

RE-THINKING INCLUSIVE AND SUSTAINABLE GROWTH FOR THE CREATIVE ECONOMY: A LITERATURE REVIEW

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Re-thinking Inclusive and Sustainable Growth for the Creative Economy: A Literature Review

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Executive summary

This literature review has been written to inform the *Developing Inclusive and Sustainable Creative Economies* (DISCE) research project, and, in particular, the objective of ‘rethinking inclusive and sustainable growth’ (Work Package 5). The report’s central objective is to critically address key concepts underpinning prevailing accounts of what economic success – or ‘growth’ – consists of for the creative economy. The literature review analyses three broad discourses and their interconnections: *human development*, *cultural development* and *care*. In the first instance, these ensure that the DISCE project is firmly contextualised within the landscape of existing research. Thereafter, the review seeks to make a distinctive critical intervention with regards to the concepts that matter when it comes to understanding and developing ‘inclusive and sustainable creative economies’.

The literature review is structured in four parts. Part I begins by explaining why a re-thinking of ‘growth’ beyond GDP is needed. Given due consideration under the broad theme of *human development* the aim in this opening section is to demonstrate how and why interest should extend well beyond a more narrowly-defined concern for the inclusivity and sustainability of the cultural and creative industries (CCIs). Following a review of the limitations of wellbeing economics, we discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the capability approach (CA) – a model of human development that has been described as providing perhaps the most successful alternative story of growth beyond Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Part II then focuses more directly on the much-contested theme of *cultural development*. Here the nature of key terms including: culture, development, and cultural development are reviewed. The relationship between culture and development is problematised – it is observed, for example, that some commentators focus on culture *for* development, others culture *in* development, and others still, culture *as* development. Making the argument for ‘creative economies’ (in the plural), rather than the ‘creative economy’ or, indeed, ‘cultural and creative industries’ (CCIs), we identify three underlying conceptual and methodological ‘needs’ in furthering our knowledge of inclusive and sustainable creative economies and their relationship with cultural development:



1. To develop new understandings of the ‘economy’, the ‘creative economy’ and ‘sustainable’ economic development in the context of increased attention, globally, towards development, sustainability, prosperity, climate change, and human use of finite natural resources.


2. To question how values are recognised at the collective level, and how this recognition impacts – and is impacted by – people’s experiences of value. Specifically, we ask: what gets valued, by whom, and what kinds of (overlapping) systems of value recognition are in place at local, regional, national, and international levels?

3. To take an ecological / systemic and ‘inclusive’ approach to the creative economy. This broadens analytical perspectives and debates beyond a sectoral or industry lens – such as a focus specifically on the ‘creative industries’, the ‘CCIs’ or (the publicly funded) ‘cultural sector’.

In presenting arguments for adopting an ecological perspective, the literature review begins Part III with a particular interest in exploring the question of what kinds of approaches are needed to best ‘manage’ the necessarily ‘open’ cultural ecology? Attention is directed towards *care* as a promising alternative analytical lens through which to understand how inclusive and sustainable creative economies could be developed in practice. To do so would be, in part, to take due account of the reality of how people actually live their lives, i.e. with diverse caring responsibilities, which pull in competing directions, and which are largely invisibilized; and how creative economies actually function – in part, via practices of care. The literature review considers the possibilities of applying an explicitly caring methodology to the (always ongoing) task of knowing about creative economies, and the extent to which they are inclusive and sustainable.

The final section of Part III, 3.3., begins to introduce the topic of ‘indexes and measurement’, the widely used tools through which policymakers know – and make decisions – about creative economies. We explore what a ‘caring’ approach to indicating would involve. We suggest that adopting the four phases of care – attentiveness, responsibility, competence and responsiveness – could act as a guiding structure for establishing new normative commitments and measures for creative economies, beyond the promotion of GDP.





Part IV synthesises learning from the previous sections, and introduces the provisional framework for our Cultural Development Index (CDI). In this section we take a reflective and critical approach to indexes, building on the preceding discussions of care. We briefly discuss some of the existing indicators relevant to DISCE (covered in more detail in the Appendices), including their strengths, limitations and potential contribution to fulfilling DISCE's overall aims. In doing so, we are particularly motivated by the aim of explaining our overall approach to indexing. Drawing on Amartya Sen's capability approach, we explain that our CDI deliberately does not specify all of the relevant indicators that are needed to operationalize it. Instead, we establish a framework – with three dimensions (three 'capability sets') – and this framework is intended to be used by communities of policy makers and citizens, within their own specific contexts, in order to establish the particular goals (and relevant indicators) that they themselves choose, on the basis of democratic deliberation.

On the one hand, the framework makes a very distinctive and consequential set of interventions in debates regarding creative economy, human development and cultural value. Cultural development is constituted by the expansion of three specific capabilities sets: 1) Capabilities of experiencing and reflecting; 2) Capabilities of creating and enabling; and 3) Capabilities of recognizing, legitimizing and governing. Using this framework as the basis for deliberation and decision making would make a big difference to policy and practice. On the other hand, it's integral to our approach that the CDI is 'open', in the sense that it requires a set of decisions to be made locally by those policy makers and citizens making use of it, identifying the valuable 'beings and doings' that they will need to measure in order to know whether things are going well. As such, we characterize the CDI as being not just an index *about* cultural development, but *how* (indexing) cultural development could be, and should be, undertaken.

Whilst the CDI will necessarily remain 'open', as this is integral to our approach, in future DISCE outputs we will provide further articulations of this framework, drawing on the analysis of the data we are in the process of collecting in ten European cities, and a series of policy workshops. Via the analysis of that data, we will be in a position to provide several elaborations of the ways in which our Cultural Development Index can be employed in practice, in relation to the specific circumstances of the locations in which it is being

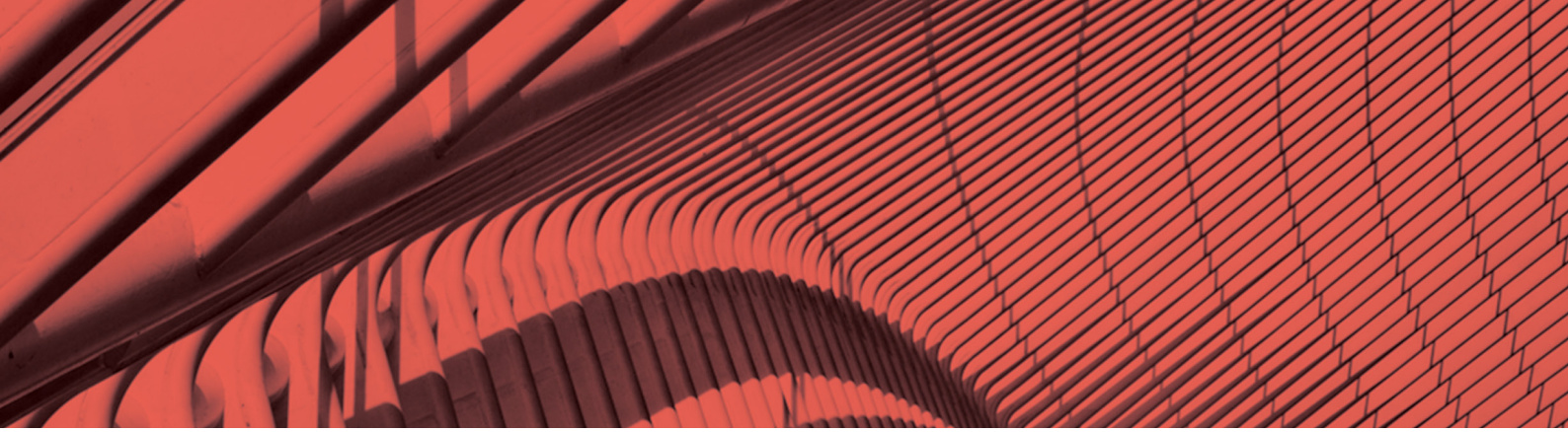
employed. This includes better understanding the nature of the relationship *between* the three capabilities sets, and how analysis should take account of this (regardless of the particular vantage point of those using the framework). We will also test the vocabulary employed within the CDI within our policy workshops, and on that basis potentially develop new ways of presenting the framework to different audiences in a variety of contexts.

In introducing these key concepts and the overall approach to indexing that we are offering, this literature review makes clear that our contribution to DISCE is a 'normative' project, in two senses. Firstly, we take norms (and processes of valuing) as one of its objects of study. Secondly, we are not 'neutral' with regards to our key terms. Adopting an ecological perspective and a caring methodology constitutes an ambitious agenda. With a normative commitment to 'managing culture with care' we need to develop an approach to indexing, 'pointing towards', that is able to measure what really matters; furthermore, we must do so as fully, democratically and usefully as possible. This is the task that we have set ourselves, and this literature review provides the context for the next phase of research as we seek to fully elaborate our Cultural Development Index, and demonstrate its potential uses, at the end of the project (deliverable 5.3).



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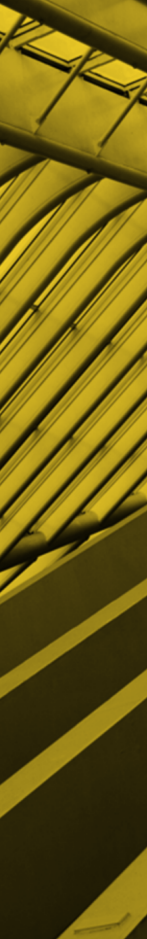
Introduction

This literature review has been written to inform the work of DISCE, and, in particular, the work of Work Package 5 (WP5): 'Rethinking Inclusive and Sustainable Growth'. The document is structured in four parts.

Part I begins by explaining *why* a re-thinking of 'growth' beyond GDP is *needed*. In doing so, we introduce our first theme: **Human Development**. Here we demonstrate how and why our interests in this literature review extend well beyond a more narrowly-defined concern for the inclusivity and sustainability of the *cultural and creative industries* (CCIs) as such (important, nevertheless, as those matters are). We argue that debates about defining and measuring the creative economy are inseparable from questions of what economic 'success' consists of. We discuss the recent upsurge of interest in developing new ways of understanding and measuring prosperity, and what 'the economy' comprises. Following a discussion of the limitations of *wellbeing economics* as one set of increasingly visible ideas that has been developed in relation to these debates, we introduce the capability approach (CA), which has been described as affording probably the most successful alternative story of growth beyond Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Central to the CA is the question: *what can each person do or be that they have reason to value?* We discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the CA, with particular emphasis on its pluralist credentials: it does not prescribe 'the good life' *per se*, whilst being explicitly committed to promoting conditions in which diverse good lives can be lived. A potential weakness of the CA, for some commentators, is that they see it as having an underlying commitment to an ethically individualising form of political liberalism. In responding to this important challenge, we introduce a key concept – *care* – suggesting that it is potentially a crucial component of a new account of socio-economic success / 'growth', and that it provides a way to employ the (extremely useful) conceptual tools of the CA whilst directly counteracting any 'individualistic' account of capability.

Part II moves on to discuss the theme of **Cultural Development**. Here, further definitional issues abound, and we discuss the contested nature of key terms including: culture, development, and cultural development. In keeping with DISCE's overall objectives, we focus on the central phenomenon of the *creative economy*, referring to 'creative economies' (in the plural) – rather than, for example, the 'cultural and creative industries' (CCIs). This is because, through a critical engagement with existing terminologies, we are seeking to dialectically challenge prevailing notions of what culture is, what the economy is, who is (and is not) involved in creative economies, and how their forms of involvement benefit and/or disadvantage them. Specifically, this section of the literature review points towards three areas of enquiry. We identify these as three 'needs':



1. Building on the analysis of Part I, the need to develop new understandings of the 'economy', the 'creative economy' and 'sustainable' economic development. This is especially important in the context of increased attention, globally, towards development, sustainability, prosperity, climate change, and human use of finite natural resources. A central issue here concerns the centrality of *financial value* over and above other forms of value (as explored further in the next point).

2. The need to question how values are recognised at the collective level, and how this recognition impacts – and is impacted by – *people's experiences of value*. Here, WP5 makes clear that a key question DISCE raises, with its explicit focus on inclusivity, sustainability and growth, is: what gets valued, by whom, and what kinds of (overlapping) systems of *value recognition* are in place at local, regional, national, and international levels?

3. The need for taking an *ecological / systemic* and 'inclusive' approach to the creative economy. This broadens analytical perspectives and debates beyond a sectoral or industry lens – such as a focus specifically on the 'creative industries' or (the publicly funded) 'cultural sector'.

Having identified the need for 'rethinking inclusive and sustainable growth', **Part III** then explores the promise of **Care** as an alternative analytical lens through which to understand how inclusive and sustainable creative economies could be developed in practice. To do so would be, in part, to take due account of the reality of how people actually live their lives: i.e. with diverse caring responsibilities, which pull in competing directions, and which are largely invisibilized. Here we draw, in particular, on Joan Tronto's account of four phases of care – attentiveness, responsibility, competence and responsiveness – and suggest that these potentially constitute a guiding structure for establishing new normative commitments and measures for creative economies, beyond the promotion of GDP.

We then consider the possibilities of applying an explicitly *caring* methodology to the (always ongoing) task of *knowing* about creative economies, and the extent to which they are inclusive and sustainable. This would be a methodology informed by an overarching ethics of care. But we also suggest that such an approach would potentially have many practical consequences, beyond the research itself: including how policymakers and practitioners may potentially develop inclusive and sustainable creative economies in the future. We briefly indicate what a caring framework, such as this, will mean for DISCE's research. Addressing one significant aspect of such an approach, **Part IV** explores issues of indexes and measurement, as these are key tools through which policymakers know – and make decisions – about creative economies. We provide a brief overview of existing indexes and indicators in the areas of human development and cultural development, and suggest what a 'caring' approach to indicating would be. In doing so, we provide a provisional explanation of our Cultural Development Index (CDI). This is introduced as an innovative 'open' framework – a tool that can help make visible processes of valuation, and promote discussion of *how* 'beings' and 'doings' that matter to us are enabled and supported. The index is built around three capability sets: i) Capabilities of experiencing and reflecting; ii) Capabilities of creating and enabling; and iii) Capa-

bilities of recognizing, legitimizing, and governing. Though we identify the scope for connecting these with existing indicators and indexes, the CDI is designed to be operationalized across different scales and for different purposes, and so is purposefully not prescriptive in its approach. As a 'framework' it might be considered as a receptive container for holding discussion and debate rather than delivering an already 'full' agenda.

In the Conclusion, we briefly consider the implications of this literature review for DISCE's work overall, as we collectively seek to answer the overarching research question: **What are inclusive and sustainable creative economies, and how can they be developed?**

Part I: Human Development

1.1 Why do we need to re-think 'growth'?

For twenty years there have been extensive debates regarding the definition of the 'creative industries', the 'creative economy' and the 'cultural economy' (Garnham 2005; Galloway & Dunlop 2007; Higgs & Cunningham 2008; Throsby 2008; Banks & O'Connor 2009; Boggs 2009; Flew & Cunningham 2010; Bakhshi et al. 2013; Cunningham et al. 2015; De Beukelaer 2015; Oakley & O'Connor 2015; NESTA 2017; De Beukelaer & Spence 2019; Gross 2020). There is also, of course, an important pre-history to these debates: namely, discussions regarding the 'culture industry' and 'cultural industries' (see O'Connor 2010).

Here, then, is a cluster of interrelated but non-identical terms whose use developed from the middle of the twentieth century (Adorno & Horkheimer 1997 [1944]), and proliferated at the start of the twenty-first. In making sense of this web of usages and meanings, it is instructive to invoke Raymond Williams' notion of *keywords*: asking ourselves what the changing meanings (and saliences) of these terms tell us about wider shifts in political and cultural conditions - including prevailing systems of value (Williams 1983 [1976]).

Whilst detailed genealogical work on these concepts is outside the scope of this literature review (and further discussion is provided in DISCE work plan and output D2.1), the key analytical point to make here is that definitions, maps and models of the creative economy are always, in part, *normative*. Any approach taken to defining, mapping or modelling the creative economy is (necessarily) serving a purpose (see, for example, Gross 2020), and we need to pay close attention to the whys and wherefores of these processes.

In this respect, adopting a position of critical reflexivity is an important part of how DISCE's research will make its distinctive contribution. We need to ask ourselves: *why* are we seeking to define, map or model creative economies? What have been the purposes of others who have done so – and how do the purposes of DISCE fit into that existing set of purposeful definitions, mappings and modellings?



Within the DISCE project we are interested in the role that creative work and the CCIs, narrowly defined, can play in European economies and societies. However, alongside engagement with 'the sector', we strongly emphasise the need to open up the definition of the 'creative economy'. This has a series of important consequences for practice and policy, as we move towards more 'ecological' understandings of what 'creative economies' are, and how citizens connect, engage, benefit and participate in them.

The same analytical point – that all models of the creative economy are partly normative, and serve a purpose – applies, also, to definitions, maps and models of *the economy* as a whole. For a combination of reasons – including attempts by economists to establish their discipline on an 'equal' footing with the natural sciences, and how economics became aligned with particular political interests and rationalities in the second half of the twentieth century – a quite specific approach to economics, and to understanding 'the economy', has been naturalised. In fact, there are many ways of doing economics, and many ways to understand what the economy is (Chang 2014). By historicising the practice of economics, we can recognise that far from being a politically 'neutral' endeavour, and/or an example of positivist empirical enquiry, it necessarily involves conceptual and methodological choices that have considerable and unavoidable normative components (Aldred 2009). We can make this plain, not least, by recognising that up until the early twentieth century, what we refer to as economics was called 'political economy' (Chang 2014).

Whilst we might trace the ideology of economic *growth* back to at least the second half of the eighteenth century (for example, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*), it is only in the last six decades that the pursuit of growth has become the dominant ideology across the world (see Xue 2016 for discussion of economic, social, environmental and moral arguments for and against economic growth). The size of the global economy has increased almost tenfold during this period (Maddison 2010). Critical discussion of growth emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. Themes raised in the Club of Rome's report *The Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al. 1972) took on further significance in the light of the economic (oil) crisis in the 1970s. A central idea that gained ground with the publication of the World Commission on Environment and Development's (WCED) *Our Common Future* (1987) was that of 'decoupling' economic growth from environmental deterioration. The possibility of maintaining economic growth through decoupling gained initial support from a number of books and reports on 'ecological modernization' (Huber 1985; Hajer 1995); but it wasn't long before it was facing increasing criticism (Jackson 2009; Schneider et al. 2010).

Efforts to de-naturalise prevailing approaches to economics and the economy have proliferated in recent years. In the wake of the 2007-8 global financial crisis, and with ever-growing awareness of climate emergency, a range of work is being undertaken to establish alternative approaches to economics and the economy, including steady-state and de-growth approaches (Jackson 2017; Raworth 2017; Bregman 2018; Muzzucato 2018; Fullbrook & Morgan 2019). Overlapping with this body of literature, there is a growing range of critiques

of the role of GDP as the prevailing indicator of economic success (Skidelsky & Skidelsky 2012; Coyle 2014; Pilling 2018; Stiglitz, Fitoussi and Durand 2020). Attending to the limi-





tations (as well as the efficacy) of GDP is central to understanding the ways in which the prevailing practice of economics and the (political) economy is idiosyncratic: far from self-evidently 'correct'.

Engaging with this literature is important for DISCE in two respects. Firstly, it informs the overall process of critically (re)conceptualising (inclusive and sustainable) creative economies, the theoretical work being undertaken as part of the overall task of answering DISCE's research question, 'What are inclusive and sustainable creative economies, and how can they be developed?'. Secondly, attending to both the power and the limitations of GDP contributes a number of important insights regarding the value, limitations, challenges and opportunities of developing and employing indicators and indexes of economic success. Engaging with these debates regarding GDP and alternative indicators for the economy 'as a whole' will be extremely valuable to our work as we address the challenges and opportunities for developing new indicators (and new ways of indicating) for the creative economy.

The upsurge of interest in heterodox economics over the last decade is in part related to the climate crisis, and work on green economics is developing apace. Moreover, we are increasingly seeing politicians and political parties actively championing these ideas: with multiplying proposals for a Green New Deal, the dominance of neoliberal economics is now being met with increasingly concrete alternatives, based on quite different principles and commitments (Arnoff, Battitoni, Cohen and Riorancos 2019; Klein 2019; Pettifor 2019; The Labour Party 2019). This literature is helping to open up a space in which to imagine and develop new approaches to economic arrangements internationally.

In undertaking the work of WP5, to 'Re-Think' inclusive and sustainable growth, this range of recent texts – from heterodox economists of many kinds – points to a number of ways in which a re-articulation of economic 'success' radically repositions eco-system sustainability as a central value.

At a time at which big conversations are taking place about how to understand economic 'success', DISCE will connect these debates to the creative economy: asking, what does it really mean for the creative economy to 'grow', and why would such growth be a good thing?

1.2 Wellbeing economics, the capability approach, and human development

It is an increasingly widely held view that new ways of understanding the nature of the economy, economics and prosperity are needed. Chilean economist Manfred Max-Neef distinguishes between *knowledge and understanding*, arguing that ‘we know a hell of a lot. But we understand very little.’ (Max-Neef 2010 np.) Max-Neef’s (1992) ‘barefoot economics’ challenges economists to dare to ‘step into the mud’, i.e., to work closely with those actually experiencing poverty, alongside other practitioners and policy makers who are developing alternative ways of conceptualising and measuring ‘success’. (See also Lawson’s (2015) challenge to the academic discipline of economics). Whilst Max-Neef developed his own taxonomy of fundamental human needs (1993), such work takes account of an enormously diverse array of dimensions of human development – what actually matters to people – embracing needs, motivations, desires, goods, concerns and values (see Table 1.1 below and Table A.1 in Appendices for an overview from the literature).

Table 1.1 Dimensions of Human Development (The Literature)

Dimension of Human Development	Authors
Needs (basic/intermediate/political/cultural)	Braybrooke (1987) Brentano (1973) Deci and Ryan (2002) Doyal and Gough (1993) Fromm (1956) Galtung (1994) Lane (1969) Maslow (1943) Murray (1938) Nielsen (1977) Packard (1960) Ramsay (1992) Turner (1987) Staub (2004)
Motivations and concerns	Andrews and Withey (1976) Krech, Crutchfield, and Livson (1969) Alsted (2005) Fiske (2009) Turner (1987)
Desires	Baumeister (2005) Reiss (2000)
Values (basic/human/prudential/terminal)	Davitt (1968) Diener (1995, 1997) Grisez, Boyle, Finnis (1987) Goulet (1995) Griffin (1996) Lasswell & Holmberg (1969) Max-Neef (1993) Qizilbash (1996) Rokeach (1973) Schwartz (1994)

Capabilities, freedom and development	Agenda 21 Dimensions of development Nussbaum (2000) Sen (1999)
Cause of joy/satisfaction/correlates of happiness	Arygle et al. (1991) Cummins (1996) Wilson (1967)
Wellbeing	Allardt (1993) Myers and Diener (1995) Narayan et al. (2000)
Goods (primary / basic human)	Rawls (1971) Rawls (1993) Smith (2015)
Life domains	Diener and Biswas-Diener (2000) Galtung (1980)
(Deprivation)	Chambers (1995)
Connection	Chambers (1995)

(Adapted from Alkire 2002; Smith 2015.)

