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# Defining, Contextualising and Researching 'Cultural Value' : the French perspective

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# About this ppt

*This ppt was a first attempt at articulating the notion of « cultural value » with the research agenda in both France and Britain. Some of it fed into: 'English and French Arts and Heritage Policy in the 2000s : Converging Models or 'Transient Symmetry', ICCPR July 2012, Barcelona*  
*For the purpose of following the video with the help of these slides, this version has been very little amended*  
*However, some parts that were not translated orally have been translated in English here.*

*An extended and revised version of this paper is being drafted. Further info on this website and my researcher's page:*

[http://www.u-cergy.fr/fr/\\_plugins/mypage/mypage/content/cdoustal.html](http://www.u-cergy.fr/fr/_plugins/mypage/mypage/content/cdoustal.html)

<http://www.patrima.org/index.php/cecile-doustaly.html>

*For currently available references on some of the points discussed, please go to:*

- DOUSTALY, C. (2007). « Les politiques de soutien à l'art en Angleterre depuis 1990 : "exception britannique", dirigisme ou modèle hybride ? », LISA, 5(1), Caen Université Caen, 6-32. <http://lisa.revues.org/1505>
- DOUSTALY, C. & GRAY C. (2010). "Labour and the Arts : Managing Transformation ?", A. KOBER-SMITH, G. LEYDIER, N. SOWELS, nouvelle gestion publique et réforme des services publics sous le New Labour", *Observatoire de la société britannique - Journal of Contemporary British Studies*, n° 8, janvier 2010, Université du Sud-Toulon-Var, 319-338.
- DOUSTALY, C. (2012) 'Arts Council England in the 2000s: towards Digital Era Governance ?' E. AVRIL & C. ZUMELLO eds, *New Technology, Organisational Change and Governance*, London, Palgrave.
- DOUSTALY, C., GRAY, C. (forthcoming), *The Arts in Times of Crisis: Anglo-French Responses to Hard Times*.

# Abstract

Within the generally accepted typology of Western models opposing the Anglo-Saxon/liberal and the French/interventionist ones, this paper sets out to compare the attitude to cultural value in France with a comparative outlook on Britain.

These countries result from diverging political and cultural traditions, but implemented converging arts policies in the 2000s. Public support in Britain increased while retaining and even creating idiosyncracies: funds came partly from the National Lottery rather than taxes and they were still distributed by Non-Departmental Public Bodies. However, the State acted more directly while in France sponsorship and marketing developed. Shifts in French and British governmental attitudes in terms of grant levels, funding streams, policy content or policy administration pointed to a similar view of the arts and heritage as a mixed economy and a consensus on the number of policy objectives that can be attached to them. Was this new orthodoxy equally endorsed by Ministries, funding bodies, local authorities, the voluntary, the private sectors or the general public?

Since 2008, this convergence phenomenon has been impacted by new parameters (e. g. the crisis, the British coalition government or the results from the 2012 French elections) debated during the conference "The Arts in Times of Crisis, British and French Perspectives" (15-16 December 2011, University of Cergy with Centre for Cultural Policy Studies, Warwick).

The definition, rhetorics and "evaluation" of cultural value have however been one of the main persisting points of difference. This paper will focus on the evolution of the concept of cultural value, the public debate around cultural value and the research approach to cultural value in France, in particular by the Ministry of culture's research department.

# Quotes:

## values as conflict, culture as political

1970s

- *'Plutôt qu'un ensemble de "valeurs" à défendre ou d'idées à promouvoir, la culture connote aujourd'hui un travail à entreprendre sur toute l'étendue de la vie sociale.'*
- *Toute politique culturelle doit, contourner l'impasse "d'une culture dépolitisée et d'une politique déculturée", et donner lieu à la diversité des cultures en développant "la capacité de s'exprimer" des citoyens.*

(Michel de Certeau, 166)

1999

- *'La culture est un champ de conflits entre les valeurs de divers groupes sociaux.'*

(Caune, 86)

# Concepts

- Cultural values : social, symbolic, aesthetic, spiritual, historical, authenticity values (Throsby, 2001)-> démocratisation, cultural democracy, 'ownership'?
- Translation?  
« Valeur culturelle, valeur de la culture, valeur non marchande de la culture »  
(≠ « valeur économique »)
- Not "instrumentalisation", rather « Légitimation » des politiques culturelles (legitimization)
  - Instrumental / intrinsic
  - Utilitarian / challenging (useful/critical)

# Value

- Value system: what is culture, what is art, what deserves funding?
- Distinction (Bourdieu)
- = or  $\neq$  from what people 'value'?
- 'Selection' process is :
  - Intellectual
  - Aesthetic
  - Emotional
  - Operational...

