FIFTY YEARS MEASURING CULTURAL ENGAGEMENT: CONTRIBUTIONS, GAPS AND THE FUTURE OF SURVEYS

João Oswaldo Leiva Filho

PhD Creative & Cultural Entrepreneurship

ABSTRACT

The aim of the dissertation is to critically investigate the main contributions of the Cultural Access and Participation Surveys (CAPS) in the last 50 years, the challenges they face today and possible ways to move ahead. The study has mapped 444 surveys conducted in 45 countries around the world to assess its development and the methodologies adopted in each scenario, like sample size, frequency, and interview method. Focusing on Europe and South America, the dissertation examines the cultural activities covered by the questionnaires developed in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, England, France, and Spain. The investigation includes 32 in-depth interviews with researchers and policymakers from nine countries. The CAPS have provided vast evidence that education and earnings, in this sequence, are the key variables shaping cultural engagement. Despite meaningful contributions for the knowledge about cultural engagement, the CAPS remain underused in academy and policymaking. The study discusses the reasons behind it and how the surveys could contribute to ongoing debates on culture. The emergence of the agendas around diversity, creativity, cultural democracy, wellbeing, and social cohesion poses new challenges to the CAPS. Combined with the fast growth of digital technologies, from a practical perspective, it means much more variables to measure. More than adjustments to the new scenario, the CAPS looks to require meaningful changes in their design and a strong articulation with qualitative studies and big data to keep on informing about the way people connect with arts and culture.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the patience, the generosity, the support, and the professionalism of several people who helped me during this dissertation:

Gerald Lidstone and Cecilia Dinardi, my supervisors. With whom I have learnt a lot in these four years at Goldsmiths. The live and online meetings, the discussions, the comments on my texts, the several opportunities they opened me to interact with other professionals, particularly from the Institute of Creative and Cultural Entrepreneurship (ICCE). And for all the support in the last months.

Nicola Searle and Kelly Meng, who guided me during the ethics approval. Mike Featherstone and Monica Sassatelli, whose comments in the Upgrade made me reflect about how to adjust the course of my research.

Rod Fisher, whose generosity on sharing his knowledge, archives and contacts helped me to access some of the first efforts to measure cultural engagement. Andreas Wiesand, who assisted me with data from Germany and from the first quantitative studies.

The 32 researchers and policymakers I interviewed for the dissertation. Their ideas and reflections permeate the text from its beginning to the end. Unfortunately, I will not be able to present their names here, as the agreement for the interviews was to keep them anonymous. Even though their opinions are largely present in several chapters of the thesis, there is much more I could not incorporate in the final text. I am extremely grateful for their generosity and for the time they have dedicated to sharing their experiences with me.

The public offices in charge of culture and/or statistics from Australia, Canada, Catalonia, Chile, Costa Rica, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, England, Japan, Quebec, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Singapore, Spain, and US, which helped me clarifying doubts and providing valuable information throughout my research. Maggie Studholme, for the patience and professionalism in proofreading the text.

Ricardo Meirelles and the Datafolha team (Marlene Treuk, Paulo Alves and Selma Britez), with whom for the last 13 years I have been discussing what and how to ask people about the way they engage in cultural activities.

Finally, my family. For all their patience and support. Marilena and Mariana, who send their energy from Brazil and Germany. João Francisco and João Henrique, who boarded with me to London, in a trip that changed our lives. And Carolina, for everything we have been through and for what is yet to come.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACA – Australia Council for the Arts
ACE – Arts Council of England
ACGB – Arts Council of Great Britain
AES – Adult Education Survey
ALS – Active Lives Survey
AI – Artificial intelligence
BMRB – British Market Research Bureau's
CAPS – Cultural Access and Participation Surveys
CEBRAP – *Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento* (Brazil)
CEMA – Committee for Encouragement of Music and the Arts
CSA – Cultural Satellite Account
DCMS – Department of Culture, Media and Sport
Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport
DEP – *Département des études et de la prospective* (France)
DEPS – *Département des études, de la prospective, des statistiques et de la documentation* (France)
DG-EAC – Education and Culture Directorate-General of the European Commission
ENCC – *Encuesta Nacional de Consumos Culturales* (Argentina)
ECE – Economic Commission for Europe
EPC – *Pratiques Culturelles au Québec* (Canada)
EU – European Union
EU-SILC (Survey on Income and Living Conditions)
Fecomércio-RJ – *Federação do Comércio de Bens, Serviços e Turismo do Estado do Rio de Janeiro* (Brazil)
FIRJAN – *Federação das Indústrias do Estado do Rio de Janeiro* (Brazil)
GDP – Gross Domestic Product
JLEIVA – *JLeiva Cultura & Esporte* (Brazil)
LS – Leisure Surveys
NEA – National Endowment for the Arts (US)
MCUD – *Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte de España* (Spain)
OEI – Organisation of Ibero-American States,
formally Organisation of Ibero-American for Education, Science and Culture

