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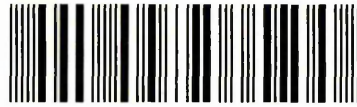
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The Articulation of Culture in British Governmental Politics since 1945

Ian Lamond

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Sheffield Hallam University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Lib/Dem manifesto

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACF	Advocacy Coalition Framework
BeNeLux	An historical trading partnership of Belgium, Netherlands and Luxemburg
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEMA	Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts
CMP	Comparative Manifestos Project
Co	Conservative party
CPC	Conservative Political Centre
CSO	Central Statistical Office
DCMS	Department of Culture, Media and Sport
DNH	Department of National Heritage
ENSA	Entertainments National Service Association
EU	European Union
La	Labour party
L/D	Liberal/ Liberal Democrat party
Lib/Dem	Liberal/ Liberal Democrat party
LPO	Liberal Party Organisation
MP	Member of Parliament
NALGAO	National Association of local Government Arts Officers
NEC	The Labour Party's National Executive Council

OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OFCOM	The national telecommunications regulator
ONS	Office of National Statistics
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Enriched Countries
PSR	University of Keele's Political Science Resource website
QUANGO	Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisation
SDP	Social Democratic Party
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Science and Cultural Organisation

Abstract

The relationship between government and culture, in Britain, has changed dramatically since 1945. It is the principal objective of this research to understand in what way the articulation of culture, in British governmental politics, has changed over that period. The research investigates the structures of the state that have been responsible for articulating that relationship, and the rationales produced by different political parties, at the time of an election, who have expressed a position on government's engagement with culture. Using a series of indicators for the presence of cultural policy in the election manifestos of the Conservative, Labour and Liberal/ Liberal Democrat parties, this thesis begins by quantitatively mapping the frequency of those indicators during elections from 1945 to 2010. That analysis is then used to identify both those sets of elections to be investigated further, and those parts of the manifestos to be subjected to a more detailed qualitative scrutiny. A critical approach is taken to the reading of the manifestos; bringing to the surface a discernment of how culture is being construed by the parties, and the way in which they have constructed the relationship between culture, the state and the citizen. Those constructions are then contextualised by locating their emergence in the structures, operating within each party, which bring policy areas to the fore, and the historical setting to which the parties were responding. Drawing on research strategies not normally associated with cultural policy studies, this thesis develops an empirically robust approach to the investigation of rationale within the discipline. By combining techniques from discourse analysis, governance and policy process studies, it also develops a novel means of adding contextual sensitivity to critical discourse analysis. This research is of importance to anyone interested in how government engages with culture, the impact that has on us all as citizens, and on some of us as arts practitioners.

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My thanks to the archives that granted me access to original material: the Labour Party Archive at the People's History Museum in Manchester; the Liberal Democrat Archive at the London School of Economics and The Conservative Party Archive at the Bodleian Library: Oxford University. Of those I worked with at the archives I extend a special thank you to Jeremy at the Bodleian, who I am sure bent several protocols on access to find and let me have sight of some fascinating supplementary material.

To the party offices of the Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat parties for permitting me to reproduce the manifesto material on which my analysis is based: thank you.

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Thank you.

Chapter 1

Introduction

For those working within cultural organisations in Britain, the last couple of decades have seen their world change beyond recognition. Since the beginning of the nineties how the British government has engaged with culture has altered dramatically. From being barely noticeable on the political radar it has become one of the central offices of state.

Much of my working life has been spent working in the cultural sector, either freelance or as a local government arts officer. The repositioning of culture within government has had a profound impact on the work I have done, how I have done it and how it has been evaluated. A brief overview of some of the key changes, which have taken place during my career, will help set the background to the questions at the heart of this thesis.

In 1990 responsibility for the arts came within the remit of a junior minister in the Department for Education. Other aspects of governmental support for culture were spread across several junior ministerial positions, covering almost as many departments. By the end of 1992, government officers with a remit that included responsibilities connected to the arts, culture and heritage had been drawn together under one ministry. The Department of National Heritage was led by a Cabinet minister and supported by a team of junior ministers and senior civil servants. This team provided representatives for an array of parliamentary committees, sub-committees and advisory panels.

Within a decade that department, renamed the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, was responsible for addressing concerns pertaining to a wide range of governmental agenda. Its remit was extended to include developing policies concerned with poverty and exclusion; rural and urban regeneration; community cohesion and counter terrorism (For example Barker, Byrne and Veall 1999 and DCMS 2007).

Such change suggests a seismic shift in the tectonics of government, and is an indicator of the increased importance that has been placed on the relationship between the state, culture and the citizen. My interest in understanding this relationship emerged out of a study I had conducted as part of an MA in cultural policy and management. Having worked in the arts since the early nineties, with a substantial career in developing cultural services within local government, connecting the academic literature I was reading to my experience as a practitioner proved difficult. There seemed to be little in common between how the articulation of culture had changed during my working life and the discussions I found in the cultural policy studies literature.

In developing my ideas for this thesis I kept returning to the same issues. Why is it that I must justify my work, within the cultural services department of a local authority, in one way rather than another? How could I rationalise to a cultural organisation that a project I had seed funded no longer met my departmental objectives? What was the connection between the academic literature I have read and the shifting articulations of culture, at a national and regional level that I had to

work under? In weighing up those issues my central research interest became clearer:

How has culture been articulated in British governmental politics?

Before proceeding, that question requires unpacking. 'Culture', we are advised, is '...one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language' (Williams 1983, p. 87). However in order to address my central research interest it is not necessary to develop or adopt a strict definition of culture. This research grows from personal experience, rooted in how culture has been used by policy makers, and the impact that has had on my practice. It is therefore possible to bracket the question '*what is culture?*', and focus on how culture is construed in its articulation. Of course, not all uses of 'culture' are of equal relevance to this research. Conceptually, the uses of culture that interest me are those which could be anchored to my experience as a local government arts officer. It is the framework of policies in that area which I have worked within, and by which my work, and the work of those I have supported and encouraged, has been evaluated.

A brief word is also needed on my use of 'articulation'. By articulation I mean how culture has been expressed through the structures, hierarchies and practices of government. Articulation is thus located in the mechanisms of government, how they operate and interconnect; permitting and restricting certain forms of conversation, negotiation and interaction. Relevant questions are: who are the

people within government who are given the responsibility for considering the relationship between the state and culture? What form can their conversations take, and in what forums can they engage in such discussion? What are the limits of what can and cannot be considered rational within those contexts? More broadly, those questions amount to asking how is, and how has, culture been drawn into the discourse of governmental politics in Britain.

The consideration of the question at the centre of my inquiry has led to the development of two further research questions. Though these will be refined as the research progresses, they enable me to begin the process of investigation. These supplementary questions are:

- How has the relationship between government and culture been expressed in the structures and hierarchies of the British government? This question focuses on that aspect of *articulation* connected to those structures through which the relationship between government, culture and the citizen are expressed. The focus here is on the institutions of government, and where those tasked with a responsibility for culture sit within the political hierarchy.
- What arguments have political parties used to include, or exclude, culture in their political agenda? This second question concentrates on the rationales used by the parties for why culture should, or should not, be a matter of governmental concern.

Cutting across both these questions is an interest in how the answers to them have changed over time. It is an inquiry into the articulation of culture within

governmental politics, through a consideration of *structure* and *rationale*, understood historically and discursively, that forms the research agenda of this thesis. In order to develop that agenda into a workable research project it is important to establish its scope. This will be discussed under three themes. First I shall discuss my initial thoughts regarding the historical period to be drawn into my analysis. Second, given that initial period was unworkably large, the consideration given to refining my scope will be addressed. Finally I shall show how the results of that process of refinement led to establishing a working historical scope for the research.

Scope

When first conceived the intention had been to explore the articulation of culture in governmental politics from 1867 to the present. Though the span of over 140 years would present a number of research difficulties there were good reasons for considering it as a start date.

In 1867 the parliamentary reform act increased the electorate to include much of the nation's working male population; it is considered by many historians (for example Hanham 1959, Lang 1999 and Pearce & Stewart 2001) to mark the beginnings of the professionalisation of the British political system. Around this time political organisations also began to develop the administrative machinery associated with the contemporary party system (Hanham 1959). It is these factors that make it an interesting period to begin an inquiry, in British governmental

politics, regarding the relationship between the state and the citizen, across any policy area.

1867 is also significant because it is the year the Cornhill Magazine published the last of Matthew 's essays on culture and civilisation; later collated into one volume entitled 'Culture and Anarchy' (Arnold 1985 [1869]). That work represents a substantial shift in how the relationship between culture, the individual and the state was conceptualised and discussed (Bennett 1997; 2005).

Practically, the period from 1867 to the present could not be investigated with consistent depth and rigour in the space a single thesis. A means by which to select specific moments, or more tightly defined sub-periods, was required. Identifying times of crisis, since 1867, seemed to be one way of refining the scope of the research.

At least at a superficial level it seemed possible to discern different periods of crisis between 1867 and the present. Events such as war, recession, depression, large scale political protest and industrial unrest could all be considered potential candidates. However it was the range and diversity that criteria afforded which made using it problematic. If *crisis* were to be used to establish the historical scope of the research, how is one to establish which crises are to be chosen? Are they all equal or, to paraphrase George Orwell, are *some crises more equal than others*? Fundamental to the difficulty in getting some form of purchase on the use of crisis as a criterion was its lack of a clear conceptualisation. It can, after all, be

argued that what is regarded as a misfortune by one group, can equally well be characterised as an opportunity for another.

One attribute that all crises share is that they reveal periods of possible transition, where events could follow one of a number of paths. The origins of that attribute can be found in the etymological root of the word. Crisis, in the Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology (1966) is said to have its origin in the Greek word Κρίσις, which referred to turning point, a moment of decision; having the same root as criticism and criterion. According to Liddell and Scott (1925-1940) Κρίσις, in ancient Greek literature, was also commonly associated with elections. In Britain, elections can be construed as a period of managed crisis. They are a time when significant decisions have to be made, a turning point where one ruling authority can fall and another take its place.

Elections form clearly defined historical moments that mark a period of possible transition. They are intense periods of time where the perspectives offered by different political parties are opened up to public debate and contestation. Pronouncements made at elections reflect the way a political organisation construes the concerns of the electorate. They offer an aspirational vision for the future which, the parties argue, could be secured if they were elected. The advantage of concentrating on elections is that they form discrete periods of time that can be precisely located historically. In contrast, the broader term *crisis* is less well defined and consequently more difficult to locate with historical accuracy. Elections establish *critical* moments, whilst overcoming the need to conceptualise *crisis*.

It is, however, not a straightforward matter when one tries to consider elections comparatively. Parties in the late nineteenth century were nothing like the polished machines they are today. Local issues dominated the mandates on which many candidates fought their campaigns. Prior to an election there was no unified set of positions which MPs, of any particular party, were expected to support. For the most part the political position a party took would form post election; emerging as internal factions within a party vying for the leader's attention (Hanham 1959). Even Gladstone's public addresses in the 1880s and 90s, which communicated the broad platform upon which Liberal MPs were to contest seats, were only statements of the leader's position. They did not constitute overall Liberal policy as they had not attained any form of party approval (Adelman 1983).

A central party administration that could co-ordinate parliamentary candidates and election campaigns, together with the broader internal structures that could establish national policy, developed slowly and unevenly throughout the end of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth. It was not until the general election of 1918 that the Conservative, Liberal and newly established Parliamentary Labour Party (Labour 1900) would declare a national platform upon which they were to contest seats. Central to that development was the production of a published manifesto, whose contents had undergone some process by which it could legitimately claim to express the position of the national party. The first British manifesto has been credited to Robert Peel when he fought the seat for Tamworth in 1834. That was, however, a statement of a personal position, not part of a nationally co-ordinated campaign. According to Lang (1999), it was the

centralised coordination of the electoral process, of which a key indicator was the production and dissemination of a party manifesto, which marked the start of truly national electioneering.

I shall consider the importance of manifestos as a source of data shortly. For now, I will show how the decision to use manifestos led to a determination of the historical scope of this thesis. Using the transcripts of manifestos produced by F.W.S. Craig (Craig 1975) I began by looking for any indication, in the manifesto texts, that would suggest a party considered the relationship between government and culture to be of electoral importance. By adopting this strategy the first clear references to culture were found in the manifestos of the Conservative and Labour parties, produced for the 1945 election. It was following that election that the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) was granted its Royal Charter and became the Arts Council of Great Britain. Though independent of government, the Arts Council marked a substantive change in how the relationship between culture and the state was to be articulated (Harris 1970; Minihan 1977; Witts 1998). Also, within the life of the same parliament, the 1948 Local Government Act was passed. This gave local councils the option of using 6d¹ in the pound, taken from the local rates, for cultural facilities and activities. This was the first legislation to propose a levy that could be exclusively dedicated to culture. These two measures show a national strategic vision for culture, the first to be developed by any British government. The confluence of those events recommended the election of 1945 as the start date for my research. With 1945 as

¹ Prior to decimalisation the abbreviation for *pence* was d; this originates in the original Latin terms used for the British currency of pounds, shillings and pence (£. s. d): £ - a stylised L for *librea*; s - for *solidi* and d for *denarii*.

my start it was reasonable to adopt the most recent election, at the time of writing May 2010, as a good place to stop.

Why manifestos?

General elections are complex events which produce a varied selection of materials across a wide range of media. If we take as an example the 2010 election, the plethora of potential sources of information would include: party political broadcasts; billboard posters; candidates campaign leaflets; press releases; editorial columns; letters to the national press from party leaders, radio, television and press interviews; press reports; minutes of party meetings; Internet discussion forums; blogs, tweets, YouTube channels; emails to and from candidates, party leaders video blogs², press officers announcements and so forth. This melange of material represents the expression of the party's policy positions to different audiences, accessing the information through different media. All these messages must cohere to the party's declared position for the election. Contradiction would result in eager broadcasters, journalists and, more recently, bloggers and tweeters, exposing the inconsistency at every media opportunity available.

That to which all messages produced by parliamentary candidates, and their support staff, must maintain coherence, is the manifesto. It is an aspirational document that not only sets out how a political organisation construes the setting

² On the run up to the 2010 election David Cameron produced a regular video blog for the Conservative party's home page: this became known as *Webcameron*.

to which their campaign is a response, but also indicates the way it intends to shape that setting in the future. Manifestos develop an individual position on the issues a party considers the most significant areas for debate during the election; areas that, they will argue, need to be discussed now and acted on during the lifetime of the next parliament. As such, the manifesto becomes the ideological point of reference for each political organisation's campaign, a document by which they will be held to account if they are elected into power. It is the publication of the manifesto, usually within the first week of the announcement of a general election, which marks the formal commencement of public debate associated with the campaign.

Budge (1994) argues that manifestos "...occupy a unique position as the only fully authoritative statement of the party policy for an election" (p. 455), and Smith and Smith (2000) suggest "...every manifesto positions its party in a discursive universe" (p. 468). It is of little concern whether or not these texts are read by the electorate because the positions they declare are presented through a multi-platform array of sources, which are consciously and unconsciously consumed by them throughout the election. Manifestos therefore provide a rich source of data about how the parties, contesting the election, locate themselves within the historical moment in which they are campaigning, and how they construct their relationship to the electorate. From the construction of culture they contain, the process of investigating the articulation of culture in British governmental politics can begin.

The pronouncements a party makes, through its manifesto, reflect the way in which it construes the concerns of the electorate and how it is positioning itself in relation to citizens, whilst offering a distinctive vision of the future if it were to win the election. Because they are presented at the same time, and for the same purpose, the data they contain can be used comparatively, facilitating an assessment of how parties are contesting similar policy areas.

It can be argued that while manifestos indicate the framework a political organisation communicates at the time of an election (Smith and Smith 2000; Jones et al.. 2006), it is of little consequence outside the specific historical moment in which it occurs. Manifesto statements, such a position suggests, are merely a promotional device, produced for the sole purpose of securing a vote. It is this argument that forms the basis of the commonly heard complaint that governments never keep their promises. As a sentiment it suggests there is a disconnection between a party's electoral mandate, based on the declared policy intentions stated in their manifesto (Schumpeter 1943), and the policies they will pursue after being elected. Such a position can be challenged on the grounds of being incorrect and not directly relevant to my research agenda.

Incorrect because several researchers (Kavanagh 1986; Klingemann et al.. 1994; Bara and Budge 2001 and Klemmensen et al.. 2007) have shown there is a statistically significant connection between the policy statements presented in a party manifesto, and that party's policy position when in government. The Comparative Manifestos Project (CMP) is an ongoing research programme, part funded by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD),

that studies the relationship between election platform declaration and party priority in parliament. Drawing on data gathered from over 50 democracies, including Britain, the CMP has found a party's priorities in parliament, whether in power or opposition, are consistent with the positions they adopt during an election.

Irrelevant because it is not the fulfilment of specific policy pledges that forms the focus of my research agenda. My interest in examining election manifestos is to discern the rationales parties have used to argue the place of culture in their political agenda. As such, manifesto texts can provide a valuable point of entry when considering the construction of culture in the competing policy perspectives of the political parties.

Party selection

Having established the historical scope of the research as 1945 to 2010, and argued for the use of election manifestos as my source of primary data, I shall now consider which parties to include within this inquiry.

It would not be appropriate, or desirable, to consider the manifesto of every party that has offered a candidate at a general election during the period under investigation. Between 1945 and 2010 this would require searching for in excess of 1000 documents, some of which are no longer in the public domain. It is thus necessary to obtain a means of restricting the number of political parties, and as a consequence the number of texts sought, from which to gather data. If the most

recent election³ is taken as an example, over 110 parties contested the election. Many of those parties offered either individual or small groups of candidates, presenting aspirant MPs whose platform was either a single issue or narrow range of issues. Others, such as the Church of the Militant Elvis and the Best of a Bad Bunch Party, tendered candidates as a protest against sitting MPs at the centre of public debate around the claiming of parliamentary expenses. This was an issue which garnered considerable media coverage prior to the announcement of the general election. For the most part these groups did not offer material suitable for this analysis.

A number of parties were of a large enough scale to be nationally significant, while still being concerned with a narrow range of issues. This included such groups as the United Kingdom Independence Party and the British National Party. While such political organisations offered a large numbers of candidates, their campaigns were skewed towards a narrow range of issues which, for the purposes of this study, distorted the content of their manifesto.

There were also several parties that focused on political issues relevant to particular geographical areas, for example Scotland's Scottish National Party, Plaid Cymru in Wales and Sinn Fein in Northern Ireland. While their election manifestos are interesting as political documents, and warrant closer attention as to how culture is constructed in them, they do not offer insight into the articulation of culture in British governmental politics.

³ May 2010.

With these concerns in mind two criteria were developed for the selection of parties to be drawn into the research:

- 1) The party manifesto must present a vision for the whole of the country; not one limited to a local issue, narrow range of issues or to a discrete geographical region.
- 2) The historical scope of this research covers elections from 1945 to 2010; the ability to obtain data throughout this period is essential. Consequently any party that has not offered a manifesto for elections throughout this period would not be able to provide a source of data that could be used, and must therefore be excluded.

The application of these criteria reduces the number of political parties to three, the Conservative Party, Labour Party and Liberal Party/ Liberal Democrats⁴. This reduces the number of manifesto texts to be drawn into my research to 54.

To summarise

The central research focus of this thesis is to address the question: how has culture been articulated in British governmental politics?

⁴ While the Liberal Democrats only formed as a party in 1987, it grew out of a merger between the Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party. An historical continuity can be traced from the Liberal Party of 1945 to 1987 to the Liberal Democrats from 1987 onwards. To indicate this continuity the Liberal party will be referred to by its full name at elections prior to 1987; from that election onwards it will be referred to as the Lib Dem Party or the Lib Dems. Where there is no date relevant to the discussion in the thesis, the reference will be to the Lib Dems.

My research question emerged from seeking to bring together my experience as a professional working in the cultural sector, with my reading in cultural policy studies. As such an answer to my central question is particularly relevant to those working in the arts, both as practitioners and administrators, and academics working within cultural policy studies.

The scope of the thesis is geographically focused on Britain, historically bound to the period 1945 to 2010, and will use the election manifestos of the Conservative Party, Labour Party and Lib Dems as its source of primary data.

My supplementary research questions are:

How has the relationship between government and culture been expressed in the structures and hierarchies of the British government?

What arguments have political parties used to include, or exclude, culture in their political agenda?

Cutting across both these questions is an interest in how the answers to them have changed over time.

Some account of how these questions are to be addressed over the next seven chapters will now be discussed.

Chapters 2 and 3 are concerned with locating my research within the academic literature. The purpose of this is to understand how these issues have been addressed by other researchers; to refine my research objective and to establish a robust theoretical framework upon which to build the analytic work, and discussion, of this thesis.

Chapter 2 reviews how cultural policy studies researchers have discussed the relationship between culture and the state. The review focuses on the work of researchers who have concentrated their attention on questions of *structure* and *rationale*, which form the basis of my supplementary questions. Reflection on the reviewed literature suggests that there is a difference in how the cultural policy studies research has addressed those questions. That difference has produced an empirical gap at the heart of the field, which means it has not developed a theoretical framework that can be applied to the research objectives of this thesis. A consideration of literature drawn from other areas of academic activity, principally the study of governance, critical discourse analysis and policy process theory, presented in Chapter 3, suggests that gap can be closed if we consider developments in those other academic disciplines.

Chapter 4 uses both literature reviews to develop a combination of quantitative and qualitative strategies for answering my research questions. In this chapter methodological strategies are developed for content mapping, case selection, text selection and contextualisation.

In Chapter 5 the quantitative techniques set out in the previous chapter are used to ascertain the historical pattern of governmental engagement with culture between 1945 and 2010. From the results of that analysis two sets of elections are selected as case studies, which will be used to investigate the relationship between the state, culture and the citizen in greater depth. An enhancement of the same technique is used to locate those sections, within the manifesto, that will be subject to a thorough textual scrutiny in Chapters 6 and 7.

Chapters 6 and 7 concentrate on the cases and text samples selected in Chapter 5. Both chapters combine a critical approach to the analysis of discourse and historical contextualisation of the constructions of culture found in the manifestos.

In Chapter 8 the empirical findings and contextualisation drawn from Chapters 5, 6 and 7, will be drawn together. Comparison within and between parties will be discussed, and different themes in how culture has been construed will be considered. This chapter will also suggest the contribution this research makes to cultural policy studies and critical discourse analysis. Finally it will indicate future research emerging from the work undertaken in this thesis, both in the field of cultural policy studies and beyond.

My background has put me in a strong position to raise pertinent questions regarding the relationship between the state, culture and the citizen. My training, through my MA, has laid the foundations for me to be able to explore that

relationship with depth and rigour. It is with this in mind that I consider how my research agenda connects to the existing literature in cultural policy studies.

Chapter 2

Literature Review: Cultural Policy Studies

In 1990, at an international conference on 'Cultural Studies *Now* and in the Future', the cultural theorist Tony Bennett suggested there might be scope for developing a body of knowledge concerned with investigating the relationship between policy and culture (Bennett 1992). Since then, the field of cultural policy studies has grown to become an area of research activity that addresses a wide variety of issues. Academic inquiry in the field ranges from museology to the political sciences (See T. Bennett 1995 and Gray 2000); from French ecclesiastical history (Ahearne 2010) to studies of William Morris (Upchurch 2005); the English Romantic poets (Bennett 2006); Keynes and his Bloomsbury group friends (Upchurch 2004) and the history of Western philosophy (Belfiore 2006). The interests of researchers vary in scale from the local and the national (Stanziola 2007) to bi-national (Moss 2005) and international comparative studies (Madden 2005). The purpose of this review is to locate my research within its parent discipline, identifying where it sits within existing cultural policy studies literature.

As stated in Chapter 1, the central concern of this research is the articulation of culture in British governmental politics. This is not to suggest that insights gained through studies of how cultural policy is articulated in other countries, have no value. Nor do I wish to suggest that comparing policy between states, or investigations of the cultural policies of international and trans-national bodies such as the EU and UNESCO, have no merit (I shall return to this point in Chapter

8). It is rather to state that, while important and interesting, such lines of inquiry are not the concern of this thesis.

My interest is in how culture has been articulated in British governmental politics. As such my research questions are concerned with the relationship between the state, culture and the citizen. What I want to discover is how, over time, culture has been expressed in the structures and hierarchy of government, and the ways parties have, through their manifestos, developed rationales regarding the location of culture in their political agenda. Within those parameters my research fits best with the work of cultural policy studies researchers who have focused on questions of *structure* and *rationale*. These terms need some development as they are not in common usage when considering the academic literature being reviewed. By *structure* I refer to the work of academics interested in the *structural* expression of the relationship between government and culture. Such an area of investigation will include research into the internal organisation of government with regard to the relationship between the state and culture. It will also incorporate inquiries into the relationship between government and external bodies within what is understood as the cultural sector. *Rationale* references research and analysis that considers the arguments that can be or are used to justify a connection between government and culture. In a policy setting such rationales set out a framework for the incorporation or exclusion of culture in a political agenda. The research agenda set out in Chapter 1 spans questions of both the *structure* and the *rationale* within cultural policy studies. They represent fundamental questions central to the study of cultural policy as a research

programme, collectively they form two trajectories that sit at the heart of academic research in the field.

This review of the apposite cultural policy studies literature will be split into two. Firstly, research into the *structure* of the relationship between culture and the British government will be considered. Following this will be a review of the literature focused on the *rationales* developed to better understand that relationship. Finally, both these trajectories will be drawn together, and the connection between existing scholarship and the research agenda of this thesis will be discussed.

Structure

In his discussion of culture, education and politics Berman (1984) observed that British arts and culture policy, as with any other policy area in government, was ultimately about how the money of the state should be distributed. Compressed within this insight is a complex network of structures, personnel and procedures for the allocation and distribution of government funds. This frames cultural policy to a question of the determination of government funding. I shall begin my review of the literature concerned with *structure* through a consideration of those authors who have written on the history of the state funding of culture.

In *The Nationalization of Culture* Minihan (1977) presents an historical overview of the emergence of culture as an area of legitimate parliamentary concern. She argues that a British tradition of Royal patronage was cut short in the seventeenth

century with the execution of Charles I. The civil war that followed led to a growth in Puritanism, as power moved from the sovereign to Oliver Cromwell and his parliament. Even after the monarchy had been restored, the growth of commerce and industrialisation, in Britain, was enough to displace the position of patronage that still held in the Royal courts of mainland Europe. According to Minihan this resulted in the British Isles producing a very different relationship between culture and the state from that found in many of its continental counterparts.

Initially, Minihan argues, the industrial revolution led to a laissez-faire attitude towards government's engagement with culture. However, as fashionable designs began to emerge from the developing industrial economies of Europe and the USA, their goods began to claim a competitive advantage over those produced domestically. This competition led to a growth in support for design and the applied arts in Britain. Minihan suggests that the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament, and the Great Exhibition of 1851, mark a turning point, which led to culture and the arts becoming a legitimate topic for discussion within the British political establishment.

Despite the legitimisation of culture as a topic for government, Minihan claims it was not until the Second World War that it began to be discussed in a coordinated fashion. Only with the work of the Entertainments National Service Association (ENSA) and the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA), did the true foundations of state support for culture in Britain begin. The establishment of the Arts Council in 1946 is, she maintains, cultural policy expressed as part of

the post-war Labour government's agenda of nationalisation, and welfare state building.

Pearson (1982) adopts a similar approach to Minihan, though his work focuses on the relationship between the state and the visual arts. His analysis concentrates on the expansion of municipal galleries in the late nineteenth century. The growth and development of municipal galleries, he suggests, are a strong indicator of an increase in regional support for culture. Whilst he agrees with Minihan's historical analysis, Pearson's position is that state funding in the middle of the twentieth century was not concerned with *nationalizing* culture. For him the Arts Council and the 1948 Local Government Act⁵ were concerned with developing tools for widening access to culture, whilst establishing a framework for minimal government interference.

Both Minihan and Pearson agree that, in Britain, state support for culture only really begins in the period following the Second World War. Their analysis post-1945 is not at the same level of detail as their historical discussion of the relationship between culture and the state prior to the War. Ridley (1987) and Hewison (1997) focus on the post-war period as their primary analytic target; this makes what they have to say particularly relevant to my own research agenda.

⁵ Discussed in Chapter 1.

According to Ridley (1987), since 1945 Britain has been through three key phases in how government has engaged with culture⁶. He characterises the first period, from 1945 to the middle of the 1960s, as one of consensus. Supporting Pearson, Ridley claims that during this time there was broad agreement that, while support for culture was important, state interference should be limited. This was, he suggests, when the principle of governmental engagement at an *arms-length* from delivery developed. Crucially responsibility for cultural policy within government remained, as it had been prior to the outbreak of war, uncoordinated. There was no dedicated representative for the arts in either government or parliament, and state spending on culture was dispersed across several departments.

Ridley's second phase commences with the appointment of Jennie Lee as Parliamentary Under Secretary for Arts and Leisure in 1964. The creation of her position, he argues, points to an increasing recognition that the relationship between government and culture required some level of ministerial leadership. Lee's position, however, was at the lowest level of government responsibility whilst remaining a ministerial post. With regard to the structures and hierarchies of government, this meant that the development of policy around culture remained dispersed across several departments. Despite that, he argues, this second phase saw significant growth in government's support for culture. Ridley maintains that these first two phases were characterised by an expansion of state support for culture; both were brought to a close because of the economic climate of the eighties.

⁶ These *three phases* will be revisited in Chapter 5, when a quantitative analysis of the manifestos will be used to ascertain the level of governmental engagement with culture between 1945 to 2010.

The third phase, current with his time of writing, he characterised as one of decline. Economic factors, which he places outside the control of both cultural organisations and the state, have resulted in the need for the state to adopt a less expansionist economic position. He goes on to state that it is those economic measures that have widened the gap between culture and government. In concluding he writes:

‘...things may get worse before the pendulum swings back to expansionist economic policies. One can only pin one’s hope on a change in the climate’. (p. 252)

Like Ridley, Hewison (1997) also focuses his attention on the period since the end of the Second World War. He identifies the phase prior to the 1980s as one of consensus and development in the political support for culture and the arts. Where he most strongly contrasts with Ridley is in apportioning blame for the subsequent decline. For Hewison the responsibility for the ending of consensus lies at the feet of a Thatcherite agenda which presented *enterprise culture* as the dominant model of all human activity⁷.

⁷ This becomes the central characteristic of his understanding of the *hegemony* of Thatcherism. His definition of *hegemony* is useful, and worth reproducing, it is in keeping with the idea of governance and governmentality that will be discussed in Chapter 3. Hegemony is...

‘...the means by which a state is governed by a ruling group or class which exercises power through a leadership based on compromises with, and concessions to, other interests and classes that are calculated to produce consent, without it being necessary to deploy the coercive powers which governments also have at their disposal.’ (Hewison 1997, p xvi)

For Hewison the language of *enterprise culture* fed into the framework of how existing cultural organisations presented what they did. This, he argues, led to a growing consideration of value for money, forcing many organisations to adopt a more managerial and commercial approach. It is managerialism, he suggests, that has commodified high art into a niche marketplace. “Public culture”; he goes on to write, becomes “...an effective instrument of (the) hegemony” of *enterprise culture* (p. 309). This statement is very interesting and one that is close to my own research agenda. The connection between language, the frameworks established by government, and the behaviour of cultural organisations forms a common thread linking *Culture and Consensus* with the questions at the heart of this thesis. His research approach is also very similar to my own, and is split into three areas of analysis:

Establishing ‘...the theoretical definition of culture at a particular moment and how it has continued to change’
‘...the extent to which these definitions were translated across the decades into institutional practices’
‘...the relationship between these ideas and institutions and the creativity they encouraged or neglected.’

(Hewison 1997, p xv)

My work differs from his in the focus of our analytic approach and in our ultimate research objective.

Whilst Hewison and I are interested in how culture is *defined* (though this is not a term I would use with regard to my own analysis), and how this has changed, my focus is on the construal of culture as expressed in its articulation. This difference

highlights two important points of divergence. First; I am not looking for a 'theoretical definition of culture' but a concrete one, rooted in its construction within the election manifestos of those political groups contesting for power. Second; Hewison separates language and 'institutional practices'. The idea of *articulation*, presented in Chapter 1, suggests that definitions (I would prefer the term *constructions*) of culture are not '...translated...into institutional practices', but that language and institutional practice form part of a discourse⁸. It is in approaching an understanding of that discourse that we gain insight into the relationship between the construction of culture, and the *encouragement* or *neglect* of the activity of cultural organisations.

I also diverge from Hewison in the ultimate objective of my study. In *Culture and Consensus* his focus is to establish an historical critique of Thatcherism. It is the political philosophy of the Thatcher government which has, he argues, dismantled that structure, built on a broad parliamentary consensus of state support for culture, which emerged following the end of the Second World War. My objective is not to develop a critique of a particular hegemony, but to gain a deeper understanding of the factors that have shaped the changing articulation of culture. Hewison's analysis is very interesting, and offers a valuable insight into the relationship between politics and the arts over a similar timeline as my own, but we are engaged in different projects. His insights are useful to my own work, and my work can add a further dimension to his, but they are, in a number of significant ways, different.

⁸ Another way of considering this follows Wittgenstein's claim that '...language is part of an activity...a *form of life*.' (My emphasis) (Wittgenstein 1953, §23).

Another way the literature has addressed the question of *structure* has been to consider the relationship between government and the Arts Council. White (1975); Hutchison (1982) and Shaw (1987), for example, all write as Arts Council insiders. Their perspectives vary from nostalgic memoir to a serious concern for the council's future.

White's account comes over as a rose tinted reminiscence, praising the Arts Council for offering the benefits of state patronage without the drawbacks of state interference. He outlines the development of the council from comments by the economist John Maynard Keynes in the 1930s, to its establishment in 1946⁹. Whilst White does attempt some critique of its relationship to government, this is presented in a critically unreflective manner.

Hutchison views the Arts Council with less of a rosy tint. His argument is that the council is in trouble, and it is its structure that is at the root of its problems. Hutchison was an Arts Council researcher in the 1970s and had been given privileged access to documents tracing its history back to its nascent beginnings in CEMA and ENSA. He argues that this history reveals a deep seated confusion between a concern for quality and a preoccupation with prestige. This confusion had produced a defensive oligarchy at the heart of the Arts Council which, he claims, "...exaggerated exclusiveness and an excessive secrecy" (p. 155).

⁹ Keynes had been Chair of CEMA during the Second World War, and was a leading advocate for the creation of the Arts Council; he acted as its first Chair until his death in 1946.

Since its inception, he suggests, the Arts Council has become increasingly centralised. The weight of its bureaucracy producing a culture of secrecy that, he concludes, hides its decision making processes behind doors of unaccountability. For Hutchison the relationship between the Arts Council and government is not working and the guilty party is the Arts Council itself. His recommendations include a radical reform of decision making processes, devolution of power in the council's internal workings, and greater democratic accountability.

Hutchison was writing in 1982, a time when government responsibility for culture was covered by a low ranking ministerial position within the Department of Education. In 1992 that responsibility moved from the periphery of government to its centre. The creation of the Department of National Heritage (DNH) drew the relationship between government and culture into the heart of governmental politics (Major 1999); it established a Secretary of State in the Cabinet and a team of junior ministers. That fundamental restructuring of the relationship between government and culture has not diminished the growth of literature placing responsibility for improving that relationship firmly at the feet of the Arts Council.

Several reports produced towards the end of the last decade have made recommendations that range from partial reform of the Arts Council (such as McIntosh 2008), and more systemic reorganisation (see Tusa 2007 and McMasters 2008) to complete abolition (Sidwell 2009). Though the place of the Arts Council was confirmed by the Conservative/ Lib/Dem coalition that formed

following the 2010 election¹⁰, it has undergone substantial reform and its long-term future has not been secured.

Unlike the critics of the Arts Council, Shaw (1987), like Hewison (1997) a decade later, locates problems with how the government supports culture not with the organisations it operates through, but with the prevailing *hegemony* within government. In *The Arts and the People* he argues that the Arts Council was in a critical condition in the 1980s. This he attributes to the combined effects of Margaret Thatcher's personal neglect of the arts and the departmentally fragmented nature of governmental support for the sector.

Beck (1989) is less evasive. He argues that it was the adoption of monetarist economic policies by the Conservative government of the 1980s, which had a direct impact on how funding for culture was both allocated and understood. Foreshadowing Hewison he writes that the economic squeeze by government was:

'...at one with the general cultural strategy of the 'Thatcher revolution' which set up business as the ideal type of all social activity.' (p. 370)

He goes on to argue that, contrary to what might have been expected, the effect of this was not to distance the Arts Council from government, but to draw it closer.

An examination of the chair's report to the Arts Council in 1988 (the 43rd report)

¹⁰ It was not one of over 170 QUANGOs (Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisations) that were dissolved, made into independent charities or privatised, under the budgetary cuts announced within six months of the new government taking office.

shows an increase in the rhetoric of enterprise and business. The sector's assimilation of a rhetoric of enterprise, which would garner financial support from government, resulted in cultural organisations developing strategies for how they could meet those enterprise objectives. This had the double effect of reducing the distance of the arms length principle, whilst increasing the possibility of direct government intervention. Gray (2000; 2007) has argued that this has continued through an increasing managerialism and instrumentalism in government policy, which has run throughout both Conservative and Labour administrations since the 1980s. The importance of rhetoric in how government engages with culture is a theme that has recently been taken up by Belfiore (2009; 2010). I shall consider this in greater detail in Chapter 3 when I discuss the literature relevant to discourse and policy.

The literature concerned with questions of structure pertinent to the relationship between the Government and culture, has been found to be broad. Its content encompasses historical overviews of policy and detailed accounts of the connection between government and specific bodies. While my own research agenda can be located firmly within this literature, it does so from a different perspective from that which has been found. Central to my inquiry into the articulation of culture is discerning the rationales used to justify the relationship between the state and culture in election manifestos. It is to the work of researchers interested in questions of *rationale* that I now turn.

In 1991 Oliver Bennett published a paper that drew on what he identified as three definitions of culture in the work of cultural theorist Raymond Williams. These were: culture as a civilising force, as a complete way of life and as the product of artistic and intelligent people¹¹. Using these as his template he tried to make sense of the place of cultural policy in Britain between 1970 and 1990. He suggests that the place of culture, in British government policy, had fallen into some sort of *no man's land* between state patronage and private investment. Rather pessimistically concluding that, in the absence of a clear rationale for including culture within policy, cultural organisations had been given inadequate support from an inadequate system (Bennett 1991).

Writing in the same year, this somewhat bleak vision contrasted strongly with that of Bianchini and Schwengel (1991). They argued that an instrumental use of culture in urban planning and city regeneration was required. Rather than being trapped in a *no man's land*, culture represented a highly skilled, high value added, sector of the economy that could, if harnessed properly, play an important role in reinvigorating Britain's cities. In this they were reflecting the *pioneering* (Selwood 2010) work done by John Myerscough (1988) into the economic impact of the arts. Bianchini and others, such as Landry (Landry and Bianchini 1995) and Leadbetter (1998), promoted the importance of the cultural economy as a justification for government policy.

¹¹ These are derived from discussions on what is culture found in *Culture and Society* (Williams 1963 [1958]); *The Long Revolution* (Williams 1965) and *Keywords* (Williams 1983).

The work of both Bennett and Bianchini has become much more sophisticated and nuanced since these early pieces. Bennett's work has continued along a trajectory of exploring rationales, whereas Bianchini's has become increasingly more focused on the value of cultural sector to urban planning and development. Bianchini's work is important and interesting, though less relevant to this thesis. His research focus is now concerned with the application of policy to urban development and planning, and less so on policy rationale. Consequently it is the further development of Bennett's work that shall be considered here.

Drawing on the historical studies of Minihan (1977) Bennett (1994; 1995) establishes a set of themes that have, he argues, characterised the relationship between the state and culture. These are;

- Laissez-Faire (or non-engagement);
- An appeal to the national prestige of certain cultural institutions
- Arguments for the economic importance of the arts
- The claim that the arts are not economically viable and so need government to support them to correct this imbalance in the market
- The need to re-invest in the damaged cultural infrastructure of the nation, post-war

As with his earlier piece, Bennett's conclusions are pessimistic. Like Ridley (1987) and Hewison (1997) he argues that the immediate post-war period was marked by consensus. He suggests that the actions of government, in relation to culture, can be understood as illustrating one or more of the identified themes.

Echoing Ridley and Hewison he concludes that, since the 1980s, the government successfully undermined any rationale supporting state engagement with culture. The need to develop new themes, or offer a reasoned defence of those earlier ones, has become central to his research programme.

Much of Bennett's research output has concentrated on intellectual history; it has encompassed inquiries into the influence of Matthew Arnold (Bennett 2005), the British Romantic poets (Bennett 2006), a broad review of the impact of the arts through the history of ideas from Plato to Keynes¹² (Belfiore and Bennett 2008) and the role of the Roman Catholic Church (2009). This work, he claims, produces a more optimistic view for the rationalisation of cultural policy in government. In his introductory address to the 2010 ICCPR¹³ he observed that he had opened the first conference, in 2000, with an address on cultural pessimism (see for example Bennett 1997); he went on to say his current research project was focused on cultural optimism (Bennett 2011).

While Bennett has not been alone in valuing the importance of intellectual history (see for example Appleyard 1984; Belfiore 2006; Ahearne 2006 and Mulhern 2006), such arguments are not anchored in the rationales political parties actually employ to justify the character of their engagement with culture. While his 'rationales' are valuable in offering reasoned critiques of positions that may be articulated by policy makers, they do not operate at a level that connects directly

¹² The influence of Keynes and his Bloomsbury group friends has also been discussed by Anna Upchurch (2004), though her analysis is grounded in documentation, using texts produced by participants of the group, and not a consideration of their ideas in the abstract as it is in Bennett (2006).

¹³ International Conference of Cultural Policy Research.

to actual policy. There is an epistemic gap between these theoretically strong frameworks and the real world policy declarations. As with the discussion of Hewison (1997) earlier, there is considerable synergy between Bennett's work on 'rationale' and my own. However, we are looking in different places and consequently we may obtain different results.

For Lewis (1990) the rationale for governmental engagement with culture must rest in a rigorous definition of cultural value. Such a definition could then be used to compare the value of spending on culture with other demands being made on the resources of government. In what feels like a circular argument he argues these values are not located within the cultural object itself; instead they represent '...a set of judgements with specific social origin' (p. 6) that '...constitute the guiding principle of...cultural policy' (p. 25). The six attributes he attaches to cultural value are: diversity; innovation; social pleasure; participation; the environment and economic regeneration. Why these values should be expressed as cultural policy as opposed to any other policy area, such as education or social policy, is not clarified. Lewis is also unclear as to what follows from holding these values. It is conceivable that someone could accept all the attributes Lewis ascribes to cultural value, yet still argue that it is not appropriate to use the resources of government to support culture. Such a person would claim that the delivery of these values is better suited to the private sector, where they establish a sound foundation for a company's programme of corporate social responsibility.

Though Lewis draws a connection between cultural value and economic value, this is played down by him. Other writers are less reticent and put that connection

in a central position. Throsby (2001) argues strongly for the inclusion of culture in any attempt to understand the economy. While he acknowledges that there is not a perfect fit when incorporating culture into an economic framework, he does argue that applying an analysis of costs and benefits to culture is no more an issue than incorporating environmental factors into economics.

Hewison (1991) and Sayer (1999) are not so certain. Both argue there is something intrinsically wrong in trying to draw cultural value into economic discourse. Put simply Hewison asserts "...commerce is not culture..." (p. 175). For Sayer the account of commentators like Throsby presents the question of value the wrong way round. Rather than looking to put an economic frame around cultural values we should, he argues, be looking to put a framework of values (cultural and moral) around economics. In this regard Sayer echoes the much older critique of political economy to be found in the work of John Ruskin (1985).

For Gray, the pressure placed on cultural policies to produce more than aesthetic outputs, is a major development of our political system over the last thirty years. He argues (Gray 2000; 2007) that the expectation that culture can be shaped to deliver economic and social benefits is the result of two interconnected factors. These two factors, ideological change and a structural weakness within culture as an area of policy, require a degree of unpacking.

The mutually-dependent ideological changes that Gray considers to have had the greatest impact on cultural policies, are commodification and globalisation. By commodification he refers to developments in both economics and management

practices, which have translated services, and thereby cultural outputs, into products. As *cultural products* they have been interpreted in a globalised market place which, he claims, has depoliticised citizenship, and framed citizens as consumers and not as political actors.

Additionally, Gray suggests that a lack of clarity as to what culture is has had a profound effect on the relationship between government and culture. For policy makers this has resulted in structural weaknesses in what the outputs of those policies, directed towards culture, should be. For cultural organisations it has led to an approach to government that follows the funding. Cultural policy, this argument suggests, follows a pathway of attachment; connecting to any agenda that can be construed as cultural in a very broad sense. The resultant instrumentalism discourages the development of aesthetic outputs, and concentrated on meeting economic and social objectives.

Gray's *commodification* stands alongside that of McGuigan (for example 1996; 2005; 2010) as a critique of government support for culture as instrumentalism. Understood in a broad sense, instrumentalism holds that culture is to be supported as an instrument for the delivery of benefits other than aesthetic (Vestheim 2007). Taken in this way instrumentalism can be applied to a range of Bennett's *rationales*, or as Lewis would call them - *attributes*, of government policy. Such additional benefits range from the economic growth that may result from supporting the creative industries to drawing communities together (Norman 2010).

Belfiore (2002; 2004) has seriously questioned the capacity for cultural policy to have the breadth of instrumental impact suggested in studies such as those of Matarasso (1997). In her more recent work she has also challenged the view that arguments for the economic benefit of government's support for culture are based on evidence. Such claims, she says, are based on rhetoric rather than proof. Policy is not derived from the evidence; rather evidence is nuanced and finessed to justify policy. (Belfiore 2009; 2010)

The economic benefits accruing from cultural policy have also been doubted by Galloway and Dunlop (2007). They point to a lack of rigour in the interchangeable use of *cultural* and *creative* industries in discussions of policy. The resulting ambiguity, they argue, has resulted in important rationales for governmental support of culture being lost. This concern is echoed by Garnham (2005). He argues that such linguistic imprecision has distorted the impact of policy by artificially widening the range of activities it is intended to capture. Hesmondhalgh (2005; 2007) has challenged instrumentalist critiques; he makes the point that all policy is produced to have an outcome, and therefore they are always instrumental to some degree. The concerns raised by Galloway and Dunlop (2007) and others, he suggests, are a consequence of placing too great an emphasis on the arts side of cultural policy.

A common thread that runs through most of the research on *rationale*, found in the cultural policy studies literature, has been a discussion of *rationales* in the abstract. In doing so, arguments for supporting policy are separated from the political setting in which they occur. Duelund, using examples from cultural policy

within the Nordic states, suggests that separation need not be necessary. In *The rationality of cultural policy* (Duelund 2004) he argues the different rationales for why the state engages with culture are produced by the interplay of relationships of power. It is that interaction which forms an intrinsic part of the communicative relationships in which policies are established. Policy rationale and policy declaration need to be understood as fundamentally interconnected. There are good grounds for empirically drawing out the arguments and justifications actually used by those proposing policy, from within their statements and proposals. Rather than focus on bridging the epistemic gap between trying to connect the activity of the state to a separately conceptualised policy rationale, Duelund suggests there is scope for an investigation of how policy statements themselves construct such rationales. By not locating the investigation of rationale in the actual processes of policy formation, declaration and implementation, questions of rationale in cultural policy studies have primarily taken place in an empirical vacuum.

Recent work by Belfiore (2009; 2010) and Mirza (2009; 2012)¹⁴ have suggested that an empirical investigation of rationale is emerging within the discipline. However, their theoretical framework draws on elements that are not currently part of mainstream research activity in the field. In the case of Belfiore her analysis employs argumentation theory and the analysis of rhetoric, both highlighting the

¹⁴ Mirza in particular has connected an empirical study of the rationales espoused for a policy position with the structural and the institutional practices associated with it. Her research approach includes textual analysis and interview. Her 2009 article and book of 2012 use two case studies, the cultural services department of Oldham town council and the planning and development of the Rich Mix Arts Centre in London's Tower Hamlets, to highlight the tension between a rhetoric of multiculturalism and its expression through the institutional practices of the organisations she has selected.

importance of the use of language in the advocacy of cultural policies. Mirza is also interested in how language is used; she focuses on the actual rationales deployed by individuals and groups advocating for a multicultural relativism in arts and culture policy. Both Belfiore and Mirza are interested in the deployment and implications of rationales as they occur in the practice of actual policy formation. As such they stand out from other research in the field, because their emphasis in conducting that inquiry is empirically grounded.

Conclusion

This chapter has used the research agenda and supplementary questions of this thesis, to locate my central research objective within the literature of cultural policy studies. The work of researchers interested in understanding the structures through which the relationship between government, culture and the citizen has operated has been considered. Within that trajectory of the discipline it was found that my project most closely aligned with that developed by Hewison in *Culture and Consensus* (Hewison 1997). However, my focus on manifestos as a source of primary data, and my interest in *articulation* as an aspect of political discourse indicated significant differences between his project and mine. Manifestos have not been used as a source of primary data in cultural policy studies research before. That raises a problem regarding the search for precedents, within the discipline, in how best to obtain and handle the data they contain. In the absence of an established set of research strategies, and suitable theoretical framework, it will be necessary to look at literatures outside the discipline, which have used manifestos, to guide that process.

In considering the question of rationale in cultural policy studies the review revealed a gap in the literature. While considerable work had been done in establishing arguments to support the place of culture in a political agenda, these had primarily been based in abstract conceptions of policy rationale. Though some recent work in the discipline suggested an interest in developing an empirical approach to the study of rationale, these were still not part of mainstream researcher activity.

Crucially the study of rationale and investigation of governance are not currently connected empirically within cultural policy studies. A focus on the articulation of culture in governmental politics needs to be understood as part of an interrogation of the governance of the state. Given that researchers in cultural policy studies do not currently address that connection in a manner appropriate for the research agenda of this thesis, it is not able to offer a theoretical framework upon which I can build an analytic approach, or establish a robust basis for a critical discussion of my results. Other areas of academic activity do examine the relationship between governance and policy; a consideration of how my research agenda fits into that literature is considered in the next chapter.

My research is concerned with that area of scholarship interested in the relationship between policy and culture; as such it lies at the heart of the discipline of cultural policy studies as proposed by Tony Bennett in 1990, which opened this chapter. Chapter 3 looks beyond the literature considered in this chapter to locate

the work of this thesis in a broader spectrum of disciplines, thereby securing a firm foundation for my analytic approach and theoretical framework.