# Public value in France & Britain

- France tends to use evidence for policy-making rather than advocacy and post legitimation of policy (Doustaly/Gray, 2010)
- Less and ≠ instrumentalisation compared to Britain (Doustaly, 2007)
- But actual policies converge in many ways, notably with the weakening of NPM to Digital Era governance (Doustaly, 2012)

# The importance of tradition

*'Countries that have retained the tradition of princely patronage descending from the divine right of kings – notably France – have had fewer problems with justifying the patronage of the arts. The United States has gone to the opposite extreme, treating patronage as an individual matter .... Since the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, Britain has fallen between ... The British state's approach to culture has essentially been governed by two principles, the first of which is regulation ... the second ... utility (Parliament, not Crown).'*

(Hewison, 2003, 2)

# The invention of tradition?

- François Ier (1515-1547) patron / regulator
  - Louis XIV (1643-1715) practising artist / patron
- Colbert and Richelieu (Ancien Régime admin.)  
Versailles
- Court artists
  - Revolution 1789 & Napoleonic Empire : continuity
- > From the King's majesty to the prestige of the Republic and the Nation's glory
- Catholic country still
- (≠ protestant Britain: liberal & voluntary ethos)

# Post WW2: a central and politicized sector?

- The political importance placed in culture has often been overstated – no continuity
- Malraux (1959-1969)- strong research agenda
- 1969-81: 9 ministers
- The Lang years (1981/86-88/1993) – strong research agenda
- 1993-2012 : 8 ministers

YET

- General consensus on public funding for culture, less popular press in France, itself less opposed to culture
- Clearly monarchic and voluntarist approach:  
Since Mitterrand, all presidents but Sarkozy have been directly involved with cultural policy, mostly grands projets  
(except musée histoire France)

# One of Malraux's legacy: The Research department of the Culture 'Ministry'

*"Thanks to socio-economic research and cultural statistics, the department quantitatively and qualitatively informs the definition, orientation and decision-making of national cultural policy"*

- 1963 Department created as part of the 'plan'
- 1969 First newsletter: *Développement culturel*
- 1973 First survey on French People's cultural practices
- 1974-1975 First survey on Local Authority spending
- 1975-1984 Participation in the UNESCO statistical programme
- 1983 First consistent statistical publication : '*Statistics for culture*' ('*Des chiffres pour la culture*')
- 1984 Creation of a cultural statistics database
- 1986 Department renamed: 'Département des études et de la prospective'
- 1989 First edition of Key figures, summarized statistics
- 1991 Creation of the Observatory of cultural employment

# 1980s Mitterrand (1981-1995): the « big » years

- Grande Arche, grande bibliothèque, grands travaux....
- Very large increase in funding -> 1% culture in public spending
- Artist rather than public focus
- However : dubbed 'Fête Ministry' (Fête de la musique 1982, ...) (Looseley, Politics of Fun)
- Opening up of definition of culture to minority arts + commercial culture
- Neo liberal policies and creative industries – creativity imperative // New Labour

-> « Crisis » of cultural policy. Most common criticisms:

- failure of democratisation -> cultural democracy,, leveling of culture, confusion of cultural values 'by putting Shakespeare on the same ground as a pair of boots'
- 'celebration' imperative of the one day a year Fêtes
- Rhetorical inflation (Ministry = gvt's communication's department (De Baecque, 2008)
- At Presidential + ministerial level: court phenomena or princely favours -> official art
- / instrumentalisation of artists and intellectual & electoralist or political use of cultural policy

(Martin, 257)

[In Britain, opposite trend: Thatcher – Major years (1979-1997)]

# Contested legacy?

- Jacques Chirac (1995-2002) – opening to the world: Musée du Quai Branly
- Numerous culture ministers, less prestigious role
- But continuous policy for lack of alternative, even continuity in level of financial support
- "soft" objectives & targets introduced
  
- 2002: Le Pen for second round  
From social fracture to cultural fracture? (De Baecque, 2008)
  
- 2003 : « crise des intermittents du spectacle » (status allowing specific unemployment benefits for artists – basis for French system)

