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CULTURAL POLICY AND THE LOCAL STATE: SHEFFIELD 1960-1987

by

Elizabeth Greenhalgh MA

A thesis submitted to the Council for National Academic Awards in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy.

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Elizabeth Greenhalgh

Abstract

This thesis considers the organisation and development of local state cultural policies in post-war Britain, taking as the central focus the policy concerns of Sheffield City Council in the period 1960-1987.

The concept of the local state is developed to discuss local policies as constructed within a framework set by the central state but not wholly determined by it. National cultural policy: the political, social and economic factors that impinge upon it; and its relation to the local state, form a basis for the examination of local state cultural policy.

The objectives of national public cultural provision have been informed by particular definitions of culture and by post-war themes of the preservation of national cultural heritage and of increasing public access to it. These themes were central to the post-war political policies of social consensus.

A complex relation between public cultural provision and the developing mass market reveals the contradictions within the state's political and cultural objectives. In dealing with these contradictions the local state reveals both its subordination to the national state and its own particular configuration of the roles of state and market.

The three Case-Studies were chosen to illustrate key issues. The first case-study considers the way preservation of traditional high cultural forms has been negotiated. The second discusses the development of recreation policies, formed within the primary structures of the municipal authorities. The more recent development of policies for the cultural industries as inclusive of market based cultural forms, provides the focus for the third case-study.

The thesis has an empirical base, much of the material was drawn from interviews with Councillors and Officers of Sheffield City Council; from Council Committee papers; from attending policy group meetings; and from discussions with representatives from cultural organisations in the city.

The empirical research is analysed in the political, economic and social contexts within which cultural policy is constituted.

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In Britain public policy formed to deal with 'culture' has usually, (that is historically), been associated with policies designed to support the protection, production, practice and exhibition of what is generally understood as 'high art'. State policies affecting the development of culture defined in a more general way, for example, as "embedded in a range of activities, relations and institutions of which only some are manifestly cultural" (R.Williams,1981:209), are not, on the whole, recognised as 'cultural policies'. Since 1945 cultural policy has operated within a division between 'high art' and 'mass culture'. Although this framework has been modified over the last forty years, it has worked as the structuring paradigm of post-war cultural policy. However, the development of cultural policy is dependent on changing definitions and understandings of the social categories 'art' and 'culture'; the nature and content of 'high art' for example, has been significantly altered, even though its relational definition has been retained.

The purpose of this project is to uncover the development and impact of local state cultural policy. Although local policies have been developed in the context of national policies they are not simply a reflection of them. There are a number of reasons why concepts of culture, of cultural provision and cultural need, have been interpreted in different ways by public institutions such as the Arts Council and a city council. These two public institutions have had different relations to the way the definitions of culture, and the assumptions about class, taste and art that informed cultural policy, have been developed in the post-war period.

What is meant by cultural policy ?

The idea of a public policy for the organization of culture, especially public culture, is based on the explicit attempt to support, promote and incorporate a set of cultural values as part of the function of state institutions. Cultural policy operates to construct a conceptual framework which legitimises certain practices, cultural traditions and forms. It does so in a complex relation to other excluded forms and, crucially, emanating as it does from the state, cultural policy is implicitly defined in relation to the market - a regulated commercial system of organising and distributing amongst other things, cultural commodities and services. In many of its aspects cultural policy is thus determined by the interaction between state and market.

Cultural policy as public policy in the postwar period has developed in relation to a funding system in which finances drawn from revenue raised by taxation are applied to interventions in the cultural field as a matter of public policy, and is therefore constructed as operating in terms of the 'general interest'. However, the notion of publicly subsidised culture for the public good has a complicated relation to the 'market' since on the one hand it suggests the removal of certain cultural forms from the market, (protection from market forces), while on the other hand it can also reinforce the market by leaving the rest of its operations unquestioned. Public subsidy is, in simple terms, supposed to be an anathema to the logic of the market, yet by removing those services that cannot exist under the conditions of the market, public subsidy can be understood as supporting market logic - the operations of the market are left in place while cultural forms arising from an earlier phase of market culture or patron based social relations are subsidised. State policies and market pressures can at some levels be seen as distinct and contradictory, they must also be seen as inextricably bound to one another.

Where is cultural policy made?

Cultural policy as a matter of public policy emerged during the second world war as an attempt to develop a cohesive national cultural identity. However, the model upon which cultural policy developed was derived from an earlier system of cultural patronage.(1) What resulted from the merger of public policy with cultural patronage was a form of public patronage. As Raymond Williams has pointed out, the defining characteristic of all patronal social relations is the privileged position of the patron.

> It is this fact above all which makes the patronal definition of any public body, deriving its authority and resources from the supposed will of society, at best controversial, at worst quite inapplicable (R.Williams, 1981:44)

Developed within the framework of public policy, cultural policy also has to be seen in the context of the attempted construction of the post-war consensus, and therefore as part of the formation of the national interest, and of the social democratic state. The post-war development of public policies for culture indicated the social and political wish to go beyond the basic aim of state welfare provision and engage with questions of the 'quality of life'. In many ways cultural policy represents the particular nature of British post-war social democracy. While other areas of public policy, the economic, health, and education policies were central to the state structures, explicit state sponsored cultural policy was developed as a semi-autonomous public quango - the Arts Council. In this way cultural policy was to be removed from direct political and market involvement. However, although this structure appeared to be relatively autonomous it simply legitimated the complex relations and negotiations of a protracted form of political influence.(2)

The central philosophy informing the Arts Council's implementation practices was condensed in the phrase 'arms length'. This phrase suggested both the notion of distance from political influence, and policy and funding as a reactive process, responding to artistic requests from worthy artists, groups or organisations, and then remaining distanced from the artistic process, ~~and~~ thereby

The construction of the role of cultural policy as simply allowing art to flourish, without questioning the assumptions about the nature of production upon which such a premise is based, affirmed a particular ideology of cultural production. It is an ideology that appears to give pride of place to the creative artist. It thus justifies a role for public patronage as following the dictates of artistic ideals which are elevated to a level of universal cultural value and therefore well removed from immediate or even long-term political concerns. By concentrating on forms of artistic practice as closed-off aesthetic systems, and constructing a notion of artistic inspiration as removed from worldly concerns, this ideology of cultural production tends to distance artistic practice from audiences. Thus the very conception of art and how it is produced dovetails with a particular conception of the role of public patronage as apolitical, and as serving universal values.

These notions of political non-interference and artistic autonomy as central to cultural policy are historically specific, and can be seen as part of the post-war attempt to demonstrate the ideal of the 'free world'. As such, state supported art would appear to be totally 'free' in contrast to the Soviet Union's 'socialist realism' - British policy was to promote a national culture not an official one.

Policy was also, crucially, developed in relation to a general sense that these cultural values were under threat from commercial forces. Williams (1981) describes the relation between the state and the market as asymmetrical. The state has always been involved in struggles over licensing and controlling or protecting and encouraging market developments. However, he argues that the asymmetry between the market and the state's official reproductive institutions, schools and cultural institutions supported by the state, changed in character as the market system expanded. These institutions are the site where cultural policy can be located, where the process of formalising hierarchical interaction and the development of culture is also part of the struggle to maintain political and social domination. In contrast to earlier forms of more explicit state coercion, of control and licensing, in this period of post-war affluence, cultural policy came to occupy the position of constructing more consensual definitions of culture. Therefore new forms of class consciousness, the changing position of women and ethnicity contained the potential threat of fragmentation and conflict which could be countered by a redefinition of national culture that stressed unity. So despite the way, dependent as it was on public subsidy, cultural policy could be seen as diametrically opposed to the market, this study will ~~also~~ indicate the way it can also be seen as responding to deeper long-term shifts in the restructuring of market economies.

related to the market; although the degree and form of this asymmetry changes historically, policy is shaped within the asymmetry of the state and market. The immediate post-war cultural policy can be seen as an attempt to defend the older cultural traditions threatened by the developing conditions of mass commercial cultural production of the market, but it was constructed in the political terms of social democracy, for the national good. It is clear that in the post-war period there has been a series of complex contradictions and conflicts, emerging at different moments and on different levels over cultural issues, between the state and the market, between state regulation, systems of cultural reproduction and the capitalist market.

The sphere of explicit cultural policy centred on the Arts Council is only a small part of a much wider often implicit cultural policy. The state intervenes within the production of culture at every level: the infrastructure of public spending, legally enforceable contracts, copyright and royalties, various kinds of regulation and planning, all have pervasive and deep repercussions on the general organisation of culture.

A most important area of cultural policy, and one that has been carefully regulated, but not by cultural policy institutions, is broadcasting. The state took an active role in deciding the shape of a national broadcasting system right from the outset. The cultural ramifications of broadcasting have been, and are, far more wide-reaching than that of the Arts Council both in financial terms, and in the size of its audiences and in its relation to the development of other cultural forms. The conceptual separation of culture from broadcasting indicates the general trajectory of state policies in maintaining a restricted sense of cultural values. The dimensions of restriction are based on a distinction between culture as arts and culture as industry. It is a deep division which structures conceptions of culture in this period. However, the idea that there is a historically fixed aesthetic subject matter that can be termed 'high art' is misleading. In terms of the development of an art market in the post war period there has been a shift from a position of a few patrons to a broader group of middle-class consumers. This shift is mirrored in the nature and content of high art which in many manifestations has been influenced by mass culture. What is significant is the relational re-application of the terms 'high' and 'mass' to cultural phenomena and cultural change.

In his book Culture (1981), Raymond Williams sets out a series of shifts in the development of cultural and market relations in the area of cultural production, which move between 'artisanal', to 'post-artisanal', to 'market professional', to 'corporate professional' and to various 'post-market institutions'. He suggests that cultural relations arising from each of these phases are found to production. However, although each phase has not simply replaced the previous one, and not all cultural production has been transformed by the market to commodity type, they relate to different market economies. Williams argues that the late phases of market culture are very different from its earlier phases.

> Its institutions, in their increasing centrality, have moved towards a situation in which it could be said (but with the qualitative difference of an epochal change) that cultural institutions are integral parts of the general social organisation. In a modern capitalist economy, and its characteristic kind of social order, the cultural institutions of press and publishing, cinema, radio, television and the record industry, are no longer, as in earlier market phases, marginal or minor, but both in themselves and in their frequent interlock or integration with other productive institutions, are parts of the whole social and economic organisation at its most general and pervasive. (R,Williams,1981:54)

Although the state regulates to some extent the activities of the cultural institutions Williams lists, (eg through broadcasting), it is not regarded as cultural policy. Explicit cultural policy is, and has been, focussed through the post-market institution - the Arts Council, which on the whole deals with cultural forms that can be described as produced under artisanal or post-artisanal economic conditions. From 1945 to the early 1980s, the Arts Council has been concerned with intervention that protected particular kinds of cultural production and consumption from the arena of market forces. In the late 1980s the Arts Council grasped at ways of relating some of these cultural forms to contemporary market economies

This discussion of cultural policy is based on what cultural policy has been, and not on its potential to be developed in very different terms. Such a reformulation depends not only on a different conception of the cultural role of the state but also on redefinitions of culture as the subject of cultural policy in the light of audiences for, and uses made of, particular cultural forms

What is the culture of cultural policy: how is it distingiushed from other kinds of culture ?

As the French theorist Henri Lefebvre amongst others has pointed out, the notion of culture is unstable and changing.

> In France we have a Minister of Culture, though we hardly know what his responsibilities should be. (H.Lefebvre, from Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture 1988:81)

An obvious tension in a definition of culture lies between 'culture' as arts, and 'culture' as referring to a more general sense of forms of social life. While 'culture' as arts is argued to be seriously restrictive, 'culture' as everything is said to lose critical impact. Lefebrve suggests that the word 'culture' is sliding toward designating cultural production. Raymond Williams suggests that the most common general meaning of 'culture' now is "as the arts" and "humane intellectual works" (Williams,1981:11) Although these two definitions of the general usage of the term culture are slightly different they point towards a sense of 'culture' as a highly specific kind of activity. This understanding of 'culture' has implications for the way public subsidy and cultural policy is generally received.

The attempt to assert a cultural policy was necessarily, as a public policy, the re-inforcement of a culture associated with constructing at least part of a national identity. However, this did not simply emerge in terms of a 'national culture' or a 'state culture', but as high culture linked to an upper-class heritage, a pre-selected tradition. On the one hand, the link between public culture and high culture was made in terms of public buildings and monuments and thus linked to a stately sense of culture and a Royal heritage. This is clearly demonstrated in displays such as the opening of Parliament. On the other hand, culture as the subject of policy was also based on a particular artistic tradition - the idealist individualism of the creative artist.(3) A national culture (at one remove - arms length) was forged by the association between ~~the~~ these two cultural traditions. Public cultural policy therefore worked to reinforce tradition, the sense of permanence and heritage, and a particular construction of aesthetics, sensibility and creative genius. The elevated frame of public policy served to stake out definitions, objectives and standards, over and above social and economic determinations. To take any form of cultural production out of the market by public funding is a deliberate decision. In the immediate traditional high arts.

The post-war history of cultural policy demonstrates the historically specific shifts and changes in the usage and definition of culture, especially within the public domain. These shifts may not be a direct reflection of political, social and economic change, but they are integrally associated with them.

The Historical Development of Cultural Policy

The first two chapters set out the development of cultural policies as part of the broader political, economic and social processes. The social, economic and political change has, in turn, modified the aims and objectives of national cultural policy. To discuss the changes in cultural policy, I have based the framework of post-war policy and provision on a model by Michael Green in his paper Issues and Problems in the Decentralizing of Cultural Planning, (1977), which sets out post-war cultural policy as developing in three main historical phases.

The first phase of Green's account of the development of public cultural policy, as has been suggested, was dominated by the concern to preserve traditional high art forms under a system of state patronage, and to preserve the conditions under which it was possible for such a tradition to be continued. The second phase emerging in the 1960s was signalled by an emphasis on the belief that wider public. Access referred both to physical access, with the constructions of new buildings and art centres, and to the individual's capacity to understand these art forms, therefore the importance of education was stressed. The third phase became apparent in the mid-1970s and, Green argues, was dominated by the idea of 'cultural democracy'. Here the emphasis was not only on access to the arts but also on participation in cultural activity. These aims can be clearly seen in the community arts movement which emerged in this period, the attempt was to democratise the notion of artistic creativity itself; an ideal based on a sense that people had been alienated from their own capacity for creativity. In these terms the community arts movement can be seen as attempting to democratise the central core of Arts Council philosophy - the emphasis on artistic genius - without challenging the construct itself. The influence of the community arts movement signalled an important change in the understanding of state institutions of the uses cultural policy could be put to, and therefore community arts has to be assessed, in part at least, for the way it was partially incorporated into aspects of government social policies. This third phase signals the way cultural policy began to represent broader social aims. Aspects of cultural policy became detached from narrow cultural criteria and became linked to social policies often designed as a form of compensation for failures of other areas of state policy. The notion of compensation and the substitution of cultural activity for more political demands brought with it the themes of social containment and control.

Green's paper was published in 1977 and since then a further phase in the development of cultural policy can be detected. It covers the years under three terms of a Thatcher government and the emergence of a new emphasis on local state politics. Both the consolidation of Thatcherism and the new focus on the local state in the mid 1980s can be seen as responses to the breakdown of post-war consensus and Keynesian economics. (In the course of the thesis more consideration has been given to the developments of the left local state in relation to Thatcherism, than to direct considerations of Thatcherite policies themselves.) This provides the context for this last phase which sees a further shift in the negotiation of the state/market asymmetry by both the political left and right. Initially as the right wing policies of the central state were developed and implemented, the left local state attempted to respond to the social conditions of unemployment and to defend and extend a notion of cultural democracy in the face of the implications of a Thatcherite cultural policy. More recently, market-led tourism policies are seen by city councils as the key to city regeneration. The central emphasis placed on market-led cultural growth can be seen in any British or European

This fourth phase has two overlapping aspects. Put baldly, - sections of the left attempted to change the terms of the "culture" of cultural policy so that it could include popular culture produced and distributed in the commercial market, and therefore extend the cultural field of cultural policy; while the political right increased the emphasis on the desirability of private, commercial or corporate patronage. On the one hand the left administration of the GLC (1981-86) began to argue that cultural policies should recognise and operate in relation to the developments of contemporary market culture and not simply restrict policy to the earlier 'artisanal' forms characteristic of traditional Arts Council policy. (Whether or not the model developed was basically an 'artisanal' one adapted to comtemporary capitalist economy will be discussed in Chapter 2). The ~~the~~ GLC argued that public cultural policy should begin to address the fact that most people attempted to satisfy their cultural needs through contemporary market culture, and used this perspective to propose a much more pro-active and vital public role for cultural policy than had previously existed. On the other hand, the implication of the political right's logic is for the expansion of the market into areas of public cultural provision.

At the level of the local state, the severe pressure from central government and the scramble for tourism/market-culture-led city centre development has in any case meant that the distinction between left and right over the development of culture in relation to the market has become more submerged.

The Local State.

The term the 'local state' is used in this study to develop a conceptual framework in which the role of local government institutions are related to a broader socio-economic context. The concept of the local state provides a perspective from which to investigate central-local relations. Although the historical development of the local state has followed a different trajectorary from that of Parliamentary democracy, its development has occurred within a framework set by central government and therefore served a purpose for the central state. However, that the local state operates within the limits or framework set by central state does not mean that its operations are completely determined by the central state. This definition of the local state is drawn from Cynthia Cockburn's The Local State (1977). Although it is a definition that is both pre-Thatcher and pre-abolition of the GLC and the Metropolitan Authorities, it is useful for the way it highlights the contradictory relationship between central and local. Her analysis of the position of the local state is developed from an assessment of the local state as the site of collective welfare provision. This allows her to identify a central contradiction stemming from its position of relative autonomy. On the one hand, local state service provision can be seen as part of the broader context of reproduction of the relations necessary for capital's accumulation, while on the other hand, services can be seen as concessions won by collective class struggle.

> The play within the structure of the state, needed to enable the co-ordination of interests of a divided dominant class, also affords opportunities for working class militancy to win concessions. The stance of the state at any one time will depend in part on the pressures brought to bear by the working-class. The situation is dynamic: the state is not tightly in control of circumstances but is continually coping with the changing balance of power. Though capital and the state structure the situation of struggle they by no means always have the initiative. (Cockburn, 1977:50,)

The position advanced by Cockburn was developed as part of a wider debate about the role of the state and the question of whether the state should be seen as functioning purely to meet the requirements of capital accumulation or whether it was better conceived of as an arena of class struggle (4). The recognition of the contradictions within and between different levels of the state appeared to offer a new site of struggle which was taken up by the left in the late 1970s as the position of operating both `in and against the state', and asserting the potential derived from the relative autonomy of the local state.

However, the position of the local state has been radically changed since the 1960s and '70s when the Redcliffe-Maud reports on local government recommended setting up larger regional and local tiers of government abolition of the Metropolitan Councils and the severe restrictions placed on local government spending and on the determination of local rates signalled the first phase of central government plans to reduce the role and power of the local state. The plans for a poll tax, and for undermining the role of local education authorities, the imposition of Urban Development Corporations, the plans to bypass the local authority in housing development, the increasing influence of the Training Agency, the legislation to outlaw contract compliance practices, the recent increases in the budget for the Arts Council which hide an attack on local authority spending,(6) all indicate the way that almost every aspect of local state activity has been challenged from the centre.

Cockburn's analysis of the local state during the 1960s and 1970s, argued that a perceived level of autonomy of the local state was necessary for hegemonic class domination.(7) In the early 1980s left city councils attempted to make use of this sense of relative autonomy both to suggest, by way of demonstration, an alternative to Thatcherism and to relieve its worst social and economic effects. However, by the late 1980s the relative autonomy of the local state is no longer constructed as part of a political consensus and therefore not seen as necessary for hegemonic class relations. Practices within the local state have thus been placed under severe pressure by the process of the centralisation of power.

It is a significant mark of the difference between the 70s and late 80s that the terms of debate about democracy have been altered to such a degree that its existence at a local level, even only symbolically, is no longer necessary to contemporary right wing understandings. (8)
Cockburn identifies the primary role of the local state as one of providing services that ensure the reproduction of the social relations necessary for production. It is therefore possible to locate local state cultural policy within a broad context of reproductive services. For example, early parks and baths provision was central to the notion of recreation after, and in preparation for, work. Similarly some of the early approaches to Gallery and Library provision can be seen in terms of spiritual or moral improvement. However, Cockburn argues that such provision cannot simply be reduced to a stage in the relations of production but can also represent a site of struggle. Local services can be seen as hard-won concessions as well as necessary for the reproduction of the workforce.

Cultural provision is also framed by the social processes institutionalised in the governmental form of the local state. The social categories of culture as 'high', 'popular', 'dominant', 'subordinate', as 'arts' or a 'whole way of life', and as 'recreation', have been negotiated through a highly complex series of social relations bound by the context of the local state's contradictorary nature of the local state itself.

In the development of post-war cultural policy local authorities increasingly contested the terms set by the Arts Council and central government. Although in the immediate post-war period, high arts were represented in local provision with the legacy of galleries usually provided by a local public benefactor; in the terms of national understandings of public cultural provision local authority provision was generally understood as predominantly recreational or as entertainment and therefore not fully part of the national project of conserving a national cultural heritage.

Chapter 3 discusses the history of the organisation of cultural provision within the local state, taking the example of Sheffield City Council and its particular and specific history as a left wing or 'socialist' administration in power almost continiously since the 1920s. It is part of the nature of local state council policy that what can be termed the cultural nature of the provision (in the course of institutional development) has not been made explicit except in a small part of the organisational structure. For a number of reasons the notion of culture, or an explicit policy for it, was not foregrounded. Therefore a more implicit level of policy has to read off from practice. Cultural policy itself is buried in a series of cumulative and reactive practices. The key problem the project addresses is how to unearth the complex mesh of tendencies and influences guiding and informing the practice of local state cultural provision.

The case studies were selected to show a range of Sheffield City Council's policies, with reference to perceptions of who it is serving and why, and how it negotiates the complex issues of culture and cultural policy across the high art, popular culture, municipal entertainment and cultural industry categories. Each case-study also represents a broad set of debates influential in the development of cultural policy at a more general level.

The first case-study discusses the way the local state has negotiated and provided what were perceived as high cultural forms - the questions of values, standards, and quality - with the development of the Galleries and the Crucible Theatre. The second case-study considers the trajectory of local state recreation policy. This suggests a different tradition from that of national cultural policy, but has nevertheless been developed in relation to national policy especially in terms of policies for youth and community development. In the late 1980s recreation policy has become double pronged, with one set of policies for community development and another geared towards industrial regeneration and the development of leisure industries. The third case-study considers the more recent initiatives of the local state in what is broadly termed the cultural industries, taking three examples of projects policy discussions on cable television and the setting up of a Communications Unit; the establishment by the Department of Employment and Economic Development (DEED) of a municipal recording studio and rehearsal space as part of municipal enterprise; and thirdly DEED's support for Sheffield Independent Film. These developments, however, have not been recognised as a distinct sector for policy-making in terms of council organisation. This study indicates the developing frame of reference for intervention into this area of cultural provision. It is important to note that these case-studies do not represent all of the local state's cultural provision. There are broad areas which are not fully covered such as library provision, the museums service, aspects of youth service and adult education.

The general approach adopted in the case studies is that, as Williams argues,

> the social organisation of culture as a realised signifying system is embedded in a whole range of activities, relations and institutions, of which only some are manifestly `cultural'. (R.Williams, 1981:209)

For this reason, cultural policy will be located in relation to social and political institutions, in the broad context of state and market interaction. Firstly, there is the explicit national cultural policy centred on the Arts Council and its particular practices and influences. Secondly, there are the massive social policy spheres such as education, broadcasting or library cultural policy but which are crucially important in cultural terms since policies made for them determine much cultural production, distribution and reception. Thirdly, there is the dimension of state/market policies which are not primarily designed for cultural intervention, but which impact upon cultural processes and practices. These surrounding policy areas form the context for a definition of culture as 'embedded in a whole range of activities'. The different levels are in some ways interdependent, but they also represent the ways different aspects of culture have been separated out and have determined the general political conceptions of culture and the aims of cultural policies. Local state cultural policies intersect with all these levels. What follows is an analysis of cultural policy in relation to the state and local state. My general argument is that the way definitions of culture are bound within the different levels of the state indicate the way that cultural policy is formed within a framework of broader political relations.

1. See R. Williams on the social relations of patronage, *Culture* 1981, pp38-54.

2. See Hugh Jenkins' account of his attempts as a Labour Arts Minister to democratise the decision making practices of the Arts Council, *The Culture Gap*, 1979, and Robert Hutchinson's account of the selection procedures and personnel of the Arts Council in *The Politics of The Arts Council* 1982.

3. R. Williams, discusses stately cultural policy in 'Reflections on the State and the cultural arena', ICA Document 1984.

4. R. Miliband, *The State In Capitalist Britain.* 1969.

5. The Redcliffe-Maud Commission on Local Government in England, HMSO 1969.

6. The Guardian, 6th November, p2, 'Luce lifts spending by 17% over three years' Arts Correspondent Nicholas de Jongh.
"According to the Chancellor's autumn statement the total expenditure on the arts next year will rise by £10 million to £900 million. However, when the central government arts budget is subtracted from this, the local authorities will be under severe pressure."

7. See Cockburn's discussion of the Neigbourhood Council Movement and the reasons given for their temporary proximity to local power. *The Local State* 1977,pp132-158.

8. See Anthony Barnett, 'Socialism From Below' a review of, D. Blunkett and K. Jackson, *Democracy In Crisis, The Town Halls Respond* and of K. Livingstone's *If Voting Changed Anything They'd Abolish it*, *Marxism Today*, October 1987.

Cultural Policy and Post-War Reconstruction

Policies for socially identifying 'culture' and 'cultural production' are developed both by specific bodies such as the Arts Council and by the general reproductive work of, for example, educational institutions. However, at all levels at which cultural policies are produced, there has been a very marked reluctance to acknowledge a specific process of cultural policy-making, as Green has observed:

> Cultural policies and planning in Britain can most easily be invoked in negatives; what they have tried not to be. They have rarely, for instance, been explicitly stated. ... All concepts and terms in the field have usually been treated with mild distaste, as though embarrassing... (M.Green,1977:9)

Even in the explicit policy institution of the Arts Council the prevailing philosophy in the post-war period has been one of responding to initiatives presented, rather than planned intervention.

Cultural policies whether explicit or implicit, specific or non-specific, do not simply determine cultural production or the ways in which cultural meanings circulate. They negotiate and are in fact part of a series of complex aysmmetries between the state and the market. The terms of cultural policy and cultural production are deeply linked to the general productive order. However, as Williams has pointed out,

> ... the general productive order, throughout the centuries of the development of capitalism, has been predominantly defined by the market, and 'cultural production' has been increasingly assimilated to its terms, yet any full identity between cultural production and general production has been to an

important extent resisted... (R.Williams,1981:50)

Cultural policy is formed within and negotiates this disjuncture between the state and the market. The asymmetries result in points of conflict and contradiction between, for instance, cultural meanings, formed, distributed and consumed through the structuring system of the market and the dominant institutions of cultural authority supported by the state. Similarly legislation and other controls work to limit the operations of the capitalist market which the state otherwise exists to protect.

The asymmetries are complex and relate to the interaction of cultural, political and economic spheres. Public funding and the consequent need to distinguish, select and define cultural principles have been influenced by various kinds of cultural formations and movements. These culturally based movements, whether defined as oppositional or alternative to the dominant order, often indicate changes in class structure, or the development of class fractions, although as Williams has said social class is by no means culturally monolithic. (R,Williams, 1981:74) Although extremely complicated, the struggle and negotiation between various asymmetries has broadly resulted, in the terms of public subsidy, in a division between the older forms of cultural production and the more recent market dominated forms.

These issues can be considered in more concrete terms in the following outline of the development of post-war cultural policy within the framework of British social democracy and the relation between central and local state. Chapter 1 traces the development of cultural policy as a component in the construction of post-war social democracy, and chapter 2 outlines the more explicit breakdown of the notion of consensus in terms of the failure of corporatism and the position of cultural policy within this process.

Preservation.

Before the second world war central state involvement in public cultural provision was limited and indirect. It was confined mainly to Acts of Parliament which allowed for municipal support of local museums and libraries. The idea of the state encouraging certain kinds of cultural activities, actively formulating cultural criteria as a basis for public funding, was developed during the second world war and emerged in 1946 with the foundation of the Arts Council as a small part of social welfare legislation. The conception of a public institution to broaden the social influence of the arts can be traced to the philosophy of the Bloomsbury group, particularly in the figure of Maynard Keynes. Keynes' general aim was, through public bodies, to professionalise artistic practice, improve standards and to extend the distribution of the audience for the arts. The Bloomsbury group has been discussed by Williams as a specific kind of cultural development or 'civilisation', based on the notion of the progressive potential in the development of individual subjectivities.

In the 1940s and 50s the first phase of post-war cultural policy, evident in the work of the Arts Council, was dominated by policies designed to preserve traditional forms of high art and to protect and prolong that selective tradition by commissioning new works that might sustain it. The Keynesian ideal of 'raise and spread' was taken up and adapted to support policies designed to preserve cultural forms. As economic and social change levered traditional cultural forms (opera, certain forms of theatre, ballet) from their traditional forms of support, preservation became an important cultural policy motivation.

As Green has commented, the practice of the Arts Council rarely went further than the distribution of relatively small amounts of money to the 'strongest' claimants on specialist advice. (M,Green, 1977:16) This advice was provided by unpaid 'specialists' appointed to serve on the Arts Councils panels and committees. The Arts Council can be defined, as Williams (1981) does, as a 'post-market institution', since it serves to support cultural forms that are not viable in market terms. A key feature of the way the Arts Council developed this role is indicated by the phrase 'arm's length'. As noted earlier, the phrase reflects the preference of a disassociation of cultural policy not only from the government of the day but from politics altogether. However, the phrase 'arms length' was used at the time to refer to the distance maintained between the Arts Council and the artistic practice it supported.

Despite the 'arm's length' principle the selection process for panel and committee members revealed the links and indirect associations between the Government, the Arts Council, and cultural institutions such as the Royal Opera House. In 1946, despite the Arts Council doctrine that "Members should be truly impartial in their decision making", there was apparently no contradiction in Keynes' role as chair of both the Arts Council and the Royal Opera House, always the most heavily subsidised of the Arts Council's clients. (R.Hutchison,1982:27)

Early Arts Council policy helped to create the Royal Shakespeare Company and encouraged the idea of theatres and resident artists in newly planned universities. The aim was to set standards of excellence, the strategy was to support the few commanding heights that represented the pinnacle of artistic achievement. Such policies can be clearly linked to a version of nationalism, and national heritage ('National', 'Royal', 'Shakespeare'), and were in part designed to create and strengthen a sense of British culture, as indicated by a comment made by Richard Wolheim in a 1960s edition of The Spectator.

> Since the war the Arts Council and the British Council have conducted a campaign under the heading, wanted - a

The development of this first phase of cultural policy can be seen as deeply linked to two emerging post-war realisations. The first was centred on the British political role both domestic and on the world scene. The second was concerned with the beginnings of what was generally described as the importation of American mass culture. These two concerns correspond with two important areas of contradiction. The first area of contradictory tension was between the political tendencies of social democracy and the more elitist and hierarchical cultural values of an older class formation. The second area of contradiction lay between the educative role of the state and the cultural values arising from the developing post-war market in the terms of mass culture.

The rebuilding of the post-war world economy around the United States formed the framework in which Britain's experiment in social democracy went forward. Andrew Gamble argues that although the war marked sudden alterations in Britain's world status and the balance of internal politics, this did not lead to changes in the formal organisation of the state itself, and therefore the general character of British institutions remained substantially unchanged. (A.Gamble,1985) What emerges here is the felt sense of a split between economic and political power on the one hand and cultural and social power on the other. Hewison argues that the political temporarily suspended during the Labour government of 1945-51, while the social power of that class was almost untouched. (R.Hewison,1981) This split between political and social power had important consequences in the sphere of cultural policy. The immediate post-war policies can be seen in terms of compromises between fractions of the dominant class. While the Bloomsbury ideal of extending the influence of the arts can be linked to a kind of political meritocracy, the policy principle of arms length - at one remove from direct political control - could, at the same time, be used to ensure that cultural policy reflected the values that were being undermined in the political sphere.

The changes introduced by the Labour government of 1945 which became the basis for the policy consensus of the post-war years, were to a large extent based on the ideas of Keynes and Beveridge. Their acceptance was clearly signalled during the war by the publication of the White Paper on Full Employment (1944) and by the Beveridge report (1942). (A.Gamble,1985:102) To these were added Labour's plans for a national health service and the nationalisation of major public utilities. The implementation of these plans meant a substantial enlargement of the public sector, more detailed regulation of the economy, and a higher level of public spending. However, what is significant as Gamble points out, is that although there were measures for nationalisation these were mostly confined to loss-making industries and public utilities. In some ways, therefore, the status and organisation of private business were not questioned by these measures but confirmed. This kind of relation between public policy and the market can also be identified in cultural policy.

The separation between state 'public' organisations as necessary but loss-making and 'private' as successful in the market, served to confirm and sustain various contemporary themes. As I have already suggested, the cultural policy of preservation worked to reinforce cultural values threatened in the political sphere; but it also had complex and contradictory implications for the economic sphere. These contradictory tensions can be shown, for example, in the state's approach to the film industry. Debates about state intervention in the British film industry have been going on since the 1900s when the main issues were censorship and public safety in cinemas. In the 1920s concern began to be expressed about American domination of cinema screens, and the debate from the 1920s to the 50s was centred on the idea of a quota system to protect the British film industry. The film industry has always been conceived of as an industry, for this reason the relevant Government department for dealing with it has been the Board of Trade and consequently the consideration of the film industry within the emerging framework of post-war cultural policy presented a number suggestion that cinema might be included within the definition of cultural activity that could warrant state direction and support, was met with considerable resistance. (M.Dickinson, S.Street, 1985:160) Firstly, the financial interests of the film industry were far greater than those involved in theatre, opera or most visual arts, and therefore the film industry threatened to entirely overwhelm the existing cultural policy structures based as they were on models of arts patronage. Secondly, the film industry was considered dubious on cultural grounds. The inclusion of cinema in the terms of art would have seriously disrupted the defining terms of arts subsidy.

Public subsidy implies, in theory at least, a structure of accountability - that a democratic state should be able to justify public expenditure on democratic grounds. There is therefore an egalitarian potential contained within the notion of public subsidy. However, this was relatively easily avoided by the setting of specific selective cultural criteria.

> The subsidising of art forms most valued by the intellectual elite might render that elite rather less exclusive, but seemed unlikely to undermine the traditions which confirmed its superiority and enabled it to set standards of 'quality' and 'taste' which would guide policy (M.Dickinson, S.Street, 1985:160)

To include film as art in the late 1940s and early 50s would have seriously disrupted the parameters of public subsidy: not only did film exist as an 'industry' rather than as an individually produced or 'live' cultural form, but it also challenged the only available terms of cultural policy - that of preservation. And yet ironically when the Eady Levy was finally made statutory in 1957 to provide financial aid for British film production the industry was in decline. Thus the notion of preservation could then be invoked in the widely made argument that the cinema industry needed protection against American cultural domination.

In a sense both subsidy and nationalisation as they were constituted in the immediate post-war period were not adequate for dealing with the market. As Gamble has argued nationalisation of major industries also worked to confirmed the position of the non nationalised industrial sector, and therefore the role of the market. Similarly public subsidy excluded from the definition of culture all those forms circulating in the market. Public subsidy brought into sharp focus both the ideal of social ownership and the capitalist market. However, the conceptual separation of these two models, state subsidy and the free market, was partially challenged in debates over the film industry and again in the development of broadcasting.

A political split emerged in debates over the question of whether the second television channel should be structured as a public service or as a commercial channel financed by advertising. Stuart Hall discusses the split within the Conservative party over this issue between the wish to maintain paternalistic controls and the desire to implement free-market economics. The fact that it was decided to finance the second channel through the sale of advertising time and not via a public licence meant that it had to adhere to a market catering explicitly for a mass-popular audience.

> ...for the first time in Britain since the birth of the radio and television era, two kinds of cultural institutions founded on two competing cultural models, orchestrating the relations between classes and cultures in two contrasting ways - the 'paternalist' BBC and the 'populist' ITV - vied with each other for cultural leadership in a period of intense competition.(S.Hall,1986:45)

However, it is important to note that ITV does not operate in a completely free-market context, but works under the public service guidelines and regulation of the Independent Broadcasting Authority.

The debate about the inclusion/exclusion of cinema from cultural policy and the constitution of the second television channel indicates the organising framework of the definition of culture as either mass culture or minority culture. The divisions between those who wished to exclude mass cultural forms from cultural policy and those that thought mass forms could be made use of as part of the state's project of providing cultural leadership, were set against the background of a developing cultural market, and correspond to particular residual and emergent social formations. The aspirations of a newer social democracy were entangled with the values drawn from a liberal classical tradition.

On the surface at least the pervasiveness of the notion of the 'end of ideology', suggests that the 1950s was a period of relative prosperity, a period characterised by the sense that the ruling class had been replaced by an intermediary management group who were essential for managing more efficient industrial production and the welfare state. The education system was believed to have irreversibly minimised class differences and opened the way for opportunity for all. The most important characteristic of the period was the belief that a consensus politics of the centre existed.

However, according to Gamble's account of post-war history, perceptions of decline quickly began to pre-occupy British social and political policy makers. Countries such as Germany and Japan were able to grow at faster rates than Britain, and were able to adjust more rapidly to new industries and industrial techniques. (A.Gamble,1985:109-120) The failure of indirect Keynesian manipulation of the economy to produce rates of growth that matched Germany and Japan created pressure in favour of more active government involvement in the economy, more spending on infrastructure and research. The sense of decline was matched by the growing realisation of the underlying inequalities in British society, and a surge of self-criticism and the denigration of the British establishment began to be articulated. There was a growing sense that meritocratic government was being hampered by the tenacious grip of the older order.

After the war and the relaxation of state controls such as rationing, the possibilities for market based consumption became more open. By the 1950s the spread of material goods, especially amongst the working class, and the rise of mass cultural forms were being interpreted by strands of both the political left and right as signs of a more general moral and cultural degradation. For example, 'youth' became a contested site as an indicator of the moral values of society. On the one hand, youth and the visibility of sub-cultures was taken as an indication that a shift from work to leisure had arrived, that under the conditions of advanced capitalism the relations of consumption had replaced the relations of production. The rising generation were seen to be in the process of transcending class while preserving capitalism. (G.Murdock,R.McCron, 1976:197) On the other hand, as part of mass-culture, youth cultures could also be seen as representing its worst effects, as in Hoggart's description of 'juke box boys' for example. His concern was that the imitation, as he saw it, of American culture would result in the destruction of British working class culture. As Hill argues this feeling that Britain was being debased by materialism and 'spiritual dry rot' informed the angry young man phenomenon. (J.Hill,1986:7-25) In Hoggart's response to youth culture and mass culture more generally, and the evocations of community

Morris and Blake, the sense of the need for preservation of threatened forms of culture is brought to the defence of older forms of working class culture.

> ...the older, more narrow but also more genuine class culture is being eroded in favour of the mass opinion, the mass recreational product and the generalised emotional response. (R.Hoggart,1959:285)

The identification of culture as a social barometer, especially against the background of the post-war thesis of 'the end of ideology' and the 'affluent society', led to public criticism of the policies of the Arts Council and the class basis of cultural provision. What began to be recognised was the relational character of social classes, something that is obviously apparent in class cultural differences.

