15 years in the UK. The researchers’ composite measure of youth cultural capital had the largest and most significant positive effect on youth volunteering, suggesting that youths who are high in cultural capital are also more likely to volunteer in their community or for other causes. The researchers found that cultural capital resources (e.g., attending or participating in arts and culture) among children and young people had strong effects: being associated with more frequent youth volunteering and rendering social class differences in youth civic engagement statistically insignificant. Lee, Morrell and Marini carried out an evidence review (2012) for the Department of Education about the barriers and facilitators to pro-social behaviour among young people, and concluded that many young people are motivated to engage in volunteering and group activities because they perceive that these activities help with developing skills, confidence and career-building. These are relatively more important for young people than for older age groups, and often instrumental motivations are a key reason for young people engaging in volunteering and group activities.
Analysis of the national Taking Part dataset undertaken by TNS-BMRB in relation to the ‘Big Society’ policy agenda (TNS-BMRB, 2011) evidenced that culture and sport volunteers are more likely than average to be involved and influential in their local communities. Those who have given to cultural and sporting sectors are also significantly more likely than the general population to believe that they have some degree of influence over their local cultural facilities, and their local environment as a whole. An evaluation of the AV festival by BOP Consulting (2012) cited that the festival’s volunteer programme had noticeable effects on its volunteers, within a relatively short time. The large majority of volunteers reported improvements in their communication skills, their self-confidence and their willingness to try new things. They also reported feeling that they were making a useful contribution, that they had had a chance to make some useful contacts and to meet like-minded people, and that as a result they were more employable.

**Crime**

The CASE programme will soon detail international evidence on relationships between arts and cultural engagement and crime. Most of the evidence on this topic relates to arts-related interventions and programmes aimed at offenders, which can improve communication skills, teamwork and self-awareness, and which may reduce the later likelihood of re-offending. There is little evidence of relationships between engagement in arts and culture and less re-offending.

**There is strong evidence that participation in the arts can contribute to community cohesion, reduce social exclusion and isolation, and/or make communities feel safer and stronger.**

**Culture and sport volunteers are more likely than average to be involved and influential in their local communities.**

Perhaps the strongest way in which arts and culture contributes towards citizenship and social inclusion is by strengthening social capital – social relations and interactions between people that can have a range of positive effects. There is strong evidence that participation in the arts can contribute to community cohesion, reduce social exclusion and isolation, and/or make communities feel safer and stronger. A soon to be published CASE research study on the social benefits of engagement with culture and sport will have more to say on this topic and cite the international evidence base on how engagement in the arts strengthens social capital.
There have been strong research studies since 2010 about relationships between arts and cultural engagement and educational attainment and later life outcomes.

The CASE programme identified in a report called *Understanding the drivers, impact and value of engagement in culture and sport* (CASE, 2010c) that self-reported childhood experience of engaging in all types of culture is positively associated with engaging in culture as an adult. Beyond a positive impact on later-life cultural participation, a report through the CASE programme called *Understanding the impact of engagement in culture and sport: A systematic review of the learning impacts for young people* examined a diverse range of impacts of young people’s participation in the arts, and these were later summarised via the Cultural Learning Alliance (2011). These reports concluded that learning through arts and culture improves attainment across many other aspects of the school curriculum and has a wealth of other beneficial impacts on young people, namely:

- taking part in drama and library activities improves attainment in literacy
- taking part in structured music activities improves attainment in maths, early language acquisition and early literacy
- schools that integrate arts across the curriculum in the US have shown consistently higher average reading and mathematics scores compared to similar schools that do not
- participation in structured arts activities increases cognitive abilities
- students from low income families who take part in arts activities at school are three times more likely to get a degree than children from low income families that do not engage in arts activities at school
- employability of students who study arts subjects is higher and they are more likely to stay in employment
- students who engage in the arts at school are twice as likely to volunteer than students who do not engage in arts and are 20 per cent more likely to vote as young adults

Lee, Morrell and Marini (2012) evidenced that many young people are motivated to engage in volunteering and group activities because they perceive that these activities help with developing skills, confidence and career-building. Research comparing young people’s engagement with their later education and employment outcomes is consistent with these motivations: there is generally a positive association between young people’s formal volunteering and group activities and their later education and employment outcomes.

