DISCE

DEVELOPING INCLUSIVE AND SUSTAINABLE CREATIVE ECONOMIES

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

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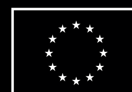

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Re-thinking Inclusive and Sustainable Growth for the Creative Economy: A Literature Review

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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 three 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' 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 invisiblised.

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 the review explores issues of 'indexes and measurement'. Here we are interested in the key tools through which policymakers know – and make decisions – about creative economies. Following a brief overview of existing indexes and indicators in the areas of human development and cultural development, 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.

DISCE is a ‘normative’ project, in two senses: it takes norms (and processes of valuing) as one of its objects of study, and it is not ‘neutral’ with regards to its key terms. 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.

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 formulate a Cultural Development Index

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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 three 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 invisiblised. 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, the final section explores issues of 'indexes and measurement', as these are key tools through which policymakers know – and make decisions – about creative economies. Here 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 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 2018; 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 limitations (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)

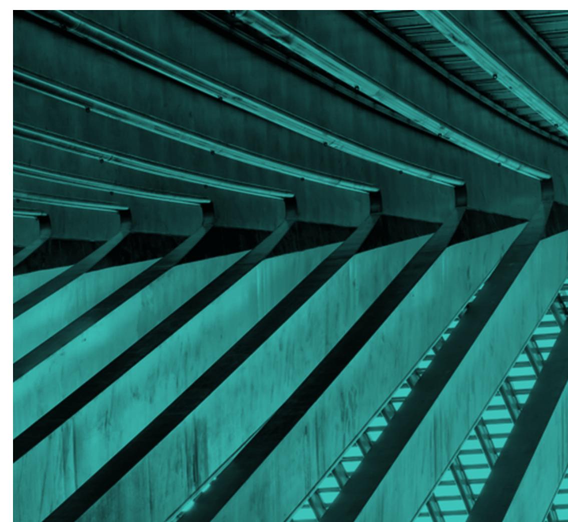
Capabilities, freedom and development	Agenda 21 Dimensions of development Nussbaum (2000) Sen (1999)
Cause of joy/satisfaction/correlates of happiness	Arygle et al. (1991) Cummins (1996) Wilson (1967)
Wellbeing	Allardt (1993) Myers and Diener (1995) Narayan et al. (2000)
Goods (primary / basic human)	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, responsibilitisation, 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 % or 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 consequences 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). 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.

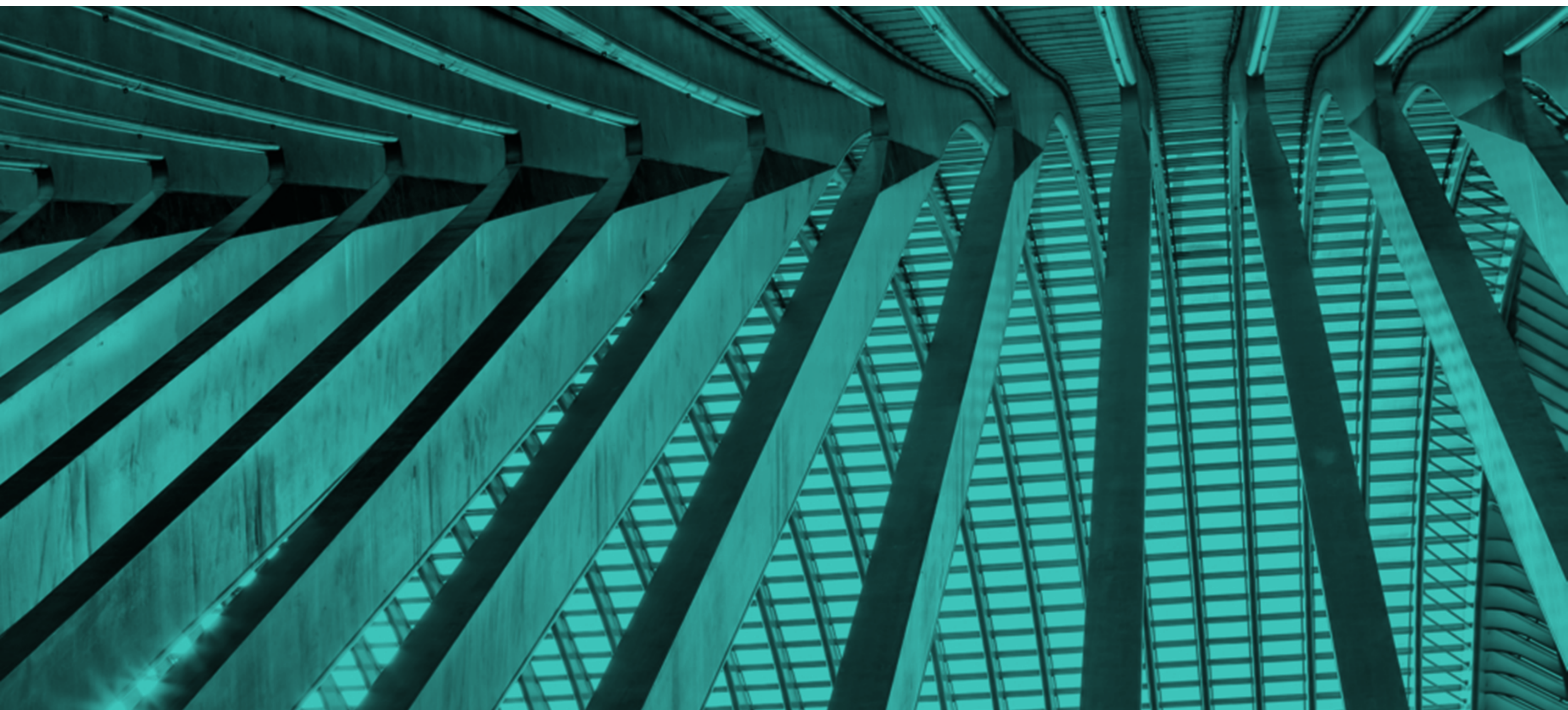
These debates within the capabilities approach raise important questions for DISCE. Which 'cultural' and 'creative' capabilities *matter*, and to whom? What are the processes by which the cultural and creative capabilities that matter should be identified? What would be the value (if any) of identifying 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 development' can sit across a boundary between 'urban policy' and 'community arts'. Adams and Goldbard suggest the notion of 'community cultural development' is an American us-

age 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.) Yudhishthir 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.