> Increases in income, shifts in occupational structure or changes in values only located movements within classes while the overall contours of class relations, constitutive of the capitalist mode of production remained intact. (J.Hill,1986:9)

The argument about the inequality of cultural provision was important for a series of counter-statements and the emergence of the new left which sought to challenge aspects of the 'end of ideology' philosophy of the 1950s. Green has grouped these statements into four main themes. Firstly, there was the demonstration of strong, persistent and complex class differences. Secondly, there was an emerging academic definition of culture as more inclusive of more ordinary cultural activity rather than restricted to the post-war emphasis on high art heritage, tradition partial failure of the new forms of education and means of communication in their claims to be more democratic. And fourthly, a line on the condition of England debate emerged which refused both the version of imperial Englishness and of following the course of American domination. (M.Green 1982:79-80)

However, the power of the cultural institutions was never really challenged. According to Williams, traditional high culture remained an upper middle class province even after there had been a significant intake of "new recruits". (R.Williams,1983) Instead of bridging the chasm, the middle-class itself, divided between the terms of minority and mass culture. Williams suggests that the contrast between minority culture and mass communications constitutes a formula which was maintained and elaborated at every stage of the development of new cultural technologies.

The perception of minority and mass as opposing principles was crucial for the structuring of cultural policy in that it helped to construct the distinction between state subsidised and market culture. However, Williams argues that there were and still are very few absolute contrasts left between a minority culture and mass communications.

> The original innovations of modernism were themselves a response to the complex consequences of a dominant social order in which forms of imperial-political and corporate-economic power were simultaneously destroying traditional communities and creating real and symbolic power and capital in a few metropolitan centres. (R.Williams 1983:142)

Williams goes on to argue that the conditions which produced a modernist art became the conditions which homogenised it, and diluted its deep forms until they could be made available as a universally distributed popular culture.

> The two faces of modernism could literally not recognise each other until a very late stage ... on the one hand what was seen was the energetic minority art at a time of reduction and dislocation; on the other hand the routine of a technological mass culture. It was then believed that the technological mass culture was the enemy of the minority modernist art, when in fact each was the outcome of much deeper transforming forces in the social order as a whole. (R.Williams, 1983:142/3)

Thus it is clear that it is not possible to sustain the paradigm of minority/mass culture, the importance of this division lies in the way it formed a social and political, ideological framework for making sense of cultural change. There is therefore a disjuncture between the ideological terms of cultural policy and the actual tendencies apparent in cultural change.

What began to emerge in the formation of the New Left was the attempt to create a broadly based politics of the left which involved new or changing definitions of culture, which in some ways presented a challenge to the minority/mass split, and in other ways reinforced it. The New Left saw cultural intervention as an area of possible contestation. Williams suggests that the basis of this assumption stemmed from a consciousness of changing patterns in Britain with;

> qualitatively new kinds of magazines, ads, TV

1979:362)

The general relation to existing cultural policy was one that was supportive of the principle but impatient with the result. Although the general principle of public subsidy and public service in the sphere of cultural provision was widely accepted, the actual practice of the Arts Council was seen as socially restrictive.

By the end of the 1950s, moral, political and cultural issues had been meshed together, in new kinds of political campaigns such as the Black American civil rights movement in the United States and Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain. Two particular features were crucial for the development of new left politics. Firstly, there was a recognition of forms of political action organised outside the main political parties; and secondly, there was a recognition that politics and furthermore, ideology were personally lived. The late 1950s has been described as a period of the declaration of a politics of the subject/individual. This is illustrated by the importance placed on personal commitment. However, these ideas were not widely taken up until the counter-cultural movement of the 1960s and the community arts movement of the 1970s. Nevertheless the emphasis on commitment in the 1950s was set against the 'establishment', a notion that indicated the irremovable object of upper-class institutional domination combined with a muzzled meritocracy. As Hewison argues the 'establishment' was a sinister characterisation shifted from politicians to faceless bureaucrats and administrators:

> new men who administer rather than lead and whose power extends from the civil service into universities and the increasingly bureaucratised institutions of the arts. (R.Hewison,1981:168)

The popular currency of the idea of the hidden power of the establishment can be seen in the way it was later turned around and used against the left when Labour won the election in 1964. The Sunday Times published an article entitled "The new establishment" with a row of photographs including ones of Hoggart and Williams. The implication was that these were the people giving the intellectual orders to Labour Ministers. (R.Williams, 1979:371)

In brief, this period reveals a complicated set of responses to the social, political, economic and cultural repercussions of Britain's post-war role, which can be summarised as the consolidation of welfarism and consumerism to create a consensus. A series of contradictory pressures co-existed: expansion and decline, affluence and the re-discovery of poverty; social democracy and liberal economics; new moves towards political democracy together with state sponsored re-assertion of traditional culture and associated social values. A number of themes emerge from this specific constellation of social democracy. The very idea of a national cultural policy is clearly related to the concepts of public service and the potential of state intervention in the economy. However, in retrospect it is clear that Keynesian economic intervention is in fact compatible with the liberal tradition of economic policy. State intervention, even nationalisation, could work to reinforce rather than undermine free market capitalism. Cultural policy also played out these tensions. Indeed, the ideas of the Bloomsbury group which were influential in the setting up of the Arts Council have been described by Williams as expressing at once the highest values of the bourgeois tradition and the necessary next phase of a bourgeois social and cultural order. (R.Williams,1981:81) This first period of cultural policy, concentrating as it did on the preservation of cultural forms, reveals contradictory tensions in the use of public policy. Public policy was needed to support opera, ballet, and the visual arts as the pinnacles of artistic expression. However, although the high art tradition depended on public subsidy, the abstract principle of public cultural policy serving a general interest did threaten, as in the case of whether to include the film industry within the terms of cultural policy, to expand the definition of culture and effectively undermine the cultural power of the existing tradition. The alignment of the principle of public intervention with the existing cultural formation was achieved in the social democratic compromise of the Arts Council. With cultural policy organised within the broad framework of patronage, the potential of public intervention was held in check. As a result, 'arts' in this first period of cultural policy referred to a specific sense of minority arts and not to culture in a broad sense.

Access

The second broad phase in Green's scheme of post-war cultural policy emerged in the mid-1960s. He describes it as the 'democratisation of culture'. This second phase is typified by a more determined attempt to achieve the aim of extending the audiences for traditional art forms. The major emphasis is thus on improving access to the arts and particularly the way they are presented. For example, the way the arts were to be located within the contemporary social context became an important policy pre-occupation, and attention was given to the way the arts were 'housed', with an emphasis on building design that reflected the aim of accessibility. The Arts Council report "Housing the Arts in Great Britain" (ACGB 1960) paved the way for a spate of theatre building lasting ten years and leaving a legacy of thirty new theatres each requiring a life-time of subsidy. In this way theatre was drawn from the market into the sphere of state subsidy.

A second strategy in the policy of increased access was to promote and make important the role of professional educators. Teachers and directors of cultural institutions were to have more responsibility for attracting and stimulating audiences, especially young audiences. These two strategies - housing the arts and increased educational encouragement - did not question the nature of the art on offer; instead they attempted to make physical access easier and to educate people so that they became more receptive to it. Both these strategies attempted to bridge the divide between art and the "people" but neither considered ways of explaining and presenting "art" in terms of its social construction.

In terms of the concern that began to be expressed in the previous phase over how to deal with minority culture - whether to isolate it and preserve it from the market purely for its own sake, or whether in the name of public subsidy an attempt should be made to widen the audience - this second phase represents the more explicit adoption of the second position. A motivating argument within this position was that a more accessible high culture would provide an alternative to the pervasiveness of mass culture. In addition, the attempt to open up traditional high culture to a wider audience went hand in hand with the social democratic expansion of the education system and the 'provision of opportunity'. In 1964 the Labour government appointed a joint parliamentary secretary - Jennie Lee - with special responsibility for the arts. The fact that this post was based in the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works reflects a bureaucratic and conceptual equation between the idea of state responsibilty for the and monuments. The subsequent transfer of Jennie Lee to the Department of Education and Science in 1965 (where she was made a Minister in 1967), indicates the shift in emphasis in this period of cultural policy development from preservation to education. The 'spread' aspect of Keynes' maxim 'raise and spread' had in the previous period been submerged and was now coming to the fore in policy terms.

In its 1964 election publication "Leisure for Living", the Labour Party discussed the need for changes in government attitude towards the arts. In office the party published the White Paper _A Policy for the Arts_ (1965). Although compiled by Jennie Lee the paper was presented by the Prime Minister for two significant reasons: firstly because it gave the document greater standing; and secondly because the policy plans went beyond Jennie Lee's sphere of responsibility, covering areas other than education such as film and broadcasting, which were the responsibility of other Ministers and other government departments - the Department of Trade and Industry and the Home Office. Lee recognised that although the Arts Council had the main formal responsibility for cultural support, far greater resources were involved in the less explicit but more important role of the education system and broadcasting. (The BBC for example was a very significant financial resource for cultural production.) The problem for a comprehensive cultural policy was, that it touches on areas administered by different government departments. Organisational change implies conceptual change, and both were resisted. Hugh Jenkins, a succeeding Labour Arts Minister (1974-76) suggests that the paper A Policy for the Arts was significant in its recognition of the need for a far-reaching and co-ordinated cultural policy. The basic aims set out in the paper were to make `the best' in the arts more widely available and at the same time to sustain high standards. This is the basic Keynesian model, a two pronged approach which was paralleled in the structure of implementation. The role ascribed to the local authorities was to work to extend local and regional activity, while the responsiblity for the maintenance of standards was seen as a national concern and therefore came under the aegis of the Arts Council. In this way local policy came to be associated with the implementation of policies largely determined at national level.

The division between minority and mass culture, which following Raymond William's analysis is an ideological disjuncture rather than a reflection of the relation between different cultural forms, is discussed in the White Paper as a 'culture gap', a gap between high and low. It was seen as a gap that should have been, and still might be, eradicated by social democracy.

> No democratic government would seek to impose controls on all things that contribute to our environment and affect our senses. But abuses can be spotted and tackled, high standards encouraged, and opportunities given for wider enjoyment. It is partly the question of bridging the gap between what has come to be called

> sources - the brass band, the amateur concert party, the entertainer, the music hall and the pop group - and to challenge the fact that a gap exists. In the world of jazz the process has already happened; high brow and low brow have met. (Lee, A Policy for the Arts, 1965,paragraph 71)

Apart from the pop group, Lee concentrates here on traditional forms of "low" culture, avoiding definitions of popular culture as commercial mass culture. She invokes a particular definition of popular culture which is unmediated, it is of and for the people. In this way the forms of working class culture which Hoggart saw as under threat are linked to high culture to form a cohesive cultural continuum, constructed under the overarching framework of social democracy.

The White Paper typifies the optimism of the time for the possibilities of policies that will effectively extend access to the arts.

> more and more people begin to appreciate that the exclusion of so many for so long from the best of our cultural heritage can become as damaging for the privileged minority as to the under privileged majority.(Lee,A Policy for the Arts,1965,para. 99)

This appeal to extend access to the older cultural traditions in the name of national unity or for the Conservatives, in the name of 'one nation conservatism' invoked the interdependence in society and the need for a consensual balance. It represented the desire on behalf of the Labour Party to be seen to move significantly away from what Williams has described as little more than a defensive holding operation in cultural policy. The optimism was part of the Labour Government's public aim to "change the social furniture we have inherited from the industrial revolution" and modernise. Thus for example, the White paper showed concern for design and presentation, pointing to the new Art Centres with their characteristic design embodying the aim and intention of openess.

The optimistic policies of access drew on particular uses of the notion of 'community'. Firstly, drawing on the sense that culture should not be regarded as something remote from everyday life, Lee called for an integration of architecture, industrial design, town planning and the preservation of the countryside as part of a comprehensive cultural policy. 'Community' was used here to suggest a sense of integrated wholeness; 'the quality of contemporary life'. Lee's use of the term community altered the contemporary understanding of the term culture, and invokes Williams' commonly quoted phrase "the whole way of life". Secondly, 'community' was suggested to articulate a sense of shared values, a collectivity, signalling the socialist nature of such aspirations. Issues that had been seen as the private responsibility of private individuals came to be constructed as social issues. The state's responsibility in the field of culture was to provide opportunity for all.

> There is a great longing for us to be more of a community. Before we arrogantly say that any group of our citizens are not capable of appreciating the best in the arts, let us make absolutely certain that we have put the best within their reach. (Lee, A Policy for the Arts, 1965)

The immediate outcome of the White Paper was the increase the Labour Government made to the Arts Council's grant. It was doubled within the first two years of government. Also in this period the Regional Arts Associations were set up, although at this stage they were seen as local bodies through which national Arts Council policies could be implemented. A third development of the period was the way discussion of cultural policy began to be re-oriented within a framework of a more general social policy. The visibility of youth instead of being a symbol of affluence, as was possible in the '50s, was increasingly being made a source of alarm, a sign of general cultural deprivation. It was commonly suggested that the problems of youth, as in part a (culturally defined problem of) lack of values, could be alleviated by the arts.

> once young people are captured for the Arts, they are redeemed of many of the dangers which confront them. (Arts Council Chairman, quoted in Green 1977:17)

As Green has argued, the discussion of culture began to be connected with "problems": the problems of youth, the problems of communities and the problems of leisure. This particular conjuncture is crucial for the developing recognition of a social use for cultural policy and it is this which underpinned the changing financial base and the increasing importance of subsidy.

The association between arts and education policy is marked out in the White Paper and was encouraged by Jennie Lee's role as a Minister in the DES. Responsibility for to the DES and Lee took over the responsibility for museums and public galleries from the Ministry of Public Works. Given the resistance and unwillingness on the part of British bureaucracy to formal, open and positive discussion of cultural policy, Lee's attempt at institutional planning represents, as Green argues,

> a policy move towards a degree of co-ordinationin cultural planning which is quite new to great Britain. (M.Green,1977:9)

The educational emphasis became an important focal point for a co-ordinated policy. Cultural policy was designed to proceed in conjunction with new policies for arts education in schools and universities. Education was the vital link between culture and social policy.

The centrality of education contributed another sphere of responsibility to the cultural role of the local state. Local education authorities were to be responsible for childrens' cultural development so that, as a further DES report on the arts argued,

> their interest in the arts can be kept alive and their taste developed through the period when they become more self-conscious and are exposed to the pressures of undemanding entertainment. (DES Report on the Arts, May 1962:2)

(The failure to recognise the contradiction in the idea of undemanding pressure, and the social relations of youth which the phrase obscures and thus devalues, indicates the ways these pressures could only be thought of as negative, and as such to be resisted with the help of education.) The cultural investment in education is clear. 'Education' is added to 'patronage' and 'preservation' and these are the three main headings which structure the report and the policy.

It is likely that in its interest in expansion of cultural provision and the aspirations towards new kinds of social equality and thus the social cohesion that would be brought about by increased cultural provision, the 1964 Labour government had in part been influenced by the arguments within the New Left. For example, at the time, Williams was prescribing the conditions for cultural growth as equal availabilty of new and familiar cultural forms over a long period of time, and therefore made explicit the need for long term planning. (R.Williams,1961) More recently Williams recalls the reserved optimism of the time about the possibilities for the 1964 Labour government.

> Of course I shared the hope that the next Labour government would put through certain measures in the social field with which we all broadly agreed. I didn't expect it to understand the new cultural issues, but at least I thought dialogue was possible. People like Benn or Jennie Lee seemed interested in these problems and open to them (R.Williams,1979:367)

Communications published by Williams in 1961 was designed to serve the more general political movement on the left. At the time there were no real party political policies in the area of communications. Williams worked out detailed schemes for change in three stages:

> immediate, transitional and long-term, partly thinking that there was some possibility that at least the first might be taken up by the Labour party but also to develop a new kind of politics - constructive as well

> (R.Williams,1979:370)

However, instead of being part of the "new establishment", issuing intellectual orders to Labour Ministers, Williams seemed bemused that

> Throughout the entire six years of Labour government in the sixties, I never had one enquiry, formal or informal, private or public, one invitation to a committee or a conference, from anybody in the Labour government or Labour machine (R.Williams,1979:371)

It appears that, despite the possibility, there was little direct cross-over between the more academic analyses of the New Left and the general parliamentary Labour party discussions. The indirect influences are harder to trace. The period of 1960-66 has been seen by a series of historians as part of a period of the construction of a social democratic consensus. Williams describes it as a period when criticism by the left of the Wilson government was held in check by the argument that the government was prevented from doing what it wanted by its tiny majority. He goes on to argue that despite the much larger majority after the 1966 election,

> within three months Wilson was on television doing everything he could to break the Seamen's strike, denouncing their leaders as a small group of politically motivated men. Nobody resigned from the Cabinet - it was a very complete revelation of what the Labour Party had become. (R.Williams,1979:373)

Thus, 1966 was seen as the beginning of the collapse of a period of expansive hegemony. The general disappointment with the Labour government and the anti-unionist stance it appeared to adopt helped create a point of junction between a working class which could now see the Labour government as an opponent, and the student and intellectual left, which had been building up since the late 1950s. Williams sees the culmination of these interests as a movement. The May 1968 events in France and the origins of the MayDay manifesto in Britain are seen as different manifestations of the same social formation.

Williams suggests that a social democratic party is one that carries out

> the assertion of a social purpose over the capitalist market. (R.Williams,1979:377)

These aims were abandoned by the Labour party in the mid-1960s. The reforms proposed by the Labour party since the mid-1960s, Williams argues, were designed to rationalize and perhaps humanize the capitalist economy, and forms the dividing line between what was once a social democratic party and what it became - "a post or non-social democratic party." Two broad themes emerge with this shift: on the one hand, the desire to modernise and strengthen the economy produced an emphasis on new forms of management both for business and for central and local government - corporatism, which also became a political rhetoric manifest in developing policies asserting the "national interest"; on the other hand, this period also saw the coming to the fore of what have been termed the new social movements, with their emphasis on new political issues, neglected by the existing party politics.

The growth of the counter-culture movements in the 1960s was dramatic in both America and Europe. Part of this growth arose from the apparently contradictory position of the student, perhaps most sharply focussed in American universities. Students were able to take time to step aside from the concerns of production to develop intellectually within a broad organisation and structure which was ultimately determined by corporate and technocratic values and goals. This was gradually perceived as a contradiction. Juliet Mitchell takes this potential paradox further and argues that it was not simply that people were being educated for the skills required in the increasing complexities of technical production, but also for,

> the expansion of the mental universe itself, a universe that has to be enormously much wider in a society geared to consumption than in one oriented around primary production...The greater the development of capital, the higher the rate of reproduction that is necessary to maintain it. People from the colleges and universities are increasingly called in to perform this work... they are the agents of consumer capitalism. (J.Mitchell,1971:29)

The counter-cultural developments were anti-corporatist; the counter-culture was an expression of the refusal of incorporation. Marcuse's analysis of advanced industrial society in One Dimensional Man gives an account of the corporatist project and sets out the contemporary philosophical basis for opposition to it,

> culture, politics and the economy merge into an omnipresent system which swallows up or repulses all alternatives. The productivity and growth potential of this system stabilize the society and contain technical progress within the framework of domination. (H.Marcuse,1964:14)

Marcuse expands on the notion of false consciousness, or rather on a distinction between true and false consciousness, and therefore on the sense of real and false needs. These concerns indicate the parameters of the counter-cultural opposition based on a qualitative redefinition of needs.

> To liberate the imagination so that it can be given all its means of expression presupposes the repression of much that is now free and that perpetuates a repressive society. And such a reversal is not a matter of psychology or ethics but of politics. (H.Marcuse,1964:195)

The social critiques made in the 1950s in Britain were seen in this period to have only made metaphoric gestures against 'the bomb' or 'bureaucracy'. These protests were later seen not only as almost apolitical, but unaware of issues about consciousness, about how the individual (subject) was determined, and therefore romantically optimistic about the possibilities of rebellion. For example,

> The anger of the sixties was an anger not just of people who thought their parents were complacent, but an anger of people who felt that reality itself was a mean, even disgusting, wholly unethical fabrication. So we were pitched into attacking not just events within the real world, but the whole notion of how the real world was constructed and spoken about. (P.Sainsbury, 1985)

The analysis of the sphere of the social in the 1960s implied heavy personal responsibility; once the social system had been analysed and exposed it could not be side-stepped. To bring politics into everyday life was seen as a liberation, an end to its false separation; but also as scrutiny and self-consciousness. Such an approach seemed important for an awareness of how 'the personal' had become politically determined. The society which pictured itself ideologically as free, individualist and expressive began to be analysed as dominated by necessity and conformity. The intellectual project of the counter-culture was to delineate the subjective dimensions of social domination. As a result social critiques could, and did include a rejection of various forms of centralism, of trade unions and the political party.

The term counter-culture itself suggests the objective of presenting an alternative. The critique of established institutions is implicit in the establishment of alternative facilities which provide a public presence and indentity. The radical development of otherness is clear in the titles of counter-cultural projects - 'The Other Cinema', 'The Other Bookshop'. The notion of alternative, of constructing and demonstrating other kinds of social organisation, led to the development and concentration on pre-figurative politics, with the now familiar emphasis on working practices and organisation.

The importance of the counter-cultural movement and the emphasis placed on the experiential/subjective dimensions of cultural activity, lie in the way these ideas are re-formulated in the community arts movement and are incorporated within both Arts Council policy and more general education and social policies during the 1970s.

Furthermore, counter-cultural ideas can be identified in the oppositional cultural policies of the GLC administration in the early 1980s.

In the early 1960s the role of local authority cultural policy was defined as one which could implement the Arts Council's broad policy of increasing access to art. The Arts Council's annual report of 1963/4 discusses, from the Arts Council's point of view, the nature of local authority support for different forms of culture. The report draws on a survey carried out by the Institute of Municipal Entertainment on Municipal Entertainment in England and Wales, for the two years 1947/8 and 1961/2. The purpose of the survey was to assess the use made by local authorities of the Local Government Act of 1948 which allowed for a small percentage of the rates (up to 6d) to be spent on public arts and entertainment. The main conclusion the Arts Council drew from this report was that even if the optional section 132 were made mandatory it would not directly lead to increased expenditure on the arts at all. This conclusion was arrived at because the Arts Council's interpretation of "arts and entertainment" was as the "fine arts" exclusively. Although the Arts Council report acknowledged that fine arts are only a part of "entertainment", it was argued that "they are the best and most important part" (Arts Council Annual Report 1963/4:9)

To demonstrate the limits of local authority expenditure the constituency of Aneurin Bevan, the Urban District Council of Ebbw Vale, which spent nearly up to the sixpenny rate allowed for entertainment in 1961/2. However, in the Arts Councils terms the net expenditure on "cultural" entertainment was barely more than the equivalent of a penny rate. Their argument on the nature of spending is based on the distinction between "art" and "entertainment". The example of Ebbw Vale was used to demonstrate the Arts Council's argument that within the gross expenditure by local authorities on cultural activities in 1961/2, expenditure on 'arts' was no more than 12%. As a result of this interpretaion of local authority expenditure, the Arts Council and the Institute of Municipal Entertainment agreed that

> adjustments would have to be made if we are to have a more balanced programme. (AC Annual Report 1963/4:10)

The Arts Council report suggested a proposal for,

> painless progress towards a better distribution of local authority resources (AC Annual Report 1963/4:10)

based on the survey's sub-division of expenditure between "cultural entertainment" and "other entertainment". "Cultural entertainment" included,

> art exhibition, ballet, opera, theatre, orchestral concerts, recitals, lectures and arts festivals. (ibid)

The gross expenditure by local authorities on "cultural entertainment" in 1961/2, minus the amount recovered produced a subsidy rate of about two-thirds, which the Arts Council described as on the high side but realistic.

subsidy - it recovered most of its net expenditure, or as the report put it, local authorities lost,

> little or none of ratepayer's money on non-cultural entertainment. Indeed it is hard to see why an authority need lose money on 'other entertainment'... band, jazz concerts, beauty competitions, carnivals, circuses, dances, funfairs, pantomines, variety and professional wrestling might fairly be expected to pay for themselves.(AC Annual Report 1963/4:11)

The model for social democratic redistribution was understood in the following terms.

> The whole net expenditure of local authorities on 'other entertainment' can be rediverted to 'cultural entertainment' (or grants and subsidies) without costing the ratepayers anything at all: and this would mean half as much again for the arts without losing a single vote. ...the idea of paying for Bartok and Brecht out of the bingo may not appeal to the more high minded Councillors ... but the evidence in the survey must lead them to question whether they are any longer justified in actually losing the ratepayer's money on forms of entertainment there described as 'other' and if not, whether municipal entertainments of a better quality might not fairly benefit from the results of keener financial control. (AC Annual Report 1963/4:12)

The Arts Council's interpretation of the principles of the social democratic project - to finance social reforms out of capitalist growth - is therefore, to subsidise fine arts from public funds derived from 'other entertainment'. The Arts Council in this period did not recognise the existing cultural provision of local authorities as 'cultural'. The central concern with fine arts meant that cultural provision such as libraries were not even included in the definition of cultural policy. The restriction of explicit cultural policy to the limited formal remit of the Arts Council meant that the kind of with an emphasis on quality of life, and taking into account aspects such as transport, planning and the environment, were almost impossible to implement, as they were institutionally unthinkable.

The Arts Council attitude to local authorities' cultural provision also brings to the fore the relation between the central and local state, and the fixing of cultural value. These issues will be explored more fully in the case studies.

Parallels can be drawn between the principle of cross-subsidy and the prevailing social democratic philosophy of the period. This Arts Council version of paying for Bartok and Brecht out of the Bingo was apparent in projects such as the 'Other Cinema' where money earning titles were used to subsidise other material. The notion of cross-subsidy is still a central principle for many kinds of cultural projects. The fact that the Arts Council and alternative cultural projects could operate similar strategies suggests a deeper relation between the organisation of culture and the predominant political philosophy. In the same way that Mitchell suggests the ideological values that the society appeared to elevate - personal freedom and choice - were taken up and reworked by the counter-cultural impulse, so too were the political economic and technological values. The ideology of advanced capitalism suggested that it was capable of producing enough abundance to solve the material problems of the world. The site of tension indicated by the notion of 'alternativeness' was between the means of production and the relations of production - between what existed and the potential for different kinds of production. The projects based on alternative profit distribution, and on 'Other' businesses, illustrate alternative possibilities within the same broad political and economic system.

Despite suggestions that by 1966 the Labour party had become in effect post-social democratic, it still used the rhetoric of a social democratic model based on consensus and a welfare state. Overall it is possible to locate Jennie Lee's cultural policy within this trajectory of social welfarism, and further to see how understandings of social democracy are played out within cultural policy, especially within complicated models for the re-distribution of culture. However, by the mid 1960s the Labour government had began to institutionalise the ideology of corporatism. The introduction of corporatist policies had implications for the institutional organisation of local state cultural policy and provision; and more generally for the development of social policy and its bearing on cultural policy.

The Labour government introduced specific bodies to deal with the tripartite link between government, industry and the unions, and to determine income policies. The National Economic Development Council (NEDC) and the National Incomes Commission (NIC) were followed by a Prices and

Department of Economic Affairs and the Ministry of Technology - which were intended to represent the interests of the national economy. (A.Gamble 1981:118)

According to Graham Thompson these policies represent the introduction of themes of corporatism to Britain. (G.Thompson, 1984:77-119) He describes corporatism as a political mechanism which attempts to co-ordinate the various economic interest groups in the economy. Within this framework Thompson argues, trade unions were compromised and incorporated as something akin to state agencies, as all three sides of the tripartism were supposed to compromise and support the consensus, the national interest. Corporatism highlighted a set of goals for society organised around order, unity, nationalism and success. The developing themes of corporatism were a response to growing economic problems and associated social and class conflict. The post war consensus was fragile and this system of structured co-operation was intended to reinforce it. Therefore, Thompson goes on to argue, corporatism developed as a political system as well as a specific approach to the management of state economic interventions of the period.

The corporatism of the late 1960s and 70s, and the way it was also developed within the local state as a management model; is central to the development of the local state and therefore to the conception of local cultural policies; it was also central to Cockburn's analysis of the contradictory nature of the local state. The redrawing of the boundaries of the local government between 1957 and 1974 were consistently based on the need to increase the size and consequently the power of the local state in relation to large population concentrations and the need for efficient use of resources. Redcliffe-Maud's report for the Royal Commission on Local Government in England, (1969) recommended a single tier system of large unitary authorities. In Cockburn's analysis the local government system as a whole was being geared up to govern more intrusively and effectively. She argues that although it was only the internal management reforms that were called corporate management and planning, external reforms, policy-making and changes in services were also based on the same principles.

Cockburn's reservations about corporatism stem from the way it was developed as a management initiative, and the way it could be used as an instrument of intervention by central government, rather than by elected members. The effect of local government re-organisation since the 1960s until the mid-1980s has been to increase the size, both of the tiers of government and the districts they serve. The corporate influence can be seen in the adoption of particular management strategies, the result of which Cockburn suggests was that corporatism became a self-contained system for local government in which the clients' role became a pre-structured part of the system

> The state, like a corporation, looks for ways of 'influencing the environment so that its own present or future behaviour is more efficient'. One of the ways is to incorporate bits of the environment into the system, by increasing the information flows and other practical links between the two. It is by integrating the local population into predictable 'families' and 'community groups' and by setting up 'joint committees' between itself and them that the state can develop the level of information flow that amounts to 'governance'. (C.Cockburn,1977:100)

The effect the adoption of corporatism had on local government cultural policies is indicated by the way local policies began to tie in with national policy emphases. For example, the trend for large indoor sports centres, encouraged by the Sports Council, was only really possible after re-organisation when recreation departments were large and powerful enough to plan and finance such centres. (These issues are developed in Case Study II.)

To sum up, this second policy phase sees the movement of cultural policy through an educational to a social policy context within a developing corporatist political framework. All three emphases fit in with an overall social policy aim of social integration, the construction of consensus. The principles of social democracy contained the notions of partial re-distribution, and of cross-subsidisation. These were easily incorporated into Arts Council policies, thus perpetuating a particular selective tradition and the continued assertion of a cultural authority.

The disillusionment with the Wilson government and the counter-cultural emphasis on representation and reality, with its reaction to the growth of consumerism and the development of notions of 'false consciousness' represented a partial challenge to the principle cultural policy objective of this phase, that of extending access, by questioning the values and validity of the culture on offer. The response to this challenge, the incorporation of aspects of counter-cultural philosophy within state policies, is taken up in the following chapter.

As I have already noted there are a series of aysmmetries between state and market. Public cultural policy, dealing as it does with social values, serves to highlight some of these areas of apparent contradiction. One such area is the potential conflict between the long-term requirements necessary for the reproduction of the social order and the immediate conflicting logic of the capitalist market. In the post-war period the negotiation of this dynamic has shifted from straightforward state regulation of cultural activity through licensing laws, to a more consensual implantment of cultural values through social policy. The following chapter considers what happens to cultural policy as the notion of consensus is further undermined in the 70s and 80s.

Part of the impulse which directs the changes in cultural policies comes from a recognition of the failure of earlier strategies to achieve their aims or to respond adequately to changing circumstances. The third phase of cultural policy arising in the mid-1970s was fuelled by the realisation that despite increased educational provision, (in the previous phase the key to opening up access), there were few indications that the 'arts' were regularly or actively appreciated outside the familiar and limited social groups. (Green,1977) It was this recognition that contributed in part to the development of the terms and processes of 'community arts', a movement based on the re-thinking of the social uses of art, and adapted from some of the earlier counter-cultural impulses. The Arts Council's position of supporting standards and excellence, although remaining the central core of policy, became slightly more circumspect.

This third phase of policy, Green describes as dominated by the idea of cultural democracy. The distinctive feature of this phase is the marked emphasis on an ideal of more general public participation in cultural production and expression. This emphasis stands in contrast to the previous phase which was predominantly concerned to increase access; to allow for appreciation of the arts across a broader spectrum of social class.

Community arts embodied a double movement in the contemporary definition and understanding of 'art'. Firstly the stress on participation broadened the definition of what it meant to be 'creative'. It was argued that creativity could be recognised in everyday cultural activity. Secondly, the notion of participation in the arts was mobilised to counter the 'effects' of market-based or mass culture which was, in the main, described in negative terms as inducing 'passive' rather than 'active' involvement. Community arts moved the policy emphasis away from a formal, pure and abstract reception/appreciation to one based on creative experience. The policies that developed from such a perspective were based on strategies of animation to stimulate cultural demand and participation in arts activities. However, these policies have to be placed within a context of the more general contemporary proliferation of ideas of 'community development' in the wider political and social sphere.

The 'community' prefix in the phrase community arts was meant to suggest another dimension to the way 'arts' were understood. The two terms coupled together suggested the aim of shifting immediate control of cultural activities into the hands of local communities, and therefore radically democratising access to the arts. Under the broad policy aims of 'cultural democracy' the features of community arts practice included: an emphasis on the collectivisation of resources; an emphasis on working in groups and mobilising the notion of collective creativity; an emphasis on the process of creative activity as communication, on group or individual self-expression; and a tendency to see creativity as an essential part of any radical struggle, thus the use of arts in the service of community and political campaigns.

The notions of 'control' and 'power' although central to the whole perspective of community arts, were never precisely defined or analysed. The idea of cultural democracy was in some ways a re-appropiation of the definitions of culture employed by the Arts Council; therefore notions of cultural value and creativity were not so much questioned as re-deployed. The community arts movement did not have a political analysis of the use of the term 'community', and it broadly shared the position of the Arts Council in its rejection of popular 'mass' culture. As a result, although community arts challenged the policies based on access to traditional received arts forms as elitist, it did so from a position firmly fixed and grounded in the assumptions of the tradition it appeared to reject.

The uncertainty felt by the Arts Council over its position of maintaining standards and excellence in the face of argument that it only served a minority audience, was reflected in its partial adoption of the ideas of community arts and the supporting philosophy of cultural democracy. In 1974 the Arts Council set up a working party to produce a report on community arts. The report (the 'Baldry' report) recommended the setting up of a community arts panel. By setting up a new panel to deal with a phenomena called 'community arts' the Arts Council constituted it as an art genre rather than as an overall policy approach. Nevertheless, the particular features of the community arts panel were that it cut across distinctions such as amateur and professional, experimental and non-experimental; and unlike any other Arts Council panel it was to include people with technical experience (video etc), and significantly, people with knowledge of social work. A couple of years after the Community Arts panel was set up, a further report was commissioned to evaluate its progress,

> ...to assess whether the extra subsidy during the two year experiment has had a significant effect on local communities, resulting in greater creative activity, and to assess whether community arts have a clear relevance to the arts as a whole and whether they contribute to the development of the arts. (Arts Council Report on Community Arts, 1976:2)

The aims and objectives of community arts as recognised and interpreted by the Arts Council illustrate the key policy strands pertaining to the theme of cultural democracy, and the ways such a theme would be negotiated by a state body such as the Arts Council.

> They express a range of work which seeks to relate art to life... to give people the opportunity to enjoy and participate in creative activity, to take an active as well as a passive role in the arts, to make the arts more accessible to all members of the community, and more relevant to the creative development of society. ...the Redcliffe-Maud report refers to the small

> involved in the active enjoyment and personal experience of the arts. ...Community arts seek to reaffirm the natural role of culture in our society, to enable far more people to have a chance of expressing themselves through the arts, of appreciating the arts, and thereby increasing their knowledge of art and life.(Report by the Arts Council's Community Arts Evaluation Group, 1976:4)

Part of the argument employed by the minority in the Arts Council sympathetic to community arts was that support for it was a necessary part of the Arts Council's charter and that if the Arts Council failed to respond, it would become increasingly irrelevant as a national organisation serving the national cultural interest. The partial adoption of community arts was therefore a concession to the idea of a more relevant role for the Arts Council, a method of fulfilling the charter and at the same time maintaining a stake in the debates about the future development of cultural policies. In Arts Council policy discussion, community art was yoked together with what became relatively termed the 'established art', but yoked in a way that made sure the two were entirely separate entities and clearly hierarchically positioned. The assertion (made above by the evaluation group) that community arts represented a way of retrieving a natural role for culture in society, was not seen to contradict or imply any criticism of 'established arts', rather it was stated that community arts could be added, that the two should be seen as complementary.

> in the established arts the council has criteria of assessment and excellence. Community arts projects must also be judged by their quality, but the criteria for

> assessment will include much else besides. (Report by the Community Arts Evaluation Group,1976:6)

The Arts Council's recognition of community arts was also a tacit acknowledgement that there could be some kind of linkage between arts and social problems. The older Bloomsbury 'civilisation' view that exposure to the arts induces a process of individual enlightenment was adapted to support the idea that art might have a more direct social purpose.

> In cities, central and local government are becoming increasingly aware of the need to find a solution to the problems of inner city decay and the ugliness and isolation of the wastelands of much post-war planning. We have seen something of the unique and often unrecognised contribution that community arts is already making to this question, and we have no doubt that the potential for further development is considerable (Report by the Community Arts Evaluation Group, 1976:30)

The social purpose for art was seen to lie in furthering the development of a sense of 'community', of social cohesion; it was seen as a form of social democracy in action which would counter the isolation, alienation and potential anarchy of contemporary society. The need for cultural compensation was argued for with almost missionary zeal.

> The recreation of a sense of community, of a sense of belonging, of communication and consultation, of self-confidence and of achievement, may well spring from the skilled development of arts-based creative activity... we are convinced that the Council in continuing its support of the practice of community arts will not only be contributing to the development of art itself but will be making it possible for an ever increasing number of people to experience and appreciate some form of artistic expression... such people have hitherto not been the concern of the Arts Council. The experiment has shown the way to find them. It would be tragic in our view if they were now lost. (Evaluation

Community arts and 'established arts' together formed the Arts Council's commitment to the aims of cultural cohesion and social integration, implied by the political and economic policies of social democracy.

The aim of cultural cohesion and social integration was also the main impulse behind the Arts Councils attempt to develop a policy for 'ethnic minority arts'. The term was adopted from a report 'The Arts Britain Ignores' commissioned by the Arts Council, the Gulbenkian Foundation and the Community Relations Commission, and published in 1976. Kwesi Owusu (1986) discusses the way 'cultural isolation' was identified as a major problem and the way 'ethnic arts' was seen as a way of legitimising and reinforcing the integrationist approach of arts policy. (1) In this way both the development of community arts and that of ethnic arts by the Arts Council can be seen in terms of a philosophical framework in which the 'established arts' formed the central mainstay of cultural policy both fiscally and as the heart of cultural value, while community arts and ethnic arts were essentially peripheral add-on policies, primarily legitimated in non-cultural terms, such as countering poverty or 'cultural isolation'.

The aims of cultural democracy were part of a European movement that emerged during the seventies. The Arts Council's adoption of communty arts can also be seen in part as a response to the European policy developments.

The European Cultural Convention of 1976 (UNESCO), involving European Ministers with responsibility for cultural affairs, passed a series of resolutions and principles for cultural policy, particularly aimed at the idea of involving all sections of the population in a coherent policy for socio-cultural community development. The emphasis was on decentralization and community development. Decentralization encapsulated the central idea of 'cultural democracy', of local determination of cultural provision.

Decentralization was also an important feature for contemporary political movements of the 1970s concerned with devolution. Devolution itself would have included a degree of cultural political devolution, given that the preservation of languages was a central aim. Thus the notion of decentralisation was a wide-ranging contemporay issue which was expressed at different levels.

Local authorities were well placed to develop cultural policies within specific cities, regions and localities and therefore to form a a decentralized infrastructure. However, the Arts Council imposed its own particular tenets of policy onto the general notions of decentralization and onto the European influenced sense of socio-cultural development in the arena of local authority cultural planning. The Arts Council saw local authority support for community arts as one of the most important factor for its long-term success. Local authorities not only represented a

were also seen as well placed to integrate community arts with other local services, thus representing an integrated socio-cultural framework. Nevertheless, within this framework the Arts Council urged ~~for~~ an arms's length approach and grant-aiding became an influential model in the development of cultural planning. As a result the contradictory tensions of the distanced and low key arm's length approach of the Arts Council combined with the more interventionist aims of social policy were played out in the sphere of the local state.

Thus the local state embraced a framework in which the Redcliffe-Maud proposal that the arms length philosophy - which neither dictates to artists nor imposes on them conditions incompatible with artistic freedom - be adopted by local authorities, while at the same time an emerging criteria under the heading of community development began to take the place of the old Arts Council guidelines of standards and excellence. (2) The question of ensuring financial accountability of public subsidy was to be solved by making sure recipients of grants were non-profit-making. In this way organisations receiving state subsidy could be monitored on a financial basis rather than on artistic grounds.