Two issues emerged from the review of cultural policy studies literature conducted in Chapter 2; these warranted broadening the scope of the work reviewed to draw on that of other research areas. Firstly it was found that manifestos had not previously been used as a source of primary data within cultural policy studies research. This meant that precedents for how best to obtain and handle data from such a source would need to be drawn from outside the field. Secondly an epistemic gap was found at the heart of the two principal trajectories of the discipline; this emerged from the different methodological strategies adopted by researchers interested in *rationale* when compared to those that concentrated on *structure*. In trying to develop arguments that justified cultural policy the former drew heavily on analytic frameworks ranging from literary and cultural studies (such as Bennett 2005; 2006) to intellectual history and the transformative potential of philosophical aesthetics (for example Mulhern 2006; Belfiore and Bennett 2008). Research that focused on structure was predominantly historical, and grounded in an empirical investigation of institutions and the relationships between them. However, researchers who had undertaken analyses of rationales had concentrated on abstracted justifications, which were not necessarily connected to the actual arguments of policymakers. Linking these two approaches created an epistemic gap at the heart of cultural policy studies. To bridge that gap a theoretical framework would be needed to place rationale and structure on a shared empirical foundation. In the last couple of years a few researchers, within cultural policy studies, have indicated pathways that can be taken for addressing

this issue. Gray (2010) indicates how important it is for cultural policy studies to draw on the work of other academic disciplines; while recent work by Belfiore, which focuses on rhetoric and argumentation (Belfiore 2009; 2010), hints that a consideration of policy making as communicative action may open up new opportunities for analysis. Both these analysts indicate the way to establish a firm empirical foundation for cultural policy studies research, is to look beyond the existing literature in the field and towards the processes of policy making in government.

In this chapter I shall consider literature in the fields of critical discourse analysis¹⁵: governance and governmentality and policy process studies. It is anticipated that in locating my research within these literatures I shall be able to:

- Establish a theoretical framework for the research agenda of this thesis
- Identify research strategies for obtaining and handling the data manifestos contain

Each research field will be dealt with under a separate heading and begin with an outline of how they are to be associated with my investigation. I shall conclude by

¹⁵ The application of critical discourse analysis to the study of policy connected to culture is not unique, though it is very rare. For example Emma Waterton (Waterton et al 2006) argues that it is necessary to adopt a critical approach to the analysis of discourse if one is to critique the discourse of heritage currently dominant in British heritage studies. In *Politics, Policy and the Discourse of Heritage in Britain* (Waterton 2010) she argues; it is only adopting a theoretical framework that draws on Fairclough's conceptualisation of discourse as social and linguistic practice, that the relations of power within the heritage sector, together with its associated cultural policies, can be successfully challenged and critiqued.

synthesising the various ideas discussed in this review, and indicate how these are to be connected to the presentation of my research methods in Chapter 4.

Discourse Analysis

As part of my rationale for using manifestos as a source of data, Chapter 1 cited Smith and Smith (2000). They argue that ‘...every manifesto positions its party in a discursive universe’ (p. 468), forming a ‘nodal point’ (p. 458), a ‘master document’ (p. 470), which *frames and anchors* (p. 470) the discursive messages a party wishes to communicate. A consideration of how my research fits into that literature from discourse analysis, which has used manifesto texts as its analytic material, will indicate research strategies and theoretical frameworks that can be applied in this thesis.

In this section I shall review literature that has taken a critical approach to the analysis of discourse in British election manifestos. Critical discourse analysis, often abbreviated to CDA, does not establish a single epistemological framework, or set out a distinct methodological structure. According to Farrelly;

‘...it offers a general theoretical perspective on discourse which recognises the constitutive potential of discourse within and across social practices’ (Farrelly 2010, p. 99)

It is the ‘constitutive potential of discourse’ that interests me. My focus on the *articulation of culture* is a concentration on the different ways it has been articulated by different political agenda. Put another way: how has culture been

constituted within those political agenda, and do differing political agenda constitute culture differently. Additionally a consideration of those political agenda as 'social practices', within governmental politics, reframes my research objective. It becomes; an inquiry into how culture is constituted within and across the social practices of government in Britain since 1945.

CDA, as an approach, can open up my research agenda, permitting me to develop strategies and techniques that can answer my central research questions. Fairclough suggests (2010) that the principle characteristic of CDA is a '...systematic trans-disciplinary analysis of relations between discourse and other elements of social practice' (p. 10), which combines commentary, and textual analysis. What identifies CDA as *critical*, he argues, is a critical orientation to the relationships of power revealed by the text (p. 10–11). It is precisely that synthesis of social and linguistic theory which makes CDA applicable to the analysis of manifesto texts in this thesis.

One of the first applications of CDA to an election manifesto is Fairclough's (2000) work on the language of New Labour. In this instance, however, the Labour manifesto of 1997 only forms part of a larger corpus of data, used as the raw material for his analysis. Most of his analysis is based on the content of political speeches made by Tony Blair between 1997 and 1999. Fairclough's central critique is New Labour's engagement with a discourse of the 'Third Way'. Fairclough argues that this has brought the discourses of the new right, social democracy and communitarianism closer together under a neo-liberal economic agenda. He goes on to suggest that this has led to a new form of governance; one

where language has become an *explicit* tool of managing the relationship between the state and the citizen.

At around the same time Jahn and Henn (2000) took a critical approach to the analysis of discourses of socialism, the welfare state, neo-liberalism and the environment, in the election manifestos of three European social democratic parties. These were the Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party; the German Social Democratic Party (both from elections in 1994) and the British Labour Party (from the 1997 election). Beginning with an analysis that used a corpus linguistics framework, Jahn and Henn coded the manifestos at the level of the statement against ‘...a list of around one hundred pre-defined categories’ (p. 38). That analytic phase established where the parties were addressing issues associated with the discourses Jahn and Henn were interested in identifying. For the purposes of comparison across parties they ‘...coded statements in either positive or negative terms’ (p. 38). Their results found *welfare state discourse* dominated all three parties. There was also consistency across the parties in the marginalisation of *socialist discourse* and a substantial integration of *neo-liberal discourse*. *Environmental discourse* was less uniformly represented across the texts.

Hart (2007; 2008) adapts Chilton’s (Chilton 2004) work on spatial and temporal references in political discourse, which he employs to identify, quantify and compare the metaphors on national identity and migration in the election manifesto of the British National Party in 2005. He then adopts a more qualitative CDA analysis to the same metaphors and concludes that while quantitative

analysis is helpful in determining ‘...which linguistic structures are used conventionally’ (p. 124), it is not sufficient. There is also a need for qualitative analysis of the ‘...linguistic and conceptual structure in (a)...particular text’ (p. 124).

Kaal (2012), at the University of Amsterdam VU, has adopted a similar approach to Harts, though she is supplementing her CDA analysis with a theory of *world modelling* developed by her colleagues in neuroscience. This work is ongoing and is yet to report. However, early indications are that mapping *world view* can support CDA, offering an alternative way of conceptualising the way power is communicated through social and discursive practices.

Fairclough (2002) developed a framework for analysis that adopts a critical perspective across what he refers to as the three *dimensions of discourse*. The first *dimension of discourse* places the text at the centre and considers it through its connections to other texts. Following Kristeva (1974) that analytic strategy is given the name *intertextuality*. In the second dimension, the text is located in relation to the practice associated with its production, distribution and consumption – this Fairclough calls the dimension of discursive practice. Discursive practices can, in turn, affect wider social structures and struggles; this final dimension he names that of social practices.

Dobson (2007) has applied Fairclough’s technique to a critical analysis of discourse in two Labour manifestos, one from Neil Kinnock (Labour Party 1992) and the other Tony Blair (Labour Party 1997). His objective is to look at the intertextual connections present in the introduction, ostensibly written by the party

leader, which appears in each of the documents. In his conclusion Dobson suggests; 'what differentiates the 1997 text from that of 1992 is the quasi-religious overtones of the language' (p. 109). Where both texts show multiple connections to other texts, Blair's more substantially echoes '...the words of The Old Testament' (p. 109). He further concludes that, in his application of it, Fairclough's *three-dimensional approach* is not sufficiently nuanced, suggesting it would work better as a sweeping impression of a large body of text, only able to offer a deeper analysis for texts of 'a few hundred words' (p. 111). Consequently the application of CDA, in investigating how culture is constituted in the social practices of government, would be more fruitfully applied to smaller sections of text, rather than across all the manifestos within the 1945 to 2010 period.

Dobson's approach to Fairclough's three-dimensions was fundamentally qualitative, Farrelly (2009; 2010) incorporates an element of quantitative encoding into his analysis of the discourse of *democracy* in Labour's 1997; 2001 and 2005 manifestos. He begins by coding all paragraphs containing the word 'democracy', or one of its derivatives. These he classified under two headings; *actor* and the *horizon of democratic action*. The *actor* heading was split further. First into representatives of the state, such as MPs and peers; second, taking a term used by Ranciere (2007), into the demos¹⁶. The second heading, *horizon of democratic action*, referred to the sphere of political effectiveness. Actors could be construed as active in that sphere, classed as *included* in the *horizon of democratic action*, or not, in which case they were classed as *excluded*. Finally, Farrelly develops a set of matrices for each manifesto showing the percentage of each actor by their

¹⁶ This highly conceptualised category is roughly equivalent to the electorate.

relationship to the *horizon of democratic action*. He concludes the application of CDA to manifestos shows that over the three elections: 1) a higher proportion of the demos are excluded from the *horizon of democratic action* when compared to the representatives of the state, and 2) the gap between inclusion and exclusion for each actor has diminished over the three elections.

A particularly troublesome critique regarding the existence of, and therefore the possibility of adopting, CDA as an analytic approach, has been the question of how to handle context. If I am to employ CDA as an approach it is important to be aware of this critique, and also take a position on how context should be handled within my research agenda.

A key critic of CDA, and discourse analysis, on the grounds of mishandling context is Emanuel Schegloff (Schegloff 1997). His principal concern is that texts are ‘...too often made subservient to contexts not of its participants’ making, but of its analysts’ insistence’ (p. 183). He argues that as external contexts are potentially infinite, the findings that discourse analysts derive from the analyses they undertake are more about the context they impose on the text, than on an objective assessment of the data. For Schegloff the ‘...mechanisms of interpretation and analysis’ necessary for the analysis of a text are located within it; there is no need to look for a wider context. Though his primary target is the application of discourse analysis to examples of *talk-in-interaction*, Schegloff’s criticism of CDA can be applied to its analysis of any form of text. It therefore challenges the application of CDA in my research agenda and is thus an important issue that requires a response.

Wetherell (1998) suggests that the methodological position presented by Schegloff is not only '...based on his analytic experience but also on (his)...view of what conversation is' (p. 391). She argues that methodologically this is too restrictive; it ignores the meaning of an interaction as part of a '...socially constructed and stabilized system of relations' (p. 393). It is that latter, more nuanced, framework which '...provides a better grounding for analysis' (p. 394). In support of this she cites Laclau and Mouffe (1985), who use an example of building a brick wall, itself derived from Wittgenstein's description of a language-game (Wittgenstein 1953, §7-§8). That scenario illustrates how an activity only becomes meaningful when understood as part of a wider web of social interaction and relationships. This Wetherell refers to as a *discursive repertoire*, and Wittgenstein would have called a *form of life* (§23).

In his defence of context, Billig (1999) adopts a different position from that taken by Wetherell. He maintains that Schegloff's claim, that, unlike discourse analysis, conversational analysis (CA) is ideologically neutral, is incorrect. An examination of CA's rhetoric shows that it too '...contains an ideological view of the social world' (p. 543). Categorising conversations as *ordinary*, as Schegloff does with the examples of transcribed conversations he discusses (Schegloff 1997, p. 183), is also an ideological position. That position becomes apparent, Billig argues, when the relationship of power is made explicit as an element in the conversation. He concludes that not only should attempts to establish analysis that is 'sociologically neutral' (p. 556), that is independent of a wider context, be abandoned, but also that they should be acknowledged as unrealisable. While Wetherell and Billig

challenge Schegloff's critique regarding the lack of sociological/ ideological neutrality in discourse analysis, they do not address what Rogers (2011) refers to as a central '...dilemma of context' (p. 91) in CDA. That *dilemma* is significant because it points to a real difficulty in the practicality of working with context. Establishing arguments for permitting a sociological perspective, letting context in, is insufficient, it is also necessary to establish how it is to be done. According to Stenvoll and Svensson (2011), research strategies are needed so that the '...crucial methodological issue (of) the link between a piece of discourse data...and the interpretation of it' (p. 571) can be satisfactorily addressed. They continue;

'In empirically-orientated social study, connections between specific data (e.g. texts or linguistic exchanges) and the wider context within which these data could be interpreted must somehow be made.' (p. 571)

Approaches to context that characterise it as some sort of objective entity crumble under the weight of their potentially infinite extension. Van Dijk (2008; 2009) suggests an alternative position, one that understands context to be a mental model that is constructed by the subject/ participant in a discourse. However, this makes context ultimately unreachable, lost in a perpetually regressive chain as we consider the analyst's mental model of the mental model constructing the context of the discourse. According to Stenvoll and Svensson these difficulties arise because we are trapped within a '...rhetoric of discovery' (Stenvoll and Svensson 201, p. 572), that attempts to *find the* context. They propose that a more useful line is taken when we replace the rhetoric of discovery with one of justification.

Context becomes an 'interpretive investment' (p. 573) made by the analyst, who justifies the context they have used '...through some specific anchorage to the text-as-data' (p. 574). As such it becomes contestable, but that contestability is its strength and not a ground for abandoning contextualisation completely. While this does not definitively answer the question of how context should be handled within this thesis it does provide a good foundation upon which to build.

By placing my research agenda within the literature of those who have applied CDA to manifestos, I have been able to restate my research agenda in a way that opens up alternative strategies and techniques for the analysis of manifesto texts. Contextualisation of the constitution of culture is central to the research objectives of this thesis. It is something that, while difficult, must be addressed directly. In considering how to *anchor* context as an extension of the analysis of manifestos, a better understanding of governmental politics, as the social practice within and across which that constitution take place, is required. It is the literature of government and social practice, governance and governmentality, to which I now turn.

Governance and governmentality

Bang (2003) describes governance as a communicative relationship of political power between the state and the citizen. Manifesto texts are an interesting example of how political organisations communicate that relationship. Chapter 1 argued that manifesto data offers a distinctive framing of the socio-economic context, and the citizen's relationship to political power, while offering an

aspirational vision of the future, if the party were to be elected. To investigate the articulation of culture in governmental politics through the lens of governance, is to consider how actors, such as political parties and governments, have managed that communicative relationship, and developed frameworks, such as manifestos, in which meaningful action can occur. Much of the governance literature pertinent to this thesis comes from writers interested in the Foucauldian idea of governmentality. They locate the articulation of policy, cultural or otherwise, at the convergence of governance and the governmental; both will be considered in this review.

According to Lemke (2001), Foucault introduces the idea of governmentality to ‘...study the autonomous “individuals” capacity for self-control and how this is linked to forms of political rule and exploitation’ (p. 4). Lemke argues that the origin of this conceptualisation comes from the image of Bentham’s Panopticon¹⁷; this is found in Foucault’s earlier works, and is most thoroughly discussed in ‘Discipline and Punish’ (Foucault 1991 [1977]). Panopticonism lays down the principle that power should be visible but unverifiable. The tower at the centre of Bentham’s prison is a *visible* representation of power but, it is argued, it is the *unverifiable* fact of guard observation that assures the constant self-control of individual prisoners. However, the exercise of external power cannot be completely removed from this

¹⁷ Foucault uses the term *Panopticonism* as the heading for the third section of part 3 of Discipline and Punish. Bentham’s Panopticon was a concept for a prison building that would have a central viewing tower, with the cells arranged around it and facing it. The design of the Panopticon was such that it meant the guards could observe all the prisoners easily from the tower. All behaviour was thereby open to potential scrutiny and discipline. Bentham argued that control of the prison population would thus be easier to maintain.

model. A complete lack of enforcement would soon be detected, and challenged. In place of *self-control* Panopticonism relies on a degree of *control at a distance*.

Barnett (1999) argues that governance in practice does not sit comfortably with this early formulation of governmentality. The relationship between *autonomous individuals* and *political rule* cannot be adequately described as central control at a distance. He suggests a better understanding of how governmentality operates is gained by incorporating Foucault's later work on self-discipline and self-regulation. Such an interpretation of governmentality rests on a self-reflexive movement, based on the presumed gaze of an *other* and not a distant observer who may or may not exercise their power over our action as a judgement. This draws on the politics of the body that emerges from *The History of Sexuality* (Foucault 1998 [1979]) onwards, and which undergoes a more detailed scrutiny in some of Foucault's lectures at the College de France (Foucault 2008; 2010). Barnett later extended his discussion of this body politics, or biopolitics (Foucault 2008), to consider the importance of culture and geography to government (Barnett 2001), and in particular the value of culture to the state. He writes; 'In drawing upon Foucault the relation of culture to power needs to be re-thought' (p. 19); but in what way? His conclusion is worth stating:

'In contemporary political discourses, everything from urban planning and the management of firms to labor (sic) markets and the family are being reconfigured as cultural phenomena in order to be subjected to distinctive technologies of administration and transformation.¹⁸' (p. 23)

¹⁸ The grammar of this quotation is in the original.

According to this thesis, cultural policy is construed as the means by which power cultivates certain forms of agency. It is not that the potential exercise of enforcement by the centre that results in self-control, but the political discourse through which culture is articulated that imbues certain forms of agency with meaning. Consequently, alternate activity is framed as outside meaning, or meaningless. Governance, as biopolitics, informs instrumentalism as a theoretical framework through which to conceptualise the articulation of culture in governmental politics. It legitimises certain forms of activity while delegitimising others, rendering them inaccessible to articulation. Cultural policy becomes a process through which the citizen becomes open to administration, in Foucauldian terms a *technology* of state apparatus¹⁹, rather than the support of culture for its own sake. Being able to critique administrative power, through an investigation of the *constitutive potential* (Farrelly 2010, p. 99) of the discursive relationship between government, culture and the citizen revealed by manifesto texts, is central to understanding the structures and rationales articulating culture in this thesis.

Eva Etzioni-Halevy, has discussed administrative power and discourse in the governance of Western democracies (Etzioni-Halevy 1979²⁰; 1997). She suggests that power rests in a democratically elected elite group. It is the relationship

¹⁹ This is illustrated in one of Foucault's last seminar papers *The political technology of the individual* (Foucault 1982, reproduced in Martin et al. 1988) which reads:

'The problem is this: Which kind of political techniques, which technology of government, has been put to work and used and developed in the general framework of the reason of state in order to make of the individual a significant element for the state?' (p. 153)

²⁰ In this text she concentrates her analysis on Britain, the United States, Australia and Israel.

between these *demo-elites*, as she calls them, and the sub-elite groups they establish, that develop policy and articulate it in practice. Though *demo-elites* are not explicitly defined, in her introduction Etzioni-Halevy acknowledges similarities between them and Schumpeter's conceptualisation of representational democracy (Schumpeter 2010 [1943]²¹). In doing so she implies that whilst articulation may be in the relationship between *demo-elites* and elite sub-groups, the dominant direction of travel is from the top – down.

Bang and Dryberg (2003) criticise theories of elite power for ignoring the autonomous political activity that emerges from the relationships between non-elite individuals or groups. Democratic politics, they suggest, relies on elites recognising the political autonomy of non-elites. Such recognition challenges the top – down approach of Etzioni-Halevy, replacing it with a more reflexive understanding of the connections between elites and non-elites. This reflexivity is referred to by Dean (2003) as culture governance, which he describes as;

‘...rule in contemporary liberal democracies (that) increasingly operates through capacities of self-government and thus needs to act upon, reform and utilise individual and collective conduct so that it might be amenable to such rule.’ (p. 117)

This is very similar to the definition of *hegemony* presented in Hewison's *Culture and Consensus* (Hewison 1997)²², and reproduced in the previous chapter.

Governance, for Dean, is concerned with the political power of government; it is a

²¹ See for example his discussion of the relationship between governmental decision making and the electorate (Schumpeter 2010 [1943] p. 226 and p. 262).

²² Reproduced in Chapter 2.

multi-layered and poly-centric network that needs to become cultured²³ because ‘...it must work through, shape and be shaped by, the agency and energies of self-governing individuals and the communities they form” (Dean 2003, p. 130). The significance of *culturing* governance is two-fold. First, there is the idea that policy is not simply made and imposed from above, but is rooted in the interplay of dynamic and inter-connected actors. Second, is the claim that self-governing individuals form communities. The structure of those ‘communities’, interpreted as a form of ‘coalition’, will be discussed later in this chapter, when the theory of coalition frameworks is discussed in the section on policy process.

Dean’s *culture governance* foreshadows Jessop’s (2004; 2010) *cultural political economy* (CPE), to which it bears more than a passing resemblance. Central to CPE is the overturning of the *naturalised* or *reified* objects of ‘orthodox political economy’ (Jessop 2004, p 160), by arguing that CPE considers such objects as;

‘...socially constructed, historically specific, more or less (dis)embedded in broader networks of social relations and institutional ensembles...’ (Jessop 2004, p. 160)

This description of CPE is very important because it is central to defining the orientation of my research agenda. An investigation of the articulation of culture in governmental politics thus becomes an exploration of culture’s *social construction* in the ‘...historically specific’ network ‘...of social relations and institutional

²³ A note of caution is needed here; ‘Culture’ is used by Dean in an anthropological sense, what Raymond Williams would refer to as a *whole way of life* (Williams 1963 [1958]). His conception of ‘culture governance’ is important because it supports a position that argues governance is concerned with the frameworks within which social and political action and interaction can take place.

ensembles' in which it participates. Miller and Rose (2008) point out that these relationships establish both the way problems are posed to government, and the '...systems of action' (p. 57) established to handle them. Culture is thus constituted as '...an "imaginary" that becomes both an object of, and condition for, governance' (Farrelly 2010, p 101).

Imaginaries within governance emerge within a discourse (Miller and Rose 2008; Farrelly 2010; Jessop 2010); that is, they intertwine language and action in an institutional setting. Policy process studies explores, and develops theoretical structures that are used to interpret, the institutional setting through which policy emerges. Having considered my research agenda in literature concerned with understanding governance and governmentality, I now turn to policy process studies to consider the institutional settings in which the articulation of culture emerges.

Policy process studies

In Chapter 1 I stated that my central research interest was to obtain a clearer understanding of the way culture had been articulated in British governmental politics. That interest grew out of my working experience, leading me to questions concerning the way the articulation of culture in government had shifted, while a freelance arts practitioner and a local government arts officer. That experience was of cultural policy at the policy implementation end of the policy process. It was because of compelling evidence, referred to in that chapter (such as Klingemann et al 1994 and Klemmensen et al. 2007), which connected manifestos to the

frameworks through which policy is articulated, that contributed to my decision to use manifestos as a source of primary data. This thesis, therefore, sits within a line of research interested in the formation of policy. Locating my research agenda within that literature will help inform my research agenda; similarly my research agenda can inform research into the policy process.

The first attempt at theorising the policy process was developed through a systematic description of the policy process conducted, in the late 1960s, by the political scientist Charles Jones. In his review of Kenneth Galbraith's *The New Industrial State*, Jones argued that in order to understand policy formation '...the most productive method...would be to employ some type of policy-making framework' (Jones 1968a, p. 132). Following a detailed empirical study of how the minority party in America's House of Representatives was able to impact the formation of policy, (Jones 1968b) he outlined the stages through which policy emerged in that setting. Jones (1969) later refined this into an analytical tool that could be used to describe, and prescribe, the process of policy formation; this he called the *policy stages heuristic*²⁴.

As a prescription for how groups can effectively develop policy the *stages heuristic* offers a basic toolkit of questions and considerations; it appears as a template for planning in the Green Book (HM Treasury 2003) given to MPs when they become Treasury ministers. However, its capacity to describe how policy is actually formed has been subjected to substantial criticism. The stages of the heuristic assume a top-down structure that moves from policy formation, at the top, to policy

²⁴ A diagrammatic representation of Jones Stages heuristic is reproduced in Appendix A.

implementation, at the bottom. Hjern and Porter (1981), Wilson (1993) and Hoff (2003) have argued that top-down approaches depoliticise the implementers of policy, characterising them as passive enactors. As discussed earlier, in the section on governance and governmentality, Bang and Dryberg (2003) have argued that top-down models of elite power overlook the complex relationships that emerge between non-elite individuals and groups, and elites.

Using a case study of industrial policy in an un-named Danish city, Hoff (2003) has considered how organisations at the bottom become new institutions for policy formation, when political stability is threatened or undermined. Under such circumstances groups and individuals at the bottom can attain power, constituting actors as politically effective in the formation of policy. While Hoff's argument for bottom – up policy formation offers a fascinating alternative perspective on the policy process it only achieves this by construing the top as passive representatives of the bottom.

In the 1980s Paul Sabatier developed a hybrid theory, one that acknowledged the complexity of informal networks and loose associations which exist between the establishment of policy, and its implementation (Sabatier 1986; Sabatier and Pelkey 1987). His description of that complexity he calls the advocacy coalition framework (ACF). ACF suggests that policy formation takes place within a different frame of reference from those that had previously been posited by policy process analysts. He refers to this fuzzy trans-structural formation as the *policy sub-system*.

Within the policy sub-system actors, which include interested individuals and groups, as well as those drawn from different policy-making and policy implementing arenas, are drawn together around an issue or question that has policy implications. Through a shared set of values actors become bound together into coalitions²⁵ (Sabatier and Pelkey 1987). These values will include common ways of recognising a problem (ontic values), the attachment of ethical considerations to an issue (deontic values) and ways of understanding and developing answers to the questions it raises (epistemic values). Some actors in a coalition may be bound to addressing a policy issue formally, such as MPs and civil servants in a Department of State whose remit is pertinent to a particular policy concern; while others may not be conscious of their connection to it. The strength and relative importance of the values that draws an actor towards a policy coalition will vary between its members. If they are strong, and the importance attached to them is great, then the ties to a coalition will also be strong. Where they are weak, an actor is more likely to either migrate to another coalition or leave the policy sub-system completely (Sabatier and Pelkey 1987; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1994).

Coalitions within ACF represent informal structures, exhibiting a varying degree of stability. The awareness of an actor's participation in a coalition will be different from that of its other participants. Consequently concentration on the operation of formal organisational structures is insufficient for understanding policy formation. Instead such an inquiry should look to those people and groups that: '...share a core set of beliefs concerning desirable policy in a specific policy

²⁵ They can be interpreted as Dean's *communities* (Dean 2003, p. 130).

area...irrespective of their organisational affiliation.’ (Sabatier and Pelkey 1987 p. 257) By insisting that advocacy coalitions are fluid and informal, Sabatier is able to incorporate a role for new information. Change in what is known about an area of policy interest can affect how actors relate to the coalition’s core values. As knowledge changes membership will migrate between coalitions, some may even opt out of the policy sub-system completely.

Environmental factors, sometimes referred to as *system shocks* (Weible, Sabatier and McQueen 2009) also have an impact on participation in a coalition; these he splits into four groups – changes to socio-economic conditions; changes in public opinion; a change of government, and the impact of policy decisions emerging from other policy sub-systems.

As a framework Sabatier and his colleagues have principally applied ACF to the analysis of environmental issues, from the perspective of both corporate policy makers and environmental activists²⁶ (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1994; Sabatier 2004; Weible et al. 2009). In this thesis the values associated with coalition binding and *system shocks* are used to develop threads, anchored in the manifestos (Stenvoll and Svensson 2011), that connect the text to a context. As such it represents a trial of the fusion of ACF and CDA. How this will be realised methodologically will be developed further in Chapter 4.

²⁶ It is worth noting that Paul Sabatier is a Professor in Environmental Policy at the University of California.

Sabatier and his colleagues are interested in the policy process from the perspective of how policy is formed. Consequently their analytic gaze is directed more on how policy changes and less on how coalitions emerge. An inquiry into how the articulation of culture has changed over time must address both these aspects of the policy process. According to Delori and Zittoun (2009), coalitions emerge and develop through a process of *argumentation*. In using this term they do not refer to procedures of confrontation and conflict; for them *argumentation* is a development of Toulmin's critique of formal logical arguments. In 'The Uses of Argument' (Toulmin 1958) Toulmin challenges logic's applicability to how ideas and positions are justified, not just in the informal world of conversation but also the more rigorous realm of intellectual inquiry. For Toulmin evidence connects to a conclusion through a series of warrants and qualifications which, while not necessitating a single outcome, do give strong grounds for holding one position rather than another. Delori and Zittoun extend this concept to suggest that an argument is a *social practice* that; '...does not exist out of a context, (it)...is peculiar to a speaker, and always directed to a specific audience.' (p. 18)

Argumentation reveals aspects of the speaker's ontic, deontic and epistemic values; thus exposing potential pathways for coalition connectivity. This exposed potential acts as the foundation upon which coalitions can be built, and the cement that binds them together. They refer to this process as the *pragmatic rhetoric of argumentation*. Argumentation, they argue, rather than being a veil to be drawn aside so the process of policy formation can be seen more clearly, is the process of policy formation in practice.

Delori and Zittoun's (2009) interpretation of coalition formation in the policy process has resonances with a number of areas discussed in this chapter and Chapter 2. Echoes with cultural policy studies can be found in Belfiore's claim that researchers need to understand that policy making is '...rhetorically rooted in argumentation and deliberation' (Belfiore 2010). There is also a suggestion of Duelund's (2004) argument that '...cultural policy in a modern society is constituted by (the) interplay between different rationalities' (p. 2). Though they use different terminology, Duelund's 'different rationalities', Belfiore's 'rhetorically rooted' *deliberations*, and Delori and Zittoun's 'pragmatic rhetoric of argumentation' all attempt to understand the formation of policy in its relationship to power and language. The relationship between power and language brings us full circle to the literature that applied CDA to manifesto analysis. That was also concerned with issues of power and language, and the importance of language and social practice in the articulation of that power.

In conclusion

The literature reviewed in this chapter has spanned several broad themes not commonly drawn into consideration in cultural policy studies research. Locating my research agenda within that part of the CDA literature enabled me to reconsider that agenda; restating it within that analytic tradition. That has led me to a review of the work of researchers that have developed theories of the activity of government as a social practice. Locating my research agenda within that context has enhanced the theoretical framework underpinning the central questions of my thesis. That, in turn, has led to a final revision to the wording of my original

research objective, now framed as an inquiry into the *imaginary* of culture as discerned in its articulation in governmental politics. Finally I located my research within the field of policy process studies. In doing so I was able to gain a better understanding of how to address the question of context, which had presented a challenge to the role CDA could play in the thesis. Through drawing together ACF and CDA a more contextually sensitive approach to my research objectives could be developed. The importance of power and language is crucial to this thesis. Developing the ideas that have emerged in the literature reviewed in this chapter, and Chapter 2, Chapter 4 will outline the methods I shall adopt in order to fulfil my research objectives.

Chapter 4

Methodology

The last two chapters have located the research agenda and questions set out in Chapter 1 within several areas of academic investigation. Chapter 2 placed my research agenda at the heart of cultural policy studies, situating it at a junction between two central lines of inquiry in that field. Those research trajectories were: an inquiry into the structures through which government engaged with culture, and a consideration of the rationales that could be applied to justify governmental engagement.

A significant conclusion from Chapter 2 was that, given the data source I had chosen and the empirical basis of my interest in rationale, cultural policy studies was not able to offer me a suitable theoretical framework for my inquiry. The need for a secure foundation, from which I could develop my research strategy and establish a framework through which to critically evaluate my findings, led to a consideration of a wider range of literature.

Chapter 3 reviewed the work of scholars working in areas of governance and governmentality, critical discourse analysis and policy process theory. By locating my inquiry within those other areas of academic activity I have been able to refine my research objectives, establishing a firm theoretical basis from which to develop my theoretical framework and research approach. In this chapter I shall present the methods that will be used, over the forthcoming chapters, to analyse and contextualise data drawn from the election manifestos of 1945 to 2010.

In presenting my methods I shall discuss the rationales for the choices I have made at each stage; where alternative strategies were considered but subsequently rejected, the reasons for not pursuing them will be presented. Structurally this chapter will be split into three sections. Part 1 will address questions pertaining to the data set itself. That will include a commentary on locating the data, a description of it, and the choices that have been made which are relevant to the selection of material to be drawn from the data set. In Part 2, I shall present and discuss the analytic approaches adopted in the analysis of the data. The techniques that have been adopted combine quantitative and qualitative analysis. Quantitative tools have been used for a further refinement to the sampling, while qualitative analytic approaches have been applied to that refined sample as a means of interpreting the data. Part 3 will outline how the research strategies discussed in Part 2 are to be deployed in Chapters 5 to 7.

Part 1: The Data Set

Chapter 1 argued that manifestos were a valuable source of data and presented a number of justifications for selecting them as a source of primary data for this thesis. Those justifications included arguments for the discursive significance of manifestos at elections (for example Smith and Smith 2000; Jones et al. 2006), and empirical evidence for a connection between manifesto position and a party's political position post election (such as Klingemann et al. 1994 and Klemmensen et al. 2007).

Having chosen to use manifestos as a source of data, gaining access to the original source material proved to be difficult. Copies of original manifesto documents were held by neither the parliamentary archive at the House of Commons nor at the individual party headquarters. A selection of originals were found in the respective party archives of the Conservative, Labour and Liberal /Liberal Democrat archives²⁷; with some archives also containing material for other parties, as well as their own party specific collection. However, these sources did not provide full coverage for the period to be subjected to analysis²⁸.

Print copy transcripts of the text of election manifestos have been published.

F.W.S. Craig (1975) reproduced, with introduction, the texts of the manifestos of all three parties, for elections between 1900 and October 1974. The most recent updating of that project has been under the editorship of Iain Dale (Dale 2000a, b, and c), who has edited and published the transcription of manifestos from 1900 to 1997. That edition includes introductions by several scholars interested in politics and psephology²⁹.

Digital transcriptions of manifestos texts, and some PDFs produced by the political parties themselves, for some general and regional elections, are available online through the University of Keele's Political Science Resource (PSR) website.

Created by Professor Richard Kimber, and now maintained by the University of

²⁷ The respective archives, and their location are: the Conservative party archive is held at the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford; the Labour Party archive forms part of the People's History Museum in Manchester and the Liberal/ Liberal Democrat archive (post 1945) is held at the main library of the London School of Economics.

²⁸ A full list of the manifestos accessed for this thesis, their location and the format they were available in, can be found in Appendix B.

²⁹ Psephology is the study and analysis of election results.

Keele's Politics Department, the PSR website holds manifesto texts in a mixture of *Word* or PDF formats for each of the three parties chosen for scrutiny, covering every general election from 1945 to 2010.

As documents, manifestos are complex objects. In combining text, including different font sizes and a variety of layouts; graphic elements such as photographs, charts and tables, and a range of navigational devices, from chapters to the nesting of multiple headings and subheadings; manifestos offer several routes by which they can be interrogated. This complexity has emerged over time. To give some indication as to how manifestos have altered over the eighteen elections, from 1945 to 2010, Table 1 lists a number of descriptors for the manifestos produced by the Conservative, Labour and Lib/Dem parties for elections in 1945 and 2010.

	Year	Number of pages	Cost	Format	Use of images and tables etc
Co³⁰	1945	16	1d	Paper covered with title and Winston Churchill's name as a cover	No – text only
	2010	120	£5	Hardbound book and free downloadable PDF	Yes - throughout
La	1945	12	2d	Booklet with a thicker paper stock cover, this cover also contains a graphic	Cover graphic only
	2010	154	£5	Paperback book and free downloadable PDF	Yes - throughout
L/D	1945	4	1d	Paper, one sheet folded, no cover	Party symbol either side of the title, and an elaborate font is used for the name of the party
	2010	114	£5	Paperback book and free downloadable PDF	Yes - throughout

Table 1: Some differences between party election manifestos in 1945 and 2010³¹

Such a diversity of data could be handled semiotically. A semiotic analysis of manifestos would be interesting, and would certainly produce some fascinating findings. However, the absence of a full set of original election manifesto documents, or detailed digitised copies, means a semiotic analysis would not be able to cover all 54 manifestos. The only data available for analysis, over the full run of eighteen elections, is the linguistic content of the documents. Analytic

³⁰ In all tables, charts and figures the three parties will be referred to by the following abbreviations; the Conservative party – Co; the Labour party – La; and the Liberal party/ Lib/Dems – L/D.

³¹ Table 1 is a sample, for brevity, of a more detailed descriptive analysis; the raw data from which it is taken is presented in Appendix C.

scrutiny of the manifestos therefore needs to focus on an analysis of the manifesto texts.

Transcriptions of the manifestos were available as print and digital copy. However, when compared, there were small differences found between the different transcription sources. None of these differences were substantive, and most could be attributed to typographical errors made by the transcribers.

Part 2: Analytic Toolkit

The analytic techniques that have been adopted in this thesis combine quantitative and qualitative approaches that were applied in two phases. The details of each phase will be discussed later; a general overview is presented here by way of an introduction.

Phase one begins with a quantitative mapping of the instance of specific lexical markers in the manifesto content. The selection of markers, which I shall discuss shortly, was made to indicate the possible presence of cultural policy in the manifesto texts. In mapping the content the analysis follows a suggestion by Dobson (2007), who argued that a useful way to begin a discourse analysis was to obtain an initial impression via a broad sweep of a large body of data (p. 111). The mapping of lexical instance is used in Chapter 5 to suggest general, diachronic, patterns of change in the importance of cultural policy over the full duration of the period under analysis; 1945 to 2010. As an analytic approach the mapping will also be used as a means of selecting electoral periods for more detailed,

qualitative, analysis in Chapters 6 and 7. An extension of the mapping technique, which I refer to as *clustering*, was used to indicate those areas of the manifesto where a construction of culture, and the relationship between culture, government and the citizen, was more likely to be occurring.

Phase two presents the qualitative strategies to be applied to the texts located in those election manifestos, selected by the quantitative analysis. As with the quantitative approaches, the qualitative analysis is also in two parts. The qualitative analysis applies a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach, derived from Fairclough, to the texts identified by the quantitative analysis. This will be used to identify the constructions of culture, government and the citizen they contain, and how the text suggests they are connected. Following the CDA the framework for contextualising those constructions, based on Sabatier's conceptualisation of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), will be developed.

The details of these two phases of the analysis will be discussed under the sub headings *Quantitative Methods* and *Qualitative Methods*.

Quantitative Methods

Of the two quantitative approaches, content mapping and clustering, it is the former that requires the more extensive elaboration. Clustering, as it is an extension of the mapping analysis, uses the same rationales as the mapping, and therefore needs a less detailed exposition.

In establishing an approach to content mapping appropriate for the research agenda of this thesis, a number of existing manifesto mapping strategies were considered. The most wide ranging analysis of manifesto content has been undertaken by Ian Budge and his colleagues, in Europe and the USA, on the comparative manifestos project (CMP).

The methodology used by the CMP involves teams of researchers coding election documents at the level of a quasi-sentence. A *quasi-sentence* is either a full or a part sentence that contains a reference to one of seven pre-defined domains. Each of those domains is then divided into a number of categories; of which there are a total of 54. For each category there is a definitional note. These have been established to maintain consistency between different readers tasked with coding the text. Within this framework 'culture' is placed as the second category under the fifth domain (welfare and quality of life). Its definitional note is:

'502 Culture: Positive

Need to provide cultural and leisure facilities including arts and sport; need to spend money on museums, art galleries etc.; need to encourage worthwhile leisure activities and cultural mass media.' (Werner et al. 2007, p. 12)

Every *quasi-sentence* that can be associated with this definitional note is counted and recorded, their content mapped along two axes. The first axis refers to where the statement, expressed in the *quasi-sentence*, sits on an ideological spectrum

from the political Left, to Right. The second axis refers to the value judgement attributed to the statement; whether it is considered a good thing, labelled positive, or a bad one, labelled negative. Most definitional notes are classed as neutral and their direction is documented. Others, such as the definitional note for culture, are given a prescribed attribute; it is the divergence from this assumed attribution that is then recorded.

The work of the CMP has found a substantive connection between policy position in party manifestos and party position, post election, across western democracies. Central to the analysis developed by the CMP is establishing the relative importance of policy areas to political parties, compared to other areas of a party's policy position. Consequently the results of the ongoing research of the CMP are of value in assessing how much more important, for example, education policy is to welfare reform. Harder to discern is the growing significance of a policy area such as cultural policy, in its own right. A policy area may be of increasing value to a party. However, if the significance of other policy areas is increasing at a faster rate the CMP results would indicate that it was in decline.

A further difficulty in applying the CMP methodology to content mapping in this thesis is the requirement for a set definition of culture. By setting a pre-established definition of culture the capacity for this research to ascertain how culture was being constructed in the text would be undermined.

Laver, one time member of Budge's team, has suggested an alternative to the fixed definitional note approach adopted by the CMP (Laver and Garry 2000). In

place of its fixed definitional framework Laver suggests the creation of an operational dictionary. That more flexible approach to identifying policy areas enables an adjustment to be made to the analysis, which allows for meaning change from one election to another. However, the Laver approach closes off the possibility of inquiry into synchronic differences between parties, making it equally unsuitable.

Klemmensen et al. (2007) have adopted an approach, similar to that used by computational corpus linguists, which uses the values of instance attached to individual words as a measure of policy priority. Using software they break down texts into tables of word frequency. This overcomes the pre-definition and shared definition issues that restrict the application of the CMP and Laver's research approach to this thesis. This strategy however requires a large body of data, and the detail required to discern trends in individual policy areas, particularly ones that are not necessarily central to a party's overall political position, can be lost.

A research strategy that navigates between these three approaches would form the basis of a robust, empirically solid, means of mapping the place of culture in the manifestos to be investigated. It is important to note that *cultural policy*, as an expression, has never occurred in a British election manifesto. It has never been a heading or part of one; nor has it ever occurred in the text of any manifesto. This is not surprising. *Monetary policy*, for example, has never appeared in a Conservative party manifesto, despite its importance in Margaret Thatcher's first term as Prime Minister. The expression *health policy* has not appeared in a Labour party manifesto, even when it proposed the development of a National

Health Service during its 1945 campaign. Instead of looking for 'cultural policy' or for sentences referring to a pre-set definition of culture, even one which changes from election to election, it is proposed that the frequency of a set of lexical markers be recorded. In selecting markers that would signpost those parts of the manifesto where the construction of culture may be occurring it would be possible to:

- 1) Ascertain the level of interest a party is giving to the place of culture in their political agenda
- 2) Locate those places, in the manifesto, where a party presents rationales for how it construes the relationship between culture and government

The markers selected need to carry appropriate rationales for their inclusion, but do not need a precise a definition, as adopted by the CMP. They would, therefore, have a degree of semantic flexibility, without being semantically neutral. The way they are construed within the text can also carry a greater level of flexibility than that found in Laver or Klemmensen's approach. I have chosen three lexical markers, *art*, *cultur*, and *heritage*, as the searched for terms in a content analysis of the manifestos. Table 2 sets these out with some initial rules for what is to count as an occurrence and what is not. This will be followed with the rationales for their selection.

Lexical Marker	Initial rules for inclusion and exclusion
Art	This was sought, irrespective of capitalisation. For the purposes of mapping such derivatives as arts; artist and artistic were included. Those words that contained 'art', such as party; artificial and partnership, were excluded.
Cultur	This was sought without an e, irrespective of capitalisation. Derivatives like culture and cultural were included, while those words contained 'cultur', such as agricultural, were excluded.
Heritage	This was sought as a unique term, irrespective of capitalisation. There are no derivatives that <i>heritage</i> forms part of, so there were no additional words to be included. Initially no grounds set for exclusions relating to this marker.

Table2: Lexical markers and their initial rules for inclusion

As the markers are not individual words but, in two cases, part words used to identify others derived from them, the term 'lexeme' will be used to refer to them.

These three lexemes were chosen because an association could be established between them and cultural policy. The rationales for selecting these markers are: the experience of my own working practice; an association within the structures that have existed within government for managing the relationship between culture and the state; and a connection between them that can be found in the cultural policy studies literature. These will be discussed under the subheadings; *personal experience*; *the structures of government* and *within the literature*.

To use *personal experience* as a rationale requires establishing the provenance of that experience. For more than twenty years I have worked in arts management. My career has covered freelance coordination of community arts projects and employment as an arts officer, working for a number of local authorities in both the north and south of England. In that latter capacity one of my responsibilities had been the writing of borough wide cultural strategies, of which I have written two and contributed to three. As well as a tool for future planning, the Department of Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) suggested that these documents review the current artistic, cultural and heritage assets of the borough with which they were to be associated.

Within the cultural services departments in which I have worked, my role was also to support local artists; develop projects that engaged the local community in arts and cultural activity; work with the curators of municipal art galleries and assist various bodies in securing funding for local projects. The proposals I would be required to assist would cover the arts, culture and heritage of the borough. My budgetary allocation would be reviewed annually. In those circumstances, where a large contribution was being made from my resources, the

matter would be reported to, and discussed, by that group of local councillors who formed the borough's culture and heritage scrutiny committee. During the years I worked in local government my responsibilities have been varied. They have included:

Managing the staff and co-ordinating a programme of activities at a grade 2* listed building (an 18th century windmill), and a small (200 seat) art deco theatre;

The development of internal relationships with the council environmental design and economic development teams

Securing funding for coastal regeneration programmes and developing volunteering opportunities for 'cultural ambassadors' and 'heritage champions'³²;

The close connection of art, culture and heritage were central to my activity. But it was not merely a peculiarity of the positions I had held. As a member of NALGAO (the National Association of Local Government Arts Officers) it was apparent that the three lexemes formed the foundation of the work for the majority of those working in public sector arts development.

³² These were the names given to volunteers working on specific projects within one borough. Similar schemes, sometimes using different nomenclature, have been formed in by many local authorities.

Since 1945 the government offices and departments, responsible for managing the relationship between culture and the state, have assumed a relationship between art, culture and heritage. Two points illustrate this.

Jennie Lee was appointed Britain's first Minister for Arts by the then Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, in 1964. Her office, the Office of Arts and Libraries, was initially located within the Ministry of Public Buildings and Work. Wilson had put her in that Ministry because responsibility for historic buildings was originally considered central to her remit (Wilson 1971). Though she was later moved to the Department of Education and Science (Hollis 1997), her responsibilities for built heritage remained. A cursory review of her participation in parliamentary debates also reveals her role, as minister, covered matters concerning the arts, culture and heritage³³.

The first Department of State with responsibility for the culture, and ministerial representation in Cabinet, was established in 1992. Through *Statutory Instrument 1311*, John Major created the Department of National Heritage. In 1997 the newly

³³ A general listing of contributions made by Jennie Lee in the House of Commons, as Minister for the Arts and Leisure, can be found at <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com>.

incumbent Prime Minister, Tony Blair, changed its name to the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). Initially at least the remit of both these departments were very similar; acknowledging an association between art, culture and heritage as part of their departmental responsibilities. Though the general election in 2010 has seen a further change in political administration, and substantial changes to the responsibilities of several departments, the remit of the DCMS still includes *art*, *culture*, and *heritage*. This suggests that in British government, at a level of Cabinet accountability, there is an assumed connection.

Within the literature

The research in the cultural policy studies, reviewed in Chapter 2, assumes an association between the three lexemes. For example the work of Bennett (such as Bennett 1991) and Lewis (1990), amongst others, rests on developing a set of rationales for government's engagement with culture. Such work assumes a connection between the arts; culture and heritage, in the field of cultural policy studies research.

Bennett's (1994) '*Cultural policy in the UK: An historical perspective*' is particularly significant. This paper formed a keynote speech to a seminal conference, held at the University

of Warwick in 1994. The conference contributed to the founding of the University's centre for cultural policy research, and subsequently the launch of the highly respected International Journal for Cultural Policy. A connection between art, culture and heritage is central to that paper. The three markers can therefore be seen in the foundations of cultural policy studies, as an academic field, in Britain.

An initial survey of the incidence of the selected lexemes was undertaken manually. Though computerised systems were considered, their use was rejected. While there are many software packages available that can be used for content and corpus analysis such systems tend to require large corpora of data, and produce extensive lists of words and collocations. When undertaking an analysis of a large body of text such techniques play a valuable part in facilitating the formation of hypotheses, and deliver numerical data that can then be subjected to statistical testing. In comparison, the corpus for this research was relatively small. Manual collation of data was just as efficient and less time consuming, than any computerised alternative. It was also found that manually processing was of value in locating instances of lexemes that would distort the results of the mapping process.

From the initial survey it became clear that some lexical instances were not working as required. The data would need to be cleared of these before mapping could begin. Each instance of *art*, *culture* and *heritage* was looked at separately to determine whether or not it was operating, in the text, as an indicator of culture.

This resulted in establishing additional criteria, beyond those presented in Table 2, for the exclusion of instances from the mapping process. These new rules covered two categories for expulsion; inappropriate usage and double counting. Table 3 presents these with examples drawn from some of the manifestos.

Category	Description	Example
Inappropriate usage	Use in a broader anthropological sense, drawing its usage outside of the research agenda	<p>Conservative manifesto 2010 - 'Transparency is crucial to creating a value for money culture'.</p> <p>Labour manifesto 1997 - 'A major objective is to promote a culture of responsibility for learning within the family...'</p>
Double counting	<p>Repetition:</p> <p>On a contents or index page. As a quote from the manifesto, within a separate text box, on the same or adjacent page.</p>	<p>1997 Conservative manifesto – 'Arts' and 'Heritage' appear on the contents page and as headings in the text.</p> <p>2010 Lib/Dem manifesto - 'culture' appears as a heading, repeated in the index.</p> <p>2001 Conservative manifesto – A line from page 42, containing the word 'culture', is repeated as a quote on page 43.</p>

Table 3: Further rules, with examples, for excluding lexical instance

All instances of lexemes not covered by the rules for exclusion listed in Tables 2 and 3 were counted.

This concludes the description of the method of content mapping. The second research technique used within the quantitative phase of the analysis was clustering.

Clustering

Mapping the instance of lexemes was used in this research for two purposes;

- 1) To provide a quantitative means by which to present the changing level of the state's engagement with culture.
- 2) To assist in the selection of periods, within the historical scope of the thesis, for deeper analytic scrutiny in Chapters 6 and 7.

While the instance of a lexeme signposted the places where cultural policy may be located, and hence those areas of the manifesto where the rationales for government's engagement with culture were being presented, it was found that not all signposting was equal. In some cases a lexeme may occur under a heading or subheading where it appears as the sole referent. For example, in the 1959 Liberal manifesto, under the heading *People Count*, we find the following instance:

'[We will]... trade with the peoples of the world - exchange goods, not H-bombs; tell the Press - don't bar them from Councils; free the Police to do their proper job - their task is to prevent crime; help and encourage the Fine Arts.'