In recent years there has been an upsurge of policymakers taking a particular interest in 'wellbeing' and 'happiness'. On the one hand, this potentially marks a quite radical shift in how economic progress is understood within mainstream political decision making. On the other hand, a number of writers have drawn attention to the politically regressive ways in which discourses of wellbeing and happiness have been primarily attached to neoliberal projects of individualisation, responsibilisation, austerity, and the exploitative commercial activities of the 'happiness industry' (Ceadestrom & Spicer 2015; Davies 2016; Segal 2017; Gregory 2019; see also Ryff 1989).

Whilst focusing on Europe, DISCE engages with broad international discussions about how new economic frameworks can be integrated into public policy.

To illustrate how these ideas are playing out at the intersection of academia and policymaking, we provide a case-study of one notable recent text in some detail, (see Box 1.1 below).



Box 1.1 Wellbeing Economics in New Zealand – A Case Study

Wellbeing Economics: The Capabilities Approach to Prosperity, released in 2018 by three New Zealand economists, has been influential in placing wellbeing on the economic policy making agenda in that country – and as its subtitle makes explicit, it is orientated around the capability approach (discussed further, below). In its defining of wellbeing as a property that can be measured and assessed, the authors are heavily influenced by similar discourses in the UK and EU. The book opens by explaining that it “does not claim to develop a new economics; rather it seeks to recover insights from the economics tradition on how persons can create wellbeing through *personal effort* and through collaboration with others at different levels of choice-making” (Dalziel, Saunders & Saunders 2018: vi. Italics added.)

As this quotation indicates, this is not a deeply critical or radical text. However, the authors do introduce an early critique of other wellbeing measurement initiatives. For example, and most prominently, the book opens with a quote from David Cameron launching the UK’s Measuring National Wellbeing Programme in 2010 – noting that this was part of a ‘global’ trend with other such initiatives launched at a similar time in Australia, France and Italy. And yet they quickly move on to note that Cameron’s Programme was launched at the same time as the Conservative government’s austerity measures inflicted swingeing cuts to social infrastructure and social welfare, leading to widespread misery and suffering. Moreover, it was in this same moment that Cameron used the Measuring National Wellbeing Programme to underscore the continued and fundamental need for economic growth above all else: “growth is the essential foundation for all our aspirations”. Dalziel, Saunders & Saunders use the jarring inconsistencies of these pronouncements and policies to critique ‘orthodox’ economic policies that assume that increased growth (per capita real GDP) will always and by default, “allow individuals to increase their choices, which will promote wellbeing” (Ibid: 6; see also Evans 2019).

They use this early critique to orient their own perspective to Amartya Sen’s capability approach: “Sen does not identify wellbeing with satisfying individual preferences, or with the unreflective preferences of groups of individuals. Instead his formulation highlights the value of contested and dynamic processes of communal reasoning, particularly in determining how public policy can contribute to enhanced wellbeing [...]” (Ibid). They also note that they are inspired by Solow’s neoclassical growth model, “but expanded to address a wider range of capabilities and wellbeing outcomes”. (Dalziel, Saunders & Savage 2018: 10).



The book itself is structured using twenty-four ‘propositions’. The first proposition states: “The primary purpose of economics is to contribute to enhanced wellbeing of persons” (2018: 3), and the second: “Wellbeing can be enhanced by expanding the capabilities of persons to lead the kinds of lives they value, and have reason to value” (2018: 9). The authors identify seven types of ‘capital stock’ in wellbeing economics: human, cultural, social, economic, natural, knowledge and diplomatic. These stocks are visualised in concentric circles, moving from individual persons and their human capital out to households, families and cultural/social capital, then out further to market participation/economic capital, to nation state/knowledge capital, to the global community and diplomatic capital. Within this overall schema, where do the authors locate ‘culture’?

Culture and cultural capital are discussed in Chapter two of *Wellbeing Economics*, ‘Households, Families and Cultural Capital’. It is interesting in itself that these are linked so closely and the justification for this is found in a number of themes of the chapter – including the centrality of child development to cultural identity, the additional importance of households and families as sources of ‘cultural inheritance’ and gender equality as an essential pillar of wellbeing. For the authors, present and future wellbeing is unattainable in a national context in which stark economic and social inequalities lead to high levels of child poverty, housing poverty, intimate violence, and ‘parental inequality’ (referring to the ‘motherhood penalty’ and the inequalities that result from unequal divisions of domestic and childcare responsibilities). Statistics from both New Zealand and the UK are used to argue that all of these represent persistent barriers to intergenerational wellbeing and thus underscore the limits of a growth model of economics. Quite clearly though, ‘culture’ is given little attention in the book as a whole, and the links to culture in chapter two are somewhat tenuous, perhaps necessarily so.

The conclusion of the book presents a visualisation of what the authors call the ‘Wellbeing Fabric’. Here the seven capital stocks are linked to ‘measures of outcomes for wellbeing’, such as income/wealth, housing, health, work-life balance, personal security and subjective wellbeing. The authors survey other international measures of wellbeing under each of these categories in order to determine what is most valuable and how each outcome can best be measured. Overall, the authors are keen for this agenda to contribute to the global discussion about economics ‘beyond GDP’, and to actively contribute to international conversations and the meeting of obligations such as the UN’s Sustainable Development Goals. They are also, of course, keen to directly contribute to local policymaking.

In June 2019, Dalziel, Saunders & Savage prepared a discussion document for the New Zealand Treasury and the Ministry for Culture and Heritage titled ‘Culture, Wellbeing and the Living Standards Framework’ (LSF). In the document, they develop the concept of ‘cultural wellbeing’ and use this to try to embed culture more explicitly throughout the LSF. They make a case early on for considering culture as fundamental to wellbeing, using various reference points from the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, UN Convention of the Rights of the Child and the Universal Declaration on Diversity. They also refer to Stiglitz, Sen & Fitoussi’s (2009) work to justify the development of new tools and measurement frameworks to monitor “significant dimensions of personal wellbeing” (Dalziel, Saunders & Savage 2019: 2).

Further to this, they argue for more specific measures of cultural vitality and vibrancy in the LSF:

- Cultural performance, measured by the % of adults who in the last 4 weeks have taken part, outside their job, in a cultural event.
- Cultural attendance, measured by the % of adults who in the last 4 weeks have attended or visited at least one cultural event or venue.
- Community cultural vitality, measured by the % of adults who belong to a group described as arts or culture; religious or spiritual; or environmental.
- Indigenous cultural vitality, measured by the % of adults who, in the last 4 weeks have participated in selected activities related to Maori culture.

As this extended example shows, discussions of wellbeing – and wellbeing economics – have now gone global. However, exactly what role ‘culture’ could (and should) play in ‘wellbeing economics’, remains very uncertain. Moreover, and crucially, *the clarity of their conceptual frameworks, and what they mean in practice, are still far from clear.*

The rise of ‘wellbeing economics’ indicates a growing recognition of the need to rethink economic success. However, much of the policy initiatives in this area are problematic. Within DISCE, we take a broader perspective on ‘wellbeing’, drawing on the capability approach (introduced below) – which is able to embed key questions of politics and power within alternative accounts of welfare and prosperity.

Before this recent upsurge of interest in wellbeing and happiness, the capability approach had established a set of tools for evaluating economic success. The capability approach (CA), or human development approach (HDA) (Deneulin & Shahani 2009; Nussbaum 2000, 2006, 2011; Nussbaum & Sen 1993; Sen, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1998, 1999) explores the wellbeing of people not through what they already have (such as income, or other specific resources), but the possibilities they have for choosing to engage in the *doings* and *beings* that they wish to pursue. Sen explains that a capability is “the real opportunity that we have to accomplish what we value” (Sen 1992: 31; see also Sen 1999: 74). A ‘capability’ is a person or group’s freedom to promote or achieve valuable functionings, such as being nourished, being confident, or taking part in group decisions (Alkire 2002: 5.), and “represents the various combinations of functionings (beings and doings) that the person can achieve.” (Sen 1992: 40). Sen’s underlying argument is that functionings/capabilities – those things that they may value doing or being, and the freedoms people have to exercise such doings and beings – are a better conceptual ‘space’ in which to assess social welfare than income or subjective wellbeing.

Since Sen developed these ideas from the 1980s onwards, they have become influential not only within development economics and international development, but across a wide range of academic disciplines and policy areas, including education, women’s rights and political theory. However, the influence of the approach is uneven: with, for example, ‘mainstream’ economics still little changed as a consequence of these ideas (Robeyns 2017). Where it has achieved influence, the capability approach is often used not only to assess individual welfare. Rather, it is a “broad

normative framework for the evaluation and assessment of individual well-being and social arrangements, the design of policies, and proposals about social change in society” (Robeyns 2005: 94). At its heart is a “focus on what people are able to do and be, on the quality of their life, and on removing obstacles in their lives so that they have more freedom to live the kind of life that, upon reflection, they have reason to value.” (Robeyns 2005: 94)

There is a small but growing body of work on the creative economy that engages explicitly with the capability approach (De Beukelear 2015; Wilson, Gross & Bull 2017; Banks 2017; Hesmondhalgh 2017; Gross & Wilson 2018; 2019; Gross 2019). De Beukelaer suggests:

There is a need for a more explicit focus on capabilities as both means and ends of development. Capabilities are different from artistic or business skills, because they focus on the possibilities people have within the social, political, and economic realms of society, rather than merely looking at the individual skills. [...] Capabilities are thus, both the ends and the means of human development. (De Beukelaer 2015: 160)

However, De Beukelaer, like a number of other commentators, has some reservations about the capability (or human development) approach, arguing that these approaches are too:

narrowly defined in terms of individual possibilities. As such, they do not take into account the structural context or circumstances required in which capabilities (fail to) exist (Jackson 2005: 104). This echoes the liberalist school of political philosophy in which their work originates. The social and institutional aspects that can both reinforce and weaken the individual ability to achieve are not sufficiently discussed. (De Beukelaer 2015: 101)

Such criticisms are extremely important. And yet a distinction needs to be made between the capabilities approach as a broad, flexible set of ideas and tools, and specific applications of these ideas. As Ingrid Robeyns makes clear, the capability approach can (and must) be combined with a range of other methodological, ontological and normative commitments. There is nothing inherently individuating about the capability approach, and it is quite possible (and very common) to combine CA thinking with an explicit concern with social / structural conditions (see, for example, Stewart 2013). Furthermore, people’s substantive freedoms to act in ways of their choosing are necessarily impacted by their own actions *and* by the actions of others – as is clearly evident in the case of climate change.

Nevertheless, this criticism does highlight an important challenge to the capability approach, regarding the risk that in centring on pluralism – and individual freedom to live the life one chooses for oneself – that it has methodological, ontological and political blindspots, consistent with the critiques of the approach that suggest it is insufficiently critical of the individuating liberal tradition of political thought. In our work on DISCE, the WP5 team is particularly interested to meet this challenge by introducing notions of *care* and *solidarity* – picked up as a major theme of this literature review (see Part III).



One of the key claims of the capability approach is the need to recognise the multi-dimensionality of prosperity (and poverty). GDP, or income, is a very limited indicator of whether or not people are 'doing well'. In using these ideas to develop new approaches to the creative economy, one of our central concerns is to explore possibilities for multi-dimensional accounts of the creative economies: such that we can really know when they are 'doing well'.

1.3 What are the capabilities that matter?

To employ the capability approach in policy and practice, one of the key challenges is how to develop *multi-dimensional indexes*. What are the range of empirical indicators needed in order to know whether or not people have freedom to live the good life they wish for? This raises questions that are conceptual, empirical and political in nature. DISCE draws on the insights of those working with the capability approach (across a range of disciplines and fields) who have contributed to understanding the challenges and opportunities of developing multi-dimensional indexes. (Fukada-Parr 2003; Robeyns 2005; Anand et al. 2007; Anand, Santos & Smith 2007; Anand et al. 2009; Fukada-Parr 2011; Walby 2012; Alkire 2015; Yap & Yu 2016.)

Related to the discussion, above, as to what is the purpose of a definition, or map or model, a heated debate amongst those involved with the capabilities approach is whether or not a 'central list' of capabilities should be drawn up. Famously, Martha Nussbaum has argued for the value of doing so, presenting a list of ten core capabilities that any government needs to guarantee to its population in order to meet a threshold of social justice (Nussbaum 2011; see Part IV for further discussion). Sen, on the other hand, argues against the articulation of such a list, as the identification of pertinent capabilities should be a process of democratic deliberation, and will vary from location to location. Notwithstanding this position, Sen was involved in the development of the UN's Human Development Index, first published in 1990. This is a three-part index: combining income with measures of life expectancy and literacy.

These debates within the capabilities approach raise important questions for DISCE. Which 'cultural' and 'creative' capabilities *matter*, and to whom? What are the processes by which the cultural and creative capabilities that matter should be identified? What would be the value (if any) of identifying a 'central list' of such capabilities that governments should guarantee their populations? If there is value to identifying lists of these kind, at what scale should these lists be stewarded and ensured: should there be a list per city? A list per country? A list for the whole of the EU? Sen's work emphasises the value of processes of public reasoning and public deliberation. This is, in part, linked to his position (above) regarding how those capabilities that are pertinent to a particular context – and rightly a matter of public / policy / juridical concern - should be identified: i.e. not through a paternalistic process of top-down decision making.

Connected to Sen's emphasis on public deliberation is the significance of the notion of 'aspirations' within capabilities scholarship. The capability approach is foundationally committed to pluralism: that there are many ways of living a 'good' life,

and that social justice involves conditions in which people have real freedom to choose the life they wish for themselves. With this being the case, the conditions in which people are able to explore, articulate and reflect upon their aspirations becomes very important. There is a body of capabilities literature on aspirations (Appadurai 2004; Conradie 2013; Conradie & Robeyns 2013; Hart 2013; Hart 2016; Ray 2016; Flechtner 2017), which the DISCE team will draw upon as it addresses the questions (above) regarding which are the cultural and creative capabilities that matter, and how should they be identified?

In this context, it is important to recognise that one of the potential roles of indexes – and processing of indexing – is precisely to generate a space for conversation, debate and deliberation with regards to what is valuable, and what a population's collective 'direction of travel' should be (see Pilling 2018). For DISCE, we need to ask ourselves not only what does an index of sustainable and inclusive creative economies need to include (by way of indicators): but in what ways can the process of identifying indicators in itself constitute a valuable process of (public / democratic) reasoning and deliberation? Building on the answers that we might give to this question, another may then follow: should policymakers (and others) create conditions conducive to these processes of deliberation on an *ongoing basis*? And if so, how? In this sense, part of the work of WP5 would be not only to develop a new cultural development index, but to suggest new approaches to cultural development *indexing*, as an ongoing democratic process.

The DISCE project engages with the capability approach and, adopting an ecological and care perspective, aims to go beyond an individualised understanding reflecting on issues of communities, care and solidarity. Moreover, in building on capabilities research, we are highlighting the importance of careful consideration of the processes by which the capabilities that 'matter' are identified.



Part II: Cultural Development

2.1 Cultural development: An inchoate discourse

'Cultural development', as currently represented in the literature, is not a mature or tightly coherent discourse. There are multiple uses of the term, often not speaking directly to each other. To some extent at least, these discursive difficulties echo prevailing definitional issues with just what we mean by 'culture' and the "many-faceted and totalizing process that is 'development'" (Isar 2017: 148; see also Sen 1999; De Beukelaer 2015). As Margaret Archer observes "the status of culture oscillates between that of a supremely independent variable, the superordinate power in society and, with a large sweep of the pendulum, a position of supine dependence on other social institutions." (Archer 1996 [1988]: 1.) It "swings from being the prime mover (credited with engulfing and orchestrating the entire social structure) to the opposite extreme where it is reduced to a mere epiphenomenon (charged only with providing an ideational representation of structure)." (Ibid; see Williams 1983 [1976] for discussion).

Specifically within the context of 'development' commentators have discerned two over-arching and contrasting positions towards culture, labelled as 'anthropological' and 'humanistic', respectively (World Commission on Culture and Development 1996: 21). Attention is divided between people's 'way of life', on the one hand, and a more 'functional' interest in the cultural sector, on the other. Within the literature, the *anthropological* take embraces perspectives that focus amongst other things on urban planning, creative cities, and community development. Research and policy in Australia focused on 'cultural development' provides an interesting and important case in point (see Gibson 2001; Skenner 2004; Smithies 2012; Lavarack & Ryan 2015; Smithies & Dunphy 2015; also Grodach & Loukaitou-Sideris 2007 in a US context). In particular, there appears to be a now well-established discourse and practice of cultural development at the local government level, as reflected in the creation of the Cultural Development Network (CND) to represent this activity and the local government staff who work in this area. (See <https://culturaldevelopment.net.au/>).

The intersection of the language of cultural development with urban development, planning and policy is not restricted to the Australian context (see, for example, Pratt 2010; Rushton 2015): it connects with wider discussions of 'creative cities', though not all of the creative city literature, of course, makes use of the term. Examples from Australia are also illustrative of the way in which 'cultural develop-

ment' can sit across a boundary between 'urban policy' and 'community arts'. Adams and Goldbard suggest the notion of 'community cultural development' is an American usage equivalent to British notions of 'community arts' (see Matarasso 2019). The addition of 'community', here, to make 'community cultural development' is in evidence in Australian discourse, too, as well as in the US. (Adams & Goldbard 2001).

Some of the literature that makes use of the notion of cultural development is concerned with the relationships between globalisation and cultural agency. Adams and Goldbard argue that one of the reasons 'community cultural development' is a valuable set of practices is precisely because of the challenges that globalisation poses to the cultural self-expressions of marginalised communities of different kinds (Adams & Goldbard 2001). With similar concerns, but focusing specifically on the politics of tourism, Laura Riddering conducted research with painters in a Guatemalan town, who sell their work to international visitors. Examining the tension between globalisation and cultural agency / self-determination, she employs the terms 'economic development' and 'cultural development'. However, these terms are not defined in detail, and remain undertheorised. (Riddering 2016).

Ideas of cultural development have a particular history in France and French-speaking Canada. Gaëlle Lemasson shows how the term cultural development was employed by a number of French intellectuals from the late 1950s onwards, it then came to resonate with the politics of '68, and was subsequently taken up by the French government. She argues that this then fed directly into UNESCO's work. From these French roots, the idea of cultural development was taken up in Quebec, undergoing particular transformations within the specific political conditions of Quebec of that time. (Lemasson 2015).

What then of the over-arching '*humanistic*' account of culture and cultural development? Here attention is focused on the specific practices of artists and creatives, and the 'functional' role of the cultural sector or cultural industries for development. The cultural workforce's contribution to economic development is of primary concern (Rushton 2015; Aguirre & Lopez 2017). However, this focus on culture is also significant in terms of "bringing into discourse those areas of human experience largely neglected in development studies: religion, the emotions, embodiment ... the psychology of social change and transformation and indeed the whole neglected field of political psychology", (Clammer 2019: 7; see also Nandy 1983, 1990). What has been referred to as a 'cultural turn' in development thinking calls to take into account culturally contingent practices such as traditions, frames of thought and socio-cultural organisation and to pay explicit attention to culture for development (Kovács 2008: 99). John Clammer, who has written extensively on cultural development, advocates for a particular focus on 'cultural expressions', and specifically on



the ‘arts’. He wants to make “culture *concrete* – citing that is, actual examples from art, performance and everyday life, in order to avoid both the highly abstract notion of culture that appears in so many debates of this nature, and to avoid identifying culture with social structure as has happened in a great deal of the culture and development literature.” (Clammer 2019: 7; see also Clammer & Giri 2017.)

At an international level, UNESCO has been using the notion of ‘cultural development’ since the 1970s (see UNESCO 1982a, 1982b, 1987, 1994, 1995, 1998a, 1998b). UNESCO has been a key ‘holder’ and disseminator of the discourse of ‘cultural development’, and has produced a series of reports framed by the concept (UNCTAD, UNDP, UNESCO, WIPO & ITC 2008; followed up with UNCTAD, UNDP, UNESCO, WIPO & ITC 2010, and UNESCO & UNDP, 2013; see Maraña, 2010, UNESCO, 2013, 2015a, 2015b; see also Schech & Haggis, 2000; Jolly, Emmerij, Ghai, & Lapeyre 2004, particularly Chap. 8; Clammer 2015; Singh 2011; De Beukelaer et al. 2015; Vickery 2018.) Notwithstanding the wider resonance of the discourse of cultural development, these reports seek to provide an evidence base for policy attention on cultural and creative industries (CCIs).

Christian De Beukelear suggests that when the UN Development Programme (UNDP) does engage with ‘culture’ explicitly, it “remains largely in an ethnocentric way”. (De Beukelear 2015; see also Nederveen Pieterse 2005; Telleria 2014; UNDP 2004.) Yudhishtir Isar is critical of cultural advocates and policy makers for tending “to speak out of both sides of their mouths, sometimes evoking culture as the arts and heritage, sometimes as entire ways of life or collective identities, generally but not exclusively as the possession of a nation state.” (Isar 2017: 154) Even where this distinction is made explicit – such as in UNESCO’s (2014) Culture and Development Indicator Suite (CDIS) where the approach inspired by the 2001 *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* is framed against reference to ‘anthropological’ and ‘functional’ approaches – there is no subsequent analytical synthesis. Culture continues to ‘float’ between two distinct understandings. Arguably, within many of the policy agencies, a discernible split has also emerged between the anthropological ‘way of life’ approach being linked to discourse in developing countries, and the ‘creative artistic’ sense linked to developed countries.

2.2 Culture, development, value and valuing

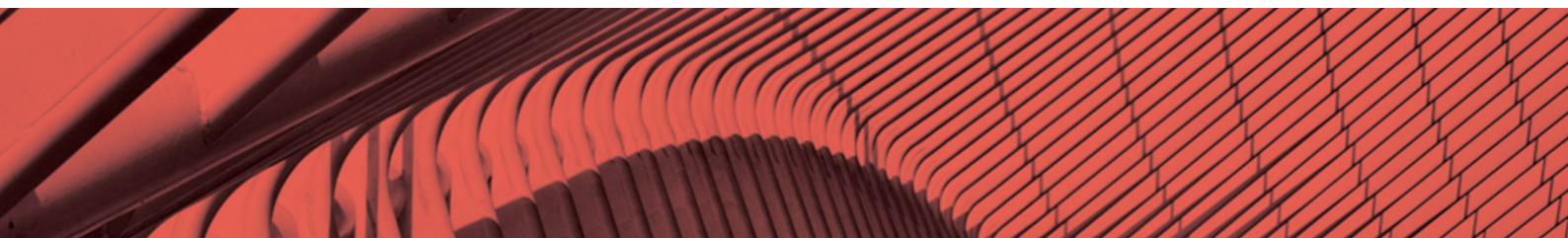
Much of the literature that makes use of the notion of ‘cultural development’ is closely engaged with questions of value: explicitly concerned with the tensions between different kinds of value, and which of these can and should frame cultural policy decisions. (Gibson 2001; Lavarack & Ryan 2007; Pratt 2010.) As WP5 develops its research at the intersections of human development, cultural development, and care (see Part III), (including the process of developing a cultural development index), an important part of this work will be to provide new understandings of the generation, articulation and contestation of *value*; and to specify – within the normative framework emerging within the DISCE project – what a democratic, pluralist account of ‘cultural development’ might consist of. A central task in this respect is to engage further with the widely-held maxim that creative economies produce cultural value.