The policy phase of cultural democracy opened up in the mid-1970s in spite of, or perhaps because of, the economic recession. The particular compensatory characteristics inherent within this period of policy development can thus be linked more directly to the social, political and economic circumstances of the period. The 1970s saw the setting up of the Social Contract, described as the last attempt at corporatism; the world recession of 1974/5 and the IMF loan to Britain which signalled the beginning of the cuts and limits imposed on public expenditure; the final breakdown of the Wilson/Callaghan social democratic reformist policies; and the beginnings of the context of the political success of the new right. From the late 1970s onwards the whole area of public expenditure came under scrutiny and its reduction formed a central justification of the Thatcher government's economic strategy.

The 1970s, as a new period of slow economic growth and mass unemployment, changed the character of 1960s community politics. The shift into a phase of community development brought aspects of compensation for the effects of economic decline to the fore as a means to stabilize, rather than as a part of a progressive social democratic programme. Ironically, cultural compensation was now offered to counter the effects of economic inequalities. In the previous phase cultural leadership was supposed to offer an alternative to too much consumerism - culture was to be a carefully protected antidote to excessive commercial consumption.

At the same time the themes drawn from the counter-culture, the opposition to corporatism, became, through corporatist project. (Cockburn,1977) Participation, central to community development, was argued by Cockburn to be the very method of corporatist local government. The community approach was no longer merely one or two isolated schemes, but amounted to a multi-purpose policy involving several government ministries. Local government was increasingly seen as the channel through which this policy approach could best be ministered. Community development was to provide a broad framework within which to approach the effects of poverty. The general strategy was that voluntary activity was taken as an indication of new areas and ideas for social policy, which were then incorporated into community development and financed by the state.

Community arts is an example of this common pattern in the post-war development of British social policy. The rise in various voluntary and community action activity served to identify (or construct) social needs and then drew in state subsidy, which was followed up by the partial incorporation of community strategies into general state social policy. It can be argued that there was a characteristic fusion in this period of state and community orientated social groups. Projects initiated by the state and those developed by community groups were at times indistinguishable. Cockburn criticised the way much community action was perceived as classless, and suggested that it served in many instances to splinter working class interests under the guise of pluralism and participatory democracy. This tendency was paralleled in corporate social policy where no one interest could appear to dominate.

The cultural debates of the sixties led to a change in status for the artist, especially with the increasing acceptability of state support for the practising artist. Jenkins saw his role as Arts Minister as two-fold. Firstly, to help put the state at the service of artists, and secondly, to radically increase access to high culture.

> I would be Minister for artists... I would try to bring the world of arts to more and more people over the whole country so that everyone should at least have the chance to know what they are missing. (Jenkins, 1979:93)

Further Jenkins wished to heal the breach between the two cultures, since despite the gap, he, like Jennie Lee, saw high and low as inevitably linked:

> the arts, communication, entertainment and sport form a whole and as such the state must arrange for the popular art and entertainment forms to finance their essential creative sources (Jenkins, 1979:28)

The difficulty here for Jenkins, as it had been for Lee, was how to reconcile popular culture's relation to the market and therefore with consumer capitalism. The older forms of culture were perceived as distinct from the capitalist market and therefore the capitalist market could be kept at bay by the use of public subsidy.

Although he saw the Arts Council as the best available model for state arts support, Jenkins was critical of its undemocratic structure. He initiated a series of (foiled) attempts to make the Arts Council more accountable. The main issue for Jenkins was how to increase the representation of employers and employees in the arts rather than relying on dignitaries. He encouraged the idea that more attention should be paid to the needs of practising artists. However, in discussions over proposals to dismantle the Arts Council and replace it with new bodies based on local authorities (a suggestion put forward by a committee headed by Renée Short drafting proposals for Labour's future programme) Jenkins defended the need for a special body to deal with the arts, and like Redcliffe-Maud, although supportive of the role for local authorities was doubtful of their true commitment,

> What you are proposing is the transfer of power in patronage of the arts from organisations formed for the purpose and eager to fulfil it (the Arts Council and Regional Arts Associations) to bodies not formed for the purpose and in some cases reluctant to carry it out - the local authorities. (Jenkins, 1979:214)

Hugh Jenkins, the Labour Arts Minister of the mid-1970s, based many of his priorities on more radical interpretations of the existing policy ideals of defence of standards and access to excellence. Following on from Jennie Lee, his aims were to break down the elitism in 'major' cultural events, to make the received artistic traditions more widely available, "to let the world in". Jenkins saw arts/cultural activities in the 1970s as divided between quality culture and a substitute degraded culture. In some ways he personifies the policy tendency, which upon recognising and acknowledging the existence of mass-culture, refuses to accept that the majority of people should be abandoned to it. The attempt to provide access to "the best" formed part of his understanding of socialism, and his view that state responsibility for the arts is necessarily socialist because it is based on the notion of a national or shared culture. His view, which was quite a widely held view on the left, was based on the belief in a past shared or common culture. Jenkins argued that a common culture began to collapse during the 1860s and 1870s and continued to do so through the First World War, culminating in a situation where the artist is divorced from the general public and the artwork became "elitist and incomprehensible to the masses". (Jenkins, 1979:23)

Jenkins' concern with the democratisation of culture was linked to notions of nationalism. In the 1970s questions about the cohesiveness of British nationalism became important in the context of devolution - Scottish, Welsh and Irish nationalism, and the qualitative shift in racial politics signalled by the 1971 Immigration Act which,

> brought an end to primary immigration and instituted a new pattern of internal control and surveillance of black settlers. It was paralleled by a new vocabulary of 'race' and crime which grew in the aftermath of the first panic over 'mugging'. (P.Gilroy,1987,117)

Jenkins asserts the importance of culture to a sense of Britishness and a leftist national sentiment, without any apparent consideration given to questions of race, despite

Jenkins was optimistic about technological development and saw the development of the popular press, cinema, record player, radio and television as the means that might have "healed the breach" between artist and audience, between high and low culture. He describes what happened instead as the development of,

> a huge transatlantic anti-culture...mindless and anti-social pap, aimed at the most easily stirred instincts of consumers (Jenkins,1979:19)

In his analysis uncontrolled capitalism conspires to conceal from people the realities of their situation.

> That conspiracy has re-opened, deepened and widened the culture gap which today separates the book reader from the Sun glancer: the concert goer from the football fan. (Jenkins,1979:20)

In the wish to distance culture from capitalism, Jenkins sees a need for separating culture from the market, hence the central importance of a role for the state.

To counter his cultural pessimism in the area of technological development, Jenkins drew on the idea of cultural rights which in turn evoked the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) which stated that everyone has the right to participate in the cultural life of the community. This fed into his belief that the development of an elitest art market should not be used as a way of avoiding a wealth tax. His insistence that there should be no tax exemption on the purchase of art objects was one of his controversial policy proposals that contributed to his later dismissal by Wilson.

The two political strategies that emerg challenge the failing priorities of the established social democratic consensus have been identified by Gamble as the social market strategy and the alternative economic strategy. The political force behind the revival of the liberal economy was the rise of the New Right in the Conservative Party. The main target of the New Right was social democracy. The strategy of the left of the Labour movement - the alternative economic strategy - developed from discussions of the Labour defeat in 1970 and the failure of the attempt to sufficiently modernise the British economy. The aims of the AES were to use political power to rebuild economic strength and extend civil, political and social rights. The theorists of the AES emphasized the need to combine measures that would give greater civil, political and social rights, and encourage democratic participation not just in government but in all social institutions. (Gamble,1985:155) It may seem that the theory of alternative economic strategy, compared to the actual developments of Thatcherism, is not worth discussing, but the debate on the left around AES fed into the ideas leading to the intervention of left local authorities into local economic development in the early 1980s, which did have an important bearing on the development of cultural policy.

Broad correlations can be found between the aims of cultural democracy, community development and the social aims of AES, as the notion of 'participation' is central to them all. The idea within the AES that participation as a citizen in all social decision-making would be satisfying for the individual, reflects the single most important aim of cultural democracy - involvement, the importance of experience and personal fulfillment - 'relating art to life'. It also mirrors the stress on prefigurative politics played out in forms of political community action where attention was paid to the mode of political action, so that in its very process it was demonstrative of wider social and political aims. Obviously participation at some level is necessary for any kind of political engagement, what is significant here is the elevation of the importance of experience, so that participation could almost become an end in itself; although it was generally conceived of as a first stage that would eventually give rise to new social and political demands. However, participation was also central to state-supported policies designed to encourage social cohesion; for example, controlled participation was central to various policies for community development as Cockburn has described, and acted as a way of diverting and misrepresenting political demands.

During the 1970s despite the more visible signs of the breakdown of post-war consensus and economic recession, there was a basis for association between the state and various social groups outside parliamentary politics. New social movements from this period can be seen to have taken their form in relation to the social democratic government. That on occasion it was difficult to unravel and determine exactly how some projects were initiated, whether it was by government or whether by local action, indicates the remains of a shared framework even if the political aims were very different.

In and against the state

The phases of post-war cultural policy outlined by Green extend only as far as the late 1970s. This period, however, marks the beginning of a fourth phase in the development of national and local policy. The changes in British society brought about by the 'New Right' and the full implementation of 'Thatcherite' social, political and economic policies had direct implications for cultural policies developed in relation to social democracy. They also provided a changed context for the practices of oppositional movements whose activities were increasingly designed to counter, mitigate or provide alternatives to the effects of Thatcherite policies.

In 1979 Thatcherite Conservativism began a long and relentless attack on the basic tenets of social democracy in its management of ongoing transformations of the deeper, structuring levels of social and economic relations. As Marx argues, the peculiar character of social democracy and its historic role has been,

> a means of softening the anatgonism between the two extremes of capital and wage-labour and transforming it into harmony, not of superseding both of

Bonaparte:176)

But by 1979 the post-war attempt to serve both capital and represent the working-class by raising the level of power to that of 'general interest' was breaking down. Gamble (1985), argues that when the Heath Government fell in 1974 the idea that the state was dead-locked between capital and labour gained ground. The Callaghan government of 1975-79 is argued by Hall to be the period when the basis of post-war reformism was destroyed and the first turn to monetarism occurred. It was against this background that Hall suggests the Thatcher campaign engineered,

> the fatal coupling of anti-labourist, anti-statist, anti-equality, anti-welfare spirit with the revitalized gospel of the free market. Thus the qualitatively new and unstable combination of Thatcherism - organic national patriotism, religion of the free market, competitive individualism in economic matters, authoritarian state in social and political affairs - began to cohere as an alternative social philosophy. (S.Hall,1984)

The policy features of monetarism in the early 1980s and then the so-called radical conservatism of the mid-80s consisted of a drive towards the operation of 'free markets', and the reduction of what were seen as the obstacles of public spending and the public sector itself. The policies to privatise nationalised industries and public sector services constituted a reversal of the enlargement of the public sector developed by social democratic governments of both parties since the 1940s.

As discussed in the previous section, the social movements that had developed during the 60s and 70s had to some social democratic governments. This is evident in the way (especially in aspects of inner city community work - social work, community arts, various urban programme and voluntary initiatives) the various strands of public and voluntary funding and leadership became entangled in the development of public sector services. During the 1980s the social context for these movements changed significantly and in turn the movements themselves had to alter.

More generally, Hall argued that the success of Thatcherism had to be analysed and recognised by the left.

> ... its success of ideological transformations and political restructuring...winning space of already constituted social practices and lived ideologies, drawing on 'traces' in popular inventories, and constructing them into an alternative logic. ...this is the terrain upon which the forces of opposition must organise. (S.Hall,1984)

Significantly, however, arguments put forward to counter Hall's central supposition that as a result of the left's lack of commitment to popular mobilisation there was little popular support, drew on examples of local authorities. (D.Massey,L.Segal, H.Wainwright, S.Rowbotham) (3) The campaigns to defend local services, they argued, not only indicated a tradition of popular support for left administrations of city councils, but also suggested models for socialist alternatives. The GLC and Sheffield City Council in particular were held up as working examples of political and institutional alternatives.

The sense of demonstratable alternatives was exemplified first by the particular way in which these local authorities developed working practices and services over which they had some control as both policy makers and employers; and, second, by the ways in which they went beyond the traditional role of local government to support some trade union initiatives in the public and private sector. Such activity, it was suggested, contained the basis for a framework for new alliances between the political power of socialists in local government and the extra-parliamentary power of trade union and community campaigns. Within such a framework, the task for new social movements was to align themselves with local government as a site of resistance against central government. The drive to mitigate against the worst effects of central government policies on local residents went hand in hand with an argument that local government itself was in need of radical democratisation. The policy of decentralisation of service implementation and policy making was in very general terms the main strategy for democratising local councils and making them more accessible to ratepayers and council clients. However these ideas were developed in the light of local councils' roles in the community development strategies of the 1970s and in order to avoid the danger that decentralisation and consultation would, like the participation schemes in the 1970s, only operate to monitor and contain discontent, it was stressed that groups and campaigns working with councils should retain their independence and not simply incorporated.

The initiatives and examples which Massey et al.(1984) describe were seen as part of the 'long haul' - the seeds of a new beginning resulting from a collaboration between a new kind of socialism inside the Labour Party, and feminists and independent socialists outside. The campaigns against privatisation, cuts and closures, and the achievements of co-operatives which suggested ways the public sector could intervene and put to good use that which the market would have wasted, were seen to indicate the effectiveness of a planned economy and the possibilities for socialist industrial policies. Massey et. al. argued that the unpopularity of the left was not the consequence of real popular disapproval or discontent with the left's ideals, but were, rather, due to a sense that they were unobtainable.

The local state was thus an important focus in the early 1980s. It represented the site from which a 'long haul' had started and an important institution into which the 'long march' begun in the 1960s had reached and entered. It was to provide a national challenge and a new vision in that not only was the local state set against central government, but it was also to develop initiatives that could be translated into policies for national government. Local councils were seen as an important site at which institutional politics and new social movements could be linked. Thus Sheila Rowbotham, for example, argued that local councils could be crucial for linking feminism with socialism insofar as local government held the potential for connecting everyday activities with the widening of popular power and the experience of self-government.(S.Rowbotham, 1984.) The local state was thought to hold a key which could unlock and unleash a sustainable challenge the basis of Thatcherism.

Gyford (1985) traces a shift of interest from community politics to local government and the emergence of a social formation he terms the "new urban left" - a formation characterised by an association between elements of: the campaigns against local spending cuts; the radicalisation of local government professions; environmentalism; and the women's movement. This process in turn fuelled a critique of the past practice of the Labour Party. The new urban left stressed the inadequacies of traditional models of socialist politics. Gyford describes the aim to replace older models with,

> a new local road to socialism - free of ... the centralised deformations of both parliamentary and the insurrectionary roads. They (the new urban left) represent the decentralist wing of the extra-parliamentary left.(J.Gyford,1985:68)

The notion of working "in and against the state" was an idea developed by a group of local state workers in London, Sheffield and Edinburgh. First in a pamphlet and then in a book, they set out their position and role in relation to the contradictions of the local state as identified, for example, by Cockburn.(4) These state workers argued that by being close to power they could shift the contradictory balance between the needs of capital and the services and resources that people need to the practical advantage of the working class.

"In and Against the State" set out preliminary discussions about the need for change in local government. The main areas of concern were local councils' industrial relations and the employment conditions of its own employees: how to change the councils' relation to local people and community groups; and what the nature of a relationship between socialist urban mangaers and the working class should be. Two main themes emerged: firstly, a discussion of the ways in which the local state could be used in the development of new forms of opposition; and secondly, the recognition that an uncritical defence of existing local state services was inadequate. They stressed the need for political recognition of the fact that many people chose not to give their support to a defence of local services because they experienced those services as inadequate, intrusive and in some cases, as oppressive.

"In and Against the State" put forward the argument that instead of accepting the local state as a fixed institution, it should be recognised as a form of social relations. The state, described as an entangled web of social relations, could not simply be smashed. Rather the struggle for change was necessarily continuous, changing shape as the struggle itself and the state's responses to it created new opportunities. As a result, a new position and course of action was said to open up for the state worker - to challenge certain practices of the state while remaining inside the state. The strategy of working within the state was practised in conjunction with the building up of organisational practices which challenged traditional ways of working and prefigured socialist practices.

These debates prepared the ground for developments such as the introduction of local government employment and economic development units, which signalled a new kind of interventionist role for the local state. The older local economic policies of loans or grants to assist the private sector, or the relatively unaggressive strategies of promoting an environment to encourage private investment were seen as inadequate and irrelevant in the face of mass unemployment and economic decline. (5) The Labour manifesto for the 1981 Greater London Council (GLC) elections argued that such strategies were,

> not enough to cope with the scale of London's industrial decline ... the public sector will have to take an active role.

Sheffield City Council was the first local authority to set up an Employment Department and Employment Committee: this was in June 1981. The Employment Department was charged, in Gyford's summary, with,

> promoting new industrial and commercial development and investment: its responsibilities were also to include assisting in the development of co-operatives, planning agreements and a local enterprise board instigating new municipal enterprises and creating jobs within the council through the Manpower Services Commission.

(J.Gyford, 1985:48)

The Department and Committee were concerned not only to prevent further job losses and promote the creation of new jobs, but also to seek more democratic control over employment, through both greater industrial democracy and more co-operative organisation in the work-place. To differentiate these strategies from older economic policies, which were seen simply as serving private capital, the notion of socially useful production became a key structuring concept.

Gyford contextualises this new role for local government within a series of historical shifts in the character and function of the left administration of the local state.

> municipal socialism... would have involved municipal enterprise and municipal trading...(in) the era of municipal labourism the emphasis would have shifted towards service provision in fields such as housing, education, social services and planning. In the case of local socialism part of the answer would focus on the role of the council as a resource for political campaigning.(J.Gyford 1985:53)

Gyford describes the concerns of the left local councils as political rather than managerial. To this end, he suggests that councils were seen as a power base that could deal with a wide variety of political issues and matters over which the council had no particular statutory powers. The use of a local authority as a political resource meant facilitating the activities of various groups in the community as well as campaigning by the council itself.

Gyford summarises the politics of local socialism as not ely practical but also as ideological. Gyford is licitly critical of this ideological function which is, argues, based on a notion of preceptorial politics - ch he defines as teaching a 'correct' ideological line system which provides a framework for understanding the ial world.

> The danger is simply that preceptoralism, no matter how benign its intent, may, under pressure, degenerate into a manipulative elitism. (J.Gyford,1985:90)

ever, it should be argued that part of the objective of t local authorities were precisely to make explicit the ological role, to differentiate both from central ernment, and the managerial corporatist functions of 1970s. These issues are apparent in the emergence of al state cultural policies. The strategies of entralisation and mobilisation, and in the case of the in particular, of identifing and funding various ial groups, is reflected in the development of cultural icy. However, there are differences in the policy ifestations of the so-called new urban left, which are arent in, for example, the policy differences between GLC and Sheffield City Council.

changed role for the local state carried with it fresh lications for the local state's relation to cultural sues. However, despite the post-war policy developments the Labour Party, (the doubling of the Arts Council ant in 1964, and the positions carved out by Jennie Lee d Hugh Jenkins); and the long-term leftist administrations of city councils such as Sheffield, there was in 1981, when Labour took over the administration of the GLC, no ready made cultural policy waiting to be put into practice. The development of the GLC policy occurred in stages and was underpinned with quite unprecedented financial resources, the massive residue of grants and subsidies developed in the 1970s. Nevertheless, the cultural policy of the GLC from 1981-86 has since been summarised as challenging the history of the de-politicisation of public policies for culture.(6)

The first significant development in GLC policy stemmed from the rejection of the '70s definition of community arts. In a discussion document Community Arts Revisited, (1982) written by Alan Tomkins, an adviser to the Community Arts Sub-Committee, the radical potential of community arts was argued to have been undermined by the way it had been incorporated within, (or even formed within), government policies of 'social control' and philosophies of social integration. This basis of community arts was argued to be questionable even in a period of social democracy, but absurdly inappropiate under political social and economic conditions of the early 1980s. Community Arts Revisited put forward a criticism of a general definition of community arts that was said to exist, one which the Labour Party, the TUC, the Arts Council and the Thatcher government could all more or less agree upon, and whose aims were vague and

> All these disparate political positions saw the popularisation of culture and the construction of 'unified neighbourhoods' as the chief aims of a community arts policy. (Community Arts Revisited,1982,)

The role of the professional community artists was brought under critical review in the light of the use of community arts as part of social programmes to re-develop neighbourhoods following the 1981 riots. This leads to a second reason for the move away from this multi-purpose community arts. The GLC policy became directed at the cultural expression of organised groups themselves rather than to mediate through community artists. The emphasis was to be less on the notion of individual development and more on facilitating the expression of particular social groups.

These two policy shifts led to less emphasis given to the notion of 'community' and increased attention to one of 'representation' Tomkins argued that the 'unified neighbourhood' view of community had become increasingly irrelevant.

> ... major changes such as unemployment, continuous inner- city housing re-development, immigration, and the rise of the nuclear family have all contributed to the dispersion of old style 'community' (Community Arts Revisited 1982:2)

On the question of representation Tomkins argued that community arts was inadequate for the 1980s because it had not been able to address or represent what were perceived as the newer sites of cultural struggle:

> a specifically black consciousness, feminism and the

> gay movement have mobilised positive popular cultural forms outside the mainstream community arts movement (Community Arts Re-visited,1982,2)

The notion of 'Ethnic Arts' the name given to the other sub-committee of the main 'Arts and Recreation Committee', was also questioned in the development of GLC policy. Ethnic Arts as institutionally constituted in the 1970s had been based on ideas of compensation for a perceived loss of cultural identity. Instead the GLC contributed to the development and implementation of a policy based on the political definition of Black Arts. However, the terms 'community arts' and 'ethnic arts' were retained in the titles of the sub-committees. The Ethnic Arts Committee was served at officer level by a Race Equality Unit, created within the Arts and Recreation Department to develop the Black arts sector and to campaign for the implementation of anti-racist policies and equal opportunities policies throughout the cultural sector.

GLC cultural policy was institutionally structured by a main Arts and Recreation committee plus two sub-committees representing particular areas of policy development. Policy was also developed in the Industry and Employment Committee which drew up the London Industrial Strategy. The GLC began to suggest a link between cultural policy and employment policies. Such a link was based on a recognition of the cultural industries as an important subject for inclusion in local state (and national state) cultural policy. A sub-unit of the Industry and Employment Committee, the Economic Policy Group developed a strategy for London's cultural industries - the printing, publishing, film, video, broadcasting and music industries - that would form part of the wider London Industrial Strategy.

The definition of cultural industries was developed in particular by Nicholas Garnham in a paper Concepts of Culture: Public Policy and the Cultural Industries written in 1983 for a GLC conference on the cultural industries in London.(7) Garnham suggests two related definitions of the term, the first simply describes common characteristics. Cultural industries are:

> those institutions in our society which employ the characteristic modes of production and organisation of industrial corporations to produce and disseminate symbols in the form of cultural goods and services, generally although not exclusively as commodities. (N.Garnham, 1983,1)

The key point of such a definition, as Garnham goes on to point out, is that since these characteristics are found in all industrial societies, the concept of the market can be separated from a capitalist mode of production. Thus, the implication is that mass produced cultural exchange can be operated on a different basis.

The second use of the term is as an analytical tool to,

> focus on the effects on the cultural process within the capitalist mode of production of cultural goods and services produced and distributed as commodities by labour, which is itself a commodity. (N.Garnham,1983,3)

There are crucial characteristics which govern the production, distribution and circulation of cultural commodities which, within a capitalist market, stem from the nature of the cultural commodity itself, particularly from the high cost of initial creation of the product compared to the cost of its general production, (or to be strictly accurate, its re-production). The investment in the prototype is high, both in terms of labour and capital, while the costs of general production per item are comparatively much lower. Therefore, as with other commodities the market is structured by strategies which seek to maximise economies of scale.

The GLC's development of policies for cultural industries were based on overcoming the traditional distinctions made in cultural policies and to recognise the importance of the market in terms of cultural production and consumption. An approach to the cultural industries required new forms of financial support. Strategies of grant-aiding and deficit funding could not be applied to the cultural industries, and therefore methods had to be drawn up for,

> actually intervening in the commercial market place where this culture is made. And so a programme of investment into independent record production and distribution, publishing and book distribution, video distribution was inaugurated, as a way of securing jobs in these industries, and of working towards a programme of cultural production that was rooted in economic re-distribution as well. (K.Worpole, 1986,64)

As well as highlighting the position of the independent producer, the intervention into the market represented a new role for the state in relation to cultural policy - that of considering employment and training policies - as well as the more traditional ideas of the nature of public provision.

> We see a new role for the state in the years to come: to create new jobs and new training opportunities, particularly for those groups which have been excluded from the media in the past; and secondly to increase real choice in what is available to people as users of culture" (GLC 1985,5)

The focus for these policies was the independent sector and in particular, the distribution of independently produced cultural products. The investment in a distribution infrastructure that would serve the independent sector and strengthen what was seen as a potential alternative market currently operating (and exploited) at the fringes of markets controlled and dominated by multi-nationals. The analytical use of the concept of cultural industries to examine effects on the cultural processes within the capitalist mode of production of cultural goods and services, revealed the way market forces tended to limit choice, reduce access and create an artificial scarcity of cultural products.

The implications of a cultural industries strategy were thought to fundamentally challenge the Arts Council tradition of policy based on responding to the strongest claim made in relatively narrowly cast terms and applying only to non-industrial cultural forms. Intervention in the market suggested a planned policy based on a mix of loans and investment in independent or semi-state organisations which were to operate in a mixed economy. Such arguments, made in the context of de-industrialisation and unemployment, have been part of a wider debate about methods of economic restructuring, and the need for direct engagement of local government in the regeneration of the productive sector. The debate forms part of the perspective discussed earlier, which rejects the conventional idea that local government should concern itself only with the social infrastructure, collective consumption and welfare, leaving production to the private sector.

The argument for local government intervention not only in the local economy, but also in terms of its whole corporate approach, was also being developed in other areas. In their study *The Future Role and Organisation of Leisure Services in Local Government*, (1986) The Institute of Local Government (INLOGOV) set out the possible future roles for local government. It argued that the choices local government faced within the area of leisure represented the choices facing local government as a whole.

> The challenge to local government then is not to retreat into acting as little more than a residuary body, but to take on a new kind of pro-active leadership role within the community. (INLOGOV, 1986)

However, INLOGOV then went on to suggest that local authorities would not in any case be in a position to provide all the necessary leisure facilities and services themselves. Therefore the suggested role for local government is one of providing leadership and creating a framework for development:

> This would involve a very much more outgoing entrepreneurial, catalytic and interventionist role for

> the local authorities than is traditional. (INLOGOV, 1986)

It has been suggested that the notion of a 'cultural industries' strategy was more important, within the GLC, as an idea rather than as an actual practice. (F.Bianchini,1987) Not only was the strategy never developed in the Arts and Recreation Committee (the main cultural committee), the Cultural Industries Unit was only a small sub-section within the Greater London Enterprise Board (GLEB). Moreover, the policies developed by the Arts and Reccreation committee and its sub-committees were not integrated with the cultural industries approach as part of a fully coherent and comprehensive cultural policy. Instead it could be argued that areas of potential conflict between these two policy approaches were masked by the relatively large financial resources of the GLC, which could allow for different strategies to co-exist without having to compete or to really consider the underlying shifts which began to put pressure on the whole idea of public cultural subsidy. At this early stage, cushioned within the GLC budgets, those cultural forms not included in the definition of 'cultural industries', the various 'live' forms or forms that can only exist as a result of public subsidy, were not yet, as became the case later in the decade, under pressure to explain their value and worth purely in economic terms.

Bianchini compares the success of the policies of the Arts and Recreation Committee (ARC) and the cultural industries approach developed by the Industry and Employment Committee. He does so in terms of what he describes as a 'social engineering strategy' - that is, in terms of the attempt to develop a hegemonic rather than a traditional responsive policy. By this he means a policy in which the concept of culture is based on an expanded notion of politics which takes into account the variety of different sites, and locations in society where power is constituted. He suggests that both the ARC and the cultural industries strategy operated different approaches,

> aimed at endowing some constituencies with an independent cultural voice

and argues that the strategy implemented by the ARC had,

> a great impact on making London's oppressed minorities culturally more visible, and created a new climate of co-operation between local Labour politicians and people already engaged in radical and oppositional cultural practices often bitterly disillusioned with Labour Party politics. (F.Bianchini,1986,)

However, he suggests that the strategy had two major unresolved flaws. Firstly, it did not transform the coalition of the different groups into a wider 'bloc'. Secondly, it largely failed to reach a wider constituency, to involve people who have no particular activist connections. These two flaws he suggests could be largely resolved by the adoption of a more market-oriented model, and by the construction of an "alternative market". He implies that the largely untried policy strategy of engaging with the cultural industries could form the basis for a more successful policy in the terms he outlines.

It is clear that proposals for a market-oriented model equate the cultural industries with popular market culture.

> It is arguable that the GLC...could have addressed - through stronger cultural industries and sports policies - the crucial area of the culture of the white, "respectable" working class, for which - on Bank's and Tomkins's own admission - "little was done". (F.Bianchini, 1986,)

However, the GLC cultural industry strategy is ambigious in its approach towards the market and the commercial basis of popular culture,

> It is important to recognise that popular culture is not always mass culture. Its newest and most dynamic forms exist at the edge of the commercial world and the powerfully established structures of the industry often work to exclude new voices and cultural forms. (GLC, 1984,3)

The GLC pamphlet Altered Images: Towards a Strategy for Londons Cultural Industries (1984) identifies the independent sector as the target for intervention policies - the small scale publishers, record labels, distributors, film and video producers and distributors, printers and so on - who were not owned by large companies. This independent sector whilst often representing new or excluded voices and cultural forms cannot be seen as operating on the same productive relations as those of multi-national companies. The relation of independent cultural industries to multinational cultural industries is complex. Because independent producers work on the edges of the commercial mass market, their cultural forms and practices have been contrasted by GLC cultural industries policy with those that traditionally receive public subsidy. However, it does not mean that they can then simply be classified as popular culture and therefore seen as the key to the development of a hegemonic strategy. The assumption that market culture equals popular culture, is based on a rather fixed view of the market and capital's operations. Referring back to Williams scheme of the relations of cultural production to the market, the difference between independent producers and multi-national companies can be suggested as the difference between two kinds of capitalist relations. Independent - by definition is excluded (although related) to the corporate conglomerate - and based on earlier forms of post-artisanal or early form of market professional economic relations.

There is a danger then in conflating the terms 'popular' 'market' and 'independent'. However, it is clear (from Garnham's analysis of cultural industries and specific accounts such as Frith's (1977) on the music industry) that independents perform a vital function for multi-nationals in generating potential products. It was precisely at this juncture in the relationship between independents and multi-nationals that GLC policy was to intervene. Firstly to encourage the existence of cultural forms independently from the dictates of multi-nationals, and secondly, to strenghten the market processes of independents in relation to multi-nationals. The question is whether such a strategy does represent an intervention in popular culture which might contribute to a significant shift in political cultural relations; or whether the strategy represents a transposition of the relations of subsidy onto cultural forms involving technological means of production. The mere use of technology (as in video art) does not constitute the form as a cultural industry, it must surely depend on the economic system - the relations of production and consumption - within which it circulates.

Although it was possible for local government to implement new strategies at the local level it was, as in the case of the GLC, always within a context determined by central government. In his post-election speech (1987) the present Arts Minister Richard Luce set out government plans for the next five years, continuing within the framework of reducing the role of the state and expanding the scope of private sponsorship. As has occurred in the political right's discussion of all publicly provided services, the Minister was caught in the contradictory position of claiming success for the objective of reducing the role of the state while at the same time claiming that government expenditure on the arts had increased.

The whole basis of state subsidised culture - the social democratic principles of access, the notion of rights to high culture - has been challenged by government policy, which precipitated a general emphasis on the economic potential of culture. Two responses, in some ways the directives of government but also working to ensure its own survival, the Arts Council on behalf of national cultural policy produced "A Great British Success Story"(1985), an analysis demonstrating the economic potential of the Council's major clients in generating funds chiefly from tourism. On the other hand on behalf of the local state, some local authorities began to investigate the potential of strategies for tourism and cultural industries.

The Arts Council's strategy for the 1980s 'The Glory of the Garden'(1983) followed the government's directive and encouraged private patronage and commercial sponsorship. The Council concentrated on funding the centres of excellence, devolving resposibility for financing smaller organisations to the Regional Arts Associations under the aegis of a policy for regionalism. The development of major clients included revamping a strategy of directing local authority resources through a policy of matching funding (See Case Study 1.) Matching funding meant that regional centres of excellence would receive funding only under the condition that local authorities provide fresh funds. The result of 'The Glory of the Garden' policy was to direct funds, and significantly local authority funds, to prestigious cultural centres while smaller organisations and arts groups faced cutbacks.

The context of highlighting the economic value of the arts - whether in tourism or as providing a focus for city entre re-development - has forced smaller organisations o develop explanations of their activity which attempt to xpress their worth in economic terms. This trend has in any instances had a detrimental effect on these rganisations as it does not allow for a positive ramework for public subsidy, and yet in purely economic erms these organisations would be unable to present a uccessful account of themselves. Therefore what has been ost in cultural policy is the potential to make a ositive case for publicy subsidised culture.

shift in the definition of leisure and tourism also llustrates the ways particular terms have been mobilised n the 1980s. Tourism has become a dominant category in he construction by local authorities in Britain and lsewhere (for example, Holland and West Germany, where any cities are developing urban tourist strategies), of a ew role. The definition of both tourism and the tourist re changing. Tourism has been developed as a framework for an economic regeneration strategy, this in turn has repercussions for other aspects of local authority policy. Leisure, for example, is being drawn into a broader tourism category. Leisure facilities are increasingly seen in the economic terms of tourism and tourism itself is seen as the key catalyst for economic regerneration. For example, the staging of the World Student Games in Sheffield is seen as a way of promoting Sheffield and preparing the ground for re-generation of the city. Similarly, following

Bradford model of the National Museum of Photography Film and Television, a media centre is discussed in Birmingham's 'Action Programme For Tourism' as a tourist attraction. The idea of 'cultural heritage' forms the basis not only of new museums but is also a way of marketing whole cities. The 'tourist' not only includes visitors from abroad and people from outside the region, or day-trippers, but increasingly the term applies to a city's own residents.

Leisure as a term covers a range of meanings. In the 1970s, leisure was understood, in terms of local government, almost as a form of social policy. However, severe financial constraints have led to the implicit construction of a hierarchy of services included under the broad heading of leisure. The newer priorities are those which serve the higher aim of regenerating the city, the focus is therefore on the policy directives of tourism-based leisure. The basic infrastructure of local authority provision, such as the upkeep and development of libraries, can become neg~~e~~lected, invisible in terms of the new priorities.

In the early 1980s leisure was still part of welfare-orientated policy for local authorities such as Sheffield City Council, especially in attempts to provide for the unemployed. More generally the whole focus of leisure can be seen as a means of adressing the effects of mass unemployment. For example, Government urban programme grants for leisure projects were much more substantial in those cities where riots took place in 1981 and 1983. More recently, the emphasis on leisure as part of city centre re-development, which as well as the provision of publicly run leisure facilities, has also included policy for stimulating economic developments in areas of commodified culture such as shopping. The INLOGOV paper, "The Future Role and Organisation of Leisure Services in Local Government" outlines the policy dilemma for local government, arising from being caught between a wish to develop a touristic policy and the need to provide leisure services for the unemployed and low paid to help counter the effects of increasing de-industrialisation and cut backs in the welfare state.

From the 1960s cultural policy has increasingly been constructed in terms of the aims and objectives of social policy. It is clear that in the proliferation of various kinds of policy - leisure, tourism and the range of 'community' prefixes to traditional categories such as arts and recreation - the notion of culture has both broken down and become all the more pervasive. 'Culture' has lost a sense of an internal definition - its specificity. The rationale behind cultural policy is often reduced to the rudimentary but central notion of encouraging 'active' rather than 'passive' involvement. The movement of cultural policy into social policy - policies of integration and compensation, the construction of social policies using vague cultural aims and objectives, went together with an expansion of social policy itself.

The early 1980s was a period when the earlier political dictum of the left to march into the institutions began to take effect. Local government can in some specific cases be seen as the institutionalisation of new social movements which emerged in the 1960s. A natural extension of the political trajectory that looked to the strategic use of political institutions would be to look past them towards the market. The development of strategies for cultural industries and the concurrent notions of socially useful production which were developed in the Employment and Economic Development Departments in the early 1980s, represents a first turn to the market. This was to challenge the basis of post-war cultural policy and to suggest an alternative approach to the market. The more recent imperatives of city centre redevelopment centred on cultural facilities as necessary prerequisites for attracting commercial development and further, for generating revenue for the city in the form of tourism perhaps suggests the emergence of a fifth phase of cultural policy. Certain high cultural forms have to some extent been incorporated into the market by way of sponsorship, advertising and marketing with the proviso that the cultural form retains its status in order to target a particular social class.

relation between cultural policy and the institutions of the local state; and considers the processes and structures within which cultural policy is formed. The GLC cultural policy of 1981 - 1986 marked out a model for cultural policy development in the early to mid-1980s. However, the GLC was in a fairly unique position. Its cultural responsibilities were greater and more obvious than most other British cities. Its financial resources were also much more significant, and further, the GLC did not have responsibility for large areas of provision such as Housing, Education or even Libraries. For the following chapter and the case studies Sheffield City Council provides the main focus for the discussion of local state cultural policy.

Footnotes.

1. For an account of the history of 'ethnic' arts policy in Britain and for a detailed account of GLC policy see K.Owusu Black Arts in Britain Comedia 1986.

2. Lord Redcliffe-Maud Support for the Arts in England and Wales, Gulbenkian Foundation, 1976.

3. Answers to Stuart Hall 'Moving Right' thesis, made in for eg. New Socialist, May/June 1983, by Doreen Massey, Lynne Segal and Hilary Wainwright in New Socialist Jan/Feb 1984, who argued that local authorities were making all the running in the development of a new vision for the left.

4. Cynthia Cockburn in The Local State, 1977 argued that local state services were not "total" gains for the working class because to the state and capital they are not "total" losses.

> we should not expect to see clear cut gains or losses for either class, but a jousting for initiative in an ever developing situation of contradiction (p56)

5. For discussions of local authority intervention see:
Mawson and Miller 'Interventionist Approaches In Local Government: The Experience Of Labour Local Authorities', from, Critical Issues in Urban Development, Vol.1, Ed. Victor A. Hausner, 1986.
M.Rustin, 'Lessons of the London Industrial Strategy', New Left Review, January 1986 pp75-84.

6. See Bianchini, New Formations 1987.

7. N. Garnham's 'Concepts of Culture' has also been published in Cultural Studies, Vol. 1. No.1. January 1987, pp23-37.

The Local State

Cynthia Cockburn used the term 'local state' in order to locate the institutions of local government in a broader political and economic context; put simply, to locate the local state as part of the capitalist state. In other words, the 'local state' is an abstract term for sub-national policy-making and administrative state organisations. The local state is by definition bound in with the central state; the nature of the relation between central and local is obviously crucial for conceptions of local democracy and for the notion of the relative autonomy of the local state. It is clear that the local state is not a fixed institution with a specific set of duties, as Cockburn points out,

> our local governments don't spring from some ancient right of self-government but are, under capitalism and have always been, an aspect of national government which is in turn part of the state. (Cockburn,1977:2)

Within this framework the key point that Duncan and Goodwin stress is that the local state should be not be conceptualised only by the functions it performs but also by the way it performs them - the social relations of the state.