Clustering looks at the density of lexical instance under each heading within a document. In doing this areas of the manifesto that offer a more concentrated consideration of the relationship between culture and the state can be identified. Clustering charts were constructed for each set of elections, identified in Chapter 5, which would be subjected to deeper scrutiny in Chapters 6 and 7. Table 4 is an example of one of the charts, using data gathered from the manifestos of 1992.

Number of headings in which lexemes occur		Co	La	L/D
	1 st	2	1	1
	2 nd	1	6	16
	3 rd	4		1
	4 th	2		1
	5 th	18		
	6 th	2		
	7 th	2		
	8 th	1		
	9 th	3		
	10 th	11		

Table 4: Density of lexical instance by heading in the manifestos for the 1992 election

The naming of headings and subheadings is unique to the party presenting the manifesto, hence the preference here to use numbers in the clustering charts rather than titles. Values in each cell, under each party, refer to the number of lexemes found within those parts of the document. Where there are no values it is because the lexeme occurs under no other heading in the manifesto. The example above shows that the density of lexemes for the Conservative party was highest under the 5th heading in which they occur, though the 10th heading also has a high clustering. There were only two headings in the Labour manifesto containing

lexemes; the 2nd of these had the highest concentration. In the Lib/Dem manifesto there were four headings that contained lexemes; the 2nd has the highest density.

In the qualitative analysis of those documents selected by the content mapping process, instances will not be ignored. However, the use of clustering provides a quantitatively rigorous approach to establishing where, in the manifesto, a more concentrated analytic scrutiny is most likely to be of value.

Qualitative Methods

The qualitative methods used in this thesis begin with an analysis of manifesto texts, before proceeding to locate the constructions found in those texts in the context in which they participate. This is not to suggest text and context are causally connected, nor is it a device for imposing a presumed ideological position on the interpretation of the text (Schegloff 1997). The importance of a co-dependent relationship between text and context was emphasised in Chapter 3. There are sound pragmatic and theoretical reasons for proceeding from textual analysis to contextualisation.

The characteristics of the core data set of this inquiry, which in a sense are its *research subjects*, are important. Manifesto texts, as a collection of words, are a stable fixed point of reference. Pragmatically it is far more straightforward to work from a stable position than one that is shifting. Focusing on a stable position adds clarity of focus to the investigation.

The words of a manifesto, unlike a human subject, cannot be rewritten or choose not to participate in the investigation. Election manifestos also differ from many other socio-historical events in that, though the interpretation of the words may alter, the likelihood that new information will come to light that will show that these were not the words to be interpreted but some other, is remote. There are thus sound theoretical reasons, following Stenvoll and Svensson (2011), for suggesting the textual analysis of the manifestos forms a good point to anchor context.

Nevertheless some caution must be taken when applying qualitative/ interpretive techniques, to ensure that they do not push text and context apart. Textual analysis and contextualisation operate reflexively: the text illuminating the context, while the context also illuminates the text. Consequently contextualisation may sometimes filter into textual analysis; as textual analysis may also drift into contextualisation. In a piece of work shorter than a thesis this reflexive interplay of text and context would form a central feature of the analysis; for clarity they will, for the most part, be differentiated.

Discourse analysis

Chapter 3 argued that CDA did not form a prescribed set of analytical tools; it is more of an attitude towards the analysis of discourse that seeks to uncover relationships of power. It is the location of this research within a theoretical framework informed by theories of governance and governmentality, which makes CDA an appropriate orientation for textual analysis. However, the absence of a set toolkit leaves open how the analysis is to proceed. Johnstone (2011) has

developed a series of general questions with which to challenge a text as a means of initiating the process of reading it from a CDA perspective. Answers to these questions are not intended to be sought definitively; their purpose is to act as a basis from which to approach an interpretation of the text. They therefore form a heuristic, rather than a set method. Adapted for the research material of this thesis Johnstone's questions become³⁴:

- What language does the text use to describe the world relevant to the policy area?
- Who are identified as actors in the policy area being discussed?
- How does the text describe these actors?
- What is it these actors are described as doing that is relevant to the policy area?
- Where is responsibility and accountability for change, or maintaining the status quo, located?
- How is the reader presented in the text?
- What part does government play in the policy area?
- What arguments for or against the policy area are developed?

Questioning the identified samples of the Manifesto documents in this way ascertains the construction(s) of culture, government, the citizen and the relationship between them that the texts contain. Following Smith and Smith (2000) this anchors those constructions in the 'discursive universe' (p. 468) of the manifesto; not to secure it, but to use it to provide a rationale (Stenvoll and Svensson 2011), a point of relative stability, from which to develop a context. This approach differs from that taken by narrative policy analysts, for example Bevir

³⁴ These questions have developed from a consideration of those devised by Johnstone (2011) in her lecture: *A heuristic approach to discourse analysis*.

and Rhodes (1998; 2003), Bevir (2006) and Holmes (2007), in that there is no assumption of a narrative tradition in which the construction is to be located. To do so would open up the analysis to Schegloff's (1997) critique of making the text '...subservient to contexts not of its participants' making but of its analysts' insistence' (p. 183). As far as possible I want to allow the texts to speak, to allow the possibly contested constructions they contain to appear, rather than presuming their differences prior to reading through assuming the narrative tradition in which they are participating. Though it seems highly likely that culture is politically contested (Gray 2010), the question of whether the articulation of culture is contested in political discourse is left open, to be drawn from the analysis rather than prescribed by it.

Contextualisation

Chapter 3 pointed out that the handling of context in discourse analysis, sometimes referred to as the incorporation of a sociological agenda (Billig 1999; Hutchby 1999), was challenging. In response to that, the approach suggested by Stenvoll and Svensson (2011), to anchor context in the text, has been adopted by this thesis. However, this still leaves the process by which contextualisation is to proceed unaddressed. In this section I shall present how the ACF of Sabatier and his colleagues can be drawn into a CDA of the text, providing a plan for handling text that addresses the practical issues around data selection, whilst being theoretically satisfying.

If context is to be of methodological value it must be clear what is being contextualised. Following on from the quantitative analyses already discussed, there are two areas requiring contextualisation. One of these is the electoral periods selected by the content mapping; the other is the constructions found in the manifestos. A heuristic is required that will enable us to locate both in the context in which they are participating.

The term *heuristics* derives from mathematics. Within that field it refers to a systematic discovery process which draws on multiple perspectives; these are applied to approach an answer where no direct mechanical procedures are available (Johnstone 2011). As such, a heuristic neither attempts to develop a flawless answer, nor does it accept that all possibilities are exhausted. A single and definitive answer to the question is considered inappropriate. The complexity of the question is thought to make such an answer unachievable. Instead, by considering suggested possibilities, it edges closer to an answer; showing what can be produced from its application. A contextualisation heuristic would therefore be consistent with Stenvoll and Svensson's (2011) position, that context is not about *discovery*, but an 'interpretive investment' (p. 573) of the analyst, deployed to enhance our understanding of the text.

Sabatier's ACF presents a number of insights of value in developing a heuristic for contextualisation. To do this requires a deeper consideration of the constituent elements of a coalition, and the factors that have an impact upon it. According to Weible, Sabatier and McQueen (2009), as discussed in Chapter 3, these elements are the ontology (ontic values), ethics (deontic values) and knowledge (epistemic

values) that hold a coalition together. For any particular actor, whether an individual, organisation or group, these values are complex, and not always explicitly expressed. Each set of values will be distributed across three levels of commitment, whilst being most commonly associated with one of them. The levels of commitment relate to how easily external factors can impact a change in the actors' values, and thereby alter their position in a coalition. These levels are:

- *Deep Core Values* these are inviolate, almost immovable, and most closely associated with an actor's ontology.
- *Core Values* are those which are more broadly associated with the issues and concerns, around which policy is forming; as such these are more commonly connected to an actor's ethics.
- *Secondary Values* cover the more loosely associated attributes of the policy issue; they are therefore most easily changed. It is at the level of *secondary values* that knowledge plays a crucial part.

To understand how a coalition changes over time is to consider who the actors of the coalition are, what are the values binding them together, and what are the external factors that are having an impact on its development? It is those *external factors* which enable ACF to be used as a heuristic for contextualisation.

Questions pertaining to the ontic, deontic, and epistemic values located in the text can be easily connected to Johnstone's heuristic presented earlier; they can also form the foundation of inquiring into the coalition that produced the text being interrogated. Importantly those external events ACF associates with changes; in the socio-economic conditions; in socio-cultural attitudes and social structure; in

government; and in other policy areas can be used to formulate a context, anchored in the text.

ACF on its own suffers from a number of limitations. For Sabatier the framework represents a causative theory that tries to identify the forces that *cause* policy change. A causal theory of context, however, can lead to the difficulties identified in van Dijk's conceptualisation of context as a mental model: discussed in Chapter 3. In order to claim a factor is the cause of change one must either accept that it was uncaused, or caused by something else. If it were caused by something else we are faced with the question – what caused that? This is a mirror of the ever expanding circularity of van Dijk's model. If we adopt a position that says to inquire into the cause of our cause is irrelevant, then we are led to inquire how the identified factor connects to the elements it *affects*; i.e. what *causes* that connection? Such an approach leads to a regressive circularity. In both cases an actual consideration of context is lost. It is at this point that Stenvoll and Svensson (2011) would argue that both approaches are at fault because they are trapped within a '...rhetoric of discovery' (p. 572). By replacing the causal connection at the centre of ACF with Stenvoll and Svensson's analytical investment, ACF and CDA can be drawn together and offer a contextually rich discourse analysis. ACF with CDA can address questions of power, governance and governmentality, in balance with the constitution and values of the coalitions articulating them.

Part 3: In Conclusion

In Part 2 a series of analytic strategies and techniques have been presented that will, over the next three chapters, be used to interrogate the articulation of culture in British governmental politics from 1945 to 2010.

Chapter 5 will apply quantitative analytic techniques to the 54 election manifestos selected for this inquiry. Content mapping of the three lexemes selected, will be used to establish any pattern of change in the significance placed on governmental engagement with culture since 1945. A disaggregation of data gathered, into lexeme instance at the level of the individual party, will then form the basis of selecting electoral periods for deeper scrutiny in later chapters.

Chapter 1 noted that elections form periods of possible transition. In order to capture this possibility selection will be made on the basis of two sets of adjacent elections. Those electoral sets will form the focus for analysis in Chapters 6 and 7. A refinement of the technique used to identify elections will look at how lexemes cluster within individual election texts. That clustering will be used to signpost where, within the manifesto, the textual analysis is to concentrate.

Chapters 6 and 7 will both apply the qualitative research strategies that have been discussed to two different sets of elections. Each of those chapters will begin with a textual analysis of the construction of culture, government, the citizen and the relationship between them, in those parts of the manifesto indicated by the clustering analysis presented in Chapter 5. The text of each party will be considered in turn, for each election identified through the content mapping. Each

election will then be contextualised through the application of the contextualisation heuristic presented earlier. Because of the intimate interconnectivity of text and context these two strategies intersect, though for clarity they will, where possible, be dealt with separately.

The analytic approach presented in this chapter is radically different from anything previously attempted within cultural policy studies research. In empirically anchoring the investigation of structure and rationale, strategies and techniques more commonly associated with other academic disciplines have been appropriated and, in some cases, used in new ways. What is particularly exciting about this empirically enriched approach to cultural policy studies is that it offers a new way of conceiving research in that discipline. The possibility of developing new questions and establishing new relationships with other research areas is opened up, and through that opening cultural policy studies and its future research partners can grow and progress.

Chapter 5

Content and Selection

In the two decades following the end of the Second World War, culture was treated as little more than an aside within British government. With the creation of a minister for the arts, in 1964, this began to change. By 2010 culture had become an important element of the government's agenda, deemed to contribute to a variety of policy areas. Through the lexemes identified in Chapter 4, this chapter will consider this trend quantitatively. Using an analysis of the election manifestos to map the frequency of those lexemes, the historical pattern of their instance will be presented graphically. This will be triangulated by the application of a similar analytic approach to an alternative, though associated, data set. The results of the triangulation will be used to validate the diachronic trend discerned in the manifesto data. In doing so the trend found in the manifesto data is shown to represent, quantitatively, the changing history of governmental engagement with culture since 1945.

Having established an historical pattern in the consideration of culture during elections, and in government, the figures used will be disaggregated into their party specific constituent data. This allows synchronic differences to emerge, as it reveals the different levels of lexeme usage that have occurred between each party, at general elections between 1945 and 2010. The frequencies identified for individual parties are then used to select two sets of neighbouring elections. Each of the selected sets of elections will, in turn, be subjected to textual analysis and contextualisation in Chapters 6 and 7. In order to locate the relevant areas of the

manifestos to be used in those later chapters, the process of clustering, detailed in Chapter 4, is applied to gather data on the distribution of lexemes in the text.

This chapter forms an important engine in moving forward the process of developing answers to my research questions. Though not as immersed in the linguistic richness of the manifesto texts; the socio-economic and political changes of the periods it identifies; or cognisant of the shifting place of culture in the hierarchy of governmental politics, it is an essential stepping stone from which those other destinations can be reached.

Establishing the historical trend

Figure 6 presents the raw data of lexical instance, gathered from each party manifesto from 1945 to 2010. This is shown histographically³⁵ as each election is, as argued in Chapters 1 and 4, a discrete historical moment.

³⁵ With the exception of Figure 5 the numerical data used in constructing all Figures and Tables in this chapter are presented in tabular format in Appendix D. An explanation of the abbreviations used to refer to the three parties appears in the section headed *Abbreviations and Acronyms* at the beginning of the thesis, and in Chapter 4.

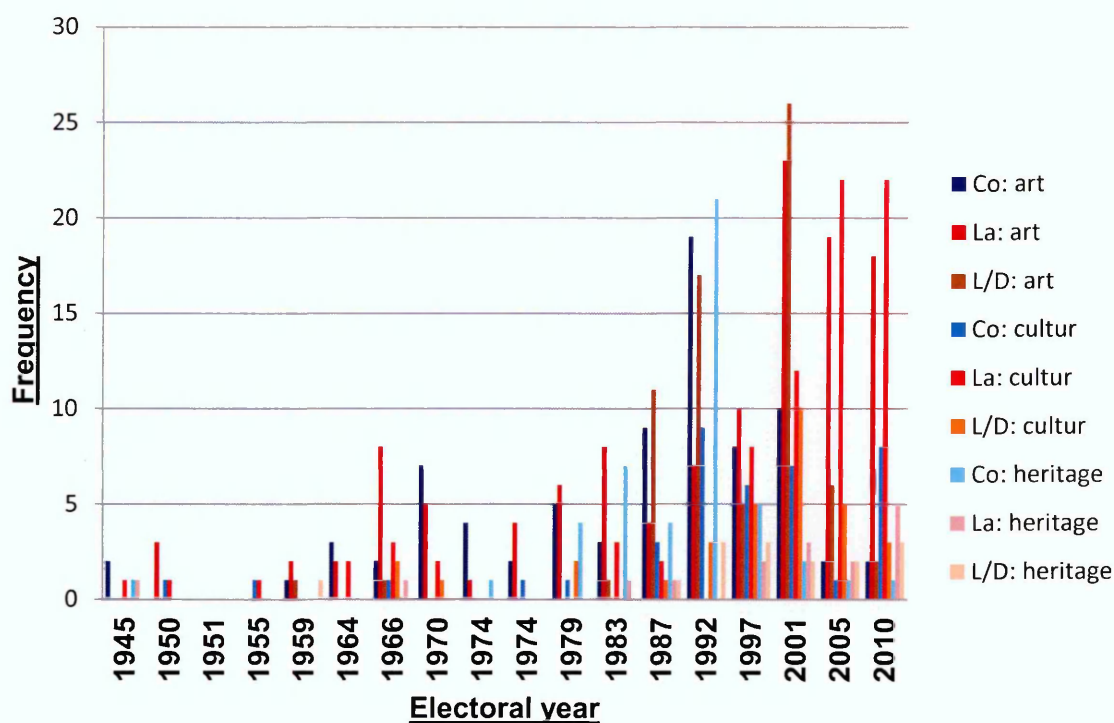


Figure 1: Frequency of lexemes by manifesto in each electoral year³⁶

A number of observable trends can already be discerned in Figure 1. Between 1945 and 2010 there is a clear increase in the frequency of lexical instance, which peaks at the 2001 election. There is also an increasing congestion as we move from a period where some of the parties are using some of the lexemes, to one where the three parties are using all of them. However, the shifts in congestion, together with the changing levels of lexeme frequency, make it difficult to observe the actual pattern of change Figure 1 illustrates.

Figure 2 amalgamates the data, presenting the total frequency of lexemes across all parties, by electoral year. To this has been added an order 6 polynomial

³⁶ There are two values for 1974 because there were two elections in that year, one in February and the other in October.

curve³⁷ as a way of summarising the changes taking place over the eighteen elections. A polynomial is a curved line of best fit. It uses six points within the data to generate up to five curves. These summarise the more detailed changes taking place between the data points used in their calculation. I have incorporated a polynomial curve in Figures 2 to 5 as a means of facilitating a comparison.

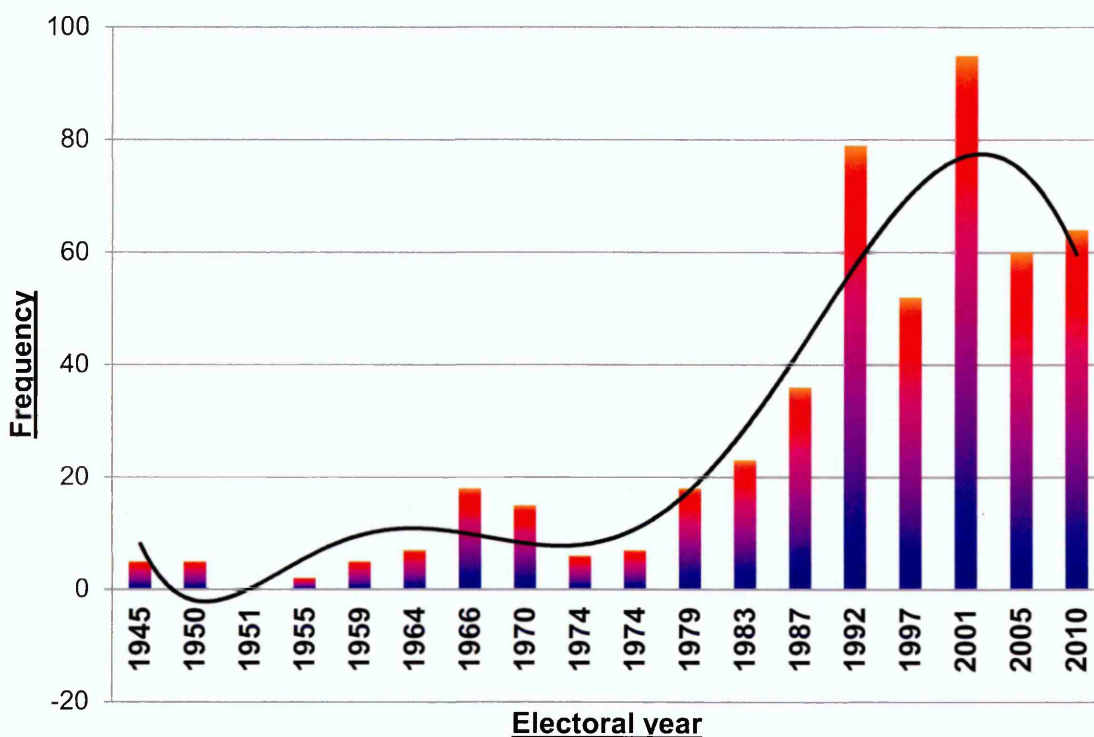


Figure 2: Amalgamated data on lexeme frequency by electoral year

Figure 2 illustrates the changing frequency of lexemes in election manifestos between 1945 and 2010. Despite variation, over the eighteen elections since 1945, there is a clear historical trend in the increased use of the identified lexical markers. There are three peaks, 1966, 1992 and 2001, each with an increased

³⁷ All figures in this chapter, and the trend lines presented with them, have been generated using the preset formulae within *Microsoft Office Excel 2007*: last calculated 13th June 2012.

level of instance over the previous peak. Barring the exceptional frequencies found in the 1992 and 2001 elections, there appears to be a broad trend upwards from 1974 to 2010.

The peak in 1966 seems to come at the end of a trend of increasing instance from 1955 onwards; while there are no instances of lexical markers in any of the three manifestos of the 1951 election. 1992 and 2001 have the highest peaks in the period surveyed, they are followed by substantial drops, but the broad trend remains upward.

It was noted in Table 1 (Chapter 4) that the size of manifestos, as documents, has changed considerably since 1945. The differences in document length lead to a critique of the trend shown in Figure 2. This suggests the historical trend is not an attribute of increasing political interest, but an artefact of changes in the number of words used in the manifestos. To address this it is necessary to convert the frequency of lexemes found, into lexical instance as a percentage of the total number of words; this process is referred to as the *normalisation* of data. Figure 3 expresses instance as a percentage of document length, which is thus factored out as a variable; lexeme frequency thereby becomes comparable across all electoral years.

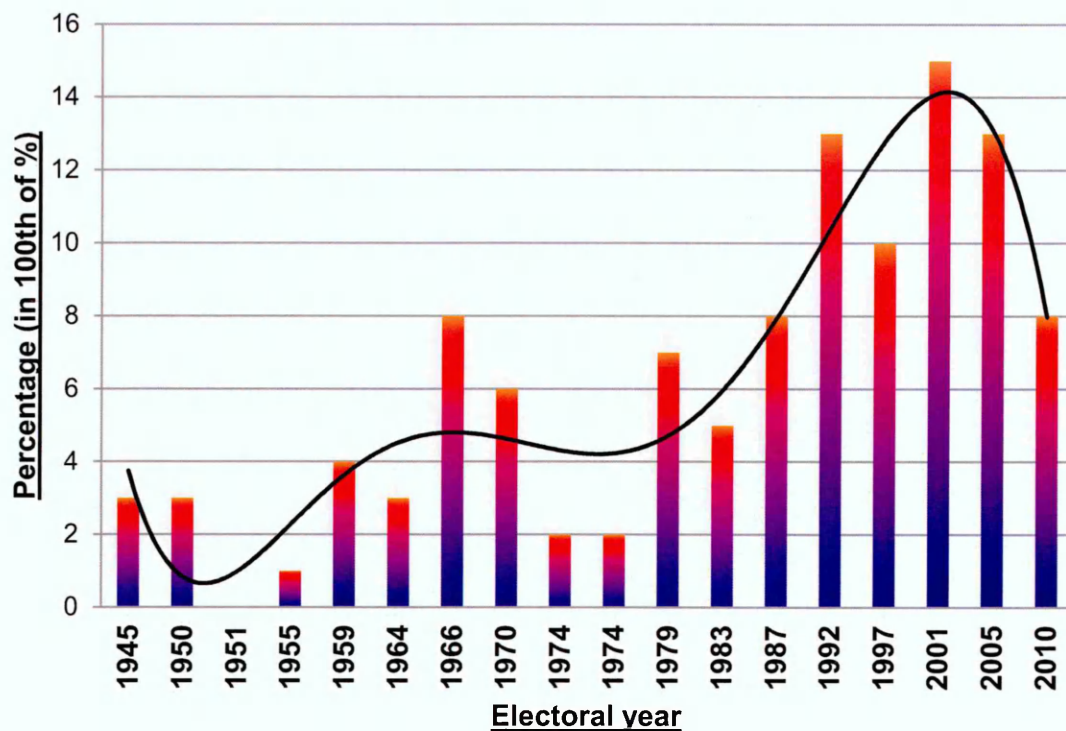


Figure 3: Lexical frequency as a percentage of document length

The percentages produced for the construction of Figure 3 are very small. Some manifestos may contain just a couple of lexemes in a document of several thousand words. To make the values manageable they have been rounded up to the nearest 100th of a per cent.

The histographic data and the polynomial trend in Figures 2 and 3 are strikingly similar; with the three peaks noted in Figure 2 recurring in Figure 3. There are, however, some differences. In addition to 1966, 1992 and 2001 there are also peaks in 1959 and 1979. While the broad upward trend found in Figure 2 is still there, it seems to have declined by 2010 rather than continuing its upward trajectory. At the time of writing the government elected in 2010 is still in office, this makes it inappropriate for considering its historical impact. However, the three

original peaks, and two new ones, will need to be considered in the contextualisation presented in later chapters.

As an historical trend, both Figures 2 and 3 follow a similar pattern, indicating the validity of the trend found in Figure 2. The analyses which are appropriate to my research agenda require locating the construction of culture in those parts of the manifesto where culture is considered. The process of normalising the data does not further that inquiry; so while Figure 3 is of value in validating the history of governmental engagement with culture, observable in Figure 2, it does not bring any new data forward. I shall therefore focus my analysis on the data presented in Figure 2.

A further critique of the historical trend is that it is an attribute of manifestos; there being no evidence, as yet, to suggest a connection between the source data and any change in the consideration of culture by government. Chapter 1 argued that empirical research has found a definite link between policy declaration and party policy priority in government. (See Klingemann, Hofferbert and Budge 1994 and Klemmensen, Habolt and Hansen 2007) This, however, is not the same as arguing for a relationship between a specific trend found in the manifestos, and how government has changed its engagement with that particular policy area in government. To do that it will be necessary to validate the historical trend through triangulation. This will require the use of an alternative data set, one that has a more direct connection to parliamentary activity in the periods between elections.

Earlier in the thesis it was established that elections form unique historical moments, and that manifestos function in a particular way with regard to them. This uniqueness presents the possibility of establishing a data set for triangulation with a potential problem. Given the uniqueness of the original data source how can an appropriate alternative data set be located? Yet such is required if we are to validate the trend found.

In developing a rationale for the historical scope of this thesis, Chapter 1 pointed to the parliamentary activity that took place between the elections of 1945 and 1950. The legislation passed during the lifetime of that parliament required debate in the House of Commons. Contributions to Commons debates illustrate the consideration given to an area of policy in parliament. Digitised transcripts of House of Commons debates, from the beginning of the nineteenth century to 2004³⁸, are publicly available, via the Internet, through the archive section of Hansard's parliamentary portal³⁹. This provides a source of data that draws directly from parliament's consideration of a policy area, between elections, rather than party declaration during an election. As such it offers an alternative set of data that can be used to indicate the validity of the trend found in Figure 2.

A search of the Hansard database can be made by word or phrase. The output can be shown as the frequency of instance over time, or by the number of MP contributions made in which the search items occur. Of the two the latter is most appropriate; it does not over inflate the result through an individual MP's extensive

³⁸ At the point of writing 2005 is being digitised and does not currently represent a full year

³⁹ hansard.millbanksystems.com last accessed 13th June 2012.

use of a single lexeme. To illustrate this difference, using an example from a different policy setting, Tony Blair's declaration of '*education, education, education*' could count as one contribution or three instances.

The interval over which the archive lists contributions ranges from one day to a decade. For the purposes of triangulation a period of a year was chosen. This is narrow enough to offer a workable range of data, whilst not being so wide as to mask any underlining pattern. Given that the purpose of this triangulatory study is to validate the historical trend shown in Figure 2, the same lexemes used in the manifesto analysis should be adopted in a search of the Hansard archive. Like the content mapping of manifesto texts, rules are required to ascertain what is to count as an instance, and what is not. Not all instances will be appropriate for the analysis being conducted. The same criteria applied to lexemes in the manifestos should be employed in the search of the Hansard archive. This presents a difficulty in determining how to handle exclusions when dealing with such a large data set; for example between 1945 and 2004 the term 'art' appears in over 9600 contributions.

To ascertain whether the instance of lexemes in Commons debates is comparable to those counted in the content mapping, a record was made of how each lexeme was used in a sample of ten debates⁴⁰. The rules for inclusion and exclusion developed in Chapter 4 were applied to each occurrence of a lexeme. Table 5 presents the results of that analysis.

⁴⁰ No formal criteria were set for the selection of a parliamentary debate other than that they should be evenly spread throughout the sixty years under scrutiny.

	Debates	Instance	Exclusions	Usable percentage
Art	10	39	0	100%
Cultur		42	19	55%
Heritage		37	1	97%

Table 5: Analysis of usable lexemes in a sample of Commons debates

The results of the exercise suggest that, within the sample, *cultur* was frequently used in a manner inconsistent with the manifesto content mapping. To include it would unnecessarily complicate the process of data gathering; it was therefore decided to exclude *cultur* from the survey of Commons contributions. Alternative uses of *cultur* found in the archive included references to ethnicity and faith, as well as instances where ‘culture’ was used in a laboratorial sense: for example the use of a culture to duplicate DNA within criminal investigations, and medical reference to the cultures used in stem cell research. However, *art* and *heritage* were consistently used in a manner appropriate for comparison.

To exclude *cultur* from the Hansard archive data whilst including it in the data gathered from the manifestos, would immediately undermine any process of comparison between the two data sets. So for the purpose of this comparison I decided to remove *cultur* from the data taken from the manifestos. A further discrepancy occurs when comparing the data’s historical range. Content mapping covers elections from 1945 to 2010, yet the Hansard archive only digitises contributions to 2004. To address this, Figure 4 only presents the lexical frequency

of *art* and *heritage* in manifestos up to the 2005 election. Figure 5 shows the data drawn from the Hansard archive⁴¹.

While these adjustments mean that comparison is not ideal; it must be remembered that the Hansard archive data is only being used as an *indicator* of the validity of the historical trend. Given the unique nature of manifesto data, a more robust validation is not possible.

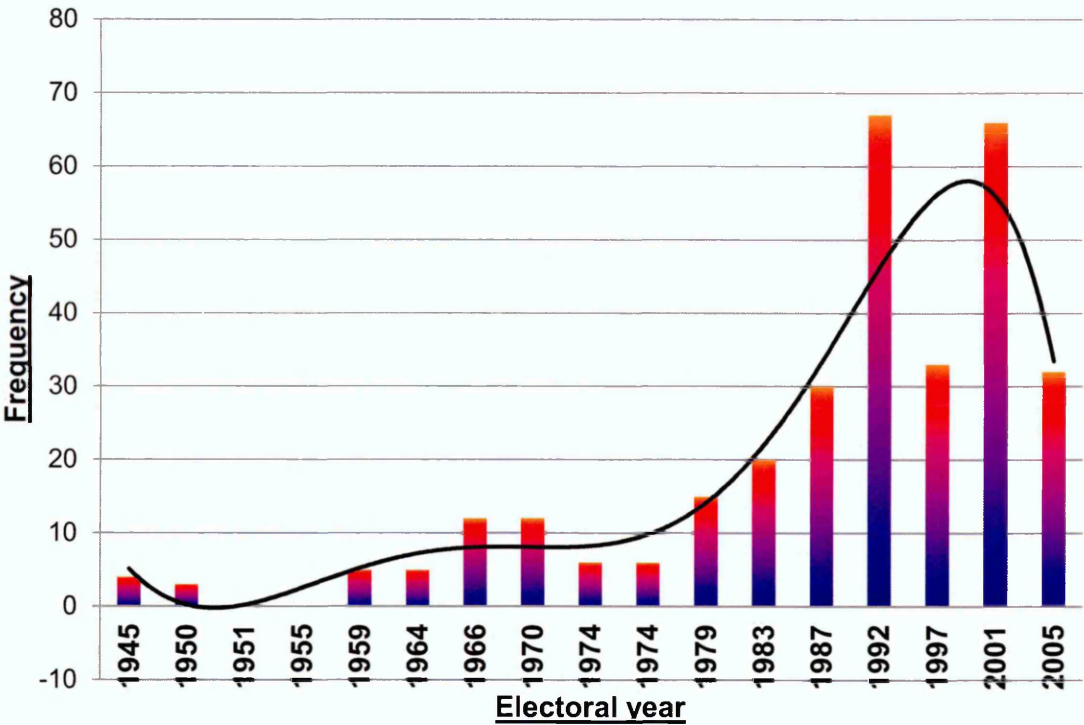


Figure 4: Frequency of *art* and *heritage* in manifestos between 1945 and 2005

⁴¹ The raw data used in the production of Figure 5 is presented in Appendix E.

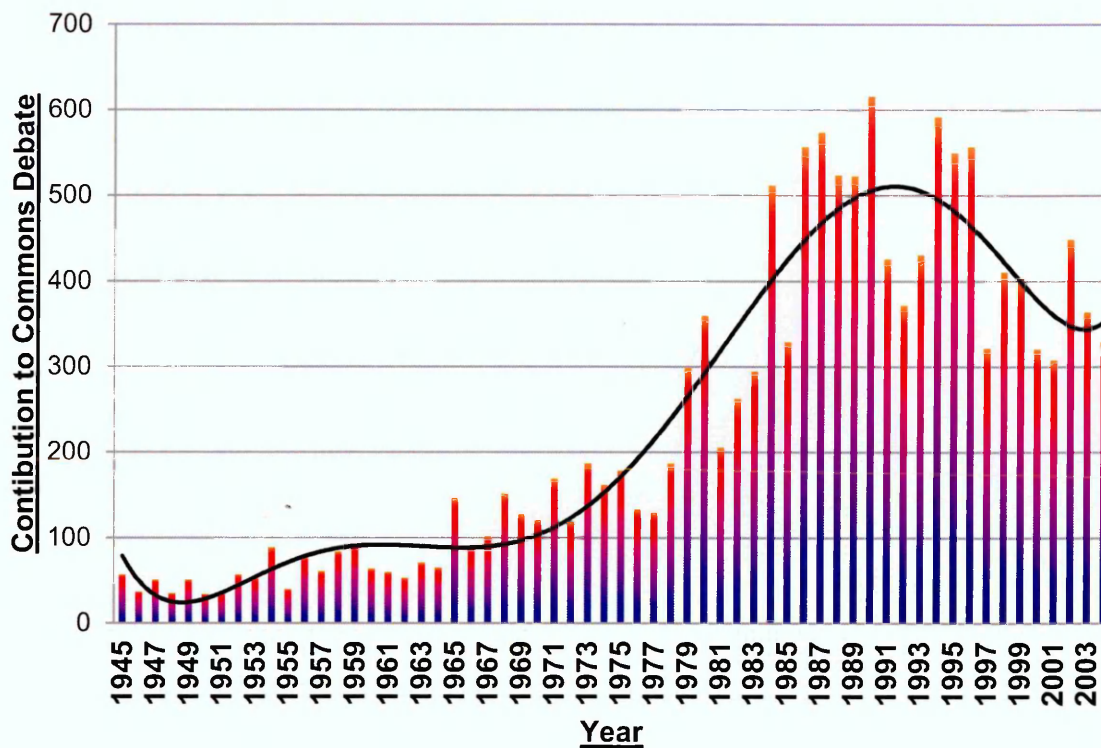


Figure 5: Contribution including the lexemes *art* and *heritage* in Commons debates
- 1945 to 2004

Though Figures 4 and 5 have been presented together, direct date-for-date comparison is not appropriate.

Firstly the intervals between the values in Figure 4 are different from those in Figure 5. In the former, the gap varies from eight months (between the two elections in 1974) to just over five years (for example, from 1992 to 1997); the gap between values in the latter remains constant; one year. This has the effect of stretching the polynomial in some areas, while compressing it in others. Despite this distortion, the overall shapes of the two curves are visibly similar.

Secondly there is a time lag between a policy declaration in the manifesto, and any Commons debate with which it is associated. This is to be expected. Elections are concentrated periods of time in which a party declares its policy intentions for a full term in government. The discussion of its mandated agenda is then discussed over the duration of that party's administration. It is unsurprising, therefore, to find that the increase in contributions to Commons debates is not synchronous with an electoral year.

Even though date-for-date comparison between Figures 4 and 5 is not appropriate, the degree of similarity between them remains striking. The likeness of the two polynomials provides a strong indication of the validity of the historical trend found in Figure 2. There are, therefore, sound grounds for thinking that the result of the content mapping provides quantitative, empirically robust, evidence for the history of governmental engagement with culture, since 1945.

Using lexeme frequency for case selection

By separating the amalgamated data, presented in Figure 2, into the sum of lexeme frequency found in the election manifestos for each party, synchronic and diachronic differences can be discerned. This is shown in Figure 6:

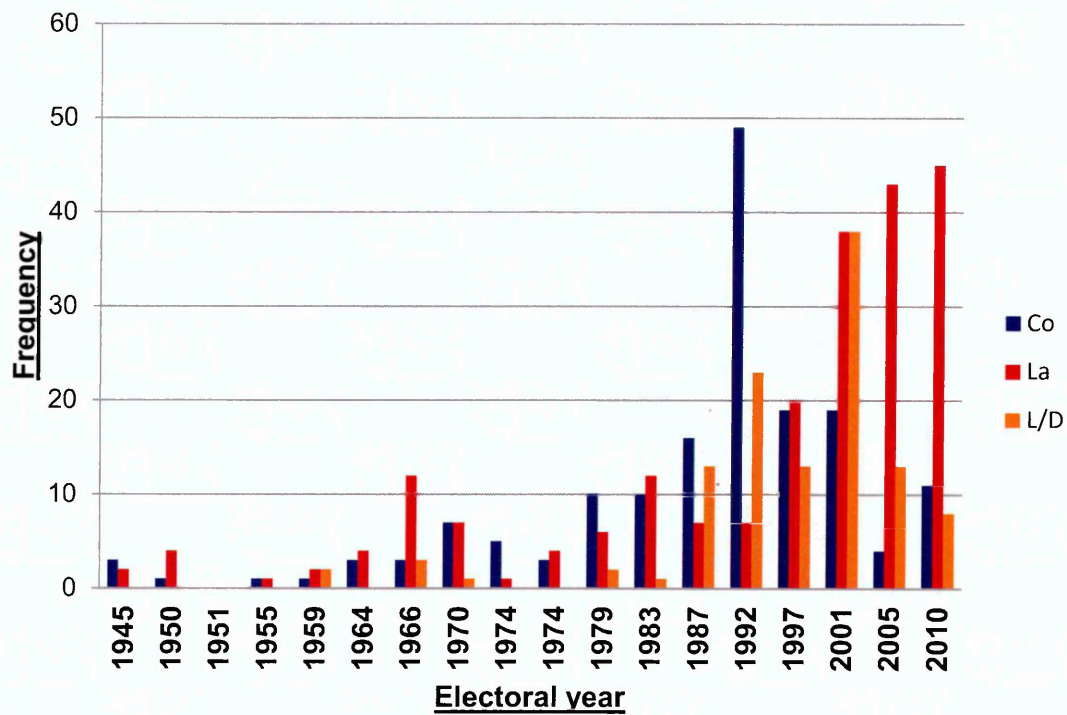


Figure 6: Lexeme frequency – by party

To highlight the similarities and differences between the three parties, Figure 6a replaces the bars of the histogram with a continuous line. This has been adopted for stylistic reasons. It is not to suggest that any frequency value that is shown on the y axis between electoral years is meaningful; it does not add any new information to that presented in Figure 6. What Figure 6a does is emphasise the synchronic differences between parties at each election. This is achieved by visually focusing our attention on the value of lexical frequency, rather than the volume of usage suggested by the bars of the previous figure.

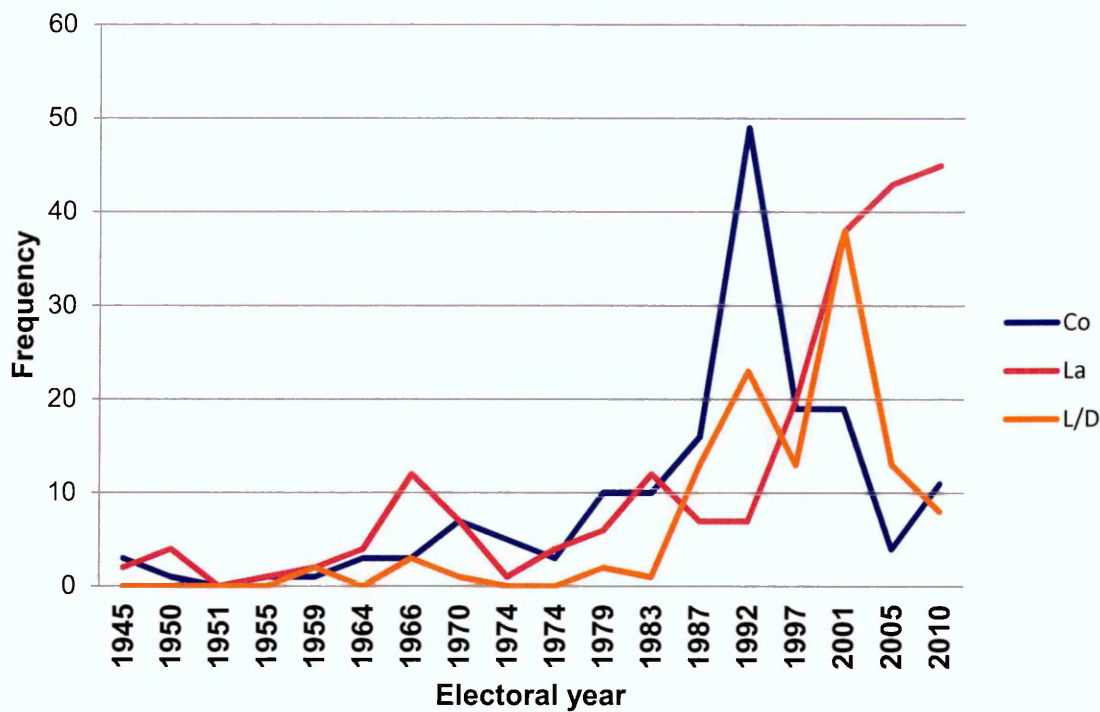


Figure 6a: Lexeme frequency – by party

The continuous lines of Figure 6a, while having no statistical value, also accentuates the diachronic change in instance for each party over the eighteen elections surveyed. When considered with the amalgamated data shown in Figure 2, it can be seen that the peak in 1966 was, mainly, the result of a high frequency of lexeme use in the Labour manifesto at that election. The peak in 1992 is shown to result from the exceptionally high values of instance, found in the Conservative and Lib/Dem manifestos. As for the frequency of lexemes used by the Conservatives, this is at a level unprecedented before or since. Lexeme frequency for the Lib/Dems was exceeded in 2001, whilst still being uncharacteristically high.

Figure 2 suggested that the highest value of lexeme frequency occurred in 2001; Figure 6a shows that peak to be a confluence of the high value of instance found

in both Labour and Lib/Dem manifestos for the election of that year. Instances in the Conservative manifesto, at that election, show no change over the value associated with them in 1997. The stability seen in Figure 2's results for 2005 and 2010 is shown in Figure 6a to be much more complex. The plateau is revealed to be a consequence of increased use of the lexemes in the Labour party manifesto, which has offset a sharp decline in frequency of instance by the Lib/Dems, with a less consistent picture emerging from the values associated with the Conservatives.

Figure 6a suggests many areas where a deeper scrutiny would be of interest and value; presenting a set of data and series of relationships that could form the basis of several theses. However, for the purposes of addressing my research agenda, two sets of neighbouring elections are to be selected for greater scrutiny over the coming chapters. The three peaks already noted all suggest themselves as potential points of interest. In addition the complete absence of lexical instance in 1952, and the substantial differences in frequency between Labour and the other two parties in 2005 and 2010, draws our attention. However, selection needs to be made not on the basis of what may be broadly interesting, but on locating areas that combine that distinction with being of value in addressing my research questions.

It has already been noted that elections form distinct historical moments of potential transition. Electoral sets which mark the transfer of governmental power from one administration to another need to be given specific consideration.

Neighbouring elections where that occurs are: 1950/1951; 1959/1964; 1966/1970;

1970/1974; 1974/1979; 1992/1997 and 2005/2010. Of these the 1966/1970 and the 1992/1997 bear deeper consideration.

The peak in lexeme frequency within the Labour manifesto of 1966 is interesting synchronically. There is a substantial gap between it and the value of instance in the other two parties. Prior to this election lexical instance was very low amongst all the three parties; the value associated with the Labour manifesto of 1966 is four times higher than its rivals at that election. Diachronically it is three times higher than lexeme frequency in the other parties, for any preceding election. The decline in instance in Labour's 1970 manifesto is also interesting when compared to the Conservative party's usage.

In the election of 1970 the frequency value for Labour and the Conservatives is the same. Instances in the Conservative manifesto at that election are more than double that of 1966, and look to come from a series of steadily increasing steps from 1955 onwards. Though all three parties show a decline at the February 1974 election, 1970 seems to mark a point where, for the first time since 1945, use of the lexemes is being led by the Conservative party.

1966/1970 will be the first electoral pair to be scrutinised in greater depth.

1992 is exceptional. The use of the continuous line in Figure 6a gives the impression, somewhat fancifully, of a spire, standing proud from all that surrounds it. The frequency value attributable to the Conservative manifesto of that year is unprecedented. Its distinctiveness from the level of lexical instance by the other

parties, and from all other Conservative manifestos before or since, commands our attention. It is a clear indicator that, at that election, the Conservatives placed significance on the relationship between culture and the state, in excess of any of its predecessors. Instances in the Lib Dem manifesto for that election are also uncharacteristically high. The frequency value of the Lib/Dem's 1992 manifesto comes as the high point of a sequence of substantial growth in lexeme use, over the two preceding elections.

What is interesting about 1992 in the line for the Labour party is not its value. That is unchanged from that of the 1987 election and, though not at its highest since 1945, is still relatively high when compared to the frequency of lexemes appearing in previous Labour manifestos. What rouses our curiosity is the trajectory lexeme frequency takes from this election onwards. Just like the Conservative party in 1970, the value attributable to Labour in 1997 is roughly equivalent to that of its principal opposition. Similar to that earlier period it seems to mark a point where lexeme use becomes of distinct value to one party.

Unlike 1970 the Labour party trend has continued, up to the most recent election; though the rate of growth appears to be declining. In addition to the transition in lexeme frequency that takes place between the Conservatives and Labour, the electoral pair also suggests an interesting period of change for the Lib/Dems. Taking in a wider selection of elections, 1992/1997 presents an intriguing picture. In the elections from 1983 to 1992 the Lib/Dems seem to be following a similar trajectory to the Conservatives, only to move to an identical value as Labour in

2001. The elections which follow show the gap between the frequency values in the Lib/Dem and Labour manifestos following 2001 widen significantly.

The 1992/1997 electoral pair looks to have a lot of potential; it will be the second set of elections I shall scrutinise more deeply.

Text selection

Having identified the sets of elections to be investigated in Chapters 6 and 7, there remains the question of which parts of those manifestos are to be subjected to a greater linguistic scrutiny. Chapter 4 suggested a technique which would present the number of instances found in a manifesto as a matrix. These *cluster matrices* show where lexemes are concentrated within the text.

Tables 6 to 8 present the cluster matrices for the three parties at each election, covering the sets of elections that have been selected. In all but two manifestos, instances of the lexical markers occur in more than one section. However, with the exception of the Conservative manifesto of 1992, clustering found that lexemes tended to concentrate on one section; though the heading of that section was not always the same across parties or even within the same party across elections. The arithmetic mean of lexeme frequency⁴², in each manifesto, was added to the cluster maps, as a way of indicating the variation each document exhibited in the concentration of its clustering.

⁴² Rounded to the nearest whole number.

	1966	1970	1992	1997
1	1	1	2	1
2	3	6	1	3
3			4	6
4			2	3
5			18	1
6			2	2
7			2	2
8			1	
9			3	
10			11	
Mean	2	4	5	3

Table 6: Cluster matrix for the Conservative Party - 1966/1970 and 1992/1997

	1966	1970	1992	1997
1	1	5	1	6
2	9	2	6	10
3	1			1
4	1			
Mean	3	4	4	6

Table 7: Cluster matrix for the Labour Party - 1966/1970 and 1992/1997

	1966	1970	1992	1997
1	3	1	1	7
2			16	1
3			1	3
4			1	
Mean	3	1	5	4

Table 8: Cluster matrix for the Lib/Dems - 1966/1970 and 1992/1997

Chapters 6 and 7 will concentrate their attention on the construction of culture, located in those sections of the manifesto where clustering exceeds the mean

value of lexeme frequency. They will not exclude instances appearing elsewhere in the document; but will use them to consider how construction(s) of culture located in those areas of higher clustering are supported or, where they differ, use them to raise questions about the construction(s) of culture that have been found.

Finally

In this chapter the quantitative analytic approaches outlined in Chapter 4 have been applied to the content of election manifestos produced by the Conservative party, Labour party and Lib/Dems from 1945 to 2010. The analysis has shown that, over this period, there is an historical trend of increased government interest in the relationship between culture and the state. This trend, found through mapping the frequency of lexemes associated with cultural policy, has been validated through the application of similar analysis using an alternative source of data.

Having established an historical trend in government's engagement with culture, the same data set was used to conduct two processes of selection. The first of these separated the aggregated figures for lexeme frequency into those attributable to individual political parties. A chart of the disaggregated frequency values was used to aid the selection of two sets of neighbouring elections. Those electoral sets will then be subjected to textual analysis and contextualisation in Chapters 6 and 7. A refinement of the content mapping process was used to construct cluster matrices of each of the manifestos for the chosen elections. The matrices indicate how lexemes are distributed under the heading in which they

occur, signposting those sections of the manifesto where lexemes occur most frequently. Though not to the exclusion of other instances of lexemes within the chosen texts, the identified locations form an important focus for the discourse analysis that will appear in Chapters 6 and 7.

The data presented in this chapter presents a quantitative confirmation of the increased interest in governmental engagement with culture since 1945. It is however a blunt tool insofar as it does not show us how the relationship between culture, the state and the citizen was being construed or rationalised. Despite that it forms a strong foundation upon which further analyses can develop answers to those questions.

Case inquiry: The election manifestos of 1966 and 1970

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the constructions of culture found in the election manifestos produced by the Conservative, Labour and Liberal parties for the 1966 and 1970 elections. Structurally it will be split into two sections. In the first section the focus will be on texts taken from the 1966 manifestos, whilst in the second I will concentrate on those published for the election of 1970.

Each section will follow the same structure. They will begin with a textual analysis of those areas in the manifesto, identified in Chapter 5, where lexemes occur. That analysis will draw out the construction of culture, government, the citizen and their relationship, located at those parts of the text indicated by the cluster matrices (Tables 6 to 8) in Chapter 5. For both the 1966 and 1970 elections the actual amount of text to be analysed is very small; it is around that time culture begins to emerge as an area of interest to political parties in Britain. That this period marks an early stage in the consideration of *culture* in election manifestos is significant, and indicates a difference between these texts and those of 1992 and 1997.

Those parts of the manifesto selected for scrutiny will be reproduced in a text box at the start of the analysis pertaining to each party. Where the text used is edited from a longer passage, or there are short references in the manifesto that do not form a substantial part of the discussion, a more complete reproduction of those sections of the manifesto where lexemes occur will be presented in Appendix F.