Despite considerable focus on the subject (see Crossick & Kaszynska 2016) just what ‘counts’ as *cultural value*, and therefore what its particular role might be ‘in’, ‘for’ or ‘as’ development (Isar 2017) remains under-theorised. In the absence of conceptual clarity, cultural value threatens to be tautological (i.e., understood as a form of value generated and exchanged in a context that is itself defined in terms of where this type of value is generated and exchanged). This does poor service to our ongoing understanding of cultural development.

Nick Wilson argues that culture can best be understood as involving both the systems we collectively put in place for recognising value, and our experiencing value(s) for ourselves (Wilson 2020). As well as moving the focus beyond the unhelpful polarisation of culture as ‘arts and heritage’ or as our ‘entire way of life’, this theorisation challenges the dominant focus on the narrative of cultural values, and suggests the need to turn our attention instead towards processes of *valuing*. As discussed in Part I, accounting for the dimensions of human development – what matters to people – embraces a very wide variety of needs, motivations, desires, goods, concerns and values (refer to Tables 1.1 and A.1). Andrew Sayer’s definition of values as “‘sedimented’ valuations that have become attitudes or dispositions, which we come to regard as justified” (Sayer 2011: 26.) is helpful; but still the question of how we undertake such ‘valuations’, and the role of culture in this respect, remains.

For Wilson, “culture as our system(s) of value recognition, is constituted by, emergent from, but irreducible to clusters of culture (oriented) axiological phenomena that are consciously and/or unconsciously reproduced or transformed through (creative) practice” (Wilson 2020: 143). As technical as this language sounds, the ‘phenomena’ involved are familiar and commonplace, including *inter alia* those relating to our economy, education, arts and culture, environment, and, indeed, development. As such, the domain of culture is much wider than the cultural sector or the creative industries – and so presents a direct challenge to our understanding of the limits of any ‘creative economy’. But importantly, culture is not then, as some commentators fear, so open and inclusive as to make any analysis theoretically and practically impossible or even trivial. Rather, what is brought into focus is the need to establish an *ecological* understanding of culture; one that can embrace the many interconnections and interdependencies involved in processes of valuing, and experiencing value for oneself. It also follows that what matters is not whether policy is concerned with culture *per se*, but *what kind* of culture it is concerned with promoting, supporting and developing. This is particularly important when seeking to understand the relationship between culture and development.

Whilst the notion of ‘cultural development’ is used in specific ways by some researchers and policy makers, the overall discursive space of ‘culture and development’ is extremely fuzzy, with different actors relating ‘culture’ and ‘development’ in quite different (and often conceptually hazy) ways. Within DISCE, by drawing attention to processes of valuation – including the experience of value – as integral to what culture comprises, we will be providing a new way of understanding what ‘cultural development’ consists of, that can go some way towards cutting through the current thicket of terms.



2.3 Ecological approaches to cultural development

As a metaphor, ecology has been employed in the cultural sector at least as far back as 2004 (Holden 2004), and an influential report was published in 2011 on *California's Arts & Cultural Ecology* by Ana Markusen et al. For John Holden, the concept of a cultural ecology enables a re-framing of cultural enquiry in terms of emergence, growth, evolution and resilience. In turn, this helps to raise questions such as, what does it mean to talk of 'cultural growth'? A key benefit of taking such an ecological perspective is that it encourages and facilitates analytical attention on *interdependency* and *interconnection* (Holden 2015: 5; Wilson et al. 2017; Wilson & Gross 2017), which, as discussed here and in other DISCE outputs, we regard as key to understanding the 'inclusive and sustainable growth' of creative economies.

There has been growing interest in the literature on culture and sustainable development (see Kangas et al's 2017 introduction to a special issue on cultural policies for sustainable development). Here 'ecological' is used predominantly to refer to environmental issues (see Hamilton & Throsby 1997: 7 on 'ecologically sustainable development'; also Baltà Portolés & Dragičević Šešić 2017; Duxbury et al. 2017; Throsby 2017: 135). Within this context, the bringing together of culture and ecology is not universally welcomed. Some commentators see it as 'stretching' the original meaning of 'ecological' too far. Isar (2017: 149) references the Brundtland Commission's (1987) "clear ecological focus", under which the term 'sustainable development' ... responded to an ambition formed for humankind in the context of accelerated climate change and severe environmental degradation." He describes 'sustainable' development as having become a 'floating signifier'.

Pursuing the line of reasoning that holds culture to be constituted by our system(s) of value recognition, the significance of an ecological approach is not just that it draws attention to the wide set of interconnections and interdependencies involved, but that it also directs us to better understand how such open systems are 'managed' (see Hargreaves & Hartley 2016; Wilson et al. 2017 for related discussion of the role of 'creative citizens' in this process; and Pascale, Sternin, & Sternin, 2010 on 'positive deviants'). As Wilson & Gross (2017: 22) argue: "thinking ecologically – and addressing the challenge of how to *actively manage ecosystems* – requires ways of conceptualising practices across scale. It also requires ways of understanding how to manage the interdependencies of multiple parts of complex, adaptive systems that may or may not have precisely aligned interests." This closely aligns to John Clammer's views on 'holistic development', which "far exceed[s] the purely economic or material and involve[s] the development of culture, the pursuit of social and cultural justice, concern for the environment as the essential context for the maintenance and flourishing of both human and non-human life forms and ideas of both material and cultural sustainability and the links between all of these. (Clammer 2019: 3)

The ecological approach to 'managing' culture briefly introduced here challenges us to better understand how we pay attention towards, take responsibility for, develop skills in, and remain responsive to the (necessarily open) process of *valuing*. In turn, this takes us to the central focus of Part III of this literature review – and the subject of 'care', as a conceptual framework for understanding human relationality to culture and a methodological framework for driving inclusive and sustainable research practice.

Part III: Care

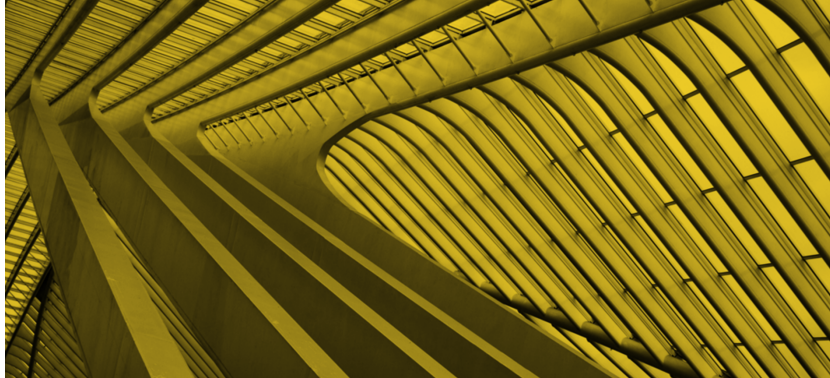
3.1 The ethics (and politics) of care

'Care' is increasingly visible as a political issue in many countries – including a growing awareness that social systems of care (particularly for ageing populations) are under strain, or in crisis (see ADASS 2019). For a much longer period, care has been a major topic of concern within feminist scholarship and activism; and it is now addressed within a wide range of academic disciplines, including 'social policy, sociology, psychology, health, politics, philosophy, epidemiology and economics' (Philips 2007: 2. See also May 1969; Mayeroff 1971; Reich 1995). Here, in Part III, we discuss the care literature, and why a focus on care is of pivotal importance within the context of the DISCE project.

Literature that emerged from the second-wave feminist movement helped demonstrate that care is 'invisible labour'. Empirical studies of women's lives exposed the impact of caregiving responsibilities on their emotional and physical health, whilst also demonstrating the consequences of women's social confinement to the private sphere (Friedan 1963; Oakley 1975, 1981, 2016). Much of this work has focused on women's devalued roles as mothers and caregivers (Folbre 1994 in Engster 2004; Crompton 2006) alongside the institutionalised regulation and control of women's bodies (Rich 1986 [1976]).

In 1980, Sara Ruddick's *Maternal Thinking: Towards a Politics of Peace* provided an understanding of caregiving as a situated practice, which needs to be contextualised – understood as taking place within a specific social environment. Ruddick separates the social experience of mothering from the biological, arguing that the practices associated with mothering are productive of new intellectual capabilities, ones that develop an individual, of any gender, via their responsiveness to the child(ren) in their care. Mothering, however, whilst a set of dynamic practices and capabilities, also involves emotions – and is a form of complex affective labour. Rozika Parker analysed the mother/child relationship from a psychoanalytic perspective, highlighting the 'ambivalence' that characterises the emotions that mothers have towards their children (Parker 2005). Parker's research explored women's ability to manage those relational and conflicting emotions, which she characterised as actively resisting the acting out of hostile emotions towards the child. This form of emotional regulation she suggests, is a part of caregiving that needs to be recognised, valued, and celebrated. In this way, Parker's work reframes the ethics of the mother/child relationship - beyond child-centred approaches (e.g. Winnicott 1964) – expanding the ethical focus to include the mother's learned capabilities.

Within but also beyond studies of motherhood, feminist research has examined the emotional relationality of care work, and has exposed the multiple, situated ideologies and experiences of care across different social contexts (Glenn et al. 1994). This



includes, for example, the variable experience of mothering practice that emerges from studies on African American women as carers (Hill Collins 1994; 2000) and the impact of globalisation and market demands on care work (Hochschild 2001; Parrenas 2001). There is an emerging body of work that criticises the increasing privatisation and marketization of previously public-funded care services by neoliberal governments (Anderson 2004; Hayes 2017). But this literature is not only empirical in nature. A key component of the care literature has been the development of new conceptual and normative perspectives, articulating feminist *ethics of care*.

Psychologist Carol Gilligan's book *In a Different Voice* (1982) addresses her young female research participants' conceptualisations of morality. By consciously adopting a women-centred research approach, she developed an alternative, feminised moral framework, one that centres on interpersonal relationships and taking care of others, in contrast to previous gender-biased ethical constructs of justice. Using the term, 'ethics of care', Gilligan named a discourse that has many consequences for research, including for the work of DISCE. These include:

- naming of a conceptual space in which to develop new normative frameworks, centred on human inter(dependence) and relationality;
- highlighting the need to radically remake those research cultures that take men's experiences and perspectives as 'standard', disregarding (and invisibilising) the diversity of knowledge and lived experience.

Placing 'care' at the centre of normative frameworks, advocates of the ethics of care are working in opposition to liberal theories of 'justice' (Rawls 1971, see Bhandary 2010), which have historically emerged from ontologically problematic accounts of the individuated, bounded, rational, autonomous subject. By focussing on the interdependency and relationality between agents, care theorists question the model of morality, personhood and rationality presented within these prevailing theories of justice (Held 2002, 2015; Kittay 2015). Joan Tronto moves care ethics a step further, towards a *political theory* of care, through her conceptualisation of care as a social distributed practice (Tronto 2013; see also Fisher & Tronto 1990). For Tronto, the social distribution of care is a key question of social justice, and a major blind spot in existing theories of justice. She maintains that no theory of democracy is adequate until it includes an account of the socially just distribution of care.

Central to the politics of care are questions of its distribution and visibility. Who undertakes the labour of care? How is this labour made visible (and invisible)? What kinds of value are afforded to care? By whom? Within DISCE we are examining these questions in the specific contexts of the creative economy. How, why and with what consequences does care operate within creative economies?

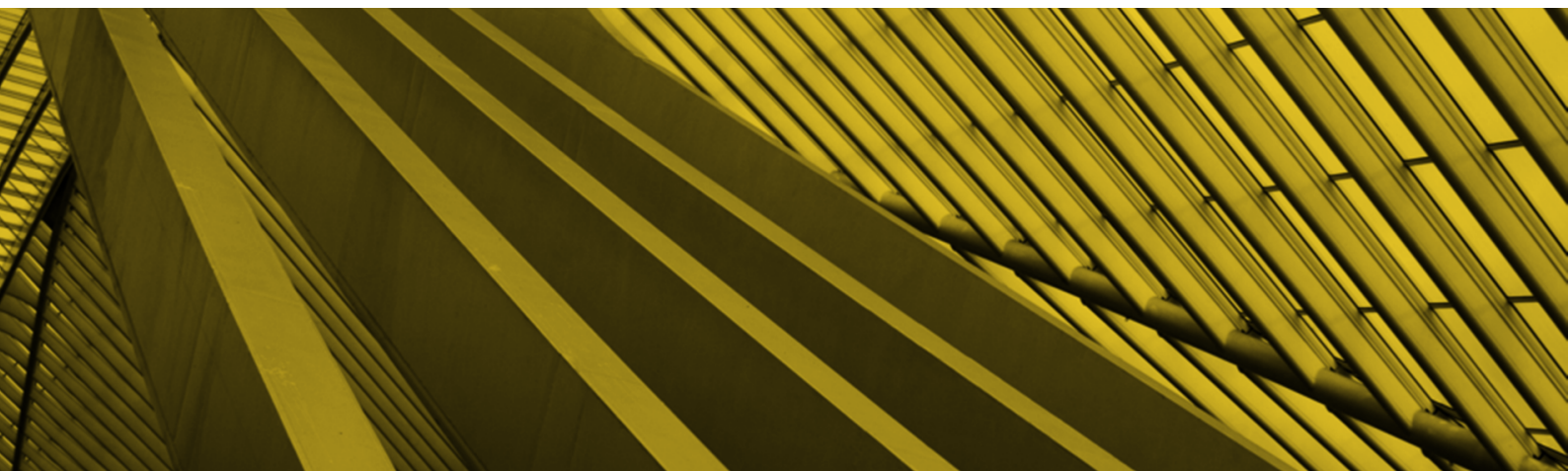
Tronto characterises care as "a reaching out to something other than self [...] lead[ing] to some type of action" (Tronto, 1993: 102), and introduces four phases of care, each aligned with what she describes as a "moral quality" (Tronto, 2013: 34-35). These phases are, first, *Caring about* - *attentiveness*. The would-be carer notices

unmet caring needs – requiring a capacity to appreciate the experience of the one in need. Second, *Caring for - responsibility*. Once needs are identified, the would-be carer has to take on the burden of meeting those needs. Third, *Care giving - competence*. Taking responsibility may well merge into the actual work of care; this work represents the third phase of caring and requires the moral quality of *competence* (proficiency or skill). Fourth, *Care receiving - responsiveness*. Once care work is underway or completed, there will be a response from the person (group, animal, plant, environment, or thing) that has been cared for. Observing that response, and making judgments about it (for example, whether the care given was sufficient, successful or complete) requires the moral quality of *responsiveness*. Building on the situated, relational aspect of care, Tronto provides a framework that can be applied to all social relations.

As Tronto's work exemplifies, care ethics highlights *ontological connectedness* – humans, in their very being, are relational animals – in direct contrast to the accounts of the individuated, 'rational' subject that underpin many liberal theories of justice, and which characterise the uncritical celebration of individual freedom within 'reflexive modernity' (Beck, Giddens & Lash 1994; Bauman 2000; see Anderson & Honneth 2005; Donati & Archer 2015). The literature on care ethics thereby provides a critical approach that counters the false universalisms of many liberal theories of justice, and instead insists on ontological, ethical and political frameworks that take seriously - and place centrally - human dependence and interdependence (Kittay 1999, 2015).

Eva Feder Kittay uses the term 'inevitable dependency' (2015) to illustrate the ubiquitous relevance of care need and care-giving. The forms and characteristics of (inter)dependence within people's lives vary considerably: not only because of the inherent diversity of people's physical, mental and emotional needs, but also due to socio-economic circumstances of many kinds. Normative frameworks – be they theories of justice, or other conceptual frames – need to take into account "the inextricable nature of [...] interdependence" (Kittay 2015: 288). Moreover, work to develop care ethics not only challenges the 'universal' ontological presumptions underpinning theories of justice, they also challenge principles and beliefs integral to neoliberalism, including the uncritical celebration of individualism and (liberal, ontologically thin) egalitarianism (Beck, Giddens & Lash 1994).

Moreover, beyond these fundamental questions of the ontological bases upon which to build ethical and political frameworks – beyond ontologically, ethically and political inadequate liberal theories of justice – the care literature suggests that there is also wider socio-economic argument to be made for establishing greater visibility for care as a matter of public policy. *Investing in the Care Economy* – the



2016 International Trade Union Confederation report produced by the UK Women’s Budget Group - makes the economic case for further public investment in child and adult care services. It does so based on a comparative analysis of care provision within the UK, the US, Italy, Denmark and Germany. The report indicates that an investment of 2% GDP in caring work would generate up to 1 million jobs in Italy, 1.5 million in the UK, 2 million in Germany and 13 million in the USA, boosting employment earnings and economic activity within each location, as well as promoting gender equality. The authors argue, moreover, that investing in a country’s social infrastructure (including education, care and health) rather than physical (housing and transport) is more effective in reducing public debt and stimulating sustainable prosperity.

What are the implications of these debates regarding care for DISCE? What implications does feminist work on the ethics of care have for how we can understand – and develop – ‘inclusive and sustainable creative economies’?

At the end of Part II, it was intimated that the literature on care could shed vital light on how we collectively manage processes of *valuing* in an ecological context. In this section, we consider the relationship between care, gender and value - to understand care both as a practice and as a *discursive framework* – drawing on the ethics of care literature - that can provide an alternative lens through which to understand how inclusive and sustainable creative economies can be understood and developed in practice.

As outlined above, within work on the ethics of care, caring practices are characterised by attentiveness, responsibility, competence and responsiveness – whilst also being highly context-specific, and very often ambivalent (Tronto 1993; Held 2015; Parker 2005). In the context of research on creativity and creative economy, the care literature enables new understanding of the *relational* nature of creative practice (Wilson 2018). The ambivalence that exists between independence (linked with creativity) and dependence (linked with care) is highlighted here. Ann Game and Andrew Metcalfe note in their 2001 article on “care and creativity” that:

Caring, indeed, is the source of creativity, vitality, and belonging. Creative experiences of newness and aliveness—those moments when we say we are really experiencing love, tenderness, an idea, a sunset, a piece of music, a poetic image—involve a state of holding. We need to feel held, or cared for, in order to open ourselves to the world, to live our relations with the world. (Game & Metcalfe 2001: 70)

This understanding of creativity as a reciprocal, relational activity provides the basis for a challenge to creative industries discourse and policy that uncritically celebrates creativity as a process of individualisation and (individualised) self-actualisation. In recent years, creative industry scholars have critiqued the prevailing celebratory representation of ‘individual’ creative workers within many global north countries, suggesting that these ways of framing creativity and creative work have contributed to the increased precarity and exploitation that operates within creative labour markets (Banks 2017; Gill 2014; McRobbie 2002, 2015). This literature has exposed how caring responsibilities act as a devaluing attribute when applied to the individual creative worker (Taylor 2010; Dent 2017; 2019). For example, Chris Bilton criticises a rhetoric of celebrating novelty over value in creative industries discourse

(Bilton 2018). The rhetoric of novelty that emerged from creative industries policy is centred on individual creativity, skill and talent (see DCMS 2001; and discussion in Gross 2020), reflecting Weisberg's (1986) 'myth of the genius' – a specifically Western model discourse of creativity.

Angela McRobbie argues that the celebration of the individual 'specialness' of the creative worker – with its roots in historical concepts of the singular, selfish artist – has been applied to people working in a wide range of fields and areas, through the economic discourse of the 'new' creative economy (2002; see also Campbell, 2014, 2019; Reckwitz, 2017). The creativity '*dispositif*' (a term that derives from the work of Michel Foucault) encourages people to 'be creative' (McRobbie 2015); framing creativity as the primary characteristic of desirable work, whilst concealing the fact that many of the jobs framed as creative are precarious and low-paid, and located within unfair and exclusionary professional labour markets. There is evidence that this *dispositif* – this discursive formation – has significant consequences within the educational system, with undergraduate students undertaking creative courses that purport to prepare them for the individualised, unsupported and unstable labour market (Ashton 2015).

Critical care ethics enables a reconsideration of the neo-liberal, individualised and universal creative paradigm, providing conceptual tools with which to develop alternative ways to frame and understand processes of valuing and creative value. In addition to these opportunities for new conceptual and normative frameworks, recent work within critical creative labour studies also demonstrates the importance of studying the alternative and collective labour movements and co-operative working spaces that have emerged in response to the unfair, unjust and uncaring structures associated with individualisation – indicating the green shoots of alternative normative frameworks in practice (de Peuter 2014; Sandoval 2016). And whilst there is a small but growing body of research addressing the relationship between care and creative labour, (Flisbäck 2013; Dent 2017, 2019; Campbell 2018; Wilson 2018; Berridge 2019), there is much more work to be done to understand care operates within creative economies.

Within DISCE we aim to build on the literature on the ethics of care to develop new understandings of creative economies, and what it means for them to be inclusive and sustainable. This literature will not only inform our conceptual work: it informs the overall research design including the way we conduct the fieldwork in our ten case study locations. Overall, we are seeking to develop a 'caring methodology'.

3.2 Caring research

As we have seen above, interdisciplinary research has exposed the continued marginalisation of care, as part of the overall discursive dominance of neo-liberal accounts of economic value and growth (Tronto 1993; Held 1993; Brown 2003; Perrons 2010; Crompton 2006). In DISCE, we draw on ideas from the care literature as a key part of our specific approach to developing new understandings of what creative economies consist of, how they are measured, and how they are valued.

The insights of the care literature inform DISCE's research in several respects. These include the need to consider the *relational ontologies* of creative economies, the modes of care in operation within creative economies, and what 'inclusive' and 'sustainable' can mean from an ethics of care perspective. Literature on care highlights, for example, the need to critically examine the gendering of technology, space (Haraway 1991) and time (Kristeva 1981; Davies 1989), pointing towards the need to develop 'inclusive' research methods that treat our participants as 'co-producers' of our research (Banks et al. 2019). Developing a research approach informed by feminist care ethics, as well as the participatory practices of community development (Banks & Westoby 2019), we seek to make our research an inclusive process. In doing so, we are drawing on a rich range of texts that have addressed the question of how to recruit and involve research participants (Kindon et al. 2007; Deguara et al. 2012; Heron et al. 2013; Nind & Vilha 2013; Nind 2014; Hardy et al. 2015; Kristensen & Ravn 2015.)

As part of this overall approach, the care literature guides us towards reflecting critically upon the processes by which we undertake research, by applying 'transparent reflexivity' (Rose 1997) in relation to our own situated position(s), and how these relate to the types of knowledge we are able to produce. Here we are drawing on feminist research praxis in relation to standpoint theory (Harding 2009), situated identity (Haraway 1989), reflexivity (Fonow & Cook 1991), and responsiveness (Tronto 2013), as sources of knowledge production. These traditions of feminist scholarship show that paying attention to the multiplicity of roles and identities – within and between the researcher and participants – can play an important role in informing the 'practical knowledge' produced within inclusive research (Nind 2017).

The term 'inclusive research' refers to a shift from research *on* people to research *with* people. There is a strong link here to Selma Sevenhuijsen's (1998) argument that caring in a democratic society requires a commitment to "plurality, communication, trust and respect" (quoted in Tronto, 2013: 35). Indeed, Tronto defines this in terms of solidarity – caring *with*. (Ibid.) Research *with* people is linked to emancipatory research and co-operative inquiry, emerging from broader traditions including feminist research, participatory research, and action research. There is a significant body of work that applies inclusive research praxis to projects that involve participants with learning disabilities (Nind 2014, 2017; Callus & Bonello 2014), involving participants in the design and conduct of research that reflects their lived experiences. Melanie Nind talks about this approach as a means of valuing different ways of knowledge production (Nind 2017). Picking up on Part II's focus on culture as our system(s) of value recognition, we might refer to this in terms of a 'culture of care'.