OIBC – *Observatorio Iberoamericano de Cultura*

OS – Omnibus Surveys

HSS – Household Social Surveys

HBS – Household Budget Surveys

IBGE – *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* (Brazil)

IPEA – *Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada* (Brazil)

MACQ – *Ministère des Affaires Culturelles du Québec* (Canada)

NIC.br – *Núcleo de Informação e Coordenação do Ponto BR* (Brazil)

OCCQ – *Observatoire de la Culture et des Communications du Québec* (Canada)

PCF – *Pratiques Culturelles des Français* (France)

PS – Participation Survey (England)

ROH – Royal Opera House (England)

RSGB – Research Services of Great Britain (UK)

SESC – *Serviço Social do Comércio* (Brazil)

SGAE – *Sociedad General de Autores y Editores* (Spain)

SINCA – *Sistema de Información Cultural de la Argentina*

SIPS – *Sistema de Indicadores de Percepção Social* (Brazil)

SPPA – Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (US)

TGI – Target Group Index

TPS – Taking Part Survey (England)

TUS – Time Use Surveys

UN – United Nations

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

TABLE OF INDEX

The annexes to this thesis are presented in a second archive.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

In October and November of 1973, 1,987 residents of metropolitan areas in France answered 111 questions about their 'cultural practices', in what is considered the first national public survey specifically designed to measure the population's level of engagement in cultural activities. The initiative was embodied in the French government's strategy for the development of public policies for culture, aiming to democratise the population's access to museums, theatres, concerts and libraries, and promote knowledge about artistic and cultural engagement.

Fifty years later, more than 40 countries have developed similar studies, looking for quantitative information that could help them to achieve comparable objectives. There have also been initiatives to measure cultural engagement at a continental level, including European and Latin American countries, as well as regional and local studies. Overall, more than 440 surveys have been conducted.

The aim of this dissertation is to critically investigate how these surveys have contributed in the last 50 years to measuring the levels of access and participation in cultural activities around the world, especially in European and South American countries, including attention to the Brazilian scenario. What are their main findings? Were the data sets able to provide relevant information to help design informed public policies, enhance knowledge, and foster the academic debate on how people do or do not engage in cultural activities?

To answer these questions critically, the study will explore the potential, challenges and limits of the cultural access and participation surveys (CAPS), reflecting on if and how they have adapted to changes in the cultural debate since the second half of the last century. It will also discuss possible strategies for the future, in a scenario dominated by digital devices and services that were non-existent fifty years ago, while still under the uncertain impact of the Covid-19 pandemic in the way people socialise and engage with culture out of their homes.

This introductory chapter first details the main objectives of the dissertation, highlighting its relevance for studies of cultural participation, democratisation of culture, cultural democracy, and cultural rights, and for the understanding and development of quantitative surveys that aim to measure engagement in cultural activities. It then makes a special note on the Brazilian scenario and its importance for the thesis. Brazil is a special case, because it is a large country with rich cultural diversity, severe inequalities, a poor tradition of collecting quantitative information about its cultural activities, and where the federal government has not yet developed any official public national CAPS. The chapter ends by describing the overall structure of the study, briefly introducing the following chapters and the main topics addressed in each of them.