Following the text analysis, the constructions identified with a particular election will be placed in context. This will be done for each election in turn. The process of contextualisation will take two closely connected forms; with the objective of locating the formulation of the *imaginary* of culture, in the coalitions and party political frameworks through which it is being articulated. Initially that context most closely associated with the individual parties will be discussed. In this instance context is concerned with how the construction(s), found in the text, came to be in the manifesto. This will examine the structures through which policy emerges and moves through a party, to subsequently appear in the manifesto. It will also outline specific party issues and concerns that have affected how it shapes and expresses its policy position. Where applicable I will also examine how those constructions of culture became expressed in the structure and hierarchy of British government. The second approach situates the constructions found in the historical setting shared by all the parties, to which they respond. Through considering this wider milieu, a richer understanding is obtained of how the constructions discerned were drawn into the political discourse of the parties.

It is important to note that throughout the contextualisation process the text is central. The discourse that is articulated through a manifesto is stable; it does not bear symptoms of language in interaction that may be found in, for example, conversation. Chapter 1 argued that manifestos show us how a political organisation is construing the past, while simultaneously trying to constitute a future. Following Stenvoll and Svensson (2011), discussed in Chapter 3, it is the interpretation of the text which forms a rationale for establishing context. Looking out from those constructions, the exploration of context is refined through an

application of the advocacy coalition framework (ACF). That contextual exploration begins with interpreting the *imaginary* of culture as it is expressed by the *coalitions* articulating it in government; it then moves on to consider the *environmental factors*, or *system shocks* (Weible, Sabatier and McQueen 2009), that have raised up that *imaginary* as a 'condition for...governance' (Farrelly 2010, p. 101).

The chapter will conclude by summing up the findings of the textual analysis and contextualisation, drawn from each election. In doing so it will lay the groundwork for a discussion comparing the findings of the case inquiries, in this and the next chapter, that will form part of Chapter 8.

Part 1: 1966

The Conservative Manifesto

To build a better country and widen opportunities for recreation

Plan the coast and countryside in such a way as to increase their natural beauty, increase the holiday attractions of Britain, and encourage provision for the growing numbers who leave the towns to sail, ski, climb, picnic or go caravanning.

Create a new Coast and Countryside Commission with the powers to get on with the job, using the resources of both public authorities and private enterprise.

Open more inland water for recreation, provide more access for visitors to the National Forests, and secure a national network of camping and caravan sites.

Encourage the development of regional recreation areas, largely financed by private investment, on the model of the Lea Valley Scheme.

End the existing confusion and duplication of effort between at least five Ministries in Whitehall, by setting up within the Ministry of Housing and Local Government a Recreation Department.

Provide more choice and competition in broadcasting.

Encourage the arts, particularly in the provinces. Promote high standards of architecture and civic planning.

To bring new prosperity to Wales

....

Encourage and foster the culture and arts which are the characteristic of the Welsh people.

Box 1: Text containing lexemes from the 1966 Conservative manifesto⁴³

Before commencing an analysis of these texts, a number of more general points need to be made about the instance of the lexemes in the Conservative manifesto of 1966.

First – the number of lexical markers within the manifesto is very low; three in total and two of those form a conjunction in one sentence. Such a low level of instance indicates that cultural policy was not a priority for the party. Despite this the construction of culture found in the text is still of interest. Though low, the

⁴³ The highlighted areas mark the instances of lexemes within the selected text. A dotted area (...) indicates parts of the section edited out. A more inclusive reproduction of the section appears in Appendix F.

frequency of lexemes in the 1966 manifesto is not exceeded by any of its predecessors, and only matched in 1945 and 1964⁴⁴.

Second – *heritage* does not appear as a lexeme within the text. Of the three markers *heritage* rarely appears before 1979. Given its prevalence, as we shall discover, in the 1992 manifesto, this is curious. Why the use of *heritage* should have grown from 1979 onwards, will be discussed in Chapter 7. For this chapter, it is important to remember that instances are being used as indicators of where to look for the construction of culture within a text. Beyond the restrictions outlined in Chapter 4, *art*, *cultur* or *heritage* are to be treated as equivalent when signposting where to look in the manifestos for the construction of culture. However, they are different semantically; as such the absence of *heritage*, as a lexeme, does have an impact on how culture is being constructed within the text. As a device *heritage* immediately suggests the past. Consequently if culture is to be connected to an idea of the past in the manifesto, the absence of *heritage* means the manner of that referral will need to be much more circuitous.

Third - the lexemes appear towards the end of each of these sections, which are both over 170 words. In the first we are presented with a series of proposals around a common theme of recreation, while the second addresses a diversity of topics connected by their application to Wales. In the former, the lexeme forms part of a wider debate; participating in a theme to which it has been closely associated. In the latter the instance reads as one item amongst a list of many.

⁴⁴ This is illustrated in Figure 6a (Chapter 5); the raw data supporting this appears in Appendix D.

Because of the different levels of connection found between the lexemes and their associated text, the first section will be considered in full while the second will focus on the instances solely within the sentence in which they occur.

The heading 'To build a better country and widen opportunities for recreation' brings together two elements not commonly connected. To *build*, even when it is connected to the somewhat abstract notion of *a better country*, suggests a process of construction; it is work with distinct overtones of physical labour. This is brought into an association with *opportunities for recreation*, which has a very different resonance. The referent in recreation is to that which is done out of work time. While some recreational activity may be physically demanding it is commonly positioned in opposition to *work*. As a title it leaves the reader unsure of what is to follow; are we dealing with two topics here, or one incorporated into the other? The remainder of the text resolves that uncertainty by suggesting the heading is an incomplete statement, of the form: *the means by which a better country can be built is through widening opportunities for recreation; the points raised in this section are the Conservative party's plan for achieving that goal.*

Within the section there are references to several recreational activities. Some of these consider actual outdoor pursuits, such as sailing, skiing and climbing.

Others are concerned with access to the environment in which such activities can take place; *inland waterways*, the *National Forests* and *recreational areas*.

Towards the end of the section the focus shifts a little. Rather than the provision for those 'growing numbers who leave the towns' it turns to areas closer to the more immediate environment of many of the electorate. In the final paragraph we

have reference to *broadcasting, the arts* and standards in *architecture* and *civic planning*.

How the citizen is being constructed in this text is unclear. The opening paragraph hints that citizens form part of those *growing numbers* who are leaving their towns, for a host of healthy outdoor pursuits. However, that is not maintained in the remainder of the section. There is incompleteness implicit in the use of 'growing numbers' and reference to those leaving *the towns* which points to those who have yet to leave. Additionally a number of the activities mentioned, such as sailing, skiing, climbing and caravanning, either because of their expense or the freedom to devote free time to training and experience, hint at a level of affluence. We are thereby left with a construction of the citizen which is one that either describes who we are, or is meant as one to which we are expected to aspire. As well as in the body of the text, aspiration sits unspoken in the section's title. A 'better country' is the aspiration and 'widening opportunities for recreation' is the means by which that goal can be achieved. It becomes a rationale for *providing* 'more choice and competition in broadcasting', *encouraging* 'the arts' and *promoting* 'high standards of architecture and civic planning' as a means of delivering on that objective.

The text suggests that Government's current orientation, in relation to recreation, is one that gets in the way of the citizen being able to access the opportunities available. Rather than being actively engaged, it argues, the role of the state is to remove political barriers perceived, by the Conservative party, as preventing others from delivering provision for recreation. *Encouragement* is not engagement.

Encourage is used three times in this text; firstly in the provision for those seeking recreation out of town, secondly with regards to accessing recreational space; and finally for the arts in the *provinces*. Encouragement takes place at a distance from delivery and is shown, in this section, to require an intermediary.

While the first paragraph appears to suggest direct state intervention, with an expressed need to *plan the coast and countryside*, the second paragraph reveals this to be unfounded. Rather than a Department of State, or a senior ministry, the reader is referred to the creation of a *Coast and Countryside Commission*. This places responsibility for *getting '...on with the job'* of planning for the coast and countryside, outside government and into a quasi-autonomous body (QUANGO⁴⁵). As a body it is also envisaged as operating across the public and private sector, tasked with mobilising the existing resources of '...public authorities and private enterprise'. By creating a body outside government, tasked with the responsibility of delivering the proposed outcomes of the party's agenda, unfavourable outcomes become an aspect of that body's poor management. Any unpopularity, or failure, of its outcomes become attributes of that body's incorrect implementation of government's wishes; the policy is thereby depoliticised (Burnham 2001).

In the third and fourth paragraphs access to those areas in which the public can engage in outdoor recreational pursuits is also handled in a way that suggests a minor role for government. The model for developing regional recreation areas

⁴⁵ Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisation; though this term would not have been used in 1966.

mentioned in the text cites the Lea Valley Scheme. Although that scheme needed parliamentary approval, the approval was required to permit a group of London local authorities, private landowners and private financiers to work in collaboration. The public space created around the Lea Valley required no direct governmental engagement. Administratively, it represented what would now be referred to as a public/private partnership. As with the planning of the coast and countryside, policy delivery was only tenuously to be connected to government.

The inappropriateness of direct state engagement is reinforced in the text, towards the end of the section. Within the policy areas that the section discusses, Whitehall's efforts are described as *confused*. It is argued that this comes from the '...duplication of effort' which stems from having five Ministries connected with the concerns raised in the text. The solution offered is to set up a *Recreation Department* situated within the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. By locating government's relationship to culture as a subsidiary of recreation, which is in turn situated within governmental links with local authorities, responsibility for *encouragement of the arts* is further distanced from direct state engagement.

When considering the construction of culture under the heading 'To build a better country and widen opportunities for recreation' it is important to bear in mind the only lexeme appearing is *art*. Culture, as represented by *the arts*, is construed as a recreational activity in which people engage during their free time. The rationale for including culture in the party's political agenda is limited to an association with the implication of the section's heading, that one means of building a better country is to widen opportunities for recreation. The suggestion is that the party

does not support direct government engagement with culture; though recreation, which culture is presented as an aspect of, is something that requires a statement of political position.

In the second section, 'To bring new prosperity to Wales', two lexemes appear at the end of a list of proposals for economic growth. The list includes support for programmes connected to infrastructure, the activity of businesses operating in the country, political reform and education. Each proposal is given a separate line as a response to the heading, understood as the question *how do we* '...bring new prosperity to Wales'? A list is a pedagogical device that directs the reader to an assumed connection between its theme and the elements it contains (Fairclough 2000). The location of lexemes in a list associated with developing the Welsh economy hints that culture is, in some way, economically active. However, given the brevity of the instance the depth of this association, and its character, are not developed. Also the construction of government associated with *culture*, at this point in the manifesto, echoes that found in the previous section. The role of the state is to *encourage and foster culture*, and is thus not concerned with direct engagement. While, in keeping with the earlier instances, the limited reference leaves the form which that encouragement is to take unanswered.

There is an interesting use of *characteristic* within this final sentence that suggests a further construction of culture may also be in operation. In using the expression '...characteristic of the Welsh people' it is suggested that there are features of their 'culture and arts' that are to be considered distinctively attributable to them as a people. Though not explicit we have here a connotation of culture as heritage. In

describing something as *characteristic* a particular quality is invoked, the loss of which would require a re-evaluation of that which is its holder. Consequently, culture as heritage suggests the need for protection and preservation, an historical purity that should not be open to political manipulation (Wetherell and Potter 1992). *Encouragement*, as has been found elsewhere in the manifesto, is linked to a depoliticisation of how the party has characterised political engagement. That depoliticising of *culture* fits well with the hint of its connection to heritage found in this line.

Given the low level of lexical instance in the Conservative manifesto for 1966, it has not been straightforward to establish how the text has constructed culture, nor how government has been orientated in a relationship with it. From the few instances there are, it has been possible to discern a construction of culture as recreation. How the citizen uses their non-work time is presented as a concern for the state, however the management of that time is depoliticised through the formation of quasi-autonomous bodies, partnerships between local government and private enterprise or through the less specific means of 'encouragement'.

There are also a few subtle hints of a connection between culture, the economy and heritage. Though interesting those formulations are insufficiently developed in this text to enable a useful analysis to be made.

Arts and Amenities

Access for all to the best of Britain's cultural heritage is a wider part of our educational and social purpose, and is one hallmark of a civilised country. That is why we appointed the first Minister for Arts and Leisure.

The 1965 White Paper, "Policy for the Arts", has inspired a coherent, generous and imaginative approach to the arts and amenities.

Already the situation is being transformed, by substantially increased financial support for the Arts Council, purchasing grants for museums, and five times the support for younger artists. A quite new local authority building fund has been initiated. Next year expenditure on the arts will rise by £2.5 million.

Box 2: Text containing lexemes from the 1966 Labour manifesto

Though this section is rather short it contains a higher frequency of lexemes than the sum of instances across the other two parties. With a total of 12 instances, the document contributes substantially to the peak observable in Figure 2 of Chapter 5.

Headings, like lists, are a significant pedagogical device that raises the profile of a policy area whilst facilitating the reader's navigation of the document. The instance of a lexeme in this section's heading suggests the party's policies in this area form

a clear part of its electoral position; which is to be distinguished, if not wholly separate, from others.

As with the Conservative manifesto, the title used by Labour presents the reader with a conjunction. In this instance we are not led to anticipate the purpose of a set of proposals; the title is left open, giving us no indication of what is likely to follow. There is a presumption that *Arts* and *Amenities* are to be associated, and the repetition of the capitalised 'A' strengthens the assumed connection. *Arts and Facilities* would not have had the same visual impact. The conjunction also evokes an interesting mixture of ideas. While *Arts* is a somewhat abstract notion, that may even carry a nuance of elitism, *Amenities* is more utilitarian. The combination of the elite and the utilitarian is sustained in the opening sentence, with its intimations of a democratising of access to culture. '*Access for all...*' we are informed forms '*a wider part of our educational and social purpose*'; I shall return to the latter part of this line shortly. For now, I shall consider its opening words – '*Access for all*'.

In the Conservative manifesto the reader was cast either as a participant or an aspirant to the affluence associated with cultural activity, in this text there is no such division. The opening is a universal declaration; '*Access for all*', which immediately encompasses everyone. There is no question as to whether or not we are to be counted as one of those *leaving the town to go sailing or skiing* or someone who ought to aspire to such things. The section title, which has already been found to contain a subtle allusion to democratisation, is emphasised and developed in its opening three words. In the same sentence we have government

set as central to this project; the use of *our* in this line unequivocally referring to the Labour party.

The first sentence gives us a strong indication of how culture is being constructed in the text. *Access* is to ‘...the best of Britain’s cultural heritage...’ which forms part of the party’s wider ‘...educational and social purpose’, a purpose that is described as a ‘...hallmark of a civilised country’. This is a complex construction of culture, and requires unpacking.

Access to ‘the best’ of Britain’s ‘cultural heritage’ carries echoes of Matthew Arnold’s (Arnold 1985 [1869]) advocacy of making ‘...the best that has been thought and known’ available so that ‘...all men (may) live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light’. His emphasis on the wider benefits accruing from improved access to culture is underlined in the next part of the sentence. We are informed that this *access* forms part of the party’s ‘...wider educational and social purpose’. Cultural policy is therefore not construed as supporting culture purely for its aesthetic outputs; it is instrumental, in that it has a positive impact on other objectives of government. The sentence ends by suggesting that the sentiments that have been expressed represent ‘...one hallmark of a civilised country’. As an ending this evokes an image of the nation as a precious metal, shaped by the policies of its government, with cultural policy as an indentifying attribute of its quality. Government’s part in the relationship between the state, culture and the citizen is more than active; it is fundamental in defining the state’s character. Labour fought this election as the presiding government, its contribution to that

relationship is underlined in the last line of the initial paragraph; 'This is why we appointed the first Minister for Arts and Leisure'.

Though short, the remainder of this section carries a construction of culture as education and creative leisure, and government as vital and actively engaged in its relationship to it. The remaining paragraph elaborates what has been achieved since Labour was elected two years previously, while hinting that there is more to come.

Government's policy is described as inspiring a 'coherent, generous, and imaginative approach', which has '...transformed' financial support for the Arts Council, museums and *young artists*. This is in marked contrast to the Conservative position that described Whitehall's orientation towards culture as *confused* and carrying too much duplication. Towards the end of the section the emphasis returns to infrastructure, with the announcement of a '...new local authority building fund'. That proposal reiterates the theme of the title; it hints that support for culture is concerned not just with the abstract 'Arts', but also the tangible provision of 'Amenities'.

Within the manifesto, the section forms the last part of a much broader discussion headed *Educational Opportunities for All*; this accentuates the claim that the way culture is being construed by Labour forms part of its wider '...educational and social purpose'. The location of 'Arts and Amenities' in this part of the manifesto situates cultural policy securely within a theme of access to learning.

As a section 'Educational Opportunities for All' begins with proposals for the reform of compulsory education. The reforms include the abolition of the 11+, a broad dismantling of a two tier state education system⁴⁶, plans to reduce class sizes and the improvement of standards in teacher training. This is followed by proposals intended to increase young people's access to either academic qualifications or training for work. Including raising the school leaving age it was also suggested that Industrial Training Boards should be introduced, which could offer vocational training, while increasing the number of student places at Universities would target the more academically inclined. In addition proposals set out the creation of a '...university of the air', a '...Open University', which would combine the use of broadcast media, 'high grade correspondence courses' and 'new teaching techniques'.

The rationale for culture is as a benefit to both the individual and the state. Its construction as leisure and education converge through financial support, the provision of facilities and the widening of access. Government is orientated toward that convergence by being co-constructed in its relationship to culture as having a distinct '...educational and social purpose'; as such the state is committed to enabling that convergence. Unlike the construction of the state in the Conservative manifesto government is not described as *confused* or overly bureaucratic; for Labour the state has a clear purpose, to create '...a civilised country'. It is, they argue, the Labour party that has, while in government, set out an *inspirational*

⁴⁶ The two tier system being the allocation of pupil places to secondary grammar and secondary modern schools based on 11+ results; it was introduced following R.A. Butler's 1944 Education Act.

policy for the arts that has 'transformed' the situation from that which existed before 1964.

The Liberal Party

BRING NEW LIFE TO THE NEGLECTED REGIONS

A National Physical Plan. For too many people there is little incentive to stay in the area of their birth. Culturally and financially the draw is toward the South East.

...

Elected Regional Councils. Regional Councils nominated by the Central Government give those who live in the regions neither a say in their affairs nor a responsibility for them. Regional councillors must be elected - and paid. This is not a part-time job for amateurs.

Regional Councils throughout Britain must have full powers to co-ordinate all the industrial and cultural development within their regions. They must have their own financial resources and power to borrow, especially for physical re-development.

Power to Plan. Regional Councils can only be effective if they have the executive power to plan for their areas. They should be responsible for the use of land, including new towns and new industries, public transport and hospital building, water supplies, regional resources and all facilities for leisure and the arts.

Box 3: Text containing lexemes from the 1966 Liberal manifesto

There are only three instances of the lexemes in this manifesto, these all occur under the heading *Bring new life to the neglected regions*⁴⁷. Culture forms a somewhat tangential concern of this section, its incorporation into the text comes across as slight and the use of the lexemes suggest that culture as a theme is of little electoral significance to the party.

The title and opening paragraph of this section make it unclear how the reader is to orientate themselves to the text. Are we to see ourselves as resident of one of the unspecified '...neglected regions'? Precisely where these are is not detailed; though it is made clear from the second sentence that the South East does not fall into this category, as it is *toward* that part of the nation '...many people' are being *drawn*. Within the introduction, there is neither scope for addressing the concerns of anyone who is of the view they are resident in a neglected South East, nor for those in a non-neglected part of the country not covered by that description. Both the Liberal and Conservative parties begin their discussion by splitting the electorate. The Liberal's separation of the nation, by means of geography, is more divisive than the Conservative party division into recreationally active and recreationally aspirational. What makes their partitioning of the electorate interesting, for this analysis, is that it indicates a divergent construction of government. The Conservatives' suggestion, which associated *building a better country with widening opportunities for recreation*, placed a responsibility on the individual. For the Liberal party a better country would be established through the devolution of power from central government to the regions. Responsibility for culture forms part of this devolution.

⁴⁷ The full text of this section is reproduced in Appendix F.

Culture is of minor interest to the Liberal party in this election, This is highlighted in the text in various ways: limited lexical instance is one, while the absence of a clear construction of culture is another. The only purchase we glean from the text is that cultural policy is regionally significant, why and for what purpose is not apparent. Where lexemes do occur their position is diluted by always forming part of a conjunction;

- People are drawn *culturally and financially* to the South East
- Regional councils need powers to coordinate *industrial and cultural development*
- Regional councils should also be responsible for a range of regional *resources* including *facilities for leisure and the arts*

Culture is to be considered an important aspect of regional governance, and placed alongside responsibilities for land use, encouraging industrial investment, public transport and hospitals; but a response to the question of *what is the rationale for this position* is omitted. Culture plays no part in the Liberal party's national agenda. Where engagement is deemed to be appropriate it is at a regional level, its construction is thus a local rather than national concern.

Summing up the textual analysis for 1966

The analysis of the texts selected from the 1966 manifestos has revealed diversity in the construction of culture, and in how the relationship between it and government is construed.

Within the Conservative manifesto cultural policy was found to be a very minor concern of the state. Where lexemes occurred in the text culture was associated with recreation. Government's relationship to it was described as *confused* and overly bureaucratic. State intervention, it argued, needed to take a step back, creating opportunities that allow others to lead. Culture as recreation, it was suggested, should not be delivered through central government but through partnerships of private investment and enterprise, local authorities and quasi-autonomous bodies.

A growth of interest in how citizens manage their non-work time, but there appears to be little political inclination to draw this into the remit of any department or ministry of state.

Later in the manifesto there was a very slight hint associating culture with heritage and as economic activity, though this was not developed. It was not until the 1990s that those ways of constructing the *imaginary* of culture would come to the fore in the election manifesto of any party; this will be discussed in the next chapter.

In the Labour manifesto, culture was given greater significance than in either of the other two parties. In the text the state was presented as active, playing a central role in establishing Britain as a '...civilised country'. The construction of culture found was most directly associated with education, though there was also some suggestion of an association with leisure. Both those formulations required

direct government engagement through the provision of facilities and resources, and the widening of opportunities for access to ‘...the best of Britain’s cultural heritage’.

Within Labour’s text the party’s rationale for the state’s engagement with culture is found to be instrumental, though the agenda it forms part of is very different from the instrumentalism discovered in their 1997 manifesto. The party’s position, in 1966, can be understood as instrumental because, the rationale for governmental support of culture is not simply grounded in the aesthetic outputs. Crucially, why the state should support culture is rationalised as part of the party’s ‘...wider educational and social purpose’. The importance of culture to government is thus not its value for its own sake, but for the benefits it could bring to the party’s other policy objectives.

Culture played no part in the Liberal party’s national electoral agenda in 1966. The few instances of lexemes, found in the text, were muted through the absence of a clear conceptualisation of what *culture* was. Culture as part of the party’s national agenda was relocated, becoming a responsibility of regional government. Political engagement with culture was important to the national Liberal party, but only as part of a programme for the development of the regions outside the South East. It is as part of that agenda, the manifesto suggests, that cultural policy is to be understood; it is just one of several responsibilities that should be transferred in the party’s orientation towards a more locally focused governance.

Having read the texts closely, and established how the parties differ in their constructions of both culture and government, it is now important to place those constructions in context. As discussed in Chapter 3, context is an 'interpretive investment' (Stenvoll and Svensson 2011 p. 573) made by the analyst.

Researchers are anchored in their *orientation* towards context by situating the text as a reference point, which indicates how '...beliefs and relationships' (Fowler 1996) have shaped the discourse(s) that have been identified.

My approach to contextualisation takes two paths. In the first, that part of the context pertinent to the individual parties will be considered. This establishes the route a party's position takes; from its emergence as an item on their political agenda to its occurrence in the manifesto. The constructions found are thus located within factors associated with their production and reproduction, which equates to Fairclough's (2002) dimension of discursive practice. Additionally Chapter 4 recommended supplementing his approach with Sabatier's model of policy formation, ACF (Sabatier and Pelkey 1987; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1994). By combining these two analytic strategies, we can support a reflection on discursive practices through a consideration of the *values* which binds actors advocating a policy into coalitions. As an approach CDA with ACF acts as a link between the construction of the *imaginary* of culture as '...an object of... governance' and its articulation in coalitions of power as a '...condition for...governance' (Farrelly 2010, p. 101).

In the second the historical context shared by all parties will be considered. It is that wider social, economic and political milieu to which the manifestos are responding. By placing the constructions of culture found in the texts in that setting, we develop a clearer understanding of why the concerns associated with those constructions acquired a political significance for the parties.

Methodologically this connects to Fairclough's *dimension of social practices* (Fairclough 2002) and what Sabatier refers to as *environmental factors*, or *system shocks* (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1994; Weible, Sabatier and McQueen 2009). By locating the constructions found in the text in the setting they are both part of and to which they are responding, we gain a better insight into how they are shaped, and attempt to shape, the context in which they participate.

The Conservative Party

In 1966 ultimate authority over the Conservative party's policy position, during the election, was vested in Edward Heath (Kavanagh 1996). Heath claims that his preparation of the production of an election manifesto began when he was appointed leader of the party, in August 1965 (Heath 1998). While the final decision regarding what to include and exclude from the manifesto may rest with the leader, there are a number of bodies, both formal institutions and less formal networks, which articulate the position of the wider party across a broad spectrum of policy areas. In order to maintain the loyalty and support of the party, Kavanagh argues (Kavanagh 1996), the leader must acknowledge that its concerns have been listened to; recognising any intra-party consensus on particular areas of policy within the manifesto.

There are, three formal political institutions that constitute the Conservative party:

The Parliamentary Party: this is composed of all sitting MPs and Conservative peers

The National Union: which is a constituted federation of all the individual constituency Conservative parties

The National Union's Annual Conference: which is the forum where the parliamentary party announces its achievements and any new initiatives. The annual conference is also the arena where party activists and MPs debate policy issues through the plenary sessions and an array of side meetings.

In addition to these there is the Conservative Political Centre (CPC), which is not a separate forum from the ones mentioned; instead it acts as a conduit through which the formal institutions, and less formal party networks, produce materials for the party's campaigns and debates. The function of the pamphlets the CPC publish, which are commonly circulated through the National Union, are to stimulate party debate, amongst the membership, around potential areas of policy. From this grass roots discussion proposals emerge for consideration at the Annual Conference, or one of its many side meetings.

The purpose of the Annual Conference is two-fold. First: it is the function of the conference to act as a platform that both enables the party leader and associated ministers, shadow ministers when in opposition, to celebrate parliamentary successes, and outline the party's central campaigning areas for the year ahead. Second, it acts as a forum through which the parliamentary party can ascertain the

mood of the party, across a broader range of policy areas. In this latter role it provides insight for the leadership, into the mood of the party membership on a variety of topics.

The bulk of the material published by the CPC emanates from networks of party members, which have no official capacity regarding policy development within the party. Despite this lack of formal connection a number of these groups are highly influential; some are dominated by Members of Parliament with no ministerial position, others are closer to grass roots party activism. Because of their association with the production of three discussion pamphlets, published between 1959 and 1961, which are of relevance to this inquiry, two particular groups are worth mentioning; the Bow Group and the One Nation Dining Club.

The Bow group formed in 1951 from a cohort of young Conservatives, all of whom were recent graduates. Their motivation was to ‘...provide an effective counter to *intellectual* socialism and the Fabian Society’ (Barr 2001, p. viii). Though sitting MPs were excluded from membership of the Bow Group many of its members went on to become notable parliamentarians. Its alumni include Geoffrey Howe, Norman Lamont and Michael Howard, with three of its former Secretaries becoming ministers in Edward Heath’s governments during the early 1970s: Antony Buck, David Howell and Peter Emery (Barr 2001).

The One Nation Dining Club is open to any Conservative MP not holding a ministerial position. Its founding members were all new intake Conservative MPs following the 1950 election. All were committed to revitalising the party (Seawright

2005) after its second defeat to Labour, following the end of the Second World War. While MPs holding, or who had held, a ministerial office were excluded from the club, its previous members have gone on to become party leaders and senior ministers including; Edward Heath, former arts minister Norman St. John Stevas, Sir Keith Joseph and David Cameron.

Between 1959 and 1961 party activists, of whom Bow Group and the One Nation Dining Club members formed a substantial majority, were to write three discussion pamphlets. Published by the CPC, these documents argued that future Conservative governments should make a greater commitment to supporting culture and *the arts*. The publications were: *Patronage and the Arts*, *The Challenge of Leisure* and *Government and the Arts*.

The most thoroughly researched of the three was the Bow Group's *Patronage and the Arts* (Carless and Brewster 1959). The other two publications frequently cite the evidence presented by Carless and Brewster to support their own position.

Culture and the arts, the authors argue, are important because:

‘...it is becoming increasingly accepted that nourishing contemporary artistic activity carries an international prestige that is hard to measure.’ (p. 14)

This sentiment, which is reminiscent of Bennett's *rationale* from *National Prestige* (Bennett 1994; 1995), is combined with a belief that the arts ‘...never have been and never will be self-supporting’ (p. 12), leads the writers to advocate for greater consideration of culture in government. Their report focuses on three areas; 1) the

variety of patrons then supporting the arts in Britain, 2) the patronage requirements of particular art forms, and 3) the prevailing state of actual arts patronage in Britain. In conclusion, they set out a number of recommendations for a future Conservative government. They express opposition to the idea of direct state intervention. However, they suggest government should play a more active part in widening access to the arts, whilst working with others to create an environment where cultural activity could flourish. The resonance of their conclusions with the 1966 Conservative manifesto construal of culture is apparent.

One of the authors of the Bow Group report, Richard Carless, was also one of the nine contributors to *The Challenge of Leisure* (CPC 1959). This publication was the combined work of MPs and party activists; most of whom were members of the One Nation Dining Club or the Bow Group. The central position of the pamphlet is that, in the coming decade, how people use their free time will become a crucial political issue. They suggest a scientific revolution and overall growth in household income has resulted in an increased desire for, and the ability of many to own goods which were previously thought unobtainable. They go on to argue that changes in the way people live and work has meant an increasing number of people, especially the young, have more free time than ever before. Their conclusion is that the proper direction of leisure will present a *challenge* for any future government; claiming that ‘...wrongly used (leisure) constitutes a real threat to society’ (p. 6).

Of the three areas the pamphlet addresses, youth services, sporting activity and the arts, it is the latter which receives most attention. The arts are considered

important because they are construed as making a large contribution to existing leisure provision. In a sentiment which would echo that found in the Labour manifesto of 1966, they suggest that the arts provide ‘...an opportunity for the best in human nature to develop’ (p. 14). Any further similarity between those two texts ends there. The recommendations in ‘The Challenge of Leisure’ are broadly similar to those in *Patronage and the Arts*. Government’s role, it proposes, should be to encourage partnerships between local government, voluntary groups and business. While the state should work with others to initiate infrastructural programmes, such as the building of a National Theatre, its main task should be to encourage individual giving. As a means of elaborating the form *encouragement* should take in their recommendations, they suggest donations in lieu of business taxes and contributions made in place of death duties.

Both *Patronage and the Arts* and *The Challenge of Leisure* were published shortly before the 1959 general election; *Government and the Arts* (CPC 1961) appeared mid-term during the 1959/1964 Conservative government. Authored by a group of Conservative MPs of no declared overall affiliation, though the most substantial representation was from members of the One Nation Dining Club, it detailed a series of proposals for increased state support of the arts. Repeating the concerns about the potential dangers of young people’s misuse of their free time, raised in *The Challenge of Leisure*, the authors go on to endorse many of the recommendations of *The Patronage of the Arts*. Fundamentally *Government and the Arts* suggests the old relationship between the state and culture is not working, a fresh approach is required. Whilst supporting increased government investment in cultural infrastructure, they drew back from committing the party to establishing

any form of ministerial office that would carry responsibility for the arts. Instead its recommendations are that government best serves the sector by encouraging patronage through local government in partnership with private businesses. Echoing the proposals of *The Challenge of Leisure* they suggest that the state should adopt measures to enable individuals, and private business, to participate more fully in supporting cultural activity.

The similarity between the proposals developed in these three publications, and the construction of culture found in the party's 1966 manifesto is substantial. Although there is no direct evidence linking Edward Heath to the work presented in these pamphlets, the resonances between them and the 1966 manifesto suggest party debate, around the relationship between the state and culture, was being informed by them. Those connections would seem to support Kavanagh's (1996) contention that the Conservative party leader, though free to determine policy on their own, would do well to bear internal debate in mind when setting out the party's electoral position.

The Labour Party

Until the 1990s the process by which party policy was established in the Labour and Conservative parties, differed substantially. For Labour, there was a constitutionally established route that connected positions approved by the party's membership to policy declaration in the manifesto. Though these procedures were weakened under successive reforms by Neil Kinnock, John Smith and Tony Blair

(Westlake 2001), they form a relevant and substantive difference between the two parties prior to, and including, the 1966 and 1970 elections.

Constitutionally the Labour party recognises three bodies through which the party's position is established and expressed. These are:

Conference: This is comprised of over 1000 elected delegates, representing constituency groups, unions, and politically affiliated organisations. All votes at conference were weighted; depending on the number of members each elected delegate represented. As well as establishing party policy a central role of Conference was to elect MPs as members of the party's Cabinet/Shadow Cabinet. Though elected by Conference, the specific responsibility given to an MP post Conference selection was the decision of the party leader.

National Executive Committee (NEC): The NEC is composed of 29 members, drawn from all parts of the party, and not just sitting MPs. Up until reforms initiated by Neil Kinnock, 27 of the places on the NEC were elected by Conference on a temporary basis. Further changes, affecting the role of the NEC, were introduced by John Smith and Tony Blair. Until those reforms began to have an impact on the role of the NEC, its function was to represent the policy decisions made at Conference to the parliamentary party.

Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP): This encompassed all the MPs elected to sit in the House of Commons; as such they represent the population of the political wards to which they have been elected.

The role of Conference was to establish the broad policy position of the party. Through its elected members on the NEC, Conference could put pressure on the PLP to realise the policy objectives and priorities it had voted for. This position was strengthened by its role as the body that elected those MPs who formed the party's Cabinet/Shadow Cabinet. It was from the negotiations that took place between the NEC and the PLP, that the actual policy direction of the party would take its lead. It was the task of the PLP to articulate that policy direction in a manner that was, while acknowledging the values and perspectives of Conference, most likely to succeed both in parliament and at an election (Beer 1974, Budge and McKay 1983). Through this process, it was argued, party members could have a direct bearing on the position adopted by the party in parliament. Kavanagh (1996, also Kavanagh and Seldon 2000) suggests that the control emanating from Conference was a significant factor, which contributed to many Labour party leaders developing less formal means of exercising their authority over policy. Such para-governmental coalitions are important and I shall return to them shortly. For now I wish to consider two reports, produced by the NEC in 1959, which had a more direct bearing on the construction of culture that appeared in the party's 1966 manifesto.

Learning for Living (Labour Party NEC1959a) and *Leisure for Living* (Labour Party: NEC 1959b), offered a set of policy proposals that were concerned with how the party could create a more rounded society. The first report consolidated party thinking on comprehensive and post secondary education, advocated for access to learning throughout life. In *Leisure for Living* the focus was on access to sport and the arts, with the greater proportion of the pamphlet concentrating on widening

access to culture. In part, at least, this was a response to a debate instigated by comments originating in C.P. Snow's New Statesman article 'The Two Cultures' (Snow 1956)⁴⁸.

Snow⁴⁹ argued that Britain and the West were not coping with the changes brought about by the scientific revolution. The gap between how we understood our place in the world scientifically and through literature and the arts was widening. Snow claims the consequences of not closing this gap would be catastrophic. Science, he claims, would lack the richness necessary to truly benefit humanity. Meanwhile the arts, cut free from any understanding of the impact of science on the way people lived and interacted, would grow increasingly irrelevant. Communication between the scientific and the literary *cultures*, he goes on to say, was missing at every level of society; from university professors to ordinary people in their daily lives. He concludes that the gap he had identified could only be closed through education in its widest sense. It was, he argues, important for everyone to generate a real interest in, and the ability to confidently discuss ideas from, both *cultures*. Though not a new idea⁵⁰ Snow's polemical work was the first to suggest a practical policy approach to addressing the issues he raised.

In *Learning for Living* and *Leisure for Living* the NEC argues the Labour party's response to the issues raised by Snow's *two cultures* should be; 1) to champion

⁴⁸ His ideas were later developed in his Rede Lecture of 7th May 1959, published as *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution* in 1959.

⁴⁹ C. P. Snow was made a life peer by Harold Wilson in 1964.

⁵⁰ For example the embryologist C H Waddington had argued that for Britain to emerge from the war a better nation than when it entered it, an attitude of 'scientific romanticism' (Waddington 1944) was required that would enable all levels of society to debate key ideas of science and the arts.

improvements in the provision of education, and 2) to widen access to cultural institutions. Shortly after the 1959 election both documents were presented to Conference and formally ratified as party policy. This placed cultural policy firmly on the agenda of the parliamentary party. For Labour, unlike the Conservatives, there was no question whether to include cultural policy in their next manifesto or not; the issue was how it should be done.

After 13 years in opposition the Labour party won the general election in 1964, but with a very small majority - four seats (Rallings and Thrasher 2009). This proved unsustainable for the programme it had wanted to implement (Wilson 1971). A little less than 18 months later Harold Wilson called a second election. The result obtained was a strong working majority of 98, giving the party a clear mandate to realise the objective it had set out in its manifesto. How Labour's construction of culture became articulated in government is thus significant to my research agenda.

The ability of a government to implement its policies is significantly affected by the support it can obtain from the Civil Service in Whitehall (Kavanagh and Seldon 2000). It was not until 1970, when Edward Heath created the Central Policy Review Staff (CPRS), that preparation for a new administration in Whitehall became more structured and professional. Prior to this the relationship between the political parties and the administrative machinery of the Civil Service, before an election, was highly informal. Harold Wilson (Wilson 1971) describes a '...secret dinner' (p. 4), three months before the 1964 election, between himself and the joint permanent secretary to the Treasury, the person responsible for managing those

Civil Servants who worked in government. The dinner, instigated by a Labour peer, was intended to broker relationships between Wilson and the Civil Service, prior to any possible return of the party to government. Such a relaxed attitude is in contrast to contemporary practice; where Civil Servants within each department assemble a brief for the incoming ministers, outlining relevant proposals for turning manifesto statements of the party's policy position into a practical programme for legislation (James 1999).

A tradition of informality is an important consideration when reflecting on the decisions Wilson took when introducing a Minister for the Arts. Two further factors warrant consideration. Firstly, Kavanagh (1981) suggests the Civil Service support of the Prime Minister, at this time, was systemically resistant to change. Secondly, it needs to be remembered that, because of the structure of the Labour party, the MPs who formed Wilson's Cabinet were not of his choosing, but elected into that position for him by Conference. In such a setting, Kavanagh (1996) argues, the formation of what are referred to as *kitchen cabinets* becomes more likely.

Budge et al. (2004) defines a *kitchen cabinet* as a:

'...loose and informal policy advice group that Prime Ministers may collect around them and that may include politicians, public officials and private citizens.' (p. 119)

Wilson worked extensively through such informal networks (James 1999; Kavanagh and Seldon 2000; Budge et al. 2004) and, while their composition was

fluid, it is known that Arnold Goodman and Jennie Lee formed part of this *inner circle* (Witts 1998).

Arnold Goodman was appointed chairman of the Arts Council in May 1965 (Witts 1998, p. 140); he was also acknowledged as unofficial legal advisor to Wilson between 1964 and 1970 (Kavanagh and Seldon 2000, p. 341). Jennie Lee also knew Goodman, both as a friend and as the executor to her late husband, Aneurin Bevan (Hollis 1997, p. 237). According to Witts (1998) Lee's appointment, as Britain's first Minister for Arts and Leisure, was at the recommendation of Goodman (p. 360). Though Wilson's own account (Wilson 1971) omits the influence of Goodman, he does acknowledge that the three of them were good friends.

In principle the influence which Lee, as a Parliamentary Under Secretary, could exert on governmental policy and the spending of the state, should have been minor. The formal route by which her office could secure funding was through negotiation with the Secretary of State for the Department she worked within. Policy developed through her ministry should be secondary to, and supportive of, that being delivered by that wider Department. However, the informal relationship between Lee, Wilson and Goodman formed a coalition that was bound together by shared values of friendship and personal loyalty. This coalition subverted the established structures of the state, sidestepping the formal protocols of Cabinet Government (Hollis 1997). In practice this meant that the cultural policy, developed by Lee and Goodman, could have both a direct impact on the operation of the Arts Council, and the ear of the Prime Minister. Witts suggests that the three

friends met frequently, both formally and informally, describing their relationship as '...a casual one, but effective.' (Witts 1998, p. 347). James (1999) is less complimentary, describing their association as '...a distinctly unhealthy relationship' (p. 20), suggesting that Lee would use her friendship with Wilson to frequently overrule the decisions of her Secretary of State on funding issues. This gave her considerably more power and influence than was appropriate for her place within the hierarchy of government.

While the construction of culture found in the manifesto of the Labour party in 1966 is consistent with that set out by the NEC, and endorsed by Conference, its articulation in the hierarchy of British governmental politics was not. While the relationship between Wilson, Lee and Goodman meant that Lee could exert considerable political leverage, sidestepping the established routes by which the resources of the state operated, her authority was dependent on a particular set of personal connections, not embedded within the structures of government.

Governmental cultural policy was thus articulated through a para-governmental advocacy coalition, while being disassociated from the governance of the state.

Rather than the *imaginary* of culture being an *object of or condition for* governance, it became an idiosyncratic expression of the friendship of three particular agents. As such the construction of culture articulated by those actors would be difficult to sustain, once the relationship between them altered.

The Liberal Party

In order to consider how the construction of culture found in the Liberal manifesto emerged we need to consider the party's finances. Prior to the 1966 election the Liberal Party was in a very precarious financial position. Poor election results at every election since 1945 had seriously drained the party's resources; by 1965 the party was close to being declared bankrupt. Thorpe (1999) suggests it was only because the party's bank was prepared to extend its overdraft, from £70,000 to £100,000, that it was able to put any candidates forward to contest seats at the 1966 general election⁵¹.

For much of the twentieth century the Liberal party had encountered several periods of internal division (Douglas 2005), which in turn had led to numerous reforms of the party's internal structure. By 1966 it was constitutionally composed of two bodies, which came together to debate principles and ideas at their shared annual national conference. The smallest of those bodies was the parliamentary party, which consisted of sitting Liberal MPs. The other was the Liberal Party Organisation (LPO). That latter body comprised individual members, constituency members and the membership of affiliated organisations and groups. Up until the late 1950s, MPs and party members would characterise the relationships, between those two sections of the party, as difficult. For example, in 1949 the Liberal peer and campaigner Lady Violet Bonham Carter is reported to have said of the party's

⁵¹ So precarious had the Liberal party's finances become that during the 1950s they were unable to contest more than 40% of the seats available at general elections. It was not until 1983, when the Liberal party had established a relationship with the SDP, that parliamentary candidates could be found representing their alliance in every constituency. (Thorpe 1999; Dutton 2004 and Douglas 2005)

then ten sitting MPs they ‘...are constantly at variance with one another, the Liberal Party Organisation and with their colleagues in the House of Lords’ (quoted in Dutton 2004, p. 154). According to Dutton (2004), Douglas (2005) and Thorpe (1999) it was the vision and leadership of Jo Grimond that had begun to turn the party around, and draw its factions together.

As party leader from 1957 to 1966, Jo Grimond claimed personal responsibility for constructing the manifestos upon which the party campaigned (Grimond 1979).

This may be correct. However, given Grimond’s reputation as the man who drew the party together, it would seem most likely that he consulted widely. Drawing on the skills and experience of the few Liberal MPs in parliament, the LPO and external advisors sympathetic to the party, the manifesto can be broadly considered an expression of his interpretation of the party’s ambitions (Dutton 2004, Douglas 2005). Writing in 1979 Grimond declared his principle objectives as party leader had been;

- 1) To establish the Liberal party as the foundation for a broad, non-socialist, Centre-Left coalition that could draw in sympathetic factions from Labour and the Conservatives.
- 2) Strategically develop the party by focussing on its growing popularity in regional government, where the party was becoming known for its success in addressing local concerns (Grimond 1979; also in Dutton 2004).

The first of these goals had suffered a significant challenge when Labour won the election of 1964. Wilson’s rhetoric of a ‘New Britain’ (Wilson 1964) had been an

appeal to the political centre over the far Left. In a scenario we shall see repeated in Chapter 7, with regards to Paddy Ashdown's reaction to Tony Blair's election in 1997, Grimond felt Wilson's policies were a copy of his own. He was later to describe the election of the 1964 Labour government as a *devastating blow* to his hopes for realigning British politics around the Liberal party (Grimond 1979). Labour were soon to call another election. In 1966 Grimond's strategy had not been to seek a full-scale realignment of the Liberal party; instead he was to refocus the party's 1964 manifesto to reflect his other key objective, an emphasis on the party's regional success. Drawing responsibility for culture from central government and into the regions, can thus be understood as symptomatic of Grimond's wider strategy for the political survival of his party.

Shared Historical Setting

So far we have considered how those constructions of culture that were found in the manifestos developed within structures particular to each party. Those considerations reflected factors influencing the formation of coalitions articulating culture within the three parties. Without wishing to mutate this chapter into a social history, a consideration of the shared historical setting offers an insight into how recreation and education emerged as issues warranting a political position. When considered within the framework suggested by Sabatier's ACF, that shared setting connects directly to his conceptualisation of *environmental factors* or *system shocks*. Those factors, anchored in the constructions found in the text, are associated with the emergence of an area of policy as one warranting interest,

and indicate the forces shaping, and being shaped by, the coalitions responding to them.

With regard to culture as learning we have already considered how C P Snow's *The Two Cultures* stimulated a Labour party debate around education. If we are to gain a better insight into how *leisure* became an area that warranted political attention, we need to look back to the end of the Second World War. The period from 1945 to 1966 saw substantial change to people's daily lives and the economy of the nation.

The bombing raids on many of Britain's cities during the Second World War had left the nation with a severely impaired infrastructure, and a significantly damaged industrial sector (Morgan 2001; Marwick 2003). It was not alone; the conflict had a profound impact on many other industrialised nations across Europe. A central concern of all governments affected by the War was the re-establishment of their national economy. While those countries that had experienced bombing raids and land assault required infrastructural and industrial reconstruction, even those states not directly touched by bomb or bullet carried personal and economic scars (Childs 1995). Of all the nations in the front line of the conflict, Britain was better placed than many of its competitors to stimulate economic growth. Through its imperial connections it could more easily reconnect to its principle export markets. Whether through colonial contact, or as part of the emerging British Commonwealth, Britain had privileged trading relationships with more states than many other countries (Rosen 2003).

By the early 1950s post-war austerity, for most, was coming to a close, and Britain was close to full employment. In the majority of households, income, and the average amount of paid leave working people were entitled to, was increasing (Dilnot 1988; Price and Bain 1988). Overall improvements in many people's financial situation, and general quality of life, led the Labour MP Anthony Crosland to claim, '...affluence was guaranteed and mass unemployment probably over' (Crosland 1956, quoted in Morgan 2001, p. 157). At around the same time Harold MacMillan, Chancellor of the Exchequer for the Conservative government, could declare; '...most of our people have never had it so good'. (Cited in Marwick 2003, p. 86)

With more paid leave, a shorter working week and greater disposable income (CSO 1971), how people chose to spend their extra money, and use their free time, became of increased economic significance. Holiday camps flourished (Marwick 2003), and other forms of tourism experienced rapid expansion, as more people were spending a greater amount of time away from home (CSO 1971). The growth in average disposable incomes also led to an expansion in the market for consumer durables (CSO 1971). Innovations in domestic appliances, together with the emergence of new forms of credit and finance, brought the purchase of many items, previously the preserve of the affluent, within reach of many (Childs 1995). An increasing number of households, whether through hire purchase agreements or rental, were acquiring higher cost items such as televisions, fridges and washing machines (Rosen 2003). These changes in consumer purchasing also found expression in a growing demand for more ephemeral and lifestyle items. For example, more people began eating away from home (CSO 1971) and the market

for recorded music expanded rapidly (Marwick 2002). Designs in clothing began to change more frequently, and trends in fashion and music converged to become a statement of the wearer's, and listener's, identity (Marwick 2003).

According to Abrams (1959) affluence in Britain was disproportionately weighted towards younger rather than older members of the working population. Real earnings for 15 to 25 year olds had increased by 50 per cent since 1938, double the increase for adults as a whole' (p. 108), and displayed '...unique patterns of consumption' (p. 109). Rosen (2003; also Muggleton 2005) suggests that this change in young people's economic power became increasingly expressed as challenges to long established orthodoxies of political authority, class, religion and the family. The '...unique patterns of consumption' identified by Abrams were also becoming, for some, expressions of a group identity to be violently defended.

Marwick (2003) writes that by the mid sixties,

'...much critical attention was directed at the violent and destructive encounters taking place on Bank Holidays at popular holiday resorts between rival teenage groups of "mods" and "rockers"' (p. 140).

It is with regards to such a situation that members of the One Nation Dining Group were to write; '...leisure wrongly used constitutes a real threat to society' (CPC 1959, p. 6).

The social and economic impacts of increased affluence, leisure and recreation, were becoming difficult for political parties to ignore. Leisure was becoming a

serious economic and social concern whose effects were being felt across all levels of society.

Our attention now turns to the manifestos of 1970.

1970

The Conservative Manifesto

The Arts, Broadcasting and Sport

We will continue to give full financial support and encouragement to the Arts. The Arts Council will be strengthened so that it can take a more active role in stimulating regional co-operation and in establishing effective regional arts associations. Local authorities will be encouraged to play a larger role in patronage of the Arts. We recognise the vital importance of private patronage. We will devote special attention to those areas of artistic life such as museums and music colleges which face particularly acute problems.

We believe that people are as entitled to an alternative radio service as to an alternative television service. We will permit local private enterprise radio under the general supervision of an independent broadcasting authority. Local institutions, particularly local newspapers, will have the opportunity of a stake in local radio, which we want to see closely associated with the local community.

We will ensure that the British Broadcasting Corporation continues to make its effective and essential public service contribution in both television and sound broadcasting. Equally, we will ensure

that the independent television companies are not prevented from providing a responsible service by too high a government levy on their income.

The Sports Council is fulfilling an important function in carrying out research and advising the Government on capital investment in recreation by local authorities, and on grant-aid to voluntary organisations. We will make the Sports Council an independent body, and make it responsible for the grant-aiding functions at present exercised by the Government.