> ... it is clear that there is no given need for housing provision, police, social welfare, education or anything else that is provided or managed locally to be mixed up in a local electoral system based on universal franchise. In many capitalist societies this is not the case and there has been as much or more capitalist history (and this includes Britain) without such a system as with it. (Goodwin & Duncan, 1986:16)

carried out services to facilitate the general process of social reproduction. In her analysis she drew on Miliband's concept of the local state as an arena of conflict. As such it is both an agent for central government and the site of opposition to it. Cockburn expressed this dynamic in the following way,

> in developments of the local state we should ... not expect to see clear cut gains or losses for either class, but a jousting for initiative in an ever developing situation of contradiction. (Cockburn, 1977:56)

From this perspective, the successive central government legislation of the last ten years, designed to remove local services from the control of a local electoral system, can be seen as part of a wider political and economic struggle. Whereas in the 1960s and early 1970s, the very notion of local democracy can be argued to have been part of the contemporary hegemonic project, from 1975 onwards political restructuring has in some ways been focussed on the local state and has radically altered its position as a component of a democratic political system. It is in this context that recent developments of the local state should be seen.

To explain and analyse the specificities of the local state, Duncan and Goodwin draw on the notion of unevenly developed social relations and stress the importance of spatial differences. This is explored in terms of distinguishing "a spatial division of the state" and "spatial divisions in civil society". These divisions are in part informed by a particular sense of the locality summed up by the phrase "imagined communities". They suggest that it is the existence of spatial differences on many levels - the state, civil society, and at that of 'imagined communities' - which in part define the nature of local state institutions.

Sheffield City Council

The notion of uneven development and of differing social processes informing local state policies can be employed to help explain the specificities of Sheffield City Council's (SCC) political philosophy. This chapter sets out the organisational structures of SCC, contrasting the 1960s and 1980s, and considers the political and philosophical arguments underlying recent broad policy changes. Such an outline will provide the context for SCC conceptions of cultural policy and illustrate the effects of institutional practices on cultural provision.

Duncan and Goodwin argue that 1930 - 1970 was the most successful period of local Labour Party control in Sheffield, a control that depended on,

> an informal but well understood division of 'labour movement labour'. (Capital and Class No.27:25)

During this period the City Council concentrated on the reproductive services of housing, education and welfare, while the trade unions were seen to be responsible for employment issues. In the early 1980s the recession and mass unemployment destroyed the position of the 'central' worker, whose collective organisation had

bedrock upon which the broader labour movement had rested. In 1971 half the city's working population was employed in manufacturing industry, now it accounts for less than a quarter of the remaining jobs in Sheffield. (Unemployment in Sheffield in 1981 was 18,000, by 1986 it was 46,000 (1).) However, in a simultaneous process there was a relatively small-scale but significant growth of service employment and public sector services. These developments became apparent at a later stage than in most major British cities, and it is significant, as Duncan and Goodwin point out, that,

> In Sheffield the shift to the left was a slower process which reflected an alliance between the new left and the existing left, and it recognised the continuing importance of the traditional social base as well as the rise of the new. (Capital & Class No. 27:26)

This alliance in Sheffield was based on the long history of left administration in the City Council and formed the basis for policy development in the Blunkett era 1981-87. The legacy of Sheffield's political and municipal culture was apparent in policy preferences for municipally run services.

The period from 1930 to 1970 was when the infrastructure for most contemporary cultural provision was set in place and consolidated, (although by 1945 the local authority library network had been in existence for about a century). Post-war forms of cultural provision included museums, galleries, swimming pools, parks, and adult education services. During the 1950s and 60s public cultural provision included: the use of civic halls for dances, concerts and restaurants; support for an extensive range of amateur organisations such as music, poetry, drama and horticultural associations; and the regular organisation of fairs, festivals and other local events. At the same time the local state was also responsible for the regulation and licensing of commercial cultural activity such as nightclubs, theatres, drinking and cinemas.

Sheffield City Arts Department was set up relatively late in 1981 as an attempt to collect together the various facets of 'cultural' administration within one department. Previously 'arts' had referred only to the administration of the Galleries. The new Department took over responsibility for City Council support for the Crucible Theatre, and the Leadmill Arts Centre. It also runs the Philharmonic concerts and has developed a civic cinema. Following the abolition of South Yorkshire County Council (1986) the Department partially absorbed its grant-aiding programme. The Arts Department therefore, has developed as a result of the gradual reorganisation in the administration of areas of provision.

During the 1960s and 70s the administration of the art galleries was seen by both the gallery administrators and by Council Members as an area of council provision that was largely distinct and separate from mainstream council policy. This reflected a much wider general conception of the 'arts' as loftier than day to day council work. While other departments developed and expanded with the changing role of the local state during the 1960s and 1970s, the Galleries administration remained relatively small and fixed. It was not until the early 1980s, when it became increasingly anachronistic to maintain different bits of associated provision in a range of departments not primarily geared to their development, that the Arts department evolved via the piecemeal addition of provision that could be re-designated as 'Arts'. However, despite the formation of an Arts Department there still remains an important distinction between the character of Arts Department policy and general City Council policy based on the legacy of the separation of arts policy from the more general Council policies.

The ways in which culture has been the subject of cultural policy, and is defined by SCC, is indicated by the ways it has been organisationally divided up into committees and departments. The 1960s committees of Sheffield City Council were an apparently haphazard assortment;

CHILDRENS
CIVIL DEFENCE
CLEANSING & BATHS
EDUCATION
ESTABLISHMENT
ESTATES
FINANCE
HEALTH
HIGHWAYS
HOUSING DEVELOPMENT
HOUSING MANAGEMENT
PARLIAMENTARY & GENERAL PURPOSES
LIBRARIES ART GALLERIES & MUSEUMS
SEWAGE DISPOSAL
SOCIAL CARE
PHILHARMONIC
SPECIAL
TOWN PLANNING
TRANSPORT
WATCH
WATER
PUBLIC WORKS
MARKETS
PARKS & BURIAL
LORD MAYOR

(Source: Annual Council Reports, 1960s)

The division of cultural responsibilities between these committees was not so much planned as inherited, the apparently chaotic product of layers of historical policy responses. Thus, the City Hall dances were organised by the Estates Committee, while the Parliamentary & General Purposes Committee dealt with requests from amateur theatrical organisations for council support (usually provided by allowing the use of council premises). On the other hand, the licencing of Sheffield's five theatres and eleven cinemas was administered by the Watch Committee. The Libraries, Art Galleries and Museums Committee programmed film showings, held in the Library. Parks and Burials were involved with amateur organisations using the recreation facilities - sports clubs, horticultural and model boat societies. Cleansing and Baths ran swimming galas.

Because the Arts responsibilities at this stage referred almost exclusively to the running of the galleries and because of the apparent incoherence in the administration of other kinds of cultural activity, a sense of a unified cultural policy was absent from early policy structures. However, although it has to be acknowledged that there was no explicit attempt to fund the labour movement culturally and that policy was underdeveloped, a limited argument can be made to suggest that the situation of underdevelopment represented an integrated if implicit sense of cultural policy and provision. In other words, except for the area conscious 'arts' policy, other areas of cultural provision were submerged in other departments and while they were not particularly identified as 'cultural' activity or relevant to a cultural policy, they were strongly supported as part of municipal life.

The more recent attempt to develop a coherent unified cultural policy has resulted in a heightened awareness of definitions of 'cultural' activity and has brought some of the previously 'hidden' cultural activity to light. This was part of a more general process of rationalisation. This process has also been part of a general move, accelerated during the 1970s, towards creating bigger departments and committees with more wide-ranging policy briefs. So for example, the older Libraries, Arts and Museums Committee has been merged with the Recreation Committee to form a single Leisure Committee.

The recognition of the need for co-ordination between different departments within the City Council signalled a more fundamental general political objective. After the second Conservative victory in the 1983 General Election, the attempt to construct a more effective radical opposition led to the implementation of some of the practical objectives drawn from the prevailing left local authority professional view of working for the local state; the thesis of 'in and against the state'. Alongside a defence of local services this political framework allowed for a recognition of the way aspects of service provision were working to obstruct sections of the population rather than truly serve their needs. In 1983 a review of Sheffield City Council's organisation concluded that in the main, Council Departments had been shaped by operating to implement successive pieces of central government legislation, rather than developing in direct response to political, economic and social change (2).

An internal report recommended the implementation of the programme committee structure, in which the organisation of policy development was to be foregrounded. The development of 'policy' was highlighted and the 1970s notions of 'neutral' management were rejected. The existing Corporate Management Unit was replaced by a Central Policy Unit, consisting of a broad federation of smaller units responsible for policy development and monitoring in areas of race equality, policy co-ordination and research, and the development of urban programme schemes (in conjunction with central government). By 1986/7 the main committee structures had been reduced to the form of eight 'programme committees';

ENVIRONMENT & PLANNING
LEISURE
HOUSING
EDUCATION
FAMILY & COMMUNITY SERVICES
EMPLOYMENT
MUNICIPAL ENTERPRISE
POLICY

Each of these main committees is served by a series of panels and working parties, which represent both older and newer policy concerns within the programme committee's broad area of responsibility. For example, the 1987 working parties;

Arts and Museums
Anvil Advisory
Music
Public Arts
Visual Arts
Labour and Social
Libraries & Information
Archives
Multi-cultural
Grant Aid
Education and leisure
Sheffield Show
Tourism
Burial & Cremations
Leisure Gardens
Play
Sports development
Performing and community arts

However, the rationalisation of City Council functions has been a slow process. For example, responsibility for the adminstration of the City Hall, a major cultural venue for the city, has only very recently been transferred from the Legal and General Department to the Arts Department. However, this shift does represent the trend evident since the 1960s, of trying to re-define and then assimilate various aspects of 'cultural' provsion in the more culture or leisure orientated departments.

On the other hand, over the last ten years the general role of the local state has been re-constituted in ways which have tended to elevate cultural issue and make them important for a range of departments other than Arts or Recreation. Thus, Family and Community Services, Planning and the Employment Department, have become involved with aspects of cultural policy. This may indicate the way the local state is having to re-constitute a role under a very broad framework of leisure, as it is one of the few areas left open to local state intervention. This trend represents a countervailing pressure to the attempt to centralise cultural policy within the Arts Department. Thus attempts in the early 1980s to rationalize council policy in terms of developing an Arts Department have been to some extent circumvented. This may indicate the impossibility of a single unified cultural policy, when the subject area is vast and contradictory; or may represent the incoherence of policy, reproduced at yet another level as the local state develops.

The organisational basis of contemporary cultural policy and provision has therefore been developed in two apparently opposite directions. Firstly the expansion of the responsibility of key cultural departments - the Arts Department - together with the centralisation of policy-making, indicates the wish to develop a coherent cultural policy emanating from the Arts Department; and yet the expansion of the definition of what culture is, and the increasing foregrounding of cultural activity as part of a new role for local authorities means that more and more Council activities, primarily defined in other terms, are increasingly involved in questions of cultural provision. Therefore, while the 'Arts' Department attempts to expand its brief, other departments' involvement in areas of cultural activity opens up and broadens the definition of culture yet further. Paradoxically this has the effect, in conceptual and policy terms, of limiting the scope of the 'Arts' Department to a more narrowly defined concept of the arts, thus perpetuating the notion of the 'arts' as a minority subject.

As the Arts Department is a relatively small and financially insignificant department it cannot hope to run and administer all these other forms of cultural activity, but it might be argued that a policy recommendation could suggest that the Arts Department operate as a centralised policy development/research unit working to develop overall policy and keep abreast of developments across the City Council so that cultural policy can be co-ordinated and made coherent. There is a clear need for a fundamental re-drawing of definitions, so that at the very least policy is not arrived at by default. The need for co-ordination and some kind of alignment of policy terms between departments and different areas of council services is the most frequently raised issue in any policy debate.

The 1983 Review Committee had argued that organisational change was only a catalyst:

> real improvements in policy determination and service delivery would only come from new ways of working. (Review of the Council's Organisation, May 1983:10)

Building From The Bottom (Fabian tract 491, 1983) written by former Council Leader David Blunkett and the Principle Strategy Officer for the Central policy Unit, Geoff Green, sets out the basis for many of the City Council's developments in the early 1980s, especially in the area of local economic policy and reflects the predominant 'in and against the state' thesis. This thesis was seen to have political implications beyond the local state; thus

Blunkett and Green write,

> Our ideas come out of trying to create an administration which might pre-figure a wider socialist society. (Blunkett & Green 1983:2)

On a more concrete level, they argued that the policy making model is crucially affected by the way the role of the council officer is understood, and stressed that employees providing a wide range of local state services should see their role clearly in terms of community action:

> people who work for local authorities have got to be committed to a new type of politics. They are not expected to be members of the Labour Party, but they should have a commitment not to an isolated individual but to the community itself. These workers should see that they are a part of community action, that they are part of political education with a small 'p'. Then the whole of our services can be thrown behind the working people, the local state used as an example of what we can do as a socialist government at national level. (Blunkett & Green 1983:26)

The development of improved co-ordination and the rationalisation of political policy-making was thus developed in conjunction with a countervailing commitment to decentralisation and the devolution of power and service provision.

The interaction of these two processes can be indicated by two models of practice: the grant-aiding of the voluntary sector and the decentralisation of decision-making. Historically, grant-aiding and the creation of a Council funded voluntary sector has been explicitly resisted in Sheffield on the grounds that it was in some way connected to the notion of charity which is an anathema to municipal socialism. In fact the account given by Duncan and Goodwin of the division of politics, welfare provision and workers interests between the local parties, the City Council, and the trade union movement, suggests that there was no room for a voluntary sector in Sheffield. In 1985 only approximately 6% of urban programme funds were administered to voluntary organisations; the rest was spent on Council run projects. In contrast, Bradford Council spend half of their urban programme funds on voluntary organisations. The GLC also saw grant-aiding as a crucial strategy in their overall project of devolving power. The Blunkett era brought in a gradual increase in the practice of grant-aiding, but its development has been of limited significance in terms of the broader tenets of Council philosophy which is was still dominated by the idea of municipalisation (3).

In contrast the notion of decentralisation has been much more significant and, unlike grant-aiding, is central to the notions of 'building from the bottom' and 'in and against the state'. In general terms, decentralisation of services has meant the breaking up of the larger bureaucratic structure into smaller units, in the hope of improving services and making Council Officers more accessible to the local population. This process has also been carried out in management terms, by smaller units formulating their own policy decisions within broad directives. This process of decentralisation was the basis for the implementation of various community development schemes, which have been widespread. Almost every Council Department has a community aspect to it: there are community education officers, community recreation workers, community librarians and so on. The phenomenon of 'community development' in this context, is the result of a soft radicalism within each of the professional areas, combined with the practice of working for the local state. Its main feature consists of detaching the area of provision from a fixed institution, for example, from the school, the library, the sports centre or the health centre, and attempting to reconstruct the nature of that provision in relation to the identification of the 'needs' of a particular locality or a particular section of the local population. (Community recreation is discussed in more detail in Case-study 2)

The impetus behind decentralisation was to improve the quality of council services, and to improve the way they are experienced by the people they serve; in other words, to solve the problems identified in In and Against the State of the common experience of Council services as the imposition of inflexible regulations. However, these policies have challenged some trade union practices, and in some cases have been seen as a way of devolving the process of implementation of cuts in services and expenditure to the dispersed infrastructure and therefore, weakening the basis of resistance. There is some validity to this view, when policies for decentralisation are made in the wider context of the reduction in the finances necessary to run services, and the attempt to make the bureaucracy more responsive does have implications for the conditions of Council workers.

The strategy of decentralisation was a key objective in the core reproductive services such as housing policy: thus for example, local Area Housing Offices were set up to improve efficiency and accountability in dealings with council house tenants. However, the policy of decentralisation was also taken up in relation to cultural provision. The public library service implemented a policy of decentralisation: each community library was given the power to select part of its own stock on the grounds that this would allow it to reflect the demands of the local population.

One of the major differences between Sheffield's policy and that of the GLC is the interpretation of the notion of decentralisation. For the GLC decentralisation led to the grant-aiding of different organisations; for SCC decentralisation was applied to the bureaucratic structures. Both these strategies were an attempt to develop alternative ways of organising institutional power. The question is whether this impetus for organisational change has significantly altered the bureaucratic structures of the local state.

The development of a local economic strategy was central to the SCC's strategy of local political mobilisation. Local economic policy is perhaps where the role of the local state as both agent of central government and obstacle to it, has become most obvious.

> In any regeneration of the economic and industrial life of the country, local initiatives in themselves will only play a small part. But they can make a wider political impact; not only committing people to new kinds of work experience but winning them over to a vision of a very different kind of society. Multinational companies dominate our national and local economies and socialism must challenge them by controlling the 'commanding heights', but to prepare the way and sustain positive support from our people we must avoid structures which destroy the innovatory process of building from the bottom. (Blunkett & Green 1983:7)

However, by 1983 the Employment Committee and Department had been in existence for 2 years and its policy of intervention in the private sector to save jobs was under severe pressure. With a budget of £2.5 million, and a staff of less than 50, the Department lacked the financial resources to carry out any such policy effectively. Therefore Employment policy turned towards saving and creating jobs within the council's own work-force.

Central to local economic strategies as a new dimension of socialist strategy were the notions of socially useful production and the alternative economy. The principles drawn from the Lucas Aerospace shop stewards and their alternative product plan (4), and the work of the Conference of Socialist Economists, contributed to a broad argument that the restructuring of the economy should be achieved in ways consistent with the interests of workers, whilst prioritizing the usefulness of products and their relation to social need. However, the criteria of socially useful is ambigious and has since been questioned, as there is no systematic way of distinguishing between different investment decisions simply on the grounds of social usefulness. (5)

The new economic strategies launched by the GLC, the West Midlands County Council, Sheffield, Leeds, and Birmingham City Councils, in the early 1980s have been followed by a proliferation of economic initiatives by other local authorities. The attempt by local authorities to take some responsibility for developing the local economy - including intervention in the supply side by creating new enterprise - led to an interest in the area of cultural economics/industries. Following GLEB's research on London's cultural industries in terms both of employment and the more general economic impact of cultural activity, a number of other local authorities including Sheffield City Council have begun to research the impact of local cultural industries. (6) The combination of interest in the local economy in the context of massive decline in traditional industry, and the gradual recognition of the pervasiveness of areas of cultural provision by a number of 'non-cultural' departments, was linked to a very general notion of socially useful production. These factors allowed economic departments to consider some of the aspects of the economics of local cultural production and consumption. In the case of the GLC the linkage between the emphasis on socially useful production and on co-operatives coalesced in an investment policy for the independent sector of the cultural industries. In Sheffield the tradition of municipalisation was re-worked into the ethos of the new Employment Department and when combined with the aim of developing the public sector led to a consideration of the music industry as a possible site for modern municipalisation.

Although the interest shown by Sheffield's Employment and Economic Development Department (DEED) in the economic potential of certain cultural activity was acknowledged by the Arts Department, it was not in a position in terms of its own policy priorities (and finances) to take these ideas up in any significant way. At this time (the early 1980s) the Arts Department was concerned to develop new aspects of work such as grant-aiding and, in line with GLC trends, was interested in consultation and policy development. In this way, the Department combined notions of 'building from the bottom' with GLC inflections of involving outside groups in policy decisions. Thus the Arts Department, in conjunction with the Labour Party working group on 'Leisure', opened up a process of policy consultation by setting up a series of policy dayschools. The implications of policy making procedures and the consequences of shifts in policy emphasis were discussed at these dayschools, which were held intermittently during the past three years with Officers, Councillors, Labour Party members and representatives from various arts and other organisations taking part.

Some of the themes underlying policy are indicated in a collection of papers produced by the Central Policy Unit in January 1985, following a discussion set up to identify the key issues for a socialist council's arts and recreation policy.(7) The themes emerging in the papers reflect the prevailing ideas of 'cultural democracy' that had developed in areas of public policy over the last decade. The arguments revolved around an attempt to reconcile in policy terms the provision and co-existence of both community arts and high cultural forms. The central criteria that emerged for assessing cultural provision was whether cultural forms encouraged 'active' rather than 'passive' engagement on behalf of the audience. The opposition set up in the 1970s between community arts and more traditional forms was argued to be a superficial one. It was suggested that community arts and traditional cultural forms could be reconciled in policy rationale as two different strands of what was fundamentally the same policy. Instead the central problem was argued to be "people's alienation from the arts". Community arts was therefore to be seen as a form of approach, a legitimate strategy in a pluralistic cultural policy. To reinforce this reconciliation the traditional arts were also to be supported for their 'active' rather than 'passive' qualities. The definition of participation, as a central component of 'active' involvement was extended to include a sensory engagement in intellectual or emotional terms. As pointed out in Chapter 2, community arts was not based on a radically different conception of culture from that of the Arts Council, so in this sense it is accurate to suggest that a false opposition existed.

What emerged from these papers as a consensual position was an argument for policies which promote 'excellence' and 'participation' as two equal and complementary strands of a unified strategy. This position represents a superficial resolution to the tensions apparent in the loose 1970s framework of cultural democracy. However, these policy discussions largely accepted the definition of 'culture' as publicly subsidised cultural provision. The notion of popular culture as mass mediated cultural forms framed by capital is extraneous to such formulations of cultural policy. In fact the implicit argument in much public cultural policy, especially in the notion of active engagement, is that it is part of its role to counter the influence of such mass cultural forms which are seen to impose passive forms of reception. The collaboration between community arts and traditional arts was therefore based on a mutual rejection of, and disassociation from, commercial market culture.

As a socialist cultural policy, the idea of collective subsidised provision in opposition to the market, overlaps with some of the philosophical values of the City Council's broader political project. The use value of City Council cultural policy is seen to lie in its potential for tapping into a sense of the underlying commitment to collective values. It thus also ties in with the notion of 'community development', invoked to suggest an alternative to 'fragmentation ' and 'disintegration'.

> We have moved into an era of sophisticated technology in which the fragmentation and disintegration of society can only be reversed by devising a collective response which shares prosperity and recognises needs which must be met as a community. (Blunkett & Jackson, 1987:216)

In this broad context the role of cultural policy can be seen as one of re-inforcing values, a background policy cementing the cracks in collectivity.

A dayschool held in 1986, again on the subject of defining an arts policy, was significant for the way the debate revolved around a defence of arts funding, combined with a sense that such funding had to be made relevant to other major Council priorities. The debate obviously reflected the climate of cuts, and the need to defend funding policies; but the terms of the debate also revolved around implicit, and at times explicit, suggestions that the City Council had failed to recognise the importance of arts provision and that the central policy problem was how to 'translate' the importance of the arts into terms relevant to the Council. For this reason much stress was placed on the way arts activities could be interpreted as a service for the unemployed. The social relevance of the arts was seen in the way improvements in the 'quality of life' could work to counter the effects of poverty and unemployment. Such arguments are caught up in the compensation thesis rather than political mobilisation:

although there is always a sense that consciouness raising will result from involvement in the arts, the idea of explicit political mobilisation was absent.

Instead of a sense of cultural policy as a central part of the City Council's broad political project, there was an underlying unease about the nature of City Council arts provision: this is a deeply ingrained position reminiscent of the Arts Council, resting on the view that the local authority is really the wrong institution to be dealing with culture. In this case, unease came from two very different sources; firstly from the disappointment that the bureaucracy didn't appear to appreciate existing cultural provision or the need to improve it, a sense that cultural policy was very low on the Council's list of priorities; and secondly, from a fear that too much Council involvement would actually threaten the nature of the cultural forms which were the subject of an arts policy.

The terms of the debate highlight a key feature of the history of cultural policy formation which is always to start from a position that policy is a matter of how to interpret or present existing cultural forms. This explains how the argument that arts provision could be presented as a service to the unemployed could be made without even raising the question of how such a policy would seriously be implemented or even consulting 'the unemployed'. The nature of the cultural form, even in community arts, is almost always pre-given and the argument so often made is that people don't know what they are missing and if only they did, they would fight to defend and increase the provision. Such arguments do not necessarily reflect the views of policy-makers but are more prevalent amongst practising artists or those working in arts related areas and acting as pressure groups.

Following the 1986 policy day, a further policy discussion was organised by the Art Department and the Sheffield Council for Racial Equality, to develop Black Arts policies. The debate dealt with the failure of Council policy to deal with the issues of race and cultural policy. The debate took place in the context of the lack of any existing policy in this area and therefore covered a wide range of issues including representation on decision-making panels to the need for consultation, and the lack of any substantial and continuous funding for Black Arts projects. The Arts Department summarised the discussion in terms of two major requirements:

> the need to formulate a clear policy in relation to Black Arts; and ... to involve the Black community in its work.

The first led to a code of practice which was produced in the autumn of 1986, with the objectives of:

> encouraging projects which create artistic opportunities for black groups [by] ...developing outreach work which stimulates the take up of existing resources and activities through grant-aid and mainstream provision [and]...by developing publicity and communication channels with black communities. (Code of practice, Arts Department, August 1986)

The second recommendation led to the temporary appointment of a Black Arts Research worker to both examine ways of improving communications, and develop publicity channels with the Black community. The debate had been set up to fill an obvious gap in existing policy and provision. However, subsequent development has hinged on the possible creation of an equal opportunities post within the Arts Department. This post has yet to be established. The lack of significant integral development of Black Arts policies within the Arts Department reflects the difficulty of developing any kind of radical policy within a framework which is basically a modified version of the traditional social democratic model since such add-on policies are bound to be compensatory and marginal. The policy day amounted to a gestural support for Black Arts, as a political statement that the Department was unable to systematically develop.

A further consultation event held in June 1987 on 'Working For The Arts In Sheffield' reflected the fast- changing economic and political context in which cultural policy and provision is being developed. The emphasis of debate was on the ways in which the economic potential of arts activity could be demonstrated and used as an argument for increased support and attention to the arts. This was in line with the direction pointed to by the work of the Greater London Enterprise Board on cultural industries, backed up by studies which demonstrated the economic value of the arts,(8) and supported by the directives given by the Arts Minister calling for the reduction of subsidy and increased economic viability in arts projects. However, the debate embraced two diverging approaches to policy and implementation. At the same time as engaging with the debate on the economic implications of cultural activity, a case was made for the direct employment of artists by the City Council: a massive development of the idea of artists-in-residence (9). These two lines of debate - the demonstration of the economic value of the arts, and the direct employment of artists by the Council - represent a hiatus between different historical moments in the development of cultural policy. The direct employment of significant numbers of artists by the local state represents the ideal of arts as a public service, while concern over cultural economics reflects the realities of cuts in arts funding and the disappearance of a coherent contemporary argument for public subsidy. The coupling of these two policy features in this way neither provides a basis for a new kind of public subsidy nor recognises the cultural importance of commercial or market based culture.

The shifts in policy emphasis during the 1980s indicate the way in which dicussions of 'arts' activities have been moved from a framework of 'arts for art's' sake, (providing access is adequate), to arts as a service, and finally to a consideration of the wider cultural industries. As a result of the various specificities of the locality, of "uneven development" to use Duncan and

Goodwin's term, these broad shifts in policy have worked through local state cultural policy in different ways and have resulted in a set of policy objectives specific to Sheffield. In fact 'uneveness' can permeate and be manifest within a single institution in the ways it adapts and develops policy.

As noted in the last chapter, cultural policy in the 1980s has been increasingly informed by a concern with re-assessing the notion of culture and ways of approaching popular culture; and this has been reinforced by a more independent role for local government. This brief account of the organisational infrastructure of policy-making in Sheffield has focussed on the tension between centralism and decentralism both in relation to national and regional institutions and within the structures of local government itself. All these themes point to and manifest the same crucial contradiction analysed by Cockburn and later by Duncan and Goodwin: the fact that local government is simultaneously a wing of the state, charged with the reproduction of capitalist social relations, and, potentially at least, an instrument of popular resistance. Hall's account of the New Right's appropriation of popular experience begins to indicate the importance cultural policy can have in this contradictory relationship.(10)

This chapter has tried to describe how one socialist authority has sought, with necessarily ambiguous success, to develop the strategies for democratisation within a bureaucracy. There are unanswered questions about how far Sheffield City Council is anti-bureaucratic and supportive of popular initiative, and yet the agency of Officers and Councillors to direct policy and achieve significant change and provide a counter-balance to the bureaucratic system has to be acknowleged. There have been a number of conflicting pressures on the general role of City Council cultural policy. The organisational structure has worked to restrict both the definition of the arts and therefore the remit of the Arts Department. At the same time there has been a commitment to expand the definition of 'arts' to one of 'culture'. At a general level there is a fear of too much Council intervention and a concurrent concern about the lack of Council support. To reveal the complexity of the relationships involved, however, it is necessary to examine in detail some concrete and representative examples of the formulation and implementation of cultural policy in Sheffield.

Footnotes.

1. Source: Putting You In The Picture Sheffield City Council 1980-86, published by Central Policy Unit March 1986. By 1981 Sheffield's unemployment rate had overtaken the national average.

2. A report by a Policy Review Sub-committee - "Review of the Council's Organisation and Management", May 1983, (CPO/JT).

3. Sheffield City Council Policy Committee, Grant Aid Policy March 1986,

> At present the Council spends roughly £2 million each year on grants to community groups and community organisations. This is at least a 200% increase on the amount spent 5 years ago. There are no policy or administrative guidelines for how this money should be allocated or its expenditure monitored. (p1)

4. The Lucas Aerospace workers' plan, developed in the 1970s, to manufacture heat pumps, which questioned the social usefulness of much technological production and challenged the apparent inevitability of unemployment, was a powerful symbol of the ideal of socially useful production. See After the Lucas Plan, by Mike Cooley in Very Nice Work If You Can Get It , ed. Collective Design Projects, 1985, pp19-26.

5. M.Rustin, New Left Review, Jan 1986 pp75-84

6. Research developed in cities other than London include for example Birmingham Audio-Visual Industry completed by Comedia in 1987.

7. Collected papers on Arts and Recreation Policy, produced by the Strategy Section, Central Policy Unit, January 1985.

8. Some of the findings of the Policy Studies Institute on the economic importance of the arts to the general British economy began to emerge in the press.

9. At the Dayschool 'Working for the Arts in Sheffield' held in June 1987, a community artist employed directly by Glasgow City Council gave an account of his work as an artist employed by a local authority.

10. Hall, S. The Great Moving Right Show, The Politics of Thatcherism, 1983, pp19-39.

CHAPTER 4

Case Studies

1. Public Galleries and The Crucible Theatre.

In the post-war period the Art Galleries and the Crucible Theatre represent the City Council's explicit commitment to high arts provision. This provision was developed with substantial amounts of public subsidy and still represents the bulk of contemporary Art Department expenditure. The purpose of this case study is to illustrate the relation of the local state to high art provision: to consider the initial reasons for developing such provision and the more recent attempts to popularise or rationalise it within the broad policies of a local authority.

A Short History of the Galleries.

The idea of a public or municipal art gallery which emerged in the late nineteenth century was the result of the merging of a number of different social practices. Galleries were derived, and took their organisational form, from private collections (mostly aristocratic), although municipal art galleries can be argued to be the first significant public art provision in this period. In the case of Sheffield's two Galleries - The Mappin and The Graves - the benefactors were local businessmen who in their development of semi-public roles had close associations with the City Corporation. The Corporation itself had aspirations to offer educational opportunities for (and therefore to in some way construct) the citizen.

For example, in 1887, John Newton Mappin bequeathed his private collection to a group of trustees and provided funds to build a gallery,

> which should be open to the public in perpetuity without any charge. (1)

The Corporation made a site in a park available to build "a home of art". The role of the City Corporation as the provider of sites indicates that the long-term role of the local state - that of providing infrastructural services - was clearly apparent in the early history of cultural provision. The general regulation and administration of areas of collective service was also therefore applicable to cultural provision. The site for the gallery was chosen on the basis of its 'suitability' as a setting for art,

> a richly wooded park kept away from the chief source of grime and smoke, yet within easy reach of the multitude of the population, it offers a source of attraction that is most thoroughly appreciated. (Elijah Howarth, first keeper of the Mappin, 1894.(2))

The idea that paintings should be seen in a particular context was also important to their construction as works of art:

> on entering the central gallery the visitor feels at once its chaste and appropriate decorations and its admirable proportions giving the true temper for a proper inspection of the art treasures which it contains. (Elijah Howarth)

Local state gallery provision in the late nineteenth century can thus be understood as part of a perspective on cultural provision that linked parklands, libraries and prestigious buildings, (usually libraries, galleries or municipal buildings) to form part of a civic identity.

Two of the key themes that have recurred in discussions of publicly subsidised cultural provision can be seen to have been present at its inception. The number of visitors to the Mappin gallery in 1894 was estimated by the first Keeper of the Gallery to be more than the entire population of Sheffield. The argument that followed the attendance claim was that the public spending on the gallery could, if necessary, be justified on attendance numbers alone. However, there was a further hint behind the optimism that the total number of visitors actually included the entire population of Sheffield, spending could therefore be justifed on the grounds that the gallery was supported by all the social classes in Sheffield, and that there was a consensus of support for such cultural provision. However, as in later discussions of audiences and attendance, the issue was shrouded in optimistic justifications after the event. In other words, the questions of audience needs are always subsumed in a series of assumptions, which, if attendance is good, are confirmed, but, if attendance is poor, are rarely challenged, and a number of other factors are called upon to account for a failure to attract audiences. The second concern of public cultural provision which was visible at this stage was the need to justify the cost of public support of the gallery to the ratepayer:

> The gallery is one of the institutions which the hard pressed and long suffering rate payer never grumbles about, but of which he is quite properly proud. (E. Howarth)

The argument was that the ratepayer as a citizen would benefit from a share in the status the gallery brought to the city. The early history of the gallery thus reveals the complex historical and cultural legacy of many of the later arguments used to initiate and legitimate forms of 'universal' provision.

The nature of the late nineteenth century bourgeoisie and in particular their adoption of certain aristocratic practices meant that aspects of the system of patronage were retained and transmuted within municipal provision. Thus it is clear that cultural provision was often seen as an important part of the development of civic pride, a process that inevitably reflected favourably on the public figures involved. The link between cultural provision and civic roles is clear. For example, the first chairman of the Committee of the Gallery in 1887 was Alderman W.H. Brittain who had also held the offices of Master Cutler and Mayor of Sheffield. The setting up of the galleries reveals the close association between the role of the public benefactor and the terms of public cultural provision, (an association which was later evident in the establishment of the theatre). J.G. Graves was a successful Sheffield businessman and alderman, who, in 1937, provided money, for a new public gallery - The Graves Gallery, to house his own collection. He also provided funds to extend and rebuild parts of the Mappin gallery. J.G. Graves primary aim was to exhibit his own collection which he described in a letter to the Lord Major as,

> a well chosen collection which may interest and influence a wider public, and be readily accesible to Art students and scholars of the city as well as to business men and women and workers generally. (Janet Barnes, 1984)

In this way he succeeded and replaced Mappin as the major cultural benefactor of the city.

J.G. Graves' objectives combined the role of benefactor with the municipal philosophy of self-improvement. For example, the gallery was kept open until 9.00pm to allow access to people outside usual working hours. Although from 1937 the Graves and the Mappin have been administered together as Sheffield City Art Galleries, J.G. Graves was concerned that the gallery should take an active role in art education and encouraged a scheme whereby Sheffield schools could visit the gallery and follow a guided tour conducted by the Gallery Director. This was seen as an important part of the director's job and was written into successive contracts. The introduction of public galleries therefore took place in an ideological framework of 'improvement' - the Graves Gallery is linked to the Library, the Mappin to Parks and therefore to the notion of re-creation. This framework was also one that allowed public figures to express cultural, civic and economic 'capital'.

This framework remained more or less in place until the 1960s and 70s when policy developments drew, directly and indirectly, on wider contemporary debates. The comments on the Mappin collection made by the director of galleries during the 1970s indicate the beginning of a shift from benefactor, ostensibly sharing his collection with the local population, to the development of the cultural professional and 'objective' assessment:

> The Mappin collection] reflected the tastes of a well to do business man of the latter half of the nineteenth century and was without doubt typical in its idiosyncracies and surprises. Though it is easy to criticise the imbalance of view which, while ignoring Whistler, Rossetti, Watts and Burne Jones, acquired eleven works by Lazlett, J.Pott and John Pettie, nevertheless the presence in the collection of Landseer's superb 'Chevy Chase' along with first rate examples by Maclise, David Roberts, Firth and other little masters of the century did much to raise the standard to a serious level. (Frank Constantine in 'Quality of Sheffield' September 1970, Vol.17,No.9:18)

This indicates the tension that arose once the gallery was no longer simply seen as a gift of a benefactor but as a serious public facility. This tension was already beginning to be felt during the 50s, in the clashes which occurred between J.G. Graves and John Rothenstein the first director of the Graves. For example, when Rothenstein attempted to redress what he saw as the neglect of twentieth century painters, Graves was concerned that not enough of his own collection was on display. However, the early directors, who saw themselves in some sense as professional patrons, incorporated aspects of the role of the benefactor whilst at the same time (or under the guise of) attempting to develop a notion of objectivity in terms of the need to rectify omissions or improve the existing collection.

Although the galleries were administered as a distinct aspect of Council provision and were in the main unaffected by the detail of changes in Council policy direction, their role can be seen to have been influenced, in very general ways, by the broad sweep of Council policy. During the '70s, a series of low-key educational activities were developed which were thought to complement gallery going. These included Saturday morning groups for children, various adult education classes and lectures; and the provision of a picture lending library, designed to:

> allow people to experiment with their taste rather than to confirm it in a limited appreciation. (ibid)

Under the directorship of Frank Constantine the collections were further expanded. However, the collecting policy was still determined by an understanding of the internal dynamics of the collections and additions were chosen on the grounds that they improved the coherence of the existing collection.

In 1981 the Arts Department was formed. This meant that galleries were administered in the context of a broader policy for cultural provision. It also signalled the beginnings of a unification of approaches to public arts policies through the creation of professional or semi-professional arts posts: Arts Co-ordinator, Outreach Worker, Touring Exhibition Worker, Grant-aid Officer and Education Officer. The development of a new stratum of employees who operated at the interface between the 'community' and local government in the area of cultural activity, reflects the wider developments in local state practice which Cockburn, in her critique of the notion of community development, argued were central to the very functioning of the local state in the 1970s.

Julian Spalding, previously a Keeper of the Mappin Gallery, was appointed as the first Director of the Arts Departments. An underlying theme of his directorship was the contemporary notion of demystification. To 'demystify' was an important idea for community arts approaches which were developed during the 70s in an attempt to democratise cultural practices. However, as in other historical moments which saw the emergence of particular influences on cultural policy, 'demystification' operated as a touchstone word, and encompassed a range of often contradictory ideas. It has been suggested that,

> community arts hang between alternative and oppositional practice and test the simplicity of the dichotomy, connecting both with attempts at more sophisticated modes of control and with more democratic and participatory models. (Hall et al, 1979:245)

The local state is also positioned at the heart of this dichotomy and reproduces it. The attempt both to supervise cultural activity and to mobilise new, more democratic cultural practices indicate the way cultural policy reflects the key contradictions of the local state. For Julian Spalding the objective of more participatory models was to position 'art' as an integral part of everyday life: "Art should be no more remote from the working man than a stroll to the corner shop." (26.7.82.Star)

The aim of demystification - to break down the illusory mystique of cultural production, and to reveal its operations and processes and thus open it up and make it more understandable - was approached via the introduction of schemes such as artist-in-residence. These were first introduced within the galleries, and later in community centres and housing estates as galleries were increasingly thought of as too 'safe' an environment for the purposes of such schemes. In the main however, the galleries more or less maintained their traditional exhibitions policies. The aims of additional activities were to help prepare people for art. The gallery exhibitions were still, on the whole, organised in relation to the internal dynamics of the 'arts world' with the objective of bringing the best to Sheffield. As the Financial Times commented,

> The City Art Galleries are themselves the model of what civic art galleries should be under Frank Constantine... and now under Julian Spalding... conspicuously energetic in their exhibition policy initiating important projects whenever possible and always trying to keep their collection alive and growing. They enjoy a national reputation that does the city enormous credit. (F.T. 22.11.83.)

Admittedly the objective of democratisation began to be developed with the implementation of 'out-reach schemes', but this process was always tied in with and subordinated to the traditional strategy of improving and expanding the collection. Thus the pride, prestige and credit which the galleries may give the city is still an important element in this kind of cultural provision.