1.1. Aims and objectives

The aim of this dissertation is to investigate the use of the CAPS as a tool to measure whether people are accessing and participating in cultural activities. While the concept of access includes going to cinemas, theatres, museums and concerts, among other activities, the latter considers active practices like painting, singing, writing, acting, etc. These surveys are the most extensive sources of available information about the sociodemographic profile of people engaging and, more importantly, failing to engage, in a long list of cultural activities.

This broad and general aim unfolds via six more specific topics, encompassing the origins and development of these quantitative studies (chapters four and five), their critical methodological issues (chapters five to eight), the concept of culture they work with (chapter six), how the data have been explored by academics (chapters three and nine), whether or not their results have been employed to foster evidence-based public policies (chapter eight), and, finally, to reflect on the challenges of measuring cultural engagement in an increasingly digital environment (chapter nine). The study, though, goes through part of the 'social life' of the tool, highlighting from the context of their emergence to their use in academia and policymaking.

As discussed in the next chapter, these surveys define themselves as focused on 'cultural habits', 'cultural consumption', 'cultural practices', 'cultural participation', 'cultural access', 'cultural experiences', 'imaginary and cultural consumption', 'arts participation' and 'arts attendance', with no common use of the words 'habits', 'practices', 'participation' and 'access.' They will be referred to here as 'cultural access and participation surveys' (CAPS), since this phrase contains the two main ways people may engage with culture that are measured by these quantitative studies.

Bearing in mind that the first national public quantitative surveys focused specifically on artistic and cultural activities were carried out in the 70s in France, to support and monitor public policies, the research will track the context underlying their emergence, which can be traced to one decade earlier (Dubois, 2007; Martin, 2012), and how the use of this statistical tool has increased in the last fifty years among other countries. It will also address the emergence of these studies in the United States (US), where, simultaneously with France, the Ford Foundation (1974) published a report of what may have been their first robust study (although not public, as these did not start officially until 1982, and focused on 12 cities).

The initial objective is to build a big picture of the development of the CAPS to understand their reach and importance. It will include a mapping of national surveys conducted all over the world, but particularly in the western countries. At this point, the dissertation will briefly mention the time use, leisure and household surveys, which are other meaningful quantitative sources of information associated with efforts to measure engagement in cultural activities. Developed at the same time as the CAPS, and in countries like Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands sometimes

even before them, the time use surveys are still adopted today in countries like Japan as the main source of information about cultural engagement.

From this point on, the dissertation will also be underpinned by comments from 32 in-depth interviews with researchers and policymakers from nine countries, who have either taken part directly in a survey or have had the opportunity to use them as part of their academic or professional work as policymakers or cultural practitioners. They were asked questions on subjects ranging from the methodology to the main findings and challenges of the CAPS.

After contextualising the study, the focus will turn to the CAPS. The second objective is to reflect on the methodology of the surveys, highlighting how issues of frequency, geographical distribution and sample size are considered by different countries. These three strategic methodological decisions influence the capacity of the surveys to provide meaningful information that could be used by researchers, cultural practitioners and policymakers. They determine the potentials and limits of cross-sectional analysis, either allowing or preventing the investigation of how several variables, like gender, age and earnings, for example, articulate to influence the cultural habits of a population.

The study will then explore the key concepts embodied in the surveys. The aim here is to investigate the notions of art and culture emerging from these measurements and how they portray people's engagement in their chosen practices. The former question is essential, since the surveys work with an extended range of activities, reflecting the broadness and fluidity of the concepts of art and culture; the latter is almost in parallel, translated into the ideas of 'access' and 'participation', which are the central pillars of the surveys. They represent two possible ways for people to experience – to be in touch with – cultural activities, and also connect to two guidelines in the debate about public policies, democratisation of culture and cultural democracy respectively.

The objective at this point is to reflect on the process that goes from a general aspiration to quantify engagement in cultural activities to its final outputs, the questions the interviewees were asked and the variables to be investigated. It will highlight the data emerging from the surveys, the results that have been translated into, and express in figures, the concepts of 'access' and 'participation' in cultural activities. Considering the long list of surveys mapped, this analysis – and all the subsequent topics – will be mostly supported by questionnaires from six countries: three from South America (Argentina, Brazil, Chile) and three from Europe (England, France, Spain). Referred to as the 'focus countries,' their choice is explained in chapter two. The discussion of the questionnaires will also include continental surveys.