Box 4: Text containing lexemes from the 1970 Conservative manifesto

The first thing to note about this text is that the only one of our three lexemes it contains is *art*. This is true of the whole manifesto, which contains no instance of either *heritage* or *cultur*. In the document there is only one other instance of *art* that appears, which is in a section outlining the party's fiscal policy: I shall return to this later. Secondly, instances are concentrated on the section's first paragraph. In the remainder of the text the focus is on broadcasting and sport. The drawing together of policy for the arts with that for broadcasting and sport was not new to the party's electoral agenda; there is a suggestion of it in the text taken from their 1966 manifesto. What is different here is the instance of a lexeme in the heading. Headings, as has been mentioned, are important for the reader's navigation of a text. The inclusion of a lexeme in a title immediately raises its profile; policy associated with the lexeme becomes important in its own right, rather than being subsumed under a wider policy agenda, such as *recreation*.

That *art* is the preferred indicator of cultural policy in the manifesto is not wholly surprising. The absence of *heritage* was mentioned earlier, and will be discussed in Chapter 7. *Cultur*'s omission can be better understood when considering the parliamentary arena with which this part of the party's policy was engaged. Labour had held office since 1964. Throughout that period cultural policy had been represented in government by a Minister for Arts and Leisure, not a Minister for Culture. Within an emerging policy area, that has no obvious impact on the party's overall electoral position, it seems reasonable to refer to the proposals associated with that field in a manner consistent with the prevailing nomenclature.

In this text, it is particularly difficult to determine the relationship between the citizen and the state. The only indication of how the citizen is being constructed occurs in the opening line of the second paragraph; 'We believe that people'. This expression is interesting because of its imprecision. *The* people would have significant political connotations, particularly on the Left. *Our* people suggests a jingoism in a passage that otherwise carries no suggestion of nationalism. What the use of the unattached 'people' does is depoliticise the association between the citizen and the state. 'People' universalises the *entitlement* referred to in the rest of the line, in this case to alternative broadcasting services, in a manner that reduces the political connotation that would otherwise be attached to the word.

Depoliticisation is a mode of governance that positions responsibility for governmental policy outside government (Burnham 2001). An example of this can be found in the sentence which it precedes: 'We will permit local private enterprise radio under the general supervision of an independent broadcasting authority'.

Responsibility for the delivery of a party proposal is handed over to an external body. Failure to deliver the wanted outcome then becomes a point of critique of the management of that third party, rather than the intent of the political organisation that had set the policy objective. By depoliticising an area of governmental activity the state can maintain a level of control over a policy area while reducing its culpability. Such a situation will be of particular interest when considering the Conservative party's proposals for a national lottery in 1992, which will be discussed in Chapter 7. There are several echoes in the 1970 text with those scrutinised from the party's 1966 manifesto. The placement of responsibility for realising policy objectives with external agencies, and the development of relationships between the private sector and local authorities, are common to both texts.

A significant way this text differs from the earlier one is in the assuredness it conveys that the party can form an effective government. In total *we*, occurs nine times, of which six are *we will*, the remainder are *we recognise*, *we believe* and *we want*. The affirmative use of *we*, as a reference to the party, expresses conviction. Though the position of the party is stated with a confident voice, it is one that masks a wider reading of the text which suggests the construction of government, presented in 1970, has not substantially moved since 1966. Government's relationship to culture is still understood to be at a distance from direct engagement.

As in 1966, *encouragement* is used to describe the party's relationship to the arts. In the second sentence *encourage* is used to refer to the *strengthening* of the Arts

Council's effectiveness in the regions; and reiterated later with reference to local authority patronage. The suggestion that culture is best served regionally, repeats a commitment to *encouraging* the arts in the *provinces* found in the 1966 text. A focus on local and non-state support runs throughout the section. There are seven instances of *Local* and two of *regional*, while references to bodies outside central government include; the Arts Council, regional arts associations, local authorities, private patrons, private enterprise, independent television companies, local institutions, the independent broadcasting authority and the BBC. The last sentence also proposes to make the Sports Council an independent body, making all three areas covered by the section's title the responsibility of organisations removed from direct governmental intervention.

Unlike 1966 government is not described as *confused*, and there is no suggestion that state involvement is overly bureaucratic. But like the earlier text, the role of the state is still portrayed as removing barriers to the activity of others. There is a suggestion that the state has intervened too much in broadcasting, as we are advised that *local institutions* will have the *opportunity* to operate local radio, and that television companies will not be *prevented* from providing a *responsible service*. These examples repeat the depoliticisation of cultural policy already found elsewhere in the text. Government, operating as an enabler, is understood as working through a process of stepping back from direct engagement.

Beyond the instances of *art* found in this section it occurs only once elsewhere in the manifesto, this is in that part of the document outlining the party's planned reforms of the tax system. In a relatively long section there is a brief reference to

'...encouraging the flow of private funds to the arts', through changes to the fiscal rules associated with charitable giving. It resonates with some of the proposals outlined for supporting culture developed in the pamphlets, written by members of the Bow Group and One Nation Dining Club, which were discussed earlier. Though not directly connected to any of the other fiscal arrangements discussed in the manifesto, it reiterates the party's stance that the state's role is to step back from interfering in the choices of citizens. The association of funding the arts with charitable giving also suggests that cultural activity is not being construed as economically productive.

Though the 1970 text raises the profile of culture within the Conservative party's electoral position, it does little to develop the construction of culture and government found in the 1966 manifesto. Cultural policy is still concerned with outcomes associated with how people spend their free time. The characterisation of government remains passive; its role to remove barriers perceived to impede those construed as better able to deliver the aspirations of the party.

The Labour Manifesto

Opportunities for Leisure

Leisure, and the opportunities to pursue a wide range of recreational and cultural activities, must not be limited by lack of facilities.

Labour's commitment to developing opportunities for leisure has

therefore been immense:

The **Arts**: Our aim is to make sure that enjoyment of the **arts** is not something remote from everyday life or removed from the realities of home and work. Government spending on the **arts** has been more than doubled. Local **arts** centres, regional film theatres, municipally owned and aided theatres, national and local museums have been established or modernised. A National Theatre and National Film School, after decades of Tory delay, are now being established.

Box 5: Text containing lexemes from the 1970 Labour manifesto

A construction of culture as leisure is overt in this text, as is the association of supporting culture through the provision of facilities. *The Arts* is the first of four subsections under the heading 'Opportunities for Leisure', the others are; sport, countryside and tourism⁵². No explicit connection is made in the text linking these four themes together, giving the impression that the association is with the title and not each other.

Unlike the previous Labour manifesto, culture is not linked to education, which is dealt with in a completely separate part of the document. Instead culture is considered under the less specific umbrella *A Great Place to Live*, which mainly concerns issues of housing and the environment.

⁵² The full text of the section is reproduced in Appendix F.

When compared to the style of expression found in the language of the 1966 manifesto, there is a distinct qualitative change. That earlier text began with ‘...access for all’ and progressed onto declaring culture to be part of the party’s ‘...wider...educational and social purpose’. This has been replaced by a much less ambitious; ‘...developing opportunities’ and ‘...our aim’. In that way the confident statements, which suggested the state knew what was best for the nation, are softened. Further evidence of this qualitative shift appears in how access to culture is described. In the previous manifesto we were informed that access ‘...to the best’ was ‘...one hallmark of a civilised country’. In 1970 there is no reference to *the best*, and the *hallmark* has become the more commonplace ‘not...removed from the realities of home and work’. In place of the metaphor for culture being a precious metal whose markings identify the nation as distinctive, it is suggested that the culture is a mundane part of daily life. While this does not contradict how culture was described previously, after all in a *civilised country* one would assume that what was considered exceptional in an uncivilised state would be accepted as ordinary, it does have a flatter tone.

When compared the Labour party texts from 1966 and 1970 leave the impression that this is an area of policy that has lost its energy. The promise suggested in the second line of the section’s introduction, which refers to Labour’s *immense commitment to developing opportunities for leisure*, does not carry through to the remainder of this brief consideration of cultural policy.

Though we are informed of some of the party’s achievements over the intervening four years, which include the doubling of government spending on the arts and the

establishment of a National Theatre and a National Film School, these come across as hollow victories. In place of celebrating what the party has delivered, these outcomes are described as the ‘...overcoming of Tory delay’. This marks a contrast to the other three themes covered by the *Opportunities for Leisure* heading. *We shall*, which does not occur with regards to *the arts* at all, appears three times in the section on *sport*. Developments in sport, and countryside access, are all identified with initiatives emerging from the Labour government. We are informed of the design of 200 ‘multi-purpose sports centres’ and the opening of ‘eleven long-distance footpaths’; all of which have a vitality missing in the discussion of ‘the arts’.

Though only a short section, the energy around government’s interest in tourism is also evident. The reader is informed that tourists find Britain ‘...vital and interesting’, and that historic cities are a ‘...major attraction’. There is no such vigour in evidence in how the text constructs culture.

While the Labour manifesto still construes government as actively engaged in cultural policy, its orientation towards culture lacks the gravitas. Disassociated from education, the construction of culture simply as leisure carries none of the enthusiasm evident in the 1966 text.

The Liberal Manifesto

There must surely be a better way to run a country than the one

we have used for the last twenty-five years. No wonder people are fed up with thirteen years of Tory rule and twelve years under Labour.

What have we achieved? What sort of society have we turned ourselves into materially and culturally?

Box 6: Text containing lexemes from the 1970 Liberal manifesto

This solitary instance of *cultur* presents us with very little to work with. Cultural policy clearly has a very low priority for the Liberal party in this election. The lexeme appears as the second paragraph of the manifesto; as such it forms part of the scene setting for the remainder of the document. Box 6 reproduces the manifesto's two opening paragraphs. Together they offer some insight into how the relationship between government and culture is being presented.

The *twenty-five years* referred to in the first line is a reference to government since the end of the Second World War. Given that during the war, Britain was governed by a coalition of all three parties, 1945 also represents the last time the Liberal party had any administrative power. The reader is left with the impression that since the party last played an active part in government, the country has been mismanaged as it has swung between ideologies of the Right and the Left. Having set up this scenario the manifesto then presents a question...*What have we achieved?* The presumption behind the question is a reinforcement of the position of the previous paragraph. The suggestion is that both parties have failed. While to whom the *we* refers is unspecified, it seems to cover both voter and government;

as it is the same we that both voted in Conservative and Labour governments and ran the country for twenty-five years.

It is at the end of the second paragraph where a hint of a construction of government and culture emerges. This opening's final question suggests that the criteria for assessing government's achievements are the *material and cultural* conditions of society. Culture is thus credited with being a central characteristic by which to judge the worth of a society, and the actions of government are understood to have cultural consequences. There is a resonance here with Labour's 1966 claim to culture's place in forming a *civilised country*. However, the construction is not developed; it is left adrift, unattached to any particular policy proposals. This text leaves how the Liberal party construed the relationship between culture and the state incomplete.

Summing up the textual analysis of 1970

Despite the low frequency of the selected lexemes across the three parties at the 1970 election, a close reading of the texts has revealed a number of interesting pieces of information.

While the profile of cultural policy was raised in the Conservative manifesto, when compared to that of preceding elections, the actual construction of culture and government it contained were found to have remained undeveloped since 1966. The focus of the party's construal of culture was still closely connected to recreation. Similarly, while government was understood to be active in removing

barriers, it was passive in terms of direct engagement with the cultural aspirations it proposed. Where there is an interesting difference between the two texts, is in the assuredness with which the role of government is described. The party no longer needs to brush away the *confusion* and *bureaucracy* associated with a previous administration, it is confident in setting out its own position; as such it has a tone of a government in waiting – which is what it actually turned out to be.

Although there were similarities in the construction of culture and government found in the 1966 and 1970 Labour party texts, a number of differences were also apparent. The connection between culture and education was absent, which resulted in a construction of culture that lacked the gravitas it had in the earlier manifesto. The party's interest in cultural policy appears diminished, with the emphasis placed on other aspects of leisure. Gone was the mission to create a *civilised country*, and in its place was a less ambitious reference to *everyday life* and the *realities of home and work*. There was no expression of a grand vision in this text; even its achievements were worded in such a way as to suggest the initiative behind them had emerged from former Conservative governments, rather than their own ranks.

The Liberal party has shown little interest in cultural policy across both manifestos. However, there have been some indications of a construction of government in the texts selected. As regards the construction of culture, the clearest has been that found in 1966. In that text culture was understood to be of regional, rather than national, importance. In the 1970 manifesto, culture has almost completely dropped out of the picture. The sole instance of one of our searched for lexemes

was used to indicate a value judgment on the quality of a society; interpreted as mismanaged under successive Conservative and Labour governments.

Contextualisation

I began considering the context appropriate to the analysis of the 1966 texts with an inquiry into the internal political structures pertinent to each party. Between that election and 1970 there were no substantial changes to those structures for the Conservative and Labour parties. During the same period the Liberal party changed its leader and, associated with this, there was some modification to the formation of the manifesto; this will be discussed shortly. In addition, a search of the appropriate archives found no new party publications concerning culture, the arts or heritage during that period. Given this degree of contextual stability, it is understandable to find a certain amount of continuity between the text of each party and that found in their previous manifesto. Within the Labour party there were, however, changes associated with the coalition that had been articulating culture; a consideration of those changes goes some way to establishing the difference between their 1966 and 1970 texts. However, before I consider those factors, a brief word regarding the wider context of the 1970 election is pertinent.

As with the contextualisation presented earlier, reflection on the *environmental factors* in the shared historical setting supports a better understanding of the constructions of culture and government identified in the text. It is important to remember that the background covered in respect of the 1966 election is still relevant to the analysis of 1970; context does not evaporate once it has been used

to interpret one set of data. What will be presented as contextualisation in this part of the chapter supplements and develops that earlier work, highlighting factors more closely connected to the period of the later election.

Party specific context

The Conservative party of 1970 was in a much more secure position than when it had contested the 1966 election. During the three years before that earlier election the party had three leaders. Historically, leadership had been conferred by recommendation of the outgoing party leader; Edward Heath was the first person to assume that role as a result of a competitive vote. He had been in post a little more than six months before the 1966 campaign began, which afforded him little time to establish a new direction for the Conservatives following their 1964 electoral defeat. 1966 was the party's second failure to secure the formation of a government, after which Heath instigated a full review of party policy. Chaired by himself (Kavanagh and Seldon 2000), it was tasked with establishing fresh priorities for the next election. The manifesto produced for the 1970 election was an expression of almost five years of consideration and debate. That the construction of culture appears to have developed little is strongly suggestive of its minor significance as a policy area. However, the confidence with which the party discusses its plans is symptomatic of an increased assuredness in its overall political position.

In 1966 the construction of culture found in the Labour manifesto was one which combined education and leisure; embodied in the responsibilities of Jennie Lee.

As Minister for Arts and Leisure she was located within the Department for Education. In 1967 her role began to alter. Although still carrying the same ministerial responsibilities she had before the 1966 election, she acquired the task of overseeing the establishment of the Open University (Hollis 1997). This responsibility, which Hollis maintains required a considerable amount of Lee's time and energy, was to dominate her duties. Towards the end of Labour's 1966 to 1970 government Hugh Willatt, Secretary-General of the Arts Council from 1968, describes her as doing little more than '...going round the country saying nice things about the arts to raise (their) profile in the press' (Quoted in Witts 1998, p. 360). Cultural policy had become a lesser priority as her workload shifted towards education (Hollis 1997). In the absence of any new position on culture coming from Conference and the NEC, consultation in preparation for the 1970 Labour manifesto would have drawn on discussions with the minister responsible (Kavanagh and Seldon 2000). With the balance of her work tilted towards education it is unsurprising to find policy announcements in that area separated from those concerned with culture. The coalition that had subverted the procedures of government since 1964, removing cultural policy from the hierarchy of state power, had begun to break down under pressures emanating from other policy areas.

Jo Grimond resigned as leader of the Liberal party in 1967, to be replaced by Jeremy Thorpe. According to Dutton (2004) and Douglas (2005) despite his success in saving the party from financial collapse in 1965, Thorpe never attained the complete support of the party hierarchy. In 1968 his leadership was challenged and, though he was confirmed in his position by a large majority, he conceded to

an element of collective policy making within the party. Following his re-election Thorpe set up a commission ‘...to convert the party’s principles into a coherent programme for the next election’ (Dutton 2004, p. 210). The 1970 manifesto is the product of that process and no longer the expression of a single person’s vision for the future of their party, as it had been under Grimond in 1966.

In the Liberal manifesto, as with that of Labour and the Conservatives, the limited instance of lexical markers within the texts of the 1970 election indicates that cultural policy was a low priority for the competing parties. Other issues were gaining ground, and culture’s association with recreation or leisure was making it increasingly irrelevant to the political agenda of the parties. A greater understanding of why this was so, can be found when considering the shared historical setting to which all parties were responding.

Shared Historical Setting

In order to better understand the setting to which the parties were responding in 1970, a brief overview of the changes Britain underwent in the 1960s is required. What is presented here is not intended to be a social history of Britain. Instead the shared setting, illustrated through a sequence of short paragraphs, is intended to convey an impression of the context in which the political parties were participating.

When, in 1964, Labour formed its first government in thirteen years, it inherited a large budgetary deficit from the outgoing Conservative administration. That deficit,

combined with its small majority in the House of Commons (Rallings and Thrasher 2009), severely hampered Labour's promise of a *white heat* of technological change (Fielding 2003; Wilson 1964). Investment in new techniques and processes was needed as the former colonies, which had been Britain's primary export market and had facilitated the growth of the economy during the 1950s, were now looking elsewhere to trade. As a nation Britain was growing increasingly uncompetitive.

By the late 1950s a new trading bloc, the Common Market, formed by France, Germany, Italy and the BeNeLux⁵³ states, was beginning to present a real challenge to the economic position Britain had held (Childs 1995). By 1961 Harold Macmillan, then Prime Minister, had made an initial, and failed, approach for Britain to join this new bloc. The Conservative party's position, and increasingly that of Labour, was that if Britain's economic future was to be secure, it should look not to the Commonwealth, but to Europe (Morgan 2001).

Throughout the 1960s there were recurring balance of payments crises. In 1967 the Labour government decided to address this issue through a devaluation of the pound, a consequence of which was acceleration in the rate of inflation (Morgan 2001). In addition to this the number of people unemployed was growing (Price and Bain 1988) and government's public sector spending, in part due to the large number of nationalised industries, increased rapidly. The affluence which had characterised the 1950s had gone (Marwick 2003).

⁵³ BeNeLux refers to the three nations Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg who have a shared history of trading partnership.

Socially Britain, along with most of the western world, changed significantly during the 1960s. It was during that decade, Morgan suggests, that those children born during the period of rapid population expansion which followed the Second World War, commonly referred to as the 'baby boom', started being economically active, and thus became the '...client and patron of (a) new culture' (p. 258). Marwick (2002) refers to this as Britain's 'Cultural Revolution' (p. 101); a flowering of creativity in music, theatre, art and design, which mostly focused on the activity of the young. In *British Society Since 1945* (Marwick 2003), he argues that such intentional signs of difference strained the relationship between young and old in society. This contributed to a general sense that young people were '...becoming a problem' (p. 140), and an impression in the young that the establishment was not to be trusted (Rosen 2003).

In October 1968 violence accompanied what had, until then, been peaceful civil rights protest in Northern Ireland. In August 1969, at the request of the province's then Prime Minister, James Chichester-Clark, British troops were sent in to quell a bloody confrontation between groups on either side of the country's sectarian divide. The so-called 'Battle of Bogside' (BBC 2007) lasted three days, and marked the start of a British military engagement that would last almost thirty years (McKittrick and McVea 2001).

In 1966 culture had been construed, in their respective manifestos, as recreation by the Conservatives and as leisure by Labour. The Labour party in particular had framed it as part of their mission to create a civilised country. Towards the end of

the 1960s, with divisions across the ages appearing in society, rising unemployment, the rate of inflation increasing, growing industrial unrest and British troops in bloody confrontation in Northern Ireland, it becomes less clear why that construction of culture should be of electoral interest to the parties contesting the 1970 election.

In Conclusion

Over the course of the chapter sample texts, taken from the manifestos of the Conservative, Labour and Liberal parties for the 1966 and 1970 election, have been subject to scrutiny. The investigation has combined detailed reading with a process of contextualisation.

In the texts taken from the 1966 election, a construction of culture as recreation was found in the manifesto of the Conservative Party. For Labour non-work time was construed as leisure; associated with that construction was one that incorporated education. The party's position on culture was drawn into a consideration of their '...wider educational and social purpose'. Within the Liberal manifesto no substantial construction of culture could be discerned.

As part of the process of contextualisation those structures which raised issues of policy within each party were discussed. Those structural differences between the parties established the formal coalitions of policy debate within each party's practices. In addressing those differences in individual party governance the discursive practices, discussed in Chapter 4, which had highlighted culture as an

area of political interest were considered. In the Conservative and Labour parties this showed the constructions of culture, found in their manifestos, had been a matter of wider party debate for several years prior to its entering their electoral agenda. In the Liberal party no evidence of a similar debate was found. Where debate had been associated with developing a party position on culture, in the Conservative and the Labour parties, this was found to be a response to social and economic change in Britain during the 1950s.

Clear differences were also found in how each party had constructed the relationship between government, culture and the citizen. For the Conservatives and Labour these differences were salient to a market and statist orientation, commonly associated with a Right/Left ideological position. In the Liberal manifesto the construction found suggested a greater devolution to regional authority. By locating this within a context of Liberal party history, the construction, found in the text was shown to be consistent with a strategic alignment, by the leadership, to local issues. The orientation of the party to an agenda of localism was found to be a means of strengthening grass roots support, during a period of ideological uncertainty and financial insecurity.

As the Labour party had held office between the two elections involved in this study, how it articulated culture in government was of particular interest. This extended the analysis of discursive practices, already undertaken, through a reflection on the *coalition* articulating culture in government. As a result of this analysis a significant finding has emerged. It was found that the articulation of culture within the hierarchy of government was through a *coalition* based on

personal association, and independent of the formal structures of the state. Rather than being embedded within established hierarchies of governmental authority, the relationship between the Prime Minister, Minister for the Arts and Chair of the Arts Council was such that it could side-step those structures. Consequently, the Minister was able to exercise greater power than would normally be attributable to their position. Significantly, while the articulation of culture was active in government it was not integrated into the governance of the state. A consequence of this was that, following the election of a Conservative government in 1970, the place of culture in government was substantially weakened.

The manifestos of all parties at the 1970 election exhibited a number of subtle changes in both the construction of culture and its relationship to government. Constructions of culture as recreation or culture as leisure were still to be found in Conservative and Labour texts, though the latter no longer associated culture with education. In the Liberal party manifesto reference to culture had almost completely vanished.

Though culture was still construed as recreation within the Conservative manifesto there was a change in tone in its characterisation of government. While the party maintained its salience with a non-interventionist stance, government was described in a much more assured manner. This confidence was connected to a period of stability within the party, which had also seen a thorough policy review. In contrast Labour's construction of government was much less assertive than their earlier text. A combination of factors could be seen at work in this instance. First; one of the individuals identified as central to the coalition articulating culture

in government in 1966, was no longer as focused on advocating cultural policy as they had been previously. That was found to be a consequence of the remit of their role in government changing. Second; a combination of *environmental factors*, social, economic and political, which the Labour government had to address towards the end of the 1960s, made an *imaginary of culture* construed as leisure increasingly difficult to justify as relevant to the management of the state.

Stepping back; the emergence of culture as leisure, within political discourse in the 1960s, can be understood as a construction that was responding to social and economic changes that took place during the 1950s. The articulation of culture in government was idiosyncratic; operating outside the formal structures of governance. As such cultural policy within government could not sustain its prominence once the *coalition* advocating it no longer held political power.

Looking forward, across the two elections, 1966 and 1970, there are a number of points that will require further development in Chapter 7.

Heritage as a lexeme only occurs once in any of the manifestos considered in the chapter, yet it occurs 33 times across 1992 and 1997; reasons for this change will need to be addressed.

Within the Conservative texts for 1966 there are some small suggestions of a construction of culture as heritage and as enterprise, these will be found to dominate the texts in the next chapter. A means of interpreting this change will need to be considered.

Cultural policy did not form part of the Liberal party's electoral agenda in 1966 or 1970, with just 4 instances across both elections. The total frequency of the searched for lexemes in the party's manifestos for 1992 and 1997 is 32, this represents a substantial increase. Why there was such an increased interest in cultural policy will also need to be investigated.

Case inquiry: The election manifestos of 1992 and 1997

The two elections of the 1990s were to mark a significant change in the relationship between culture and the state. From being politically peripheral, cultural policy was to become of central importance to government's strategic vision for the nation. These changes followed a transformation in the accountability for culture within the hierarchy of governmental politics; moving it from that of a junior minister to a full Department of State, with a Secretary of State in Cabinet; a transition which represented the most radical shift in the articulation of culture, in British government, since the establishment of a Minister for Arts and Leisure in 1964.

In this chapter the analytic approach adopted in Chapter 6 will be applied to a selection of texts taken from the Conservative, Labour and Lib/Dem election manifestos of 1992 and 1997. As before, each election will be scrutinised in turn; with Part 1 considering the texts taken from the 1992 election and Part 2 those from 1997. Beginning with a careful reading of those parts of the manifesto indicated by the cluster matrices in Chapter 5, the textual construal of culture, government and the citizen, and the relationship between them, will be discerned. That analysis lays the foundation for how the *imaginary* of culture is being constructed, as an object of governance, by the parties contesting the election. Those constructions will then be contextualised through; 1) locating them in the party specific setting from which they emerged and 2) considering them in relation to the shared socio-economic milieu, to which the parties were responding. The

two phases of contextualisation correspond to the parameters of *coalition* and *environmental factors* within Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). Finally, the findings from Parts 1 and 2 will be drawn together. The continuities and differences between both elections will be examined, and the articulation of culture in British governmental politics from 1992 to 1997 discussed.

Before commencing the analysis a general point about the election manifestos under investigation needs to be made. Overall the frequency of lexemes, and the number of sections in which they appear, is substantially greater across 1992 and 1997 than it was in 1966 and 1970. In the latter the analysis considered 33 instances occurring in 12 sections; while the former consists of 124 instances over 33 sections. If every section containing a searched for lexeme were to be reproduced in the body of the chapter, the progression through the analysis, particularly for the Conservative manifesto of 1992, would be impeded. Consequently there will be more substantial editing of some manifesto samples than occurred in Chapter 6. However the full text from which the samples are drawn will be presented in Appendix G.

Part 1: 1992

The Conservative Manifesto

The Conservative manifesto of 1992 is exceptional. Figure 6a in Chapter 5 indicated it contained more instances of the lexemes searched for than any other manifesto before or since. With more than double the lexeme frequency of the

Lib/Dem text and over six times that of the Labour party, the Conservative text offers a lot of material for analysis. In this section I shall concentrate my attention on three parts of the manifesto, beginning with the introduction to the main heading 'Towards the Millennium', under which the other two sections I shall discuss appear. This will be followed by a careful reading of the subsections 'Our Heritage' and 'The Arts' which the cluster matrices in Chapter 5 indicated contained the highest frequency of lexemes.

Towards the Millennium

75% of lexical instances occur under the main heading 'Towards the Millennium'. It therefore warrants close attention. Structurally this heading follows the same format as others in the manifesto, which is:

- Heading
- Short paragraph summarising the party's position
- General overview and introduction to the topic being addressed
- A series of subheadings highlighting particular aspects of the topic to be discussed; each culminates in a series of bullet points outlining specific election commitment.

The short opening paragraph is particularly interesting in how it establishes a construction of culture for the rest of the section; it is reproduced in Box 7.

TOWARDS THE MILLENNIUM

A more prosperous Britain can afford to be ambitious. We can aspire to excellence in the arts, broadcasting and sport. We can use our increased leisure time, energy and money, to improve life for ourselves and our families. The National Lottery we propose to introduce can be used to restore our heritage and promote projects which will become a source of national pride.

Box 7: Text containing lexemes from the 1992 Conservative manifesto

The opening sentence gives the impression of a positive statement, but the inclusion of '...more' hints at something more subtle operating. Though subtle there is a suggestion, introduced by the incorporation of '...more', that the ambition referred to is an attribute of recent prosperity. There is an unstated presumption that the nation has, in the past, been impoverished to such an extent as to lack ambition. In this short sentence there are echoes of what Hall (1998) characterised as Thatcherite rhetoric, with its allusion to an idealised British past, where enterprise and the free market were unencumbered by the state.

The second sentence does two things. Firstly it moves *ambition* on to *aspiration*, strengthening the desire expressed in the first sentence. Secondly it draws on three of the areas stated as part of the remit of the proposed Department for National Heritage (DNH). The reader is thereby drawn to associate the stated desires with the remit of the new department. In adding the value 'excellence', the

stated desire is given a positive patina. There is also an interesting shift in how 'we' is being used here. For much of the manifesto 'we' refers to the party, both as the sitting government and an anticipated government in waiting. Here 'we' is ambiguous as it can refer to the electorate and the party's *aspiration*. This ambiguity indicates a transition to a more inclusive use of 'we' in the next line, before returning to the document's more common use of 'we', in the last sentence, which returns the referent back to the party.

In the penultimate sentence culture, as associated with the new department, appears to be concerned with how we use our free time, and spend our disposable income. There is also a distinct resonance between this line and the connection drawn between quality of life and recreation in the party's 1966 manifesto (Chapter 6). But this is not how the paragraph closes:

In point of fact then the resolution of this looking forward, towards the millennium with *ambition* and *aspiration*, is actually to look back; *restoring* the past and reintroducing a sense of 'national pride'; presumably lost when Britain could not '...afford to be ambitious'. As an emotion the *pride* of the nation is contrasted to the impoverishment associated with an unspecified period of more recent history. A construction of culture as the past, and restoring that past in the present, is thereby established early in setting out the relationship between culture, the citizen and the state.

The reference to the National Lottery in this text is also significant; it forms the first substantive announcement of the lottery in the manifesto, and gives us the first

indication of its character and purpose. Before giving the lottery any further consideration I shall discuss the two sections in which lexeme frequency is highest.

Our Heritage

The section of the manifesto with the highest frequency of a single lexeme is 'Our Heritage': it is reproduced in Box 8.

OUR HERITAGE

Public interest and involvement in Britain's heritage has never been greater. We have created in the past decade English Heritage and the National Heritage Memorial Fund to give greater focus and drive to the Government's policies. The National Trust and private owners take a leading part in preserving our almost unrivalled heritage.

Government will work in partnership to secure our heritage for the benefit of future generations.

Our cathedrals are among our national glories. We therefore launched the Cathedral Repair Grant Scheme in April 1991, providing £11.5 million over three years.

We have increased, to £12 million, the grant to the NHMF for the purchase of historic properties, objects and collections. The Government also provides help to private owners through English Heritage repair grants, and tax relief in return for commitments on upkeep and public access.

We want to preserve the special character of our old town and city centres. We will encourage councils to ensure that new

developments are in character with the past; to maintain buildings of importance to the character of towns and cities; to limit unnecessary street furniture and signs; and to plant trees and preserve historic patterns and open spaces.

The National Lottery will also provide funds for the preservation of our **heritage**.

We will continue to provide substantial financial assistance for the protection and preservation of the heritage.

Together with the **heritage** agencies, we will work to make **heritage** sites accessible to the public.

Box 8: Text containing lexemes from the 1992 Conservative manifesto

Such a concentration on heritage is one of the exceptional features of the Conservative manifesto of 1992. Chapter 6 noted that the lexeme *heritage* only really begins being used in any party manifesto from 1979 onwards. Even so the frequency of its use in the 1992 text is in great contrast to its previous occurrences. Figure 7 illustrates this, and offers an indication of how significant *heritage* was to the Conservative party in 1992, when compared to the other two parties:

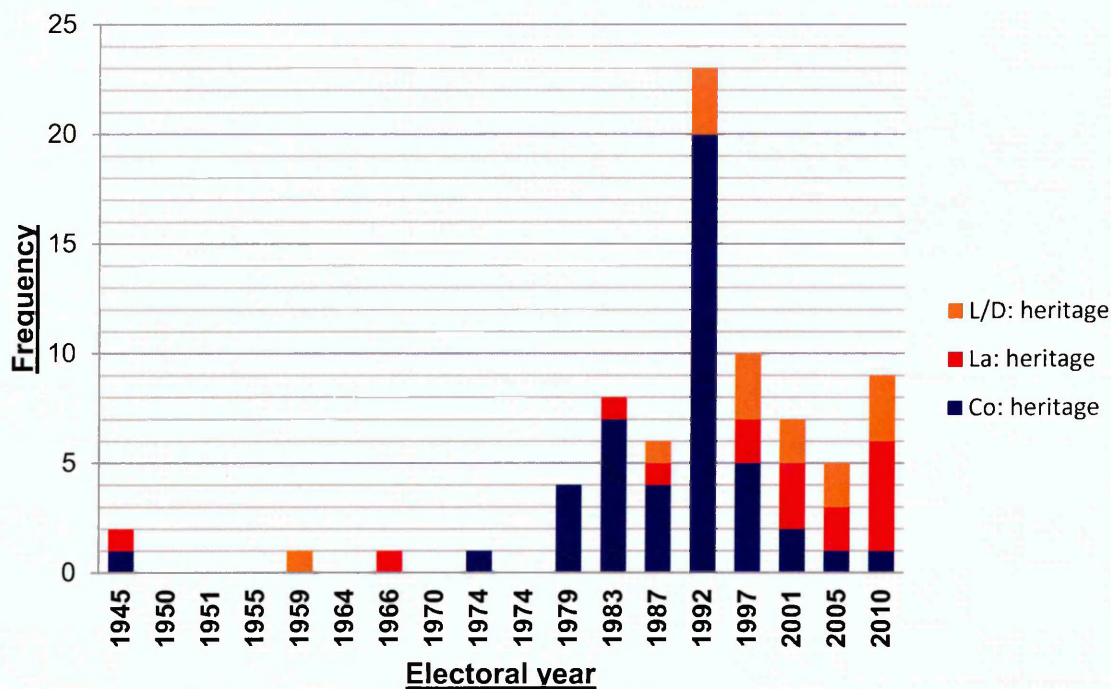


Figure 7: Frequency of 'heritage' in manifestos, by party at each election

How an emphasis on heritage came to prominence within the Conservative party in 1992 will be discussed later in the chapter, when considering the party specific context. Its importance here, for the textual analysis, is because the greater weight placed on *heritage* contributes to how culture is being framed by the text.

According to Wetherell and Potter (1992) culture as heritage:

'...refers back to some golden and unsullied time...it is the past, not the present or the future, and so the correct response becomes preservation and conservation, while the appropriate emotions emerge as nostalgia, grief at loss, "hanging on" , collecting and saving.' (p. 129)

An emphasis on preservation and conservation runs throughout the text. *Preserve* or one of its derivatives occurs five times in this sample. Reference is made to

‘...the National Trust and private owners’ leading on the preservation of ‘...our almost unrivalled heritage’. *Repair grants* are mentioned and tax relief offered ‘...in return for commitments to upkeep’, while councils are to be *encouraged to maintain* buildings so as to ‘...preserve the special character of our old towns and cities’. *Preservation* suggests that culture is to be held fast in some idealised form; it hints at keeping things as they should be, rather than imagining what they could be. Understood in this way *heritage* freezes *culture* in a more tangible manner, in that it suggests fixedness of form rather than mutability.

There are also references to *collecting and saving* in this text. Heritage is to be *secured* ‘...for the benefit of future generations’ and funds are to be made available for ‘...the purchase of historic properties, objects and collections’. Culture as heritage, drawing on an idealised past, comes over very strongly, but what is the intended orientation of the reader to this construction? Wetherell and Potter (1992) suggest the ‘...appropriate emotions’ are ‘...nostalgia, grief at loss (and) “hanging on”’ (p. 129). While nostalgia and ‘hanging on’ are present there is another related emotion being suggested – pride. The title of the section ‘Our Heritage’ hints at a sense of pride. Though we is clearly identified with the Conservative party the use of *our*, most often collocated with heritage, occurs seven times. Proposals refer to ‘our cathedrals’, which are considered some of ‘our national glories’, and ‘our towns and cities’. That inclusivity in the ‘...protection and preservation’ of the past highlighting the *pride* to be felt in *securing* it for ‘...the benefit of future generations’.

The construal of culture as the past, with an associated emotion of pride, is one that we have already found, and is repeated in other parts of the manifesto. Additionally another theme comes through this text that recurs in other samples; that theme concerns funding. Government funds such as the National Heritage Memorial Fund and the Cathedral Repair Grant Scheme are mentioned. Tax relief for organisations who commit to maintenance and widening public access are proposed. Local authorities are to be *encouraged* to ensure ‘...new developments are in character with the past’, while ensuring the maintenance of buildings important ‘...to the character of towns and cities’. The National Lottery is also mentioned in this section. How it is to be understood, and its application to the construction of culture, government and the citizen, will be developed shortly. In this section it is worth highlighting that National Lottery funds are referred to in the first bullet point; significantly, it is distinguished from the ‘...financial assistance’ of the government, mentioned in the line it comes before.

The Arts

Under the main heading ‘Towards the Millennium’ the subsection with the highest frequency of lexemes is ‘The Arts’.

THE ARTS

Britain has a great artistic heritage and a lively contemporary arts scene. The arts have flourished in recent years, with growing attendance at theatre, opera, dance and arts festivals.

We have supported this by increasing the public funding of the arts, by 60 per cent in real terms since 1979, and introducing new incentives to personal giving. The arts have also forged new partnerships with local authorities, businesses and private patrons. Business sponsorship in particular has expanded hugely. We have set up new Regional Arts Boards and supported the Scottish and Welsh Arts Councils in order to diversify and enrich cultural life throughout the country. We have financed the European Arts Festival to be held throughout Britain during our Presidency of the Community in the second half of this year, as well as the first National Music Day in June. In this year's Budget, we announced further tax relief on film-making in this country. Our aim is to make the performing arts, museums and our heritage accessible to all. We will encourage the young to become involved and will facilitate access for the disabled. The National Lottery will provide a new source of finance for the arts. We will maintain support for the arts and continue to develop schemes for greater sponsorship in co-operation with business and private individuals. We will re-examine the role of the Arts Council, as many of its functions are now carried out regionally. We will continue our support of libraries as educational, cultural and community centres, and urge local authorities to keep up standards. We will complete the new British Library building for which we have provided £450 million.

Box 9: Text containing lexemes from the 1992 Conservative manifesto

The connection between *art* and *heritage* is highlighted in the first line of this text with the collocation of the two terms. *Artistic heritage* echoing the connotations of

preservation and pride found in the previous analysis. While the ‘...contemporary arts scene’ is described as ‘...lively’ and ‘...flourishing’ it does not form the central concern of the section. Instead the question of how culture is to be financed, which also appeared in *Our Heritage*, is continued. There are a number of references to state financial support, including; a reported increase in *public funding* for the arts of 60% in real terms⁵⁴, the *financing* of the European Arts Festival and a National Day of Music, and finally the provision of £450 million to complete the British Library. The presentation of these details appears to denote that government has been active during its term in office; while the use of ‘...continue’ and ‘...maintain’ indicate that this assumed active engagement will be sustained if the party is elected.

The impression that government is active is reinforced through the use of ‘we’, particularly in collocation with ‘have’ and ‘will’. Across the two subsections being discussed ‘we have...’ occurs six times and ‘we will...’ eight. However, this impression is less clear when these parts of the manifesto are considered as a whole. Instances where government is stepping back are as prevalent as those suggesting governmental engagement. It is *the arts* which have *forged new partnerships, regional arts boards* that are supporting *diversity* in the national *cultural life*, and *local authorities* who must be *urged to keep up standards*. With regards to heritage it is quangos, independent trusts and private owners who are *leading the preservation of our unrivalled heritage*. As well as funding from the

⁵⁴ This figure has been challenged by Clive Grey (2000) as it treats the reallocation of existing funds away from the Greater London Council, following its dissolution in 1986, to the Arts Council, as an increase in spending on the arts.

state *the arts* are said to benefit from 'personal giving', 'private patrons' and 'business sponsorship'.

Into that mixed picture of patronage is added the promise of National Lottery funding. However the repeated references to lottery spending separate from governmental engagement blurs the political status of this source of income, and makes it unclear whether such funding is to be construed as an aspect of state engagement. Indications of the ambiguous character of lottery funding occur at every mention of the National Lottery in the manifesto. For example, shortly after announcing that a future Conservative government would create the National Lottery we are advised that: 'We believe that the funds generated by a National Lottery should be used to enhance the life of the nation', this expresses a curious sentiment. As a government it is unlikely to approve a set of proposals for using lottery funds to deliberately worsen the life of the nation. And why use 'We believe...'? It is a matter of governmental choice, when instigating the legislation to create a lottery, whether or not to pre-determine the means by which its funds are to be distributed; it is not a matter of *belief* in what *should* happen. This lack of clarity regarding the relationship between lottery income, lottery expenditure, and government, suggests an intentional disconnection between lottery money and any other source of public revenue which comes into the Treasury.

There is a depoliticising of the lottery as a source of government income, which gives the impression that decisions regarding the distribution of this new revenue stream are being framed as apolitical. As a rhetorical device depoliticisation serves to muddle governmental engagement (Burnham 2001). Government's

support of culture becomes uncertain, as the depoliticisation of the distribution of lottery revenue makes it unclear if such spending is to be considered expenditure from the public purse. This is important because it offers an early hint of what Taylor (1997) was to refer to as a new mode of governance in British cultural politics: 'arm's length but hands on'. I shall return to this point towards the end of my analysis of the 1992 Conservative manifesto.

This somewhat muddled position regarding funding serves to reinforce a construction of governmental engagement with culture as apolitical. While the state may finance culture through specific channels, the allocation of funding is done through the decision making of an external body – or partnership of bodies. Governmental steerage of these external bodies becomes a matter of finessing the networks distributing funding. The activity of government is thus dressed as passivity, it is depoliticised, because it is through the choices made by those external organisations that government engages with culture.

Despite its extensive consideration of culture, the manifesto offers little in the way of a rationale for the support it is proposing. There are no indications of what culture does other than receive grants, funding, sponsorship, personal gifts and other forms of external finance. While we are informed that cultural events have a *growing attendance*, and that *public interest* in heritage has *never been greater*, the indication of a return on financial support is limited to an unspecific '...source of national pride'. Culture is positioned as a good in itself, one of many '...good causes' to be supported by the lottery. There is no connection made between supporting culture and the economic health of the nation; reiterating a

conceptualisation of culture as apolitical that has echoed throughout the manifesto.

The suggestion that governmental engagement with culture is apolitical resonates with Wetherell and Potter (1992). They argue that a construction of *culture as heritage* ‘...freezes culture’ in an idealised state which disconnects culture and politics. However, drawing culture into political discourse whilst suggesting engagement with it is apolitical appears to create a paradox; one where government is passively active. Such a construction can be found at several points in the analysis of the text.

However the paradox is merely an apparition, because what the manifesto text is actually suggesting is the formulation of an alternative form of governance. This alternative formulation differs from the dichotomy found in the manifestos discussed in Chapter 6; that of state intervention or laissez-faire. In this new form, government departments do not exercise their power by direct control but through leadership, and the *incentivising* of external actors, whether organisations or individuals, as a means of strategically steering them. The construction of *culture* as such an ‘...object of’ governance (Farrelly 2010) also points to Hewison’s interpretation of *hegemony* (Hewison 1997, quoted in Chapter 2) and Foucault’s *technology of state apparatus* (Foucault 1982, quoted in Chapter 3). The creation of the Department of National Heritage (DNH), also announced in this manifesto, enabled the articulation of this new *object of governance* within the institutional framework of government. According to Taylor (1997) that innovation was to instigate a ‘...very different...cultural politics’ (p. 464) within British governmental

politics from that which preceded it. He argues the DNH operated through ‘...a high degree of network control and not by direct intervention’ (p. 465); conditioning how networks’ operated by finessing relationships through incentivising courses of action, rather than by direct engagement. However, the effectiveness of these changes is locked by the construal of culture as heritage. Under such a construction concern for culture can only be expressed as preservation and conservation; it is fixed, a passive recipient of support, and the appropriate emotional response to it is pride.

I have considered the text taken from 1992 Conservative manifesto in considerable depth. As stated at the beginning of this section, the manifesto’s consideration of culture is exceptional. I have already alluded to the party’s victory in the 1992 election. The realisation of many of its proposals marks a significant shift in the articulation of culture in British governmental politics, one that will be returned to later in the chapter.

The Labour Manifesto

Of the three lexemes, only *art* occurs in the Labour party’s 1992 manifesto. Other than a reference to *nourishing* the ‘...artistic, scientific, sporting and other abilities’ of the British people, which appears in Neil Kinnock’s forward, the other instances are contained in one short paragraph, which introduces the section headed ‘We will support arts and leisure’. This is reproduced in Box 10: Arts’.

We will support arts and leisure

Building on the example of many Labour councils which have developed imaginative arts initiatives, we will make the arts a statutory responsibility for local authorities. Labour's Ministry for the Arts and Media will encourage Britain's arts and their associated industries, including broadcasting and the press, to develop new ideas and attract more people. Government will commission the best designers, artists and architects, for instance, to help communities transform run-down city centres.

We will renew the BBC's Charter in a way which guarantees continuation of high-quality public service broadcasting - available in all parts of the country and covering a wide spectrum of programmes. The licence fee remains the best way of financing the BBC and preserving its independence. A concessionary fee will be introduced for all pensioners.

As people have more leisure, they also need better facilities for sport. We will encourage councils to invest in modern, well-staffed sports centres for the enjoyment of people of all ages and abilities, and give mandatory rate relief to voluntary sports clubs.

New facilities and better backing for people with outstanding talent will help put Britain back on the international sporting map. We will review sports taxation, reform the Sports Councils and make football grounds safe for spectators. We will stop the wanton sale of school playing fields and ensure that sport takes its proper place within the curriculum.

Though the title hints at a resolute political position, 'We will support arts and leisure', the section's first sentence suggests the contrary; '...we will make the arts a statutory responsibility for local authorities', such localism would not have been out of place in the Liberal manifesto of 1966; however, there is no suggestion here that the party was proposing a wider programme for the devolution of parliamentary responsibilities. The sentiment of this policy position it is a re-statement of that held by the 1945 to 1950 Labour government. The 1948 Local Government Act included legislation that gave councils the right to use 6d in the pound for cultural activities in their borough. This was intended, Hollis (1999) suggests, as a first step to making cultural activity a statutory responsibility of local government. Consequently this initial construal of culture contains an echo of the party's position prior to their creation of a Ministry of Arts and Leisure in 1964. There is no reference here to the party's wider *educational and social purpose*, or to improving access to '...the best of Britain's cultural heritage' as part of creating a *civilised country*, which appeared in the party's 1966 manifesto.

The text offers us very little to work with. The only hint of a construction of culture that differs from that found in the analysis of the party's 1966 and 1970 manifesto is in the second sentence; though even that is very subtle. 'Labour's Ministry for the Arts will encourage Britain's arts and their associated industries' (my emphasis). To suggest that 'Britain's arts' have 'associated industries' has only occurred in one previous manifesto, that of the Labour party for the 1987 election. Where the text of 1992 refers to these 'industries' as '...including broadcasting and the press' the earlier document elaborates a more complete list:

‘...the arts, crafts, public libraries, museums, film, publishing, the press, the record industry, the development of broadcasting and access to it, fashion, design, architecture and the heritage’ (Labour Party 1987).

That previous list forms a better fit for what New Labour would, in 1997, suggest as those businesses which would constitute the *creative industries* for the Department of Culture, Media and Sport’s (DCMS). It also resembles those sectors supported by councils in the predominantly Labour held metropolitan counties, dissolved by the Conservative government in 1986, in their development of the cultural industries (Garnham 2001; 2005 and Hesmondhalgh 2007). Though not explicitly mentioned, that allusion also fits with the opening line of the section, which referred to ‘... many Labour councils which have developed imaginative arts initiatives’. Though undeveloped in the manifesto, the reference to the ‘associated industries’ of the arts is a very subtle suggestion that a different consideration of culture was beginning to emerge in the thinking of the parliamentary Labour party.

For the most part the text construes government as passive. Where it does claim government should be actively engaged with culture occurs in the opening’s last line. Here we are told that a future Labour government ‘...will commission the best designers, artists and architects’ to work with communities to ‘...transform run-down city centres’. This line contains a faint echo of the association made in the party’s manifesto of 1966, which proposed a local authority building fund as part of its arts policy. As such it suggests a connection between culture and a wider social agenda is still present in Labour’s discourse. However, its tone is very different from that of the party’s *civilising* agenda found in the earlier manifesto.

In the second paragraph the focus is on the BBC. Here too the role of government is to ensure independence, rather than direct engagement. It adds nothing to developing an understanding of how culture is being constructed.

At the end of the section the emphasis becomes explicitly sport and leisure. While the inclusion of these areas does signify a possible link between culture and leisure, this is made less stridently than in the 1970 manifesto where *the arts*; *sport*; *countryside* and *tourism* were all bracketed together as 'Opportunities for Leisure'.

There is no clear construction of culture within the text and government is shown to be passive. While there are some signs that culture is beginning to be understood in economic terms, with a role in a regeneration agenda, these are very slight and somewhat marginal to the main thrust of the text. Overall the section suggests that in 1992 culture is not an electoral concern for the party. In place of looking forward, developing new policies, and outlining rationales for governmental engagement with culture, we find reference to positions adopted by the party in 1945.

The Lib/Dem Manifesto

The two sections under which lexemes cluster in the Liberal manifesto are 'Protecting our Heritage' and 'Widening Horizons: Investing in the arts'. Of these

there is a substantially higher level of lexical instance in the latter; I shall consider this section first before moving on to the former.

Widening Horizons: Investing in the Arts

The arts benefit us in two ways. First, access to the arts is intrinsic to a high quality of life. Second, the cultural sector - the arts, crafts, design, and audio visual industries - make as great a net contribution to the economy as does the oil industry.

We will:

Create a new Ministry of Arts and Communications headed by a minister in the Cabinet. Liberal Democrats will raise investment in the arts to the EC average over five years.

Reform and decentralise arts funding and organisation. We will decentralise many of the responsibilities of the Arts Council, increasing the roles of Regional Arts Boards and local authorities. Strengthen links between the arts and education. We will enhance practical arts teaching and library provision in schools and extend the provision of adult education for the arts and crafts. We will restore funding for public libraries to 1980 levels. We will abolish museum charges for school parties.

Transfer responsibility for broadcasting to the new Ministry. The BBC is a major patron of the arts, and broadcasting and to guarantee political independence. These interests will also be reflected in the impending review of the BBC's Charter, and our plans for cable television.

Encourage participation within Europe - including in particular cooperation in the film industry, in protecting and enhancing our common heritage and in expanding opportunities for young artists of all kinds.