# Comité d'histoire du Ministère de la Culture

- Created in 1993 by J. Lang
- Longitudinal qualitative and quantitative study essential
- Philippe Poirrier (Professor, Univ. Dijon) (ed)
  - General collection of essays: *Pour une histoire des politiques culturelles dans le monde, 1945-2011 (2011)*
  - Current project on the Democratisation of culture in the world (Doustaly, 2012, forthcoming on the site of the Ministère)

<http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Ministere/Les-services-rattaches-a-la-Ministre/Comite-d-histoire>

# Positive Lang legacy: Decentralisation

Increased with 2002 and 2004 laws on heritage

*“Attitudes to arts funding in France and the UK are converging because in both countries there are three sources of finance: public funding, the commercial sector and sponsorship.*

*As far as public funding is concerned, one must highlight the real change that has taken place in France as a result of regional and municipal support. A beneficial kind of competition has developed, as mayors, departmental councillors and regional councillors vie with one another to make a significant contribution to cultural activities, because of decentralisation. Gone are the days when all decisions were made in Paris. The regions distribute sums which in total are equivalent to the funds of the Ministry of Culture plus funds from other ministries that support cultural projects. The budgets are 16,000 million francs for the Ministry of Culture, 20,000MF for the other ministries and 36,000MF for the regions, departments and municipalities. . Lottery / he market provides the main source of arts funding ... Lottery funding is much less satisfactory than funding from the state budget ... As far as sponsorship is concerned, contrary to common preconceptions, France is about level with the UK. »*

(Rigaud in DEVLIN, & HOYLE, 2000, 58)

# Crisis?

-> Exhaustion of the French model - But what model? Different ones

- For Martin, it is a double crisis of:
    - efficiency (capacity of state to meet its objectives 1% state budget = 3b. euros for 2010 -> problem of buildings' upkeep, lack of margin since ossification of funding portfolio, additional policies crisis also related to professionalisation and expansion of the sector). Even if budget was not cut, receding of the State level (20% of public finance) / glocalism
    - legitimacy: cultural relativism and failure of democratisation
- (Martin, 2012)

Positive evolution -> co-creation of cultural policy?

(reciprocal, not joined-up, bottom-up not top-down (Doustaly & Gray 2010))

-> cultural value?

# 2010 French Administrative Reform: « Modernisation de l'État »

- 2007: More evaluation and objectives (Min. Albanel)
- Ministry restructuring initiated dec 2007 -> in place jan 2010
- 10 departments replaced by 4, more strategic stirring (« *pilotage* ») and simplified structure:
  - *secrétariat général* (budget, legal, HR, international and European policy, reform, transversal policies (*éducation artistique, recherche et innovation, études et réflexion prospective*))
  - *3 directions générales* (*patrimoine, création artistique, médias et industries culturelles*)
- DRAC – direction régionale des affaires culturelles (1 per region - have now incorporated local agencies)

# Nicolas Sarkozy (2007-12)

## Anti-intellectualism / philistinism?

*« Before Sarko, the Gaullist right was not quintessentially vulgar and anti-intellectual. Charles de Gaulle was a well-read man who had the good taste to choose André Malraux as Minister of Culture. Georges Pompidou was an Agrégé de lettres and a student at the Ecole Normale Supérieure. The apparently less highbrow Jacques Chirac is a great connoisseur of Japanese civilization (and, some cynics might like to add, of its banking system) [and leaves the splendid Branly museum as a monument, Editors]. Sarkozy breaks with the Gaullist tradition on that count: he is a self-professed idiot. To one of his advisers who suggested that he visit a museum during a trip in Madrid, Sarko replied: "The idiot thanks you!" (Le con te dit merci!). The ironic jibe fails to conceal Sarkozy's deep insecurity with regard to the world of knowledge in general and to intellectuals in particular. Sarkozy admitted hating school and underachieved as a student. Recently, he was heard fuming in public against "those researchers who find nothing".*

*Sarkozy does not read and does not even pretend that he is in the least interested in literature or arts, which constitutes yet another break with the tradition of French presidents. He is the son of an immigrant from Central Europe who made it to the top of French politics without studying in the elitist Grandes Ecoles. These features should have earned him the sympathy of the French people as they like to back the underdog. However, Sarko has squandered this opportunity: his ostentatious nouveau riche profile and his courtship of the mega-rich have put off the whole nation. »*