*Taking part in drama and library activities improves attainment in literacy.*

GHK Consulting was commissioned by the Department for Education to conduct the national evaluation of the Youth Sector Development Fund, a £100 million programme which aimed to raise the capacity of youth Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) to deliver more and higher quality services for vulnerable or disadvantaged teenagers. The evaluators cited the importance of ‘soft’ outcomes such as team working, problem solving, increased confidence, motivation and self-esteem, raised personal and career aspirations, improved attendance, emotional and social skills and management of personal relationships.
These soft outcomes were seen as important building blocks for the young peoples’ further progression, as well as being achievements in themselves. Although this evaluation was not just about arts and cultural organisations, the important contribution towards soft outcomes, that are often a pre-cursor to later attainment and progression, are likely to be highly significant within an arts context too. However, further research and evidence is needed to strengthen and deepen understanding of how different types of arts and cultural participation among different groups of children and young people in various contexts shape the achievement of soft outcomes and life skills. Creative Partnerships ran for nine years, from 2002 and 2011, and brought creative and cultural learning activities and approaches into schools. A body of studies have been conducted to: evaluate the impact of the programme on attainment and attendance compared with schools who did not take part (Cooper, 2011 and Sharp, 2012); analyse value for money (PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP, 2012); review the impact on teachers (Lamont, 2010); and review the impact on a child’s wellbeing (McLellan, 2012).

Two studies on attainment and attendance show a positive correlation between schools participating in the Creative Partnerships programme and higher-than-expected attainment at Key Stages 3 and 4. When this analysis was conducted at pupil-level, impact was also seen in Key Stages 1 and 2. The scale of this impact was for pupils to achieve marks one level higher than would be expected given their background at Key Stage 3. This study also explored the relationship between participation in Creative Partnerships and attendance at school and found a small, but educationally significant, impact on primary school attendance.

The value of engaging in the arts to skills acquisition and development is assessed in a number of studies. One literature review on the topic in particular suggests that evidence in this field tends to be inconclusive (Winner, Goldstein and Vincent-Lacrin, 2013). A second which focuses only on the impact of music finds evidence of impact (Hallam, 2010). Both of these reviews use the neurological concept of ‘transfer’ to explain how skills from artistic practice can improve development of skills that are closely related or relevant. For example, the strongest findings in Winner, Goldstein and Vincent-Lacrin are found to be around participation in drama which involves consideration of a character’s motivation and behaviour. This improved pupils’ abilities to understand other perspectives.

There is some evidence to suggest that participation in arts activities facilitates discussion in children around topics such as identity and citizenship. A project funded by the European Commission, Images and Identity, explored the cross-curricular links between citizenship and art education in six European Union countries during 2008–10. Parts of the project were studied by Collins (2012). The project aimed to enhance and develop a sense of the pupils’ identity as European citizens and found that talk and collaboration were integral in achieving this. The research conducted by Collins (2012) focused on a culturally diverse group of London based pupils aged nine to 10. Findings suggested that the creation of a ‘creative community’ amongst pupils fostered a shared meaning through dialogue which supported the pupils’ understanding of the EU and identity.
The Collins study (2012) presents a case for the arts as a platform or facilitator in social educational development. A study by Atkinson and Robson (2012) evidences the role of arts activities in creating space for liminality in children. Engagement in arts activities conducted outside of the curriculum and outside of everyday routines, with a different mix of pupils and an arts practitioner external to the school, facilitates the psychological processes of personal transformation in children. The study suggests that participation in the arts may build inward-looking self-esteem and self-awareness and outward-looking social confidence and connectedness. Further research into how arts interventions influence psychological processes and whether there is anything distinctive about the arts when compared to other activities would be welcomed.