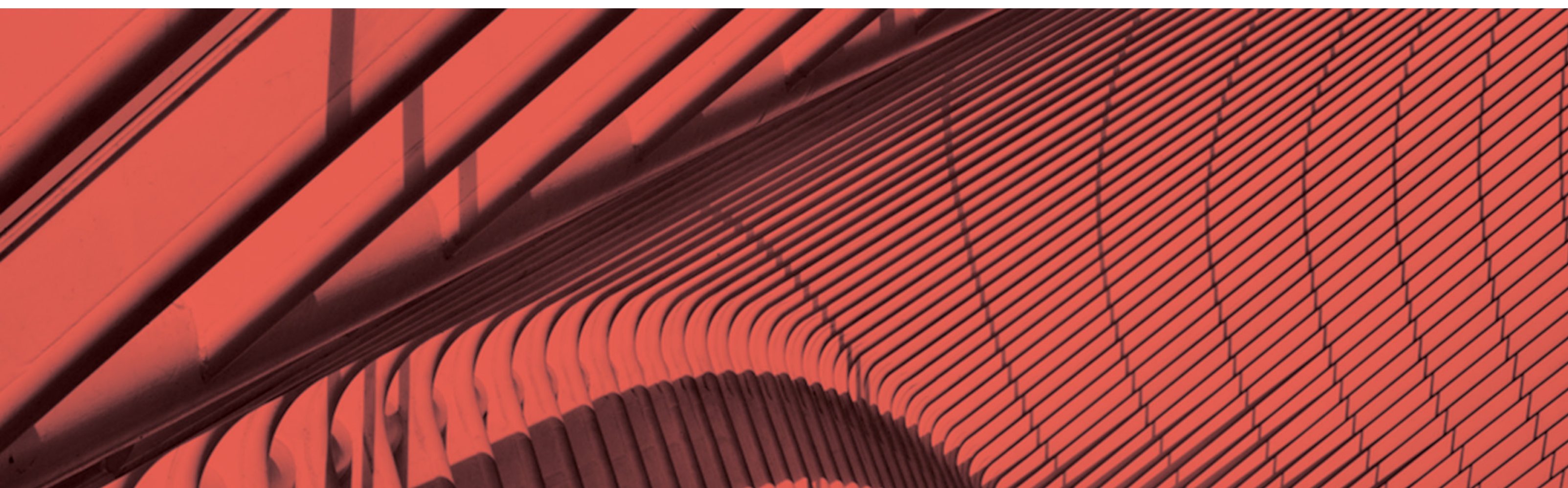
Despite considerable focus on the subject (see Crossick & Kaszynska 2016) just what 'counts' as *cultural value*, and therefore what its particular role might be 'in', 'for' or 'as' development (Isar 2017) remains under-theorised. In the absence of conceptual

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 ales* 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.

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.

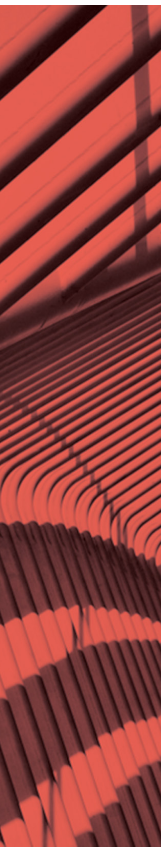


2.3 Ecological approaches to cultural development

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 & Dragićevic 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

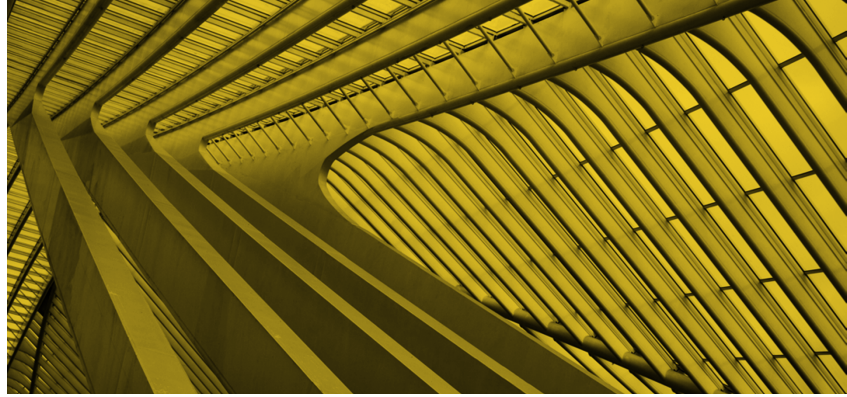
3.1 The ethics (and politics) of care

‘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?