The local state is an institution which combines

professional expertise with the process of administering public services. However, this process is often perceived as the merging of two separate sets of interests, for example the world of the arts and the world of the local authority. In the case of the arts, the politicians of Sheffield City Council were much more likely to accept the word of the expert, than they would in areas which had a more obvious political relevance.
Personnel appointment was a first stage in developing a new Arts Department with a wider brief than the administration of the galleries. The second director of the Arts Department, appointed in 1984, was chosen in particular for his expertise in areas of the arts other than galleries. Similarly, the appointment of the Keeper of the Mappin was made partly on the basis that he had experience of what was seen as the more accessible street-wise policies of the 'Third Eye Centre' - a contemporary arts centre in Glasgow, and would apply them to the Mappin.

The influences on programming policy for exhibitions have been complex, including conventional conceptions of quality embodied in the notion of 'the great tradition'; community arts; developments in the sphere of contemporary arts practice and exhibition; relevance to the locality; broad features of the City Council policy; some themes taken from the 'new' politics of the new social movements; and a general commitment to attracting wider audiences to the galleries. In addition, policy making is obviously also influenced by more pragmatic considerations: the obligation to operate within the limits of the existing collections - thus the permanent collection can, to some extent, dictate the content of exhibitions; and within financial constraints - the administrative resources of the Arts Department have not been increased in proportion to the increase in its activities.

Both the Mappin and Graves collections were of predominantly British work, indicating their benefactors concern with British culture and heritage. This concern was not manifested in terms of 'preservation', as occurred in the immediate post-war policy, rather the concern was with the right to cultural inheritance and knowledge of contemporary developments. It was argued that these concerns should be reflected in a modern municipal gallery:

> just as Mappin, Graves, and other collectors involved themselves with the art of their day - so galleries today have a duty to introduce the art of their day to their publics. They have a duty to integrate the art of their day with the art of the past represented in their collections. Moreover they, as institutions functioning as part of the community, have a duty to sustain the artistic life of the community by involving itself in the work of their artists. (Mike Tooby, Keeper of the Mappin, Artists Newsletter 1984)

As Mike Tooby suggests, one of the principal aims of current exhibition programming policy in the late 1980s is to develop a link between the exhibition and Sheffield, either in terms of the artists exhibited or in the subject of the exhibition. Individual artists proposing to exhibit in the galleries are asked to design an aspect of the exhibition in a way that indicates a relevance to Sheffield. The emphasis on Sheffield is part of a more recent policy approach to suggest a local rather than national identity for the galleries. (A similar impulse can be seen in the recent construction of a local identity for the Crucible Theatre.)

However, the theme of 'Sheffield', of locality and thus, of local people, is only one of a number of social and cultural issues the current exhibition programme attempts to raise. Other themes prioritised in this way include: women's work in visual arts; historical subjects seen as under-represented or bypassed; and particular developments in art forms, for example, in sculpture or photography. Rather than simply reproducing received notions of quality and standards, it is clear that the programming policy of the galleries is attempting to construct a different set of criteria. In this way the exhibition programmers see themselves as crossing and linking the two separate spheres: the politics of local authority provision on the one hand, and the developments of the arts world, on the other.

However, the generation of art work in Sheffield and its relation to the galleries can be a complex and contradictory process. For example, the pieces of work produced from residencies based in housing estates are often exhibited in the galleries. This move from residency to gallery, which means that the exhibition of work separates it from the production processes and context, can have a number of contradictory consequences. On the one hand, it can serve to demonstrate to the residents where the work took place, that what was produced can be considered as 'art' and thus deserves to be in the gallery. On the other hand, the exhibition may result in the work having an audience quite separate from those involved or associated with its production. This suggests that the nature of the processes of production and exhibition themselves can produce distinct and contradictory effects from the same policy directives. It further suggests that policy-makers need to begin to explore the implications of their decisions for different moments within this production and consumption cycle.

The role of the curator of the gallery is described as one of an 'enabler'. This incorporates aspects of the notion of 'animateur', the catalyst facilitating a reaction between art and people. Some of the impulses of community arts can therefore be seen to have percolated up to influence the work of institutions such as art galleries. As an 'enabler', in the refusal of a straightforward position as 'arts' expert, the curator is walking a fine line between not wanting to overly direct an audience and resisting what are seen as the aesthetic limitations of the existing taste of the audience. The contradictions in the terms of such programming and the difference between, as the Crucible director in 1975 put it in a similar debate surrounding theatre, "what an audience thinks they want and what contemporary writers want to write about" suggests that there are problems with any attempt to democratise culture within an ideology that places privileged status on the creative artist as the source of cultural value and a secondary status on the audience. The potential conflict between the interests of cultural producers and cultural consumers presents a particularly marked contradiction for municipal providers, since local authorities as institutions are overwhelmingly geared towards consumers in the terms of provision of public services, whereas the history of national cultural policy has largely focussed on cultural production.

However, within this broad framework the Arts Department is currently in the process of attempting to open up policy-making and consultation by developing a series of advisory panels based on generic forms - dance, drama, visual arts, writing/ communications, film/ photography/ video, and multi-cultural. The advisory panel for the visual arts is made up of representatives from various local organisations, including Yorkshire Arts advisors, representatives from the Sheffield Council for Racial Equality, members from the National Artists Association, independent studios and the Sheffield Society for the Encouragement of Art. The intention behind the formation of such advisory groups was to bring a range of interests to bear on policy development and to consult representatives in the City. However, the notion of representation is inevitably based on the involvement of existing interest groups and not new audience constituencies.

The way in which exhibition programmers have attempted to deal with contemporary work and the associated cultural debates can be illustrated by the policy discussions surrounding two exhibitions: the 'Five Years of The Face' (1985), and 'Into the Open' (1984), an exhibition of "new paintings, prints and sculptures by contemporary black artists" (exhibition publicity). 'Five Years of the Face' (a touring exhibition of photography from the magazine 'The Face') was seen by the programmers as an opportunity to draw a new young audience to the gallery; it was to serve as an introduction, or more accurately as a bait, for other art work in the gallery. Despite its justification on these grounds as a good 'taster' for youth, a debate took place amongst policy makers about the implications such an exhibition had for the role of public galleries. The debate concentrated on a discussion of the various forms of consumerist exploitation which it was felt the exhibition was based on. Firstly, as a commercial enterprise the magazine itself was seen to be exploiting young people; secondly, the photography was seen as exploiting and debasing artistic genres in the same way as advertising has been seen to have done. Finally, it was seen as exploitative because it was masquerading as art, falsely attributing itself value. The gallery was left in a problematic position as regards contemporary culture, especially consumer culture; as one officer commented,

> ...there is a problem with modern culture, some of it is just style. (3)

The decision to hold the exhibition was defended in terms of a role for public galleries in critical presentation of work, not necessarily endorsing exhibitions but rather operating as an 'inter-active space'. The main issue at stake here for programme makers was the definition of 'art' used. The objections were not so much directed at the fact that 'The Face' magazine is profit-making in itself, but that the exhibition promoted an ideology of consumerism. Nevertheless this gave way in the end to the tactical decision to use the exhibition to draw audiences with the explicit hope that they might then become interested in other art work. That this tactical use could also be seen as 'exploitative' was apparently unthinkable since these particular means justified the ends.

This debate highlights the emphasis placed by policy makers on quite traditional notions of the way works of art should be received: on the 'individual experience' of art, on the way in which "the individual viewer connects with individual artists", and on a belief "of the need for the individual to come to meet the artist's intention." The threat of 'The Face' exhibition lay in the way it was seen to challenge values associated with the visual experience of art. Described as a one-dimensional, self-conscious pretence at sophistication, indistinguishable from advertising, it was believed to 'cheapen' artistic experience. From this perspective the public gallery's role was seen to have been compromised, caught in the trap of trying to draw a wider audience while at the same time providing and sustaining particular definitions of cultural value.

The 'Into the Open' exhibition was a relatively early example of programming practice emerging from debates concerned with the exhibition of black arts. The title 'Into the Open' indicated the intention of exhibiting work by black artists, increasing the awareness of black arts, and the role of the gallery in presenting and making the public aware of contemporary developments in practice and ideas. The exhibition was described in publicity material as the first major survey by a municipal gallery of contemporary work by black artists in Britain. Sheffield Arts Department initiated the exhibition which was organised by the artists Pogus Caesar and Lubaina Humid. The exhibition was seen by Sheffield Arts Department to contribute to the debate about how to exhibit black art, how to make black art visible, in the context of the 'art gallery' as a white institution and the history of the exclusion of the work of black artists from the 'arts world'. Furthermore the developments in the 1980s attempted to break free from the characterisation of black arts only in terms of 'ethnic arts', a policy rooted in 1970s objectives of achieving harmonisation through the recognition of different communities as culturally separate. These Ethnic arts policies have subsequently been argued to be restrictive, with the recognition not only of the limits enforced by a pre-determination of the sphere in which black artists may work, but also that ethnic arts was not simply a strand in a plurality of equally valued arts policies, but fixed in a hierarchical relation to the dominant cultural values which were not in any way reconceptualised in relation to black arts. In an attempt to transcend these pitfalls Pogus Caesar states in the introduction of 'Into The Open', that

> the only thread that runs throughout the exhibition is that all the artists are black.(p2)

The exhibition was in part conceived of as a contribution to a process of making black arts more visible on the basis of collective representation. It was not intended as a fixed policy which, like the ethnic arts policies, would work to marginalise the work of black artists. However, in order to make such a contribution the exhibition should have been used as a starting point from which to develop further strategies for recognising and making black arts more visible, and as a point from which to re-conceptualise the core policies which inform the work of the galleries, rather than standing as a one off event.

The Arts Department see the development of policies relating to black arts in terms of the need for improved publicity and communications with black communities, and in terms of the implementation of equal opportunities policies.

> the department does not have a coherent, thought-out and fully applied equal opportunities policy, but we are conscious of the need for one. There is a strong awareness that the ethnic arts have different applications and levels of appropriateness to western forms... There is a need to research and have a clear idea of the different communities and then adjust the overall provision to accommodate this. It is important not to "bolt on" extra programmes but to programme from within. (Director of Arts, Report of the Black Arts Day, July 1986:4)

This statement combines a sense of the difference of ethnic arts and the inappropriateness of existing policy frameworks with a recognition of the need to programme from within. Thus the implication is that there is a need for a radical, but as yet unspecified, transformation of policy, a task apparently so large it has not yet begun.

What both these exhibitions seem to point to is the fact that unless received notions of artistic 'excellence' and 'quality' are confronted head on, policies of democratisation are likely to be at best unsuccessful, at worst to marginalise non-official culture by partial incorporation. The problem of the role of the white institution is recognised by the current Director of Arts in his reference to avoiding 'westernising' black arts. What is not acknowledged in his remarks is that a positive role for the gallery might be to present exhibitions that allow a questioning of the canonisation of the values of 'official' art. In a similar way, the 'The Face' exhibition, rather than being perceived as a bait for 'real' Art, might more valuably have been seen as a way of using commercial art and the popular style of youth subcultures as a lever to open up received perceptions of cultural value.

The actions of the Arts Council have generally confirmed a reluctance to challenge received definitions and practices. The Arts Council's 'Glory of the Garden' policy, designed to further the development of the arts in the regions, was to have included SCC galleries. The proposals for development fell into two areas: first, an expanded exhibition and activities programme and, second, two new posts for arts assistants, one for each gallery. Their primary role was to provide a contact point between the public and the gallery and to develop new user groups for the galleries through educational activities. Sheffield's galleries are seen by the Arts Council as leaders in the particular fields it wishes to see developed in other galleries. Before the introduction of the Glory of the Garden strategy the Arts Council's regional funding policies were mainly directed towards one-off exhibitions or catalogues; the funding for educational activity and the creation of new posts represents a change in policy. This change indicates an attempt by the Arts Council to intervene in the regions, to 'make use' of municipal galleries.

> Glory of the Garden Policy represents a shift in direction of the Arts Council making for greater use of this country's extensive existing network of municipal galleries. This development will help restore contemporary art to its rightfull place within the country's galleries. (Arts Council, 1984:14)

However, a condition for qualifying for extra funding under the new strategy is that local authorities have to provide new matching funds, (and not simply money re-directed from another area of gallery work). The proposal thus indicates the general way in which the Arts Council can manipulate the direction in which galleries may develop.

The role assigned to education has remained almost unaltered throughout the Art Council's history:

> in addition to making the Arts more accessible in financial and economic terms, it was important to do what it could to help break down the less tangible and attitudinal barriers to the arts sometimes created by such factors as social class and lack of educational opportunity. (Arts Council, 1984:19)

Education is therefore an important part of the 'Glory' strategy for the galleries in Sheffield. However the approach of the Arts Council and that of Sheffield galleries to educational policies and therefore to a broader notion of access are slightly different. The galleries are more concerned with the way galleries exclude particular social groups, whereas the Arts Council's policies are primarily geared to altering people, 'breaking down attitudinal barriers' to stop them apparently excluding themselves from galleries.

Compared to other municipal galleries Sheffield's galleries have relatively high attendance figures. However, attendance figures alone do not reveal very much and the Keepers admit that they have "very little knowledge of who we're reaching or not reaching"; although they suggest that it is possible to build up an impression of how an exhibition is received. Attendance figures do not reveal the patterns of usage: for example, Graves Gallery attendance figures include all the people who use the coffee bar, a city centre venue and the only one in a building housing the central library as well as the gallery. Similarly, the Mappin, because it is positioned in the park may be more likely to be visited during the summer or at weekends. Different patterns of usage are likely to relate to a number of factors associated with the galleries. Moreover, despite an acknowledgement that information about audiences is limited, there is a way in which policy-makers within galleries are apprehensive about the benefits of such information since they fear that audience research would result in a pressure for prescriptive programming which would contravene what is seen as one of the fundamental roles of galleries - to reflect experiment and innovation, to surprise and challenge.

A two year publicity campaign organised by Yorkshire Regional Arts Association and financed by the Arts Council to examine the ways of publicising "centres of art" in Sheffield was begun in the early 1970s. As part of the research two pieces of audience survey work were carried out by Mass-Observation U.K. The first survey undertaken in 1974 was to provide an evaluation of the existing situation in terms of levels of awareness of arts activity and patterns of attendance. The second survey carried out 18 months later was to monitor the effects of an experiment in the marketing of the arts. The overall aim of the research was to assess the usage and potential usage of centres of art by the Sheffield population. The `centres of art' indentified were the Crucible Theatre, the Galleries, and the Philharmonic concerts.

The annual attendance of the galleries in 1976 was, Graves: 147,000 and Mappin: 225,000. (The 1986 figures are Graves: 220,000 and Mappin 180,000.) Both audience surveys highlighted some general characteristics of the 'centres of art' audience and compared these to the patterns of the city's population as a whole. The demographic characteristics of the theatre audience revealed a,

> pronounced educational bias, with the standard of education of the theatre/concert audiences much higher than in the population as a whole. (Mass-Observation U.K. 1976:13)

However art galleries were found to have a broader base of appeal than the Crucible or Philharmonic concerts:

> visiting the art galleries is much more widespread an activity in the Sheffield population than either theatre or concert-going. (Mass-Observation 1976:19)

According to the research the most often quoted reason given for attendance of the gallery was that the visitor was 'just passing'.

One distinction that can be made between the galleries and the Crucible which might help explain their public visibility is related to common-sense perceptions of public buildings. Unlike the Crucible, the Galleries are public buildings to which everyone has right of entry: the decision of when to visit is relatively open and is not tied to performance times. It is free to go in and the amount of time spent visiting is unrestricted.

The survey's findings showed a significant audience overlap between the various 'art-centres', for example, 63% of the Philharmonic audience had been to the Crucible in the last year, 30% of the Crucible audience had been to the Philharmonic concerts, while 72% of the film theatre and 43% of the Crucible audience had visited the Galleries. In 1986 the audience cross-over between civic cinema and galleries was more symmetrical, 80% of the Anvil audience had been to Galleries in the last year, and 81% vice versa.(4)

The conclusion drawn from the first survey was that the easiest way of marketing the arts, in terms of achieving higher audience attendance figures, would be to aim the promotional campaign at those who were already most likely to go, and simply increase the frequency of their attendance. However part of the brief of the campaign was to broaden the profile of the audience as well as to seek ways of increasing attendance. The second survey monitoring the effects the campaign concluded that,

> there is no consistent evidence that the marketing of the arts has widened the participation in terms of social class. The increase in attendance of Sheffield residents has largely occurred among the middle-class. (Mass Observation 1976:iii)

(The marketing campaign had consisted in the main of the distribution of a magazine, "Whats On In Sheffield".)

The mass-observation report included a section on

"Attitudes Towards the Arts". The survey found that nearly all of the Sheffield residents had heard of the Crucible and just under 80% knew of the galleries. From this it can be concluded that simple straightforward publicity was not necessary, particularly since although slightly fewer people knew about galleries they still attracted a wider audience in terms of social class. However, the report's discussion of the survey on the attitudes to the arts revealed some significant contradictions. The validity of the surveying techniques are questionable and probably exacerbate the underlying tendencies evident in the responses: for instance respondants were asked to agree or disagree with a series of statements which could obviously not be read as neutral. This meant that while it was concluded that,

> The majority of the population 56% agree that the theatre is more interesting than seeing it on T.V.

only a relatively small percentage of the total population go to the theatre. Of those that do,

> The theatre/concert goers share this opinion but agree more strongly 87%

These findings and the very way the statements are presented can be discussed further in the light of Bourdieu's analysis of the social function of cultural tastes in the Aristocracy of Culture,

> It must never be forgotten that the working class aesthetic is a dominated aesthetic which is constantly obliged to define itself in terms of the dominant aesthetic. The members of the working-class who can neither ignore the high-art aesthetic which denounces their own `aesthetic', nor abandon their socially conditioned inclinations, but still less proclaim them

> and legitimate them, often experience their relationship to the aesthetic norms in a two-fold and contradictory way. (P.Bourdieu, Media Culture & Society 1980:244)

The Sheffield survey found that only 24% of the general population said they liked modern art, compared with 46% of theatre/concert-goers. These differences too can be understood in terms of Bourdieu's notion of legitimacy. He suggests that a hierarchy of cultural forms is constructed and maintained in which they are valued according to their legitimacy, so that certain genres achieve a degree of cultural consecration. Thus, for example, visits to galleries and museums are legitmate cultural activity according to Bourdieu, and other genres, certain types of film for example, are moving towards legitimacy.

In the Aristocracy of culture, Bourdieu explored the process by which differences in cultural taste become socially functional. The question is how value is ascribed to differences in taste. For Bourdieu, aesthetic judgements are not drawn from a pure aestheic logic, they are part of the complex distinctions of class formed into distinctions of taste.

> At stake in every struggle over art there is also the imposition of an art of living, i.e. the transmutation of an arbitary way of living into the legitimate way of life which casts every other way of living into arbitrariness. (Bourdieu, 1980:254)

Since Bourdieu's analysis implies that this hierarchy can shift over time, there is a question over the contemporary use of his concepts of 'legitimacy' and 'domination ' which have been loosely tied in to correspond with the concepts of high and popular culture. For example, has the construction of `legitimacy' in relation to museums altered as a result of the dramatic change in character and rapid growth of new museums. A recent report (Museums Association 1986) suggests that independent museums and galleries have developed methods of serving the public in more direct ways, thus making exhibitions more "intelligible".(5) In comparison local authority institutions are described as being slower to respond to the new ideas pioneered by the independents, partly because of lack of finance and uncertain futures caused by ratecapping, but also partly because of outmoded management structures based on curational criteria rather than an emphasis on presentation, public service administration and marketing practices.

However, the precise ways in which museums are made more "intelligible" are not discussed except in vague terms of accessibility. This obscures a massive shift in the presentation and construction of, for example, questions of heritage. Nevertheless, the question arises of whether the social function of activities such as museum and gallery visiting are changing: are certain kinds of 'legitimate' cultural activity being presented in ways which indicate the circulation of different kinds of codes and decodings? If this is so, is it still possible to put forward a notion of legitimacy which broadly links economic and cultural capital to class? Is there a new equilibrium which sets out a new hierarchy to regulate 'legitimacy' in relation to class or has the proliferation of middle-class culture based on consumerism dislodged the older asymmetry between traditional cultural forms and the market and therefore fundamentally altered the framework for the construction of legitimacy. Certainly in the post-war period commercial culture was associated with working class taste, this has altered as consumer-based mass culture associated with middle-class taste has become more pervasive.

Local state policy, especially in areas broadly designated as public institutions for the preservation and exhibition of high art, are obviously caught in various manifestations of the relationship between notions of domination and legitimacy in the provision of cultural activity. The policies of access are developed from the position of, on the one side, looking towards the Arts Council and the art world, and on the other, looking to fulfill the broad political objectives of the City Council, and incorporate some themes from new left cultural politics. The notion of access is constructed in an attempt to get away from formal notions of the aesthetic and yet retains the mystical assumptions about artistic production, in the sense that access policies draw on a set of criteria based on a notion of access to the 'truth of experience'. Similarly, the idea of personal commitment of expression - artistic integrity - is seen to provide a point of entry for political considerations as it has parallels with an idea of political integrity. However, the policies based on access and the development of the curator's role into an enabling role can be seen as having worked to extend the traditional role of the curator, pushing the limitations but not removing them. The notion of 'truth of experience' can be incorporated within the mystique of the artist rather than working to democratise ways of understanding the process of artistic production and in the end serves to reinforce the notions of legitimacy despite efforts to the contrary.

Given that high cultural forms are embedded in constructions of legitimacy associated with social class, how does a cultural policy deal with this ? Minimally, but importantly it can pay attention to the construction of legitimacy in the presentation of culture, by dealing more explicitly with questions of value and quality, and with the techniques and formal properties of the aesthetic.

The Crucible Theatre.

The Crucible was built to be run as a subsidised theatre. The long-term trends in the economy of the theatre - the rise of the Arts Council and with it the ideology of public subsidy, and the concern of local authorities to promote a public culture - led to its building in 1970/1, and set the foundations upon which the relationship between the Crucible Theatre and City Council was based. As in the case of the Art galleries there were important early links between the theatre and prominent public figures in Sheffield civic life. For example, the Repertory Company based at the Sheffield Playhouse during the 1960's had roots that can be traced back to the 'little theatre' on the Shipton St Settlement YMCA. (The 'little theatres' were a system of small self-financed theatrical organisations.) One of the parts in the first performance by the 'St Philip's Settlement Dramatic Society' early in 1919 of the Tolstoy play "Where Love Is, God Is", was played by Albert Ballard later to become an Alderman, a member of the board of the Sheffield Repertory Company and Lord Mayor of Sheffield 1957-58. Thus in various ways, the early formation of public cultural provision is closely associated with public roles - Lord Mayor, Master Cutler, President of Trades Council and Governors. At the level of the national state Raymond Williams suggests that symbolic stately displays are a significant form of cultural policy. At the local level there is clearly a link between public cultural provision with offices of public life. In this sense local public cultural provision is a symbolic presentation of the local state.

In 1920 the Shipton St Co. was re-named the Sheffield Repertory Company. Its subsequent history has been described as one of a long struggle against collapse (Seed 1959). The theatre was always on the brink of closing down and depended on public appeals and gifts from businessmen such as J.G. Graves and societies such as the Sheffield Playgoers and the Sheffield branch of the British Empire Shakespeare Society. At a particular crisis in 1934 when closure seemed imminent, Alderman Fred Marshall, Lord Mayor offered the use of the Town Hall for a public meeting to decide "whether a repertory theatre could be maintained in Sheffield" (Seed 1959). The meeting decided to launch a public appeal. Following this, the character of the Repertory theatre has always been defined and framed as something worth having, something that citizens should be prepared to donate money to. It was seen as a 'serious' amateur theatre company that was distinct from the commercial theatres, and joined the British Drama League, a central organisation to which all amateur societies could affiliate, in 1921.

The turn of the century had seen the peak in commercial theatre. In 1908 there had been eleven theatres and music halls in Sheffield and Attercliffe. The 'streamlining' of the theatre industry began in the 1920's when the small independent managements of Edwardian theatre amalgamated into groups of companies controlling chains of theatres (Elsom 1979). By the 1930s the Repertory Company was distinct from other theatrical activity in Sheffield which, in the first half of the century consisted of the Lyceum Touring theatre built in 1897 (still standing and now being renovated); the Adelphi, demolished in 1914; the Theatre Royal demolished in 1935; and the Empire demolished in 1959. In the context of a general decline of commercial theatres, it was the repertory companies, originating from a 'highbrow' amateur tradition, that were considered valuable enough for public support (at this stage through public appeals). In 1935 a decision was taken to convert the Sheffield Repertory Company into a wholly professional non-profit-distributing organisation, a decision which became crucial for later support by the Arts Council. Almost all repertory companies were owned by ordinary commercial companies, with exceptions - the Manchester Library Theatre, owned by the Manchester Corporation and the Liverpool and Sheffield Playhouses, held by non-profit-distributing companies. During the thirties the Repertory changed its name again:

> It was considered that the name "The Repertory Theatre" still conveyed the impression that the company was amateur and highbrow and it was changed to the Playhouse in 1938. (Seed 1959:28)

The view of amateur as highbrow is a recurring perception of this kind of non-commercial repertory company. However, the work and general ambience of the Playhouse was seen in differing ways. Some saw it as old fashioned repertory, invoking a popular sense of a civic theatre - putting on a range of shows to an audience of mixed social class. Others viewed the Playhouse as a small middle-class theatre struggling to survive without any real attempt to broaden its appeal.(6) In any case, by the 1950s the total theatre capacity of Sheffield was 4,964 and the average attendance was 75% of capacity (John Pick 1986).

The Playhouse began to receive Arts Council funding in 1960-61. This fell into what can be seen as a second phase in the Arts Council's involvement in theatre (Elsom 1979). The first phase from 1946-1956, saw a marginal input to the fringes of the main commercial theatre system. In the second phase, 1956-64, the Arts Council began to administer 'guarantees against loss' to selected repertory companies by drawing on its increased budget. In this way, the subsidy system was created obliquely. The grant awarded to the Sheffield Playhouse was to

> allow the Playhouse to undertake more prestigious productions than their own resources would allow. (Arts Council Annual Report, 1964)

The £5,000 grant marked a decisive change in the history of the Playhouse. From operating on the edges of the commercial scene with unofficial subsidised support, the Playhouse became a nationally subsidised theatre. The transition from sub-commercial to subsidised was taken a stage further in 1963 when the Playhouse became one of eight theatres outside London to be taken into a formal association with the Arts Council to form a skeleton basis of a national subsidised theatre. These moves mark the beginning of a third phase in the Arts Council's involvement in theatre when, with the Labour Government of 1964, the Arts Council's grant was significantly increased and its position in relation to subsidy changed dramatically; John Elsom in Post War British Theatre argues that,

> while the Arts Council was not a Grand Provider in 1956 and had not become one by 1964, it gave the appearence of being one by 1974 (Elsom, 1976:128)

In other words, while the commercial theatre industry declined, the Arts Council began to lay the infrastructure for a system of theatre based on, and dependent on, subsidy.

An important shift in the emphasis in national cultural policy was demonstrated by the Arts Council involvement with theatre. The earlier CEMA approach of literally taking art to the people with various touring groups was gradually replaced by an emphasis on "housing the arts". It was in the third phase of Arts Council involvement with the theatre that the main bulk of theatre building occurred. In this way, national cultural policy was concretised in buildings and art-centres.

In the late 1950s the Government commissioned the Arts Council to undertake,

> a comprehensive survey of the needs for cultural buildings in London and the rest of the Country. (Arts Council,1961)

The two part report, Housing the Arts in Great Britain, was published in 1959 and 1961. The main concern of the report was that only two new theatres had been built in the previous twenty-five years, while many existing ones had been closed down. This information was thought to reveal a very significant cultural lack, and was seen as symptomatic of a great need. A special building fund was set up and supported by Jennie Lee in her paper "A Policy For the Arts". The performing arts generally were encouraged by Jennie Lee and others as in many ways they symbolised the modernity of the new Labour policy. There is a clear sense, in part arising from an awareness of the early history of theatre as shackled by government controls, that performing arts were radical, progressive, and liberating cultural forms. The concept of youth theatre was also revived, providing a link between drama and the 1960s development of education policy. The Arts Council initiated an enquiry into the ways in which theatre could be brought to children.

Thus in the general context of the "housing the arts" building programme, the local repertory theatres represented an ideal of 'theatre-in-society', making possible an expression of regional talent together with the development of theatre in education programmes. Elsom describes these policies as,

> An excellent ideal shot through with humanistic values, which were expressed even in the homeliness of the buildings themselves with their 'open' stages, coffee-bars and meeting places. (Elsom 1976:153)

The Crucible was built towards the end of the spate of theatre building which occurred in the 1960s when thirty new theatres were built in ten years. The conclusions of the "Housing the Arts" reports were clearly taken up as policy,

> The preservation (in the widest sense) of music and drama now depends on the adoption by the Welfare State of a new responsibility for the arts which belong equally to the spheres of education and amenity ... The new post-war patterns in the provincial theatre have shown the strength of the repertory movement, which has survived the growth of television, held its audiences and increased its status in theatre as a whole. If these gains are to be held there should be consolidation of the movement into the larger towns where if necessary new theatres should be built or the existing ones thoroughly renovated. Every town with a population of not less than 200,000 should have its own repertory theatre with resident company. (Arts Council, 1961)

This view of the Arts Council as the cultural wing of the welfare state emerged in the 1960s. (It was also suggested by Jennie Lee when she compared arts provision to other social services, and argued that in the same way that health and education had to fight to establish themselves so would an arts service.) Theatre seemed to provide the right cultural site where the Arts Council could be seen to accommodate the pressures for more democratic provision, more 'cultural democracy', without fundamentally challenging the notion of 'established arts' and policies for their preservation.

However, Elsom argues that the Arts Council theatre policies of the 1960s caused a systematic distortion of the theatrical economy in favour of the repertory theatres. He suggests that during the 1950s it was the repertory theatres which had suffered most directly from competition with television, while the touring theatres, although in a difficult position, had the backing of commercial companies and were still fundamentally sound. The Arts Council did at a later stage realise that repertories were being encouraged at the expense of the touring theatres and attempted to redress this imbalance by supporting some touring companies. However, they were only able to give grants directly to non-profit-distributing companies. Thus the commercial companies not only faced competition from subsidised repertory companies they also suffered, as Elsom says, from,

> cut price rivals on their own territory...By aiding a minority of companies the Arts Council kept down the general level of guarantees, making it extremely hard for commercial companies to keep going. (Elsom 1976:139)

In general, the new theatres were built as a joint exercise between the Arts Council and local authorities. Ever since local authorities had been allowed to spend a percentage of their rates on the Arts (1948) they have been seen by the government and the Arts Council as a potential source for arts funding and a channel through which policies can be implemented. Thus, Jennie Lee set out the terms of the building fund:

> It is now up to the local authorities and other agencies concerned to prove in their response that government would be justified in the following years in entering into substantially higher levels of commitment. (Lee, 1964)

When the Crucible deal between the Arts Council and Sheffield City Council was clinched, Jennie Lee was reported in the Sheffield press as saying the deal was exemplary of the co-operation between a local authority and the Arts Council.

The City Council gave its support to the idea of a new city centre theatre for a number of reasons. A new theatre was a symbol of self-confidence, part of city centre redevelopment - (even in some instances a delayed sense of post-war reconstruction as in the case of the Coventry theatre one of the first to be built in this period); but it also represented the links between Playhouse members and Council members and fulfilled the longstanding wish for a civic theatre. The same Councillor Ballard who had taken part in the first performance of the 'St Philip's Settlement Dramatic Society', Chair of the Libraries and Arts Committee and later Chair of Education, had drawn up his own plans for a large civic centre which would link the library to the Town Hall and include a civic theatre. This scheme was never implemented, though general support for it was re-directed to the plans for the new Crucible theatre. (However, the idea for a civic theatre was never completely given up and was later to be resurrected when disappointment over the Crucible set in.) However, in many ways, the role for Sheffield City Council was simply one of responding to an offer largely drawn up by the Arts Council and the Playhouse. In fact, the decision was seen simply in terms of helping the Playhouse in getting a grant from the Arts Council. SCC was to provide a third of the total capital grant, maintain a very small revenue grant and provide a site at a peppercorn rent. In return SCC would have helped provide a conspicuous new modern theatre. The fact that the Crucible was built less than a hundred yards from a declining Edwardian-built theatre, the Lyceum, (a listed building) which was invisible in the new policy terms of "housing the arts" indicates the strong symbolic significance of the wish for a new theatre.

The building of the new theatre was not part of the general scheme of local cultural provision or central to existing policy as developed by the Library and Arts Committee of SCC. The case for the new theatre and negotiations with the Arts Council (in the person of Lord Goodman) were made at the top levels of the Council by the Chair of Finance and the Leader of the Council, bypassing the Library and Arts Committee. The City Council involvement in the Crucible was administered by the Policy Committee and it was only much later that the administration of Council involvement with the Crucible was nominally transferred to the Arts Department.

A central feature of the Arts Council, SCC, and the Crucible Trust partnership was the emphasis on the theatre's independence, particularly from the City Council. The Playhouse/Crucible Trust repeatedly stressed that the company must have complete independence, both in artistic policy and in the running of the theatre,

> we feel very re-assured that the town hall do not want

> to run the Playhouse. (Chair of Trust, Morning Telegraph 1967)

The Trust were at pains to make clear that the Crucible was not to be a civic theatre. The attempt to dissociate from the City Council indicates a fear on the part of the theatre professionals that local government would not be able to fully appreciate its cultural ambitions and objectives. The role for the Council was thus to provide the professionals with resources and then keep clear. The perception of the theatre as culturally distanced from the City Council reached a confusing pitch when the Crucible trust proclaimed:

> The Playhouse is a commercial theatre responsible for spending public money. We have never been open to amateurs. It is our job to put on professional shows for as many weeks as possible during the year. (The Star,18.12.1969)

Of course there are important issues at stake in the relation of the City Council to local cultural projects, and it is clearly not desirable that a City Council should run the projects it supports. However, the nature of the development of the Crucible indicate a deeper symptomatic exclusion of the City Council from the developing terms of public cultural provision. The Arts Council can be seen to have imposed the arms length principle on local authority cultural policy. According to this principle, the patron is not supposed to dictate to artists nor impose conditions on them incompatible with artistic freedom. However, this principle obscures the process that determines the way in which performers or artists are chosen to practice artistic freedom. Yet as Redcliffe-Maud says;

> A convention has been established over the years that in arts patronage neither the politician nor the bureaucrat knows best (Redcliffe-Maud,1976:24)

Not surprisingly the Labour group of SCC were very keen to be seen as not interfering with the artistic purity of the new enterprise. The management of the theatre by a trust served to place control at one remove from the political arena, but the effect of this during the 1970s was to force SCC into the purely responsive role of deficit funder. Discussions with the Crucible would only occur if the Council had to take a decision to stand losses and increase subsidy.

In the case of the Arts Council, arms length, as Raymond Williams has commented, works to remove all traceable control. However, since the local authority did not enter joint funding projects as an equal patron, arms length worked to undermine the role of the local authority, as well as to obscure the lines of control. Thus in respect to a local authority, the application of subsidy in partnership with the Arts Council serves to remove control twice over. Direct financial control is tied in with the Arts Council, and the City Council is thus seen primarily as an obstacle to be manoeuvred. The following extract from an interview with the Artistic Director of the Crucible in the 1970s, Colin George, illustrates the theme.

There is an advantage in working under a London

> authority rather than a local authority...(where) there is a terrible puritanical non-conformist element running through and except for Arts Council support we would never have done what in fact we have done...Not just financial support, but because someone from London came and said so and so was quite alright it carried weight. (Guardian 20.5.1972)

In order to comply with the arms-length principle, the Labour Council had to accept the authority of the Arts Council. The City Council adopted the only 'positive' position left for it and did its best to be self-effacing. However, as the planning for the building of the Crucible proceeded a public debate began about the design of the stage. This debate highlighted the difficult position the Labour group of the Council were in and served to nudge them towards a slightly more interventionist position. Conservative Councillors campaigned vigorously for a conventional proscenium arch stage instead of an open stage. At first, the view of the Labour group was that Council members were not competent to pass a judgement on the design of the stage. (However, it is important to point out that this view may only have been forwarded because the debate only became public quite late in the development of the new theatre and thus may indicate Labour's wish not to jeopardize the whole project, particularly as a Conservative motion called for a revision of the stage design or the withdrawal of Council support.) Nevertheless the debate about the stage design brought to the surface qestions which had hitherto not been explicitly considered. The theatre planners had only been asked to design a replacement for the Playhouse: they were not briefed to liaise with the City Council or even to consider the best interest of Sheffield. The focus was simply 'the theatre', all other cultural policy interests were excluded.

However, the new building did illustrate a number of contemporary themes. For example, the Lyceum theatre could have been renovated, but a new building was seen as more able to encapsulate the hopes and aspirations of the art-centres movement. More than this the Crucible represented an ideal of classlessness. It was hoped that a new large building seating 1000 instead of the Playhouse's 500, would draw in a new large audience, and that the lack of tradition would mean that people would not be put off; the past could be cleared and a fresh cultural role for theatre begin. John Elsom argues that a change in theatrical 'climate' occurred during the 1960s, brought about by,

> the abolition of stage censorship,...the swing away from universal themes to topical ones - and from 'formality' to 'informality' - and from deliberately 'class-structured' theatres to 'community' or class-less ones. (Elsom 1976:199)

In opposition to the tiered theatres with circles, balconies and boxes, the single fan-shaped auditoria around a 'thrust' stage was considered more democratic. An argument was also made that the thrust stage would serve to increase the distinction between theatre and television, and therefore decrease their direct competition. The philosophy which informed the design of the theatre was thus bound up in a more abstract way with its potential role. The following quotes taken from interviews with the artistic director Colin George indicate some these ideas:

> There is no use in building the old type of theatre for touring shows. There are no shows now to put on ... Either you build a proscenium arch which is old hat or you build something new. Telly's in a box, the proscenium arch is in a box, but this is three dimensional. (Morning Telegraph 18.12.67)

> Theatre reacts to the other arts as it does to life around it. As painting did to photography, theatre has reacted to television and cinema and it has realised that one quality it has and the others lack is that of personal contact between actor and audience, three dimensional. This stage makes it possible to bring the audience right round the action so that it becomes aware not just of the performance but of the other spectators enjoying it. A shared experience not a private one, akin to a football crowd. (30.8.69. Morning Telegraph)

Publicly subsidised theatre in the 1970s thus represented the contemporary policy aspirations; namely, that theatre could be something new, that it represented unmediated human communication reasserting 'authentic' artistic values (as against mass mediated culture), and that it would help create 'community' by the way an audience becomes part of the performance.

However, despite the emphasis on the new themes of classlessness and equality, state subsidised theatre was fixed in debates about elitism. The early charges, made in local press reports, that the Crucible was an elitist institution, set off a local debate which has never been completely resolved. Thus the Labour group of the City Council began to question the role and management of the

Crucible. Ron Ironmonger, Leader of the Council in the early 1970s, criticised the choice 'Peer Gynt' for the opening play, suggesting that it would alienate a potential audience, and as the first production would dictate the tone and limit the theatre's appeal. The Crucible management rejected this charge and claimed that the decision had to be made on the grounds of artistic quality.

> ... we could have opened with a popular show but we chose not to, we went for the best, so that if we failed, we failed magnificently. I'm absolutely convinced that it was right to mount something in which the artistic and administrative directors believed. (Morning Telegraph, May,1972)

What these debates illustrate is the perceived split between 'popular' and 'serious' production. This obviously relates to the minority/mass split, an ideological construction that has structured post-war policy development rather than reflected processes of cultural change. On the one hand, in this period the Crucible management made a distinction between popular programming and artistic integrity; while on the other the Council leader Ron Ironmonger argued that,

> basically the Crucible should entertain the Sheffield public - and this should never be forgotten...we want orthodox pantomines, visiting companies, comedy shows - in the style of the Lyceum but more modern. (Star, May 1972)

Ironmonger claimed to represent the wishes of most Sheffield people, the directors of the Crucible claimed to represent the best in theatre. The ensuing disappointment with the Crucible revived promises that a civic theatre would be built.