There is some evidence to suggest that participation in particular artforms has an impact on socio-cognitive development. Results from a 2013 study (Comer Kidd and Castano) indicated that reading literary fiction temporarily enhances ‘theory of mind’. They found that literary fiction of a higher quality had the biggest impact regardless of content and subject matter. The study initially compared readers of literary fiction with non-fiction readers and then made comparisons between participants who read popular fiction with those who read literary fiction. Popular fiction titles were chosen from bestseller lists and literary fiction titles were chosen according to the judgments of experts (ie literary prize jurors). In the absence of a quantifiable measure of literary quality these expert judgements were used to grade the quality of the literature. Participants were randomly assigned to read one of six short texts before undergoing several psychological tests.

Theory of mind is an essential skill required to develop and maintain social relationships. Its evolution has contributed to the development of society and therefore impacts on citizenship behaviour.

‘Theory of mind refers to our everyday understanding of what someone else is thinking or feeling (Wellman, Cross, and Watson, 2001) and is hypothesized to be a fundamental cognitive capacity underlying everyday social understanding (Paal and Bereczkei, 2007; Sabbagh and Seamans, 2008).’

(Definition of theory of mind taken from Goldstein, 2011)

Goldstein’s study (2011) explored how the socio-cognitive skills of empathy, theory of mind and adaptive emotion regulation (ability to understand and control ones’ emotions, positive and negative) developed over a year of adolescence with different kinds of arts training. The study looked at acting, visual arts and music students and found notable differences between acting students and those training in other artsforms:

‘Theory of mind and empathy are often considered to be highly related although theory of mind can develop without empathy (eg bullies and psychopaths). The study found that adolescent actors had separate levels of theory of mind and empathy after a year of training, theory of mind increasing over empathy. Actors were also able to separate the empathy, theory of mind and adaptive emotion regulation.’
6 Evidence gaps
This section of the report identifies where we think the evidence gaps are in the literature about the wider socio-economic benefits of arts and culture, both in terms of topics that are under-explored and improvements that could be made to methodological approaches. The evidence review has also led to the Arts Council England research team drawing some broader conclusions about the future research agenda for Arts Council England and where the current evidence gaps are more broadly for the arts and cultural sector. The section that follows is a summary of our conclusions and recommendations for future research effort.

**Overview**

Most of the studies reviewed cannot establish causality between arts and culture and the wider societal impacts. The need for larger sample sizes, longitudinal studies and experimental methods is referred to in many of these studies, whilst also acknowledging the challenge of conducting controlled experiments in a ‘messy’ environment such as a school or neighbourhood. Some suggestions are made as to how more robust methods can be made to work – for example by using quasi-experimental, longitudinal studies or by randomising promotion of an intervention rather than the intervention itself.

By contrast, we also reviewed studies that called for more in-depth qualitative methods as appropriate to the personal and emotional impact that arts and culture can have on individuals. This has been discussed in particular in relation to health impacts, where a tendency to focus on clinical measurements of conditions has led to the absence of evidence on quality of life as it is experienced by individuals. One study points out that public bodies (for example, health commissioners) have favoured quantitative evidence, although this may not be best suited to showing the more personal impacts of arts and culture.

Where reports have examined specific programmes or interventions, a common challenge has been gaining access to robust data on their resulting impacts. The small number of programme evaluations that met the inclusion criteria of this review highlights the rarity of evaluations that demonstrate the wider societal value of arts and culture activity. A more consistent approach to programme monitoring has been called for, and new approaches may need to be adopted in order to capture the impact of programmes and interventions.
One report notes the absence of a clear theoretical framework of how the arts and culture creates value in education. From our own experience of conducting this review, we can say that the theory behind the impact of arts and culture has not been clearly expressed. A theoretical framework or logic model which set out the ways in which it is believed that arts and culture creates added societal value would guide future development of the evidence base.