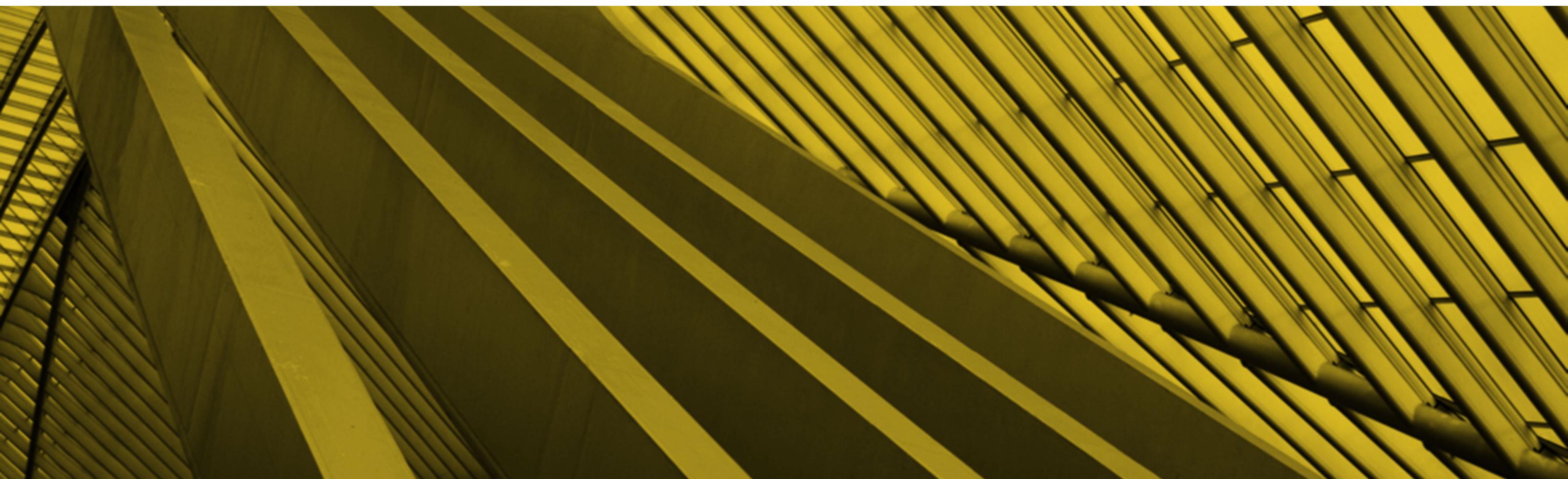
Tronto characterises care as "a reaching out to something other than self [...] lead[ing] to some type of action" (Tronto, 1993: 102), and introduces four phases of care, each aligned with what she describes as a "moral quality" (Tronto, 2013: 34-35). These phases are, first, *Caring about - attentiveness*.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

There are now an enormous array of indicators and indexes that are relevant to DISCE (see Table 3.1 for an overview). These aggregated or consolidated indica-

tors 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. A reasonable question might then be to ask what's the point of *another* index? Do we really need any additional ones? Reviewing the literature suggests that the answer to this question is widely held in the affirmative – even if there is disagreement over what exactly these should measure, how they be constructed, and why they are important.

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

'Quality of life' indexes i.e., those focusing on "a broader concept than economic production and living standards" (Stiglitz 2009: 41) such as the Human Development Index (HDI), Better Life Index, Social Progress Index, and Gross National Happiness, play an increasingly prominent role in national and international cultural, social and economic policy frameworks. The Stiglitz Commission report (2009) contrasts three conceptual approaches to measuring quality of life:

i) *subjective wellbeing*, with underpinnings in the utilitarian tradition;

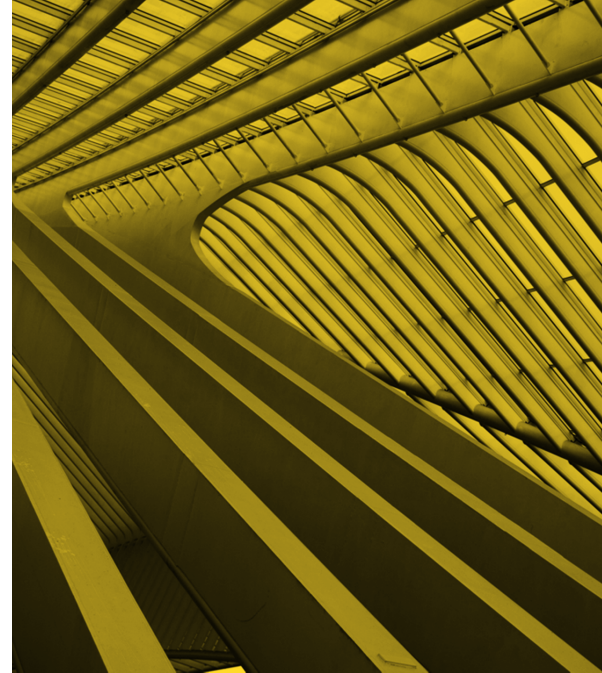
ii) the notion of *fair allocations* (economic welfare tradition); and

iii) the notion of *capabilities* – rooted in the philosophy of social justice and with an interest in the 'good' society.

Whilst there is widespread general agreement over the need to focus on such central dimensions as health, education, personal activities, political voice and governance, social connections, environmental conditions, personal insecurity, and economic insecurity – The Stiglitz Commission's key dimensions of quality of life (Stiglitz 2009: 44) – different indicators and indexes prioritise often quite different approaches. Even within ostensibly similar approaches there can be considerable variation in terms of what 'counts'. As the landscape of indexes develops yet further one might expect to see ever-greater differentiation. Paradoxically, being 'distinctive' is a criterion that all indexes seek to have in common.

Indexes that focus more overtly on arts, culture and creativity tend to be circumscribed to a national, regional, or local (most-often city-based), level. On the one hand, this betrays particular policy interest in the supposed role of creativity and culture in urban growth and the 'new economy' (see Florida 2002; McGuigan 2009; Lawton, Murphy & Redmond 2010; European Union 2017; European Commission 2018; Rodrigues & Franco 2018; 2019, who refer to a "massive development of indices to measure creativity" 2019: 5). On the other hand, it also reflects more pragmatic decisions concerning the types of data available in any given location (see, for example, Bosch et al. 2017; Çetindamar & Günsel 2012; OECD 2008; Scott 2006).