The production following 'Peer Gynt', 'The Shoemakers Holiday', was specifically programmed as a popular show, but it was not generally seen as such. "They misfired with the public" was how one journalist put it. The failure to understand and promote the Crucible as a popular venue derives in part, from the management's interpretation of the Arts Council's role for the new theatres. The Arts Council funds were for repertory theatres, not touring theatres, their concern was to develop new and neglected plays:

> The link between the creation of companies and the emergence of playwrights has been crucial. Sixty or more producing companies in their own buildings whose programmes include more and more new plays have provided an opportunity for new playwrights: their work has been seen and experiment encouraged. (Arts Council Annual Report 1970-71)

However, the notion of 'experimental' that was constructed was in opposition to the 'popular'; in fact, to be popular was almost to preclude being avant garde.

The defence of the theatre against the charges of elitism or of promoting middle-class culture eventually took the position that such charges attacked the very basis of theatre;

> The theatre (not the variety theatre now the province of television) has for generations been the preserve of the middle-class. A subsidised theatre inevitably relies on 'well tried' classics to satisfy the middle-class audience, and makes a nod at the community at large by attracting students and school children as part of their 'education'. This is the policy adhered to at the National Theatre, Trevor Nunn at the RSC...to depart from this policy would raise an outcry from every subsidising body supporting them. (Colin George, Guardian 20.5.1972)

Here George acknowledges that a certain kind of 'popular' is possible since the theatre could programme popular productions for a middle-class audience because they formed the basis of theatre going audiences generally. (Incidently his argument also makes clear the way in which the supposedly arms length funding policies clearly do exert pressure on theatre policy.)

Despite subsidy the Crucible ran into a financial crisis a few years after opening. In general the cost of running the new purpose built subsidised theatres was high and by 1974 many of the new regional theatres were forced to cut back on their programmes, closing studio theatres and cutting aid to theatre-in-education schemes. The Crucible abandoned 'repertoire' programming because of the high costs incurred by wages and instead adopted a pattern of single runs varying from two to four weeks interspersed with short tours and single nights.

In the early 1980s developments in the relationship between SCC and the Crucible were engineered by the Arts and Library Programme Committee who were determined to revise the administration of the City Council's interests which now came under the aegis of the Arts Department. Thus the composition of the Crucible Board was changed in favour of more Council representation. Some Councillors nominated for the board were also members of the Arts and Libraries Committee, so a basis was set for a continuity in policy debate between Committee and Board. However, despite the Committee's concern to develop a more constructive policy relationship, deficit funding remained the central axis of the association between theatre and Council. It limited policy development as it forced a restricted focus on attendance. If attendance figures showed good returns there was less questioning of programme policy and content, and less overt concern with the whole question of elitism, or who the audience are. The underlying principle of such an approach was that if it can be shown that public funds are not being wasted, that the services are being used, and that the cultural activity is reasonably legitimate - not too experimental or too 'popular', in the sense of without cultural value - then the public body is fulfilling its role at least satisfactorily.

However, there has always been uneasiness about accepting such a resigned position which for many involved in Council Committees has been seen as the justification of last resort. Therefore, the Arts and Library Committee has exerted some pressure and encouraged the development of a T.I.E. company. The Education Committee originally supplied the grant of £50,000 in 1969 to build the studio theatre, with the future of children's theatre in Sheffield in mind.(7) The more recent development of T.I.E. coincided with the Glory of the Garden devolution strategy, which provided funds for actors in schools and the community. The idea of outreach theatre work is seen both by the Arts Council and the Arts and Library

Committee (though perhaps in slightly different ways) as a method of countering the initial alienation said to be induced by the more formally constituted 'performing arts'. For the Arts Council the two broad objectives for repertory companies should be,

> to sustain the highest artistic standards of theatrical performance and to bear much greater responsibility than they have in the recent past for enriching the theatrical experience of the wider community. (Arts Council 1984:16)

For some on the City Council policy making bodies the idea of performing arts still has a radical edge, while for the Arts Council theatre represents an opportunity for sustaining 'excellence'. However, both views are combined in policies that aim to encourage both access to excellence and participation. The Libraries and Arts Committee's idea of a community approach is also evident in their efforts to encourage a move away from the perceptions of the Crucible as a purely professional venue and to encourage displays of amateur activity, such as groups performing in the foyer, including aerobic displays, mime acts, buskers, childrens events, book fairs and so on. These events and the wish to develop a public space have in part been derived from the GLC open foyer policy for London's South Bank.

Another aspect of a change in the Crucible's recent policy perhaps encouraged by City Council involvement, is its identification as a local rather as well as a national venue. A crude sketch of the history of the Crucible in these terms suggests that for the first few years its objective was to create a national reputation. It was hoped that audiences would be drawn from London:

> it aims to have a regional, if not an international identity rather than a close relationship with the local community. (Guardian, 9.11.1971)

The tension between national and local indicates three policy objectives which are not always compatible. The first is to build up the cultural appeal of the city enhancing its general status; the second is to be at the forefront of developing theatre practice:

> I'm glad about the shock element. The last thing I want to make is a comfortable cosy provincial corner. (Colin George Guardian, 7.1.1971.)

The third is to be acceptable to, and programme for, a local audience. However, the idea that the creation of a national/international reputation would alienate a local audience was accepted as almost inevitable.

A clear view expressed on behalf of the Crucible management during the 1970s was the wish to develop a new and different image for theatre in general. Modern theatre was to be contrasted with the contemporary theatre scene, characterised as limited, provincial, and staid. Therefore, the ideas of 'experimental' or artistic merit were developed in relation to, and against what were seen as the prevailing general faults of theatre. This meant that the parameters of the new had been set in relation to the old, so that, for example, to avoid a 'cosy provincial corner' the idea of programming for the local region was abandoned altogether. It has only been more recently that the potential of developing progressive change within a local <u>and</u> national context has been recognised generally. However, although such an approach is regarded in a more positive light it is only beginning to be developed at the Crucible. More recent programming is said to have boosted the attendance of local audiences but in the view of the management, only occasionally creates national interest.

The positioning of the Crucible in terms of the local/national axis has changed recently from the point of view of funding. Recent financial pressure has forced the Crucible management to try to involve other regional local authorities: Barnsley, Doncaster, Derbyshire, Rotherham. Although a small percentage of funds from these authorities had been channelled through the metropolitan council before its abolition, these councils had not previously had any direct association with the Crucible theatre. In return for their contributions these athorities have a voice on the Crucible Board and their regions are included in the TIE schemes. It had been suggested that the Crucible's policies were not informed by issues such as its relation to its locality because funding sources from the local authority and the Arts Council were assured. The Crucible still receives one of the largest Arts Council grants, for a regional theatre and has gained financially from the `Glory of the garden' policy. This extra funding increases the Arts Council's capacity to influence both the Crucible and the City Council: if local authorities do not respond to Arts Council offers and contribute funds, then the Arts Council can withdraw support and redirect resources to other cities.

Certain kinds of productions have been put on regularly under all three directors in the Crucible's history: pantomimes, musicals, Shakespeares. The rest of contemporary programming includes a mixture of classics, modern comedies, extra children's shows and revivals. The policy is described in general terms as putting on "shows that people respond to". The current programming policy is described by the management as having completely broken with early policy and the Crucible's role is seen now to have incorporated a sense of the popular. However the idea of what `the popular' means in theatrical terms has not been investigated. It can be argued that the current profile of the Crucible is based on a combination of aspects of both the commercial West End Theatre and the general policy aims of a national subsidised theatre. In other words programming attempts to put on popular productions which also have an experimental impulse.

The 'thrust stage', built as an example of the latest in theatre design, has probably been most revolutionary in changing the face of snooker. The three-sided auditorium, with every seat close to the stage, made the Crucible a good venue for snooker matches. In 1976 the Embassy World

Snooker Championsnips took place in a hall in Warrington and was rated by television as worth one hours coverage in Grandstand. By 1981 it was worth 60 hours of television with audiences of 10 million. Although no detailed analysis has been done, the City Council Publicity Department estimates that holding the competition in Sheffield is worth £1 million in general trade to City businesses. The main financial benefit to the Crucible occurs through bar sales: the normal weekly bar turnover of about 3,000 pints of beer shoots up to around 25,000. The sum paid to the theatre by the tournament promoters is relatively small and the Crucible does not receive any direct payment from the extensive television coverage.

For some on the Council side of the Crucible management the success of the snooker highlights the possiblity of another audience, one which attends the snooker but not the 'theatre'. (There is no information on the audience for Crucible snooker matches. The idea that it may represent a working class audience unused to theatre going may be wishful thinking and is countered by other claims that it is primarily used for business entertainment.) Others on the Crucible management see the snooker as a money-making exercise that has to be endured, something that happens once a year, clearly separate from their objectives for theatre production. For these people there is even a slight concern that the reputation of the Crucible as a theatre is damaged. It is accepted that the snooker could be incorporated in some way into theatre policy if it is defined as a spectacle, but even then it is not seen to fit with the rest of the theatres programming.

The Crucible's official relation to the City Council's Arts Department is as an independent organisation receiving grant-aid. The Crucible receives an annual grant of about £350,000 which is a third of the Department's total budget of £1 million, drawn from the base budget of the Arts, Libraries and Museums Committee of about £8,241,300. The £650,000 from the Arts Council makes the total annual subsidy for the Crucible £1 million, which represents half of its £2 million annual turnover. Technically the Crucible is supposed to apply annually along with other art organisations for its grant, but the scale of the operation and the way City Council funding is bound in with that of the Arts Council reduces this technicality to an unenforcable structural relic left from a period of expansion of public funding.

In the last five years the management of the theatre has changed style and adopted a more professional managerial approach. The Playhouse was more or less an amateur organisation, and neither the Crucible Trust, SCC or the Arts Council appreciated the need, at the time the Crucible was built, for a professional theatre administration and management. During the 1970s serious mismanagement of the catering facilities resulted in severe financial loss. The potential of cafe and bar was not recognised, despite the plans which envisged the Crucible's use as an all-day social centre. Now the catering and the shop are a crucial part of the drive to maximise revenue. New techniques and policies for ticket sales have been introduced along with a new post created for the sole purpose of maximising ticket sales. Schemes such as selling cards worth 5 plays each ensure advanced ticket sales. During a 1987 season, 5,000 cards were sold, which is the equivalent of selling 25,000 tickets in advance. Credit cards and a computerised box office ensure that money is received and the theatre does not incur the unnecessary losses of unclaimed, unpaid for reservations. The re-organisation of the programme committees to form a single Leisure Committee and the transfer of the responsibility of the City Hall from the Administration and Legal Department to the new Leisure Committee will allow for an overview of the city's venues. One central issue of the present debate is how best to provide for the large-scale productions the Crucible cannot stage. The question of how best to complement the Crucible suggests that the discussions of the late 1960s are still being rehearsed. The dissatisfactions with the structure of the Crucible and type of theatre it is have never been laid to rest. However the Crucible now provides a focus for city centre re-development, the proposal to develop the Lyceum and link it physically to the Crucible as part of the cultural regeneration of the city provides the late 1980s resolution. The contemporary pattern of production at the Crucible does address issues of popular programming within the unspoken boundaries of 'theatre', and has developed a sense of 'quality popular'. Programming combines musicals, pantomine, classics, experimental and contemporary shows together with a sense that the performance is part of an evening out.

Conclusion.

The Galleries and the Crucible Theatre form the City Council's contribution to the provision of the received or 'established' arts , and as such they represent both the legacy of cultural provision and some elements of contemporary concern. Despite the commercial element of the theatre, there are broad similarities in the way general policies for galleries and theatre have evolved over the last 30 years. Thus both galleries and theatre management have been concerned with questions of access and with attempts at 'popular' programming. There are parallels in the recent emphasis on constructing local as well as national interest, or even constructing elements of a national identity by raising the elements of a local identity.

Between them, the Galleries and the Crucible take up most of the Arts Departments current budget and thus indicate the limitations on the Arts Department's room for manouevre. However, there are important differences between the Galleries and the Crucible. The primary difference is the commercial aspect of the Crucible in contrast to the principle of free-entry into public galleries. This central difference alters the basic policy relationship with the City Council. The Crucible is not a public building and although often the subject of debate it can adopt a distance from accountability via the City Council. Instead it is the City Council that has to account for and justify its support for the Crucible. However, both the Galleries and the Crucible indicate the recurring role of the City Council as an institution that provides resources.

Footnotes.

1. These are the terms of the will of John Newton Mappin, quoted in the Catalogue of the Permanent Collection 1892. Local Pamphlets Vol.166 0425, Local Studies Library, Sheffield City Libraries.

2. Elijah Howarth, first keeper of the Mappin Art gallery, quoted in Local Pamphlets Vol.150425, Local Studies Library, Sheffield City Libraries.

3. Comments made in the course of interviews with Council Officers

4. Anvil Audience figures in for 1986, survey carried out by the Broadcast Research Unit.

5. A national survey of museums and galleries by the Museum Data-Base Project based at the Museums Association and funded by the Office of Arts and Libraries, 1986.

6. Views on the theatre expressed during interviews with Sheffield City Councillors.

7. The idea of a children's theatre was derived in part from the example of children's theatre in the Soviet Union, according to an interview with Cllr. B. Owen, a member of the Education Committee which provided the grant for the Studio Theatre in the Crucible.

2. Recreation Policy.

The purpose of this case study is to consider the history and development within the local state of an area of policy and provision termed 'recreation', and to suggest some of the similarities and differences in the historical trajectories of local and national state recreation and cultural policies.

Recreation as an area of provision has always been closely related to notions of work and usually situated as its opposite or antidote - from the early sense of 're-creation, after and in preparation for more work, to more recent terms such as 'enforced leisure', sometimes used with reference to unemployment or retirement. In contrast, culture and cultural provision are characterised as representing a tradition of concern with the aesthetic, the spiritual, intellectual and artistic creation.

These historical distinctions between cultural and recreation policy can be seen as part of a broad division and conceptual separation in the construction of policies for the 'mind' and those for the 'body' (although physical recreation has its own associated sense of 'mental recreation'). The idea of recreation was first taken up by the local state in relation to its concern over hygiene and health, and has since continued to be conceived of as part of a broader social policy. In some ways recreation provision can be seen as more centrally linked to measures of social control than cultural policy. In particular, the development of organised sport, under the banner of 'rational recreation', and its associations with the restrictions, controls and licenses placed on popular activities in public space, and aspects of more recent provision developed in relation to the amelioration of factors causing social unrest, can be seen in this way.

Despite the significant distinctions that can be drawn between policies for 'mind' and 'body', and the different historical trajectories of cultural and recreational policy and provision, it is also important to suggest the contemporary areas where parallels between the two forms of policy can be made, where the edges of policy overlap and merge. Increasingly, the broad bureaucratic structures of cultural and recreational provision mirror each other.

The development of local state recreation policy can be set out in three broad historical stages. The first stage concerns the development of parks, horticulture and baths. During this period links between the Corporation and amateur associations gave a particular sense of civic responsibilty to recreation provision. A second stage involves a shift to the development of national policy with ideas of mass provision; and a further shift can be seen in the more recent changes over the last 10 years which combine the aims of community development with the introduction of more market related strategies.

The history of parks and baths as recreation facilities and public amenities indicate some of the early themes of local state provision which have continued to influence and structure modern recreation policy. Parks and baths have been a very important and longstanding feature of non-statutory provision. The first public parks in Britain were opened in the 1840s, the first in Sheffield in 1875 - Western Park - is also the site of the Mappin Gallery. They were seen to provide a physical environment which would help counteract the smoke and other health hazards of industrialisation and urbanisation. A link can also be made between the aesthetic principles directing public gallery provision and the role for public parks - together they could be used not only for physical recreation but also for spiritual/cultural re-creation.

The same social pressures which gave rise to the public galleries were apparent in the development of public parks. Thus, local Corporation provision was directed by a nineteenth century conception of civic philanthropy. For example, many of the Sheffield parks were donated - a number by J.G. Graves and later by the J.G. Graves Charitable Trust. This form of philanthropy, understood as contributing to the general public good, also drew on the ideals of collective self-improvement. Thus for example, the Hollinsend Recreation Ground was secured for the use as a public park with a contribution by the Yorkshire Miners Welfare Committee in 1934.

Although a series of local government Acts have had crucial effects in determining the direction of recreation planning and provision, it is important to remember that the only statutory regulation for local authority provision in this area is for the maintenance of cemeteries and allotments - now called leisure gardens. (The change in the terms used suggest the broader change in frameworks and meanings. Allotments - allocations of small pieces of public land reminiscent of a pre-industrial agricultural strip system - were first used as a functional necessity, providing vegetables for the family. They became, in policy terms if not in practice, leisure gardens - places where cultivation is for pleasure and vegetables for competition. This is an example of the way recreation provision takes on cultural significance.)

The first public swimming pools in Sheffield were built in areas of high-density working-class populations and heavy industry. Corporation St Bath was built in 1861 and Attercliffe Baths soon after. They were both administered by the Sheffield Cleansing Department, run by the Chief Sanitory Inspector whose other duties were street cleaning and the daily removal of sewage, dead animals, etc. Even though baths were provided primarily as an attempt to improve public hygiene they were conceived of as a self-financing public service. Early accounts constantly refer to disappointment that this objective was not fulfilled - that the public baths were not financially self-sustaining. Nevertheless once the need for public baths had been established on the grounds of improved public hygiene the facility could not simply be withdrawn but had to be maintained as a necessary but loss-making public amenity. However, many different price rates were operated - 0.5d, 1d, 2d, 4d and 6d; and at least two kinds of baths - the slipper bath and the plunge bath (1885 Council records), which suggests that aspects of quality and choice related to price were also important factors in public bath provision.

The reason given for the failure of public baths to become self-financing was the lack of complete, total and grateful public support:

> Corporation St Baths have not been so successful as in 1884. In that year they paid working expenses, interest on capital invested in the building and showed a clear gain of £60.8s 6d. During 1885 there has been a considerable falling off in the numbers of bathers ... It is somewhat difficult to account for this as the summer of 1885 was in respect of the weather fairly suitable for bathing; indeed was much warmer on the whole than the one of 1884. I am sometimes inclined to believe that the cheap Excursions to the seaside which occur almost daily during the summer months have much to do with the falling off of Bathers at our public baths. The Excursionists probably preferring to bathe in the sea rather than in the bath provided for them by the Corporation. (1885 Annual Accounts, Sampson Morley, Cleansing Superintendent)

The cleansing superintendent was opposed to the idea of increasing the number of public baths on the grounds that they were, in his view, under-used and therefore were not financially viable. However, the attendance figures suggest that substantial public use was made of baths. What was at issue was the question of how to finance them. Despite the uneasiness over subsidised provision the general argument for providing more baths prevailed and by 1906 there were 7 public baths in Sheffield.

The categories of users became much more complex and also indicate the development of a competitive sporting element in swimming. The records of Attercliffe Baths in 1879 mention the use by a swimming club. In 1906 the City Corporation's Annual Report includes a commentary on the Sheffield Amateur Swimming Association, which adopted an educational role as well as an organised structure and strict set of rules.

> The Sheffield Amateur Swimming Association have also given great assistance in promoting the love of swimming both amongst children and adults, and I'm pleased to say that the Association has not during the whole of its career, had to suspend a single swimmer for breach of the laws of the Amateur Swimming Association. (1906 Annual Report)

In the 1907 the Baths Committee decided to grant a championship to the best swimmer of each swimming club in the City, thus indicating the developing role of the local state in constructing the framework, legitimacy and status for amateur sporting developments. The construction of Heeley baths in the early 1900s even included a purpose built public gallery for swimming galas.

The idea that sport or recreation amenities were important for the local population thus followed very quickly after the introduction of public baths. Although they were built primarily for hygiene they had always included a sense of the need for physical improvement which was also tied in with moral improvements; "the love of swimming" was seen to be a good moral habit. In this period then, the Corporation saw its role as making recreational provision available for the appreciative citizen.

The spate of public bath building dropped off after the

1920s when only a couple of open-air Lidos were built. Between 1930 and 1968 no new swimming pools were built in Sheffield. The new swimming pools as part of sports centres in the 1960s and 70s were the result of a different configuration of factors within the trajectory of national and local recreation policy.

In the 1920s a section was created within the Estates Surveyors' Department to maintain parks and recreation grounds. In 1938 a separate Parks and Cemeteries Department was formed to service a separate Committee of the same name. The provision of parks was therefore made distinctive within the Council structure. However, it was not until 1969 that the Parks and Cemeteries Department was merged with the Baths and Laundries section of the Cleansing Department to form a Recreation Department. These changes represent a significant shift in the reproductive role of the local state as the re-organisation that followed meant the gradual phasing out of the public wash-houses and laundries, which had been built in the 1930s. These were a relatively recent and shortlived form of public provision, squeezed out not by lack of use, but at least in part by institutional restructuring which both reflects and defines policy development.

The concentration of the new Recreation Department on the cultivation of parks developed into a particular concern with high standards of horticulture. The Botanical Gardens were begun by the Sheffield Botanical and Horticultural Society in 1833 and passed over to the Parks Committee in 1951. In 1967 the Gardens were developed as an educational centre for the study of aspects of horticulture. Since the 1960s Sheffield's parks have developed a reputation for horticultural excellence, and the Recreation Department began to attract highly trained horticulturalists from Kew Gardens. The character of the Recreation Department in the late 1960s was thus formed via the combination of horticultural interests and public baths administration. The structural division between outdoor and indoor services still exist and serves to exert constraints on some aspects of more recent policy development.

This early history of recreation provision indicates the importance of the connections between the Corporation and voluntary or amateur associations, and of the civic philanthropy of individuals channelled through the Corporation. Parks and baths became exclusively associated with municipal provision. These services although conceived of in terms of basic municipal welfare provision, primarily functional in allowing the minimun necessary for bodily health, clearly held cultural meanings. The cultural nature of this provision was apparent in the social relations inherent in, for example, the link between amateur associations and the local state bureaucracy. These relations therefore also provide the context for local state cultural policy.

The Wolfendon Report in 1960, Sport and the Community, was commissioned by the Central Council for Recreative Physical Training, (originally a voluntary body, which, after the 1944 Education Act was funded by a grant from the Ministry of Education). The report was to examine the factors affecting up-take of sport and "outdoor" activities, and to make recommendations for any practical measures that could be taken so that,

> these activities may play their full part in promoting the general welfare of the community. (Torkildsen 1986:15)

The general themes that emerged in the report were concerned with 'participation', 'welfare' and 'community'. These themes, as shown in Chapters One and Two, were central to the emerging sense of social policy in the 1960s. The particular focus of this report was on the 'problem of leisure', the lack of participation in sport by young school leavers. The report formed the background against which the Sports Council was set up in 1965. In this respect, therefore, leisure or sport was seen as a means to an end. However, the relationship between participation in recreation and social policy was at this stage vague. Young school leavers were identified as a group which did not participate in sport and so special provision was made to ensure participation. What the dangers of non-participation were, or even what the benefits of participation in social terms might be, although significant in determining sports provision, were implicit, submerged, not yet explicitly stated in terms of social policy.

Hargreaves lists a number of social forces that combined to encourage state intervention in leisure, the prominence of youth being a significant factor. (J.Hargreaves 1985) It may be, as Chritcher and Clarke point out, that the failure to participate in approved forms raised suspicions in relation to both mind and body of the unwilling youth. (Chritcher, Clarke, 1986:137.) The idea that 'participation' was crucial, was a characteristic assumption of the 1960s period, an essential aspect of the political ideology of social democracy, and was seen as a necessary component for different kinds of social policy.

Recreation provision therefore revealed a specific configuration of the constituent elements of 1960s social democracy. It has been widely argued that 'participation' was increasingly emphasised in terms of its potential for solving, curbing, integrating and controlling different kinds of social problems, rather than in terms of a process towards extending democratic involvement (e.g. Hargreaves,1985, Cockburn,1977). Thus, the potential for the relatively autonomous evolving cultural uses associated with earlier municipal recreation provision began to be submerged in favour of a more generalised, abstract provision developed in relation to the policy directives emerging from the social policies of central government.

In 1972 the Sports Council was granted independent status by Royal Charter, as in the case of the Arts Council. The main aims restate the themes of public recreation/leisure policy as defined by an arm's length quango.

> 1. To promote the general understanding of the social importance and value of sport and physical recreation.
> 2. To increase provision and stimulate fuller use of facilities.
> 3. To encourage wider participation...as a means of enjoying leisure.
> 4. To raise standards of performance. (From Torkildson, 1986:112)

The similarity in the construction, phrasing and objectives of these aims with those of the Arts Council, as discussed in Chapter One, indicate the contemporary circulation of concepts of arts and recreation as part of a broader social policy and suggest the deeper objectives of promoting social cohesion and social integration.

The grant from Central Government to the Sports Council has increased steadily since 1972, but the sharpest increase occurred significantly in the early 1980s. The £21 million of 1981 had risen to £28 million by 1984/5 (Torkildsen). Additional grants were provided for particular geographical areas and groups seen to have special needs.

In general, the 1960s have been characterised as a period of expansion of outdoor recreation facilities, while the 1970s saw the development and building of indoor sports facilities. Both indoor and outdoor are combined in the idea of the 'sports centre', which has clear parallels with the idea of the 'arts centre' and the national policy emphasis in the 1970s on housing the arts, that is, on building new, and in class terms, open cultural centres as part of general social planning. Sports centres in particular, can be seen to be part of new town planning, with their emphasis on purpose-built shopping centres, sports centres, art centres and community centres. The 1976 Redcliffe-Maud report recommended that county and district councils should have a duty to ensure a 'reasonable range' of opportunity for arts enjoyment, and that there should be a development plan for the arts which linked education, libraries, museums and recreation services. He was thus suggesting a comprehensive scheme in which state provision would intergrate the services for mind and body. (Redcliffe-Maud 1976)

The re-organisation of local government in 1974 allowed for the creation of large sports centres as the larger, more powerful, recreation departments also had more resources. The development of the notion of mass-provision carried with it a sense of conspicuous provision and civic status. Nationally, between 1970 and 1981, around 400 new sports centres were built. In Sheffield in the early 1970s, 30 years after the last public baths had been built, 3 purpose built sports centres were constructed. The policy aims of the District Labour party and the City Council of this period have been described as particularly 'welfarist'. Recreation, like arts was generally seen as a non-political area of provision, one that was straightforwardly concerned to maintain decent public amenities. Recreation was also in some ways like cultural provision, insofar as it was seen as a citizen's right. The notion of citizens' rights was combined with a certain civic pride in provision, but ultimately framed in the overall expansion of the welfare state. During the 1970s several House of Lords Committees defined sport and recreation both as a 'right' and as a discretionary social service. Therefore, recreation provision during the 1960s and 1970s was based on 'mass provision'. Mass-provision was seen as a way of satisfying the demand expressed among the population as a whole for greater opportunities to enjoy leisure. The construction of large sports centres was seen as a way of implementing a policy based on the concept of universal provision. Thus the national policies of mass provision were easily incorporated into the local political ideal of provision for the citizen.

However, the implementation of the policies of the 1960s and 70s at the local level led to a division between local state provision and the activity of local voluntary organisations. In Sheffield, the policy and planning for recreation began to be developed separately from the array of recreation-based voluntary clubs. The earlier instances of links between voluntary associations and the Corporation - between the Amateur Swimming Association and the Baths Committee, or the Horticultural Association and the Parks Committee - in forging definitions of good practice were lost. In the main, the Clarion Clubs, Woodcraft Folk and Working Mens Clubs had less and less direct influence on policy development despite the likely cross-over of personnel between these private organisations and offices of public service. Although many Councillors may have had some private connections with voluntary organisations, these did not appear to influence or disturb the gradual acceptance of national and increasingly professionally defined recreation policy by the local state.

In some ways, therefore, local state implementation of mass provision became distanced from voluntary provision. Some of the reasons for this are obvious, as clubs for activities such as rambling, cycling, and angling did not need extensive state provided resources and were self-sustaining. However, the significance of the division between local voluntary groups and the City Council is that it signals the effects of the left's idealist social aspirations of the period: universal provision has its sights fixed on a horizon extending far beyond the focus of local voluntary groups, including everyone but seeing no-one. More recent policy developments have been informed by ideas of reconstructing community groups and networks and yet the voluntary sector is, on the whole, still quite distinct and separate from public provision. (Hoggett,Bishop, 1986) Although it is important to point out that much voluntary activity is dependent on the infrastructure of local state provision. Nevertheless, in their study of 'mutual aid' groups, Hoggett and Bishop suggest that most clubs and much of local government seems to be unaware of the extent to which the local state provides an infrastructure upon which voluntary activity depends, and as such, they suggest, it provides a good model for how state intervention can be enabling rather than dominating.

Some of the key aspects of Sheffield's recreation history and its policy development into the 1970s can be indicated by a brief description of a single park's development - Parkwood Springs. Parts of the park were presented to the Corporation by the Duke of Norfolk in 1878 and 1914. The park was then left to deteriorate after slum clearance in the surrounding area in the late 1960s, the reduction of the local population was taken to imply a reduction of local 'recreational needs'. In 1977 an early central government job creation programme provided the resources to carry out the first phase of a large scale land reclamation scheme which resulted in the construction of Sheffield's largest park.

> For 12 months 122 men from the unemployment register worked to landscape the area and provide link paths... Eighty thousand trees were planted and a viewing point was erected on the Shirecliffe ridge, a suitable memorial to the United Kingdom's largest single job creation project. (Recreation Department information leaflet.)

These developments indicate some of the concerns of the 1970s, including the emphases on environment and land reclamation of industrial waste grounds or 'eye sores', and the development of urban parks, and less horticultured wildlife parks, which in some ways anticipate the more recent debates within leisure management between 'horticulturalists' and 'green' concerns over policy priorities. However, the central point of the development of the park as an employment project also anticipates more recent developments in leisure policy - the attempt to use the policy area of 'leisure' for purposes of generating employment.

The key contradiction underlying the local state is played out in recreation policy in terms of the dichotomy between tendencies towards social control and the objectives of improving the 'quality of life'. Chritcher and Clarke (1986) discuss the ideological themes central to the attempts at organised recreation. They argue that the history of sport has to be seen in terms of a complex series of cultural alliances and that recreation provision therefore, cannot be seen as a straightforward imposition of dominant values. However, the term 'rational recreation' is used by Chritcher and Clarke to describe the attempts of middle-class reformists to provide alternative versions to what were seen as the more socially disruptive or morally dangerous forms of popular culture. It is significant that they go on to stress that the advocacy of rational recreation was an influential ideal and that its practical successes were few. Instead, and I think this central to policy development of all kinds, rational recreation is described as "a slowly diffusing mood" paving the way for implementation of recreation provision.

A theme linked to rational recreation, suggested by the notion of 'muscular christianity' and disguised in the notion of 'fair-play', is that recreation as a physical activity removes class and cultural barriers. This theme draws on powerful romantic beliefs that without the unnatural trappings of society everybody is equal. This idea itself has a significant cultural resonance and emerges in different forms in recreation policy.

Public recreation policy has always, at some level, been bound up with the notion of 'quality of life' - a set of linked ideas about the role of public provision which combines 'rights'and 'needs' with welfarist compensatory provision and a sense of quality that is suggestive of something other than commercial provision. In the 1970s this concern with 'quality of life' - as some kind of objective measurement of the state of society - made visible a shift away from the earlier view of leisure, as an alternative to the work ethic, to leisure as a substitute for work. Thus, for example, a series of 'quality of life' experiments were carried out as part of a government sponsored community approach to recreation planning in the mid-1970s. The aim was to provide an insight into the effect of recreation on the quality of life. For this study, improving quality of life consisted of,

> helping to bring new experiences, develop latent interest and help along self-development. (Quoted in Torkildsen, 1986)

It concluded that the role of local authorities should be to enable community development. A number of themes therefore converged on local authority recreation provision in the 1970s including an emphasis on quality of life and community development and a sense of a planned 'leisure society', as suggested by Redcliffe Maud's proposal, which is itself informed by utopian/futuristic themes that embody cultural values drawn from the social aspirations of classlessness and equality.

Both the theme of rational recreation and the idea of freedom through recreation can be shown to influence contemporary recreation policy, although the context and meanings for such policy may now be different. For example the Labour manifesto for SCC 1986 suggests that the opportunity for recreation lies in,

> succeeding where work has failed in bringing people together in a common purpose. Recreation moves people to their own physical betterment, enhances their social experience and breaks down the barriers of class, race and religion. The freedom to play leads to collective awareness of fellow human beings and promotes a co-operative, healthy and peaceful society.

The two themes of rational recreation and equality through recreation form the central theme of social integration which Chritcher and Clarke argue is the key to understanding the organisation of state policy and leisure. They argue that leisure has always been thought of as a force for social integration and as a means for the reproduction of cultural value.

> Confronted with groups who are structurally disadvantaged and potentially disaffected or alienated, we see a state policy which re-news 'rational

> recreation' as a means of promoting social cohesion. (Chritcher, Clarke 1986:137)

However, they also warn of the dangers of crude interpretation whereby any action by the state can be regarded as social control;

> Building an all weather football pitch in an inner-city area is a form of social control but so is not building it and sending in the special patrol group instead". (Chritcher, Clarke 1986:122)

They argue therefore, that a simplistic social control analysis fails to recognise the complex cultural negotiations that have taken place as part of the history and development of sport and recreation.

In the 1980s, leisure and recreation policy became a key site for competing ideas about the relationship between work and unemployment, between social and economic policies and the future of the welfare state. The broad issues converging on recreation policy in this period stem from perceptions of public policy in a state of crisis, weakened by social expenditure cuts and challenged and undermined by commercial market changes in the leisure industries. However, even the changes in approach to recreation policy draw on and re-form the relationship of contradiction between social control and 'quality of life'. The recognition that the leisure/work equation had altered led to fresh consideration of the 'quality of life'. Fred Coalter suggests that the "mythopoeic character of leisure permits its utilisation as a vague synonym for progress". He points to the way that leisure has been seen not only as a product of social change but also as an agent of change.

> It is an approach within which an idealist conception of leisure is viewed as the underlying condition permitting a growing diversity in social life informing many other areas such as youth culture, the growth of non-vocational education, the emergence of the symmetrical family and women's liberation. It would seem, to paraphrase Marx, that the leisure democracy is the very Eden of the innate rights of man, and increasingly of women also; the exclusive realm of freedom and equality. (Coalter 1987).

Recreation policy has drawn repeatedly on slightly different interpretations of the theme 'quality of life' - a theme which has material, physical and psychological components. In Sheffield, recreation policy is increasingly thought of as working in conjunction with policy designed to improve the material conditions of the City's residents, by providing facilities for qualitative experiences. In this way 'quality of life' is seen to have drawn on definitions of culture, developed in the late 1960s and 70s, which emphasize the value of day to day experiences, rather than simply referring to a received cultural tradition.

> providing green spaces, play areas and sports facilities is obviously basic to recreation, but we need to go further. The 1982 Labour manifesto called for physical developments to be based on the needs of the community. (Recreation Department. Policy Paper 1984)

The way ahead, an internal departmental discussion paper produced within the relatively newly formed Strategy Unit (1984) of the Recreation Department of SCC, indicates a shift away from exclusive attention to remote policies of mass provision, to considerations of new ways of determining 'need' with the aim of breaking through the earlier limits of recreation participation policy and reaching previously ignored sections of the population. The key to this new strategy is the emphasis on the quality, image and atmosphere of the physical environment in recreation provision.

One of the aims of the Strategy Unit is to develop policy based on ideas of the users' 'leisure experience'. The experience of leisure is broken down into its constituent parts, and each examined for its value in contributing to the total experience. The first area isolated is broadly categorised as 'health and fitness'; a second distinct feature is the association of recreation with self-expression. 'Play' has become an important new concept for recreation policy - a shift reflected in the administrative structure, with a new Community Recreation and Play Sub-Committee of SCC Leisure Committee. 'Play' suggests the way recreation policies wish to claim values such as creativity and spontaneity rather than adhering to traditional notions of physical training bound to rigid rules and organisation. "Play is to be indulged in for its own sake, it has intrinsic value; there is innate satisfaction in doing" (Torkildsen 1986). The emphasis on play can thus be seen to match the community arts emphasis on process. Other elements of recreation identified included the social experience of participation, both as a player and spectator. 'Aesthetic sports' is a category which has developed over the last 10 years as both popular spectacles and activities. In some instances such as ice-skating and gymnastics, the sports themselves have developed to include much more 'artistic' content.

The emphasis on experience has been developed in conjunction with equal opportunity policies designed to further the take-up of sports by under represented social groups. These policies are designed to target different groups and geographic areas where recreation provision has been largely unsuccessful. In this context, marketing is seen as a necessary tool for targetting new users.

In the same way that recreation has been seen primarily as a tool for engineering social cohesion, more radical elements in the leisure professions have seen recreation as having progressive potential for engineering social change. Thus behind the policy iniatives that highlight the importance of 'experience' lies the assumption that provision and the ensuing motivation/satisfaction can plant the tiniest germ in an individual/community that will help precipitate social change. In this way recreational experiences can be seen as consciousness raising. Indeed the explicit use of the term consciousness-raising suggests the link between community recreation and the objectives of community arts in the 1970s.

Community Recreation (CR), is the term around which many of the new policy concerns have clustered. It has developed in relation to earlier schemes designed by the

Sports Council for areas of deprivation, but has been substantially reconceived as part of some local authorities concern with unemployment and decentralisation. It is seen to promote a different approach to recreation:

> community recreation workers do not run facilities or look after amenities, rather they are peripatetic field workers out and about ... their job is to create recreation with people in the community and at the same time build that community through peoples recreation. (Rec. Dept.Paper What is Community Recreation, 1985)

CR covers areas other than strictly sporting areas, such as 'disabled play', music and dance, social clubs and the city farms. In many ways it can be compared with the practice of community arts, and youth work, although in Sheffield CR is keen to develop a distinctive 'community model', not based either on community arts or on a social service model such as those operated by the Family and Community Services Department.

In general, CR is developing at the edges of recreation practice. It has, however, been appropiated in a number of very different ways. For example, at a national level the Sports Council has developed a version of CR, following the older model of social integration, particularly targetted at areas of urban deprivation. It is also being developed as a specialist area for the advancement of professionalism in leisure management. The development of CR by the Sports Council can be seen in terms of their recognition that mass-provision had in many respects failed. Like the Arts Council, in order to exist as a credible public body and fulfill its brief as set out by Royal Charter, it had to address these areas of failure. So the first characteristic of CR is to attempt to identify particular groups who were 'failed' by mass-provision: the unemployed, ethnic minorities and women, have been picked out by the Sports Council as priority target groups.

A second trait of CR is a concern with the decentralisation of services, devolution of management responsibilities and localism. Generally, decentralisation is seen in a broadly progressive light, an uncontentious and desirable objective, drawing on several social and political themes, as a means of self-management and a method of making local democracy more effective, and empowering local communities. This leads to the third characteristic of CR, understood in terms of 'community development'. This itself is a concept that has been mobilised in different ways to express the aims of various kinds of organisations and grass-roots initiatives for the last 30 years. However in connection with the strategies developed by central government in attempts to deal with the effects of 1960s urban renewal CR employs notions of constructing (or re-constructing) social networks with the aim of developing/building the ever elusive 'community'.