Some of the reviewed reports highlighted potential for author bias, particularly in the relatively new research field of participatory arts (MHF, 2011). This has also been evidenced within individual artforms. Clemens Wöllner et al (2011) explored the musical habits and levels of engagement of music researchers and found strong relationships between the respondents’ own practice and their chosen avenues of research.

Methodological gaps – evidencing relationships between arts engagement and personal behaviours and life outcomes using cohort and longitudinal datasets

Isolating relationships between arts participation and engagement and other types of personal behaviours and life outcomes among adults or children is a huge research challenge methodologically: the most rigorous means of isolating such relationships through methods such as randomised controlled trials, quasi-experimental methods, longitudinal methods or advanced quantitative analysis can be expensive, time-consuming and require considerable methodological nous. There are also important debates about the ethics and appropriateness of randomised controlled trials in a public policy context. Arts engagement and participation is not always a tangible or a time-bound experience and behaviour, so it can be challenging to attribute how being engaged with the arts shapes other areas of people’s lives. Engagement with the arts can also have immediate and deferred benefits, which are challenging to capture and quantify via research.

However, the UK evidence base on such relationships is particularly patchy: most high-quality research studies using ‘golden standard’ approaches can be found from the USA. However there is considerable potential in the UK for making more use of the UK’s rich breath of longitudinal and cross-sectional research studies such as cohort designs and longitudinal surveys. The Culture and Sport Evidence (CASE) programme identified large-scale UK-based cohort and longitudinal studies where arts variables are present, including

Such datasets have great potential for being analysed using advanced multivariate techniques such as regression analysis, multi-level modelling and event history analysis. There has already been some promising work using such methods cited in this report such as those used by researchers in Scotland (Leadbetter and O’Conor, 2013) who used logistic regression techniques to examine the relationship between the dependent variables of health and satisfaction with life and the independent variables of participation in culture while controlling for other factors that may influence such relationships. Bennett and Parameshwaran (2013) applied multi-level modelling techniques to the Understanding Society dataset to evidence how cultural engagement among 10–15-year-olds shapes other types of civic engagement. Their analysis revealed that going to the theatre, concerts, sports events, museums or art galleries had the greatest influence on youth volunteering and civic engagement.

However there is huge untapped potential in existing data sets to explore relationships between arts engagement and participation and a whole host of other personal and societal outcomes, which would make an important contribution to the UK-based evidence about the social and economic contribution of the arts.

Longitudinal data, and especially cohort study data, has several advantages in terms of evidencing the impact of engaging with arts and culture:

- the impact of the frequency, intensity and duration of different types of arts and cultural engagement on various personal and social outcomes can be tested for
- evidence about the long-term consequences of earlier life experiences or activity can be modelled statistically
- the direction of causal relationships can be established
- models of change and continuity across the life course can be explored and the impact of earlier life activity on later life outcomes can be modelled
- there are more opportunities to apply statistical controls to understand key points or events in people’s lives where change or impact occurred

Evidence of the above could help to: establish a more nuanced evidence jigsaw of how, when and why arts and cultural engagement impacts on various individual and social outcomes; create narratives of individual and generational trajectories; and model chains of interrelationships between various aspects of arts and cultural engagement and various outcomes.
Children’s arts participation and engagement – lack of statistical work on drivers of engagement and impact of arts and cultural engagement

Our evidence review found that most of the advanced statistical analysis on factors driving engagement with the arts or about the impact of arts and culture has been undertaken on adult datasets. The existence of the Child Taking Part Survey, particularly its new longitudinal element, provides an opportunity to fill this evidence gap by analysing what factors most strongly predict arts and cultural participation among children and young people and how arts and cultural participation influences other personal and social outcomes. Other large-scale survey datasets of samples of children and young people where arts variables are present (e.g., child development and cohort studies) also have much potential to be explored further.