Examples of inclusive research in practice that can help inform our understanding of such a culture of care include a five year (2013 – 2017) project in the UK, 'Imagine: Connecting communities through research' (<http://www.imaginecommunity.org.uk/>). This was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), through the Connected Communities programme. Researchers from a range of disciplines worked with community partners to explore the changing nature of communities and community values over time - in their historical, cultural, democratic and social contexts. The research process foregrounded the importance of community development, community activism, and arts and humanities approaches to civic engagement, and had a particular focus on marginalised communities.

There is a clear affinity between care ethics and inclusive research, which can particularly be observed in community-based participatory research (CBPR). There is a more established history of CBPR in qualitative health research (Macleod, Skinner & Low 2012), and there is now a growing application of community and participatory action research processes within social research (Durham Community Research Team 2011; Banks et al. 2019). But what, specifically, about approaches to research that use the language of *care*? Rachel Herron and Mark Skinner apply care ethics as a research approach in their study on ageing and rural care in Canada (Herron & Skinner 2013). They apply Hankivsky's (2004) three principles of care ethics – 'contextual sensitivity, responsiveness and attentiveness to the consequences of choice – as an interpretive framework to guide the analysis of ... research experiences conducting interviews and focus groups in rural and small-town Canada' (p. 1698). As their work exemplifies, the ethics of care literature can explicitly provide the basis for a reflexive 'care-informed' approach to the generation of data, and can help to articulate new approaches to inclusive research practice.

Whilst 'caring methodology' may not be a well-established terminology, there are indications of a growing interest in connecting discourses of care to the practice of research. In her presidential address to the association of America Geographers in 2007, Victoria Lawson stated: "We are a caring discipline. I am excited about geography precisely because we are a discipline that takes the substance of care very seriously" (Lawson 2007: 1). Lawson advocates an application of care ethics and care responsibility in research, in response to the neo-liberal societal shifts that extended market relations into the caring realms of daily social lives, resulting in the economic reduction into public provision of health and social care. In doing so, she calls for the application of critical care ethics to "our epistemological, ontological, methodological, and daily life practice (as professionals and citizens)" (Lawson 2007: 2). In the next section we indicate one of the ways in which, in this research project, we are doing just that.

There is a rich literature on 'participatory' research methods which DISCE is drawing upon. However, in designing and delivering our research, we are also drawing – specifically – on the care literature. Embedding an ethics of care within our work has a number of very practical consequences: including how we recruit participants, how we conduct workshops, and how we will proceed in developing a new cultural development index.

3.3 What's the point of another index? Caring about the creative economy

Applying the previously reviewed framework (3.1, 3.2) the first key stage of care is being attentive to the needs of others – caring *about*. It goes without saying that what we pay attention to is contingent upon our (always fallible) knowledge of such needs. This is where DISCE's interest in what we can know about 'inclusive and sustainable creative economies' through the development of relevant indicators and indexes takes centre stage. Their primary purpose, after all, is to provide policy-makers and practitioners with just such knowledge.

Sections 3.1 and 3.2 have highlighted a number of implications for how a 'caring methodology' might be applied to the process of research and the ongoing use of

indexes relating to DISCE's work on the creative economy. Key themes include the invisibilisation of people and practices; the ambivalence of care; a relational ethics of care that challenges individuated conceptions of 'justice' based approaches; the need to re-consider inclusivity and sustainability in the light of care; and a call for transparent reflexivity. We conclude this section with two particular insights that will be followed through in the development of a cultural development index – these concern *what* this will measure and *how* it will be measured.

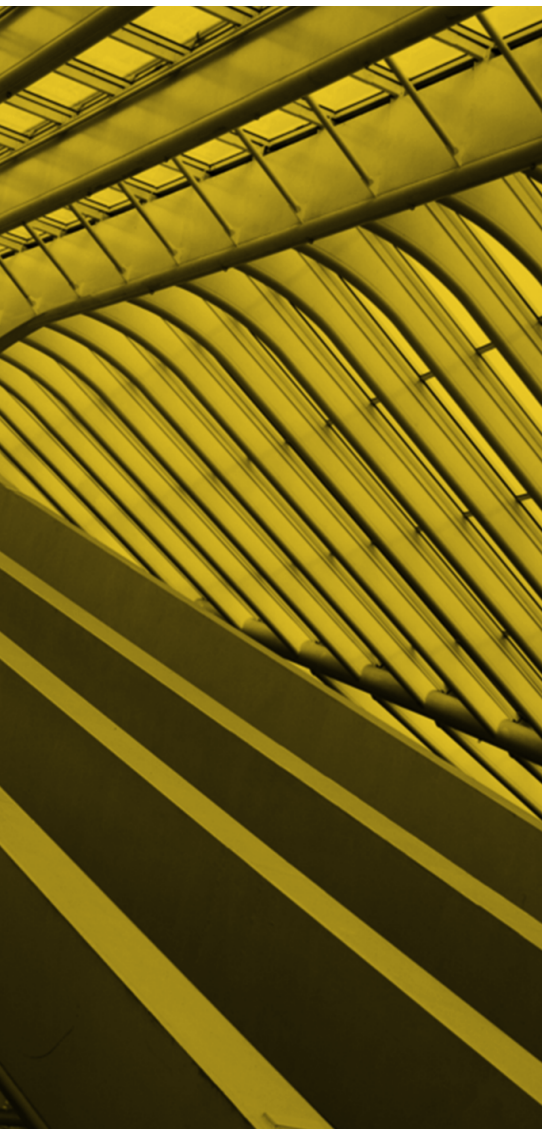
In the light of the literature reviewed across this document it is vital that DISCE's approach to 'cultural development' is attentive to the things that matter. It must care *about* the opportunities people have to do or be what they have reason to value (i.e., their capabilities). As noted by the Stiglitz Commission, we need to be "looking beyond inequalities in outcomes to inequality of opportunity" (Stiglitz et al. 2018: 14). In this respect it will be incumbent upon any new process of index development that it should move beyond the uneasy relationship between anthropological and humanistic approaches to culture highlighted in Part II. Attention will need to be given to the process of valuing, and people's substantive freedoms to experience value for themselves. Taking account of the *ecological* nature of the creative economy, our knowledge of cultural development will also need to take full account of society's 'management' of such freedoms, and how this is undertaken with an ethics of care.

The question of *how* such 'measurements' will be undertaken is not one this literature review can (at this stage), or indeed, seeks, to answer directly. However, it is possible to point to some initial insights with regards to the importance of adopting a caring methodology to such a task. We began this section with reference to Tronto's first stage of care – caring *about*. As has already been argued, a caring methodology demands paying attention to what we measure. There are, of course, a variety of distinctive approaches to indexing, which have a central bearing on our knowledge of what 'counts'. For example, as the Stiglitz Commission highlight "there is some tension...between the desire to have metrics that reflect the particular situation within a country and the need to have metrics that enable cross-country comparisons" (Stiglitz et al. 2018: 26). A further distinction might also be made between what Giraud et al. refer to as 'normative' indexes, which are theoretically based and do not depend upon the data considered, and 'data-driven' indexes, which are computed according to the statistical significance of components.' (Giraud et al. 2013: 12)

The second stage of caring focuses on taking responsibility - caring *for*. In this respect, the methodology involved, i.e., the approaches to data collection and analysis undertaken, will need to employ 'transparent reflexivity' such that it is consistent with a caring methodology. Tronto's third stage casts the focus on developing appropriate competencies for care *giving*. It may be that this opens up some exciting possibilities for the DISCE research to challenge conventional wisdom with regards to how indexing is done and what an index is *for*. The argument here is not about re-inventing the wheel. In the case of income inequality, for example, the standard approach adopts the Gini coefficient; we are *not* suggesting that the statistical computations involved (plotting cumulative shares of the population on a Lorenz curve) should be replaced. But what is open for discussion is whether this type of index, and how it is employed in the service of caring for an inclusive and sustainable creative economy offers the best, most "practically adequate" (Sayer 1992: 65)

kind of knowledge. In this regard adopting a caring methodology openly challenges the kind of ‘knowledge blindness’ that reduces knowledge to knowing. As Karl Maton suggests, all too often ‘knowledge is treated as having no inner structures with properties, powers and tendencies of their own, as if all forms of knowledge are identical, homogenous and neutral.’ (Maton 2014: 2)

Finally, the fourth stage of caring is responsiveness – care *receiving*. Adopting a caring methodology to future work on a cultural development index will need to be responsive to what is being measured. As has been highlighted (see, for example, many of the indexes listed in Table 3.1), many existing indicators that appear to be of particular relevance to the ‘creative economy’ focus narrowly on employment and Intellectual Property. Such measures overlook issues of wellbeing, which are clearly central to developing inclusive and sustainable creative economies. In their discussion of the relationship between those who develop indicators and policy-makers, the ‘Beyond GDP’ initiative (Stiglitz et al. 2018: 104) have argued that using well-being indicators offers a range of advantages, including supporting the strategic alignment of outcomes across government departments; highlighting the diversity of people’s experiences through more granular data; considering both well-being outcomes today and resources for tomorrow; and promoting more comprehensive evaluations of the impact of specific policies on people’s lives. Perhaps most importantly in the context of this final stage of care and *responsiveness*, it also fosters public debate.



Part IV: The Cultural Development Index (CDI): A provisional framework

We noted in Part I that human *development* has long been associated with attempts to improve the quality of life. In the 1980s, Amartya Sen introduced a distinctive understanding of ‘development’ in terms of *freedom* and *capability* – the substantive freedom to do or be what we have reason to value. The Capability Approach (CA) is a normative framework – but crucially, for Sen at least, one that does not specify the practices, actions, outcomes or indeed capabilities that *must* be in place for human development (as we will see shortly, Nussbaum goes further with her list of ‘central capabilities’).

Several authors of this literature review have made the case for *cultural capability* as – the substantive freedom to give form and value to our experiences (Gross & Wilson, 2018: 10), and more recently, as the freedom to experience, give sharable form to, and participate in the recognition of, value (Wilson, forthcoming). For clarity – ‘experience’ is here understood as “the human capacity for cognitive conscious and nonconscious, i.e., thought and unthought, knowledge gained through interaction with our environment” (Wilson, 2020: 61); ‘value’ is understood in terms of “‘sedimented’ valuations that have become attitudes or dispositions, which we come to regard as justified” (Sayer, 2011: 26). We suggest here that inclusive and sustainable human development (understood in terms of capabilities) is *impossible* without cultural capability. This is because in order to be able to ‘do or be *what we have reason to value*’ we need to have the freedom to value (i.e., for ourselves rather than imposed on us from others).

It was argued in Part II that *culture* is first and foremost about value recognition and the collective systems (with their attendant institutions, structures, practices, beliefs, norms etc.) we collectively create (at different levels – friends, family, organisations, industries, cities, regions, countries, etc.) to do this. Culture is *not* just about arts and the CCIs; nor is it *non-optional*. *All* societies already have cultures – as systems of value recognition. With this in mind, we need to be very careful not to reduce culture to *only* the things that ‘cultural policies’ direct us towards (typically, either the arts and CCIs, or matters of cultural diversity and cultural rights), whilst recognizing

recognizing that these are indeed important features of what reproduces (and transforms) culture(s). It follows that what matters is not whether policy is concerned with culture *per se* but *what kind* of culture it is concerned with promoting and supporting. This is particularly important when seeking to understand the relationship between culture and development. For going further, we argue that in order for culture to play the role it needs to for human development (as argued above), societies need to *promote cultures that value cultural capability*.



What then of *cultural development*? Following on from the discussion presented in Part II, we suggest that what has been largely missing from the *development* discourse is a focus on *how* we actually come to value things – namely our freedom to experience, give sharable form to, and participate in recognizing value, i.e. our *cultural capability*. Similarly, what has been missing from the *culture* discourse is the notion of (human) development i.e. in contrast to the (sometimes well-founded) critique of development as the continuation of colonialism or Western projects of modernity, the normative project and framework that Sen has given us in the CA. We suggest that we can, and should, distinctively bring together (human) development – as capability, and culture – as value recognition. Accordingly, cultural development has as its objective **the development of cultures that value cultural capability**.

It is important to make one further intervention (which we introduced in Part III of the literature review) and this concerns the importance of understanding cultural development from the particular perspective of an ethics of *care*. The idea of development as capability is centred around enhancing freedoms for individuals. However, policy and governance must always balance these freedoms with what is ‘best’ for society (the collective). Inevitably trade-offs have to be made between the individual and the collective. (The CA has been critiqued by some for being overly-agential and voluntarist.) An ethics of care is framed around relationality, solidarity, and mutuality. As we have argued, this has direct implications for how we live our lives, including how we ‘do’ culture, policy, and research. It clearly speaks directly to DISCE’s agenda of ‘developing inclusive and sustainable creative economies’. Our task becomes how to transition towards such an alternative future (one in which cultural capability is valued), within an ethics of care. This is where we suggest there is a role for a cultural development ‘index’ as a tool – an open and inclusive framework – for helping us achieve this goal.

4.1 The Uses of Indexes

Indexes are often used by policy makers or foundations with the support of academics for *ranking* cities or nations according to their performance. This can be in the following areas: economic development, creativity, sustainability, health and poverty among others. In most cases they use statistics already available from national statistics bodies (e.g. Human Development Index or European Social Progress Index) or in other cases surveys are conducted with the help of national or local agencies (e.g. Global Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index or Cultural and Creative Cities monitor).



In **Appendix 1, below**, we provide a brief overview of the history and characteristics of eight indexes, namely:

- Human Development Index (1990), UNDP
- Global Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index (2010), Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative and UNDP
- European Social Progress Index (2016), European Commission
- The Human Capital Index (2018), World Bank
- Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor (2017), European Commission
- Global Creativity Index (2004), Martin Prosperity Institute
- Creative Cities Index (2008), Charles Landry and Jonathan Hyams
- Index of Culture and Opportunity (2017), The Heritage Foundation USA

These eight have been selected as illustrative of the breadth of existing indexes relevant to DISCE: both in terms of the types of organisations involved – from inter-governmental bodies to private foundations – and how they frame ‘development’. What these brief histories illustrate is the ways in which indexes are always developed within particular political contexts, for particular purposes. For example, some of those involved in the Human Development Index were very aware that the three dimensions of the HDI – life expectancy, literacy rates and per capita income – were far short of providing an exhaustive account of ‘human development’. But what was important, in the first instance, was to provide a composite index that could compete on the same terms as GDP in providing a clear overarching indication of prosperity, whilst going beyond GDP’s sole focus on income.

Indexes, then, can and do serve a range of purposes. They can be used by researchers as a way of expanding knowledge. But they are also put to many purposes within policy and politics. In this respect, Amartya Sen’s work in developing the capability approach is extremely interesting in thinking through the nature and role of indexes beyond exercises in comparative measurement. Sen’s work is foundational to the Human Development Index, as he laid the intellectual foundations for expanding the evaluative space of prosperity beyond GDP. In Sen’s formulation, the evaluation people’s quality of life – and of the programmes, policies and government’s with a responsibility of people’s quality of life – can and should be their capabilities: their substantive freedoms to do and be what they have reason to value. But for Sen, it is not his role, or that of an agency such as the UN – nor, necessarily, that of a national government – to name the valuable beings and doings that should be measured. Within Sen’s thought there is a strong emphasis on practical reason: processes of public deliberation through which people come to form evaluative judgements.

Partly for this reason, in Sen's view, it is part of the contribution of the capability approach that it makes the case for deliberative processes of naming of valuable beings and doings, rather than these being named from on high.

In contrast, Martha Nussbaum famously makes the case for ten core capabilities that should be guaranteed to everyone. Any state that fails to ensure these for its people has fallen short of the demands of justice. These are:

1. *Life*. Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length; not dying prematurely, or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living.
2. *Bodily health*. Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter.
3. *Bodily integrity*. Being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction.
4. *Senses, imagination and thought*. Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason – and to do these things in a “truly human” way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth. Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom from religious exercise. Being able to have pleasurable experiences and to avoid non-beneficial pain.
5. *Emotions*. Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety. (Supporting this capability means supporting forms of human association that can be shown to be crucial in their development.)
6. *Practical reason*. Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience and religious observance.)
7. *Affiliation*. (A) Being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech.) (B) Having the social bases of self-respect and nonhumiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails provisions of nondiscrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion national origin.

8. *Other species*. Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature.
9. *Play*. Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.
10. *Control over one's environment*. (A) Political. Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association. (B) Material. Being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure. In work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other works. (Nussbaum 2011: 33-34)

In our work, we acknowledge the value of identifying core capabilities that states should guarantee to their citizens. Not least, during a time in which civil and political rights are increasingly under threat in many parts of the world, a concise list such as Nussbaum's may take on increased importance. However, within the overall approach we are taking, Sen's emphasis on processes of deliberation is an essential touchstone. As explained above, part of our intervention within debates regarding creative economy is to make visible two features which are too often invisible, or obscured. Firstly, that creative economies are centrally characterized by **processes of valuation**. In our approach to developing a Cultural Development Index, we are precisely seeking to create a space in which value is not presumed, but, rather, processes of valuation are made visible, and given space to develop further. We might think of this in terms of an exercise in public reasoning. The CDI is not intended to be used to simply study fixed 'value' that already exists, but also to create a framework in which value can be discussed and contested. Moreover, as Wilson (forthcoming) argues, within the capability approach itself, processes of valuation have been overlooked. This, in turn, relates to the second aspect of creative economy that, as also discussed above, we are seeking to make newly visible within our work: namely, that creative economies involve many practices of care. As outlined further in the next section, practices of care are foundational to having the opportunity to explore – and experience – what we value.

4.2 Introducing the Cultural Development Index (CDI)

What is the Cultural Development Index 'about'? Common sense would have it that it is an index *about* cultural development. In other words, cultural development is the subject of the CDI. Whilst, of course, this is ostensibly true at one level, the problem with this common sense way of framing this index is that it reproduces a closed approach based on an *ex ante* set of agreed / legitimized indicators and their respective weightings – in this case comprising 'cultural development' (however this is defined). As challenging as it is, our approach to the Cultural Development Index seeks to offer something distinctively different and innovative. It is not a closed index with pre-determined indicators of value. Instead, it is a **framework for indexing**. In this respect, and in keeping with the kinds of knowledge that cultural development is 'about', the approach taken embraces forms of knowledge production that go beyond the propositional and empirical. Indeed, the purpose of



the CDI becomes opening up a space for reflecting on people’s opportunities for experiencing, sharing and valuing the full range of relational knowledge required to evaluate the doings and beings they have ‘reason to value’. This, we suggest, includes opportunities for aesthetic experiences (knowledge of being-in-relation), being able to share these experiences through diverse cultural and creative practices and projects (importantly, *not* confined to only ‘the arts’), and giving and getting recognition in society.

To elaborate on these ideas, it is instructive to draw on our understanding of one art-form – film. We began this section with the question – What is the Cultural Development Index ‘about’? What if we were to ask the same question of film: What is a film ‘about’? In conversation with director Martin Scorsese about his film *Raging Bull*, critic Roger Ebert observed that: “a film is not about its subject [in this case a film about boxing and a boxer]; it’s about *how* it’s about its subject.” (Quoted in Nachmanovich, 2009: 15.) In the same way, our Cultural Development Index is not (only) an index about its subject [cultural development]; it’s about *how* it’s about its subject. As an open framework, the CDI doesn’t just inform us ‘about’ cultural development in a given location, but seeks to make an active contribution to cultural development through the on-going work of valuing cultural capability. The three dimensions of the proposed framework, therefore, provide a set of related and non-optional parameters within which specific communities of policy makers and citizens – for example, at a city level, or a neighbourhood level – can discuss the beings and doings that matter to them. What is important here is not only the list of valuable beings and doings *per se*, and the relative extent they are reportedly possible in a given region, city or nation; but the use of the framework to open up discussion of how they matter to those involved. Our provisional articulation of the requisite framework is as follows:

[See Appendix 3]

In this provisional framework, we identify three capabilities sets:

- Capabilities Set 1: Capabilities of experiencing & reflecting
- Capabilities Set 2: Capabilities of creating & enabling
- Capabilities Set 3: Capabilities of recognizing, legitimizing & governing

Each of these capabilities sets can be understood *both* in terms of aesthetic / artful capabilities and in terms of care capabilities:

- Capabilities Set 1: Aesthetic experience (aesthetic / artful capability); Attentiveness (care capability)
- Capabilities Set 2: Artful creation (aesthetic / artful capability); Responsibility & competence (care capability)
- Capabilities Set 3: Cultural governance (aesthetic / artful capability); Responsiveness (care capability)

It is important to emphasize here that just as ‘care’ is not delivered unless all three capabilities sets are present (i.e., care requires attentiveness, responsibility, competences AND responsiveness), so cultural development cannot be enabled unless all three capabilities sets are adequately taken account of. In this sense, all three capabilities sets (dimensions) are *necessary*. However, whilst the CDI identifies three necessary capability sets it does *not* specify any *ex ante* ‘weighting’ in respect of how these three should be treated (and in this regard it is immediately different to how most indices are understood). This, in turn, focuses interest on the specific underlying conditions under which each of these capabilities can be realized. Within the capability approach, scholars use the term ‘conversion factors’ to refer to those personal, social and environmental conditions that influence the extent to which people can turn resources (or apparent opportunities) into *real, achievable opportunities* for them. For example, there might be free theatre tickets for all school children, but if there is no information system letting children and parents know, that is not a real opportunity. Similarly, if their parents are working two jobs and don’t have time to take them, the free tickets are not a real opportunity for these children. Or if there are free tickets, but there is social stigma connected to going to the theatre if you are a girl (for example), then for girls, this is not a real opportunity.