Box 11: Text containing lexemes from the 1992 Lib/Dem manifesto

As a title 'Widening Horizons: Investing in the arts' is interesting. The use of 'Investing' is very different from the words chosen for the corresponding sections in the Labour and Conservative manifestos for this election. While the Labour party chose to use the less forceful word 'support', the Conservatives took a more direct approach; 'The Arts' and 'Our Heritage'. By choosing to use *investment* the Lib/Dems invite the reader to consider two questions: what is being invested and what is the anticipated return on the investment? Structurally the section responds to both. It opens with a statement of the benefits of the arts, the supposed return on investment, followed by a list of the party's proposals, the mode of investment to be pursued.

In the opening paragraph the reader is advised of two *benefits* attributable to culture. First, '...access to the arts' is described as '...intrinsic to a high quality of life', this is consistent with the declaration in Labour's 1966 manifesto. That stated access to '...the best of Britain's cultural heritage' was '...one hallmark of a civilised country'. However, the Lib/Dem text does not develop further the rationale for the importance of *access*, leaving the question of why the arts should be important to our quality of life unaddressed.

Second is the economic *benefit* that the cultural sector is supposed to deliver. The language here lacks energy. The sector, split into the 'arts, crafts, design and audio visual industries', are said to make '...as big a net contribution to the economy as...the oil industry'. If factually correct this observation is highly significant, yet it is presented as a cold statement of fact. There is no sense of the

magnitude of this declaration. It is as if it were a statement of the obvious, and yet it is the most direct expression of the economic importance of culture made by any of the three parties at this, or any previous, election.

Within the text there is a surprising contrast between the austerity of expression in outlining the *benefits of the arts*, and the five policy proposals which are subsequently developed. Unlike the Liberal manifesto of 1966 responsibility for cultural policy is drawn right into the heart of government, with representation in Cabinet. Active engagement is emphasised by the repeated use of 'We will...', which occurs five times, and each is used in a positive and active manner. We will; 'Create a new Ministry...'; '...enhance practical arts teaching'; '...restore funding' and '...abolish museum charges'. There is a hint of the party's earlier regionalism in 'we will decentralise...' though this comes over as a lesser point to many of the substantial national and international proposals it is making.

'Widening Horizons' becomes an important metaphor that connects the policies developed in the text; they include wider:

Geographic horizons: '...investment in the arts' is to be raised to the European Community's average; '...participation within Europe' will be encouraged to include cooperation for international collaboration in the film industry and *expand opportunities for young artists*.

Educational horizons: *enhancing practical arts teaching* in schools; *extending provision for arts and crafts* in adult education.

Horizons of access: *restoring* '...funding for public libraries'; the *abolition* of '...museum charges for school parties' and the extension of broadcasting through '...plans for cable television'.

This creates an imaginary of culture that is looking forward, able to adapt, and open to new possibilities. This is in marked contrast to the other two parties which have either *frozen* culture in the past, or looked to the past for an understanding of how culture and government are to be connected.

As in the Conservative manifesto the Lib/Dems present a separate section on heritage; however, their construal is very different. The object of attention in the Conservative text was the historic built environment; cathedrals, the National Heritage Memorial Fund, 'historic properties' and the maintenance of 'buildings of importance' to '...preserve the special character of our old town and city centres' (Conservative party 1992). In the Lib/Dem text *heritage* is associated with the natural environment. Framed ecologically preservation does not form part of a discourse of bringing the past into the present, but protecting the present for the future.

In both the section on 'the arts' and 'heritage', government is construed as central to the delivery of much of the party's agenda, this is in stark contrast to less clear impressions found in the Conservative texts and the stepping back from direct engagement with culture found in the Labour party's. We are presented with a confident party, offering a unique vision of the place of culture within its electoral agenda.

Summing up the textual analysis of 1992

For the Conservatives and the Lib/Dems the election of 1992 offers us two strongly contrasted constructions of culture. The Conservative party presents a construction of *culture as the past*; referring 'back to some golden and unsullied time (where)...the correct response becomes preservation and conservation' (following Wetherell and Potter 1992, p. 129). The Lib/Dems construction is of *culture as the widening of horizons*. Whereas the former looks back to an idealised heritage, setting out plans that are intended to spark a renaissance of former values, the latter looks forward to the opening up of new possibilities.

The contrast between the two parties continues in how they frame government's orientation to culture. For the Lib/Dems government is central in shaping the vision they propose. The Conservatives attempt to depoliticise responsibility for cultural engagement through the steerage and incentivisation of external bodies. The imprecision of their policy position is compounded through a lack of clarity in the political status of lottery income.

The division of active and passive government found in the analysis of Chapter 6 has become more nuanced in this election. Where the Conservative party of the 1960s held a position that suggested government got in the way, 1992 offers a more complex relationship between the state, culture and the citizen; a passive activity that 'finesses networks' (Taylor 1997) rather than operating through direct engagement. The Lib/Dem position has also developed substantially since that

found in those earlier elections. While there are some small hints of its earlier regionalism, the main thrust of how the party construct government is as active at a local, national and international level.

In the midst of such distinctive positions sits the Labour party, who seem to have taken a step back. For the 1992 election their position regarding cultural policy is more reminiscent of the orientation they took in the 1940s, while their construction of government resonates with that found in the Liberal party of the 1960s. There are, however, some early signs that the party is developing a new way of drawing culture into its political discourse. But the signposts of this new position are subtle hints and suggestions, rather than a clear statement of a confident position.

Contextualisation

As in Chapter 6 the process of contextualisation follows two inter-connected paths. The first of these considers the party specific context from which the individual manifestos emerged, while the second concerns the shared historical setting to which all the parties were responding. Central in this process are the constructions of culture and government that have been discerned in the textual analysis. Following Stenvoll and Svensson (2011), it is those constructions that anchor context to the text; in other words, the interpretation of what is to count as context is rationalised by how the text has construed culture as an object of, and for, governance.

The Conservative Party

In order to grasp the importance of *heritage* to the Conservative party of 1992 the significance of Margaret Thatcher cannot be ignored. Elected leader in February 1975, she adopted a determined and resolute style. According to Nunn (2002) this drew on a positive image of the past, rooted in an idealised conceptualisation of Britishness, which set her in confrontational opposition to any individual or organisation that challenged her. Whether that opposition came from Union leaders, overseas heads of state, or her own party colleagues, her position was always clear, if not always consistent (Bevir and Rhodes 1998). Her rhetoric had a moralistic dimension which suggested those who disagreed with her were not only guilty of misunderstanding what she was trying to do, they were also morally wrong (Jenkins 2007).

According to Zumpano (2008), the overarching goal of Thatcherite rhetoric was to establish a cultural link between Britishness and the country's international reputation. Though the moral significance she placed on her economic and social position did not explicitly encompass *the arts*, Zumpano contends many working in the cultural sector began to appropriate Thatcherite rhetoric; positioning themselves better to the perceived broader objectives of government. By interweaving an idealisation of Britain's past, with a moralistic interpretation of enterprise, Thatcher's rhetoric enabled a discourse of heritage enterprise to emerge. However, though her language drew the rhetoric of heritage into her political position, that same political philosophy did not lead to substantive change

in culture's place in the hierarchy of government. To grasp why this was so, the foundations of her position need to be considered in greater depth.

According to Morgan (2001) Thatcherite philosophy rested on two principles; one economic and one moral. The economic principle, purportedly based on the monetarist ideas of Milton Friedman (Thatcher 1995), claimed that decreasing direct taxation would encourage hard work and enterprise. The moral principle placed a high value on individual choice regarding the disposal of personal income. Laissez-faire, the free-market, was deemed to be the best forum for decision making. For Thatcherism these principles converged in an idealised conceptualisation of Britishness, which had its fullest expression in the values of individualism and enterprise that typified Victorian liberalism (Barry 2005; Beck 1989). State intervention, considered the inverse of the free market, distorted that forum. Thatcher's combination of economics and ethics placed a moral duty on government to step back and permit a *free* market to grow. *Enterprise*, construed as such a past quality of Britishness, becomes a quality in need of revival: a moral heritage that she was to describe as 'crippled (by)...enlarging the role of the state' (Conservative party manifesto 1983). Such a perspective was not conducive to extending the relationship between culture and the state by drawing it closer the centre of government.

Following the resignation of Margaret Thatcher in 1990, Williams (1998) argues, the party was in disarray. Seeking stability and security, it alighted on John Major as its best hope for electoral success. Major seemed to offer a more collegial, cabinet centred, approach to government (James 1999), though he was to

maintain an ethical dimension to economic policy similar to that of his predecessor, (Jenkins 2007). According to Hogg and Hill (1995) it was this continuity within change that was '...part of (his)...attraction to the parliamentary party, which was desperately in need of unification' (p. 7).

However, John Major seems to have gone further than simply using Thatcherite rhetoric to manage party factionalism; he was to make it tangible within the structures of government. Whether the DNH⁵⁵ was a strategic attempt to de-fragment government's support for culture and the arts (Major 1999), or a capricious gesture by him to thank one of the key supporters in his leadership campaign (Williams 1998), the creation of this '...new Whitehall empire' (Hogg and Hill 1995) was to be a substantial change in how culture was articulated in government. The manifesto's construal of culture as the past, and the DNH which became the realisation of that manifesto policy position, transformed Thatcherite rhetoric into an imaginary of culture through which it was articulated as an '...object of, and for, governance' (Farrelly 2010).

⁵⁵ Hogg and Hill (1995) describe the confusion around the naming of the new department. Two suggestions were quickly dismissed. The first, the *Ministry of Recreation*, was rejected for sounding '...awfully fifties' (p180). A second suggestion, the *Department of Leisure*, was also rejected for being '...terribly seventies' (p180). Hogg and Hill claim the party chairman was so frustrated with the discussion he suggested, the 'Ministry for Things I Want to Do on my Weekends' (p180). Whether shared in jest or not, these suggestions indicate that; 1) At an early stage of conceiving the new Ministry, the initial construction of culture considered was closely associated with that which emerged in the 1960s. 2) A new construction was sought because there was a sense of dissatisfaction with that earlier construction. The decision to adopt the title the 'Department of National Heritage' suggests a movement away from its past construction as recreation. However, the break was not complete as the DNH was to contain sport and tourism within its remit.

Contextualising the constructions found in the Labour party texts is made difficult by their lack of substance. The textual analysis showed Labour to be a party less inclined to direct parliamentary engagement with culture, and more inclined to transfer responsibility for cultural policy to local authorities. What is important to bear in mind, when considering the Labour party at this election, is that it was an organisation undergoing a period of profound change. Though the tri-partite structure, detailed in Chapter 6, was still at the heart of the party's policy making process, the balance of power within it had begun to shift.

Following his election as party leader in 1983, Neil Kinnock had begun a process of reforming the party. He broke ties with what were increasingly being perceived as subversive 'entrists' groups (Crick 1986). One high profile expulsion was that of Militant Tendency, who were disassociated from the party in October 1983. Westlake (2001) suggests this action signalled the start of the hard Left's declining influence within the party's organisation.

Kinnock also challenged the role of the National Executive Committee (NEC) in shaping the policies agreed at Conference. In place of policy development and party discipline, he repositioned the NEC's focus to administration and finance (p. 222). Throughout the eighties Neil Kinnock worked to restructure the party into what he considered an electable option for the public (Westlake 2001). That the realignment of Labour meant taking a stance that was less forthright in its traditional statist objectives is not surprising in this setting.

Westlake argues that the difficulties Kinnock encountered in realigning the party meant Labour was less well prepared for the 1987 election than it should have been. Following the party's defeat at that election a full review of party policy was instigated; the process took two years. The review worked through a series of seven policy themed groups, each overseen by Neil Kinnock. Of these groups one incorporated leisure; none included culture or the arts in their remit. Culture was not seen as an electorally significant issue. The economy, unemployment, and the control of inflation – these were the issues the last three elections had been fought and lost on; it is understandable that these should dominate the party's policy review.

Shortly after the review process had been completed Margaret Thatcher resigned, and the Conservatives elected John Major as their new leader. The character of the party Labour had faced in government since 1979 was beginning to change. That the Conservatives would make a statement regarding support for culture and the arts was known before they called the 1992 election; evidence for this can be found in comments concerning the National Lottery in the Lib/Dems text. Labour would need to have a policy position in place, as a ready response to any possible announcement made by their principal electoral opposition. It is as a response to such a situation that Labour's manifesto declaration, to build '...on the example of many Labour councils which have developed imaginative arts initiatives' (Labour Manifesto 1992), becomes understandable.

Between 1978 and 1984 the Liberal Party produced three pamphlets discussing the party's cultural policy: 'The Arts: Change and Choice' (Liberal Party 1978); 'The Arts, Artist and the Community' (Liberal Arts Panel 1982) and 'The Shaping of Experience' (Liberal Arts Panel 1984). All three were written or edited by John Elsom, who was to act as spokesman for culture and the arts on behalf of the party⁵⁶ from 1978 to 1988. Elsom is a fascinating figure; it is in 'The Arts: Change and Choice' that the first argument for the economic importance of the *arts based industries* is made by a British political party (Liberal Party 1978). Elsom describes the work as written as a defence against the shallow understanding of policy appropriate to culture, which he saw emerging from Margaret Thatcher's Conservative party (Elsom 2012).

The arguments for the economic significance of the arts are developed further in 'The Shaping of Experience', which included support for a state funded programme of national broadband access. In 'The Arts, Artists and the Community' Elsom extends his consideration of cultural policy to argue that culture has a crucial part in developing community cohesion and social inclusion. What is surprising is that it is not until the Liberal/SDP Alliance manifesto of 1987 that any of these ideas begin to appear as part of their election platform.

⁵⁶ Until 2001 the party had too small a representation in parliament to be able to match MPs as a third party shadow cabinet. Consequently it worked with party members, who had a personal interest in a particular area, to act as researchers and the party's un-elected speakers on specific policy issues.

Though the Liberal Party and the SDP had worked as an informal alliance, contesting seats at the 1983 and 1987 elections, the relationship between them had not always been amicable (Douglas 2005). Elsom was part of the negotiating team responsible for drawing the two parties closer together. While it is not possible to establish a definitive connection between his part in these negotiations and the construction of culture found in the 1987 and 1992 texts, the similarity between them and many of Elsom's proposals is striking. There is thus good evidence to indicate an association. Elsom resigned from his post as a Liberal Democrat spokesman in 1988 following a disagreement with Paddy Ashdown over broadcasting policy (Elsom 2012), not on the social and economic importance of culture.

The construction of culture found in the 1992 manifesto can thus be understood as emerging from work begun in the late 1970s. However, that conceptualisation of culture only came to the fore when the Liberal party and the SDP began negotiating a distinctive policy position; one that would express their new partnership.

According to Leaman (1998), when the parties finally merged, broad agreement had been reached on the policy positions upon which the new party would campaign. However, the question of how the Lib/Dems were to position themselves relative to the two leading parties remained; this amounted to establishing a consensual position on how the party was to construe the relationship between the state and the citizen. It was in response to this that

Paddy Ashdown restated the principle of equidistance, which had been introduced by Jo Grimond in the 1960s.

Equidistance amounted to a refusal of the party to show any preference with regards to working with either of its principal rivals; in a situation where a hung parliament seemed likely. Paddy Ashdown expressed this position in strong terms during his address to the Lib/Dem conference in March 1991:

'Is Labour better than the Tories? Or are the Tories better than Labour?

The answer is simple. They're just as bad as each other!' (Ashdown 1991)

The value of equidistance for the Lib/Dems was not in such rhetoric but in how it facilitated the expression of a political identity, distinct from the other two parties. According to Leaman (1998), it enabled the party to communicate '...a determined and distinctive approach to politics' (p. 162). In constructing a Lib/Dem government as actively engaged and determinedly international, the manifesto texts position the party comfortably between; 1) a paradoxically passive/active Conservatism and 2) an unsure Labour party, still coming to terms with issues of internal factionalism.

Shared Historical Setting

The reason for considering the historical setting is to enrich our interpretation of the constructions of culture found in the manifesto texts, not simply to present a

narrative account of the social and economic history of Britain prior to an election. It is of value because it opens up to the investigation those *environmental factors* which have shaped the ontic, deontic and epistemic values, which bind the coalitions advocating a policy position together (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1994). Bearing this in mind we can ask – what was going on historically, that meant a construction of culture as the past was to come to the fore in the Conservative manifesto of 1992? An account of how the creation of the DNH was a tangible manifestation of Thatcherite rhetoric has already been given. However, Thatcherite rhetoric did not just appear; it was ideologically driven as a particular response to social and economic change. In order to gain a clear perspective on those changes, it is important to carefully consider events in the 1970s that were to have a profound impact on all three parties⁵⁷.

A Conservative party construal of the 1970's would characterise it as a decade where the Unions and the Left, had brought the country to a point of crisis on several occasions (Barry 2005). Under that interpretation, what Thatcherism offered was an assuredness of purpose and a clear understanding of Britain's place in the world (Tiratsoo 1997). While the events of the 1970s, and the different parties' response to those events, were to have a profound impact on the political landscape of 1992, the Conservative construal offers a very partial picture.

Industrial action increased substantially in the 1970s, with more days lost to strikes between 1970 and 1974 than the sum of those over the previous twenty years

⁵⁷ Waterton (2010) also suggests that the antecedents of the discourse supporting those policies associated with heritage and culture, which emerged in the 1990s, have their origins in the 1970s.

(Price and Bain 1988). The peak was in 1974 when a dispute between the government and the National Union of Miners led to the imposition of a three day week. Though imposed on the public sector numerous private companies, because of their connection to nationalised industries, were also affected. Whether those disputes were a result of union militancy, or the introduction of tougher legislation on the activities of the unions, is a moot point (Tiratsoo 1997). Either way they appear to have instilled hostility, towards the unions within the Right wing of the Conservative party and a distrust of the Conservative party amongst Unionised labour (Childs 1995).

During the 1970s the British economy was to encounter a period of substantial turbulence. Inflationary pressure came from many sources. Growth in the number of imported goods was a significant contributor to on-going weaknesses in the British balance of payments, which in turn put a strain on the exchange rate. The conversion to a new currency, following Britain's entry into the *Common Market* in 1971, has also been cited as a contributory factor (MacFarlane and Mortimer-Lee 1994). In addition Britain, along with other industrially developed states, was to encounter a serious global economic crisis (Childs 1995). A series of increases to the price of oil, agreed by OPEC (the Organisation of Petroleum Enriched Countries) in 1973, resulted in global shortages of petroleum, ultimately resulting in higher prices for many goods, and increased distribution cost (Morgan 2001). The control of inflation was to become a central feature of Government economic policy on the Right and the Left for almost 25 years⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Until Gordon Brown deregulated aspects of the work of the Bank of England in 1997, making its Monetary Policy Unit responsible for meeting targets, set by government, for the rate of inflation (Arestis and Sawyer 2002).

By 1976 recession, growing national debt, inflation and unprecedentedly high unemployment (Halsey 1988; Childs 1995) led James Callaghan, who had become Labour Prime Minister after Wilson resigned in March of that year, to seek a loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In measures that find contemporary echoes in the conditions associated with the EU's support of the Greek economy in 2012, the terms of the IMF loan meant the introduction of a severe package of austerity and government cuts.

According to Jenkins (2007) the '...1976 crisis was traumatic in its impact on all in government' (p. 35), and would have a transformative effect on the parties that would later contest the 1992 election. On the Left it began '...a distancing of Labour's leadership from its party that became steadily more marked' (p. 35). The growth of the hard Left in Labour would result in the departure of four long-standing members to form of the Social Democratic Party in March 1981 (Douglas 2005); which would, in 1988, merge with the Liberal party to form the Liberal Democrats (Dutton 2004). It is that hardening of the Left's position in Labour, which would be addressed through constitutional reform of the party by leaders from Neil Kinnock onwards. Additionally it provided an opportunity for some of those within the Conservative *New Right*, to begin publicly expressing their '...radical ideas about economic management' (Barry 2005, p. 39). They gravitated to the recently elected leader of the Conservative party, Margaret Thatcher. Her rhetoric presented an alternative vision, rooted in a clear sense of national identity and 19th Century liberal economic values of self-reliance and the free market (Hall 1998).

In Chapter 6 affluence and the growth of leisure were found to be contributory factors in shaping the constructions of culture found in the manifestos of 1966. Industrial unrest and austerity were key factors shaping the construal of culture as the past in 1992.

Part 2: 1997

The Conservative Manifesto

When put beside that of 1992, the 1997 Conservative manifesto is different in many ways. Unlike its precursor, the 1997 manifesto has no section specifically focused on heritage. While there is an association between culture and the past within the text, which is still important to the Conservative party's construction of culture, it is not enough to warrant a section dedicated to *heritage*.

Lexeme frequency, in the 1997 manifesto, is also substantially lower; 19 instances over 7 sections compared to 48 over 12. In Chapter 5 the possibility of change in lexeme frequency as a result of changes in document length was discussed. However, even if this data is normalised, to account for the different length of the manifesto, the decline is apparent; from 1.6 words per 1000 in 1992 to 0.9 per 1000 in 1997.

A consideration of the headings used in the manifesto suggests that the party deemed its approach to culture, over the intervening five years, as successful. We

are informed that their support for *culture* has contributed to 'A Confident, United and Sovereign Nation'; led to Britain becoming 'A World Leader in Sports, Arts and Culture'; and made it 'The Best Place in the World to Live'. Lexemes also appear in sections headed 'Quality of Life', 'Britain and the European Union' and '2020 Vision'; all of which express an assuredness in how the party has handled its cultural policy. The details beneath those headings reveal a number of continuities and adjustments in the party's construction from that found in the 1992 manifesto. I shall consider them shortly. For now I want to concentrate on the apparent decline of *heritage*.

In *2020 Vision* the text is concerned with trade tariffs in a broad sense. This is done with the objective of establishing '...tariff free trade across the globe by the year 2020'. The section begins:

2020 Vision

There is no part of the globe which has not been reached by British enterprise and British **culture**. We have always looked out beyond these shores, beyond this continent. Our language, our **heritage** of international trading links, our foreign investments – second only to America's – are historic strengths which mean we are ideally placed to seize the opportunities of the global economy.

...

Box 12: Text containing lexemes taken from the 1997 Conservative manifesto

While the construal of *culture as the past* found in this text echoes that of 1992, it is extended by being drawn into a discussion of globalised trade. Culture thus becomes associated with a presumed attribute of Britain's economic past.

Heritage here suggests international reputation, adding credibility to the future based on the nation's past experience. 'British culture' becomes a civilising export that connects to the rest of the world. Consequently we find 'our...international trading links' described as *heritage* and the nation's ability to '...seize the opportunities of the global economy', a consequence of those *historic strengths*.

A construal of culture as the economic past is repeated in the opening to the section headed *Britain and the European Union*, which reads;

Britain and the European Union

We believe that in an uncertain, competitive world, the nation state is a rock of security. A nation's common **heritage**, **culture**, values and outlook are a precious source of stability. Nationhood gives people a sense of belonging.

...

Box 13: Text containing lexemes taken from the 1997 Conservative manifesto

Here too *culture* and *heritage* are brought into an association with competitiveness in a global market place. However, these constructions do not focus on culture or heritage as enterprise. *Nation* appears three times; as 'nation state'; 'a nation's common...values and outlook' and 'nationhood'. These instances convey a sense of pride and loyalty. The imagery is quite poetic – the nation is 'a rock of security'; a 'precious source of stability' that 'gives people a sense of belonging'. The concept of Britishness found in the 1992 manifesto is not simply repeated here but strengthened, and enhanced. Culture in the earlier text was understood as a 'good cause', support for which required no further rationale. In the 1997 manifesto it has become an *historic strength*, and 'source of stability' in a 'competitive world', where Britain must compete as part of a 'global economy'. Pride, which was a consequence of supporting culture as a good in itself, has become its own justification.

A romanticised national pride is also found in the opening of the section: *The Best Place in the World to Live*'. This heading is important because the subsection explicitly concerned with the party's cultural policy, *A World Leader in Sports, Arts and Culture*, occurs within it. The section introduction begins:

8. The Best Place in the World to Live

Britain is admired the world over. Every year, millions of tourists travel here to enjoy our **heritage** and **culture**, our cities and countryside, our way of life. Our nation's history is an anchor in a sea of change. We need to protect, cherish and build upon what is great about our country so our children grow up in a better Britain. We also

must make sure that everyone, wherever they live, has the support of a strong, tolerant and civilised community.

Our aim is for this generation and future generations to take pride in Britain as the best place in the world to live.

Box 14: Text containing lexemes taken from the 1997 Conservative manifesto

This is a fascinating text which requires careful unpacking. The title connects to both the quality of life and Britain's place in the world. In using 'The Best' a positive aspiration is established, which is reinforced in the opening sentence: 'Britain is admired the world over'. This aspiration becomes an aspect of national branding as we are told 'millions of tourists' visit because of '...our heritage and culture, our cities and countryside' and 'our way of life'. Though tourism had been written into the remit of the DNH in 1992 it was not a connection developed in that manifesto. This extends the construction of culture as the past as a means of branding the nation for overseas visitors. How culture is presented here becomes part of placing the nation in a global market; it becomes instrumental in establishing an identity for the country in a global economy. The link is emphasised by the re-occurrence of the metaphor of stability; 'Our nation's history is an anchor in a sea of change'. However, the echo is not a simple one as it also performs the task of shifting the focus to culture as a civilising force, which becomes the focus of the remainder of the section's introduction. The section opening concludes with a reference to *pride*, important in the construction of culture found in the 1992 manifesto, and concludes with a repetition of the section heading.

Within these first few sentences we are presented with a complex construction that combines the past, aspiration, national prestige, national branding, national identity and culture as a civilising force. This complexity is bound together through an understanding of the past as a 'rock of security' and 'source of stability', that acts as '...an anchor in a sea of change'. The paragraph suggests the appropriate emotional response to this complex construction is to *protect*, to *cherish* and be *proud*; this is in keeping with Wetherell and Potter's description of *culture as heritage* discussed earlier. *Protecting* and *cherishing* are considered important as they will enable '...our children to grow up in a better Britain', that is composed of '...strong, tolerant and civilised' communities. Such language is moving closer to the sort of aspirational instrumental agenda that was found in the Labour manifesto of 1966; in that text access '...to the best of Britain's cultural heritage' was a '...hallmark of a civilised country' (Labour Party 1966). The key difference between these two aspirational instrumental policy agendas is that the Conservative construction is passive caring, while that within the earlier Labour party text was part of an '...educational and social purpose' (my emphasis).

The section of the manifesto where lexeme clustering is greatest is under the heading *A World Leader in Sports, Arts and Culture*. This is reproduced in Box 15:

A World Leader In Sports, Arts and Culture

Britain is enjoying a cultural renaissance. British music, films, television, fashion, art and food are winning plaudits the world over.

They add excitement, fun and enjoyment to our lives. Our success brings pride to everyone.

The National Lottery, which John Major set up, will pump billions of pounds into Britain's good causes. Its proceeds will weave a new, rich thread of opportunity and charity into the tapestry of British life. In addition to benefitting major national institutions, about half of the awards are for amounts under £25,000 - benefitting local communities up and down the country. We will encourage new ways of distributing awards to support the performing arts - through support for amateur productions and community events, providing more musical instruments, and helping productions tour round the country. ..

Box 15: Text containing lexemes taken from the 1997 Conservative manifesto

Similar to the construction of culture found in the 1992 manifesto, culture is linked to past glory and associated with pride. 'Britain...' we are told, '...is enjoying a cultural renaissance'; a rebirth whose '...success brings pride to everyone'. The confusion over the status of lottery funding that occurred in the 1992 texts continues in this. We are informed that it is the Lottery, not the government, which will; '...pump billions of pounds into Britain's good causes'. Culture, in this section, is a passive recipient of funds, with 'major national institutions' and 'local communities up and down the country' *benefiting* from 'lottery awards'. In return culture is described as adding '...excitement, fun and enjoyment to our lives'.

As with the section devoted to the arts in 1992, the weight of the section is on funding. Unlike that earlier document the only funding stream mentioned in this

text is the National Lottery, which is referred to six times. It is the lottery that will ‘...pump billions of pounds into Britain’s good causes’; that will help ‘...train and promote British sporting talent’, and *benefit* ‘...major national institutions’ as well as ‘amateur productions and community events’. Payments from the Lottery, to those groups successful in their application for a grant, are referred to as ‘awards’. This is an interesting choice of expression. An award can be a gift, or a prize; it hints at a judgement, a verdict passed by a panel. All this is certainly appropriate to the giving of a grant. What makes it interesting is that it is not a *payment*. Where an *award* is associated with some form of accolade, a *payment* is for a good or service requested. The use of *award* carries no connotation of governmental spending; consequently it suggests lottery spending is apolitical, it thus suggests a depoliticised distribution of funds. As in the 1992 manifesto, government steers change rather than leads it. The *awarding* of lottery funds becomes a further aspect of how governmental engagement places funding for culture in a political vacuum.

The 1997 Conservative manifesto offers a richer construction of culture than that found in 1992. While *A World Leader in Sports, Arts and Culture* shows little progression from the construction in *The Arts* from the previous election document, another construction, associated with *culture as the past* but more complex, is apparent at other locations in the text. This more complex construal of culture bears a resemblance to the aspirational instrumentalism of Labour’s 1966 manifesto. Where it differs is in the dynamism of the co-construction of culture and the absence of an educational agenda.

Culture is given an economic significance in this manifesto but, significantly, not as an entrepreneurial activity. Its value is in national branding, presenting Britain's past as that which makes it a distinctive destination for visitors. Central to this construction is the importance attributed to Britishness. *Britain* or *British* appears eight times in this one section, compared to 4 instances when all the sections considered in the 1992 manifesto are combined. The emotional response suggested as appropriate to this valuing of Britishness is *Pride*, which becomes the central rationale for supporting culture. 'Pride' occurs five times in the manifesto, four under the main heading *the Best Place in the World to Live*; once in its introduction and twice in the section covering the arts. Pride is not a developmental emotion; we are *proud* of an achievement, not of what could be achieved. With the *imaginary* of culture as an object of governance so static, it is unsurprising that its articulation as an object for governance becomes one of passive receipt.

The Labour Manifesto

The sum of instances in the Labour manifesto is similar to that of the Conservative party's; 18 compared to 19⁵⁹. It is worth noting that *heritage* only occurs twice in the document. One of these is a reference to the DNH and the other associates *heritage* with the environment:

⁵⁹ The difference is close even if this figure is normalised: 1/1000 for the Labour party and 0.9/1000 for the Conservatives.

'We favour a moratorium on large-scale sales of Forestry Commission land. We recognise that the countryside is a great natural asset, a part of our heritage which calls for careful stewardship. This must be balanced, however, with the needs of people who live in rural areas.' (Labour Party 1997)

The connection of *heritage* to the environment was given substantial weight in the Lib/Dem manifesto in 1992 and is continued in their 1997 text. Its use in a strikingly similar vein here suggests a possible point of convergence between the two parties, in their construal of *heritage* though not necessarily in policy.

Lexemes cluster at two points in the texts of the 1997 manifesto, both fall under the main heading; *We will help you get more out of life*. The first forms the introduction to the section, while the second is a subsection headed; *Arts and culture*. A reading of these parts of the document suggests that the party has radically reassessed its understanding of culture. While the content of these sections will be discussed shortly; I shall begin by considering the section's main heading.

We will help you get more out of life is the eighth of ten main headings in the manifesto, all of which begin..."We will". By using this collocation as a leitmotif by which the manifesto is to be navigated, the party sets itself up as assured and as having a clear programme. Broadly, this heading addresses a softer agenda than some of the others, which include: 'We will create successful and profitable businesses', 'We will get the unemployed from welfare to work' and 'We will save the NHS'. The heading addresses concerns about protecting the environment,

supporting rural communities, the development and impact of the country's transport infrastructure, the arts, sport, broadcasting and the voluntary sector. As mentioned above, the two places where lexemes cluster in the manifesto appear under this heading. At both locations culture is construed as having a social and community value, as well as being a *vital* economic asset to the country. Unlike the location where lexemes clustered in the Conservative text the sections for scrutiny here are short, and can comfortably be incorporated into the chapter; they are reproduced in Box 16 below.

We will help you get more out of life

Every government department a 'green' department

Efficient and clean transport for all

New **arts** and science talent fund for young people

Reform the lottery

Improve life in rural areas

Back World Cup bid

The millennium is the time to reaffirm our responsibility to protect and enhance our environment so that the country we hand on to our children and our grandchildren is a better place in which to live. It also provides a natural opportunity to celebrate and improve the contribution made by the **arts**, **culture** and sport to our nation. We need a new and dynamic approach to the 'creative economy'. The Department of National **Heritage** will develop a strategic vision that matches the real power and energy of British **arts**, media and **cultural** industries.

...

Arts and culture

The arts, culture and sport are central to the task of recreating the sense of community, identity and civic pride that should define our country. Yet we consistently undervalue the role of the arts and culture in helping to create a civic society - from amateur theatre to our art galleries.

Art, sport and leisure are vital to our quality of life and the renewal of our economy. They are significant earners for Britain. They employ hundreds of thousands of people. They bring millions of tourists to Britain every year, who will also be helped by Labour's plans for new quality assurance in hotel accommodation.

We propose to set up a National Endowment for Science and the Arts to sponsor young talent. NESTA will be a national trust - for talent rather than buildings - for the 21st century. NESTA will be partly funded by the lottery; and artists who have gained high rewards from their excellence in the arts and wish to support young talent will be encouraged to donate copyright and royalties to NESTA.

Box 16: Text containing lexemes taken from the 1997 Labour manifesto

In these texts culture is construed as impacting the social and the economic. It has a *central* role in 'recreating the sense of community', in 'helping to create a civic society', and is said to be 'vital to our quality of life', while also being a *significant earner*, employing 'hundreds of thousands of people', and bringing 'millions of tourists to Britain every year'.

The main heading of this section hints at the sense of purpose found in the Labour manifesto of 1966. There is an echo of the paternalism of the earlier text in the 'We will' with which it begins, before moving on to a series of simple statements of purpose. By launching straight into a set of proposals rather than embedding them in the main body of the text, or leaving them as consequences of the discussion, we feel drawn into a sense of what can be done. That energy is continued in the paragraph that follows. Participation is suggested at many levels. The first line asks us to '...reaffirm our responsibility' not just to '...protect' but to '...enhance' our environment; in the next we are invited to '...celebrate' and '...improve' the contribution that is made '...by the arts, culture and sport'. At each step culture is active, energised, and we are asked to engage with it. That dynamism is continued in its application to the 'creative economy', that is said to *need* '...a new and dynamic approach'. Government is also drawn into that energised participation, as the DNH is tasked with developing a vision '...that matches the real power and energy' of the '...arts, media and cultural industries'.

Within the specific section concerned with culture the energy and sense of participation of the opening is continued. Culture is construed as 'central' to the 'task' of 'recreating' a sense of 'community' and 'identity'; it plays a valuable role in *creating* a 'civic society'. Though those themes have appeared in the Conservative's manifesto, here they are imbued with dynamism; they are not *frozen*, static, and in need of preservation and support. Culture is '...vital to our quality of life' and the '...renewal of our economy'; it is a '...significant earner' employing '...hundreds of thousands of people', and bringing '...millions of tourists to Britain every year'.

In both 'We will help you get more out of life' and 'Arts and culture' the construction of culture goes beyond its value to the quality of life; this is the weight it gives to its economic contribution, and the language it uses to describe that impact. For Labour this is something new, and marks a substantive point of difference between them and the Conservative party; it therefore requires a more thorough consideration.

The last two lines of 'We will help you get more out of life' are particularly interesting and are worth deeper scrutiny;

'We need a new and dynamic approach to the "creative economy". The Department of National Heritage will develop a strategic vision that matches the real power and energy of British arts, media and cultural industries' (Labour Party 1997)

The first line suggests a need for action, 'we need (an)...approach', with regard to a specific area, '...the "creative economy"', that should have a particular character, '...new and dynamic'. By using the inclusive 'we' there is the hint of an ambiguity as to its referent; it suggests the party, the state and the citizen. 'Creative economy' is an expression that has not previously been used by the Conservatives, Labour or the Lib/Dems in a manifesto. By placing the expression in quotation marks it becomes highlighted and draws our attention. The second line contains an echo of the first, whilst developing it further. It offers a response to the area construed as requiring attention in the previous sentence. In place of 'we' there is the unambiguous 'Department of National Heritage'. There is thus a

universalism attributed to the statement of policy requirement, and specificity to its resolution. The reader is only incorporated into the *solution* if they vote for the party making the proposal. As a recommendation the final sentence lacks detail, but sustains the imagery of the line preceding it. A *dynamic approach* becomes a *strategic vision of real power and energy*, while the 'creative economy' is unpacked to refer to '...British arts, media and cultural industries'. An association of the *arts* and *media* with *industry* is not new to the party; it appears in their manifesto for 1987 and 1992, discussed earlier. What is new is the positive evaluation of the contribution culture makes, expressed in the role it is described as playing and the energy of the language it uses.

In the second text, 'arts and culture', the argument for the economic importance of culture is more mundane. Culture here draws together 'art, sport and leisure', this fits with the view established within the party since the 1960s, but in this instance the instrumentalism of policy has shifted. It is no longer part of a wider 'educational and social purpose', that needs support from the state and is to be provided for the benefit of the citizen. Culture has become a *significant earner for Britain*, that *employs* '...hundreds of thousands of people' and brings 'millions of tourists to Britain every year'. This links culture to national branding, but it is a branding that does not focus on the nation's past; it is the present and the future that are emphasised in this text. Culture *is* '...central to...recreating (a) sense of community'; it *does* help '...create a civic society'; it *is* 'vital to our quality of life'; and later it is 'young talent' that needs *sponsorship* and *support*. Support is to be provided '...for talent rather than buildings – for the 21st century". Where funding is referred to in the text it also suggests that culture is more than a passive recipient.

The proposed 'National Endowment for Science and the Arts' is only to be
'...partly funded by the lottery', the remainder being sought from those who have
'...gained high rewards from their excellence in the arts'.

The construction of culture in these texts is complex. Culture is both connected to the economy and the establishment of cohesive and engaged communities. It is described as dynamic, powerful and energetic, while also being practical and realistic. The *imaginary* of culture as an object of governance in these two texts is active in its own growth and development; it is not static, *frozen*, and much more than a passive recipient of funding. Government is a partner in all this complexity, recognising the *value* of its contribution to the economic and the social, and working with the arts to develop future talent.

The Liberal Manifesto

Structurally the Liberal manifesto of 1997 is similar to that found in 1992. That is; a brief statement establishing its characterisation of a policy area, which is then followed by a series of bullet points outlining the party's political agenda for that area. Lexemes cluster into two substantial sections; one uses both *art* and *cultur*, the other only contains *heritage*. The construction of culture in each of these sections is very different and so I shall deal with them separately.

Arts and Media

Flourishing arts and a diverse culture are essential for a lively and open society. They can be engines of innovation that bring life to the economy. At the same time, the world is experiencing an information revolution as important and far-reaching as the Industrial Revolution. Britain must maintain a free and effective media capable of being a check on the abuse of power, and of giving people the information they need to make informed decisions.

We will:

Tackle the concentration of media power. We will act to prevent media mergers or take-overs, except where these can be shown to advance quality, diversity and access. We will require the Independent Television Commission to protect the position of smaller regional ITV companies, within the network supply agreement.

Maintain the role of the BBC as the benchmark of public service broadcasting, committed to quality, diversity and universal access. We will protect the independence and impartiality of the BBC through its Board of Governors and its licence fee.

Improve access to information technology and the Internet. We will ensure that everyone in Britain can have access, either individually or through a wide range of public access points, to a nationwide interactive communications network by the year 2000.

Increase access to the arts. We will use the National Lottery to endow, house and improve access to the arts. We aim to move towards the European average for public funding of the arts. We aim to restore the principle of free access to national museum and gallery collections, starting with the removal of charges for school parties.

Promote Britain's culture. We will promote film production in Britain.

We will actively support the British Council and rejoin UNESCO. We will enhance the BBC World Service as a national asset.

Box 17: Text containing lexemes taken from the 1997 Lib/Dem manifesto

There are similarities between this text and that taken from the Lib/Dem manifesto of 1992. It opens with a suggestion that culture is in need of nurturing. Implicit in 'Flourishing arts and a diverse culture are essential for a lively and open society' is the suggestion that currently culture is not flourishing, and that we do not have a lively and open society. The benefits of nurturing culture continue into the next line. Such a 'flourishing' culture is an 'engine for innovation' that 'brings life to the economy'; the unstated implicature being that currently the economy lacks life and is in need of innovation. Those lines resonate with the construal of culture found in the party's 1992 text. However, here it is expressed in language more suggestive of that seen in Labour's 1997 manifesto. There is an enthusiasm and vigour associated with this construction of culture, which the remaining part of the paragraph suggests spills over into economic and political domains.

The imagery in this opening paragraph is fascinating and rich, drawing connections and associations between the animate and inanimate, and between mechanical and rational processes. A simple review of its verbs and adjectives is enough to highlight this. 'Flourishing'; 'lively'; 'experiencing' are all words that suggest a corporeal vitality; this is enhanced by rationality with references to *innovation* and *decision making*. We are presented with an active human space, an 'open society', where it is people's ability to *innovate* that animates the

economy. These metaphors of the animate are put alongside those of machinery, the animated inanimate, with references to 'engines'; the 'industrial revolution' and the need for a '...check on the abuse of power'. This latter image is more subtle, but to *check*, as in to *check and balance*, was the means by which the *power* of a machine was controlled. These images are drawn together to underline the importance of a new *revolution*, the 'information revolution', which is described as just as 'important and far-reaching' as the industrial one that preceded it. While it is human creativity, through a 'flourishing arts and...culture', that feed this revolution, it is '...a free and effective media' that is presented as its principal expression. It is the freedom and effectiveness of the media that facilitates the political impact of culture through providing a 'check on the abuse of power' and providing people with the information they need to make 'informed decisions'.

Having set up a construction of culture, the reader is led to a set of policy proposals that are very similar to the party's 1992 position. Though reference is made to emerging digital technologies the principal foci of the party's policy remain television, film, arts funding and access to museums. With regard to the arts, the policy on funding is reiterated together with the pledge to bring the sectors funding in line with the European average. Similarly the party proposes that free access to museums and galleries be restored, with school parties being the first to benefit.

Although the term *audio-visual industries*, that appeared in the 1992 manifesto, is not repeated in this text; the association of film and the media to culture remains. The commitment to the political independence of the BBC, and support of the film industry, are almost directly transferred from the previous manifesto. Regionalism

reappears in references to the protection of '...smaller regional ITV companies', and the establishment of a nationwide network of 'public access points' for the emerging digital communication technologies.

Though the party's policies have progressed little since 1992 the associated construction of government has. 'We will' appears five times in the 1992 manifesto, nine times in 1997. Where the former text collocates it with *decentralise, enhance or restore*, in the latter it is used frequently with the more assured *we will*: act, require, protect, ensure, use, promote, actively support and enhance. The repetition of 'we will' builds confidence, suggesting the party can be effective in government. The reasons for this self-assurance will be considered shortly, when the context is considered; before that, elsewhere in the manifesto, a different construction of culture is also offered.

Protecting Britain's heritage

Britain's natural environment and heritage are being gradually destroyed.

We will:

Clean up Britain's rivers and beaches and ensure that the costs of investment are spread fairly. We will require water companies to contribute to the cost of national environmental projects...

Reform land use planning. We will make protection of the natural environment a major feature of the planning system through a new Wildlife Act. This will improve protection of National Parks, Heritage

Coasts, Sites of Special Scientific Interest and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty.

Green the countryside. Our proposed new Countryside Management Contracts will help farmers to protect vital habitats...

Box 18: Text containing lexemes taken from the 1997 Lib/Dem manifesto

The second place lexemes cluster is under the heading 'Protecting Britain's Heritage'. This section is similar to that found in the Lib/Dem manifesto of 1992. A construal of *heritage* as *environment* also occurs in the Labour manifesto of 1997, but is absent from the Conservative texts where it is understood as an aspect of the built environment or an aspect of national branding. Within the Liberal manifesto of 1997 *heritage* refers exclusively to 'Britain's natural environment'.

While the title 'Protecting Britain's Heritage' could equally apply to the built as well as the natural environment, the policies presented in that section make it clear there is no intended ambiguity. The section incorporates policies covering the clean-up of rivers and beaches, addressing issues of water and maritime pollution, protection of National Parks and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty through a new Wildlife Act, and proposals to support environmentally friendly farming that protects 'vital habitats'. These policies, unlike the creation of a new Coast and Countryside Commission the Conservatives proposed in their 1966 manifesto, do not rest on a connection between the environment and leisure. The environment, as natural heritage, is seen as important in its own right.

The association of culture with the economic and the social, and the connection between heritage and the environment, represent little by way of change between the Lib/Dem manifesto of 1992 and 1997. However, the language used to construct the *imaginary* of culture as an object of governance in this text is different from that which preceded it. Culture is construed in a much more energised and dynamic way; one that is looking forward, nurturing rather than supporting, and protecting for the future rather than preserving for posterity. When put beside the Labour manifesto, there are striking parallels. Convergence around similar ontic, deontic and epistemic values suggests the emergence of a coalition, at least around the articulation of culture as an object of governance, which diverges from that developed in the Conservatives' text.

Summing up the textual analysis of 1997

The textual analysis associated with 1997 has revealed a fascinating sequence of continuities, comparisons and changes. In the Conservative party manifesto the construction of culture as heritage was maintained, while offering a much more nuanced and complex interpretation than that presented in 1992. Central to those developments is a greater emphasis on national identity. Britishness, which formed a strand within the party's 1992 text, comes to the fore in 1997. Nautical imagery, together with metaphors of stability and security, are interwoven into references to the past authority of the nation. Culture becomes an element in branding the nation, that which makes Britain distinctive. While such branding suggests a connection to tourism this is not worked up in the text. Culture and the economy are not associated. Interestingly in a move that has a distinct echo of

Thatcherism, enterprise is shown to be an aspect of the British character that has a long heritage. It is thus a culture of enterprise that is to be expressed rather than any understanding of culture as enterprise; the difference a symptom of the construal of culture which locates it in the past. Culture is fixed by its construction; as such it gives the Conservatives little room for developing a political agenda beyond acts of preservation and the encouragement of a sense of *pride*.

Funding culture is depoliticised in the Conservative text, repeating the party's position on governmental support which characterised the 1992 text. This reiterates the vagueness found in how to interpret the financial support emerging from the National Lottery; in so doing the 'arm's length but hands on' principle noted by Taylor (1997) is sustained. An interesting development of the more complex construal of culture present in this text does offer a social instrumentalism, one that emphasises *pride*, which hints at a social agenda akin to that found in the Labour manifesto of 1966.

Labour's manifesto marks a substantial reorientation towards culture from that discerned in 1992. The party's reconfiguration of its relationship to culture, and the role of culture in the state, is very different from anything it has previously presented. Culture in this text is a dynamic factor in the economy, one described as requiring an equally dynamic response in revaluing its role. Within the texts scrutinised, culture is commercially active, part of its strategic vision for economic growth and central to the party's social objectives. As with the Conservative texts culture is associated with quality of life, and there are some suggestions here of a return to the civilising mission rationale found in the Labour manifesto of 1966.

However, in this text the emphasis is on participation rather than access. Though quality of life recurs as a theme from that earlier text the emphasis is on involvement and engagement rather than the development of infrastructure and resources. The 1997 manifesto offers a much more nuanced and complex instrumental approach than its predecessors.

There is continuity in the importance of culture found in the Lib/Dem manifestos of 1992 and 1997. Both texts characterising the role of the state as developmental; the earlier manifesto described this as *investment* while the latter one implies there is a need for nurturing if culture's full potential is to be realised. In 1992 that marked the Lib/Dems as distinct from the other two parties. However, in 1997 it indicates an area of convergence between them and Labour.

Despite similarities, the two Lib/Dem texts do differ. Where that is most clearly discerned is in the energy associated with the potential impact of culture. In 1992 culture was a net contributor to the economy, in 1997 it has become an 'engine of innovation' which is also '...essential' for an open society.

Contextualisation

The value of contextualisation in this thesis is that it enhances our ability to interpret the impact the different constructions of culture have had, whilst offering us a better understanding of how they emerged. When we consider the parties individually it will become clear that the repercussions of Thatcherism, both as rhetoric and political ideology, were still being felt. However, according to Bevir

and Rhodes (1998), *Thatcherism* should not be understood as a single, unified, entirely self-consistent, position. Instead *Thatcherism* needs to be understood as constituted through how others have responded to various *Thatcherite* agendas. As we review the party specific contexts we will discover the impact of how the parties have interpreted, and reacted, to the legacy of Thatcher's twelve years as premier; and the impact that has had on how culture has been constructed as an *imaginary* of governance within their manifestos.

The Conservative Party

In order to understand the construction of culture as the past in the 1997 Conservative manifesto we need to consider what was happening to the party. In the five years between the two elections the party was to be troubled internally by dissent, while externally its credibility in managing the country became increasingly questioned by the media.

By 1990 key members of the Conservative party had decided that their chance of securing a fourth term, with Margaret Thatcher as party leader, was impossible (Major 1999). According to Williams (1998) the parliamentary party was broadly convinced that Margaret Thatcher was becoming a liability; one which would prevent their return to power at the next election. As her Chancellor of the Exchequer, John Major offered a continuity of approach to the British economy (Jenkins 2007), while his collegiality in Cabinet (James 1999) was understood as bringing a refreshed vitality to the government (Hogg and Hill 1995). Williams (1998) argues that it was this need for unity, and the prospect of defeat in 1992,

which led many MPs to support Major's position in several policy areas they might not previously have accepted.

1992 had been a historic, if surprising (BBC 1992; Crewe 1992), victory for the Conservatives; not since the Liberals in 1868 had a party won four successive general elections (Rallings and Thrasher 2009). However, success had not brought unity. According to Williams (1998), factions within the party that had initially supported Major as their best hope for re-election quickly turned against him once that victory had been secured. Less than six months after the election the Financial Times leader was to write:

'It is now clear that what was elected on April 9th was not a Conservative Government with a majority of 21, but a hung parliament in which the parties that must loathe one another, the Thatcherites and the Majorites, stand beneath the Tory flag.' (Financial Times 1992)

Growing factionalism and internal dissent with the leadership is also noted by Hogg and Hill (1995) and has been acknowledged by Major (1999) in his autobiography. As a result of this John Major took a historically unprecedented step. As a serving Prime Minister he both resigned as party leader and stood as a candidate (Williams 1998). The ballot resulted in 218 votes for John Major; 89 for Redwood and 22 abstentions. Though it was enough for Major to be returned as party leader and Prime Minister, it also indicated that a substantial number of MPs did not support his approach, with over 37% wanting a move back to the party's political Right. The result can be interpreted using the ACF concept of core values.