Instrumental impact of participation in arts among different population groups in different settings and contexts

Most studies on ‘impact’ are at aggregated population-level, and don’t always report on how impact may be more or less for different population groups in different contexts. Longitudinal and cohort designs could provide more fine-grained evidence on who gains the most from arts engagement, in different contexts and in different settings. Similarly, evaluation studies could be more attentive to ‘what works, for whom, in what circumstances’ (Pawson and Tilley, 1997).

Linking data on investment per head, supply/concentration of arts infrastructure, arts participation and engagement, and attitudes towards the arts

Orian Brook (2013) has recently drawn attention to how a research focus on individual-level explanations of cultural engagement has potentially led to funders failing to examine the effect of their own investments (and indeed disinvestments). A natural experiment, looking at the effect on arts attendance when a venue opened or closed, would be highly informative, and could potentially use existing administrative or survey data, or ideally, longitudinal data. There are various administrative datasets on arts infrastructure (e.g., its location, artform types and size) and investment data (e.g., investment per head of population from different types of funders) which, combined with audience data and data about arts participation and engagement, may open up some interesting research horizons about the relationship between supply, demand, investment and arts engagement.

Talent development and deferred benefit

Perhaps the most challenging type of social and economic benefit of arts engagement to evidence is deferred benefits, such as artistic career progression, talent development and spillovers from the publicly funded to the commercial creative sectors. The role of small-scale, publicly funded organisations in shaping talent development and long-term artistic careers can be particularly challenging to capture, as can the role such organisations have on innovative artistic practice. Further research to explore these complex relationships is needed.
The artist and the experience and trajectories of individual artists as an under-researched topic

There have been a handful of research studies cited in this evidence review that have considered the plight of artists, in terms of their economic security and the social and economic conditions that enable them to thrive and flourish. Better understanding of artists’ individual trajectories, of their economic and social status and rights, and of the factors that sustain or place constraints on their development would be an interesting theme for future research. Much research effort focuses on arts and cultural organisations and on people engaging with the arts; less considers the artists’ experiences of what can help them thrive.

Capturing economic contribution and using consistent appraisal and evaluation techniques

There is a need in future economic impact studies to better capture the contribution of sole traders, freelancers, self-employed people and project workers within the arts and creative industries to economic impact studies.

There is a continued need to debate and refine which economic appraisal and evaluation techniques could be applied to cultural policy-making and evaluation, and which of these are most methodologically and philosophically sound for the arts and cultural sector. O’Brien (2010) concluded that stated preference methods, such as contingent valuation, which are explicitly supported by the Green Book, should be used for decisions about cultural policy. Wellbeing valuation methods also have much potential when applied to monetising the value of arts and cultural participation, and are increasingly becoming a recognised methodology within government.

Further work by Arts Council England from 2014 onwards will continue to develop the evidence base and methodological approaches used for capturing the economic contribution and impact of arts and culture. In 2014, the focus will be on researching the economic contribution of museums and of libraries.

Against our strategic goals

One of the key aims and objectives of this evidence review was to assess the research in relation to our five goals as set out in Great art and culture for everyone. Due to the focus and nature of this review, which was to look at the wider benefits of arts and culture to society, it soon became apparent that the research we captured did not lend itself easily to a particular goal. For example, whilst we found some evidence of the role art and culture plays in educational attainment and cognitive development of young people, which could be classified under goal 5, ‘Every child and young person has the opportunity to experience the richness of the arts, museums and libraries’, it was more difficult to attribute areas of research on the economy, health and wellbeing and society to the other goal areas of excellence, opportunity, sustainability and leadership.

We will ensure our research programme concentrates on further research in these areas so that our thinking is fresh and accurate in relation to these strategically important priorities.
Equality and diversity

In addition to the goals there was a noticeable absence of evidence in relation to equality and diversity. *Great art and culture for everyone* describes our recognition and commitment towards equality and diversity, as well as challenges facing the arts and cultural sector. We acknowledge that despite public investment, there remain significant disparities in the level of arts and cultural opportunities and engagement across the country. Those who are most actively involved with the arts and culture that we invest in tend to be from the most privileged parts of society; engagement is heavily influenced by levels of education, by socio-economic background, and by where people live.