In our provisional framework for the CDI (see Appendix 3), we include a number of columns that are deliberately left blank and can be populated with indicative examples. These columns are very important, as they help communicate the ways in which this is a deliberately open framework, which needs to be made use of by specific communities of citizens, cultural and creative industry organizations, and policy makers, within their specific circumstances. Each of the CDI’s capability sets frame ways in which these people’s doings and beings come to matter to them, whilst also drawing attention to (often invisibilized) structures, institutions, and practices that are restrictive and which perpetuate inequalities. But what it leaves deliberately open is:

- The specific functionings / capabilities that may matter to people with respect to each of these capability sets
- The relevant indicators for these specific functionings / capabilities
- The relevant conversion factors that will influence whether resources can be turned into real freedoms with respect to those specific functionings / capabilities
- The relevant indicators for those specific conversion factors

Depending on the aims and intensions of those involved, this framework could be used in different ways. Given this Work Package’s particular focus on identifying the challenges and opportunities for CCIs to contribute to ‘inclusive and sustainable growth’ it is instructive first to consider the particular role cultural and creative industry organizations play in cultural development. Here it could be argued that of the three capabilities sets in the CDI it is the second (capabilities of creating and enabling) that such organizations are most readily associated with enabling and developing. In this sense, the CDI represents both an opportunity and a call for such organizations to pay greater attention to capabilities sets one (experiencing & reflecting) and three (recognizing, legitimizing and governing), as all three sets are vital for cultural development. As we begin to populate the CDI with examples drawn

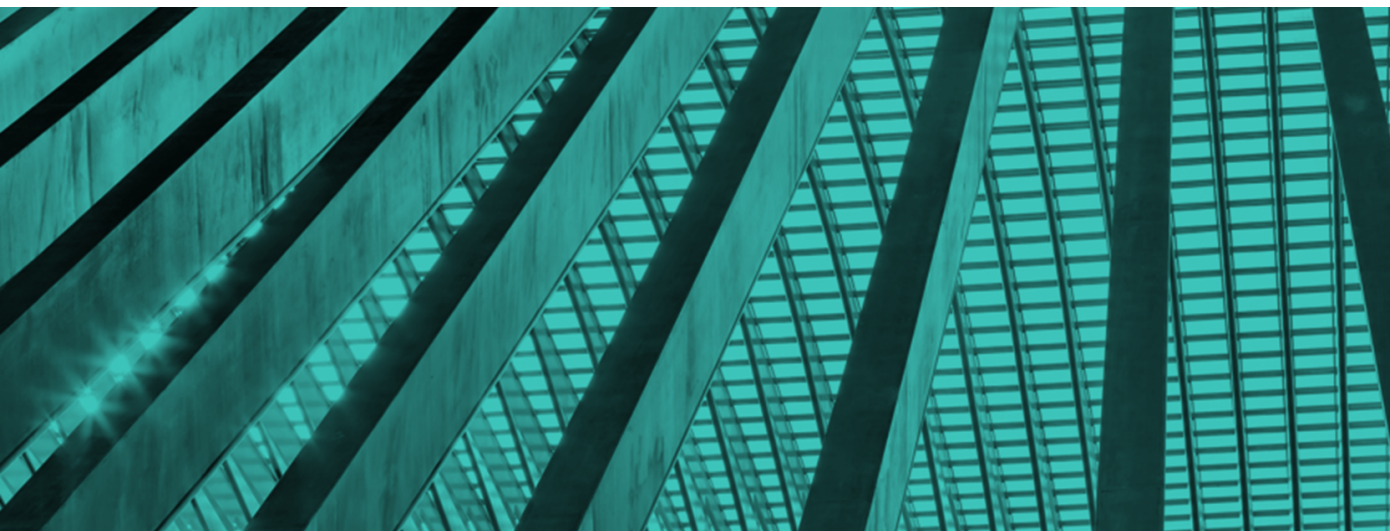
from the DISCE project's case studies and policy fora, we anticipate this use of the CDI adding to our understanding of the role of CCIs in cultural development, deepening our understanding *inter alia* of the nature of 'creative citizens', (Hargreaves and Hartley, 2016); 'pillar' organizations (Wilson et al., 2017: 23); and 'ecological leadership' (Gross & Wilson, 2019).

What then of other potential users of the CDI? A local council may use the framework to help them establish a set of indicators in order to be able to evaluate the success of its policies over a particular period (e.g. for a five year plan). In this case, there could be an initial process of deliberation over which functionings, capabilities and conversion factors matter to the people in this location, and which CDI indicators can be used to track them over time. This will involve determining what relevant data sets currently exist, and what new data would need to be collected in order to report against those indicators over time.

Alternatively, a community – for example, citizens and policy makers of a particular borough or city – may not be seeking to use the framework to evaluate policies in the first instance. Instead, they may use it as a tool to frame their deliberations with regards to what the aims of a new cultural policy for the city would be. So, for example, if that community agreed that the three capability sets outlined in the framework are all important, the deliberation would then centre on questions such as:

1. Which particular functionings / capabilities should policies be seeking to support, in respect of each of the three capabilities sets?
2. What are the conversion factors that policies should be seeking to influence, in respect of these specific functionings / capabilities?

Answers to these questions could then be used to frame the aims and objectives of particular policies and programmes. We imagine that this framework will be particularly useful at a municipal and local level, because it is oriented towards deliberation, which typically takes place most effectively at more local scales. However, we also intend it to be potentially employable at regional, national or even an intergovernmental level. In such cases particularly – although it is also the case with municipal and local levels – an important consideration concerns which available indexes, indicators and data sets already exist which are potentially relevant to the three capability sets outlined in this framework. Could these existing indexes, indicators and data sets be used in practice in conjunction with this framework? And what new types of data would need to be collected?



4.3 Existing Indexes, Indicators and Data Sets

There is an enormous array of existing indicators and indexes that are potentially relevant to these dimensions of cultural capability. An overview of these is provided in Table 3.1, below; and in Appendix 4 we provide further detail, indicating which of these existing indexes, indicators and data sets may prove most useful in operationalizing our CDI. These aggregated or consolidated indicators set out to measure a wide variety of variables, ranging across quality of life, wellbeing and environment, poverty, exclusion, culture and democracy, culture and development, culture and opportunity, cultural vitality, human capital, global cities, competitiveness, culture & creativity.

Table 3.1 Indices relevant to Developing Inclusive & Sustainable Creative Economies

Name	Date	Type	Publisher
Human Development Index	1992	Quality of Life	UNDP
Human Development Index	2013	Quality of Life	World Bank
Gross National Happiness Index (Bhutan)	2008	Quality of Life	Centre for Bhutan Studies
Gross National Well-being	2005	Quality of Life	International Institute of Management, USA
Gender Inequality Index	2010	Quality of Life	UNDP
Genuine Progress Indicator	Various	Quality of Life	Various – linked to ‘Beyond GDP’
Where-to-be-born Index	1988	Quality of Life	Economist Intelligence Unit
Better Life Index	2011	Quality of Life	OECD
Social Progress Index	2010	Quality of Life	Social Progress Imperative
All Indicators	Various	Quality of Life	World Bank
Happy Planet Index	2006	Wellbeing	New Economics Foundation
Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare	1989	Wellbeing	Daly and Cobb
Legatum Prosperity Index	Ongoing	Prosperity	Legatum Institute
Human Capital Index	2018	Human Capital	World Bank
Global Human Capital Index	2017	Human Capital	World Economic Forum
Human Poverty Index	1997	Poverty	USSR
Global Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index	2010	Poverty	Oxford Poverty & Human Development Initiative & UNDP
Multidimensional Social Exclusion Index	2011	Exclusion	UNDP Europe and CIS

Social Cohesion Indicator	2003	Exclusion	Leaken Indicators; Eurostat
Indicator of Social Exclusion	2006	Exclusion	Chakravarty and D'Ambrosio
Social Health Indicator	2009	Exclusion	Jany-Catrice
Care Indicators	Various	Care	World Bank
Euro Health Consumer Index	2005	Health Care	Health Consumer Powerhouse
Indicator Framework on Culture and Democracy	2017	Culture & Democracy	Hertie School of Governance
Culture for Development Indicators Suite	2009	Culture & Development	UNESCO
Relational Capability	2014	Relational Capability	Giraud et al.
Index of Culture and Opportunity	2017	Culture & Opportunity	The Heritage Foundation (USA)
Cultural Vitality	2006	Cultural Vitality	The Urban Institute (Washington, USA)
Index of the Creative Economy	2008	Creative Economy	Brown et al. (Flanders)
Composite Index of the Creative Economy	2008	Creative Economy	Bower, Moesen and Sleuwaegen
Global Competitiveness Index	2018	Competitiveness	World Economic Forum
World Knowledge Competitiveness Index	2002	Competitiveness	Centre for International Competitiveness
Global Talent Competitiveness Index	2018	Competitiveness	INSEAD
The Oslo Manual	2005	Innovation	OECD The Measurement of Scientific and Technological Activities
Regional Innovation Scoreboard	2017	Innovation	European Commission
Design Creativity and Innovation Scoreboard	2009	Innovation	Economic and Social Research and Training Centre on Innovation and Technology, Maastricht University
The Global Power Cities Index	2010	Global Cities	The Institute for Urban Strategies at The Mori Memorial Foundation, Tokyo, Japan
Fundamental and Flow Index	Various	Global Cities	Fukuoka Benchmarking Consortium, Japan

The Shift Index	2009	Global Cities	Hagel, Brown & Davison
Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor	2017	Creative Cities	European Commission
Intercultural Cities Index	2017	Creative Cities	Council of Europe
Creative City Index	2012	Creative Cities	Landry and Hyams. Comedia with Basque Country region of Biscay and its core city Bilbao
Composite Index to Measure Cities' Creative Performance	2019	Creative Cities	Rodrigues and Franco.
Global Creativity Index	2015	Culture & creativity	Martin Prosperity Institute (Richard Florida)
CCI Creative City Index	2012	Culture & creativity	Hartley, J., et al. ARC Centre of Excellence for Creative Industries and Innovation (CCI)
Creative Grid	2010	Culture & creativity	Fleming, T. Creative Consultancy
Creative Space Index	2012	Culture & creativity	Correia et al. FED, Faculdade de Economia - Universidade do Porto
Euro Creativity Index	2004	Culture & creativity	Florida & Tinagli - Carnegie Mellon Software Industry Centre
Cultural Life Index	2003	Culture & creativity	Picard et al. Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture
Arts Index Netherlands	2015	Culture & creativity	Lahaut et al. Boekman Foundation
Hong Kong Creativity Index	2004	Culture & creativity	Hui et al. Centre for Cultural Policy Research. The University of Hong Kong
Sharpie's Creativity Index	2007	Culture & creativity	Sharpie & The Future Laboratory
Silicon Valley's Creative Community Index	2006	Culture & creativity	Rawson et al. Cultural Initiatives Silicon Valley, San Jose State University & Survey and Policy Research Institute
Creative Vitality Suite	2016	Culture & creativity	ArtsWA - Washington State Arts Commission & WESTAF - Western States Arts Federation
European Creativity Index	2009	Culture & creativity	KEA European Affairs

There are some kinds of capability, such as many of those outlined in Nussbaum's list above, the deprivation of which undermines many other capabilities. It is the case, therefore, that many of these indices have a direct bearing upon the three capability sets we specify as forming the basis of cultural capability, and, in turn, cultural development. For example, if deprived of life or bodily integrity, a person will lack the freedoms to experience, create and legitimize. Many of the existing indices above, therefore, provide useful 'foundational' data. Knowing that a particular city has extremely low life expectancy, for example, is clearly relevant information for assessing the overall situation of cultural capability within that location. However, it is clearly only a very limited part of the picture. Beyond these foundational data, just what are the relevant factors that enable and constrain cultural capability as we characterize it? And what, therefore, are the relevant data? This quickly becomes much more complicated.

For example, if the capability to experience and reflect is an essential component of cultural capability, data on the number of hours children spend in music and art lessons at school will be very relevant. But this data is also very limited. What are the other ways in which children and young people's experiences and reflections are enabled? What about careers advice, and mentoring? These may not at first appear to be 'cultural experiences', within overly narrow conceptions of culture. But within the account we are developing, a child (or an adult's) experience of mentoring or coaching, if such a thing is available, may well constitute an extremely valuable opportunity for experiencing the kinds of relationships – and relationality – through which people come to know what they care about, and from which many subsequent actions (of creativity and enabling, and perhaps of legitimizing and governing) then follow.

To understand the empirical realities of what enables and constrains these three capabilities sets, and how the three sets are inter-related, it is integral to our approach that the CDI requires discussion of their conditions *within specific locations and circumstances*. This is partly due to the great variety of lived realities. In different places and at different times, the conditions that enable and constrain these three capabilities sets will vary. But it is also due to the commitment our work is making here to the plurality of 'good' lives, as foundational to the capability approach. In other words, whilst we are making the case that the three component capability sets of cultural capability are *always* a good thing, we are open to the very wide variety of specific beings and doings that people might identify (and experience) as valuable to themselves in exercising these capabilities. (This, of course, is internally consistent with the framework's third capabilities set's interest in 'responsiveness' (care) and 'recognition' (aesthetic / artful).) For both of these reasons, identifying the relevant data and indicators is necessarily an open-ended process.

Later in the DISCE project (and deliverable 5.3) we will be able to provide many empirical insights, via the analysis of our case study data, with regards to the range of conditions that enable each of our CDI's three capabilities sets for our research participants, within their particular circumstances. This will provide a wealth of examples of the kinds of data that (and indicators with which) the CDI can be operationalized, thereby responding further to the question of *what are the indicators that matter?*

There are a host of indexes that are potentially relevant to DISCE (ranging across quality of life, poverty, culture and democracy, culture and development, cultural vitality, human capital, creative cities, culture & creativity). Such indexes cross disciplinary and policy-level boundaries. Which of these may potentially be useful to the operationalization of the Cultural Development Index in any particular circumstance cannot be fully known in advance. However, for illustrative purposes, in Appendix 4, indications are given for which existing indexes, indicators and data sets may well prove useful.

4.4 Challenges and Limitations

The framework CDI we are offering here makes a strong commitment to the significance of three capability sets:

- Capabilities Set 1: Capabilities of experiencing & reflecting
- Capabilities Set 2: Capabilities of creating & enabling
- Capabilities Set 3: Capabilities of recognizing, legitimizing & governing

This commitment has been made on the basis of this work package literature review's careful and in-depth study of debates regarding creative economy, human development, cultural development, care, and the scope and aims of cultural policy. However, we are open to the possibility that our conceptualization of the CDI will develop in the light of data emerging from DISCE's ongoing empirical research. We also appreciate that the advantages of an 'open' framework of this kind carries with it some disadvantages.

In taking this approach, we are not providing all policy makers with a 'closed' set of established indicators and data sets against which to measure and benchmark. We are not offering a framework intended for easy cross comparison between one location and another. It can be used for such purposes. But this would require deliberate co-ordination to those ends. A second disadvantage of this approach is the openness of the framework with regards to the specific beings and doings (functionings / capabilities) that may be relevant in specifying each of the capability sets. This means that, even within the same location (e.g. the same city or neighbourhood), there may be disagreement at any one time, or between the same community and its later iterations, with regards to which are the specific functionings / capabilities that matter with respect to each of the capability sets. However, whilst this presents a degree of uncertainty with regards to the operation of the framework even within a single location over time, this uncertainty does not need to be seen as a disadvantage of the approach. Instead, it is characteristic of the overall spirit of 'indexing' as we have outlined it. The CDI framework is intended to serve as a tool for deliberation and for developing policy goals, with a deliberate commitment to enabling conditions in which deliberation over what matters can take place.

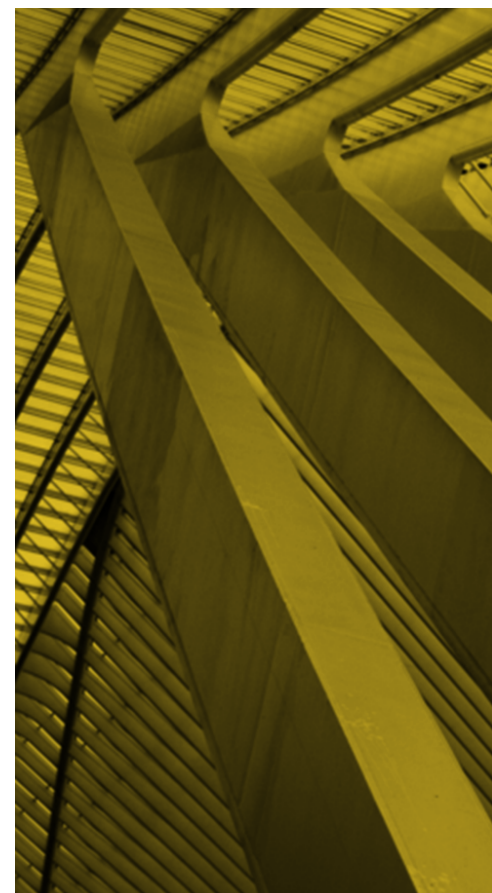
The final challenge we face as the developers of this CDI framework is the language in which the capabilities sets are currently expressed. Over the next phases of DISCE, one of our tasks is to test and develop a range of ways of communicating the different capabilities sets within the CDI framework, to see what forms of language 'work' in communicating these ideas to a range of participants. We are open to the possibility that we will further develop our terminology in the light of these experiences of communicating the CDI with our research participants.

Conclusion

Within DISCE's overall research design, this Work Package (WP5) has a number of specific roles. One of these is to critically address the key concepts underpinning prevailing accounts of what economic success – or 'growth' – consists of for creative economies. In this literature review, we have analysed three discourses and their interconnections: human development, cultural development and care. In doing so, we not only 'contextualise' the DISCE project within the landscape of existing research. We have sought to provide a distinctive intervention with regards to *the concepts that matter when it comes to understanding and developing 'inclusive and sustainable creative economies'*.

There are some ways in which these ideas inform DISCE as a whole, and others in which they are specific to Work Package 5. The ecological approach discussed in parts of this literature review is integral to the overall DISCE research design, as discussed at length within the case study framework. In this respect, all Work Packages are informed by the 'ecological' account of creative economies ideas laid out above, challenging the narrowly sectoral accounts of 'creative industries', the 'cultural sector', or 'the CCIs'. At the same time, the strong emphasis on the ethics and politics of care, the capability approach, and the particular concern with the three capabilities sets established within the Cultural Development Index, are not being directly employed within all of DISCE's Work Packages. Given the collaborative nature of the projects, these ideas are of course very likely to inform other Work Packages in a number of ways. However, there is no expectation that all work packages will seek to integrate these ideas, including the Cultural Development Index, into their own work – either in the analysis of their data, or in their policy proposals.

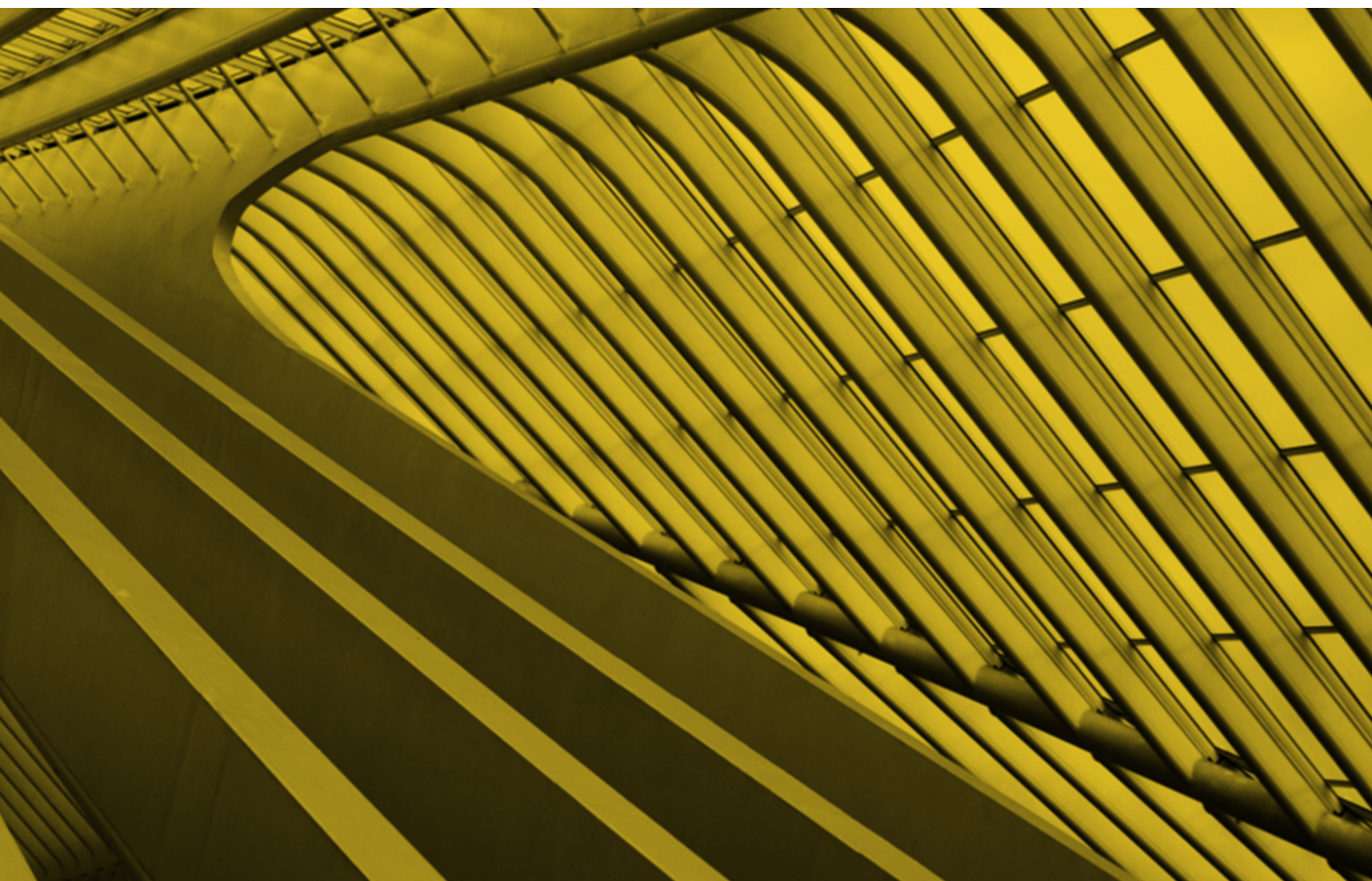
In concluding this literature review, it is useful to make clear that our contribution to DISCE is a 'normative' project, in two senses. Firstly, it takes norms (and processes of valuing) as one of its objects of study. Secondly, it is not 'neutral' with regards to its key terms: rather, DISCE is seeking to promote inclusivity and sustainability. In doing so, the DISCE team is aiming to effect change, being part of a wider 'transition' process for creative economies and creative economy policy. Whilst the analytical spotlight of this research project is explicitly directed towards Europe, our intention is for the conceptual work of this literature review to prove useful to creative economies in many locations. Over the next phases of DISCE research we will be reflecting on, and applying the ideas discussed here to European case-studies. This will involve, amongst other considerations, exploring what is specific to these contexts, at micro, meso and macro (including 'European') scales.



As discussed above, inclusive and sustainable creative economies are necessarily dependent upon our (always incomplete) *knowledge* of them. To know creative economies as fully as possible, or at least to a level of 'practical adequacy' (Sayer 1992), we will need to discover and adopt a novel (caring) research approach, creating conditions conducive to hearing the voices of those normally silenced. Such an approach will, in itself, contribute to developing what creative economies *are*. In this important sense, our work within DISCE has performative functions, intervening within creative economies through the process of researching them. In particular, in this literature review we have highlighted the potential consequences of adopting:

1. An ecological perspective
2. A caring methodology

In keeping with this ambitious agenda - and with a normative commitment to 'managing culture with care' - we need to develop an approach to indexing, 'pointing towards', that is able to help us understand, and know about, what really matters; furthermore, we must do so as fully, democratically and usefully as possible. This is the task that WP5 has set itself, and this literature review provides the context for the next phase of research as we seek to further elaborate a Cultural Development Index.