(Marlière, 2008)

# Sarkozy

- less voluntarism (except about history)
- back to basics: education, education, education

More artistic education at school // the British model (just when the latter is endangered)

-> Importance of Minister for culture within gvt has decreased

-> funding maintained nationally but not locally

# Current climate

- Change of discourse: modesty
- *« Cultural policy cannot change life, the social function of art has should not be overstated, it will be good enough if the 1st manages to insure the material conditions of a healthy cultural life and the second to offer alternatives to mass consumption »*

(Martin, 2012)

# The DEPS since 1995

- 1995 calls the 1st meeting to foster European Cultural Statistics
- 1997 included in working group on European Cultural Statistics coordinated by Eurostats
- 2000 Creation of the collection « Questions de culture »
- 2004 new name: Département des études, de la prospective et des statistiques (DEPS)
- 2006 DEPS coordinates:
  - The observatory of digital cultural practices
  - The strategic observatory of creative industries ('Groupe d'analyse stratégique des industries culturelles', GASIC)
- 2007 Eurostats contract DEPS to create the first statistical listing of European cultural statistics
- 2007 Reorganisation – publications go online:  
« Culture chiffres », « Culture études », « Culture prospective », « Culture méthodes »

# A Transdisciplinary Research Question

## **Groupe de Recherche ANgevin en Economie et Management (GRANEM)**

Valeurs et Utilités de la Culture : une perspective territoriale 2010 – 2013

(case study on Nantes and its creative quarter)

definition, construction, evaluation of the value of cultural activities for a region

## **Comment mesurer la valeur vaporeuse de la culture ? (Sagot-Duvauroux, 2011)**

*« Trois niveaux de mesure de la valeur de la culture pour un territoire peuvent être distingués:*

*Le premier consiste à définir les branches d'activités que l'on intègre dans les industries créatives et à en estimer le chiffre d'affaires ou le volume d'emploi.*

*Le deuxième niveau consiste à mesurer les effets économiques induits des activités culturelles sur un territoire.*

*Le troisième niveau enfin consiste à tenter d'estimer la valeur non-marchande que les populations accordent à la culture, étant donné que les prix de la culture sont souvent des prix administrés qui ne reflètent pas les vrais propensions à payer des populations et que d'autre part, la " demande de culture " ne se traduit pas nécessairement par l'achat ou l'usage.*

*Les deux derniers niveaux cherchent à apprécier ce qu'on pourrait qualifier la " valeur vaporeuse de la culture ", c'est-à-dire cette valeur qui s'échappe du secteur culturel pour se fixer ailleurs, sur les chiffres d'affaires de l'industrie du tourisme à l'occasion d'un festival, sur la capitalisation boursière des fournisseurs d'accès à internet ou bien encore sur le montant des impôts induits par l'attractivité qu'offre les activités culturelles à un territoire »*

# Economic v. non-commercial value

- Direct and indirect economic value of culture:
  - festival d'Avignon, 1€ funding -> 2€ revenue
  - good cultural provision <-> Local attraction for Creative class, positive migration... (Florida & subsequent statistical surveys)
- Non-commercial value of culture
  - > cost of culture does not reflect real cost (funding) or price that population would pay
  - > the demand for culture is not equated by purchase or use of culture: (**optional demand and value**), **existence value** (& accept to pay taxes) is called for by people who will not necessarily use them (ex: multimedia libraries)

# Cultural value: what research agenda?

- From New Public Management to Digital Era Governance: a change in values? (Doustaly, 2012)
- Methodology:
  - Transdisciplinarity or pluridisciplinarity?
  - Robust comparative framework - comparisons between countries/British nations
  - Social sciences & Human sciences: long-time scale, qualitative approach
  - Oral history (narratives of artists/managers/audience members)
  - Global history / sociology: who are the intermediaries?
  - Reflecting on changes introduced by social media (online communication, online consultation, twitter, ...)
  - Current focus on retaining actual audiences: improving the inclusiveness and quality of experience for those who do take part and putting less emphasis on new/hard to reach audiences

# What next?

- François Hollande: « *président normal* »?
- New culture minister: Aurélie Filippetti
  - Working class background, Moselle MP  
(accepts the ballot test: 43% / 25 % UMP candidate, FN lost)
  - Writer, young and female
  - Several iconic projects voted during Sarkozy era cancelled for political and budgetary reasons