One of the most comprehensive analyses of city-level 'creativity' indexes was carried out by Hartley et al. (2012) in the development of their CCI Creativity City Index (CCI-CCI). Tracing a shift from 'creative clusters' to 'creative services' to 'creative citizens' to creative cities' (p.12), they review 23 indexes in total. Their analysis distinguishes between those that focus on 'creative stocks' (exemplified by the work of Richard Florida) and those that focus on 'creative flows' (e.g. world status, global integration, and ICTs). The CCI-CCI comprises eight dimensions, which are reproduced in various similar combinations within other indexes: creative industries scale & scope; microproductivity; attractions & economy of attention; participation & expenditure; public support; human capital; global integration; openness, tolerance & diversity. As we have reported in other sections of this literature review, there is considerable scope for the relationships between key terms to be only loosely theorised. Rodrigues & Franco's (2019) categorisation of 'culture' and 'creative economy' as 'subdimensions' of their 'creativity index' is illustrative of this point.

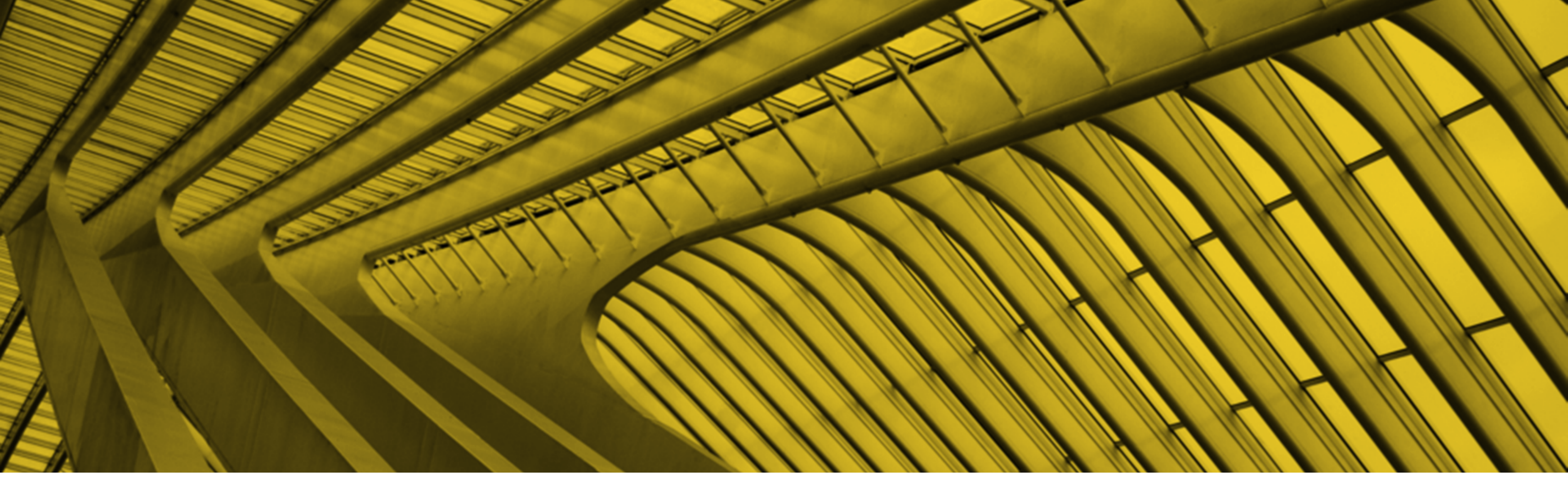


There are a host of indexes that are relevant to DISCE (ranging across quality of life, poverty, culture and democracy, culture and development, cultural vitality, human capital, creative cities, culture & creativity). Such indexes cross disciplinary and policy-level boundaries, and a key challenge for DISCE will be identifying how to integrate existing knowledge as well as where new knowledge is needed.

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.

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'.

In concluding this literature review, it is useful to make clear that 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, 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 measure 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 formulate a Cultural Development Index.

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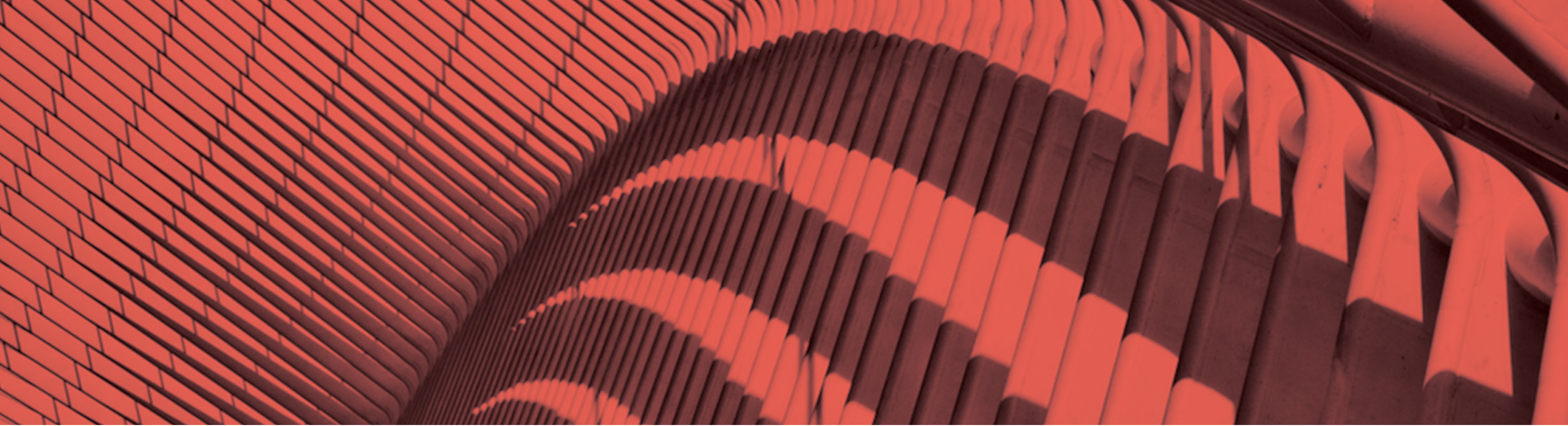