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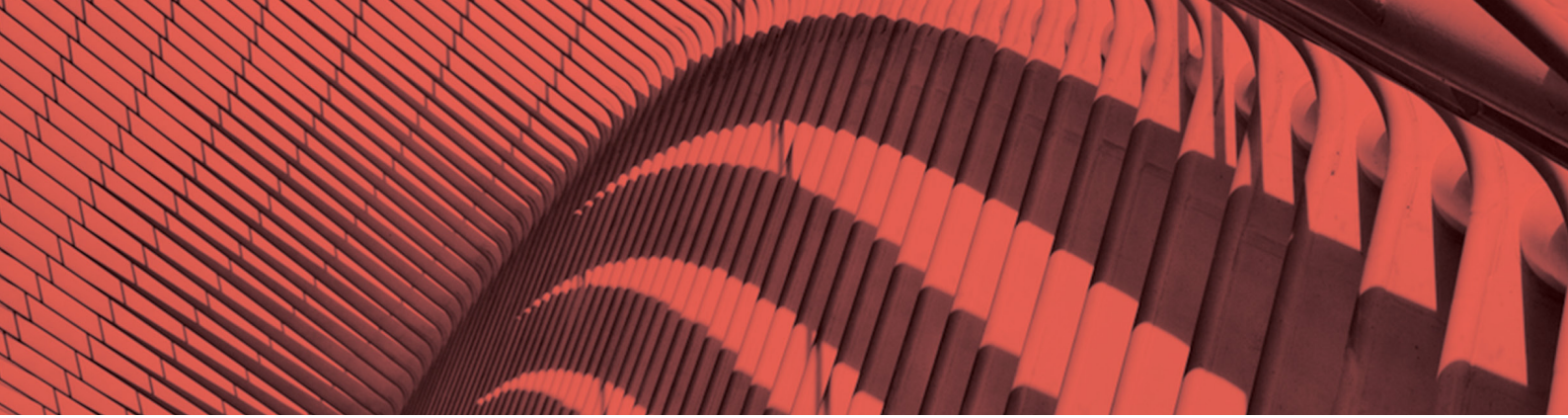
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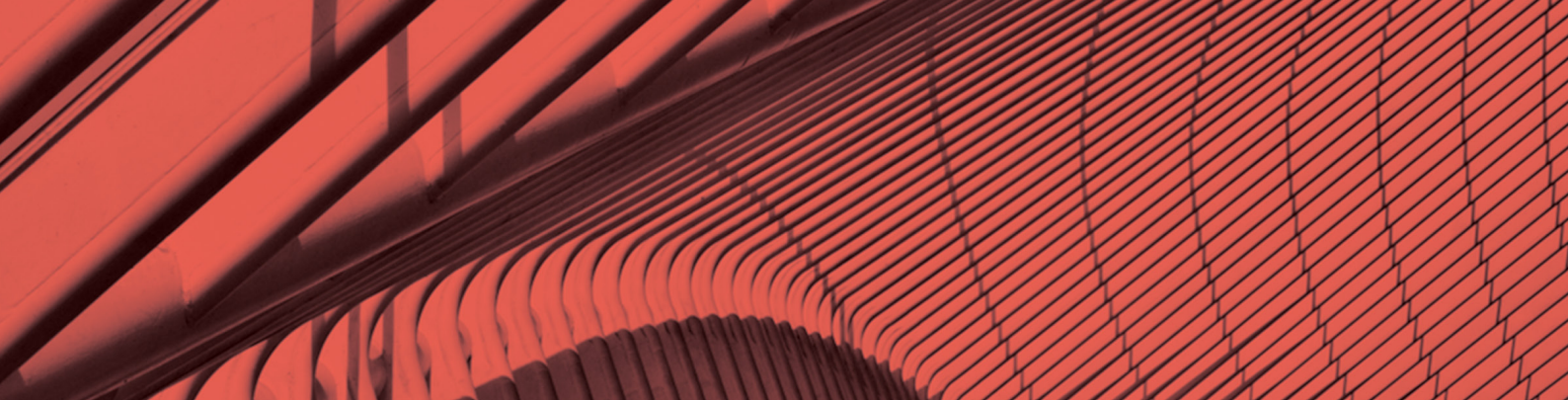
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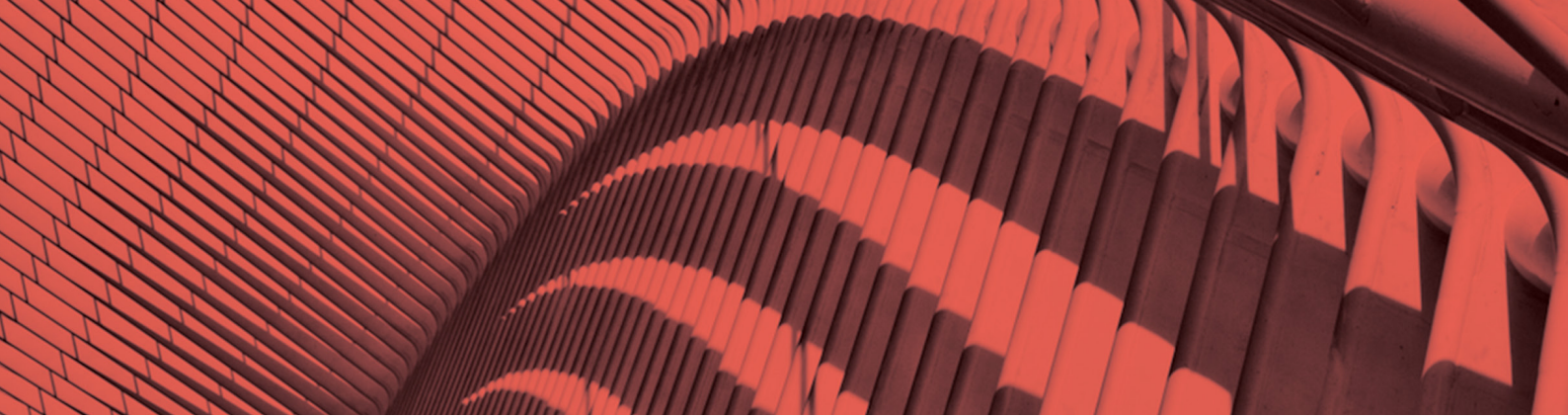
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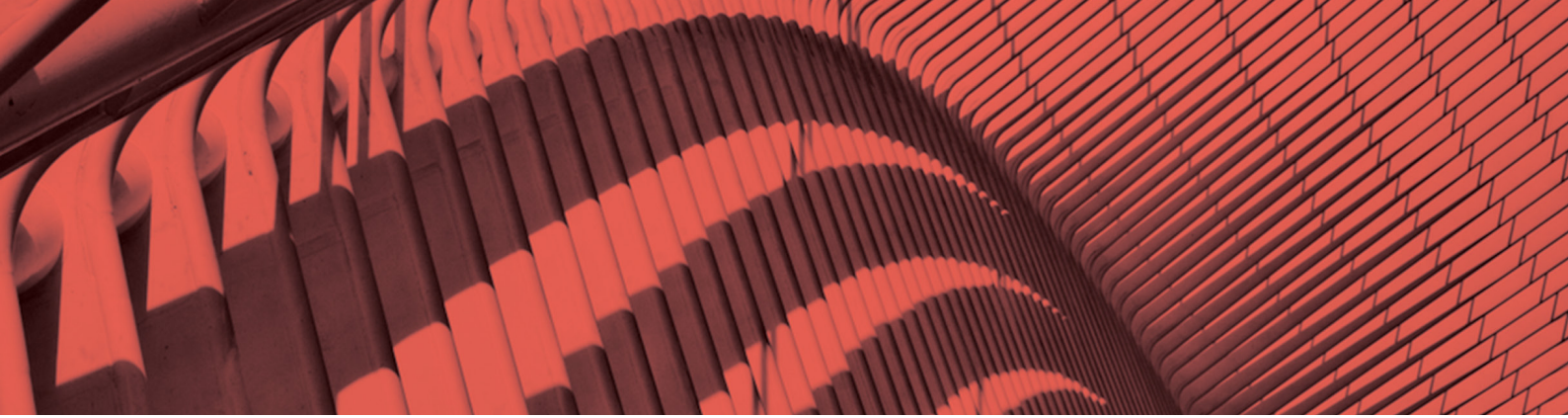
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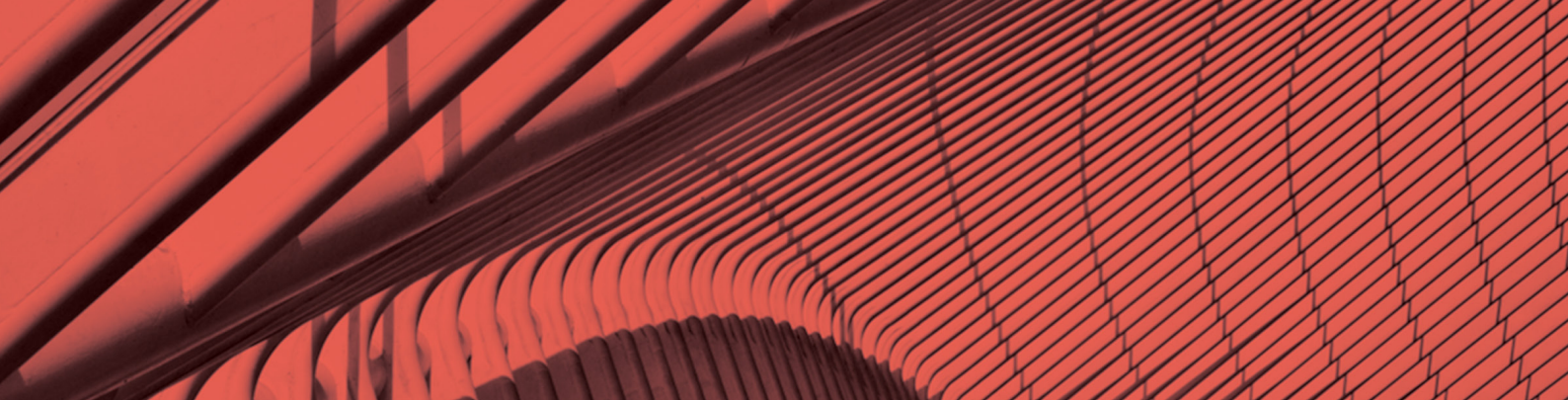
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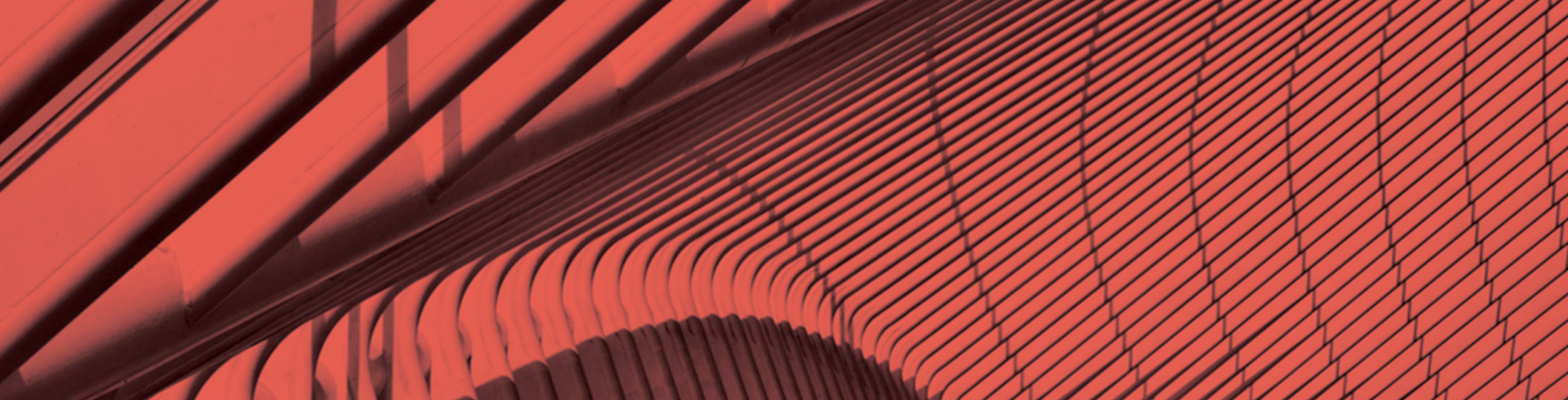
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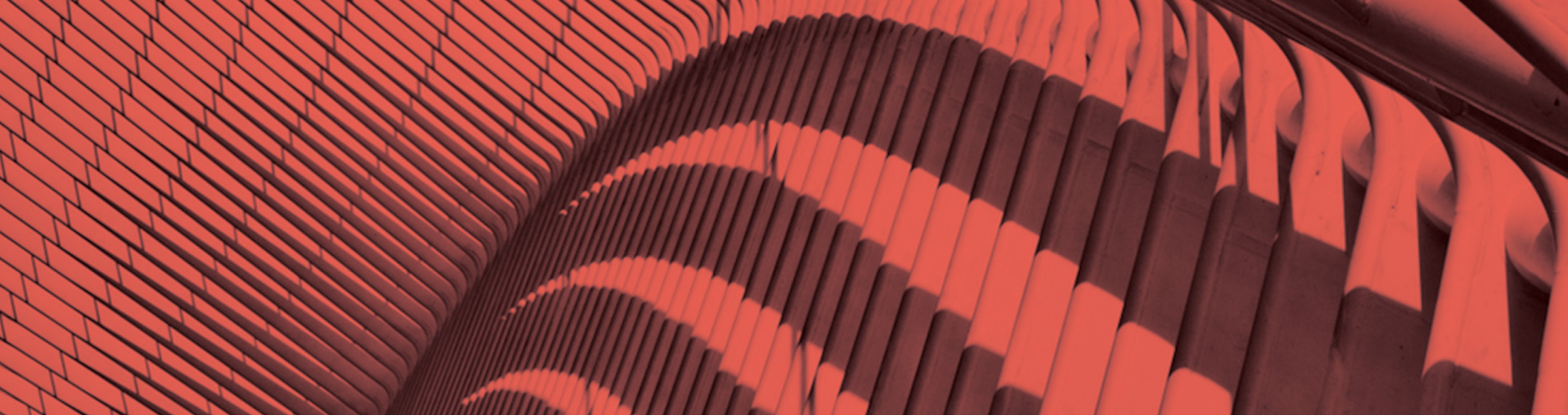
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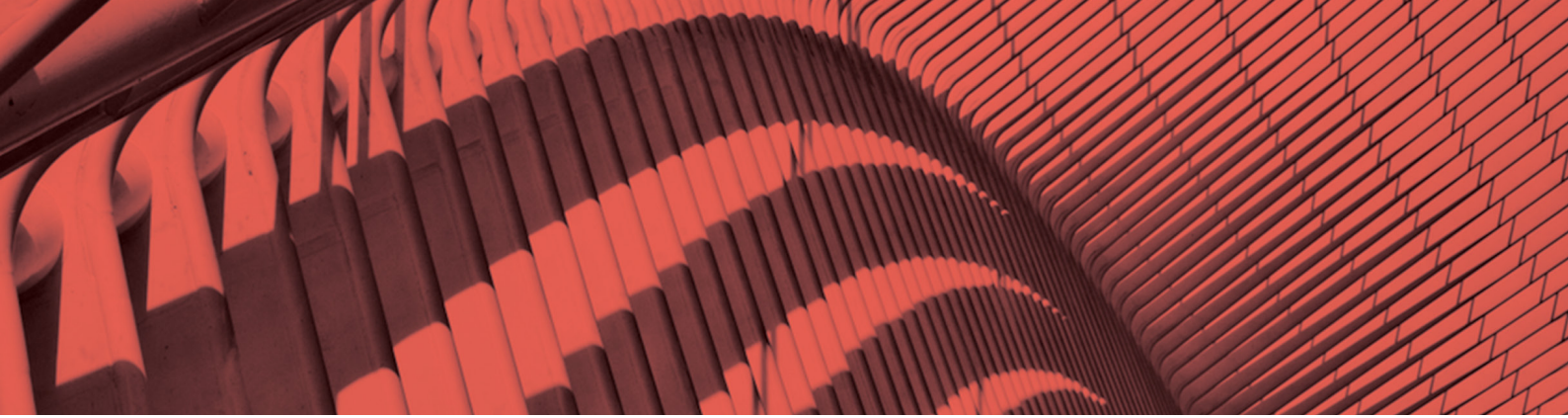
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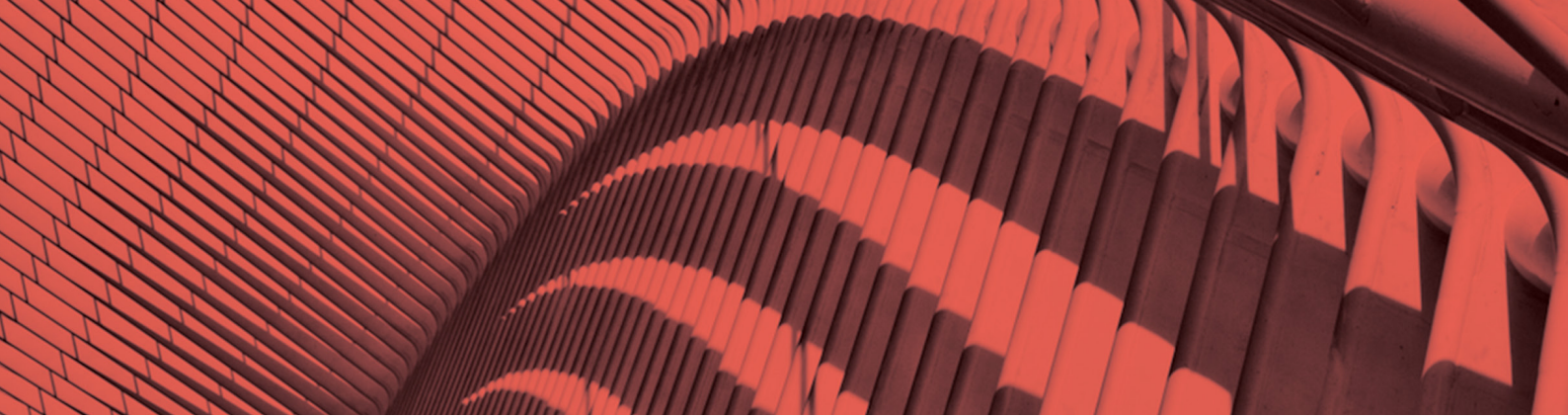
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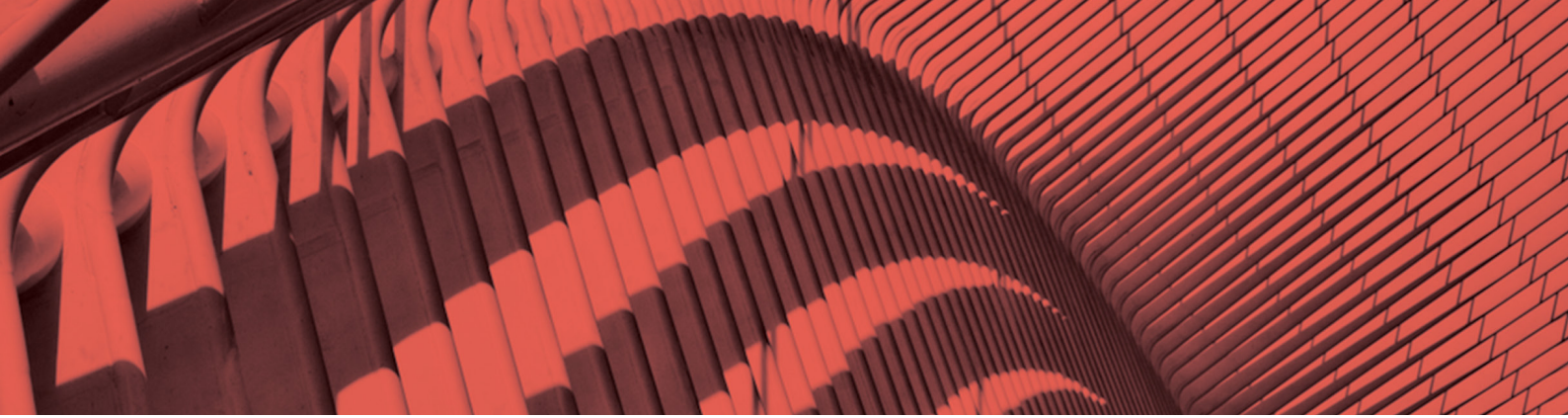
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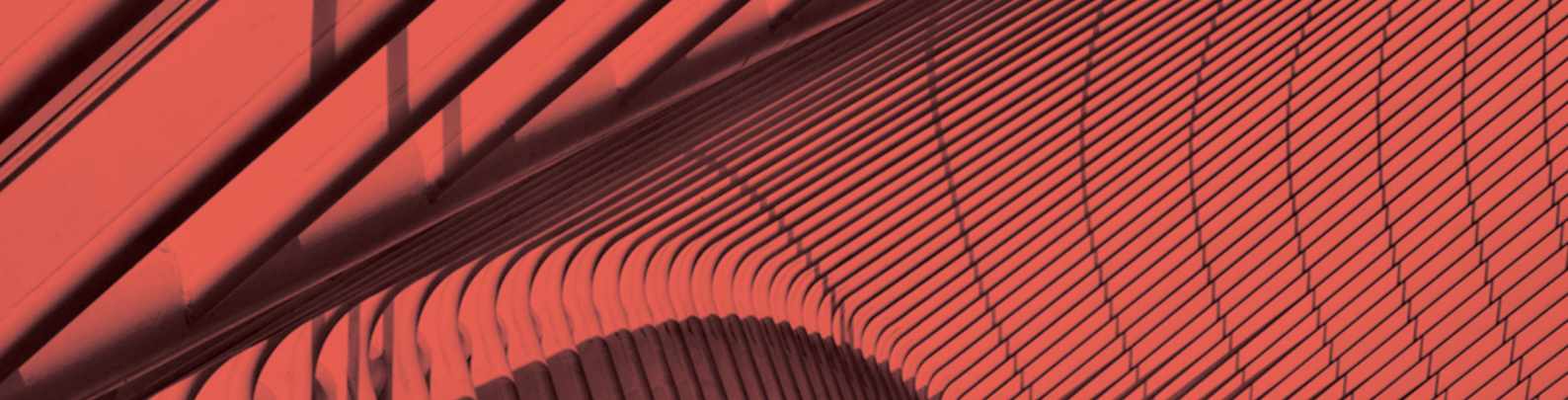
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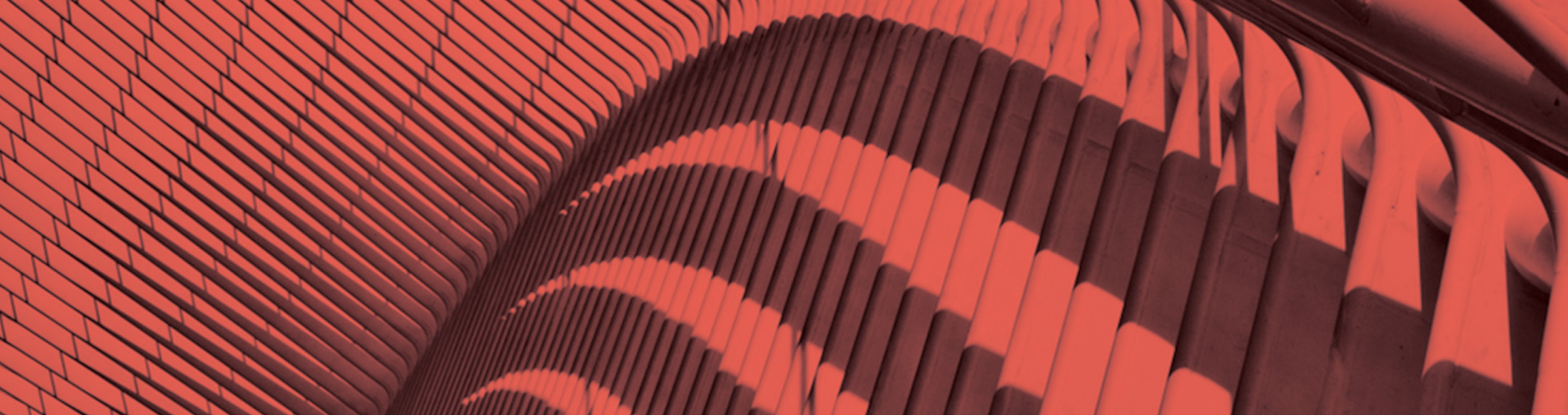
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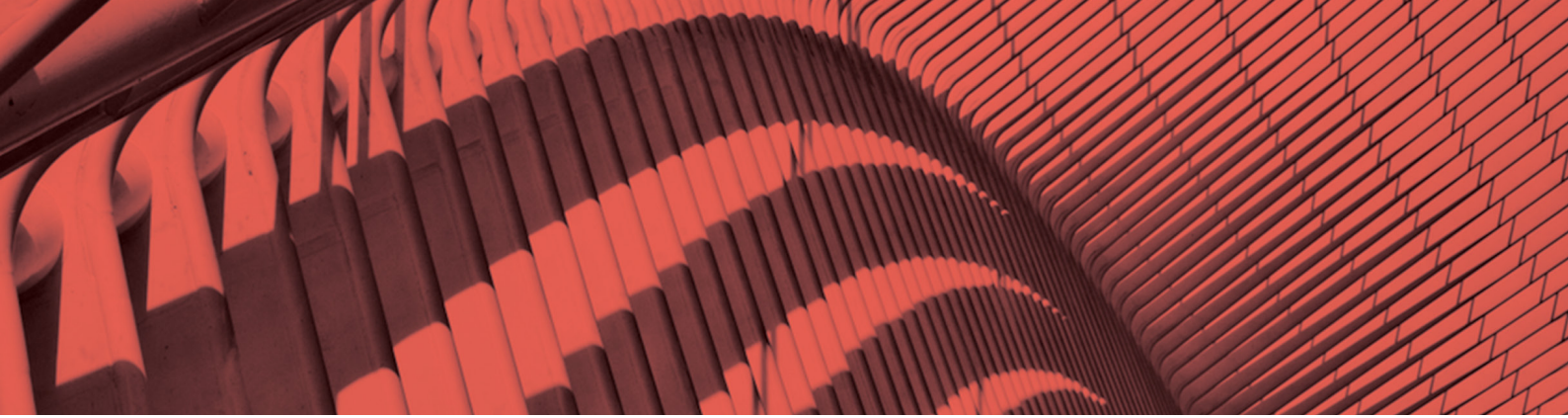
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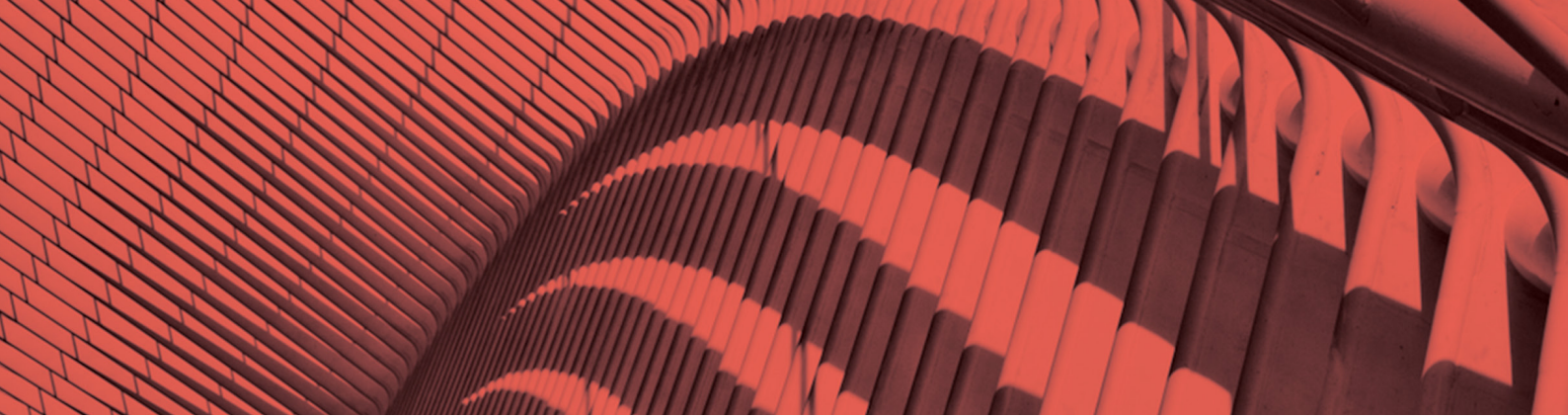
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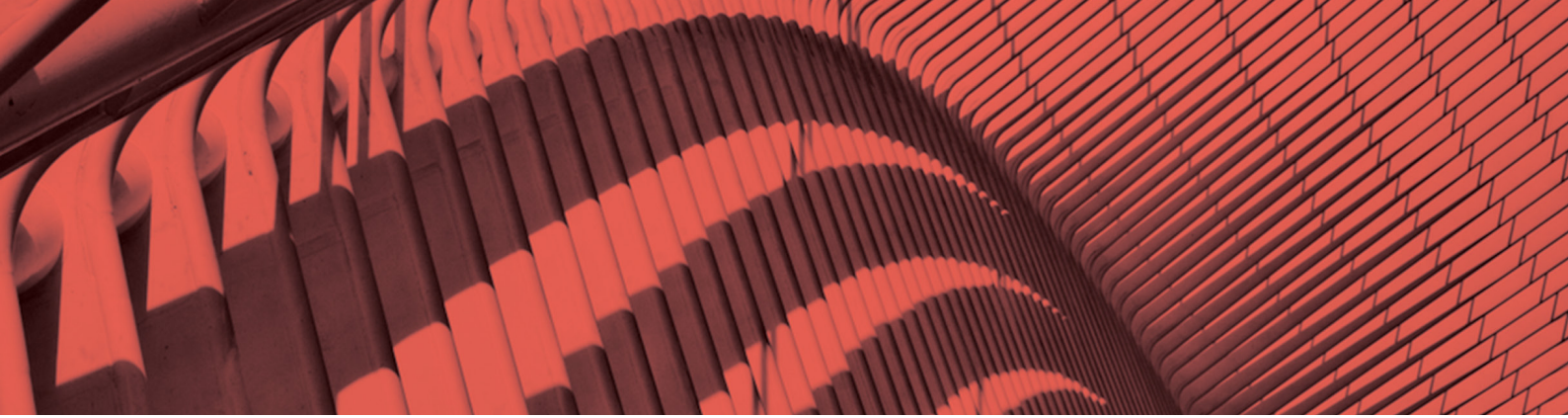
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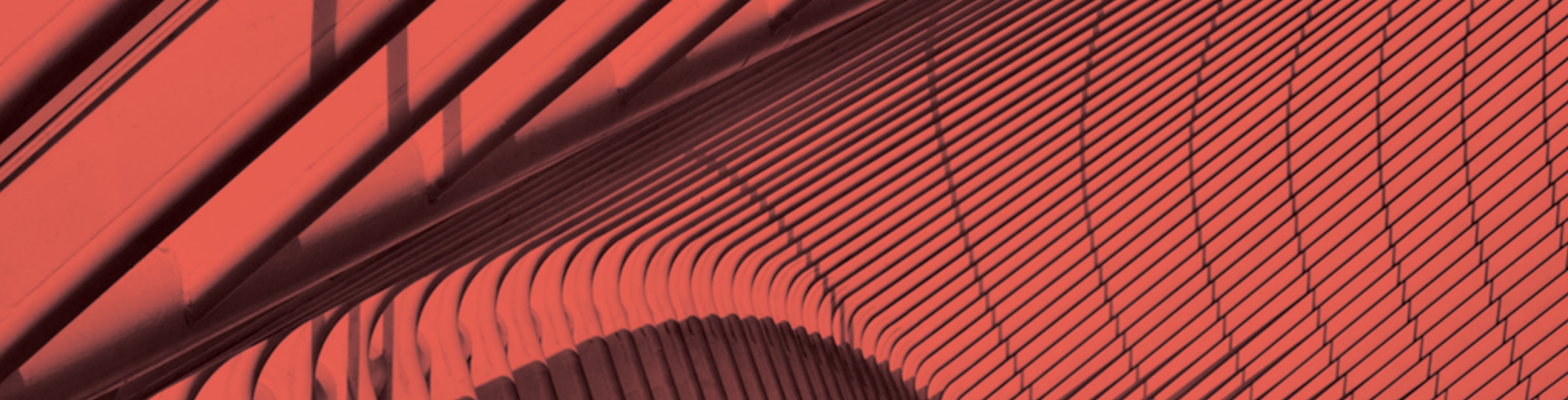
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Appendix 1: A Brief Overview and History of 8 Indexes