Re-building the community is now a widely recognised and very general political objective. It is usually seen as dependent upon inspiring the local population to develop or adopt a series of self-help measures which are supported by state investment in infrastructural provision. For the left, the notion of re-building the community has also been seen as a first stage of a wider re-building of society. From this perspective the initial stages of participation, of the recognition of individual and collective power, are important for the recognition of what can be achieved on a much wider scale in the transformation of the wider society. However, Richard Sennett in The Fall of Public Man (1976), describes this belief as an "experiential fallacy" which incorrectly suggests that,

> if in direct experience there were radical changes in belief and behaviour, than the people so altered would gradually collectivize this experience, bringing light and change to others. (Sennett 1976)

In his criticism of the notion of community development, Sennett argues, in ways that are parallel with Cockburn's argument, that certain kinds of decentralization strategies can result in displaced power negotiations, which obscure the real operations of power. Nevertheless, the idea that experience is an important part of a process of political mobilisation is central to contemporary policies currently developed in local authorities, not with the intention of displacing power but with the opposite and genuine intention of empowerment. The question is whether the implications of these strategies ostensibly designed to empower have been truly worked through in terms of the state bureaucracy, or whether they are simply new methods for dealing with the community. Depending on the exact terms of policy development and implementation these strategies are bound up in complicated relation to both these poles, and community recreation is the manifestation of these tendencies.

In general terms, CR represents a shift in the understanding of 'quality of life' from an external emphasis on 'green spaces' to an internal emphasis on self-expression, sociability and personal development. It also indicates the way the state is attempting to intervene in recreation provision at the level of the production of cultural meanings. Recreation is no longer simply part of the facilities for collective consumption, but is beginning to be considered as part of a social policy reconstructed via cultural terms. Thus, for example, Henry and Haywood suggest that a particular sport can be examined to assess its potential in helping to achieve the broad aims of personal, social and community development. They argue that it is possible to identify the "nature of the challenge inherent in the sport form". The underlying argument is that new forms of sport should be developed which meet both changing expectations and the objectives of anti-elitism, community-led, creative activities. While Henry and Haywood are concerned that CR should involve more than a change of policy name, and so requires a vigorous examination of the concepts and practices employed, they also suggest that the 'content' of activities can be examined, that is that sport forms themselves have inherent values. However, the prescriptive implications of this is evident in the conclusion of a youth-worker that sports characterised by excessive competitiveness and which may lead to violence are, "lost to us as work tools particularly for young men".(Haywood & Henry 1986) Thus, instead of the fear that CR may involve traditional activities and their associated cultural values in new wrappings, it seems that, as a particular determination of good practice, identifying aims and objectives in terms of means and ends, it could lead to new forms of 'rational recreation', a new pervasive moral influence.

Bourdieu argues that different practices cannot be understood unless account is taken of,

> the objective potentialities of the different institutionalized practices, that is, the social uses which these practices encourage, discourage or exclude both by their intrinsic logic and by their positional and distributional value. We can hypothesize as a general law that a sport is more likely to be adopted by a social class if it does not contradict that class's relation to the body at the deepest and most unconscious level, i.e., the body schema, which is the depository of a whole world view and a whole philosophy of the person and the body. (Bourdieu 1986)

The distinction to be made in CR is between inherent logic and inherent value: the intrinsic logic in sport forms cannot be attributed value in itself. The question of context - the distributional value - has to be introduced to avoid simplistic equations between the internal form of sports and their effects on social relations. However, this argument would also suggest that sport forms as well as cultural commodities can be understood in positional terms.

CR in Sheffield is still in the very early stages of development and has not yet been fully defined or fixed. At present, it is a small initiative in terms of resources: there are only 5 recreation assistants (only one woman), based in areas of 'acute poverty', although out of a department workforce of 165 officers, 23 are involved in some way with CR. Although expansion has occurred quite quickly, in just 2 years, it is not clear how policy will be developed. CR clearly overlaps with other community work: activities include forms of dancing, visits to stately homes and trips to the theatre. However, a number of contradictions and difficulties have emerged from practice so far. For example, trips away from the local area - either to another part of the city or out of the city - are particularly popular with the people taking part, but it is argued by CR workers that days out do not contribute much to 'community development'. In general, financial restraints are enough to make CR more 'community centred'. Thus definitions of practice are relatively fluid so far and largely dependent on the personnel and finances involved.

There are several general factors that contributed to the setting up of CR initiatives. Most importantly, however, the inner city riots of 1981 sparked off a summer programme of activities. However, it has been acknowledged that had riots taken place in Sheffield in 1981 or since, the resources for CR would be much more substantial. Sheffield recieves a comparatively small urban programme grant, (in 1987 it was £5.1 million). It is widely believed by both Councillors and Officers that their use of existing resources worked to decrease the chances of social disturbances (and hence the likelihood of getting 'riot money'). Yet part of Sheffield's approach to CR (which is implicitly critical of Sports Council policy) is that practice should be developed for 'non-disruptive' groups, such as the elderly, disabled and under-fives.

In some ways the emergence of CR as both a radical strategy and as an area developed by leisure management is not as contradictory as it first may seem. This is because the characteristics that are collectively termed CR are themselves contradictory. However the way CR has been adapted by leisure management indicates the tendencies now at work. Firstly, CR is said to take up some of the new methods of marketing and programming services, based on notions of the consumer, but more importantly CR contributes to a debate about what recreation is. The existing socio-managerial debates have revolved around discussions of whether recreation is primarily determined by the nature of the activity, the attitude of the player towards the activity or by the player's psychological state during the activity. Perhaps because the knowledge of experiential development is more prestigious than new methods of chlorination for example, leisure management has drawn on theories of 'need' and its assessment. In some ways the emphasis on abstract sociological and psychological terms is the result of the attempt to deal with definitions of leisure in almost pure managerial terms. Such a framework produces analyses based on theories of individual consumption and satisfaction of needs. Leisure has been magnified from within - an almost boundless internal expansion of the definition - but held apart from any relation to other social processes. Leisure needs are then seen as universal and ahistorical,

> play is in the very nature of man himself. As life is a mystery, so is play. What explanation is there for a mystery. (Torkildsen 1986:203)

CR and the associated intervention into the community further heightens the professional status of leisure management. However, on the whole the role of managers as key decision makers in the control of resources is treated as essentially unproblematic by the profession. The hope for CR in Sheffield's Recreation Department is that it will resist the approach of leisure management and possibly challenge some of these assumptions. Developments such as the Waltheof Community School, where all the school and sports facilities are to be managed by a community council with its own budget, and Steel City Club, an old Forgemasters' sports hall bought by the Recreation Department, but run and owned by a community club, turning over small annual profits, are cited as examples of the way CR initiatives can develop and radically alter both the traditional and more recent trends in leisure management practice.

Nevertheless CR is still rooted in a framework of compensatory provision, as the sources of funding indicate. Comparisons can once again be made with more recent cultural policy projects which are part of inner-city redevelopment or draw on urban-programme funding. While Critcher and Clarke have warned of the dangers of crude interpretations of state policy which equate all policy with social control there is a sense in which both the more cynical, manipulative 'diversionary' forms of state provision and the 'genuine' attempts to devolve power draw on the assumption that the value of leisure lies in its potential to alter behaviour. Thus, for example, schemes to deter 'anti-social' behaviour have been termed consciousness suppressing, while building communities and creating collective interests are termed consciousness raising. While Henry (1986) has pointed out that there is no evidence that the use of recreation provision will prevent 'anti-social' behaviour, it can be seen that elements of community provision have been perceived, at least by those providing, as soft policing (and cheaper than the SPG). Thus, for example it has been argued that community policing has done more to respond to Lord Scarman's report on the Brixton riots than any other state agency, and that preventative, or proactive, policing can include recreational provision. (I.Henry, Leisure Studies 5, 1986:203) Leisure professionalism, then, indicates another side of the recent reformulations of welfarism that CR represents, one that broadens and deepens the aspect of social control, the domination and manipulation latent in recreation provision.

A further aspect of the recent policy development and the reaction against the failure of the mass-provision policies of the 1970s has been the turn towards the market. As a result, there has been an increasing tendency for leisure to become institutionalised in the mixed economy of market and state provision, often with the private or commercial sector playing the leading role. These developments have been based on a particular construction of the consumer, which situates choice as the compensation for the absence of control:

> choice has become the ideological validation of a system which in practice denies people the power to exercise control. (Chritcher and Clarke 1986:200)

The relative state of public provision and private leisure has forced local government to consider the future of its leisure provision. The INLOGOV paper, Leisure - The Future Role and Organisation Of Local Government, (1986), argues that the main choice to be made is whether local government provide services as a last resort, operating as an administrative licensing umbrella and subsidising services through local rates and government grants , or whether local government should assert leadership in its attempts to meet local needs, playing a role as a facilitator and intervenor, drawing on inter-departmental policy and resources to influence commercial developments, and forming partnerships with the private sector. Such decisions have now to be taken in the light of central government proposals to take recreation facilities out of local authority control and open them up to private management.

Sheffield's developing policies on recreation and on tourism are based on a version of INLOGOV's second choice, informed by an attempt to merge the notion of 'citizen' with that of the 'consumer'. This second choice also represents a change in the broad role of local state provision which has broadly been shaped by its secondary role in relation to commercial provision - the turn towards the market indicates the way the local state provision has been undermined. The model of market intervention is suggested in the principles of contract compliance, in which the public sector can play a role as a partner in joint ventures with private capital, and is able to open up new areas of public involvement in leisure and in the market. For example, it has been proposed that as well as offering cheaper entrance to local authority owned facilities such as the City Hall or the Anvil Cinema, a 'passport to leisure' ticket could be extended to deals (with, for example, Pizza Hutt or McDonalds) for tickets which include a cheaper meal at a restaurant before or after the show or film.(1) This possible expansion of passport to leisure represents a particular combination of earlier policies, with their emphasis on an integrated service for the unemployed, with the more recent approach to leisure as city regeneration and the prominant role of the consumer. It therefore indicates the changing pressures on, and expectations of, leisure policy. Passport to leisure embodies the policy ideals of the early 1980s when provision for the unemployed was a high political priority. However, the period for this hypothetical policy has in many ways already passed. The City Council is already deeply committed to partnerships with the private sector in the development of sporting facilities to hold the 1991 World Student Games.

The range of service provision by the Recreation Department is quite broad and disparate, and, as part of the Leisure Committee which has increased its power base in the City Council, it is poised to expand on areas of policy. CR represents the interests of both the new concerns of professional leisure management and the political and social objectives of the City council insofar as it can be seen to develop an aspect of recreation as a way of countering the effects of both de-industrialisation and cutbacks in the welfare state. However, the developing approach to tourism and, in particular the expansion of the Lower Don Valley (the redevelopment of a large area of derelict waste land and the massive building programme to prepare for the World Student Games are concerned with more commercial notions of leisure industries which suggest a different response to de-industrialisation and a different focus for the regeneration of the city. It is one that, through partnerships with the private sector, combines indoor shopping centres, leisure and sports facilities and major landscaping projects with the construction of theme parks based on marketing the notion of Sheffield's popular history as the history of dissent. The use of the theme of dissent as a marketing strategy indicates the creation of an identity for the city in marketing terms, not as left-wing in a contemporary sense, but evoking a historical tradition of collective working class resistance which can be both radical and non-confrontational at the same time.

The Recreation Department is able to combine both tourism and leisure industries policy together with community recreation policies as the two key areas for development. The intervention into the private spheres of social networks, the development of voluntary organisations, and the intervention into private service/leisure industries that these policies represent indicates the various intersections between state/voluntary and state/industry, that are currently being developed within one area of local state provision.

This case-study indicates the reformations in the 1980s of the central contradiction of the local state, the relationship between popular control and social control. On the one hand, CR policies demonstrate the aim of introducing questions of values and meanings, of taking into account the cultural uses of recreation provision and veloping local state cultural policy on the basis of creasing popular control and decision-making. On the her hand, these aspirations are flanked by the velopments in leisure professionalism which seek to apt the new cultural approach to refine theories of isure management, and thus to contribute to the evolving thods of social control. A second pressure closing in on is the elevation of the role of the market. In the tempts to use market strategies as a way of correcting failure of mass-provision there is a danger that the rket will be reinforced as the best and only possible del for decentralising and democratising cultural ovision. Therefore that the main aim of local state ltural policy becomes one of enabling people to enter market. This neutralising of the role of the market rves to obscure the forces of power and the structures finance capital, and reproduces the market/consumer del.

Footnotes

1. Hypothetical proposition suggested by a Council member in the course of an interview.

3. Cultural Industries.

The purpose of this case-study is to consider the recent intervention of the local state into areas of cultural production, distribution and consumption, that can be grouped together under the heading of cultural industries. The significance, for this project, of local authority intervention is that it represents a development in cultural policy in ways that transcend the received categories and terms of policy making that have been prevalent in post-war cultural policy.

The projects in Sheffield that can be included under the heading of audio-visual or cultural industries are significantly different from each other, and have emerged in different ways. This case-study considers three examples - Sheffield Independent Film Limited, Red Tape Municipal Recording Studio, and the Library Communications Unit. Each project is different at the level of self-description, as are the explicit reasons for City Council involvement. The projects represent the more general policy aims of different Council departments within which they are based: Employment and Economic Development; Libraries; and Arts Department. The area termed audio-visual is not therefore recognised as a coherent and specific part of Council policy. although in 1984/5 a cross-departmental Media Policy was drawn up.

The drawing together of these audio-visual projects for the purposes of this case-study thus represents the imposition of a unifying category. Nevertheless since

1984/5 the point when a cross-council media policy was drawn up the notion of a policy for audio-visual and media related projects has been emerging. In the last few years the shift towards the recognition and development of this sector has largely been led by the Department of Employment and Economic Development and the Library Department. Thus the development of the cultural industries has involved a significant (and symptomatic) shift in bureaucratic dealings with cultural issues, from Arts to Employment and Economic Development.

The purpose of the case-study is to characterise the circumstances and terms in which local state intervention occured. These largely revolve around the debate emerging in the mid-1980s about the notion of the cultural industries and their relation to, in particular, local state cultural policies. As Warpole and Mulgan (1986) point out, state cultural policy has historically been distinct from market culture, and this resulted, as Williams had noted earlier, in a broad division whereby state intervention has largely concentrated on pre-twentieth century cultural forms. (Williams,1981:107) Nevertheless, despite the ensuing debate and the increasingly widespread use of the term 'cultural industries', the detail of SCC policy explanation referring to the specific audio-visual projects in the main drew on traditional, that is generalised, cultural policy objectives. For example, policy explanations were constructed in the specific terms of: arts provision; of fostering cohesion and community identity; community arts; grant-aiding; education and training and so on. These objectives were combined with the influential policy developments of the Cultural Industries Unit of the Greater London Enterprise Board (GLEB). What follows therefore is an analysis of the cultural industries strategy as it emerged in Sheffield in the mid-1980s.

Garnham and the GLC on Cultural Industries.

Garnham's analysis details the way the cultural industries operate within a capitalist market. He suggests that the economic nature of the cultural industries can be discussed in terms of the general tendencies of commodity production. However, these tendencies are crucially altered by the special characteristics of the cultural commodity. Firstly, in contrast to other commodities the cultural commodity is not used up or destroyed by the process of consumption. A second characteristic is that the costs of reproduction are marginal compared to the initial high costs of production. Each new book, newspaper, magazine, film, record and so on, can be seen as a prototype which can then be mass-reproduced. The immediate effects of these two characteristics within a capitalist market is that strategies have to be applied which control both access to the products, - to make sure people who use them, pay for them - and to maximise the potential economies of scale, - to make sure as many people as possible pay for them. The difficulty of establishing the scarcity upon which price is based can be seen where piracy occurs, from home taping - intervening in the reproduction process - to counterfeiting - stealing the ideas upon which the prototype is based, producing a similar prototype and then reproducing to invade particular markets. Therefore the areas of copyright, distribution, promotion and marketing are particularly important for controlling the cultural industries. On the question of distribution Garnham argues,

> The cultural process is as much if not more about creating audiences or publics as it is about producing cultural artefacts and performances. (N.Garnham, 1987:31)

A second crucial factor is what Garnham describes as the necessary exploitation of 'economies of scope'. That is the management of a range of products in such a way that the chances of scoring a hit with the consumer is increased. Therefore most major companies, and this is especially apparent in record companies, operate an 'editorial function' to cluster a range of different products to be marketed as a whole, or to present a range of slightly different products within a type, category or genre in an attempt to ensure at least one success. The companies controlling the cultural industries cannot predict which particular product will succeed, but when one does it more than covers the intial outlay for all the research and development in producing the prototypes for the whole range. This effect of one successful protoype financing a range of less successful products - cross subsidization - can then be seen as a necessary macro feature of cultural industries under competitive market conditions.

Other features of the cultural commodity which Garnham identifies include, 'de-linkage', a separation between the cost of production and the cost value of the product; and 'non-price' competition. He points out that in many cultural sub-sectors products are offered within broadly fixed price categories. So that despite the differences in each product, most books, records, magazines, and cinema tickets, for example, fall into a particular limited price range. Non-price competition refers to the way the product itself, instead of price, becomes increasingly significant for the consumer, with variations in design, colour, quality, technical facilities and packaging forming the decisive factor in the choice to buy. These factors further reinforce the tendencies encouraged by the earlier characteristics of the cultural commodity - the concentration in cross-media ownership, and the increasing monopoly/oligopolistic control over the distribution channels of the cultural industries.

Garnham's discussion of the macro-economic tendencies of the cultural industries and the way the production of cultural goods and services was developing as an economic sector was developed by GLEB into policy. The Greater London Enterprise Board estimated that over 250,000 people worked in London's cultural industries, and decided that as, an organisation responsible for job creation through strategic intervention in industry, GLEB has a clear role to play.

However,

> there is also a more purely cultural reason why the GLEB made the decision to invest in the cultural industries. In the past bodies like the Arts Council have concentrated their funding on older art forms - such as theatre and opera rather than recorded music or video ... . The assumption has been that because these forms of popular culture are commercial there is no place for any kind of state intervention. (GLEB. 1985:4)

The way GLEB applied an analysis of cultural industries to strategies of intervention was based on the identification of the part that independent producers played in the macro-dynamics of the sector. GLEB pinpointed the way independent producers were 'exploited' by major companies who were able to use them almost as free research and development in the work of developing new prototypes. The point of intervention for GLEB was to strengthen independent distribution and to provide services which independent producers could use in common, to enable them to compete more effectively with the major companies, in other words they adopted what was in effect a small business strategy for the independent sector. This set a precedent for cultural industries strategies as part of public policy based both on economic arguments and on ways of improving cultural opportunities.

In Garnham's conceptual framework for the cultural industries, broadcasting is central and particularly important for the development of public policy. He stressed the importance of broadcasting both for its centrality for contemporary cultural practice and as a major form of public intervention.

> In comparison with other sectors of the cultural industries, not only is some measure of public accountability built into the broadcasting system, but the legitimacy of the whole system rests on it. (Garnham, 1983:5)

The need for a media policy and some kind of provision that would encourage production for the television industry became a key element in local authority cultural industries policies.

Garnham argued that existing public infrastructures could be used as part of local intervention into the cultural industries. The public library system was significant because it forms a large percentage of public expenditure on culture and provides an existing physical infrastructure of buildings and employees. The potential for Libraries was in their capacity to intervene in the distribution process. An analysis of cultural industries points to the ways the public sector could begin to explore methods of developing the interventions in this sector. Garnham argued that cultural sub-sectors could be integrated, that distribution of a range of different kinds of cultural products can be analysed as one problem. Garnham made a number of further recommendations based on the need for more research into cultural trends and audiences so that local authorities could make informed decisions about, for example, how to significantly improve choice, rather than simply propping up fading cultural concerns in the name of preservation. Improving access to cultural production also implies a development of training and recruitment policies. However, Garnham argued that these questions require specific policies and highlighted the issue of the limitation of jobs in the cultural industries.

> No one has the 'right' to be a cultural worker. Their numbers will always be limited. The illusion of free access is at present only sustained by high levels of unemployment and marginal employment....How, then, is such access to be controlled, on what criteria and by whom? (N.Garnham, 1987:37)

Thus, Garnham's analysis of cultural industries demonstrates the need to take seriously the question of scarcity and the allocation of resources together with an understanding of audiences.

Garnham's arguments and the policy developments put forward by the Cultural Industries Unit of GLEB influenced, but did not determine SCC's policy approach, which was developed in conjunction with projects already on the ground in Sheffield and with the longer traditions and culture of the City Council itself.

Sheffield Independent Film Limited.

SIFL was set up in 1977 by a small group of local independent film-makers who were part of a broader independent film movement developing in the 1970s. The main purpose of the organisation was to share film-making equipment. The first production equipment was bought with grants from the Gulbenkian Foundation and the Yorkshire

Arts Association. For the first few years membership numbers were small averaging between 15 and 20, however, membership expanded significantly during the early 1980s and by 1985 SIFL had 150 members. The increase in membership follows changes in the independent sector as a whole. In simple terms these changes were fuelled by changes in uses of technology - the development of video which was much cheaper than film; and the introduction of Channel 4, which has largely determined the development of the independent film sector since 1982. The membership of SIFL now includes two ACTT enfranchised workshops receiving funding from Channel 4 - Sheffield Film Co-op and Steel Bank Co-op - plus eight other small production groups. Twenty-five of the membership hold ACTT union tickets.

The main purpose of SIFL has been to offer film and video production equipment, although the organisation also runs training courses, educational events, screenings and has organised public conferences. Equipment is lent out on a sliding scale hire rate. Top rates are charged for equipment used on commercial productions, intermediate rates cover various levels of commissions and other, for example Regional Arts Association, funding; concessionary low rates are charged to unfunded members. In this way the income generated by charging top rates can be re-directed to subsidise use at lower rates. Differential hire rates for equipment is a fundamental principle along which the

SIFL model is organised. The collection of equipment as a central resource is one of the ways by which the organisation can generate an income separately from grants and subsidy, and subsidise non-funded and unemployed members. However, in order to work, this model requires a proportion of the equipment to be of a high enough standard for use by funded members - that is measured in terms of broadcast standard. Otherwise the system would break down: non-funded members would only have access to equipment if it was completely subsidised, and funded film and video-makers would have to use higher grade private/commercial facilities. Both options are dead ends in the sense that they would preclude the productive features of cross-subsidization, and related practices that give rise to the potential for sharing skills, knowledge and experience as well as equipment.

In 1982/3, as part of a policy for the development of regional production, Channel 4 began placing equipment in SIFL, and funded the post of a full-time technician to develop and maintain the use of the equipment. Twenty-two programmes subsequently bought or commissioned by Channel 4 have been broadcast and by the end of 1986 Channel 4 had invested substantial sums in productions in which the bulk of the production process takes place in Sheffield using SIFL technology.

Although SIFL has attracted Channel 4 funding it is a facilities based organisation rather than a production based workshop, and its structure does not entirely fit in with Channel 4's broader policy for the independent sector,

> C4 is firmly committed to the continuation of its workshop funding policy ... The fund will be principally allocated in the following categories,
> 1. Film & Video workshops working fully under the ACTT workshop declaration.
> 2. Workshops working on a development phase towards the workshop declaration.
> 3. Revenue support to facility workshops perceived as potentially crucial to the wider independent sector.
>
> Commitments to 2 & 3 will be comparatively few." (C4 Grant application guidelines 1986-7)

SIFL is closest to the third category. Although this was not the principle line of C4 planning, it opened up the possibility for an investment partnership involving Channel 4, Yorkshire Arts Association, the British Film Institute and significantly Sheffield City Council. SIFL argued the need for a policy amongst their funders which,

> recognises the urgent need of consolidating regional facility bases

The model suggests a potential to grow beyond a total dependence on C4, but recognises that any regional development of facility bases with public subsidy and accountability would have to come under the auspices of some kind of regional authority and within a broader policy for media development.

With the investment from Channel 4, 1983 marked the beginning of the period of expansion for SIFL, and the point at which serious planning and reconsideration of the purpose and future role for an organisation such as SIFL became crucial. The growth in membership and the increase in broadcast production required consideration of the positional long-term development of SIFL in relation to the local and regional audio-visual sector. SIFL had to plan the future balance of the organisation in terms of its role of providing collective facilities, its commitment to different levels of use, and its position within the regional media economy. The development plans that followed included a detailed application to the City Council's Department of Employment and Economic Development (DEED) in particular, to the Economic and Public Sector Development Team, which responded to a co-funding arrangement and invested £25,000 as a capital grant for the financial year 1986/7. The inclusion of the Employment Department as a co-funder had implications both for the Employment Department - in terms of the beginnings of a consideration local state intervention in the cultural industries - and SIFL - in terms of its role as an independent company, its use of public finances, and policy development procedures.

The addition of the local authority to the arena of independent film and video funding brought with it a new emphasis on economics which had repercussions for the existing policy of the sector. The existing parameters of film and video financing and the ensuing policy terms can be summed up by listing its four main determinants. Firstly, the policy implied by the system of grants and subsidies operated by the Regional Arts Associations, the Arts Council and the British Film institute; secondly by television, by Channel 4 and by media education; thirdly by the work with community groups, political campaigns and the voluntary sector; and fourthly, independent production was in part determined by the very general cultural association with regional film theatres. (Marris 1986)

In its earlier years SIFL applied to the departments in Sheffield City Council which dealt with Arts applications, but by 1983, with the development of enfranchised workshops, increasing unionisation, a new emphasis on training and C4 investment, the concerns of SIFL shifted to areas of employment and the building of a regional the film and video economy. The structure of the Arts Department and its categories of funding meant that it could not deal with an application from an organisation such as SIFL, since the Department is divided between on the one hand, the provision of major facilities, mainly the Galleries and Crucible; and on the other, a small community arts budget which can only be used for relatively small, often one-off grants.

The model of differential hire rates central to SIFL's organisation suggested one way in which the overall structure for funding could be altered so as to maximise the use of public funds. SIFL receives public and private funds. It is capable of subsidising users and provides a facility house for production up to broadcast standard. It therefore represents possibilities for a mixed economy base for production and for cross-subsidisation.

The way SIFL put forward this kind of rationale for public investment meant that the potential for more relevant financial strategies were likely to be developed in terms of the Department of Employment and Economic Development (DEED) and the local economy. However, even during its short history the shifts in policy emphasis within DEED have affected the processing of SIFL applications. Early DEED policy was directed towards extending the public sector and expanding high quality in-house service - municipalisation, exemplified by Red Tape Studios. However, more recent policy has brought to the fore the practice of joint ventures with the private sector. In the case of the joint funding of SIFL, C4 can be seen as a private partner. Nevertheless, the structure of the department and the corresponding budgetry procedures meant that it would have been easier to develop in terms of Council policy if SIFL could have been conceived of as separate segments which correspond to particular budget headings. For example, training is a distinct area, unemployed access is another, and there are industrial investment strategies to be applied in particular ways. However, the danger for SIFL of emphasisng one area for funding is the imbalance it would cause within its own internal organisation, and the break-up of the finely tuned inter-related flexibility that maintains the organisation as a whole.

In contrast, the development of Red Tape studios presented no such problems for the Department. Its emergence occured relatively quickly, as a consequence of the easy adaption of the project to the terms of Department policies. The latest example being the use of a strategy for developing enterprise workshops. Red Tape is in some ways conceived of as based on a similar principle of cross-subsidization between commercial and community use. Therefore, the reasons for the Department finding it easier to develop Red Tape than SIFL is due to the former's position as an in-house council facility, rather than any serious disagreement or problem with the aims objectives and structures of SIFL.

Training is an area that has been rigorously re-organised within SIFL in the last few years and indicates the way the organisation has progressed at the level of self-description. It is an important area where development could result from changes in perspective towards the local economic audio-visual sector. Paul Marris, (ex GLC Film Officer) suggests that the move away from the rhetoric of collectivism within the independent film sector since the 1970s has altered attitudes towards 'professionalism', allowing a more positive interpretation which can lead to improvements in skills and the quality of production. This development has emerged in conjunction with more independent film and video makers entering the ACTT union. In this way training has become an important topic for the sector as a whole. (Marris 1986)

The initiation of training schemes cannot therefore be seen in isolation: they form part of a broader overview that has to be taken in any planned local audio-visual development. Training is an important element of Red Tape and the Communications Unit as well as SIFL, and indicates one way in which the local authority can perceive the audio-visual sector as an area of 'work' and as an industry. There is scope for expanding training across the sector. In the light of Garnham's comments on scarcity - that cultural workers will always necessarily have to be limited in number - training raises a number of political issues. A case can therefore be made for questions of training to be developed together with broader cultural and political policies.

The reasons DEED gave for its initial and temporary funding of SIFL were based simply on jobs, employment and investment.

> the cash is designed to back an organisation which creates jobs and attracts investment into city film and video production (DEED Press release)

The decision to fund SIFL clearly drew on the prevailing, but loosely defined notion within DEED of socially useful production and was not based on any specific cultural reasons or even explicitly on the Councils' existing media policy. However, this move by DEED was based on the gradual increase in the level of debate built up over the preceding few years. The switch from Arts to Employment was not as straightforward as might appear. It was mediated through the Libraries Department interest in media/communications and information policy which stemmed from the Sheffield/GLC public hearings on cable television held in 1983, which was then followed by 9 months of committee discussion of a media policy in 1984-85. These developments can be seen to have contributed to a general context in which the financing of SIFL was thought possible in policy terms.

In his analysis, Garnham describes cross-subsidization as a general feature of the cultural industries under competitive market conditions. Cross-subsidization relates to the necessary development of 'economies of scale'. SIFL can be seen to have evolved from a minority collective whose public subsidy was primarily considered in terms of arts, to a model which can combine commercial and non commercial use, one that can engage on policy development both on economic and cultural terms, ie can begin to realise its interdependence. The feature of cross-subsidization represents a point at which public agencies can intervene and administer some fine tuning to the relationship between profitability and choice. To maximise the opportunities for cross-subsidization is therefore to increase the range of cultural products that are developed. Thus the research and development principle of the cultural industries can be applied as a decision of cultural policy and not simply as a necessary by-product of an economic process.

Sheffield Communications Unit.

Within the overall policy structure of the Libraries

Department of SCC, the Communication Unit forms one sub-section of 'Community Development', which is in turn a sub-division of the Libraries' 'Development Division'. It is clear then that media policy in Libraries is fixed within an overall restructuring framework which draws on the arguments developed since the 1960s and 70s and now incorporated in professional debates about the relation of bureaucratic structures to a local population.

The 'development' role of the Communications Unit has undergone several shifts in direction since the Community Communications Co-ordinator post was established and the Unit set up in 1984. The present objectives of the Unit and its plans for the future are based on the aim of introducing communications facilities into Libraries as a method of developing and modernising the essential role of Libraries defined as one of allowing and supporting communications. Communications technology is seen as a method of expanding on a more active role for the Library service. The idea is for Librarians to work with community groups enabling the use of the most appropiate technology to suit each groups particular purposes and therefore to conduct a form of media education. The unit concentrates on the use of video, sound recording, photography and printing, and information technology - computing, wordprocessing, and viewdata.

The post of Community Communications Co-ordinator developed from a temporary research post based in Libraries which was prompted by the work carried out for the GLC/SCC hearings on the future of cable television. The research investigated ways in which local media based initiatives could use new communications technologies such as cable television, under local control and serving what were seen as local needs. The involvement of the local state was in some ways a response to Government cable policy initiatives, in particular the Hunt report (1982), which advocated a network of commercial cable systems with no specific restrictions on monopoly ownership, to be monitored by a Cable Authority without any detailed powers of supervision. The GLC and SCC organised public hearings to ensure that a range of serious issues raised by the introduction of cable systems and the possibility of major changes in the infrastructure of communications were properly debated. The major concerns of the hearings were: the effects of implementation of Government policy, with the threat of job losses; the lack of proper accountability or democratic control and the disregard for local participation; and the threat to undermine the principles of public service broadcasting and to privatize broadcasting and telecommunication channels. The Hearings debated a range of alternative uses to which cable could be put. One of which, statutory provision for community access, provided the initial impetus for the formation of the Communications Unit in Sheffield.

Much of this early discussion of alternative uses for cable was based on a 'community model', which stressed the idea of 'socially useful communication'. This idea was clearly developed to find a way into to contemporary debates in the newly formed Department of Employment and Economic Development.

> ...just as a number of councils are starting to promote policies to encourage socially useful production, so we are convinced that policies must be developed to actively promote socially useful communication. (Sheffield TV group 1983. Paper submitted to the cable hearings)

The research suggested that there was a need for local authorities to transform part of the bureaucracy into a social communications department. The model proposed was one in which community access workshops staffed by community communications workers would work with interest groups. Community communications was understood to have two definitions of 'access'. Firstly and simply, easy access; that the provision of new technology should be a local resource and physically accessible, and secondly; that there should be accessibilty to the social processes and procedures of programme making. However, this model was conceived of in a particularly parochial way, emphasizing local networks and loosely based on the structure of community arts programmes.

The role of the Community Communications Co-ordinator, apart from investigating the potential development of the Libraries Department in all areas of communications, and collecting information for and servicing the Cable working party (which by the time the post was filled had finished meeting) was also

> to monitor development between the City Council and other agencies in the city in connection with community communications. (Job description)

This area of responsibility suggested the need for a broad Council-wide approach, to provide the basis for a media policy.

The Media Policy Group (1984-5), in some ways a replacement for the Cable Working Party, was set up to continue and expand on the earlier work. The intention was to work out a council policy on media development, which in the first instance would serve to clarify, co-ordinate and create channels through which applications concerned with film and video could be processed through the council in a more systematic and coherent way than had hitherto operated; and secondly to debate the longer term role local authorities could play in local and regional media development. The group representing local groups, organizations and interests, was chaired by a Councillor and serviced by the Communications Co-ordinator, it met each month for 9 months and produced a provisional media policy.

Since completion, the media policy has been left, and not significantly taken forward or implemented by any Council Department. The policy described the Council's relation to media development in 1984-5, as unco-ordinated and seriously under-developed. It was noted that there was a serious lack of support for media work undertaken in the City and small-scale recommendations were put forward, but there was no explicit detail on how the City Council should proceed to develop longer term possiblities of media development, or what the relation should be to the changing commercial, political economic contexts of the sector. The media policy indicates the ways general Council objectives of equal opportunities, decentralization and community development, are discussed in a fairly limited and abstracted context. Council policy is often internally directed, relating in the first instance to the bureaucracy rather than external circumstances. The media policy when fully ratified will exist for each Council Department to draw on and implement in what ever way it sees fit. In other words, the mechanism necessary to implement such a policy was absent. The area of policy of implementation was not addressed even at a preliminary level. Thus the gap between policy and practice remained.

There were several practical limitations in the development of the media policy which may partially explain the gap between policy and practice, and thus the slow and indirect implementation. Firstly, the Officer serving the Committee did not have the structural power to influence Council departments other than Libraries. The representation on the committee from key departments was infrequent. This structural imbalance can be seen to re-occur in many other areas and is thus symptomatic of the process of much policy development. A relatively small scale bureaucratic addition cannot quickly precipitate general policy change throughout the whole bureaucratic structure (in fact such appendages often serve to absorb new policy ideas rather than help them affect far-reaching policy change). Furthermore, the initial expectations of the new unit and policy were set very high and when little was achieved these were very quickly dropped or changed, leaving the committee who had spent a long time over the issues, and the wider circle of interested organisations, confused and frustrated. The consultation process employed may have been too unwieldly for detailed development of policy, and it might therefore have been more useful if a large group could have formed a preliminary stage of consultation and nominated a smaller group to sustain detailed development and report back. The Councillor chair felt that despite the efforts of groups represented to hold the discussions at the level of policy, there was still a sense of chairing a group of vested interests. Thus the notion of representation in this area of policy development was not sufficiently defined.

Nevertheless, although the Media Policy did not appear to have direct results, and furthermore current developments in this sector seem to be quite removed from it, the indirect linkages between the work of the media policy and new plans for media development in the city must have played a decisive part. The relation between the 1985 media policy and 1988 developments demonstrate the more gradual workings of the bureaucracy.

After this first phase of policy development, the work of the Communications Unit changed course. It began to concentrate on providing an open access facility working in conjunction with a voluntary media association. However, after a short while it was decided that this approach was not reaching the target users - indentified as community groups. An arrangement was made between the workers of the voluntary association and the Communications Officer to run community projects under the name of the combined title of the Media Unit. As part of the arrangement, the voluntary members were able to use the equipment for their own projects.

The Media Unit was thus a semi-state organisation, which could draw either on the status of a Council or voluntary body. As such, the status had implications for union practices and the union agreement under which audio-visual product is made. However, this set-up allowed for applications to be made to the Urban Programme Fund under the auspices of the voluntary association, and under the title of Communications Unit, to the Council schemes for European Social Funds. With both sources of funding, three of the voluntary workers were eventually employed as full-time workers to run training courses and work on projects with community groups. However, this double fronted organisation while useful for fund raising does raise questions about accountability in its access to public funds.

Over the last year the Media Unit, now with 4 full-time workers, has increasingly defined its activities as part of the Library service, and in particular worked to develop media education. The Unit now sees its function as working to develop Libraries communication policy, not as developing media policy across the Council as a whole. However, with the withdrawal of grants from the EEC funds, the future of the Media Unit is extremely uncertain and it depends on whether the resources of both organisations, the voluntary association and the Libraries Communications Unit is enough to sustain its work

Red Tape Studios.

The municipal music project, Red Tape Studios, opened in 1986. In its first phase of development it consisted of two professionally designed soundproof rehearsal rooms and basic 4 track recording equipment. The aims of the project at the point of opening were to provide training, facilities and support, to local musicians especially local unemployed musicians. Red Tape was the end result of discussions between Councillors, Officers and local musicians that had been taking place since the early 1980s. The period of the early 1980s had been a period of relative success for a series of Sheffield bands, and a time when a number of bands all around the country were identified with their particular city. There was a sense in which the City Council wanted to support, consolidate and become identified with a local culture and its success. Although the project was a Council initiative within DEED, a large steering committee of representatives of various clubs, venues and related projects was formed to develop the idea.

The original intention was for a recording studio which could combine commercial and community use. At the beginning of 1983, the Employment Department decided to consider seriously the social and commercial implications of building a municipal multi-track recording studio. Early discussions concentrated on the possibility of a 24 track studio and included a wide range of other possible media developments. However, the plans for a 24 track studio received limited support from Council members. The emphasis of the project was changed to include rehearsal facilities and training as well as a 24 track studio to help stabilise and widen the basis of Council support. The two sides of the project allowed for the sources of funding to be split. Applications were made to the European Social Fund for packages based on training, while a later application to the Urban Programme funds through the Employment Department was made for a 24 track studio. Over the period in which the idea was developed the emphasis and aims of the project alternated between rehearsal rooms and a recording studio depending on projections of the overall cost and the corresponding amount of Council support received. The uncertainty over the nature of the project resulted in a series of delays. When it opened Red Tape was in some ways a compromise: it is more than is needed for rehearsal rooms but is easily convertible into recording studios. The studio is now undergoing its second phase of development, which involves the conversion of a rehearsal room into a 16 track recording studio and the building of further rehearsal rooms.

Early discussions about Red Tape revolved around the variables of level of use and standard of equipment. At this stage the emerging model had similarities with that of SIFL, the central question being, what level of equipment would generate most income and therefore keep subsidy levels down without losing potential users at either end of the scale. The possibilities of developing associated music services, such as booking agencies, publishing, and management companies were also discussed. Thus, the music industry more generally was seen as the site for a new kind of municipal enterprise. However, it was much easier to gain general Council support for rehearsal rooms. There were no purpose built rehearsal rooms available for public use and they could be provided on the grounds of public service. A recording studio was implicitly resisted on the grounds that it was too close to commercial practices and therefore beyond the reach of the public service rationale.

The intention to set up differential rates of use, broadly defined as commercial or community, was always central to the project. The final report for the project submitted in 1984 stressed the importance of the use of hire rates to help cover the cost of provision and reduce the overall level of subsidy which the project would require as annual revenue. As in the case of the Communications Unit in regard to media, one of the arguments in support of Red Tape was that it would co-ordinate the very fragmented array of music based projects that existed across different council departments. The fragmentation, it was argued made strategies for public intervention complicated because 'music' was not a unifying category within the City Council. The plan for co-ordination proposed that Red Tape would therefore act as a focus for expertise in the field of music that already existed in different Departments, so that the Communications Officer, Adult Education, Careers Officers and so on, would be drawn on periodically to provide some of the tuition, advice and training. This approach serves to bring music activity to the fore in policy terms, rather than considered only in the terms of existing council departments. The potential of Red Tape therefore, is to form a central focus on music from which applications and the co-ordination of resources can be chanelled back through appropriate council departments. So that instead of music being considered as a form of community work by Youth Services, for example, it can be considered in a number of ways previously precluded by council structures, for example, in terms of its economic importance, as an area of work and as an industry, an area for training as well as a leisure activity.