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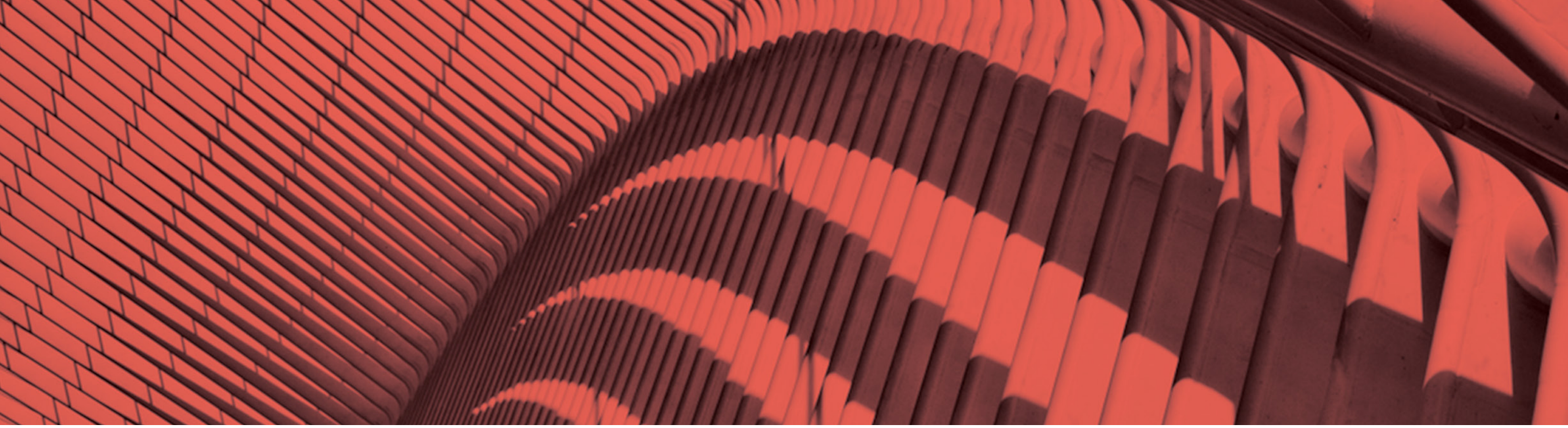

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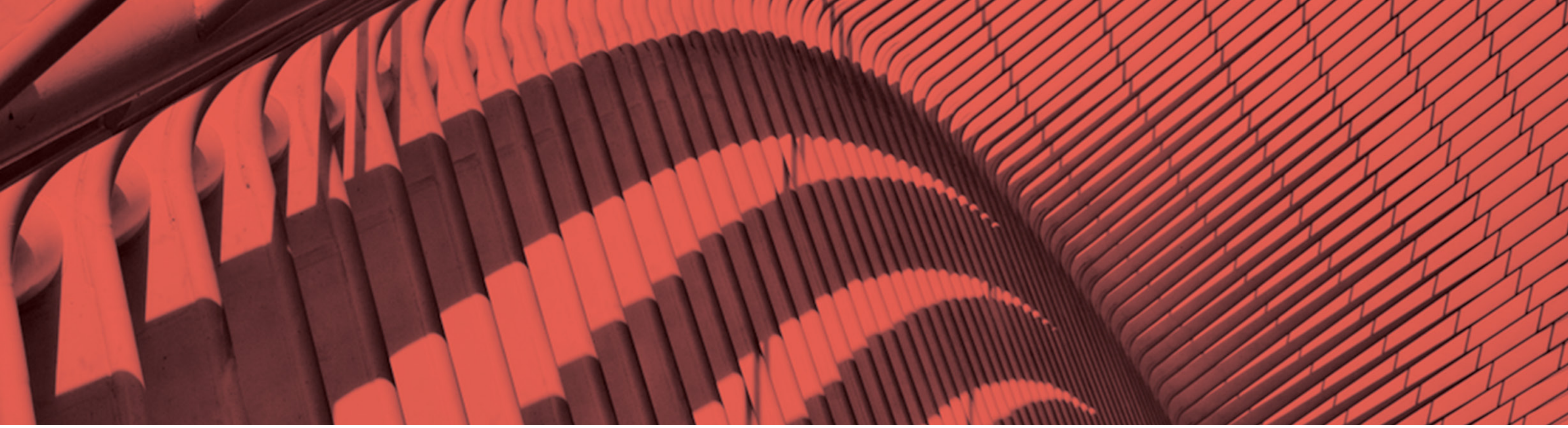

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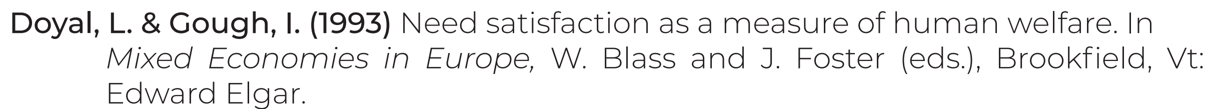

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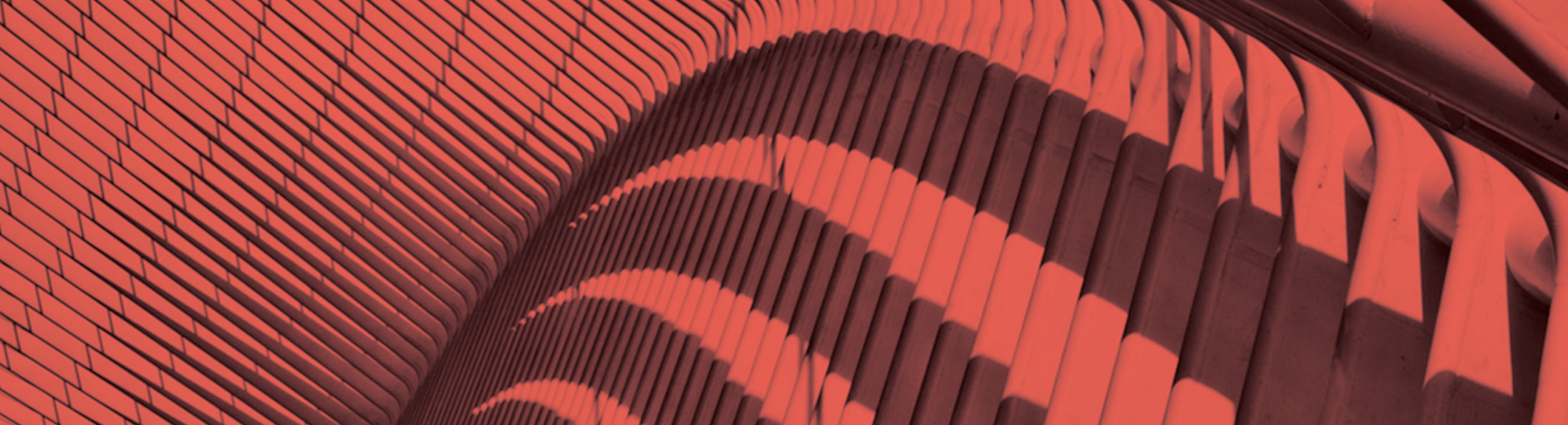