1. Human Development Index (1990), UNDP

The Human Development Index (HDI) was developed in 1990 by Indian economist Amartya Sen and then used by a research team around Pakistani economist Mah-bub ul Haq, with the aim to develop coherent Human Development Reports for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and their Human Development Report Office (HDRO).

At the time a composite measure of human development was needed to highlight the importance of evaluating development not only from the viewpoint of economic gains (defined in terms of GDP), but in terms of advances in human wellbeing. This was aimed at shifting the focus of development economics from national income towards people-centered policies. The index does this by assessing development of a country based on human capabilities rather than economic growth alone. This means analysing the value of what people can be "be" and "do" in life, for example being well fed, sheltered and healthy and doing work and engaging in education and political processes.

The HDI is a summary measure of average achievement in 3 key dimensions of human development:

- Life expectancy at birth
- Being knowledgeable (Literacy Rate, Gross Enrolment Ratio at different levels and Net Attendance Ratio, this was updated in 2010 to measure mean years of schooling and Expected years of schooling)
- Standard of living (per capita income)

The HDI is the geometric mean of normalized indices for each of the three dimensions. The HDI uses the logarithm of income, to reflect the diminishing importance of income with increasing GNI. The following categories are used, and countries are ranked against them: 0.800–1.000 (very high), 0.700–0.799 (high), 0.550–0.699 (medium), 0.350–0.549 (low)

To take the example of the Human Development report 2019 (Conceição, 2019), this has highlighted impressive international improvement in life expectancy at birth. However, it also addresses new inequalities at various scales that the HDI does not account for. For example, poverty, human security and empowerment. An Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI) was therefore introduced, which “discounts” each dimension’s average value according to its level of inequality. Sagar and Najam (1998) note that a sustainability and environmental performance measure should also be introduced.

Klugman et al. (2011) highlight that the report has resulted in many academic reviews. In some of these papers there is criticism, including, at the one extreme, the view that the HDI is as “an overly simplistic representation which has little, if any, conceptual or theoretical basis”. More constructively, some critics raise concerns about errors in relation to data updating, formulae, thresholds, robustness (e.g. Cherchye et al. 2008) and cut-off values (e.g. they could be vulnerable to strategic behaviour in reporting official statistics). Cahill (2005), for example, argues that the strong correlation between HDI and GDP or GNP per capital either indicates the HDI is robust to a wide range of index weights, or it is largely redundant.

With the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the report, the authors of the Report undertook a comprehensive revision of these critiques and introduced several major changes in the 2010 edition. These changes are outlined in a table on page 3 of the report by Klugman et al. From page 28 onwards the authors respond to newly emerging criticism in great detail, for example in relation to regional differences and whether there is a bias.

Cahill, M.B., 2005. Is the human development index redundant?. *Eastern Economic Journal*, 31(1), pp.1-5.

Cherchye, L., Ooghe, E. and Van Puyenbroeck, T., 2008. Robust human development rankings. *The Journal of Economic Inequality*, 6(4), pp.287-321.

Sagar, A. and Najam, A., 1998. The human development index: a critical review. *Ecological Economics*, 25(3), pp.249-264.

Conceição, P., 2019. *Human Development Report 2019: Beyond Income, Beyond Averages, Beyond Today: Inequalities In Human Development In The 21st Century*. [online] New York: United Nations Development Programme. Available at: <<http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr2019.pdf>> [Accessed 7 July 2020].

Klugman, J., Rodríguez, F. and Choi, H.J., 2011. The HDI 2010: new controversies, old critiques. *The Journal of Economic Inequality*, 9(2), pp.249-288.

2. Global Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index (2010) Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative and UNDP

The global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) is an international measure of acute multidimensional poverty. The index was developed by the OPHD due to the increasing availability of survey data about living conditions for households in over 100 developing countries. It has been used by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for the production of their 'Human Development Report' since October 2010. The Global MPI is released annually by UNDP and OPHI and results are accessible on their websites.

Replacing the Human Poverty Index, the MPI complements traditional monetary poverty measures by capturing the acute deprivations in health (child mortality, nutrition), education (years of schooling, school attendance), and living standards (cooking fuel, sanitation, drinking water, electricity, housing, assets) that a person faces simultaneously.

The MPI uses the The Alkire-Foster (AF) method as a way of measuring multidimensional poverty, which was developed by OPHI's Sabina Alkire and James Foster. "Building on the Foster-Greer-Thorbecke poverty measures, it involves counting the different types of deprivation that individuals experience at the same time, such as a lack of education or employment, or poor health or living standards. These deprivation profiles are analysed to identify who is poor, and then used to construct a multidimensional index of poverty (MPI)" (Ophi.org.uk. 2020)

The MPI can be compared with the Human Development Index (1990), which was also developed by the UNDP. Both use the 3 broad dimensions *health, education* and *standard of living*, however the HDI analyses them at aggregate level whereas the MPI uses micro data coming from the same survey. This is one of the reasons why the MPI has only been calculated for just over 100 countries, where data is available for the diverse indicators. The MPI however is more robust than the HDI with its relative sparsity of indicators which make it more susceptible to bias.

The MPI creates a comprehensive picture of people living in poverty, which allows for comparisons with other countries and regions and within countries, for example by ethnic group, location and other key household and community characteristics. Some of the cutoffs and thresholds used, as well as the indicators and weightings attributed, critics say need improvement so that poverty evaluation can pay closer attention to the reality of poverty.

The MPI and the HDI have been criticized for not considering moral, emotional and spiritual dimensions of poverty, but some of these factors have been captured by the Global Happiness Index.

The academic discussion around the MPI on the one hand concerns methodology-based questions, such as the use of indicators and their applicability in specific contexts (e.g. Bag and Seth, 2018) and discussion around robustness, weighting and measures (e.g. Cavapozzi et al., 2005; Alkire and Foster, 2011). Klasen and Lahoti (2016) highlight that the MPI "assumes equal distribution within the household and thus yield a biased assessment of individual poverty and poverty by age or gender".

There are a range of papers that use the MPI as source for national or regional analysis of poverty, which is not restricted to developing countries but analyses poverty in advanced economies for example the US and Germany. In the US-context, it has been highlighted that one in five adults were multidimensionally poor, with lack of health insurance and a severe housing burden being the most significant indicators or deprivation (Dhongde and Haveman, 2015). In the German context, while there was no specific indicator that was particularly severe, Suppa (2018) highlights the emergence of poverty profiles (e.g. the elderly) and the need to include further dimensions e.g. including material deprivation and employment.

Alkire, S. and Foster, J., 2011. Understandings and misunderstandings of multidimensional poverty measurement. *The Journal of Economic Inequality*, 9(2), pp.289-314.

Bag, S. and Seth, S., 2018. Does it matter how we assess standard of living? Evidence from Indian slums comparing monetary and multidimensional approaches. *Social Indicators Research*, 140(2), pp.715-754.

Cavapozzi, D., Han, W. and Miniaci, R., 2015. Alternative weighting structures for multidimensional poverty assessment. *The Journal of Economic Inequality*, 13(3), pp.425-447.

Dhongde, S. and Haveman, R., 2015. Multi-dimensional poverty index: An application to the United States. [online] Available at: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2588584>> [Accessed 5 August 2020].

Klasen, S. and Lahoti, R., 2016. How serious is the neglect of intra-household inequality in multi-dimensional poverty indices? [online] Available at: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2742083/>> [Accessed 5 August 2020].

Suppa, N., 2018. Towards a multidimensional poverty index for Germany. *Empirica*, 45(4), pp.655-683.

Ophi.org.uk. 2020. [online] Available at: <<https://ophi.org.uk/research/multidimensional-poverty/alkire-foster-method/>> [Accessed 5 August 2020].

3. European Social Progress Index (2016), European Commission

Measuring a country's economic progress by limiting it to growth and competitiveness as economic indicators creates an incomplete picture of progress. In 2013 the US based Social Progress Imperative teamed up with leading experts across sectors to develop the Social Progress Index as a counter-weight to GDP for over 130 countries (2019 Social Progress Index, 2020).

The EU-SPI follows the Global Social Progress Index framework in a partnership with Social Progress Imperative. It measures the extent to which countries provide for the social and environmental needs of their citizens, classified according to the following three dimensions within which are twelve subcomponents:

- Basic human needs (such as water, nutrition, and shelter)
- Foundations of wellbeing (such as health, sustainability, and access to communications)
- Opportunity (such as political freedoms, tolerance, and access to higher education)

The SPI has been adapted to the EU context using the same overall dimensions, but with more specific indicators, 50 in total, relevant to the European context. The main data sources for the indicators is Eurostat (European Statistical Office) and EU-SILC (European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions), measured for 272 NUTS (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics) regions in the EU. Whenever possible, the indicators have been averaged over three years, 2011-2013, to smooth out erratic changes and limit missing values problems (Dijkstra, L., Annoni, P. and Hellman, T., 2020: 6).

The index has the capacity to reveal contrasts between regional performance, for example, of GDP per capita as a measure of well-being, and performance according to EU-SPI. It can highlight the most pressing issues that prevent progress, with the index functioning as a practical guide for directing resources toward issues that can unlock this growth. On the SPI website it suggests that the SPI is a “necessary tool in the 21st century [for] guiding investment, informing social responsibility strategies, and better understanding the impact and purpose of business in society beyond profit” (2019 Social Progress Index, 2020).

The outcomes of the index can be viewed online (Ec.europa.eu, 2020) through a colour graded map (9 grades). Data can also be viewed for each region to see a breakdown of indicators to find out how the region performed on a scale from underperforming to overperforming.

While capital regions such as London and Brussels have a large GDP per capita they perform poorly in the EU-SPI. The same can be observed with other capital regions as well as many regions in Italy and Spain. Through the EU SPI website it is very easy to identify areas that need improvement, such as night time safety or freedom over lifetime choices in London which are indicators that underperform.

In the context of EU Cohesion Policy the index aims to achieve the following (Dijkstra, L., Annoni, P. and Hellman, T., 2020: 5-6):

- “focusing on the least developed regions and support regional strategies to promote economic, social and territorial cohesion
- help regions to identify peers, at any level of economic development, from whom they could learn [...]
- serve as a sounding board for the European Commission to assess whether the 2014-2020 programmes address the right issues in the right places”

Academically there is a broader discussion of social progress in Europe outside of an immediate policy context. This involves, for example, questioning the relevance

of cultural characteristics as inputs for social policy (Dan, 2017) and understanding social progress in the context of integration of newer EU countries (e.g, Romania) into the block (Bilan et al., 2019).

Jitmaneroj (2017) notes that there are opportunities for the SPI to be explored by analysing the causal relationships among the 12 components as a way to understand where social improvement is most needed.

Bilan, Y., Vasilyeva, T., Lyulyov, O. and Pimonenko, T., 2019. EU VECTOR OF UKRAINE DEVELOPMENT: LINKING BETWEEN MACROECONOMIC STABILITY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. *International Journal of Business & Society*, 20(2).

Ec.europa.eu. 2020. European Social Progress Index. [online] Available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/information/maps/social_progress> [Accessed 1 August 2020].

Dan, H., 2017. Is social progress subject to cultural influences? Arguments for considering cultural characteristics as inputs for social policy design and implementation. *Modelling the New Europe. An On-line Journal*, (22), pp.104-122.

Dijkstra, L., Annoni, P. and Hellman, T., 2020. *THE EUREGIONAL SPI: A MEASURE OF SOCIAL PROGRESS IN THE EUREGIONS. METHODOLOGICAL PAPER.* [online] EC-DG for Regional and Urban Policy. Available at: <<http://datacentro.ccdrc.pt/Uploads/Docs/EU%20Regional%20Social%20Progress%20Index.pdf>> [Accessed 1 August 2020].

Jitmaneroj, B., 2017. Beyond the equal-weight framework of the Social Progress Index. *International Journal of Social Economics*, Vol. 44 No. 12, pp. 2336-2350.

2019 Social Progress Index. 2020. *2019 Social Progress Index.* [online] Available at: <<https://www.socialprogress.org/>> [Accessed 1 August 2020].

4. The Human Capital Index (2018), World Bank

The Human Capital Index is a report prepared by the World Bank as part of their Human Capital Project. Although the bank has informally relied on the concept of human capital, since 2018 it started promoting it as guiding concept for governing health and education. Their staff advocate the importance of human capital in public speeches and reports, do research on the foundations of the concept, and refer to it when working with client governments (Stein and Sridhar, 2019).

According to the OECD, human capital is defined as: “the knowledge, skills, competencies and other attributes embodied in individuals or groups of individuals acquired during their life and used to produce goods, services or ideas in market circumstances” (Ons.gov.uk, 2020). The World Bank’s exact definition varies with resilience and health being added as an important part of human capital, as people

are generally more productive when they are more resilient and healthier (Stein and Sridhar, 2019).

The Index measures which countries are best in mobilizing the economic and professional potential of its citizens, through measuring the human capital that a child can expect to attain by the age of 18 (Kraay, 2019). The HCI then ranks countries according to how much human capital they are expected to generate and how much capital each country remains unrealised through lack of education and health of the labour force, with the goal of bringing about policy change. The Index was first published in October 2018 and ranked 157 countries.

The index considers three features of young people's lives that constrain their productivity: child mortality, insufficient education, and poor health, which are combined into a single number, known as the HCI score ranging between 0 and 1 with 1 meaning maximum potential (100%) is reached (Stein and Sridhar, 2019). A score of 0.70 indicates a country's work force is 30% less productive than they would be at maximum level. Stein and Sridhar (2019) also note that score can be converted into potential gains in GDP, for example a country with a score of 0.50 is predicted to be able to double its GDP if it reached the benchmark of complete education and full health.

The HCI subsumes health and education to economic concerns, which distinguishes it from other development indices, like UNDP's HDI, which combines health, education, and economic productivity on an equal footing (Stein and Sridhar, 2019). The HCI is therefore interesting for governments and policy makers who wish to grow GDP, considering health spending a potentially profitable form of capital investment.

AS the HCI subsumes health, it "excludes anyone with disabilities that preclude participation in the labour market, people who are elderly or chronically ill, and those who are unwilling or otherwise unable to work." (Stein and Sridhar, 2019). The authors further argue that a human capital-based healthcare systematically often favours a privileged target population promising highest income increments. It has remained contested who should be "investing" in health and whether workers should pay for their own healthcare with the prospect of increased income, or should employers cover health care for their employees in order to boost company profits? Or should health be the responsibility of governments because this may increase their stock of national wealth?

In the field of education the index has been used to establish debt instruments for the financialization of education so called human capital contracts (Friedman, 1955). Students attending university assume their expected income along with their human capital increase after graduation, which is appealing to capital markets to invest in them. Kraay (2019) highlights how "benefits of these investments often take time to materialize and are not always very visible to voters" [...] and how "this is one reason why policymakers may not sufficiently prioritize programs to support human capital formation".