However, Red Tape has to yet to fully establish this role. At the moment it has uneasy links with other music projects, for example, the Darnall Music factory, or the 'Bob Marley Music and Video Project', both of which are also receiving some funds from or through the Employment Department. There is no doubt that Red Tape as a major music project has absorbed funds that other voluntary projects could have drawn from the Urban Programme source. The clear distinction between Red Tape and other music projects is that Red Tape has clearly promoted itself as a Council facility - a municipal recording studio, whereas a number of smaller music projects although receiving some funding from the City Council, perhaps even for full-time posts, for a number of reasons do not readily recognise the association with City Council and prefer to mantain a separate indentity as voluntary bodies.

The significance of its indentification as part of the Council is that Red Tape represented the wish of some in SCC in the early 1980s to develop a form of municipal cultural policy that was an integral part of the Council. As an initiative of the Employment Department, Red Tape was planned in ways that corresponded to the Departments policies. These include, training for the unemployed, a service to the unemployed, a municipal service for the active performing musicians in the City, and more recently the idea of enterprise workshops has been adapted for partnership plans with successful bands. Red Tape was described in policy documents as having the potential of "socialising a commercial sector". This idea is linked to notions of planned production for social need and the new forms of intervention suggested in 'In and Against the State'. Local Authorities were seen as having the potential for pioneering a role in a relationship between the 'commercial' and the 'community' which can point to ways 'profit' can be fed back to sustain a broader base of production. And yet this the model has been revised in practice. Although the aim of combining the two uses has been retained, the commercial and community facilities are separate. In the subsidised section, the plans are to expand the number of rehearsal rooms and to convert one of them into a semi-professional 16 track recording studio. The commercial section is to be sited in a separate part of the building, and will take the form of collaboration with local bands who have money or contracts for production. The intention is to build soundproof shells for bands to rent and build up their own recording studios. In this way bands can be treated as small businesses - 'sound proof enterprise workshops'- and run their own studios on a commercial basis. So far, three 24 track studios are to be installed by particular bands at Red Tape, which would be used by the bands for part of the year and run as commercial studios for the remainder of the year. The income gained from the rental of the soundproof shells could be re-directed towards the subsidized community facilities, but the two uses, community and commercial are distinct. This practice has since expanded to encompass a number of projects including Sheffield Independent Film, and is now termed the Audio-Visual Enterprise Centre which constitutes a number of purpose-built managed workspaces.

The development of 'sound proof enterprise workshops' co-incided with an intensification of DEED's policies of collaboration with the private sector, perhaps even taking precedence over the earlier emphasis on municipal enterprise. In fact, together, Red Tape and the Audio Visual Enterprise Centre can be seen as a combination of both the aim of municipalisation and of partnerships with the private sector.

The GLC cultural industries analysis highlighted the role of independent production as a site of free research and development for the major companies. This tendency is especially pronounced in the general workings of the music industry. Red Tape's potential for intervention in the processes of the music industry is recognised by DEED to be small and gradual. Apart from technical training, Red Tape sees its role as one of advising bands, teaching them about the process of recording, enabling them to get a clear sense of what it is they particularly want to develop and helping them to keep control of their work. Thus the overall scope for public intervention was seen as limited and relatively small scale, although Red Tape management does recognise the potential of developing the local commercial infrastructure, and of integration where possible across the cultural industries - music video is an obvious example, training is another.

However, it is interesting to note that some of the earlier discussions and planning for Red Tape Studios were based on a much grander conception of the project. In the course of planning two pieces of research were commissioned, the first completed by a local musician, the second by Mckinley Marketing. The first report Municipal Music Services, produced in 1983 included proposals for a range of ancillary services, such as in-house publishing, a municipal artists booking agency, a municipal record label, a municipal record processing plant and distribution and retailing operations.(1) The arguments put forward to support such a development were that it would represent a serious attempt to explore modern municipal enterprise. The idea was for municipal music services to help bridge the gap between producers and consumers and provide a measure of community access. In other words, municipal operations would stand in as some kind of alternative market. This idea of developing the complete process of music production was derived from the music industry where horizontal integration is a clear industrial trend. Both pieces of research recommended that the recording studio should be considered as part of an overall process which, in the Mckinley Marketing report, includes facilities for the studios to be used for radio and TV broadcast as well. As a result of their analysis of the record industry as a high risk, high profit business Mckinley marketing recommended that intervention should occur in every aspect of the industry - a massive undertaking which it was suggested the Council was not yet geared up for, and significantly the music industry was at the time was seen as in decline, (it was in fact undergoing restructuring). Despite the arguments for community access and control, the two reports do not consider the ways in which the organisation and practice of the industry itself could be changed. Instead, the reports adopt the position that the local state could run such an industry as a whole and profit from it in the same way that private companies would. This view is symptomatic of much earlier understandings of municipal development. The grand schemes for municipalisation although not taken up, influenced the way Red Tape emerged.

The prevailing philosophy of 'municipalisation' was not confined to DEED but is also clear in the early development of the Anvil Civic Cinema, which opened in 1983, in a cinema building that had previously been owned by Cineplex. The idea to take it over as a civic cinema was pushed by the Director of the Arts Department in the early 1980s. A civic cinema was seen as an opportunity to develop a new kind of local cinema, one that was different in character from the existing model of a British Film Institute regional film theatre. The intervention of the City Council was to be significant as it ensured some autonomy from the BFI. Most public subsidy for film theatres, or, for example, in the earlier operations of the Library Film Theatre and film societies in Sheffield, had hitherto come from the BFI.

This conception of the Anvil was not the result of new policy insights rather it was more of a strike for independence on the part of the Arts Department. The question of what the detailed policies for a subsidised cinema might be, what markets it could serve, and what its relation to commercial provision might be, were not planned in advance. Instead Council subsidy for the Anvil was made in the hope that it would be a commercial success, not only self-sustaining but also generating profits. Thus plans for the Anvil again demonstrate the assumption that the City Council could simply incorporate a commercial venture wholesale without realy examining the industrial and cultural sector in which it was based. The recent shift in the approach to Red Tape and to the Anvil Civic Cinema brought about by an engagement with the notion of the cultural industries can be demonstrated by the move away from the notion of incorporating a section of the cultural industries, to a more informed and integrated approach.

The Local State and the Cultural Industries

Although grouped together under the heading 'cultural industries' the music, film and video industries have very important differences. The use of the term 'independent' for example has different meanings within each industry. The costs of entry for independents into film and broadcasting are structured in a different way from the costs of record production. It is also important to point out that different areas within the audio-visual sector exist at different states of growth, restructuring or decline.

The three main examples taken in this case study indicate the kinds of developments the local state has made in this sector and the rationale for them. These include aspects of media education and training, access to audio-visual production facilities and 'community communication', economic development and employment concerns, the provision of exhibition facilities and direct commissioning of films and videos as part of council publicity material.

A central policy theme of these three examples is that of cross-subsidization, whereby commercial use will pay for non-commercial but socially desirable production. This theme is especially significant in the way it has been modified by DEED in the terms of socially useful production. In some ways the cultural industries approach can be seen to have taken the 'in and against the state' thesis further, and re-conceptualised it in the terms of 'in and against the market'. The centrality of cross-subsidy suggests that cultural industries policies can be seen as a way of combining some aspects of social democratic social policy with the prevailing dominance of market as constructed in the mid-1980s.

The examples considered in this case-study reflect the emphasis of the cultural industries strategy, which is the focus on cultural production rather than on cultural consumption. So far notions of consumption have been directed to the policies and practices of 'media centres' such as Cornerhouse in Manchester and the Watershed in Bristol. The current trend for developing media centres in most major cities has a number of parallels with the development of theatres in the late 1960s. Theatres and Art Centres were seen as the site for progressive cultural development in the same way that media centres are now described.

The GLC cultural industries policy concentrated on funding producing groups directly, and on developing independent distribution. In Sheffield the development of Red Tape and the Audio-Visual Enterprise Centre points to a policy evolving from a development of buildings. This policy has coalesced into the idea of assigning an area of the city as a site for developing the cultural industries. Plans have been developed to expand the idea of the Audio-Visual Enterprise Centre into an adjacent building. Included in these plans is the relocation of the Anvil Civic Cinema which will greatly increase its scope for policy development. The provision of sites, buildings and resources is in many ways the traditional role of the local state. The notion of the 'cultural industries quarter' now has a wide currency as part of numerous city plans for local regeneration. A key strand in all the uses of 'cultural industries' as part of local authority policy has been their value in reconstructing a city identity. The notion of the cultural industries has been in circulation since the Frankfurt school in the 1920s and 30s it is no accident that the term has found policy expression in the mid-1980s.

Footnotes.

1. Research carried out to further the idea of the municipal music projects, was produced in two reports. Municipal Music Services A study by Richard Sequeira, December 1983; and Municipal Recording Project A report prepared by Mckinley Marketing, January 1984.

Summary of the case-studies

Local authority cultural policy-making is inevitably bound in with the national policy represented by the Arts Council. Historically, there has been an ambiguous relationship between the two institutions. Some of the basic tenets of Arts Council philosophy, such as the distinction betwen 'professional' and 'amateur', disrupted the way some early local cultural activity was organised. And yet because they were associated with amateurism, the Arts Council devolved responsibility for community arts to local authorities (and to Regional Arts Associations). The importance of locality and amateurism to community arts overlapped with the pre-existing contours of local authority provision and neatly drew it into the cultural aspect of the community development approach. It is also possible to point to examples of the way the Arts Council exerted its cultural authority, and where local decision-makers lacked confidence in their own judgements and bowed to the pressure brought to bear by the arts experts. (The debates over the design of the Crucible Theatre is one such example.)

Against this possible deference in the sphere of Arts, however, one can set a number of traditions which reinforce the local state's sense of competence and authority in the area of cultural policy. One particularly influential force has been the sense of civic pride. Another crucial tradition has been library provision and the central importance placed on adult education. It is possible to draw parallels between the development of national and local policy over the last 20 years, but it would be wrong to attribute these principally to the influence of national policy initiatives at the expense of overlooking the role of the relatively autonomous traditions, principles and institutions of local cultural policy-making and provision.

On balance it might be more accurate to understand this sense of relative autonomy, particularly in these areas of cultural provision as a consequence of their relative isolation from the terms of national policy-making.

Civic identity has been a key factor in local state cultural policy: as the examples of galleries and parks demonstrate, early forms of civic identity were manifested in the cultural facilities provided by public benefactors - the city fathers, which combined the high status cultural institution with a sense of intellectual and moral improvement. Since then the enduring sense of civic pride and the way it has informed cultural policy has undergone several qualititative shifts.

The building of the Crucible can be seen as an example of the consolidation of civic identity through participation in the development of a network of theatres of national status. While more recently, civic identity has been invoked in terms of what it means to be part of a modern Britain city. This sense of civic pride is fixed in a competitiveness between cities, in the construction of an identity or image, based on re-development, on comprehensive communication facilities, new technologies and the presence of cultural industries. These are currently seen as the key components which contribute to the sense of being a significant city, symbolising modernity. Art galleries, cultural industries and new museums are now part of this reconstruction of the civic framework, and this sets the terms for (public) cultural provision.

The first two case-studies demonstrate the infrastructural role of the local state. It was a role that could be adapted to partnerships with national policy directing bodies such as the Arts Council or the Sports Council. However, as the Recreation case-study shows, leisure provision, which can now be included as part of a cultural policy, was in the 1960s and 70s seen much more in terms of welfare provision. Thus, for example, the provision of parks and baths was seen to contribute to the general health and wellbeing of the local population. While the City Council had specific organisational structures to administer and develop cultural and recreational provision, they were not central to the political development of the Council as a whole. In contrast, the final case-study illustrates a political and conceptual shift from a primarily infrastructural cultural policy to one that is more interventionist. Cultural policy no longer simply responds to, but actively leads general policy development, and is part of the changing political project of left local authorities.

The stark contrast between cultural policy in the 1960s and the 1980s is indicated by the way in which cultural policy is now a general policy requirement for local authorities. 20 years ago they were not really expected to have coherent cultural policies.

CONCLUSION

Central and Local State

The cultural policy and practice of Sheffield City Council (SCC) has been and continues to be formed within a framework structured by the relation between central and local state. This relation is based on central government's division of the balance of power between central and local. The role of the local state is bounded by legislative, legal and financial restraints; and more recently by the increasing enchroachment of the private sector into areas hitherto seen as the domain of public service. More specifically, cultural policy is in part determined by the ideologies that inform both central government and the Arts Council's cultural policies. As Cockburn's analysis demonstrated, the local state is thus both an agent of the central state and a site of resistance to it. Thus, there is a constant underlying contradiction between local autonomy and central control. This process, whether one of agency or resistance, is structured in unequal exchange between central and local. Within this complex and contradictory framework, cultural policy highlights the way cultural definitions and ideologies have been mediated by different levels of the state. As discussed in Chapter 1, at the national level post-war cultural policy emerged in moves to preserve cultural forms and practices, mostly pre-twentieth century forms that were unsustainable as economic relations changed. These policies of preservation were not defined in the explicit terms of supporting a state culture, rather they put forward a more implicit, submerged sense of public support for a national heritage linked to a tradition of aristocratic culture. At the level of the local state, cultural policy was, as, for example, in the provision of the Art galleries, framed within the fundamental principle informing local state relations - that of the provision of infrastructural public service. Thus cultural policy within this framework mirrored the national policy in the separation of state subsidised culture from market forces. The following extract from the introduction of a report on municipal entertainment makes plain the broad terms of local provision.

> Presentations of the Arts are not commercial attractions: they must be regarded as cultural amenities which have to be paid for, remembering at all times it is a service to the community. The public pays en bloc for what it takes individually, as it does with education, water supplies, health services, police services, art galleries, swimming pools and libraries. (L.Fortune. A Survey of Municipal Entertainment, 1945:5)

Every one of the local services listed above is now under pressure by the policies of central government to be reconstituted, at least partiallly if not wholly, outside the public sector. This is a consequence of the way the terms of state intervention have been fundamentally altered both at national and local level. In terms of cultural policy, it also reflects the way that the local state has usually been seen both by central government and the Arts Council in the post-war period: that is, as merely a means through which to pursue central policies. There are many examples within policy debates, of both Labour and Conservative Governments and within the Arts Council, over the past 45 years which demonstrate the way local authorities have been simply assigned a role and considered as a silent partner. In the period of social democracy, when the aims of central and local were assumed to be broadly similar, this tendency was strong, and despite the local authorities diminished control, can be seen as constructive. Over the last 10 years it has persisted, although in more destructive forms.

This thesis has illustrated how there has been an influential and deeply pervasive belief that, even while it was encouraged to take part in policy schemes, the local state was and is perceived as the wrong institution to be dealing with culture. This sense of the local state as the wrong institution to initiate cultural policy is evident in the relation between local authorities and RAAs, but also evident within the internal policy discussions of local authorities, and therefore it is crucial for an understanding of the local state's position in the broad scheme of cultural policy. RAAs or arts organisations making an approach for joint funding often decide that projects have to be sold to the Council primarily in terms of their associated social benefits. In other words a distinction is made between the cultural value of a project and the priorities of the local state. The introduction of cultural professionals, such as Arts

Officers, onto the Local Authority payroll has had the contradictory effect of, at times strengthening the autonomy of the City Council by attributing to it more cultural authority and, at other times weakening autonomy by re-affirming arts agencies (that is, the Arts Council or RAAs') views of the local state from within.

This contradictory position is the result of a fundamental difference between the rationales of City Council (local) and the Arts Council (national) policies. The ideology underpinning Arts Council policy is centred on cultural production, on the needs of orchestras, theatre companies, opera companies and individual artists, whereas local authority policy has been based on resourcing collective provision, and therefore has had more of a bearing on cultural consumption.

In the post-war period, cultural policy has, in very general terms, had two subjects: firstly, 'high art', which has largely been hived off from reference to both other cultural forms and social policy, and is instead only seen as developing in relation to its own internal aesthetic logic; and secondly, what can be termed cultural provision, although it is not usually conceived of primarily in cultural terms and is therefore often concealed and not recognised as the subject for cultural policy. As Chapters One and Two showed, from the 1960s to the early 1980s there was an attempt to integrate these two policy emphases in terms of the wider social aim of provision for/in the general interest. Cultural definitions slid into the framework of post-war welfare provision and aspects of national and local policy-making moved closer together under the terms of social democracy. Nevertheless, this integration was never fully achieved and the division in policy-making terms has had the following tendential effects on local state cultural policy:

1) The recogition and identification of culture as the subject for a distinct area of policy and provision, recognised more or less exclusively as high culture, and the concealement of other aspects of culture within the terms of amenity or welfare provision.

2) The construction of culture as an area outside the expertise of the local state, and thus the effective exclusion of cultural policy from the formulation of the local state's explicit political project and policy strategies.

3) The differentiation within cultural policy of strategies for cultural production from those for cultural consumption.

Sheffield: The Local State

The separation between 'high' culture and the social organisation of culture as embedded in a whole range of activities, relations and institutions, which informs cultural policy was gradually modified within the framework of historical policy changes suggested by Green's model. As outlined in Chapters One and Two these policy phases moved from preservation to access and then to an emphasis on participation. The case-studies reveal the concrete negotiation of local and national policy priorities within this overall framework, and suggest ways in which these tendencies were further modified in local state practice.

There are a number of features central to the nature of the local state which affect these modifications. Firstly, the City Council developed a clear historical role as the provider of infrastructural support. This has been a more general role of the local state characterising all local state intervention. It has, however, been interpreted in different ways since the 19th century development of municipal services. For example, in the 1960s and 70s, infrastructural support was tied in with the development and expansion of welfare provision, and in the 1980s it has been characterised by a defence of the principle of collective services administered by public institutions as part of an attempt to support the local population in the face of the adverse social policies of central government. This key feature of infrastructural support is apparent in cultural provision and is demonstrated in different ways in each case-study. Thus, for example, infrastructural support is clear in the provision of sites for the Art Galleries, in the provision and maintenance of parks and swimming pools, and it is central to the nature of the library service. The City Council's role in the development of the Crucible, its contribution of matching revenue subsidies, is also a major example of its role as the provider of collective resources. Even recent policy initiatives, such as plans for a Cultural Quarter for locally based cultural industries, which is based on the model of managed workspace, are a form of collective resourcing.

Although this central theme of resourcing provision may seem an obvious one for a City Council and therefore bound to have a bearing on cultural provision, its detailed implications, both positive and negative, are not explicitly acknowledged in the course of policy development. As already mentioned, the role of infrastructural support puts the City Council in a different position in relation to cultural provision from that of the Arts Council or RAA. The fact that the City Council is responsible to the local population means it has to take some account of the way policies may be received, whereas the Arts Council and the RAAs, as non-elected bodies, are removed from this process. The debate in the local press surrounding the development of the Crucible Theatre indicates the more general awareness that Council practices are there to be criticised. There is therefore the potential to build on and expand the objective of serving the local population, rather than adopting the more passive role of simply resourcing policy plans determined elsewhere (notably by the Arts Council) which relegates issues of consumption in favour of policies prioritising one form of cultural production.

Much of the change in cultural policy over the last 10 years has involved a gradual build up in the employment of experts. In the Arts Department, apart from the Gallery Curators there are posts for a Director, Assistant Director, Education Officers, Arts Officers, exhibition organisers, Community Arts Workers and so on. The personnel tend to be experts in particular cultural fields rather than in methods of providing cultural services and resources. However, 'crossing over' from the 'arts world' to the world of the local authority has been described as a difficult transition, although the whole sphere of 'community' cultural professions has been precisely an attempt to combine cultural definitions with the process of cultural provision. Nevertheless, 'community' policies have largely been framed within a welfarist approach from which they were first developed, bound in with the aims of social democracy, of engendering social cohesion. In other words, there has only been a limited attempt at a 'cross-over' in the other direction, to incorporate aspects of the arts in social policy.

The employment of cultural professionals in the local authority has had the effect of modifying the infrastructural role - as shown, for example, in the work of 'community' approaches. Thus, the work of community libraries has followed a direct policy of serving particular localities. In this instance the infrastructural role has been successfully integrated as cultural policy. In the case of more traditional areas of arts provision, some cultural professionals see themselves as detached from the broader structure of the local authority, and tend to see it in the same way the Arts Council might, that is, as a rather unwieldy resource to be adapted to specific kinds of arts provision. Therefore the received and central role of infrastructural provision needs to be examined in relation to cultural policy, so that its strengths and weaknesses are made explicit and so that the terms of this role can be made flexible and adaptable to new forms of provision. In other words, it is not always helpful for policy-makers to assume that the process of implementation will automatically be municipalisation or subsidisation - new strategies should be considered.

However, the feature of infrastructural provision obviously determines the organisational form of the City Council, and in turn has an important bearing on cultural policy, not only on the way policy is implemented but also on the determination of the subject area of cultural policy. There are many instances, shown in the case-studies, where changes in the administrative structure have had a direct bearing on the way cultural policy has evolved. For example, the merger in 1969 of the Baths and Laundries section of the Cleansing Department with the

Parks and Cemetries Department to form the Recreation Department retained a residual organisational, and therefore conceptual, split between 'inside' and 'outside' provision. The lack of effective co-ordination between departments does not reflect a lack of commitment on behalf of department personnel, but rather reflects the rigidity of the City Council structure. Thus, for example, the Media Policy, although formed by a cross-departmental committee and by representation from interested organisations across the city, did not have an immediate impact on existing practice as it did not have either a departmental focus or enough cross-departmental weight to be effective. Instead it had much more diffuse and gradual success in bringing a new area into the realm of City Council policy.

There is therefore the perennial problem of how to relate the bureaucratic structure effectively to external processes and changing circumstances. This relationship is central to the broad political project of the local state and to the understanding of representative politics. From the 1930s to the 1970s, the City Council was locked into a traditional "division of labour movement labour" (Duncan & Goodwin.1986:25); in other words, its role in relation to the trade unions and the local political parties was clear. However, since the 1970s this relationship has disintegrated and the City Council has been left to recompose local mobilisation. Duncan and Goodwin suggest that at first the City Council tried to take over and sustain the input of trade unions and the political parties and,

> Local economic policy was seen in some ways as a means of recomposing a political culture of radical labourism. (Duncan & Goodwin 1986:26)

Much policy explanation for cultural provision was similarly directed to the aim of halting cultural and economic decomposition. The problem is that the only available policy model which attempts to address the issue of sustaining and supporting communities is that of community arts. As discussed in Chapter Two, this emerged from a disintegrating social democratic formation, to be readily incorporated into a compensatory framework, rather than developed as a radical re-appraisal of cultural values. Nevertheless the policies of the Library Department represent the most significant of policies addressing the cultural issues of changing communities.

Apart from community arts the other model for addressing the needs of particular communities has been developed by the 1981-86 administration of the GLC. This model was based on directly supporting particular organisations representing interest groups or social groups. It also involved reasonably well developed processes for consulation with and representation of a series of 'minority interests'. However, this process can seen as an extension of the Arts lobby which developed in the 60s and 70s and in some ways perpetuates cultural policy as primarily designed to support cultural production. Thus, it is extremely difficult to conceive of ways in which a comprehensive policy dealing with both prodution and consumption can be developed when the precedents make little allowance for issues of consumption.

In Sheffield when the issue of cultal consumption has been raised it has usually been inadequately inserted within the same consultative process, loosely derived from GLC policy, that is designed to address the interests of production groups. For example, the Visual Arts advisory panel of SCC Arts Department, as well as representing various groups connected with visual arts in the city, recently reserved one place for a member of the public to represent the more general view of the citizen. Despite advertising in gallery publicity the panel received no applications from people wanting to take up this place. Whilst this is not suprising it does reflect the under-development of processes of consultation which are necessary if issues of consumption are to become the subject of policy development. They are obviously important for City Council cultural policy and the way the City Council adapts and changes to the circumstances of the late 1980s and early 90s.

So far I have considered the role of infrastructural provision, and the effect of bureaucratic structures and their relation to external change. A third and associated characteristic of City Council cultural policy lies in the way it has integrated the very broad political themes underpinning the way the City Council interprets its role - the way it works. Historically 'the arts' have been marginalised and kept slightly apart from mainstream Council concerns. In general cultural policy has referred to provision of the arts as facilities, as in galleries, libraries and museums. The work of determining cultural definitions and meanings and evaluating them in terms of the Council's political position has been far more problematic and therefore largely ignored. The uneasiness of state bureaucracy in dealing explicitly with cultural issues has been a general phenomenon in the post-war period. However, over the last 5 - 10 years the local state has made attempts to break out of this purely responsive relation to cultural policy. This has occurred for two main reasons: firstly as a result of the broad acceptance of general linkages made in some areas of left political analysis (particularly by the GLC) between social and cultural power; secondly, cultural provision was one of the few areas of the local state left relatively untouched by the first wave of privatisation policies which removed large areas of service provision outside the control of the local state. As a result, attention began to be directed at local cultural issues. At the same time, in cultural policy and provision, both the role of provider, and questions of cultural content, meaning and value, have been shaped by the broader political themes of the City Council.

These themes can be summarised as: an emphasis on collective provision; and particularly in the Blunkett period, an emphasis on decentralisation; the notion of social usefulness; and community development. The over-riding political influence on policy development has been the ideas of a particular perspective on pre-figurative politics, drawn from In and Against the State.

Collective provision in the sense of "the public pays en bloc for what it takes individually" has historically been the fundamental component of the local state. During the 1960s it was interpreted under the umbrella of social democracy, within the terms of universal provision, as a particular kind of cross-class provision. More recently, collective provision at the local level has been re-cast in terms of social redistribution. The set of policies condensing in the Blunkett era were formed in response to the crisis of economic recession. In this context the local state came to be seen as the site of resistance to the effects of monetarist policies imposed by the central state. Since 1980 unemployment has been a central concern of the City Council, and has therefore been reflected in the justificatory terms of cultural policy.

> For the first time in history, Sheffield has more people retired or unemployed than at work ... so the Council's museums, libraries and arts activities are becoming more important than ever. (Putting You In The Picture, Central Policy Unit pamphlet, 1986)

A second policy emphasis of SCC, arising from the position of local state as the site of resistance, was the fight against policies of privatisation and the expression of oppositional values of collectivity. Policy thus focussed on protecting and extending services within the public sector in response to processes of commercialisation. This again is reflected in cultural policy:

> ... during the 70s and 80s art became more commercialised than ever before. Antique shops multiplied, antiquarian and first edition books rocketed. Paintings became tax deductable status symbols selling for millions. In 1985 Van Gogh's "Landscape with Rising Sun" sold at auction for £7.9 million. (Putting You In The Picture Central Policy Unit, pamphlet 1986)

Even the development of cinema is contructed in opposition to other commercial trends,

> ... the establishment of the Anvil Civic Cinema. Opened in 1983 at a time when Sheffield was becoming dominated by two commercial cinemas chains and video home viewing was threatening the social basis of film. (ibid)

Decentralisation was seen as the key to extending local democracy. Thus policy involved plans for a physical dispersal of areas of service, plus scope for allowing decision-making at different levels of management. The intention was to increase flexibility while responding more directly to users' requirements. "Building from the bottom" represents the political strategy of putting the institutions of the local state forward in the struggle to replace Britain's collapsed post-war consensus. Thus the City Council would demonstrate the potential of local democracy, and projected to a national level, local state institutions could represent,

> ...a living example of the community as opposed to private endeavour. In key areas it offers a coherent socialist alternative which genuinely wins popular support. (D.Blunkett, The Guardian, 17 June 1983)

The Library service is one of the areas of cultural provision which features most clearly the political objectives of City Council policy, because it has formed a policy which tries to integrate broader council objectives into the implementation of the Library service. Within the Library service the term 'leisure' refers to a sense of 'the quality of life' in which the importance of addressing the implications of unemployment is merged with an almost utopian notion of the 'post-industrial society' where non-work time is increased and thus leisure becomes more central to peoples lives. This conception of leisure therefore includes such priorities as "personal development" and fulfillment. This attempt to characterise policy as engaging with issues of genuine participation in terms of creativity is reminiscent of Jennie Lee's vision of a social democratic utopia.

In Library policy these interpretations of 'leisure' inform a particular view of education as life-long learning, and of learning as both useful and as an end in itself, as pleasure. As their catch phrase "more than just books" indicates, the emphasis for policy development has shifted beyond the traditional management of books and buildings and is now informed by a conception of the library as an essential resource which serves the cultural and informational needs of the locality in which it is based.

These aims are tied in with the broader political objective of decentralisation, which has been applied to the branch library system. These have been redesignated as "community" libraries in order to suggest the aim of serving the locality rather than operating as branches of the central library. The management structure within the library service has also been altered to allow for decentralised decision-making. The notion of "building from below" has also been re-worked into library policy. It is apparent in the development of community arts schemes within libraries, the use of libraries as community cultural centres and the recent emphasis on the encouragement of creative writing and community media projects.

The effect of the City Council's broad political objectives on cultural policy and planning has developed significantly in the last 5 years as it became more associated with economic policy. As discussed in Chapter Three, during the Blunkett era there was an attempt to link economic issues to the prevailing political culture of the City Council. The foregrounding of the potential of economic intervention by the local state can be seen as, in part, breaking out of the traditional infrastructural role of the local state, what Cockburn terms the reproductive role, into the area of production. However, while this is in part true, it is also clear that the development of economic policy itself took place within and displayed the framework of infrastructural provision. Early policies based on the attempt to maintain failing manufacturing firms indicate the use of economic intervention in terms of a supportive role. Since then municipal enterprise has been largely conceived of in terms of service provision. This approach to economic policy was in part an attempt to demonstrate political objectives, hence the emphasis on the 'socially useful' and on good practice. In other words local economic policies were seen to demonstrate an alternative to Thatcherite policies and were bound in with a sense of pre-figurative politics.

The combination of the infrastructural role with a new involvement in production, and the strong sense of the political importance of pre-figurative politics, formed the framework for a development of the cultural industries thesis. The inclusion of economic issues within the overall political project of the City Council opened up a further dimension in the definition of policy for cultural provision. Cultural policy-making could now begin to take account of commercial, market-based patterns of cultural production and consumption. In areas of cultural policy the introduction of economic analysis signalled an opportunity to break out of the post-war emphasis on cultural production as entirely separate from the market and therefore from market-based culture, and led, in the words of the Economic Department policy, to an attempt to "socialise a commercial sector".

The development by the local state of cultural industry policies represents several qualitative shifts in the conception of cultural policy. In the first instance an analysis of cultural industries highlighted the effect of multi-national capital on commercial culture and indicated the kinds of interventions that a local authority might make on the very fringes of this process, in the terms of "socialising a commercial sector." The possibilities of such intervention were demonstrated by the GLC policy of investing in independent production. Secondly, local authorities have begun to recognise the cultural industries in terms of their importance as a local economic sector, and have therefore been concerned with issues of job opportunities, with training, with the impact of cultural industries on the local economy, and with opportunities for cultural expression and the reflection of a regional identity. Thirdly, and more recently, the emphasis has switched to the idea of extracting maximum economic benefit from cultural development. Cultural policies are seen as having an important part to play in the re-development and the regeneration of cities and represent a move by local authorities into a mixed economy of joint public/private development. Thus, the previous emphasis on cultural value as distinct and removed from any other sphere has to some extent been supplanted by an emphasis on economic value.

Recent policy for cultural industries in Sheffield has so far been based on a model of municipal service provision and has resulted in such facilities as a recording studio, which will also intervene in training for the music industry, and public/private partnerships which have centred on joint building re-development along the lines of 'managed work space'.

In its general development of public/private partnerships, Sheffield City Council has been seen as taking a pragmatic political stance. Indeed, it might be argued that policies for cultural industries are opportunist. However, they can also be seen as a defence, albeit a relatively limited one, against the increasing encroachment of private enterprise into areas of public provision. It has to be recognised that the power of the local state over new developments in cultural provision has substantially diminished as Urban Development Corporations and private consortiums move into areas of planning and provision previously administered by the City Council. Therefore policies for the cultural industries not only represent a change of policy emphasis in taking account of the market, but also operate as a defence of the role of public policy.

This kind of shift in the operation of public policy illustrates a central theme of Cockburn's analysis which is that the local state is both an agent and an obstacle to central control. The deep changes in the relation between central and local that have occurred over the last eight years have in many instances exacerbated the central dichotomy of the local state. Further fundamental and structural changes, such as the imposition by Central Government of Urban Development Corporations which have financial resources and planning powers that are far greater than local Economic Development Departments and the introduction of the poll tax, indicate that the political trajectory of the last eight years is set to continue.

In this context, of a division in the local state between the management of capitalist social relations and the representation of the interests of a local population, City Council policies for the development of local cultural industries which take into account the market as a means of distributing cultural goods and services can be seen either as a capitulation to capital or a re-emergence of the local state division in another form. The specific character of this re-emergence depends to some extent on the broader political philosophy of the City Council in question. In the case of Sheffield City Council it is still one of municipal socialism.

The development of policies which emphasize the economic value of culture point to a deeper shift in the relation between public cultural provision and the market. More generally the notion of subsidy is under increasing pressure to be reconstituted in a form which ties into private sector financing. This reflects a change in the relation between class, cultural forms and the market. In the immediate post-war period, mass-culture was primarily identified as working-class culture. Even if this was not true in reality, it was significant for the ideological construction of a distance in terms of cultural value between mass-culture and subsidised culture. The policies for cultural subsidy, brought about by the social democratic alliance between the dominant classes, are being eroded. The idea of a cultural authority sustained by its distance from the market is being turned around by a political management of the market economy in which some cultural forms previously wholly subsidised are partially incorporated within the market. Thus, the ideological construction of minority and mass culture as subsidised and non-subsidised respectively, is being restructured. Market fragmentation has led to minority markets for minority arts which have altered the basis of the relation between markets and culture to the degree that market-based culture can perhaps now be identified as middle-class. The acceptance of the market as the primary model for cultural distribution has very grave consequences for public cultural policy and a role for public subsidy needs to be re-considered within a broader political context.

The shift in the deeper relations between class and culture has co-incided with the left local authorities' attempt to re-conceptualise culture, to break out of the distinction between minority and mass, subsidised and non-subsidised, to address issues of social and cultural power and construct a definition of culture which allows a more comprehensive cultural policy, re-asserting the need for subsidy whilst taking account of commercial cultural forms.

In general the cultural policies of SCC have gone some way towards narrowing the distinction between culture as high art and culture as part of a range of other activities and social institutions that has structured the development of cultural policy by national bodies such as the Arts Council. Nevertheless, the broad framework which has determined SCC cultural policy in the post-war period to the present day can still be described as one of progressive welfarism. This is largely the result of the broad trajectory of the role of the local state in the post-war period. Although in the last few years discussions of cultural policy have become a central part of strategies for city regeneration, in the wider context of the post-war period of the local state, culture has been marginalised and subsumed within an organising framework which has been geared towards a reproductive welfarist role. As a result, culture has not operated as an organisational framework. In the main cultural provision has been conceived of primarily in terms of collective service provision.

There are therefore two broad frameworks of policy development: firstly, the long-term framework of collective service provision; and secondly, the more recent economic framework of city regeneration. However, in both these frameworks the sense of cultural politics is largely subsumed within the general policy aim. Within the first framework, culture was marginal to the main priorities of local services, and in the second , there is a tendency to emphasize economics and leave cultural considerations largely undeveloped. For policies to follow from a political policy for culture there needs to be a stronger sense of cultural politics. The lack of such a framework is less of a failing of SCC as part of the local state than of the left more generally, since it has neglected cultural politics. The political left has implicitly accepted the separation of cultural issues from a broader political project, and thus it has largely accepted the trajectory of cultural policy developed in Britain in the post-war period.

Appendix 1. Note on Methodology.

The cultural policy of Sheffield City Council in the period between the 60s and 80s was in the main submerged in a vast array of Council documentation; and embodied in key personnel. Policy is revealed in the influences and decisions of politicians and officers. Most of the research for this project was necessarily therefore drawn from unpublished sources and from direct interviews with the author.

Policy information was interpreted from Committee papers past and present, internal departmental memos, Council minutes, Newspaper reports and local history documents. Some of these papers are held in the Local Studies Library of Sheffield City Libraries. The more recent discussion papers are to be found in the filing cabinets of departmental offices. Some published reports and data are kept by the Department of Employment and Economic Development in a small departmental library. However, there is no central resource collecting relevant reports and decisions relating to cultural policy and provision.

The division between Officers and Councillors in the area of policy decision for cultural provision is not clear cut. Many areas of cultural provision have aspects of policy built into contemporary understandings of professions. For example, librarianship, recreation management and arts provision have all developed over the last ten years a version of a 'community' approach to the delivery of services. Equally the broad political decisions taken by Councillors, shape and contextualise 'professional' cultural provision. Councillors may also identify with and champion various cultural projects, it could be a local amenity which demonstrates commitment to a constituency or a major determining project such as the World Student Games which sets a city wide regenerative context.

During the two year research period I interviewed key personnel, politicians and Council Officers (in many instances several times) of the major Council Departments: Recreation; Arts; Libraries; Economic Development; and the Education Department and the key unit within them Media, the Galleries, Community Arts, Youth and so on. I also interviewed Officers in those departments which have a direct bearing on cultural policy: Personnel; Central Policy; the Race Unit; and Urban Programme.

On the Officer side there are several key levels that affect policy and provision. Firstly the Departmental Heads, Chief Officers and Assistant Chiefs, that manage departments and make key policy decisions; a department may also have a research or a policy element. The Recreation Department has a Policy Unit, and the Libraries have a full-time research post to act as policy adviser to the Chief Librarian. Thirdly, within Departments, Council Officers are responsible for different aspects of provision, for example, within Arts the Community Arts Officer role and that of a gallery curator are distinct. I interviewed Council Officers on every level and function within the key cultural departments.

I also interviewed politicians - Councillor Chairs and Deputies. In order to reconstruct and understand past policy decisions I carried out interviews with key Council chairs for Arts and Libraries during the 1960s and 70s. And to gain a grounding in contemporary detail and mechanics of the Leisure Committee, I sat as an observer of the Manifesto Working Group on Leisure for a full Council season of 10 months.

I attended several policy discussion days and seminars organised by the Arts and Libraries Departments and by Sheffield City Polytechnic, Centre For Popular Culture.

During the period of 1985 - 87 I held interviews with following representatives of Sheffield City Council:

Head of Arts
Principle Arts Officer
Director of the Mappin
Director of the Graves
Community Arts Officer
Senior Film Officer
Crucible Manager
Recreation Policy Officers
Community Recreation Officers
Divisional Recreation Head
Chair of Leisure Committee
Deputy Chair Leisure Committee
Individual Committee members
Arts & Libraries Committee Chair 1960s
Arts & Libraries Committee Chair 1970s
Members of the leisure Working Party

Sheffield City Council Mayor 1987.
Central Policy Unit Chief Policy Officer
Central Policy Unit, Advisers to the Council leader
Race Unit Officer
Urban Programme Officer
Councillor Chair of the Media Policy Committee
Head of Libraries
Dept of libraries Research Officer
Media Officer
Libraries Ethnic Minority Resources Officers
Libraries Community Arts Officers
Education Officers
Youth Officers
Manager of Red Tape studios
Engineer Red Tape Studios
Representatives of Sheffield Independent Film.
Officers in the Department of Employment and Economic Development

The research also brought me in contact with a number of key organisations in the city:

Sheffield Council for Racial Equality
Sheffield Area and District Afro-Caribbean Association
the Leadmill
the Music Factory
Sheffield Independent Film.
Theatre Companies based in the city
Musicians and artists based in the city
Yorkshire Arts Association

I also held discussions with policy officers in other authorities in particular the GLC which not only collaborated with SCC on developing policy especially media policy, but also had a high national profile in its development of cultural policy and provision.

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