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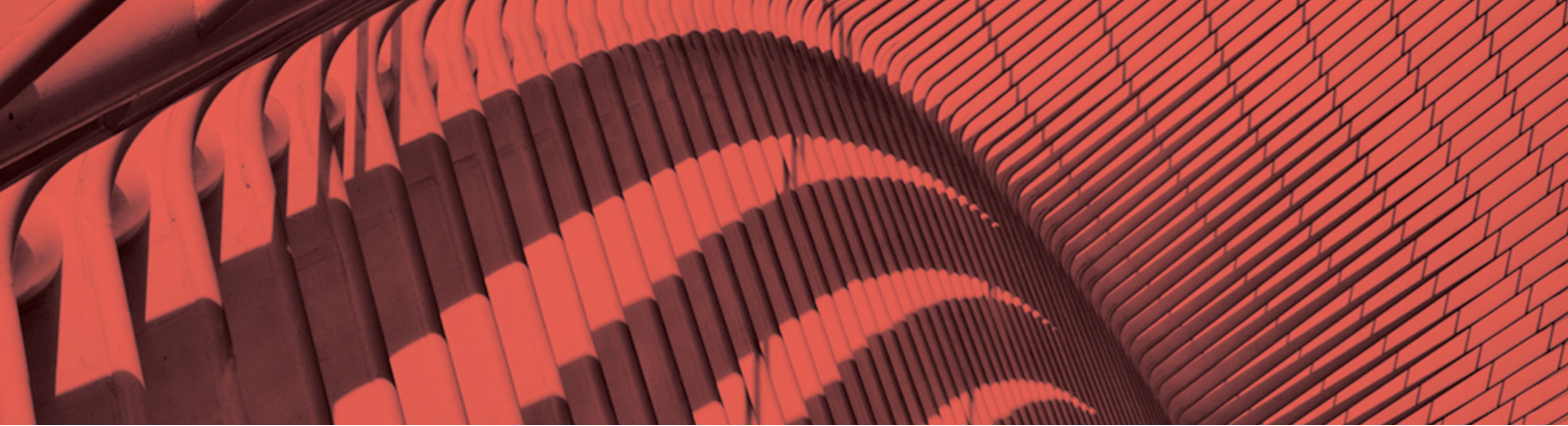

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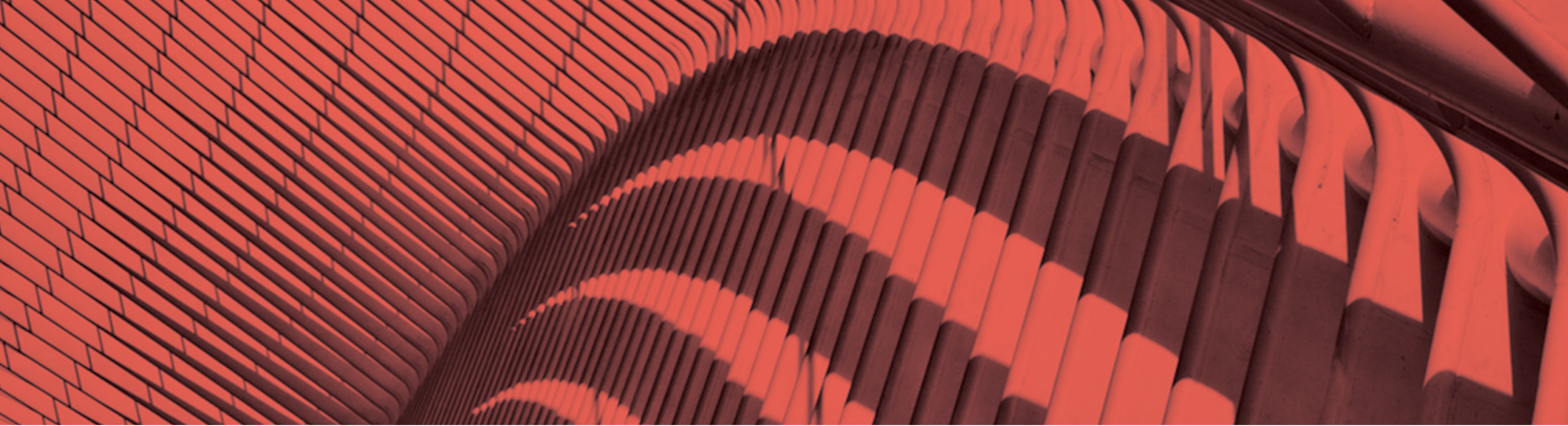