The HCI draws heavily on techniques from academic literature on quantification of contributions of education and health to worker productivity as well as development accounting literature, which are analysed by Kraay (2019) in order to show how the HCI is calculated. Some of the data points feeding into the components that form the index are only infrequently measured in some countries, and not at all in others, while needing conversion into common units. Other data points such as childhood mortality as sometimes estimated where no data is available.

As such the HCI provides rough estimates of how current education and health will shape the productivity of future workers. This cannot be used as a checklist for policy actions, as interventions will have to be based on national and local contexts. Kraay (2019) further questions the usefulness of the HCI as a tool to inform the cost-effectiveness of policy interventions in health and education, and whether cost effectiveness should rather be based on national project based impact assessments.

Kraay, A. 2019. *The World Bank Human Capital Index: A Guide*, *The World Bank Research Observer*, 34(1), pp 1–33. [online] Available at: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/wbro/lkz001>>

Friedman, M., 1955. *The role of government in education*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press

Stein, F. and Sridhar, D., 2019. Back to the future? Health and the World Bank's human capital index. *bmj*, 367. Available at: <<https://www.bmj.com/content/367/bmj.l5706/>> [Accessed 5 August 2020].

Ons.gov.uk. 2020. *Human Capital Estimates - Office For National Statistics*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/well-being/articles/humancapitalestimates/2015-08-25>> [Accessed 5 August 2020].

5. Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor (2017), European Commission

The first edition of the Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor was published in 2017 by the Joint Research Centre, the EU Commission's science and knowledge service. The monitor's 2019 release is accompanied by an online tool which enables cities to add their own data for more in-depth coverage and bench marking.

The monitor analyses the performance of over 150 selected cities in 30 European countries ranging in population size from 1 million to 50,000 across 29 indicators categorised in 9 categories across 'Cultural Vibrancy', the 'Creative Economy' and the 'Enabling Environment' of a city. The scores of these three measures are aggregated in an overall index (the 'C3 Index'). The rankings can be viewed through an interactive online platform in which cities are mapped according to their size and category of analysis, accessible at: <https://composite-indicators.jrc.ec.europa.eu/cultural-creative-cities-monitor/>

The index offers the opportunity for national, regional and municipal policy makers to “identify local strengths and opportunities and benchmark their cities against similar urban centres using both quantitative and qualitative data [...] promot[ing] mutual exchange and learning between cities” (EU Science Hub - European Commission, 2020). Further it is claimed that the report will generate important data to “stimulate new questions and insights into the role of culture and creativity in cities’ social and economic wellbeing”, with culture at the heart of the EU’s policy agenda (ibid).

A 2019 version has been released covering 190 cities in 30 European countries. The indicators in the 2019 report included 29 measurable aspects, including, for example jobs in arts and culture, cinema seats and foreign-born population (for full list see: Montalto, 2019a: 172). “They have been selected to represent wider notions or processes for which more comprehensive data is unavailable and, as such, should be considered as ‘proxies’ in some cases.” (Montalto, 2019a). The importance of social and cultural inclusion is addressed through including indicators like cultural participation, diversity, openness and trust, which are values promoted in the New European Agenda for Culture 2018. Among the cities investigated are 98 which have been or will become European Capital of Culture and 59 UNESCO Creative Cities, allowing for an analysis of the value of that those titles and associated policy interventions.

What the report does not answer is why there are notable differences across cities. It cannot, for example, explain if and how urban structure influences cultural vibrancy or whether cultural institutions have an important role in strong performance. The authors acknowledge that their reports invite scholars to conduct further research to assess differences and identify causality gaps.

The results of the monitor were picked up by local and national press praising the success of cities that ranked highly, and local mayors and arts organisation use it to exemplify their strengths in relation to the cultural and creative sector. The monitor provides evidence which can invite for further investment into the sector.

In the academic field however there is little evidence of the use of the monitor in the discussion of cultural and creative industries, despite the opportunity for more research into the causalities of a strong cultural and creative sector in certain cities, how they are connected with other cities, and whether this connectivity is important for the sector.

Montalto, V., Tacao Moura, C., Langedijk, S. and Saisana, M., 2019a. Culture counts: An empirical approach to measure the cultural and creative vitality of European cities. *Cities*, 89, pp.167-185.

Montalto, V., Tacao Moura, C., Panella, F., Alberti, V., Becker, W. and Saisana, M., 2019b. *The Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor: 2019 Edition*. Publications Office of the European Union, doi:10.2760/257371

Montalto V; Jorge Tacao Moura C; Langedijk S; Saisana M., 2017 *The Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor 2017 Edition*. Publications Office of the European Union, doi:10.2760/5864

EU Science Hub - European Commission. 2020. *The Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor: 2017 Edition - EU Science Hub - European Commission*. [online] Available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/jrc/en/publication/eur-scientific-and-technical-research-reports/cultural-and-creative-cities-monitor-2017-edition> [Accessed 7 July 2020].

6. Global Creativity Index (2004), Martin Prosperity Institute

The Martin Prosperity Institute (MPI) describes itself as “the world’s leading think-tank on the role of sub-national factors—location, place, and city-regions— in global economic prosperity”. Looking beyond traditional economic measures, prosperity is understood to include quality of place and the development of people’s creative potential. (Martinprosperity.org, 2011).

The institute is run by Richard Florida who is best known but also criticised for his work on creative cities and the creative class, as it subsumes creativity for economic growth. Florida uses his 3T method (see below: technology, talent and tolerance) discussed within many of his publications on the creative class to construct the creativity index, despite criticism of its conceptual weaknesses (Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2008) that expose how the intrinsic value of culture and creativity are merely instrumentalised rather than forming the centre of investigation.

Florida’s 3T’s:

1. **Technology**: Research and development investment, and patents per capita
2. **Talent** – Share of adults with higher education and workforce in the creative class
3. **Tolerance** – Treatment of immigrants, racial and ethnic minorities, gays and lesbians

What is meant by creativity is very broad, as illustrated by the wide membership of the ‘creative class’ (Florida, 2004), which encompasses a breadth of creative professions including science, technology and arts which he defines at a spectrum from core to periphery creative. In this sense the talent index, indicating the share of the workforce in the creative class, refers to the categories identified by Florida.

In the 2015 report Florida et al. argue that place has become more important than the corporation as unit for key economic and social organizing, while they see creativity as non-depletable and renewable form production, framed within the concept of creative capitalism as opposed to industrial capitalism. Creative capitalism is closely aligned with related notions, such as the knowledge economy, and some accounts of neoliberal capitalism. This is a limited conception of creativity, as there are many other forms on non-economic creativity not taken into account: for example, creative sustainability (e.g. smart use of resources, recycling etc.), which is becoming ever more crucial in times of climate emergency.

The global creativity index ranks nations according to their creative performance based on the 3Ts model, which has been criticised for making nations and places competitive, leading to creative city policy making that favours flagship projects over sustainable bottom-up development. There is an overall aggregated GCI index and 3 sub-indexes formed around the 3Ts. Correia (2014) compares 11 similar indexes on the basis of EU rankings, all of which use the 3Ts as a benchmark and include several more indicators, suggesting that Florida's approach may be too limited and can be improved for regional contexts.

What is misleading with the choice of nations as the geographical scale is, firstly, considering Florida's emphasis on place as key indicator for creative productivity and, secondly, it contradicts literature on global cities and their interconnectivity as well as competitiveness between them (Sassen, 2018). Here Sassen argues that cities are more interconnected or competitive than their nation states; and Çetindamar and Günsel (2012) attempt an application of a creativity index measure including global network connectivity and 'world cityness'.

On page 29 (Florida et al., 2015) in the report it has been acknowledged that surging inequalities have recently emerged around the world. But the authors fail to address in more detail the relationship between inequalities and the 3Ts, and how this impacts creative capacity of a nation or place. Florida uses a correlation between GCI and income inequality as a proxy, which is not conclusive within the GCI framework and the 3T method.

Rinne et al. (2013) have shown how there is a strong positive relationship between individualism and national ranking on the GCI, which underlines the interconnection of creativity within the frame of creative capitalism and also signals hidden inequalities that an aggregated view of competitive creativity cannot capture. It can also however mean the capacity for individuals in a national economy to be autonomous, independent and free.

Another criticism is that the 2011 report excludes all African countries except for South Africa (although 2015 report has attempted to fill this gap). This indicates a bias towards western developed countries and creativity understood in terms of business/entrepreneurial culture, further raising questions of the partiality with which creativity is treated in the index, discussed above.

Çetindamar, D. and Günsel, A., 2012. Measuring the Creativity of a City: A Proposal and an Application. *European Planning Studies*, 20(8), pp.1301-1318.

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Florida, R., 2004. The rise of the creative class and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life (Paperback Ed.). *GEN, New York: Basic Books*.

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Martinprosperity.org. 2011. Creativity and Prosperity: The Global Creative Index [online] Available at: <http://martinprosperity.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Creativity-and-Prosperity_The-Global-Creativity-Index.pdf> [Accessed 6 August 2020].

Peck, J., 2005. Struggling with the creative class. *International journal of urban and regional research*, 29(4), pp.740-770.

Pratt, A.C., 2008. Creative cities: the cultural industries and the creative class. *Geografiska annaler: series B, human geography*, 90(2), pp.107-117.

Rinne, T., Steel, G.D. and Fairweather, J., 2013. The role of Hofstede's individualism in national-level creativity. *Creativity Research Journal*, 25(1), pp.129-136.

Sassen, S., 2018. Cities in a world economy. Sage Publications.

7. Creative Cities Index (2008), Charles Landry and Jonathan Hyams

Charles Landry is an independent consultant on creative cities who released a toolkit in 2000 firstly through his consultancy Comedia and then as a book (Landry, 2012), which sets out how to think, plan and act creatively in addressing urban issues. While Richard Florida coined the concept of the creative class, highlighting how human capital is crucial for understanding urban economic potential, Landry's toolkit popularised the creative city term from a planning and governance perspective. Landry's work on the Creative City is considered "a useful corrective" by Pratt (2008: 2) to Florida's version, as his focus is on creative processes rather than consumption of arts and culture. In this sense Landry understands how an inclusive and participatory city is a place where "arts and culture are a means and a practice of place making and living" (ibid).

Landry calls for city leaders to apply unconventional and creative thinking to solving urban problems, coming from a perspective that traditional hierarchical structures restrict ideas generation and rethinking. Initially his focus was on the contribution of the arts and the creative industries in driving innovation in cities and helping to make them distinctive, but increasingly he has focused on civic creativity and emphasised how the organizational culture needs to change to unleash the potential, resources and assets of a city.

The Creative City Index was originally conceived and developed in collaboration with Bilbao Metropoli 30 in 2008/9, which is Bilbao's long term think tanks and played an important role in the renaissance of the city. The index assesses cities in terms of their creativity holistically from an economic, social and cultural perspective along four clusters: capacity to nurture potential, regulatory and incentives regime, the ability to harness and exploit creativity and the lived experience of place. Critics have noted of Landry's creative city model and this index, that there is a danger that creativity is too narrowly conceived and can become hollowed out.

Their 2012 book 'Measuring the pulse of the city' (Landry and Hyams, 2012) not only summarises the purpose, function and some outputs from the index, but within the frame of their consultancy invites more cities to join the index as a way of comparison, internal self- evaluation and external assessment. The authors conduct empirical research both quantitative and qualitative for each city through workshops, surveys, site visits and interview, which feed into their database of cities included in their consultancy portfolio. Their research usually encompasses 10 domains (Landry, 2010)

- Political and public framework
- Distinctiveness, diversity, vitality and expression
- Openness, tolerance and accessibility
- Entrepreneurship, exploration and innovation
- Strategic leadership, agility and vision
- Talent and learning landscape
- Communication, connectivity and networking
- The place and placemaking
- Liveability and well-being
- Professionalism and effectiveness

Importantly Landry does not locate creativity only in the arts and cultural sector, but includes in his investigations sectors such as education and training, industry and business, public bodies and administration as well as the community and voluntary sector.

The qualitative approach contrasts to other creativity indexes, such as Florida's Global Creativity Index or the Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor which use datasets of administrative authorities which serve as proxies rather than being able to measure the actual issue or phenomenon. The attention to qualitative methods and empirical research underlines the author's commitment to understanding processes in a local context, while at the same time aggregating this to a comparable level with other cities. This approach does not simply rank cities which would lead to a competitive framework, it takes stock of processes and allows for reflection, which mirrors the non-bureaucratic approach to city governance championed by Landry.

Landry, C., 2012. *The creative city: A toolkit for urban innovators.* Earthscan.

Landry, C., 2010. The Creative City Index: Measuring the creative pulse of your city. Presentation for Flemish Economic Scientific Conference [online] Available at: < http://archieff.vwe.be/vwec2010/notulen/VWEC2010_Landry_Creative%20City%20Index.pdf > [Accessed 6 August 2020].

Landry, C. and Hyams, J., 2012. *The creative city index: Measuring the pulse of the city.* Stroud: Comedia.

Pratt, A.C., 2008. Creative cities?. *Urban Design Journal*, 105

8. Index of Culture and Opportunity (2017), The Heritage Foundation USA

The Heritage Foundation “formulates and promotes conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defence” (Marshall et al, 2017: 109). Their 2017 Index of Culture and Opportunity is an edited report with many authors contributing to an assessment of specific factors that underpin freedom and opportunity in the USA. The three indicator areas referred to in the report are: (1) culture (in a broader societal sense), (2) poverty and dependence, and (3) general opportunity.

Each author focuses on a specific question that is explored with the help of empirical evidence presented in the form of charts, tracking social and economic changes. Data is drawn from publicly available sources. A dataset referred to as Master table is available at the back of the report. There is very little evidence, however, regarding how the index is used beyond the foundation’s remit. A simple google search does not reveal many entries of policy or academic discussion. Compared to the other metric and composite indexes surveyed here, this is a collection of short statistical reports highlighting a range of issues related to cultural and opportunity.

Marshall, J.A., Kim, C., Morrow, J. and Ryland, A., 2017. *Index of Culture and Opportunity: Institute for Family, Community, and Opportunity*. Washington: The Heritage Foundation USA

Appendix 2: Table A.1

Dimensions of Human Development (Categories)

Dimension of Human Development	Categories
Needs (basic/intermediate/political/cultural)	<p>Life-supporting relation to environment / Maintenance of life / Protective housing / Shelter / Clothes / Physical survival</p> <p>Food and water / Nutrition / To avoid misery / Physical needs / Safety needs / Adequate sustenance</p> <p>Excretion</p> <p>Security / Security in childhood / Physical security / Rootedness / To avoid violence / Protection / Ontological security</p> <p>Safe birth control / childbearing</p> <p>Exercise</p> <p>Period rest (sleep) / Rest</p> <p>Preserving the body intact / Healing / Cleanliness / Physical environment / Healthcare</p> <p>Companionship / Significant primary relationships / Relatedness / Love / Joy / Happiness / Affective needs / Sense of belonging / Group inclusion / Connection</p> <p>Education / In Science and Art / Basic education / Curiosity, learning</p> <p>Social acceptance, recognition / Sense of identity & individuality / Being linked / (Self-)Esteem / Sense of community / Status / Confirmation of self (identity) / Positive identity</p> <p>Sexual activity / Sex / Sexual gratification / Sexual needs</p> <p>Freedom from harassment / Freedom (choice) / Autonomy / Competence / Effectiveness and control</p> <p>Work / Against boring work / Achievement / Meaningful work / Material/symbolic gratification</p> <p>Recreation / Amusement /</p> <p>Provision for well-being after death / Frame of orientation and devotion / Sense of immortality</p> <p>Provision for future / Self-actuation / Self-actualization / Self-realization / Long-term satisfaction</p> <p>Need to create / Transcendence-creativity / To avoid alienation / Self-expression / Ego gratification / Creativity / Transcendence</p> <p>Consistency needs: emotional, logical, veridical / Sentience / Emotional security / Avoidance of anxiety / Sense of facticity / Comprehension of reality</p> <p>Moral needs</p> <p>Aggression expression needs / Dominance / Power</p> <p>Need for instrumental guides to reality, object appraisal</p> <p>Succourance / Trust (in the social and material environment)</p>

<p>Motivation and concerns</p>	<p>Media Societal standards Weather Government Safety / Survival / Security Community / Anxiety of isolation / Trusting others House Money Job Services Recreation facilities Traditions Marriage Children Family relations / Belonging Treatment Imagination / Stimulation / Anxiety of stagnation Acceptance / Anxiety of dependence Self-adjustment / Controlling Virtues Accomplishment / Satisfaction / Enhancing self Friends / Anxiety of insecurity Religion Health Own education / Understanding Beneficence Independence Mobility Beauty</p>
<p>Desires</p>	<p>Power / Control / Aggression / Fame Independence Curiosity / Understanding Acceptance / Belonging Order Saving Honour / Guilt, morality, virtue Idealism Social contact Family Status / Possessions and Territory / Self-esteem / Success Vengeance Romance / Sex Eating / Food Physical exercise Tranquility Pleasure (avoid pain) Self-preservation Money / Wealth Nurturance, generativity, helping Language use A meaningful life</p>

<p>Values (basic/human/prudential/terminal)</p>	<p>Life and reproduction / Bodily life-health vigour and safety / Life sustenance / Subsistence / Health Protection and security / Family security (taking care of loved ones) / Security A world at peace (free of war) / National security Title (Property) / Minimum material goods / Wealth Sexual union / Deep personal relations / Significant relations with others / Mature love Decision-making / Rectitude / Tradition / Conformity Responsibility / Deciding for oneself (agency) / Self-direction Knowledge / Enlightenment / Literacy / Mastery Art / Creation / A world of beauty (of nature and arts) Communication / Participation (In social life) Meaning / Understanding / Wisdom (mature understanding of life) Skilful performance in work and play / Accomplishment (Sort that gives life point/weight) / Skill / Achievement (True) Friendship / Affection / Benevolence Practical reasonableness / Equality (brotherhood, opportunity for all) Self-integration / Esteem / Respect / Identity / Self-respect and aspiration / Social recognition Harmony with ultimate source of reality / Inner harmony / Salvation (eternal life) Freedom / Freedom from pain and anxiety / Liberty / Positive & Negative freedoms / (Affective / Intellectual) Autonomy Enjoyment / Leisure / An exciting life (stimulating, active) / Happiness / Hedonism / Stimulation Power / Hierarchy, conservatism / Egalitarian commitment / Universalism Well-being / A prosperous (comfortable) life</p>
<p>Capabilities, freedom and development</p>	<p>Life Bodily health Bodily integrity Senses, imagination, thought Emotions Practical reason Affiliation Other species Play Control over one's environment Political freedom Economic facilities Social opportunities Transparency guarantees Protective security Peace Economy Environment Justice Democracy</p>

<p>Causes of joy/satisfaction/correlates of happiness</p>	<p>Social contacts...close relationship / Intimacy/friendship / Community / Married Sexual activity Success, achievement / Material well-being / Productivity / Well paid / Job morale / Modest aspirations Physical activity, exercise, sport Nature, reading, music / Well educated Food and drink Alcohol Health / Safety / Healthy Emotional wellbeing / Worry free / Self esteem Young Extroverted / Optimistic Religious</p>
<p>Gross National Happiness</p>	<p>Psychological wellbeing Health Time-use Education Cultural diversity and resilience Good governance Community vitality Ecological diversity and resilience Living standards</p>
<p>Wellbeing</p>	<p>Having (economic; housing; employment; (challenging) work; health; education) / Material / Preventable mortality / Literacy Loving (attachments; associations / strong supportive relations) / Social / Positive relations with others Being (self-determination; political; leisure; meaningful work; nature) / Bodily / Purpose in life / Longevity / Infant/child mortality / Nourishment Self-esteem / Psychological wellbeing / Self-acceptance Personal control / Freedom of choice and action / Personal growth / Autonomy / Personal liberty and freedom Optimism Extraversion Religious faith Environmental mastery</p>
<p>Wellbeing ('Better Life')</p>	<p>Housing: housing conditions and spendings (e.g. real estate pricing) Income: household income (after taxes and transfers) and net financial wealth Jobs: earnings, job security and unemployment Community: quality of social support network Education: education and what one gets out of it Environment: quality of environment (e.g. environmental health) Governance: involvement in democracy Health Life Satisfaction: level of happiness Safety: murder and assault rates Work-life balance</p>

Goods (primary/basic human)	Rights Liberties Opportunities Income and wealth Freedom of movement Choice of occupation Social bases of self-respect Powers and prerogatives of offices and positions of responsibility Bodily survival, security, and pleasure Knowledge of reality Identity coherence and affirmation Exercising purposive agency Moral affirmation Social belonging and love
Life domains	Morality Food / Input-output (nutrition, water, air) Family Friendship Material resources Intelligence / Symbolic interaction & reflection (education) Romantic relationship Physical appearance Self Income Housing / Balance with nature (clothing, shelter) Social life / Community Health
(Deprivation)	Poverty Social inferiority Isolation Physical weakness Vulnerability Seasonality Powerlessness Humiliation
Connection	Ontological good Interaction Aesthetic experience (being-in-relation / connection & connecting) / Beauty / Creativity etc. Artful living (giving sharable form to aesthetic experience) / Communication / Expression / Recognition Cultural capability / democracy (opportunity to be relational subject and receive benefits of relational goods)

(Adapted from Alkire 2002; Smith 2015.)

Appendix 3: Cultural Development Index (Provisional Framework)

Dimensions (Capabilities Sets) of the Cultural Development Index	Capabilities Set Understood in terms of: Aesthetic & Artful Capabilities	Capabilities Set Understood in terms of: Care Capabilities	Specific beings and doings (functionings / capabilities)	Potential Indicators	Relevant data exists / New Data required?	Relevant (social & environmental) conversion factors	Potential Indicators	Relevant data exists / New Data required?
Capabilities Set 1: Capabilities of experiencing & reflecting	Aesthetic experience The substantive freedom to experience being-in-relation to ourselves, others & the world.	Attentiveness The substantive freedom to pay attention to what does – and could – matter to you and others.	e.g. Seeing a play; watching a film; having a mentoring or coaching session.			e.g. Systems of information sharing. Do children and young people know that there are free tickets to the theatre for children under 16? Do adults know there is free career coaching at the local library?		
Capabilities Set 2: Capabilities of creating & enabling	Artful creation The substantive freedom to initiate &/or participate in artful projects.	Responsibility & competence The substantive freedom to take responsibility for something you or others care about, and the competence (knowledge & skills) to fulfil one's intentions in taking this responsibility	e.g. Joining a choir; setting up a computer games company; helping organise a local festival			e.g. Systems of information sharing. Do university students know that there are free mentoring sessions for setting up your own creative business? e.g. Social norms. Do attitudes towards the elderly mean that they do not get involved in organising local festivals? Do gender norms mean that boys do not join local choirs?		
Capabilities Set 3: Capabilities of recognizing, legitimizing & governing	Cultural governance The substantive freedom to influence systems of value recognition.	Responsiveness The substantive freedom to evaluate & respond to how capabilities of care (attentiveness, responsibility & competence) have been exercised, or not exercised.	e.g. Being involved in evaluating a government programme; sitting on a citizens' council; being a board member of an organization.			e.g. Information sharing. Do people know they can take part in a citizens' council? e.g. Social norms. Do young people not take part in sitting on a citizens' council, despite their legal right to, because they are patronized? e.g. The distribution of care. Do fewer women serve on the boards of organizations because they undertake a larger proportion of unpaid care work?		