This review did not reveal any further evidence that would help us better understand these disparities. As a result we will be commissioning a research project that will improve our understanding of equality and diversity issues across the sector. It will look specifically at arts and cultural policy and whether this creates unintended consequences for people with any of the protected characteristics.

The use of digital technologies

Another noticeable absence in evidence was around the use of digital technologies and how arts and cultural organisations are using this technology. Linked to creative and cultural industries, the use of digital is seen as enabling the sector to be more innovative, creative and resilient. Digital technologies are ‘disrupting established practices and creating new opportunities for innovation across the creative economy’, according to a recent benchmark review of our Digital R&D Fund. This review found that some arts and cultural organisations are experiencing transformational impacts, using digital to reach bigger audiences than ever before. Despite this, further research is needed to understand how arts and culture can make the most from the opportunities digital technologies offer. Over the next two years this same review will map the changing picture of technology in the arts, so we can learn from the experience of those who use technology most effectively, and maximise the potential for arts and culture.
7 Conclusions
Driving the development of evidence and research in understanding the impact arts and culture plays on the wider society will be critical to shaping and developing arguments in favour of sustained public investment in arts and culture. Never has there been a more important time to stimulate the debate, share intelligence, work in partnership with the sector and beyond, so that the benefits of arts and culture are discussed as a mainstream issue rather than remain at the margins. We need to be smarter about making a more relevant case, more nuanced and sophisticated. The findings from this evidence review act as a catalyst for our thinking as we pursue new research to help develop a programme which paves the way in making a strong case for arts and culture.

The way we propose to do this falls into three categories: greater collaboration; increased credibility; and disseminating information.

We think that, working in partnership with others, Arts Council England should support the sector more directly to build and improve the evidence base around the value, impact and benefit of arts and culture. We propose that from autumn 2014 we open a research grants programme which would invite arts and cultural organisations, higher education institutions, consultants, think tanks, foundations and trusts, along with consortia or partnerships of these bodies, to develop fundable research proposals that would improve the evidence base. The proposals should be in line with the key areas that we have identified as needing further research, eg gaps identified through the evidence review and discussions with key stakeholders. Not only would this dramatically enhance the evidence base but it would also promote greater collaboration and cooperation across the sector and with other partners.

Partnerships with the higher education research sector is a key aspect of our research strategy and we propose that at both national and area level we develop closer working relationships with key specialist higher education cultural policy research units to see how policy and evaluation research partnerships can better inform and support the sector in meeting our strategic goals.
The importance of robust credible research which clearly demonstrates the impact arts and culture play on society is critical in underpinning the holistic case. In order to ensure the research is of a world class standard we propose to work more closely with the research councils, DCMS, the CASE programme and research partners in higher education. We believe these partnerships are essential, both for the Arts Council and the arts and cultural sector, if we are to improve the robustness of our research and continue to develop new methodologies around capturing and measuring value.

Taking a partnership approach to developing the evidence base will also be important in making a convincing case for the impact and value of arts and culture to society as we draw on differing specialisms in the commissioning process, which will add to the quality of the research, particularly in relation to peer review.

Arts and cultural organisations are facing the most significant challenges in several decades and there is an increased appetite across the sector for research that will support both evidence based decision-making and the development of a robust case for funding. Working to bridge the gap between academic research and its potential users and beneficiaries will be essential in unlocking the full potential of the research in the development of cultural policies.

The value of arts and culture to society has long been debated. We know that arts and culture play an important role in promoting social and economic goals through local regeneration, attracting tourists, developing talent and innovation, improving health and wellbeing, and contributing to the delivery of public services. These benefits are ‘instrumental’ because art and culture can be a means to achieve ends beyond the immediate intrinsic experience and value of the art itself. The outputs of this piece of work will help us better articulate the value of arts and culture and reinforce the role it plays in our society. It will contribute to building the holistic case for arts and culture.

Conclusions
Introduction


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