Loose coalitions sharing ontic values (how they construct the policy issues the party is facing) and deontic values (where they believe the party should be heading) were highlighted by the leadership election. The result provided an epistemic foundation for drawing together, a firming up, of support opposing the leadership, sufficient to mark it as a distinct coalition. Rather than uniting the party the leadership election can be understood as pulling it further apart.

Between both elections the credibility of the party was also to undergo intense scrutiny from the media, on issues of the economy, health and corruption. The forced exit of Britain from the Exchange Rate Mechanism in 1992; criticism of the handling of BSE (Bovine spongiform encephalopathy) and the associated vCJD (variant Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease) and allegations that some Conservative MPs were accepting payments for tabling questions in the House of Commons (Hencke 1994) all contributed to diminishing the authority of the Major government. It is in that milieu of media criticism and internal dissent that a narrative by which to re-establish unity within the party was required.

A return to a discourse that echoed Thatcherite rhetoric, which attempted to establish a cultural link between an idealised British past and its international reputation (Zumpano 2008), would resonate with those supportive of, and sympathetic to, the New Right within the party. However, the establishment of the DNH meant the articulation of that rhetoric was significantly different. Hardwired into the department, later sustained through its connection with the National Lottery, was a conception of culture as *a good cause*, one which benefited from the external support. There was nothing within its framework that could construe

culture as enterprise. As a consequence the Thatcherite idealisation of Britain's past as a historic culture of entrepreneurship becomes, through the prism of the DNH, nation branding and tourism.

The Labour Party

Early on in the 1992 campaign Labour had looked very electable (Hogg and Hill 1995), yet as the polls began to suggest an increasing likelihood of a hung parliament (Curtice 1995), they began talks with the Liberal Democrats around the possibility of coalition. The success of the Conservative party was a devastating defeat for Labour (Kavanagh 1996, p. 212). One which Philip Gould, MP and member of the party's campaign planning team, described as a 'collective trauma' (Gould 1992), and would lead to Neil Kinnock's resignation as party leader. The structural reform of the party, which had begun under Kinnock, was to continue with his successor, John Smith. Motivated by breaking a sustained period in opposition Smith was able to draw greater power to the party's leadership, and progress Labour's move to the Centre-Left of British politics (Westlake 2001; Blair 2010).

Following his sudden death in 1994 John Smith was replaced by Tony Blair. According to Faucher-King and Le Galès (2010) Blair not only wanted to re-position the party (p. 88 to p. 109) but also to completely '...transform the left-of-centre in British politics' (in Blair 1996, p. 5). This new position was articulated by him, as resting '...on accepting that much of what she [Margaret Thatcher] wanted

to do in the 1980s was inevitable' (Blair 2010, p. 99) whilst declaring himself '...by instinct a liberal' (Blair 2010, p. 266). Effectively this meant accepting a move away from the Keynesian consensus of a mixed economy, which had been Labour's default position since 1945.

Modernisation of the Labour party, for Blair, meant finding '...a credible way to renew its ideas and modernise its programmes' (Blair 1996), accepting an economic landscape where the cultural and creative sectors were to have a real impact on regional, national and international economy. Unencumbered by rhetoric of enterprise as part of Britain's historic national character Blair was free to embrace;

'...a new economic framework, modernised for today, where government does all it can to support enterprise but never believes it is a substitute for enterprise' (Blair and Schröder 2000, p. 159-160).

This *new economic framework*, rooted in ideas of economic growth based on investing in education and developing the creative economy, drew on the economic principles of Gary Becker (1964) and Paul Romer (1994).

Becker and Romer argue that economies, like those in the USA and Britain, were in a period of transition. Government policy in the past, they suggest, had been

dominated by a consideration of industrial production. *Labour*, they suggest, is an unsuitable way of characterising people in advanced economies. In classical economics the return paid for *labour* was *wages*; for Becker and Romer the return should be interest, as *labour* is re-framed as *human capital*. Framing *labour* as *human capital* redefines pay as investment, and skills become transferable commodities in a market where human capital competes for employment. For highly developed economies creativity and innovation become strong drivers for the economy which, according to Romer (1994), would produce self-sustaining economic growth. Investing in creativity within education and for employment brings together social, economic, education and cultural policy; *culture* thereby becomes an essentially instrumental policy domain.

In a speech made to the Confederation of British Industry in 1995 Blair was to announce that his new economic framework would require 'a creative workforce that can think and innovate for itself' (in Blair 1996, p. 113). These ideas were developed further in a presentation before the Keidanren⁶⁰ in Tokyo, where he declared that 'every pair of hands working in a factory needs to be directed by an active and thoughtful brain, contributing imagination and skill' (p. 125), suggesting that Britain would only become the 'enterprise capital of Europe...' if it employed '...the cleverest and most innovative' (p. 125).

⁶⁰ Japan's equivalent of the Confederation of British Industry.

Where the articulation of culture within the Conservative party had not been able to express profound change in the economy and socially, in part a consequence of the rhetoric of culture as the past embodied within the hierarchy of government by the DNH, Labour was not so fettered. Instead the radical reinvention of the party (Driver and Martell 2001, and Faucher-King and Le Galès 2010), enabled them to embrace those changes and make them into opportunities. Political realignment and the repositioning of the party around a new economic framework, all contributed to this change. This extended the capacity for culture to be used in a more instrumental way. Moving beyond national branding it could attribute a social and economic impact to cultural activity. This could be marshalled to form cultural policy that reached into previously uncharted territory for Labour; a rhetoric that changed Thatcher's culture of enterprise to culture as enterprise.

The Lib/Dem Party

1992 had been the Lib/Dems' best hope for returning to government since the election of February 1974, when Edward Heath had discussed the possibility of a coalition government with Liberal party leader Jeremy Thorpe. With the majority of polls suggesting a hung parliament the party's policy of equidistance was a perfectly rational political position. Under Neil Kinnock the Labour party had begun edging towards the political centre ground, while John Major's Conservative party were moving away from the perceived extremes of the Thatcher administration. The possibility of establishing a realignment of British politics around the centre,

which had, according to Leaman (1998), been a central objective of the party's leadership since Jo Grimond was looking increasingly possible. The Conservative victory, albeit with a greatly reduced majority, meant political power was to escape the party yet again.

Equidistance had enabled the party to '...build an independent identity (that)...communicated a determined and distinctive approach to politics' (Leaman 1998, p. 162). Following the 1992 election Paddy Ashdown (2010) wrote that he had '...a very clear view of where the open ground was on the Left of politics, and it was empty and waiting for us to occupy' (p. 275). Despite this bravura attitude, equidistance was under threat. In the last few weeks of the 1992 election, Neil Kinnock had approached Paddy Ashdown. He suggested Labour would be prepared to negotiate over the replacement of the existing electoral system with a form of proportional representation (Crewe 1992, Westlake 2001, Ashdown 2010). The Conservatives' success terminated these discussions. However, Cowley and Stewart's (2003) research into the parliamentary voting behaviour of Liberal MPs has suggested that, between 1993 and 1995, Liberal MPs voted with Labour MPs in over 80% of parliamentary ballots (p. 401). This supports Leaman's contention that, following the 1992 election, equidistance '...came to look more like fiction than fact' (P. 161); observing that there was a '...growing list of overlaps between the two opposition parties' (p. 162).

Not only were Labour and the Lib/Dems growing closer politically, between 1992 and 1997 the credibility of the Conservative party declined dramatically. The internal tensions and factionalism, already discussed, were leading to a number of MPs defecting to either the Labour or Lib/Dem benches. Following their reaction to the party's handling of Britain's withdrawal from the Exchange Rate Mechanism on 16th September 1992 (known as Black Wednesday) the parliamentary whip, which compelled MPs to vote on key issues with their party, had been withdrawn. This brought the Conservative majority down to low single figures. John Major's leadership contest in 1995 was a further indicator of disarray in the government.

On the 25th May 1995, supported by the party's federal executive committee, Paddy Ashdown announced the end of equidistance. Douglas (2005) and Dutton (2004) all comment on how the repositioning of Labour, firstly by John Smith and then Tony Blair, had removed the *open ground* Paddy Ashdown had declared was ready for the Lib/Dems to *occupy* following 1992 election. With the possibility of a realignment of British governmental politics around the Lib/Dems gone, Ashdown concluded '...if he (Tony Blair) was to lead the wave of change that would unseat the Tories, we (the Liberal Democrats) had to be part of that' (Ashdown 2010, p. 277).

Between 1994 and 1997 there followed a series of meetings between the two leaders, both formal and informal, that were intended to strengthen links between the two parties (Ashdown 2010 and Blair 2010). Following the 1997 election this

process was formalised in a cabinet committee, the Joint Consultative Committee; which contained in its terms of reference: 'To consider policy issues of joint interest to the Government and the Liberal Democratic Party' (Blackburn et al. 2010, p. 14). Both leaders write of mutual respect for each other, and a commonality of vision in many policy areas. Such was the degree of convergence on policy that Tony Blair suggests that at some point in 1997, he seriously considered a merger with the Liberal Democrats. It was only the certainty that such a proposal would be unacceptable to his party colleagues that prevented him from pursuing it further (Blair 2010; Russell 2004).

Shared Historical Setting

Through an understanding of internal factionalism and media critique, we have been able to gain greater insight into the construction of culture in the Conservative party's 1997 manifesto. Having created *culture as the past* as an object of governance, and established the DNH as the mechanism through which that object could be articulated within the structures of government, the Conservatives were restricted in how the relationship between culture and the state could be handled. Meanwhile shifts in the ideological orientation of the Labour party and the Lib/Dems, have helped us to better understand how those two parties began to converge around the political Centre. Unencumbered by the need to manage the state through the departmental machinery of government, both parties were free to explore alternate articulations of culture as objects for

future policy practice. Both parties alighted on a construal of culture that emphasised enterprise and social value. Just as the affluence and increased leisure time of the fifties had laid the foundation for a construction of culture as education and recreation in the sixties, what *environmental factors* had helped social issues and the creative economy come to the fore in the period between 1992 and 1997?

Social inequality had been growing as a significant topic of political debate throughout the eighties and into the nineties (Walker and Walker 1987). Rioting, particularly in areas of poverty, had occurred throughout Margaret Thatcher's tenure as Prime Minister⁶¹. Throughout the nineties levels of child poverty increased significantly and the number of zero income families grew (Oppenheim and Harker 1996), while differences in resourcing education, and access to housing and health care, all widened substantially (Church Action on Poverty 1996). Between 1979 and 1994 real incomes for the poorest 10% of the population fell by an average of 13%, while those of the top 10% grew by 65% (Office of National Statistics 1996). Will Hutton's book 'The State We're In' (Hutton 1995 revised 1996) served to highlight the issue of widening inequalities, indicating how the policies of the Conservative party had served to exacerbate those differences, rather than to address them. In 1995 Tony Blair instigated a policy review into tackling issues of social exclusion and social inequality (Labour Party 1996a and 1996b).

⁶¹ Though far from a complete list some examples include: the St Paul's riots of 1980; Moss Side, Toxteth and Brixton 1981; Handsworth and Broadwater Farm 1985; Chapletown 1987; and the *Poll Tax riots of 1990*.

There had been substantial research into the economic significance of culture. Political parties (St-John Stevas 1978; Liberal Arts Panel 1982, 1984) and independent research bodies, such as the work of John Myerscough at the Policy Studies Institute, (for example Myerscough 1988), had devoted considerable time, and resources, into investigating the economic significance of culture, but it does not become a significant policy position in an election manifesto until 1997. Why? The honest answer is that I do not know. The question of why political parties in Britain did not recognise the cultural and creative economy as an electoral issue before the nineties is an important one, and one I would be interested in pursuing as a separate investigation. What is clear, however, is that it was only when Labour was able to draw innovation and creativity into the centre of its economic framework, basing their economic strategy on the economic analyses of Becker (1964; 1993) and Romer (1994), that it was able to construe the creative economy as an object for governance. Creativity only begins to emerge in election manifestos from 1997 onwards; it suggests a new lexeme to be added to the analytic mapping presented in Chapter 5, and as such suggests a future line of academic inquiry. I shall discuss this further in Chapter 8.

Conclusion

In considering the texts taken from the election manifestos of 1992 and 1997, more nuanced constructions of culture from those discussed in Chapter 6 have emerged. In 1966 and 1970 culture was construed as education or recreation.

Instrumentalism, where it appeared, was associated with the quality of life and the role culture could play in creating a civilised country. Contextualising those relatively straightforward interpretations could be tied to; 1) the structures through which the parties developed policy, and 2) individual party responses to a shared historical setting. In 1992 and 1997 that process has been found to be more difficult, as the *imaginary* of culture as an object of governance has been drawn into a wider set of political agenda.

It was found that the articulation of culture within the Conservative party's manifestos had its roots in Thatcherite rhetoric, which became embodied in the structures of the British government through the creation of the DNH. That rhetoric rested on an idealised national identity that identified Britain's past with 19th century liberalist economic values. While those values added credibility and authority to the construction of culture it was only able to do so by interpreting it as heritage. Culture as an object of governance became fixed. The rationale for governmental engagement with culture construed it as a *good cause*; a source of *pride* which could form the cornerstone of a *civilised community* and expressed the *stability of the nation state*. Trapped with a conceptualisation of culture that was static enterprise could only be declared to be a cultural attribute of Britishness, culture as enterprise could not be articulated.

Between 1992 and 1997 the Labour party's position on culture was to change the most dramatically. This shift was most closely associated with changes in how the party leadership conceptualised the economy. Such a repositioning of the party was possible because of structural change that had come about through an

extended period in opposition, which had made its earlier political position appear unelectable. The new economic framework, which the party pursued from early in Tony Blair's leadership, was flexible enough to embrace the changes taking place within the cultural sector, and push them further. Human Capital Theory not only recognised culture as enterprise it could use cultural enterprise as a model for all enterprise. As well as this, in the variant favoured by Gary Becker, culture could be instrumentalised as an investment in human capital; cultural policy could then be deployed to address concerns around education, community cohesion and social inclusion.

From at least 1978 the Liberal party had been engaged in an internal debate regarding the social and economic significance of culture. Following the formation of the Lib/Dems in 1987, this debate began coming to the fore in their election platform. Though the importance of culture, socially and economically, was given substance in the party's manifestos, this was not integrated into a wider socio-economic model of state management. However, a shared understanding of the economic and social significance of culture meant that cultural policy could become an area where Labour and Lib/Dem policy positions could converge. That convergence was apparent in the construction of culture found the two parties' manifestos for 1997.

Having subjected the constructions of culture in the manifestos of four elections to detailed scrutiny, the final chapter will draw these analyses together, considering in greater detail the continuities and differences between 1966/1970 and 1992/1997. It will also review what has been learnt through the approach to

cultural policy studies and discourse analysis that has been adopted in this thesis.

Finally it will outline future pathways for research that have emerged from this inquiry, in the expectation that engaging in a critical and contextualised approach to discourse enhances and deepens our understanding of the structures, and rationales, articulating culture in British governmental politics.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

The research agenda of this thesis has been to investigate how the *imaginary* of culture has been articulated in British governmental politics. That inquiry concentrated on answering two core questions:

1. How has the relationship between government and culture been expressed in the structures and hierarchies of government?
2. What rationales have political parties used to include, or exclude, culture from their political agenda?

My research approach has been to employ a content analysis; mapping the frequency of the use of three lexemes, selected as indicators of the most likely places where a construal of culture relevant to cultural policy studies was being developed. Two sets of neighbouring elections were selected for deeper scrutiny; these were subjected to a qualitative analysis that incorporated elements of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). The combinations of those two approaches were adopted; 1) to ascertain the way culture was being drawn into political debate, as an object of governance, and 2) to contextualise that object of governance through a consideration of the *environmental factors* which had raised it as policy area for a *coalition*.

The conclusions and recommendations in this chapter will be in five parts. Part 1 will be a review of the structure of the thesis, outlining what each of the preceding

seven chapters has contributed. Part 2 will contain the findings of the empirical research. It will cover a discussion of the results of the historical mapping, from Chapter 5, and the qualitative analyses of Chapters 6 and 7. Additionally those findings will be drawn together to consider continuities, and differences, between the two electoral sets. Parts 3 and 4 will, respectively, present the contribution this thesis makes to cultural policy studies and the CDA of electoral texts. Finally, in Part 5, there will be a discussion of the research approach adopted in this thesis, together with a consideration of future research opportunities arising from the work done in this study.

Part 1: Thesis Review

Chapter 1 established the research scope of the thesis, and set out why an investigation of election manifestos was important to research within cultural policy studies.

The literature within cultural policy studies, pertinent to my research questions, was explored in Chapter 2. That review indicated a clear connection between my research objectives and two research trajectories within the field. Those two trajectories were interested in the *structural* relationship between culture and state, and the development of *rationales* for the state engagement with culture. However, while this thesis could be clearly located within that literature, there were a number of crucial differences.

First: It was found that different research strategies had been adopted by cultural policy studies researchers who were interested in *structure* from those focused on *rationale*. Those researchers interested in the structures through which government had articulated its relationship to culture had commonly adopted an historical approach (such as Harris 1970; Minihan 1977 and Hewison 1997). While theoretically rich in its discussion, the foundations of that research had been in the gathering of data empirically. With regard to the study of *rationale*, with the exception of some recent work, such as Belfiore (for example Belfiore 2009; 2010) and Gray (See Gray 2000; 2007 and 2010), the approach has rested on intellectual history and the philosophy of aesthetic education (Mulhern 2006; Bennett 1995; 2006; 2009; Bennett and Belfiore 2008). Unlike the research strategies adopted for investigating structures, these did not seek an empirical foundation for their inquiry.

Second: While there were robust arguments to show a connection between declarations in election manifestos and a party's policy position post-election (Klingemann et al. 1994; Klemmensen et al. 2007), there had been no research within cultural policy studies that had used manifesto texts as a source of data. It was therefore necessary to look at other literature for a theoretical framework. The literature, reviewed in Chapter 3, around governance and governmentality, as well as policy process analysis, were found to present established theoretical frameworks and analytic strategies I could use.

The research strategies, outlined in Chapter 4, combined quantitative and qualitative approaches. A quantitative technique was used in Chapter 5 to map

how often, and where, a selected group of lexemes appeared in the manifestos of the Conservative, Labour and Lib/Dem parties. This approach facilitated the selection of sets of elections to be scrutinised in greater depth in Chapters 6 and 7. A development of the content analysis was used to identify those places in the manifestos, associated with the selected elections, which would be subjected to a more detailed qualitative analysis in those chapters.

In Chapters 6 and 7 a qualitative approach that combined textual analysis and a contextualisation was adopted. The textual analysis was used to identify how culture was being constructed and rationalised as an object of governance in the text. Contextualisation considered how that object had been established as an area of policy interest. The latter adapted ACF as developed by Paul Sabatier and his colleagues (See Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1994 and Weible, Sabatier 2004; Sabatier and McQueen 2009). It was used to consider the formation of coalitions around the construction found, and the *environmental factors* that had had an impact on that coalition's core values. As a research strategy it enabled the construction(s) of culture, and the rationales for how the parties proposed to engage with it, to be drawn out from those areas of the manifesto where cultural policy was likely to be considered. Contextualisation enabled those constructions to be placed in the wider frame of reference in which they participated, facilitating diachronic and synchronic comparison.

Part 2: Research Findings

In this part I shall begin by summarising the findings of the three empirical chapters. Following that I will discuss the findings of Chapters 6 and 7, which focused on the two neighbouring sets of elections selected in Chapter 5, comparatively; drawing out continuities and differences across and within the three political organisations used in this research.

Analytic Chapter Findings

When the frequency of the selected lexemes was plotted as a histogram (Chapter 5: Figure 2) it was discovered that between 1945 and 2010, there had been a substantial increase in the consideration of culture in election manifestos. A suspicion that this might be the case, based on my own experience, had been established in Chapter 1. What made this result significant was that the qualitative interpretation of change, which had been discerned through individual cultural engagement, was observable as a result of a quantitative analysis of manifesto content. The validity of this finding was triangulated through applying an analogous quantitative analysis, over a similar period, to debates in the House of Commons. This supported the suggestion that, since 1945, culture had become increasingly significant in British governmental politics. An exploration of how this was to be articulated within government, and through the governance of the state, would have to wait until Chapter 6 and 7.

How the pattern of lexeme frequency changed over time was particularly interesting, as the increase found was not a smooth linear progression. Between 1945 and 2010 there were three distinct peaks; 1966, 1992 and 2001. A disaggregation of the data revealed the individual party components of these points of high lexical frequency. The principal element in the 1966 peak was the value associated with the Labour party; in 1992 it was that for the Conservative party and in 2001, the highest of the three, was a product of a substantial increase in usage by Labour and the Lib/Dems. Culture had therefore, at some point during the period mapped, been an area that had warranted particular interest from each of the three parties.

The election of 1997 looked interesting. Historically it marked the end of one long administration and the start of another; the Conservatives had held office for eighteen years, and Labour would hold it for thirteen. Disaggregation of the mapped data also showed this election to be an important point of transition with regards to the use of the selected lexemes. The largest component of the peak in 1992 had come from the Conservative manifesto. That peak in instance was greater than for all parties before or since, and was the end of a period of increasing use in the Conservative party's manifesto, which had begun with their 1979 campaign. From 1997 onwards it is the lexical frequency of the Labour party that forms the largest contribution to the frequency data. It is that transition which hinted at change that would need to be considered more fully in the later, qualitative, analysis. Case selection was based on a combination of: lexical

frequency; a consideration of elections as points of transition⁶², and a less easily defined impression drawn from the pattern of individual party instance, shown in Figure 6a (Chapter 5).

Chapter 6 considered the textual samples taken from the manifestos produced for the 1966 and 1970 elections. For the Conservatives and Labour, culture was associated with the quality of life and how citizens used their non-work time. How they differed in their handling of that association will be considered shortly. While the Liberal party supported a similar construal of culture, they located political responsibility for it in local authorities and regional agencies. Their manifesto for the 1966 election contained a few subtle hints that culture had a role in regional development; however, this was used to justify a local, rather than national, orientation towards cultural policy. By the time of the 1970 election even those few suggestions had been dropped; culture did not feature as an electorally significant item in that manifesto.

In the Conservative manifestos of 1966 and 1970 culture was interpreted as an aspect of recreation. Within both texts the role of government was presented as impeding how other bodies could meet the presumed cultural requirements of the nation. The 1966 text referred to the preceding government, Labour had been in power since 1964, as presiding over an unnecessarily confused and bureaucratic system which needed to be pushed back if culture/ recreation was to develop.

⁶² From one party in government to another, and from one party leading on lexeme use to another.

While culture, in both elections, was construed to be of national importance, the state's role was not to actively develop specific cultural policies. Government, it was argued, was active only insofar as it was uniquely placed to initiate legislation, and construct frameworks, which removed state *interference*. Thus *freeing* others to deliver the cultural outcomes the party claimed the nation required.

The Labour manifesto of 1966 adopted a more instrumental approach to culture, though this was a different form of instrumentalism from the one the party would take in 1997. Culture was interpreted in the 1966 text as leisure and learning; these were entwined, in the manifesto, through a cultural democracy which advocated widening access to 'the best of Britain's cultural heritage'. Government was deemed to be directly engaged in this construal of culture, as access formed part of the party's self-espoused 'educational and social purpose'. The rationale for state led cultural policy rested on Labour's declared objective, to create 'a civilised country'. By 1970 this paternalistic, statist, position had diminished. Leisure and learning were separated, and culture was most closely associated with the former. These echo the rationales discussed by other researchers in cultural policy studies (such as Bennett 1991; 1995 Lewis 1990), though here they are anchored into an interrogation of political text.

Party structure was argued to be an important factor in establishing the presence of culture as a policy area within a manifesto.

Labour's tri-partite constitution of Conference, NEC and parliamentary party meant that policy areas supported by the first two of these constitutive groups would

result in inclusion in the party's manifesto. However, how this would be expressed in the text and, if successful at an election, its articulation within the hierarchy of government, would depend on the parliamentary party.

Structural concerns were less of an issue for the Conservatives who did not have the same internal mechanisms as Labour. What they did possess was a number of highly influential internal sub-groups, which acted as *think tanks* for the party. The influence of these groups was such that a policy area's profile could be raised to such an extent that its exclusion from the manifesto could not be easily rationalised by the leadership.

Because of internal divisions within the Liberal party, primarily arising from the party's low representation in the House of Commons, and the national party's near bankruptcy on several occasions, the impact of party structure was found to be present but less clear. With the likelihood of the party forming a national government low, its leadership had decided to concentrate on strengthening support for the party at its grass roots, in local government (Grimond 1979). It is this strategy that informs the Liberal manifesto construction of culture as an issue for the regions, and not central government.

When considering the articulation of culture in the hierarchy of British government during this period, it was found that the power of the Minister for Arts and Leisure, a post created by the Labour party in 1964, far exceeded that attributable to its place in parliament. The difference was a product of an idiosyncratic connection between the post holder (Jennie Lee); the Prime Minister (Harold Wilson) and the

Chair of the Arts Council (Arnold Goodman), which placed responsibility for cultural policy outside the formal institutional structures of the state. Lee's privileged relationship with Wilson and Goodman had several consequences for her office to develop effective cultural policy. Firstly, and most significantly, it placed responsibility for cultural policy within government but outside the governance of the state. Culture was not participating within the political discourse of parliament; instead it was an expression of a personal conversation between specific actors. Those actors were able to operate through mechanisms of state power, while removed from the formal structures of government. This resulted in an intrinsic instability in the sustainability of culture's articulation within British governmental politics. If there was a regime change after an election, such an articulation could only continue if a similar meta-political structure were able to operate as a replacement. Secondly, when the remit of one of its members was revised, Harold Wilson asked Jennie Lee to oversee the establishment of the Open University in 1967, the dynamic of the relationships between them altered. An expression of that change was the revision to the construction of culture found in Labour's 1970 manifesto.

The interrogation of the 1992 and 1997 manifestos, in Chapter 7, revealed a more nuanced picture of the construction and articulation of culture, than emerged from the analysis of the 1966 and 1970 texts. While culture was found to still have a significant association with recreation for the Conservatives in 1992, this was supplemented with an interpretation of culture as the past. Heritage and the arts formed two substantial sections within the party's manifesto. Central to both of these was the dual announcement of a new department of state, the Department

of National Heritage (DNH), and the proposal to create a National Lottery that would provide funds for various 'good causes'; an expression only partially defined in the text that included cultural activity.

Culture was construed as a passive recipient of funding. The rationale for supporting it was loosely connected to a sense of national pride and a presumed valuing of the nation's past. Central to the discussion around culture, within the manifesto, was the funding it would receive from the proposed National Lottery. However, the depoliticising of this as a source of revenue put the DNH in a somewhat paradoxical position. While the new department was located close to the centre of government, with a representative in Cabinet and accountability to parliament, it was responsible for managing the allocation of funds generated by the lottery to various distributors. However, the depoliticising of those funds suggested that the distributors were not politically accountable. The Secretary of State thus became accountable for expenditure that was not accountable to parliament. In order to resolve this, the operation of the DNH had to be different from that of any other in government; described by Taylor (1997) as *arm's length but hands on*. It represented an innovation in British parliamentary governance; instigating a '...very different...cultural politics' (Taylor 1997, p. 464) from that which preceded it. Where existing departments engaged with their areas of responsibility through direct intervention, the Department for National Heritage operated through '...a high degree of network control' (p. 465), finessing relationships through incentivising courses of action, rather than by direct engagement.

Contextually, the roots of the Conservative construction of culture as the past could be located in the rhetoric of Britishness, and an idealised national history, central to the discourse of Margaret Thatcher and the party's New Right during the 1980s. That rhetoric itself emerged from the party's experience both in power and in opposition in the decade before. A key turning point was noted as the need to secure a loan agreement from the IMF, by the Labour leadership, in 1976. It was the resultant imposition of monetarist economic principles that would fundamentally divide the Labour party throughout the 1980s (Jenkins 2007), whilst simultaneously acting as a justification for more radical elements in the Conservative party to come to the fore (Barry 2005).

Under the leadership of Neil Kinnock the Labour party had begun a process of re-positioning itself in British parliamentary politics. The party was on a trajectory that would, by the mid-1990s, result in a fundamental transformation. By 1992 substantial revisions to the party's structure and policy position were underway; however, their manifesto, for the election of that year, does not suggest that these revisions had extended to their construal of culture. Within the text there were no substantial revisions found to the party's 1970 manifesto position, which associated culture and leisure.

For the Lib/Dems, which had formed from the merger of the Liberal party and the Social Democratic party in 1987, 1992 was their first election. The policy of equidistance that had been reiterated by the party leader, Paddy Ashdown, had produced a position on culture distinct from the other two parties. National government had a responsibility to *invest* in culture because, it was argued, doing

so would reap an economic and a social *benefit*. Reference to the *social benefit* of investing in culture was an echo of the Labour and Conservative quality of life rationale for culture, which had appeared in their 1966 manifesto. However the suggestion that *investing* in culture had an *economic benefit* was new. Following on from work done by party members who had formed the Liberal Arts Panel (Liberal Arts Panel 1984), the party credited culture with being an economic contributor to the state. That point, however, is not developed in the text, and we are left unclear as to 1) why it is significant and 2) the mechanisms through which culture makes its contribution to the economy.

A subtle shift in emphasis was discerned in the Conservative manifesto for the 1997 election. Culture as the past was still apparent, and within those sections of the manifesto explicitly concerned with policy for culture and the arts the emphasis was still on funding a *good cause*. What was new was a more nuanced interpretation of heritage. This construal was extended in two ways. Firstly culture as heritage was employed to frame Britain as a visitor destination, identifying the nation's history as central to its visitor brand. Interestingly tourism, which was within the remit of the DNH, is only briefly mentioned in the 1992 manifesto, and the text carries no suggestion that tourism was to be understood as a *cultural enterprise*. Secondly a number of metaphors highlighted a heritage of enterprise as a national trait. As a metaphor it served two principal purposes. Firstly it added credibility and authority to Britain as an international trading nation. It argued that Britain's identity, because of its unique *heritage* of international trade, was in a strong position to succeed in the global market. Secondly the metaphors echoed Thatcherite rhetoric of an idealised Britishness which, during a period when the

party was going through substantial internal factionalism, tried to draw its dissenting coalitions together under a presumed shared set of core values.

What makes these shifts particularly interesting for the articulation of culture in governmental politics is the existence of the Department of National Heritage. In a prior administration such a discourse would have had a limited forum through which it could be expressed; under the form of governance operated by the DNH they become the tools by which networks and organisations can be incentivised.

The most substantial change to any of the party positions, between 1992 and 1997, was found in the Labour party manifesto. A process of reform begun by Neil Kinnock was continued under the party's two subsequent leaders: John Smith and Tony Blair. Blair's leadership in particular was to oversee a significant realignment of the party towards the Centre-Left of British politics. That re-alignment was supported by the adoption of a new interpretation for how the British economy should be managed. Drawing on the ideas of the economists Gary Becker (1964) and Paul Romer (1994), *human capital theory*, Labour moved towards a mode of governance that facilitated a much more instrumental approach to cultural policy. Within the economic model set out by those theories creativity, which could be located at the heart of any cultural organisation, is deemed central to economic growth and social development in post-industrial societies⁶³. From that point it was to be a short step to conceptualise cultural organisations as central to regeneration, social cohesion and a paradigm for enterprise.

⁶³ I shall discuss the move from *cultural* to *creative* in election manifestos in Part 5.

Where culture as the past, even when construed as national branding around a large industry such as tourism, could be regarded as tangential to the work of government, culture as enterprise, urban planning and social policy could pervade every aspect of government. It is that discursive shift, not just in how culture has been constituted and as an object of governance but also as an object for governance, embedded in institutionalised threads of language, power and interaction, that lies behind Labour's rebranding of the Department of National Heritage, the Department of Culture, Media and Sport, when it formed a government in 1997. When considered within ACF the *rebranding* becomes an expression of the different ontic, deontic and epistemic values, which bind the new coalition articulating culture within the state. This is significant, and indicates a particular strength of combining CDA and ACF. According to Sabatier (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993) epistemic values are the most open to change as new information, evidence, is attached to a policy area. When new evidence is gathered it can be used for one of two purposes; to challenge the more deeply held ontic and deontic values, or to support them. If evidence is used to challenge the deeply held values, the policy coalition can be split or dissolved. There is therefore pressure to use evidence to support a coalition, maintaining its identity, and continuing its authority. Political power is thereby supported by framing evidence in such a way as to maintain how a coalition has constructed its objects of governance. Language, power and institutional practices articulating those objects as objects for governance become the very means by which the coalition is sustained and governmental authority is maintained.

While the language that frames culture as a social and economic contributor to the state, which was found in the Lib/Dem manifesto in 1992, echoes the dynamism and energy found in the 1997 Labour manifesto, the underlying construction has not progressed substantially. Though a degree of convergence between the understanding of culture presented by Labour and Lib/Dems was discernible, under scrutiny this was found to be partial. Contextually, the meeting of these two parties was argued to be a product of their mutual search to secure governmental legitimisation around a broadly progressive Centre-Left politics. Crucially, culture in the Lib/Dem manifesto was still construed as a contributor to the economy that also had social benefits. Culture was not embedded within a more sophisticated framework which could instrumentalise it across the party's policy spectrum, as it evidently did for Labour.

Comparisons between electoral sets

Comparisons between the two electoral sets suggest other ways in which the findings of the analytic chapters can be considered. Table 9 summarises the constructions of culture, rationales and associated role of government found in the 1966, 1970, 1992 and 1997 manifestos.

	Conservative	Labour	Lib/Dem
1966	<u>Construction</u> Culture as recreation <u>Rationale</u> Quality of life <u>Role of Government</u> Clearing the bureaucracy of the state away, thereby freeing the actions of others	<u>Construction</u> Culture as leisure Culture as education <u>Rationale</u> Quality of life Civilising mission Access to the best <u>Role of Government</u> Central objective of the state	<u>Construction</u> Culture as a regional priority <u>Rationale</u> Quality of life in the regions <u>Role of Government</u> Not understood to be the responsibility of central government
1970	<u>Construction</u> None given - though associated with leisure and recreational activity <u>Rationale</u> Quality of life <u>Role of Government</u> Passive Developing opportunities for increasing private and individual financial support	<u>Construction</u> Culture as leisure <u>Rationale</u> A good quality of life to be accepted as everyday <u>Role of Government</u> An important function of the state	<u>Construction</u> None given <u>Rationale</u> Hinted that culture is an attribute of a civilised society <u>Role of Government</u> Not developed
1992	<u>Construction</u> Culture as the past <u>Rationale</u> A source of pride A good in itself (a <i>good cause</i>) <u>Role of Government</u>	<u>Construction</u> Culture as leisure <u>Rationale</u> Quality of life Creating a sense of community Slight hint that culture	<u>Construction</u> Culture as a widening of horizons <u>Rationale</u> Economic and social benefit <u>Role of Government</u>

	To set up the DNH Establish the Lottery To encourage funding from others No direct engagement	may economically contribute to the state <u>Role of Government</u> Actively engage in financial support and provision of facilities	To <i>invest</i> in culture
1997	<u>Construction</u> Culture as the past <u>Rationale</u> Gives a strong sense of national identity Pride in our past Adding credibility to the nation's place in a global market <u>Role of Government</u> No direct engagement To promote the nation globally	<u>Construction</u> Culture as enterprise Culture as participation <u>Rationale</u> Vital to the economy Quality of life Central to the development of communities <u>Role of Government</u> Actively engage, with an energy to match the sector Leading by having a strong vision for the future	<u>Construction</u> Culture as an economic driver Natural Heritage <u>Rationale</u> Important economic driver that needs investment to deliver to its potential Need to protect for the future <u>Role of Government</u> To <i>invest</i> in culture

Table 9: Summary of constructions found in electoral set

A number of connections can be drawn using Table 9. The Conservative party continually places itself in a passive role when it comes to engaging with culture, even when it makes substantial change to how culture is articulated through the apparatus of the state; I am referring here to the creation of the DNH and the National Lottery. That passivity is in stark contrast to the active engagement

argued for in Labour texts; though the commitment behind this is less energetic in 1970 and 1992. Labour's 1997 manifesto has a striking similarity to that of 1966. Both express a dynamic vision of government, one that has a clear sense of purpose and a forward looking political agenda. Culture is more developed as an object for governance in the Lib/Dem manifestos of 1992 and 1997. Central government, which is not directly associated with the delivery of culture in 1966 and 1970, assumes an importance as an investor in culture in 1992 and 1997. Both the Labour and Lib/Dem texts of 1997 imbue culture with vitality. However, where that vitality is currently present in the Labour manifesto, it exists only as a potential in that of the Lib/Dems.

The connection between culture and the quality of life of the citizen has, through various forms of expression, been a consistent theme. In 1966 Labour expressed such a construction as part of an agenda for a civilised country, a theme returned to in the Conservative manifesto of 1997. Culture as a *civilising force* (Bennett 1994; 1995) is also a factor in recent discussions about the Big Society (Norman 2010), which formed an element in the Conservatives' 2010 campaign⁶⁴.

⁶⁴ Though it is not substantively defined, reference to the *big society* runs throughout the 2010 manifesto of the Conservative party. Jesse Norman, in his book 'The Big Society' (Norman 2010) does not define the concept as such but does try to illustrate its impact across a range of policy areas. Regarding cultural policy he suggests '...the arts and education generally (are)...one of the marks of a civilised society. It must be so for the Big Society.' (p. 212) That statement is highly reminiscent of Labour's 1966 position on the place of culture to a broader conceptualisation of the quality of life; 'Access for all to the best of Britain's cultural heritage is a wider part of our educational and social purpose, and is one hallmark of a civilised country.' (Labour 1966) Though these positions emerge from a different position on the role of the state they both locate culture as part of a wider aspirational instrumentalism.

The link between culture and quality of life has taken several forms. It is central to the Liberal party construal of culture as a regional issue in 1966. Labour and Conservative associations of culture with the productive use of free time in 1966, 1970 and 1992; and, in 1992 and 1997, Lib/Dem and Labour interpretations of the social importance of the cultural sector in building communities through participation, all have quality of life as a reference. These perspectives suggest an increasing political attention on how citizens use their non-work time. The encroachment of the state into the management, and self-management, of this aspect of the life of its citizens, is an interesting area of research (See, for example, Clarke and Critcher 1985; Lemke 2001; Foucault 2010). Miller and Rose (2008) suggest that the transposition of previously construed extra-economic domains into economic ones, and thereby placing them under the gaze of the state, constitutes a '...political discourse (that) is more than rhetoric' (p. 59). I shall consider this in my discussion of the relationship of cultural organisations to governmental discourse shortly. However, it is not the purpose of this thesis to develop a detailed theory of the politicisation of leisure (such as Markula and Pringle 2006, and parts of Foucault 2011). What this research does highlight is the valuable contribution manifesto analysis, through a combination of ACF and CDA, can have. As an approach it can clarify the different *imaginaries* of culture being created within the text and interpret them through an analysis of the coalitions articulating them. Discerning how those *imaginaries* of governance become articulated through the apparatus of the state, by locating their construction as reflexively emerging from the socio-historical *environmental factors* preceding the election.

To return to Miller and Rose's (2008) point, that the gaze of the state constitutes a '...political discourse (that) is more than rhetoric' (p. 59): this is reinforced by Zumpano (2008) who argued that state rhetoric is appropriated by the cultural sector as a means of positioning itself better to the perceived broader objectives of government⁶⁵, and thereby steering it towards funding. That contention is very important; it suggests cultural organisations change their operating practices, in order to make them consonant with a dominant political hegemony. In doing so they are drawn into a discursive relationship with government. They begin to realise the *imaginary* of culture, articulated in the apparatus of the state, as cultural practice.

Language that carries a symbolic authority to change practice (Bourdieu 1992; Said 2004) is foundational to the formation of discourse (Foucault 2005 [1970]; 2008 [1969]). It suggests an initial set of rules for action and interaction, what Wittgenstein (1958) referred to as a *language game*. Over time, rules become encoded in institutions; practices become naturalised; experts are recognised and a technical vocabulary emerges. These reinforce relationships of power (for example Foucault 2010; 2011; Fairclough 1991; Fairclough and Fairclough 2012) that construct modes, *technologies* (Foucault 1982), of self-regulation, through which the state operates (Dean 2003). How culture is articulated through the apparatus of the state becomes actualised through this naturalisation of power relationships as cultural practice. This is consistent with Taylor's (1997) argument that British political governance of culture '...exerted a high degree of network

⁶⁵ I go into more detail on this point in Chapter 7.

control, not by direct intervention but by conditioning the network's operation' (p 465).

In this part of the chapter I have considered the findings of the analytic and empirical work of this thesis in depth. I have also reflected on some of the broader issues to emerge from taking a wider perspective on the research that has been undertaken. In Parts 3 and 4 the contribution this thesis makes to the fields of cultural policy studies and critical discourse analysis, which lie at the heart of its research objectives and methodology respectively, will be discussed.

Part 3: Contribution to cultural policy studies

This thesis contributes to cultural policy studies in three main ways:

First: This research has been able to show empirically that, within British governmental politics, culture is a contested term of political discourse. Cultural policy is not simply that area of policy concerned with culture. This research has found that culture has been constructed differently by different political parties, and differently by the same party at different times. Following Zumpano (2008) those differences are understood as significant because they have real implications for how culture becomes operationalised within the institutional structures, and political apparatus, of the state. How culture is articulated through those structures provides a framework for cultural activity at an operational level within cultural practice, defining its scope and its reach.

By investigating those domains in which culture is discussed and considered, and through which it is articulated, it has been demonstrated how culture becomes constructed within its policy making domain. Those constructions have been identified as *imaginaries* of, and for, governance through the adoption of a critical analysis of discourse, applied to manifesto texts, and contextualised by adapting ACF to reflexively consider that *imaginary* through the *coalitions* and *environmental factors* which shape it, and which it shapes.

Second: This research contributes to cultural policy studies through its adoption of methodological strategies that have not previously been employed in the discipline. The quantitative mapping of manifesto content is not new in other areas of policy analysis. As an approach it has been used by some manifesto analysts (for example Budge and Laver 1986; Klingemann, Hofferbert and Budge 1994; Klemmensen, Hobolt and Hansen 2007) to establish a party's policy position and ideological salience. It has, however, not previously been used within cultural policy studies. In applying this method to the text of election manifestos from 1945 to 2010 the growth of party political interest in engaging with culture becomes empirically evident. Applying a similar technique to debates in the House of Commons, documented by Hansard, has shown that a striking similar pattern to that found in the manifestos emerges, thereby triangulating the findings of the content mapping. This approach adds a new and empirically robust set of analytical tools to the repertoire of those applicable to cultural policy studies researchers.

Third: The content mapping of the manifestos, and its application to House of Commons debates (as triangulation), provides quantitative evidence for an historical pattern of governmental engagement with culture. That pattern is broadly consistent with those identified by other researchers (such as Ridley 1997 and Hewison 1997) who have worked on the history of cultural policy and have adopted a more narrative basis for their inquiries.

Part 4: Contribution to critical discourse analysis

Chapter 3 noted that context and the selection of texts for analysis represent particularly difficult issues for researchers adopting a CDA approach. Schegloff (1997; 1999) has been especially critical of CDA⁶⁶. He argues that conclusions made by researchers, who have adopted such an approach to textual analysis, are expressing implicit assumptions in their selection of data and contextual framework for their analysis. To address those concerns this research adopted a number of strategies designed to reduce sampler bias. Chapter 4 outlined a quantitative approach for the mapping of documents that could be used to support the selection of the sets of elections that would then be scrutinised in Chapters 6 and 7. An extension of the same technique was employed to highlight lexical clustering; this was used to facilitate the identification of those parts of the manifesto upon which the analysis would focus. Such an approach is new to CDA.

The management of context is, and has been, a difficult problem to grapple with. As a means of approaching contextualisation in this thesis, two tactics were used.

⁶⁶ See also Bucholtz (2001) and Jones (2006).

The first of these accepted Stenvoll and Svensson's (2011) argument that context must always be anchored in the text. Context, they argue, is an 'interpretive investment' (p. 573) made by the researcher. The analytic route must always be from the text – out; making the rationale for what is to count as context, that which is indicated by the text. While that part of the contextualisation has been found to be achievable, it did not clarify how best to operationalise the transition from text to context. It was to address this concern that ACF (Sabatier and Pelkey 1987) was introduced as a means of conceptualising context, in a way that could be applied to the research objectives of this thesis. As an approach to context, the integration of ACF with CDA is unique. While the means by which the two strategies can be integrated still needs development, it does offer a firm basis upon which to build a contextually sensitive critical approach to the analysis of discourse.

While the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches is not uncommon in CDA, what has been novel has been how this research has applied them to manifesto analysis. The use of quantitative techniques for the selection, and identification of texts for analysis, across an historical time frame; the development of contextual sensitivity to CDA through the incorporation of ACF; the reflexive way of historically reading the text; these are the contributions that have been made to critical discourse analysis.

Part 5: Future research opportunities

In this final part of the conclusions I shall consider future research opportunities emerging from the research presented in this thesis. The discussion will focus on three central areas; the move from cultural to creative enterprise and its implications, expansion of the research along the lines of comparative studies and finally developing the research model adopted in this thesis by reversing its focus.

From cultural to creative enterprise

An important area for further investigation is the rhetorical shift from cultural to creative enterprise which has taken place since 1997. Flew (2002), Cunningham (2004), Garnham (2005) and Belfiore (2009) have all noted this change in the language used in the British government's cultural policy. Creativity is central to the theories of Romer (1994) and Becker (1964), its selection as a lexeme therefore sits well with New Labour's economic paradigm and their social and economic instrumentalism of cultural policy. In Figure 7 below the instances of *creativ*⁶⁷ are added to the mapping illustrated in Figure 6a of Chapter 5.

⁶⁷ Irrespective of capitalisation and without an e, so as to capture words such as *creative*; *creatives* and *creativity*.

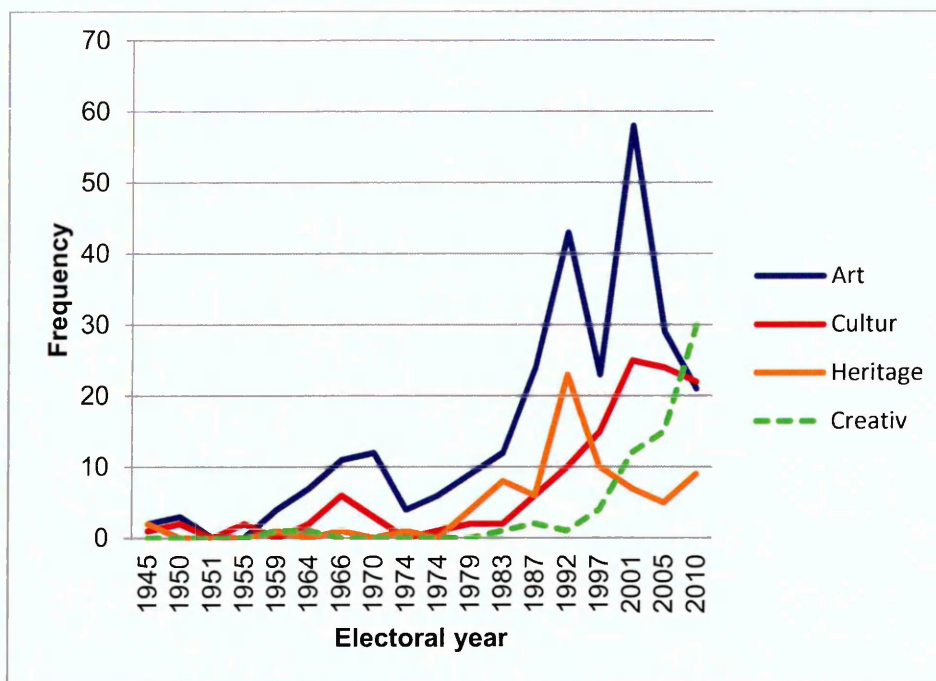


Figure 7: Lexical instance of *art*; *cultur*; *heritage* and *creativ* in manifestos from 1945 to 2010⁶⁸

Though the frequency of the lexeme *creativ* is negligible before 1997 its use has been increasing since 1997; from 2001 onwards it has appeared in the election manifestos of all three parties. By 2010 its usage is greater than that of the other three markers. Garnham (2005) argues that the move from *cultural* to *creative* enterprise indicates the increasing economic significance of digital media, though it has also been profoundly important socio-culturally.

The growth of digital technologies and the increase in personal ownership of technologically sophisticated equipment, over the last fifteen years has been staggering. For example in 1998 around 20% of households had a mobile phone (ONS 1999), while recent statistics suggest that by the end of 2011 this had risen

⁶⁸ The raw data for this Figure appears in Appendix H.

to 91% of the population (Ofcom 2012). The first UK domestic internet customer was connected in April 1992 (Smith 1998), but it was not until July 2000 that the Office of National Statistics began including questions regarding internet access and usage in their surveys (ONS 2001). In 2001 59% said they had accessed the Internet at least once in their lives (ONS 2001). By 2010 this had become 73%, accessing the web daily (ONS 2011). The growth of ICT has had a significant impact on how people interact. In 2001 around 3% of all those who had used the internet had engaged in some form of social networking, principally posting messages on chat room notice boards (ONS 2001), and in 2009 over 75% of those aged between 16 and 24 had set up a social networking profile (ONS 2010). Access to cultural goods has also been transformed. In 1997 there were nearly 80 million music singles sold in Britain in a physical format (CD; Vinyl etc.); with only 1% of those using the internet by 2000 saying they used it to download music (ONS 2001). By 2009 sales of physical singles had fallen to less than 2 million, with over 140 million purchased as digital downloads (ONS 2011).

Because the textual analysis in this thesis has concentrated on elections outside the period 2001 to 2010, the emerging significance of *creativ* as a lexeme has not been considered. This is an important area of research that would need to be addressed in any similar future inquiry.

Comparative studies

The geographical scope of this thesis has been Britain, this opens up the potential for future studies to take a more internationally comparative stance. Some

opportunities for such developments have already started. A conference paper (Lamond 2012) generated from the research in this thesis, has led to academic colleagues in the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam expressing interest in collaborating on two potential projects. The first of these is a comparative study of the growth of culture in governmental politics using a context-sensitive discursive analysis of party *world view* in Britain and the Netherlands during the elections of 2010. Second is a study of cultural policy in far right European parties: focusing on a case study of the BNP (UK) and PVV (NL).

So far suggestions for further inquiry have rested on the use of manifestos as a source of data; this is inappropriate for bodies that do not produce such texts. Multi-national agencies, such as UNESCO, and para-national/ meta-political bodies like the European Union also engage with culture, and thus create a framework for its articulation. Though background work would need to be done to establish appropriate texts for analysis, it would be possible to develop the analytic approaches set out in Chapters 4 and 5 to raise and answer questions similar to those central to this research.