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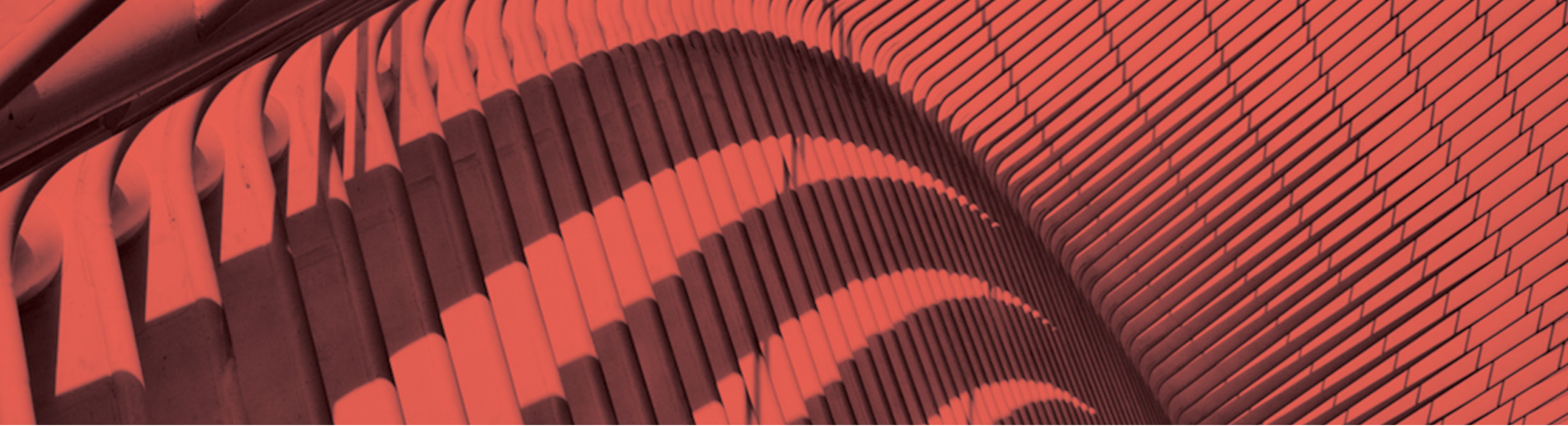

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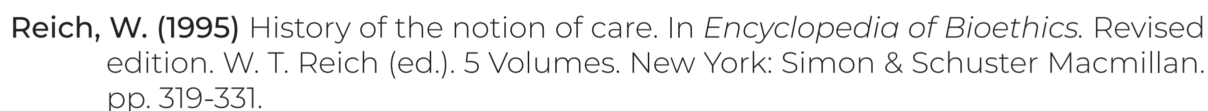

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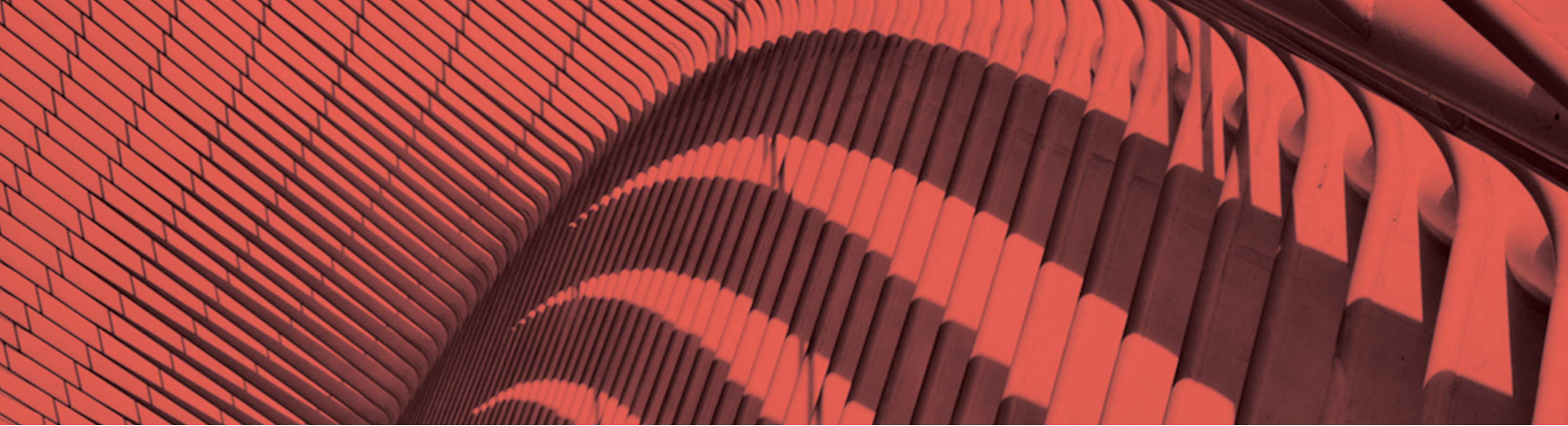

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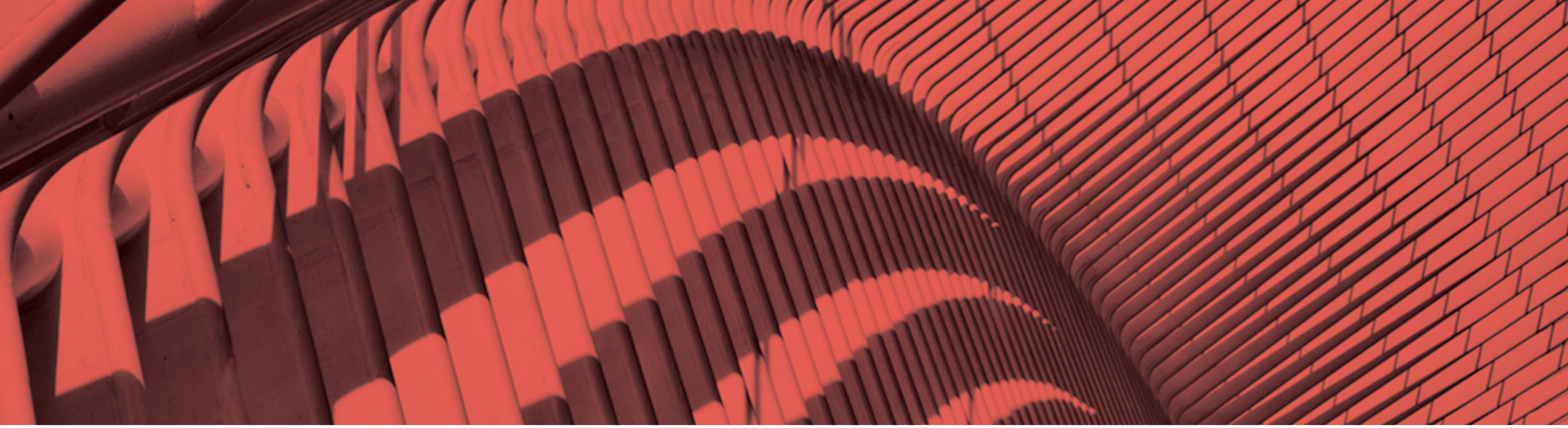

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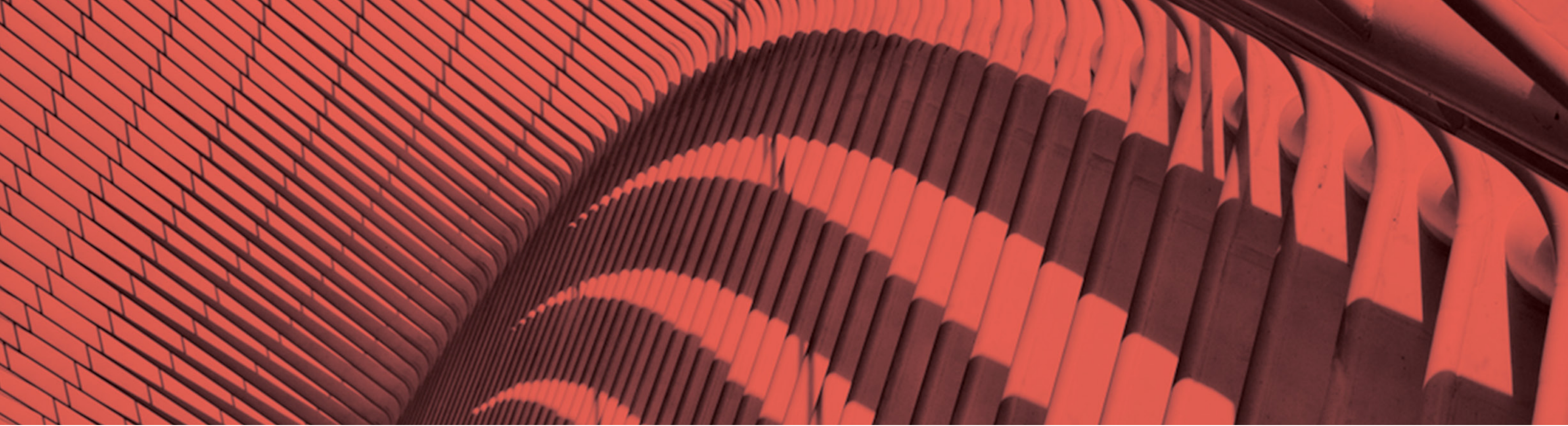

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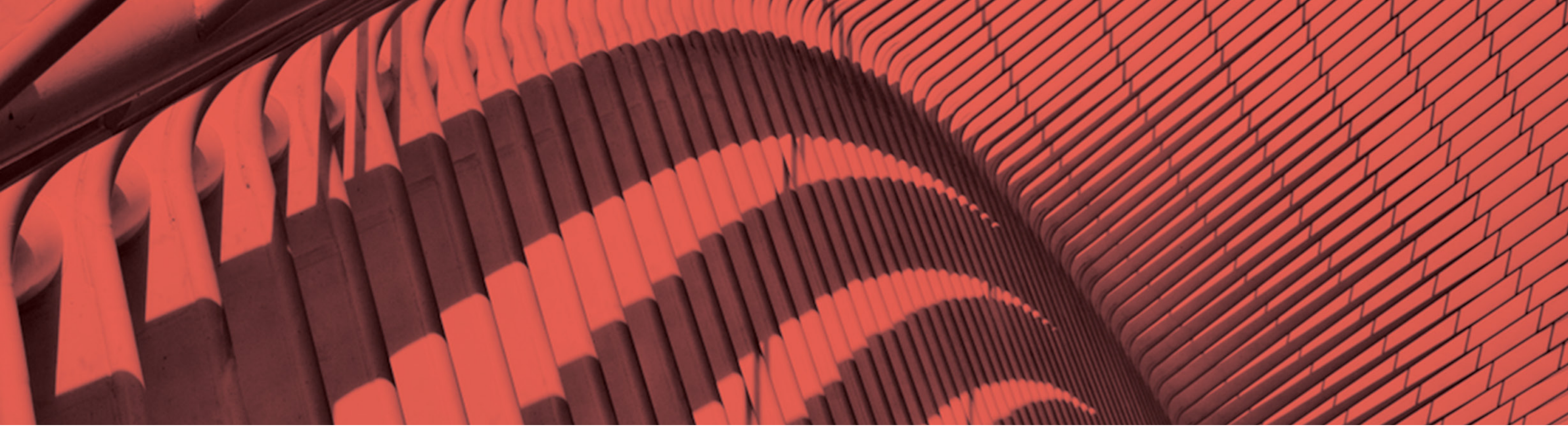

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Appendices:

Table A.1 Dimensions of Human Development (Categories)

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

Motivation and concerns	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
Desires	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

Values (basic/human/prudential/terminal)	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
Capabilities, freedom and development	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

Causes of joy/satisfaction/correlates of happiness	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
Gross National Happiness	Psychological wellbeing Health Time-use Education Cultural diversity and resilience Good governance Community vitality Ecological diversity and resilience Living standards
Wellbeing	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
Wellbeing ('Better Life')	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

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.)