Top-down and bottom-up

Throughout the thesis the focus on the articulation of culture has been from the top down; from those developing policy to those implementing it or responding to its directives. A substantial field of investigation would be opened up by following the reverse of this line of inquiry. How do those working in the arts or in cultural organisations respond to changes in the policy environment? To what extent do

they adapt in the expectation of change, or do they try and influence the direction of governmental engagement before new policy develops? Aspects of this have already been hinted at, earlier in this chapter, though consideration of how to pursue these questions has not been addressed. The work of Nisbett (2011) has argued that specific individuals, within cultural elites, have the power to change the direction national policy takes, whether through the specific profile of their cultural organisation or, to use a term from Sabatier, the coalitions in which they participate. This raises an interesting theoretical concern about the nature of resistance to a discourse. Are such elites resisting the framework created to articulate culture, or is their resistance circumscribed by the framework they think they are resisting? (See for example Miller and Rose 2008) By combining the strategies adopted by this research, which operates from the top – down, with those of Nisbett, working from the bottom-up, it may be possible to subject this theoretical concern to empirical investigation. The techniques used in this thesis expose how governments have constructed and defined the scope of culture, and governed in relation to it. Nisbett's methods interrogate elements within the cultural elite to establish their experience of policy; discovering how they have subverted it and, on occasion, reflected it back up to shape the construction of culture being articulated in government. Together they would show the associations and entwining of the framework articulating culture with those supposedly involved with its implementation. This would allow a more rounded picture to emerge, which describes the landscape in which both policy makers and implementers act.

Finally

The contribution this thesis makes goes beyond its response to seeking answers to its original research objective. Though not a deliberate intention, this inquiry has challenged previous approaches employed to develop an account of policy rationale, which have been adopted in much mainstream cultural policy studies research. At the same time it has suggested methodologies not commonly adopted by researchers working in the discipline. Setting out alternative research strategies which have their foundations firmly anchored in empirical investigation. The findings of this thesis, and the research strategies it has employed, scratch the surface of a new way of working within the field. Beneath that surface cultural policy studies has been found to be truly multi-disciplinary, or as Clive Gray might put it '...incurably plural' (Gray 2010). As an area of academic inquiry it is not lost amongst the other disciplines it works with; rather it is strengthened by its association with them and, in turn, it is capable of making a significant contribution to their development.

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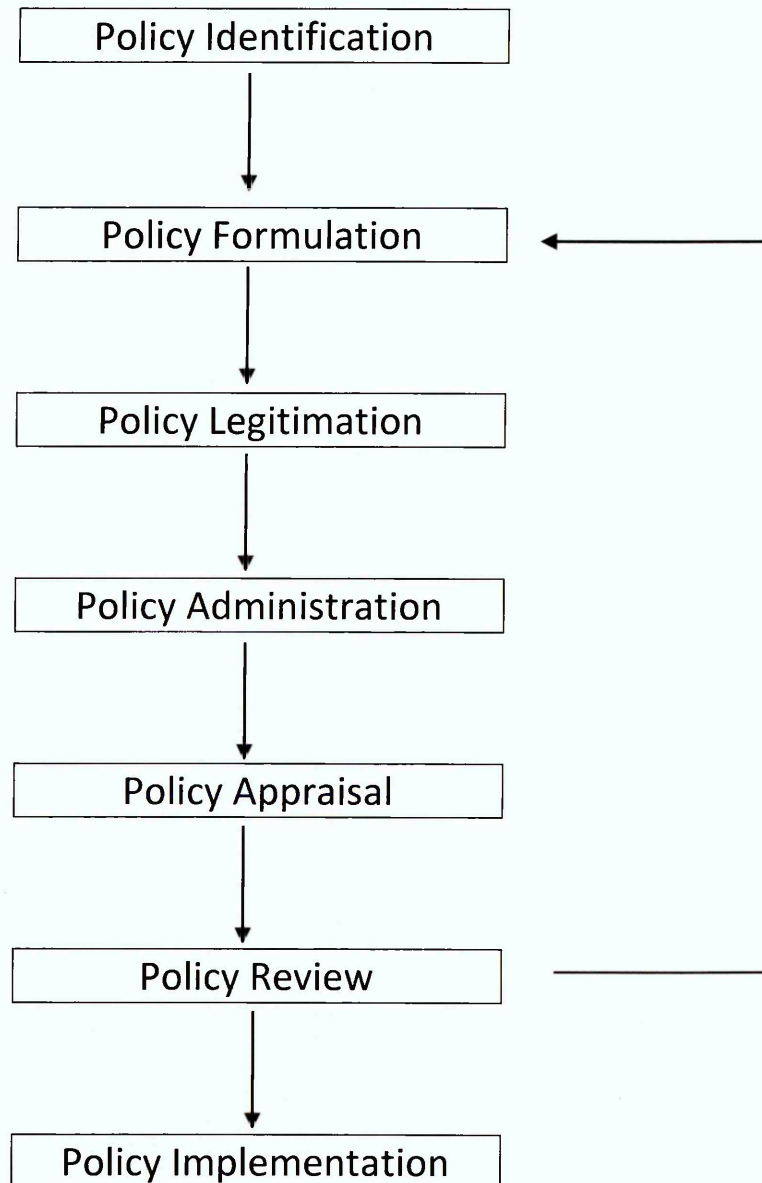
Note:

A full list of the election manifestos of the Conservative, Labour, Liberal and Liberal Democrat parties, produced for each election between 1945 and 2010 by their respective party headquarters, appears in Appendix C.

Appendices

Appendix A

Diagram of the Jones Stages Heuristic



Appendix B

Manifesto list: by location

Year/ Party	Location						Format		
	F.W.S. Craig (1975)	Dale (2000a, b & c)	www.politicsre sources.net	Bodleian Library	People's History Museum	L.S.E. Library	Original	Hard copy transcript	Digital copy transcript
1945									
Co	X	X	X	X			X	X	X
La	X	X	X		X		X	X	X
L/D	X	X	X			X	X	X	X
1950									
Co	X	X	X	X			X	X	X
La	X	X	X		X		X	X	X
L/D	X	X	X			X	X	X	X
1951									
Co	X	X	X	X			X	X	X
La	X	X	X					X	X
L/D	X	X	X			X	X	X	X
1955									
Co	X	X	X	X			X	X	X
La	X	X	X					X	X
L/D	X	X	X			X	X	X	X
1959									
Co	X	X	X					X	X
La	X	X	X					X	X
L/D	X	X	X			X	X	X	X
1964									
Co	X	X	X	X			X	X	X

Appendix C

Manifesto descriptor listing

Year/ Party	Original seen	Title	Pages	Cost	Size	Cover Graphic/ Photograph	Internal images (inc. Photographs)	Internal charts & tables	Party Leader
1945									
Co	X	Mr Churchill's Declaration of Policy to the Electors	16	n/k	>A5	Title	No	No	Winston Churchill
La	X	Let us Face the Future	12	1d	>A5	Graphic	No	No	Clement Atlee
L/D	X	20 Point Manifesto of the Liberal Party	4	n/k	A4	Title	No	No	Sir Archibald Sinclair
1950									
Co	X	This is the Road	22	n/k	>A5	Graphic	No	No	Winston Churchill
La	X	Let us Win Through Together	12	2d	>A5	Graphic	No	No	Clement Atlee
L/D	X	No Easy Way: Britain's Problems and the Liberal Answers	8	2d	>A5	Graphic	No	No	Clement Davis
1951									
Co	X	The Manifesto of the Conservative and Unionist Party	12	6d	A5	Title	No	No	Winston Churchill
La		Labour Party Election Manifesto	~	~	~	~	~	~	Clement Atlee
L/D	X	The Nation's Task	8	2d	>A5	Title	No	No	Clement Davis
1955									
Co	X	United for Peace and	32	6d	A5	Graphic	No	No	Anthony Eden

L/D	X	Make it Great to Live in What a Life: Show 'em You Care	14	1/-	A5	Harold Wilson Title and photograph	No	No	Jeremy Thorpe
1974 (Feb)									
Co	X	Firm Action for a Fair Britain	8	n/k	A5	Title	No	No	Edward Heath
La	X	Let us Work Together: Labour's Way out of the Crisis	24	n/k	A5	Title and photographs	No	No	Harold Wilson
L/D	X	Change the Face of Britain: Take Power, Vote Liberal	28	15p	A5	Title	No	No	Jeremy Thorpe
1974 (Oct)									
Co		Putting Britain First	~	~	~	~	~	~	Edward heath
La	X	Labour Party Manifesto	40	10p	A5	Graphic	No	No	Harold Wilson
L/D	X	Why Britain Needs Liberal Government	16	10p	A5	Title	No	No	Jeremy Thorpe
1979									
Co	X	The Conservative Manifesto 1979	36	15p	A5	Title and graphic	No	No	Margaret Thatcher
La	X	The Labour Way is the Better Way	40	40p	A5	Title	No	No	James Callaghan
L/D		The Real Fight is for Britain	~	~	~	~	~	~	David Steel
1983									
Co	X	The Conservative Manifesto 1983	52	25p	DL	Title and graphic	No	No	Margaret Thatcher
La		Labour Party Manifesto	~	~	~	~	~	~	Michael Foot
L/D	X	Working Together for Britain	32	n/k	A5	Title and party logo	No	No	David Steel
1987									

Co	X	The Next Moves Forward	76	n/k	<A4	Title and graphic	No	No	Margaret Thatcher
La		Britain will Win with Labour	~	~	~	~	~	~	Neil Kinnock
L/D		Britain United: The Time has Come	~	~	~	~	~	~	David Steel
1992									
Co	X	The Best Future for Britain	108	n/k	DL	Title and photograph of John Major	No	No	John Major
La		It's Time to get Britain Working Again	~	~	~	~	~	~	Neil Kinnock
L/D		Changing Britain for Good	~	~	~	~	~	~	Paddy Ashdown
1997									
Co	X	You Can Only be Sure with the Conservatives	60	£2	A4	Title, photograph of John Major and graphic	Yes	Yes	John Major
La	X	new Labour: Because Britain Deserves Better	44	£2	A4	Photograph of Tony Blair	Yes	Yes	Tony Blair
L/D		Make the Difference	~	~	~	~	~	~	Charles Kennedy
2001									
Co	X (as PDF)	Time for Common Sense	68	n/k	A5 Land- scape	Title and photographs	Yes	Yes	William Hague
La	X (as PDF)	Ambitions for Britain	48	£2.50	A4	Title and photograph of Tony Blair	Yes	Yes	Tony Blair
L/D		Freedom. Justice, Honesty	~	~	~	~	~	~	Charles Kennedy
2005									

Co	X (as PDF)	Are you Thinking what We're Thinking?	36	n/k	>A5	Title and photograph	Yes	Yes	Michael Howard
La	X (as PDF)	Britain Forward not Backward	120	£5	DL	Title and graphic	Only one: of Tony Blair	No	Tony Blair
L/D	X (as PDF)	The Real Alternative	40	n/k	n/k	Title and photograph (incorporating Charles Kennedy)	No	No	Charles Kennedy
2010									
Co	X	Invitation to Join the Government of Britain	131	£5	A5 (Hardback book)	Title	Yes	Yes	David Cameron
La	X	A Future Fair for All	76	£5	>A5	Title and graphic	No: Lot of graphics and use of colour	No	Gordon Brown
L/D	X	Change that Works for You: Building a Fairer Britain	114	£5	A5	Title and graphic	Yes	Yes	Nick Clegg

Key

n/k	Not known
~	Unseen original (either as hard copy or PDF)
>	Greater than
	Party that went on to form a government

Appendix D

Lexeme frequency table: Manifestos 1945 to 2010

Lexemes – art, cultur and heritage

		Instance of identified lexemes in election manifestos from 1945 to 2010																		
		1945	1950	1951	1955	1959	1964	1966	1970	1974	1974	1974	1979	1983	1987	1992	1997	2001	2005	2010
	Co: art	2	0	0	0	1	5	2	7	4	4	2	4	3	9	19	8	10	2	2
	La: art	0	3	0	0	2	2	8	5	0	0	4	5	8	4	7	10	23	21	17
	L/D: art	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	11	17	5	25	6	2
	Co: cultur	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	9	6	7	1	4
	La: cultur	1	1	0	1	0	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	6	9	18	16
	L/D: cultur	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	3	9	5	2
	Co: heritage	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	4	7	4	20	5	2	1	1
	La: heritage	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	3	2	5
	L/D: heritage	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	3	2	2	3

Appendix E

Frequency of the lexemes *art* and *heritage* in House of Commons debates

(from Hansard) 1945 to 2004

	Sum	Art	Heritage
1945	57	46	11
1946	37	26	11
1947	51	41	10
1948	35	25	10
1949	51	39	12
1950	34	23	11
1951	35	25	10
1952	57	44	13
1953	53	41	12
1954	89	79	10
1955	40	32	8
1956	78	65	13
1957	61	45	16
1958	84	72	12
1959	93	82	11
1960	64	56	8
1961	60	50	10
1962	53	38	15
1963	71	59	12
1964	65	52	13
1965	147	137	10
1966	89	75	14
1967	102	88	14
1968	152	136	16
1969	128	118	10
1970	121	108	13
1971	169	149	20
1972	119	97	22
1973	187	173	14
1974	162	142	20
1975	179	141	38
1976	134	102	32
1977	130	97	33
1978	187	137	50
1979	299	226	73
1980	360	256	104

1981	206	168	38
1982	263	192	71
1983	295	244	51
1984	512	452	60
1985	329	279	50
1986	557	497	60
1987	474	415	59
1988	524	448	76
1989	523	395	128
1990	616	459	157
1991	426	255	171
1992	372	197	175
1993	431	209	222
1994	592	220	372
1995	550	181	369
1996	557	215	342
1997	322	150	172
1998	411	244	167
1999	404	250	154
2000	321	184	137
2001	308	185	123
2002	449	245	204
2003	364	226	138
2004	329	216	113

Appendix F

Texts taken from the Conservative, Labour and Liberal Party manifestos of 1966 and 1970

1966	
Conservative	<p data-bbox="340 402 373 1647">TO BUILD A BETTER COUNTRY AND WIDEN OPPORTUNITIES FOR RECREATION</p> <p data-bbox="414 63 522 1647">Plan the coast and countryside in such a way as to increase their natural beauty, increase the holiday attractions of Britain, and encourage provision for the growing numbers who leave the towns to sail, ski, climb, picnic or go caravanning.</p> <p data-bbox="563 63 629 1647">Create a new Coast and Countryside Commission with the powers to get on with the job, using the resources of both public authorities and private enterprise.</p> <p data-bbox="670 63 736 1647">Open more inland water for recreation, provide more access for visitors to the National Forests, and secure a national network of camping and caravan sites.</p> <p data-bbox="778 63 844 1647">Encourage the development of regional recreation areas, largely financed by private investment, on the model of the Lea Valley Scheme.</p> <p data-bbox="885 63 959 1647">End the existing confusion and duplication of effort between at least five Ministries in Whitehall, by setting up within the Ministry of Housing and Local Government a Recreation Department.</p> <p data-bbox="1001 880 1034 1647">Provide more choice and competition in broadcasting.</p> <p data-bbox="1075 119 1108 1647">Encourage the arts, particularly in the provinces. Promote high standards of architecture and civic planning.</p> <p data-bbox="1182 1012 1215 1647">TO BRING NEW PROSPERITY TO WALES</p>

	<p>Tackle the problem of depopulation in mid-Wales by constructing first class road communications from Shrewsbury to Cardigan Bay, by attracting new industries, and by revitalising existing towns and developing mid-Wales as an area of high amenity and a tourist attraction.</p> <p>Develop the coastal road in North Wales from Queensferry to Caernarvon.</p> <p>Encourage new industrial development in North and South Wales and the development of the South Wales ports under a group system.</p> <p>Give special attention to the needs of the hill farming community.</p> <p>Maintain a Secretary for Wales in the Cabinet.</p> <p>Overhaul the structure and organisation of Local Government in Wales.</p> <p>Legislate to allow ground leaseholders to buy or rent their houses on fair terms except where the property is to be redeveloped.</p> <p>Expand higher education in Wales and grant independent status to each university college. The university college of Cardiff, the Welsh college of Advanced Technology and the National School of Medicine will form the Civic University of Cardiff.</p> <p>Encourage and foster the culture and arts which are the characteristic of the Welsh people.</p>
Labour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Second: we shall make a new approach to the problem of central areas in our cities. Slum clearance must of course go on. But there must be quicker and fairer compensation for those displaced. However, we shall not be content simply to demolish. Wherever possible, we shall renew and modernise existing buildings. We shall also ensure that expensive facilities such as swimming pools, playing fields, assembly halls, are made more widely available to the community and not reserved only for the

	<p>particular groups - schools and colleges - for which they were built.</p> <p>The better provision of sporting, arts and other leisure facilities is essential to modern living.</p>
	<p>Arts and Amenities</p> <p>Access for all to the best of Britain's cultural heritage is a wider part of our educational and social purpose, and is one hallmark of a civilised country. That is why we appointed the first Minister for Arts and Leisure.</p> <p>The 1965 White Paper, "Policy for the Arts", has inspired a coherent, generous and imaginative approach to the arts and amenities. Already the situation is being transformed, by substantially increased financial support for the Arts Council, purchasing grants for museums, and five times the support for younger artists. A quite new local authority building fund has been initiated. Next year expenditure on the arts will rise by £2.5 million.</p>
	<p><i>Scotland and Wales</i></p> <p>Labour respects the differences of culture and tradition of Scotland and Wales; nevertheless, we see the economic well-being of Great Britain as indivisible. The Government has therefore set out measures which help both Scotland and Wales, within the context of a true National Plan.</p> <p>New life has been brought to the Highlands and Islands, and a major Plan prepared for economic and social expansion in Scotland. The task now is to achieve its targets, and keep up the record progress made in 1965.</p> <p>For the first time there is a Secretary of State for Wales in the Cabinet. The Welsh office is already making an impact on employment, industrial development and opportunities for young people in Wales. The Welsh Economic Development Council is now working out genuinely Welsh solutions to the problems of the rural</p>

	areas.
Liberal	<p>Elected Regional Councils. Regional Councils nominated by the Central Government give those who live in the regions neither a say in their affairs nor a responsibility for them. Regional councillors must be elected - and paid. This is not a part-time job for amateurs.</p> <p>Regional Councils throughout Britain must have full powers to co-ordinate all the industrial and cultural development within their regions. They must have their own financial resources and power to borrow, especially for physical re-development.</p> <p>Power to Plan. Regional Councils can only be effective if they have the executive power to plan for their areas. They should be responsible for the use of land, including new towns and new industries, public transport and hospital building, water supplies, regional resources and all facilities for leisure and the arts.</p>
1970	
Conservative	<p>Lower Taxes</p> <p>We will reduce taxation. We will simplify the tax system.</p> <p>We will concentrate on making progressive and substantial reductions in income tax and surtax.</p> <p>These reductions will be possible because we will cut Out unnecessary Government spending and because we will encourage savings. And as our national income rises we will get a larger revenue with lower tax rates.</p> <p>We will abolish the Selective Employment Tax, as part of a wider reform of indirect taxation possibly involving the replacement of purchase tax by a value-added tax.</p> <p>The value-added tax, already widely adopted in Western Europe and Scandinavia, is in effect a general sales</p>

	<p>tax, operated in a way which allows for desirable exemptions - for example, exports. It could help to make our system of taxes on spending more broadly based, less discriminatory, and fairer in its impact on different types of industry and service.</p> <p>It would not apply to food, except for those few items already subject to purchase tax. It would not apply to normal farming activities, nor to very small businesses; and special arrangements would be made for housing. No Opposition could commit itself finally in advance of an election to a major new tax of this kind which would need detailed consultation with the civil service.</p> <p>Labour's betterment levy has increased bureaucracy and put up the price of land and houses. We will do away with it and collect any tax due on a sale of land through the capital gains tax, with exemption for owner-occupiers.</p> <p>We will end the tax nonsense which makes some married couples pay more tax on their joint earnings than they would if they were not married. We will repeal the Labour changes which have imposed new penalties on children's income and disallowed the interest on many loans as a deduction from income for tax purposes.</p> <p>We will encourage the flow of private funds to charities including voluntary social service, sport and the arts.</p>
	<p>The Arts, Broadcasting and Sport</p> <p>We will continue to give full financial support and encouragement to the Arts. The Arts Council will be strengthened so that it can take a more active role in stimulating regional co-operation and in establishing effective regional arts associations. Local authorities will be encouraged to play a larger role in patronage of the Arts. We recognise the vital importance of private patronage. We will devote special attention to those areas of artistic life such as museums and music colleges which face particularly acute problems.</p> <p>We believe that people are as entitled to an alternative radio service as to an alternative television service. We will permit local private enterprise radio under the general supervision of an independent broadcasting</p>

	<p>authority. Local institutions, particularly local newspapers, will have the opportunity of a stake in local radio, which we want to see closely associated with the local community.</p> <p>We will ensure that the British Broadcasting Corporation continues to make its effective and essential public service contribution in both television and sound broadcasting. Equally, we will ensure that the independent television companies are not prevented from providing a responsible service by too high a government levy on their income.</p> <p>The Sports Council is fulfilling an important function in carrying out research and advising the Government on capital investment in recreation by local authorities, and on grant-aid to voluntary organisations. We will make the Sports Council an independent body, and make it responsible for the grant-aiding functions at present exercised by the Government.</p>
Labour	<p>Opportunities for Leisure</p> <p>Leisure, and the opportunities to pursue a wide range of recreational and cultural activities, must not be limited by lack of facilities.</p> <p>Labour's commitment to developing opportunities for leisure has therefore been immense:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Arts: Our aim is to make sure that enjoyment of the arts is not something remote from everyday life or removed from the realities of home and work. Government spending on the arts has been more than doubled. Local arts centres, regional film theatres, municipally owned and aided theatres, national and local museums have been established or modernised. A National Theatre and National Film School, after decades of Tory delay, are now being established. 2. Sport: Labour's National Sports Council and the nine Regional Sports Councils are developing facilities and identifying recreational needs in sport. The next step is to assist in the establishment of regional sports centres. We shall encourage the design of new schools so that they can also serve as multi-

	<p>purpose sports centres for the adult community. 200 schools are already being designed for this purpose. We shall seek to cater for the growth sports, golfing, squash, sailing and so on. Angling is one of our most popular sports and we shall give special attention to its two great problems of greater access to fishing waters and to the prevention of pollution.</p> <p>3. Countryside: The Countryside Commissions have wide powers to encourage and aid the provision of Country Parks and general amenities and facilities. One important development from this legislation has been the opening of eleven long-distance footpath routes - the most famous being the Pennine Way.</p> <p>4. Tourism: Every year more and more tourists from overseas are finding Britain a vital and interesting place to visit. Our historic cities are a major attraction, and the Labour Government has initiated studies in the conservation of the ancient centres of these cities.</p>
	<p>Wales</p> <p>In Wales the Labour Government in 1964 set up the Welsh Office with the Secretary of State a member of the Cabinet. The responsibilities of the Welsh Office have recently been substantially increased.</p> <p>The Government has published proposals for a new local authority structure to provide improved local services. The evidence given by the Labour Party to the Commission on the Constitution includes plans for an elected council for Wales with extended powers. The Labour Party in Wales believes strongly in the integration of the United Kingdom and rejects a policy of separatism or a separate Parliament for Wales as being detrimental to the true interests of the Principality.</p> <p>The Welsh Language Act 1967 has given a new impetus to the use of Welsh in public affairs. The Government will continue to encourage the growth of Welsh or bilingual schools throughout Wales. Through its financial support for the publication of books in Welsh for adults and through the expanding services of the Welsh Arts Council, the Labour Government will continue its efforts to support Welsh culture.</p>

	<p>In its economic life, Wales has benefited significantly from the Government's policy which has attracted more than 150 new firms to</p> <p>Wales since 1964, which has secured for Wales the largest ever trunk road programme and the highest number of houses ever built, which has halted depopulation in Mid-Wales, has fostered the tourist industry and has for the first time really tackled the problem of derelict land.</p>
Liberal	<p>What a Life!</p> <p>There must surely be a better way to run a country than the one we have used for the last twenty-five years. No wonder people are fed up with thirteen years of Tory rule and twelve years under Labour.</p> <p>What have we achieved? What sort of society have we turned ourselves into materially and culturally?</p> <p>The purchasing power of the pound today is only worth about 7/- compared with its value in 1945.</p> <p>Wages keep going up but, owing to rising prices, many people are worse off.</p>

Appendix G

Texts taken from the Conservative, Labour and Lib/Dem manifestos of 1992 and 1997

<p>1992</p> <p>Conservative</p>	<p>THE ARTS</p> <p>Britain has a great artistic heritage and a lively contemporary arts scene. The arts have flourished in recent years, with growing attendance at theatre, opera, dance and arts festivals.</p> <p>We have supported this by increasing the public funding of the arts, by 60 per cent in real terms since 1979, and introducing new incentives to personal giving. The arts have also forged new partnerships with local authorities, businesses and private patrons. Business sponsorship in particular has expanded hugely.</p> <p>We have set up new Regional Arts Boards and supported the Scottish and Welsh Arts Councils in order to diversify and enrich cultural life throughout the country.</p> <p>We have financed the European Arts Festival to be held throughout Britain during our Presidency of the Community in the second half of this year, as well as the first National Music Day in June.</p> <p>In this year's Budget, we announced further tax relief on film-making in this country. Our aim is to make the performing arts, museums and our heritage accessible to all. We will encourage the young to become involved and will facilitate access for the disabled.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The National Lottery will provide a new source of finance for the arts. • We will maintain support for the arts and continue to develop schemes for greater sponsorship in co-operation with business and private individuals. • We will re-examine the role of the Arts Council, as many of its functions are now carried out
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	<p>regionally.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We will continue our support of libraries as educational, cultural and community centres, and urge local authorities to keep up standards. We will complete the new British Library building for which we have provided £450 million.
	<p>A UNITED KINGDOM</p> <p>The United Kingdom is far greater than the sum of its parts. Over many centuries its nations have worked, and frequently fought, side by side. Together, we have made a unique mark on history. Together, we hold a special place in international affairs. To break up the Union now would diminish our influence for good in the world, just at the time when it is most needed.</p> <p>Nationalist plans for independence are a recipe for weakness and isolation. Higher taxes and political uncertainty would deter investment and destroy jobs. The costly Labour and Liberal devolution proposals for Scotland and Wales have the same drawbacks. They do not intend to bring about separation, but run that risk. They could feed, but not resolve, grievances that arise in different parts of Britain. They would deprive Scotland and Wales of their rightful seats in the United Kingdom Cabinet, seats the Conservatives are determined to preserve. We believe strongly that we should go on working together in full partnership in a Union that has served every part of the United Kingdom well.</p> <p>The plans for devolution put forward by the other parties would have a grave impact not just on Scotland and Wales, but also on England. They propose new and costly regional assemblies in England, for which there is no demand. We will oppose all such unnecessary layers of government.</p> <p>The Union has brought us strength both economically and politically. Yet it has preserved the historic and cultural diversity of our islands. Our constitution is flexible, fair and tolerant. It has made this country one of the best places in which to live, work and bring up our children. These benefits cannot be tossed away lightly. We will fight to preserve the Union, a promise which only the Conservatives can give at this election.</p>

	<p>SCOTLAND</p> <p>Scotland has achieved an economic and cultural regeneration over the past 13 years. The Scottish economy has responded vigorously to the policies we have introduced to liberate enterprise, and many more people are now saving, investing and owning their homes. The public services are better funded and more efficient. There has been a flowering of Scottish culture.</p> <p>Scotland enjoys a rich and distinct tradition and her own institutions, which we have preserved and strengthened. Scotland has its own framework for the encouragement of enterprise, investment and training; its own education system which continues to excel, with more pupils leaving school better qualified and more going on to further and higher education; its own health budgets which deliver high standards of care; and its own glorious inheritance of buildings and countryside.</p>
	<p>WHITEHALL & WESTMINSTER</p> <p>Whitehall must move with the times. It is over a decade since the last major restructuring of the departments of government. Since then:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two-thirds of the state industrial sector has been privatised, transferring about 900,000 jobs to the private sector. • Government has reduced the burden of regulation and the need for central bureaucracy • Civil Service manpower has been reduced by almost a quarter. • Many of the functions of government have been devolved from Whitehall. • The Citizen's Charter programme is bringing new quality to public services. <p>We will continue to reorganise central government in tune with its modern role, while devolving and contracting-out executive functions. We want to ensure that the drive to save money to reduce bureaucracy</p>

and raise quality is powerfully led from the centre of government.

- We will give a Cabinet Minister responsibility for the Citizen's Charter programme and reforming the Civil Service, taking charge of the Citizen's Charter Unit, Efficiency Unit, the programme for creating Agencies and the Public Competition and Purchasing Unit. This will make it easier to raise quality and efficiency in government and see that contracting-out and market-testing are energetically pursued.
- We intend to create a new department, under a Cabinet Minister, with responsibility for broadcasting, arts, sport, tourism, the national heritage and the film industry. This department will aim to encourage private sector enterprise in all these fields. The National Lottery and the Millennium Fund (detailed later in this Manifesto) will also bring new responsibilities to government in these areas.
- We will transfer the core responsibilities of the Department of Energy to the Department of Trade and Industry and responsibilities for energy efficiency to the Department of the Environment, ending the need for a separate department.
- Small businesses are the seed corn of our future prosperity. We believe the Department of Trade and Industry should take over responsibility for them. We also want to strengthen the links between the DTI and the highly successful Training and Enterprise Councils.
- Responsibility for overseeing all financial services will be brought together in the Treasury, in line with the practice adopted in most other advanced countries.
- New programmes for regenerating our inner cities are outlined in this Manifesto. Responsibilities will be brought together in the Department of the Environment.
- We are determined to ensure that women in the work-force realise their full potential. We will transfer from the Home Office to the Department of Employment the lead responsibility for co-ordinating government policy on issues of particular concern to women.

TOWARDS THE MILLENNIUM

A more prosperous Britain can afford to be ambitious. We can aspire to excellence in the arts, broadcasting

	<p>and sport. We can use our increased leisure time, energy and money, to improve life for ourselves and our families. The National Lottery we propose to introduce can be used to restore our heritage and promote projects which will become a source of national pride.</p> <p>National Lotteries have been found useful at several times in our history. The British Museum was founded out of the proceeds of such a lottery. Fourteen years ago, a Royal Commission recommended the creation of a National Lottery in Britain to provide extra money for deserving causes. The case has become even stronger as British people gain more opportunities to participate in foreign lotteries - thus increasing the risk that funds which we could put to good use in Britain will be diverted abroad.</p> <p>We believe a well-run, carefully controlled form of national lottery would be popular, while raising money for many good causes.</p> <p>We will canvass views on how such a lottery should be run and controlled, and how it would fit within the pattern of charitable fund-raising in Britain.</p> <p>We believe that the funds generated by a National Lottery should be used to enhance the life of our nation. People who enjoy the arts, sport, Britain's heritage and fine countryside could all benefit from the proceeds from a National Lottery. Charities, right across the country and covering such areas as medical research, will also be potential beneficiaries.</p>
	<p>THE MILLENNIUM FUND</p> <p>We will be consulting widely on the best way to distribute the proceeds of a lottery. But we have decided that part of the proceeds should be put aside, year by year, into a Millennium Fund specifically dedicated to projects which will commemorate the start of the twenty-first century and will be enjoyed by future generations.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We therefore propose to introduce a National Lottery from 1994, which would help provide funds for a number of good causes in the artistic, sporting, heritage and charitable fields - and

	<p>from which some funds would be put aside for a Millennium Fund.</p>
	<p>OUR HERITAGE</p> <p>Public interest and involvement in Britain's heritage has never been greater. We have created in the past decade English Heritage and the National Heritage Memorial Fund to give greater focus and drive to the Government's policies. The National Trust and private owners take a leading part in preserving our almost unrivalled heritage. Government will work in partnership to secure our heritage for the benefit of future generations.</p> <p>Our cathedrals are among our national glories. We therefore launched the Cathedral Repair Grant Scheme in April 1991, providing £11.5 million over three years.</p> <p>We have increased, to £12 million, the grant to the NHMF for the purchase of historic properties, objects and collections. The Government also provides help to private owners through English Heritage repair grants, and tax relief in return for commitments on upkeep and public access.</p> <p>We want to preserve the special character of our old town and city centres. We will encourage councils to ensure that new developments are in character with the past; to maintain buildings of importance to the character of towns and cities; to limit unnecessary street furniture and signs; and to plant trees and preserve historic patterns and open spaces.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The National Lottery will also provide funds for the preservation of our heritage. • We will continue to provide substantial financial assistance for the protection and preservation of the heritage. • Together with the heritage agencies, we will work to make heritage sites accessible to the public.

<p>Labour</p>	<p>Introduction (sample):</p> <p>Our pledges to increase the income of pensioners and families with children will urgently be fulfilled. Our undertakings to stop the perpetual experiments in schools and to raise standards of investment and achievement in education will be kept in full. These policies - like those to increase house-building, improve transport and protect the environment - are not only important to the well-being of the British people now. They are vital preparations for the future. In that future, we are determined that Britain will be a leader in the New Europe, setting higher standards and not surrendering influence by opting out. We have confidence in our country and in the qualities and potential of its people. We want to nourish their artistic, scientific, sporting and other abilities. And we want to enhance their democratic power too. We shall therefore make constitutional and other changes that will give renewed vitality to our democracy We shall empower people as citizens and as consumers of public and private services. We will strengthen equality before the law and equality of opportunity for the majority of the population -women. Neither their legal status nor their chances in education, training and employment are full or free. We will ensure that the barriers to fairness are removed.</p>
	<p>We will support arts and leisure</p> <p>Building on the example of many Labour councils which have developed imaginative arts initiatives, we will make the arts a statutory responsibility for local authorities. Labour's Ministry for the Arts and Media will encourage Britain's arts and their associated industries, including broadcasting and the press, to develop new ideas and attract more people. Government will commission the best designers, artists and architects, for instance, to help communities transform run-down city centres.</p> <p>We will renew the BBC's Charter in a way which guarantees continuation of high-quality public service broadcasting - available in all parts of the country and covering a wide spectrum of programmes. The licence fee remains the best way of financing the BBC and preserving its independence. A concessionary fee will be introduced for all pensioners.</p> <p>As people have more leisure, they also need better facilities for sport. We will encourage councils to invest in modern, well-staffed sports centres for the enjoyment of people of all ages and abilities, and give mandatory rate relief to voluntary sports clubs.</p> <p>New facilities and better backing for people with outstanding talent will help put Britain back on the</p>

	international sporting map. We will review sports taxation, reform the Sports Councils and make football grounds safe for spectators. We will stop the wanton sale of school playing fields and ensure that sport takes its proper place within the curriculum.
Liberal Democrats	<p>Widening Horizons: Investing in the Arts</p> <p>The arts benefit us in two ways. First, access to the arts is intrinsic to a high quality of life. Second, the cultural sector - the arts, crafts, design, and audio visual industries - make as great a net contribution to the economy as does the oil industry.</p> <p>We will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create a new Ministry of Arts and Communications headed by a minister in the Cabinet. Liberal Democrats will raise investment in the arts to the EC average over five years. • Reform and decentralise arts funding and organisation. We will decentralise many of the responsibilities of the Arts Council, increasing the roles of Regional Arts Boards and local authorities. • Strengthen links between the arts and education. We will enhance practical arts teaching and library provision in schools and extend the provision of adult education for the arts and crafts. We will restore funding for public libraries to 1980 levels. We will abolish museum charges for school parties. • Transfer responsibility for broadcasting to the new Ministry. The BBC is a major patron of the arts, and broadcasting and to guarantee political independence. These interests will also be reflected in the impending review of the BBC's Charter, and our plans for cable television. • Encourage participation within Europe - including in particular cooperation in the film industry, in protecting and enhancing our common heritage and in expanding opportunities for young artists of all kinds.
	<p>Encouraging a Fit, Active and Healthy Society</p> <p>Sport is important for the economic, social and health benefits which it can bring and for its ability to enhance</p>

	<p>community identity.</p> <p>Liberal Democrats will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create a UK Sports Commission to provide a voice for participants, spectators, and administrators. State Sports Councils will continue to receive their core funds from government but the Commission will raise and distribute additional resources for the promotion of the participation and excellence. • Encourage sport across the community. We will encourage school to invest in sports facilities and open them up to sports clubs and share facilities and coaching resources with local schools. We will encourage local authorities to transform football grounds into multi-sport venues. • Encourage individual and corporate sponsorship, review the role of the Foundation for Arts and Sport and reconsider the Conservatives' hasty proposal for a national lottery. • Maintain Britain's leading role in the fight against drug abuse in sport, ensuring adequate funding for testing programmes and education campaigns directed at participants. • Enhance safety in the provision of sports grounds. We will put the safety of spectators first in any legislation and make standards mandatory. We will take into account the size of grounds when setting safety standards. We will raise revenue for investment in safety by increasing levies on football pools and betting. We will require local authorities to include sports spectators on ground safety committees.
	<p>Protecting our heritage</p> <p>Conserving and enhancing the physical environment, countryside and townscape alike, is of crucial importance to everyone's quality of life.</p> <p>Liberal Democrats will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve countryside protection policies for National Parks, heritage coasts, areas of outstanding natural beauty, and sites of special scientific interest. We will tighten controls against exploitation, we will create more National Parks and we will improve access to the countryside. • Introduce Countryside Management Agreements for farmers and landowners who wish to take them

	<p>up. These will be drawn up in conjunction with local planning authorities with the aim of managing the countryside to develop sustainable agriculture, safeguard plant and animal wildlife, and preserve traditional landscape features, such as woods, hedgerows and dry-stone walls.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reform land use planning so that the protection of the natural environment becomes a major feature of the planning system. We will decentralise planning decisions as much as possible, giving a key role to the local plan drawn up by the local authority. • Clean up the cities. We will improve public transport, reduce traffic congestion, and encourage pedestrianisation and cycling schemes. We will encourage more parks, gardens and green spaces. We will provide more resources for councils to deal with excessive noise complaints and make compensation for excessive commercial noise more widely available. • Promote better waste management. We will provide grants for recycling schemes, introduce regulations on the use of packaging materials, and encourage local authorities to clean up litter. We will clean up beaches and coastlines by ensuring full treatment of sewage. • Improve standards of animal protection commission. We will set up an Animal Protection Commission to enforce and recommend changes to legislation. We will phase out battery cages and unacceptable systems of factory farming, tighten controls on the export of live animals for slaughter, and establish a dog registration scheme. We will prohibit experiments involving pain or distress for non-medical and non-veterinary purposes, promote alternatives to the use of animals in research and education, and ensure that laws against badger-baiting and dog-fighting are enforced. On hunting with hounds, Liberal Democrats as a party have declared their opposition, but recognise, like the Conservative and Labour parties, that legislation is a matter of conscience for each individual MP. • We aim to build a society that does not create wealth at the expense of the environment. We will create new incentives to follow environmentally sensitive strategies and behaviour. • We will issue factories and power stations with licences setting a ceiling on permitted emissions of pollutants.
Conservative	<p>Our Record - The Nation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many of our old cities have been rejuvenated through a partnership of public and private investment.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The area of green belt has doubled since 1979. • Water and air quality in the UK have improved significantly. • We are one of only a few nations on course to meet our commitment to return emissions of all greenhouse gases to 1990 levels by 2000. • The Lottery has been established as the most successful in the world - raising £3 billion for good causes in a little over 2 years. • More support is now given to arts and heritage than at any time in our nation's history. We now provide nearly 20% more for the arts than the last Labour Government, over and above inflation. • British talent was this year nominated for 30 Oscars. British music is again receiving international acclaim. The industry is worth £2.5 billion, more than shipbuilding or electric components: one in 5 CDs and records sold anywhere has a British connection. • There is record investment in our sports facilities. Already the Lottery has provided £480 million for sport, including the planned British Academy of Sport, English National Stadium and, for the first time, direct funding for British athletes. • We have continued to stand up for British interests in Europe, protecting our opt-out from the Social Chapter, maintaining our border controls, and preserving our budget rebate - worth £18 billion since it was introduced. • We have the most professional armed forces in the world. We have modernised our nuclear deterrent by replacing Polaris with Trident.
	<p>A World Leader In Sports, Arts and Culture</p> <p>Britain is enjoying a cultural renaissance. British music, films, television, fashion, art and food are winning plaudits the world over. They add excitement, fun and enjoyment to our lives. Our success brings pride to everyone.</p> <p>The National Lottery, which John Major set up, will pump billions of pounds into Britain's good causes. Its proceeds will weave a new, rich thread of opportunity and charity into the tapestry of British life. In addition to benefitting major national institutions, about half of the awards are for amounts under £25,000 - benefiting</p>

	<p>local communities up and down the country. We will encourage new ways of distributing awards to support the performing arts - through support for amateur productions and community events, providing more musical instruments, and helping productions tour round the country.</p> <p>The National Lottery will also help us train and promote British sporting talent. The English National Stadium and British Academy of Sport, funded by the Lottery, will be new focal points for sporting events and excellence. We will encourage more young people to play sport by ensuring every school plays a minimum level of sport, including competitive sports, and developing a network of Sporting Ambassadors - sporting celebrities who will visit schools to inspire young people. We will also encourage the Sports Council to use Lottery money to employ over 1000 additional community sports coaches to assist in schools.</p> <p><i>We will encourage the use of Lottery money to train young athletes and artists, with revenue funding for bursaries, concessionary tickets to professional performances and support for young people's organisations and productions.</i></p> <p>The development of young talent is important in all fields.</p> <p>The Lottery will also fund our Millennium celebrations. They will be inspirational as well as enjoyable. We want these be a showcase of British excellence. Britain will be able to look back on past achievements with pride, and look forward with confidence.</p>
	<p>A Confident, United and Sovereign Nation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • QUALITY OF LIFE. Continue the renaissance of our towns and cities, in particular harnessing private capital to regenerate the worst public housing estates; continue to protect our countryside and heritage; and use the National Lottery to help promote British sports, arts and culture. • THE ENVIRONMENT. Maintain our international leadership role in protecting the environment, and continue improving air and water quality at home alongside effective conservation of our wildlife. • THE NATION. Maintain the unity of the United Kingdom and preserve the stability of the Nation through

	<p>an evolutionary - rather than revolutionary - approach to constitutional change.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EUROPE. Seek a partnership of nation states in Europe, and not allow Britain to be part of a federal European state. • THE POUND. Guarantee that Britain will not join a single currency in the next parliament unless the British people give their express approval in a referendum.
	<p>2020 Vision</p> <p>There is no part of the globe which has not been reached by British enterprise and British culture. We have always looked out beyond these shores, beyond this continent. Our language, our heritage of international trading links, our foreign investments - second only to America's - are historic strengths which mean we are ideally placed to seize the opportunities of the global economy.</p> <p>Thanks to Conservative policies of liberalisation and privatisation we are strong in industries of the future such as telecommunications, financial services, and information technology. These are the industries that will benefit from opening up trade around the world. We will push for completion of the European Single Market and continue to pursue the objective of transatlantic free trade against the background of world trade liberalisation.</p> <p><i>Our aim is nothing less than tariff free trade across the globe by the year 2020</i></p> <p>Free competition is important for free markets. Companies should not make agreements that restrict competition and hence result in poor value for consumers. We have set out proposals to give companies greater protection against price fixing, dumping, and other restrictive practices by larger competitors.</p> <p><i>We will introduce a Competition Bill to take forward these proposals in the first session of the next parliament</i></p> <p>We are committed to pushing forward our competitiveness agenda which is making Britain the Enterprise</p>

	Centre of Europe.
	<p>The Best Place in the World to Live</p> <p>Britain is admired the world over. Every year, millions of tourists travel here to enjoy our heritage and culture, our cities and countryside, our way of life. Our nation's history is an anchor in a sea of change. We need to protect, cherish and build upon what is great about our country so our children grow up in a better Britain. We also must make sure that everyone, wherever they live, has the support of a strong, tolerant and civilised community.</p> <p>Our aim is for this generation and future generations to take pride in Britain as the best place in the world to live.</p>
	<p>Britain and the European Union</p> <p>We believe that in an uncertain, competitive world, the nation state is a rock of security. A nation's common heritage, culture, values and outlook are a precious source of stability. Nationhood gives people a sense of belonging.</p> <p>The government has a positive vision for the European Union as a partnership of nations. We want to be in Europe but not run by Europe. We have much to gain from our membership of the European Union -in trade, in co-operation between governments, and in preserving European peace. We benefit from the huge trade opportunities that have opened up since Britain led the way in developing Europe's single market. We want to see the rest of Europe follow the same deregulated, enterprise policies that have transformed our economic prospects in Britain.</p>

Labour	<p><i>We will help you get more out of life</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Every government department a 'green' department • Efficient and clean transport for all • New arts and science talent fund for young people • Reform the lottery • Improve life in rural areas • Back World Cup bid <p>The millennium is the time to reaffirm our responsibility to protect and enhance our environment so that the country we hand on to our children and our grandchildren is a better place in which to live. It also provides a natural opportunity to celebrate and improve the contribution made by the arts, culture and sport to our nation. We need a new and dynamic approach to the 'creative economy'. The Department of National Heritage will develop a strategic vision that matches the real power and energy of British arts, media and cultural industries.</p>
	<p>Arts and culture</p> <p>The arts, culture and sport are central to the task of recreating the sense of community, identity and civic pride that should define our country. Yet we consistently undervalue the role of the arts and culture in helping to create a civic society - from amateur theatre to our art galleries.</p> <p>Art, sport and leisure are vital to our quality of life and the renewal of our economy. They are significant earners for Britain. They employ hundreds of thousands of people. They bring millions of tourists to Britain every year, who will also be helped by Labour's plans for new quality assurance in hotel accommodation.</p> <p>We propose to set up a National Endowment for Science and the Arts to sponsor young talent. NESTA will be a national trust - for talent rather than buildings - for the 21st century. NESTA will be partly funded by the lottery; and artists who have gained high rewards from their excellence in the arts and wish to support young talent will be encouraged to donate copyright and royalties to NESTA.</p>

	<p>Devolution: strengthening the Union</p> <p>The United Kingdom is a partnership enriched by distinct national identities and traditions. Scotland has its own systems of education, law and local government. Wales has its language and cultural traditions. We will meet the demand for decentralisation of power to Scotland and Wales, once established in referendums.</p> <p>Subsidiarity is as sound a principle in Britain as it is in Europe. Our proposal is for devolution not federation. A sovereign Westminster Parliament will devolve power to Scotland and Wales. The Union will be strengthened and the threat of separatism removed.</p>
	<p>Life in our countryside</p> <p>Labour recognises the special needs of people who live and work in rural areas. The Conservatives do not. Public services and transport services in rural areas must not be allowed to deteriorate. The Conservatives have tried to privatise the Post Office. We opposed that, in favour of a public Post Office providing a comprehensive service. Conservative plans would mean higher charges for letters and put rural post offices under threat.</p> <p>We favour a moratorium on large-scale sales of Forestry Commission land. We recognise that the countryside is a great natural asset, a part of our heritage which calls for careful stewardship. This must be balanced, however, with the needs of people who live and work in rural areas.</p> <p>The total failure of the Conservatives to manage the BSE crisis effectively and to secure any raising of the ban on British beef has wreaked havoc on the beef and dairy industries. The cost to the taxpayer so far is £3.5 billion.</p> <p>Labour aims to reform the Common Agricultural Policy to save money, to support the rural economy and enhance the environment.</p> <p>Our initiatives to link all schools to the information superhighway will ensure that children in rural areas have</p>

	<p>access to the best educational resources.</p> <p>Our policies include greater freedom for people to explore our open countryside. We will not, however, permit any abuse of a right to greater access.</p> <p>We will ensure greater protection for wildlife. We have advocated new measures to promote animal welfare, including a free vote in Parliament on whether hunting with hounds should be banned by legislation.</p> <p>Angling is Britain's most popular sport. Labour's anglers' charter affirms our long-standing commitment to angling and to the objective of protecting the aquatic environment.</p>
<p>Liberal Democrats</p>	<p>Arts and media</p> <p>Flourishing arts and a diverse culture are essential for a lively and open society. They can be engines of innovation that bring life to the economy. At the same time, the world is experiencing an information revolution as important and far-reaching as the Industrial Revolution. Britain must maintain a free and effective media capable of being a check on the abuse of power, and of giving people the information they need to make informed decisions.</p> <p>We will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Tackle the concentration of media power. We will act to prevent media mergers or take-overs, except where these can be shown to advance quality, diversity and access. We will require the Independent Television Commission to protect the position of smaller regional ITV companies, within the network supply agreement. <input type="checkbox"/> Maintain the role of the BBC as the benchmark of public service broadcasting, committed to quality, diversity and universal access. We will protect the independence and impartiality of the BBC through its Board of Governors and its licence fee. <input type="checkbox"/> Improve access to information technology and the Internet. We will ensure that everyone in Britain can have access, either individually or through a wide range of public access points, to a nationwide interactive

	<p>communications network by the year 2000.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Increase access to the arts. We will use the National Lottery to endow, house and improve access to the arts. We aim to move towards the European average for public funding of the arts. We aim to restore the principle of free access to national museum and gallery collections, starting with the removal of charges for school parties. <input type="checkbox"/> Promote Britain's culture. We will promote film production in Britain. We will actively support the British Council and rejoin UNESCO. We will enhance the BBC World Service as a national asset.
	<p>Protecting Britain's heritage</p> <p>Britain's natural environment and heritage are being gradually destroyed.</p> <p>We will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clean up Britain's rivers and beaches and ensure that the costs of investment are spread fairly. We will require water companies to contribute to the cost of national environmental projects. We will reduce the need for new water developments by setting targets to reduce leakage and by promoting efficiency in water use. We will introduce a fairer system of charging for water and require water companies to share excess profits with their customers through rebates or investments in environmental improvements. We will end, within 10 years, discharges that cause unnecessary water pollution. • Tackle marine oil pollution. We will implement tougher rules on shipping safety and bring forward the designation of marine high risk areas. • Reform land use planning. We will make protection of the natural environment a major feature of the planning system through a new Wildlife Act. This will improve protection of National Parks, Heritage Coasts, Sites Of Special Scientific Interest and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty. • Green the countryside. Our proposed new Countryside Management Contracts will help farmers to protect vital habitats and convert to more environmentally-friendly farming methods. We will use tax and planning reforms to protect rural areas, encouraging development on derelict land sites rather than green fields.

Appendix H

Lexeme frequency table: Manifestos 1945 to 2010

Lexeme –*creativ*

	1945	1950	1951	1955	1959	1964	1966	1970	1974a	1974b	1979	1983	1987	1992	1997	2001	2005	2010
Co	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	4
La	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	4	8	10	21
L/D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	5