Beyond these key ideas of how people interact with arts and culture, which have been used from the first French and American studies until today as the core of the CAPS, the dissertation will also refer to efforts to keep the surveys on track with new concepts emerging in the area. If the idea of the democratisation of culture was a pivotal reference for the first studies, they have also

tried to include new questions that can contribute to discussions around cultural democracy, diversity, creative economy, cultural value and, more recently, the impact of cultural activities on health and wellbeing.

Moving ahead, the study will discuss the main contributions of the CAPS to knowledge about how people do or do not engage with culture and to the academic debates emerging from it. These reflections will mention which data coming from the CAPS has attracted the greatest interest from academics, the main topics of research and the leading debates fostered by the surveys, as well as calling attention to some un(der)explored data.

These reflections will be underpinned by the data available in the reports provided by the institutions in charge of the surveys, and books and articles written by researchers. We could say that while the former approach represents an 'institutional and official perception' from the data, the latter incorporates the views of scholars, leaning towards a deeper investigation of the surveys, since the basic findings have already been disclosed by the official reports. The dissertation will also explore whether and how CAPS scholars and policymakers are cooperating, to assess whether the data from the surveys is flowing among these professionals; or in other words, whether and how the data is becoming knowledge.

Because of the technical difficulties of comparing the CAPS (Allin, 2000; Madden, 2005a, 2005b; Schuster, 2007; O'Hagan, 2016), the analysis will focus particularly on the findings common to most surveys, without detailing all the conclusions arising from each study.

The dissertation will then try to assess whether the surveys are fulfilling what has been declared to be one of their main objectives: to help governments develop evidence-based or at least informed public policies for culture. This question is closely related to the previous topic, since it is reasonable to presume that the main findings coming from the official reports and the reflections provided by the academy could help to raise awareness about the main cultural challenges and problems faced by governments. After all, not only do governments pay for most of the surveys analysed in the dissertation, but several of the activities they investigate are also partially publicly funded, including theatre, classic music, museums and heritage.

In theory, the better and more detailed the diagnosis (meaning the quality of the surveys), the more likely it is that governments will find ways to mitigate the problems. In practice, they may be used to underpin different political narratives. The analysis, however, will not be restricted to the tool's political life. It will take into consideration several aspects of the production cycle of the CAPS, from methodological issues, such as the geographic distribution of the sample and the questionnaire, to the way the results are disclosed to society.

Finally, a discussion of the main challenges of and gaps in the surveys addressed in the earlier chapters will pave the way for the dissertation to reflect on possible ways to move ahead. As will be argued, despite the number of countries adopting the CAPS, and of meaningful

contributions to knowledge about cultural engagement, the surveys are underused. The ongoing debates on culture, particularly the ones about creativity, cultural democracy and digital engagement, ask for more information, requiring meaningful changes in the surveys.

Considering the initial mapping has identified 444 surveys developed in 45 countries, it would be beyond the reach of this dissertation to investigate all these studies comprehensively. The mapped surveys will be broadly explored in the discussion of the second topic (methodology of the CAPS), helping to build the big picture to be detailed further on. The investigation of the concept of culture that emerges from the surveys and the contributions to the academic debates and to public policies will be based mostly on the focus countries. It does not mean the discussion will disregard other experiences. Meaningful information from Canada, Japan, and US, among other nations, will be used, but not elaborated in detail, as explained in the methodological chapter.

1.2. Relevance and justifications

The CAPS are today the main source of quantitative data about the number of people engaging in arts and culture and their sociodemographic profile, gathering meaningful information about the level of cultural inequalities, the democratisation of culture, cultural democracy and cultural rights in the countries adopting them. They provide researchers with a broad set of data to enrich their studies on several aspects of the cultural field and policymakers with strategic information to develop public policies to tackle cultural inequalities and reduce exclusion.

Their relevance to the understanding of cultural engagement, though, justifies a broad scrutiny of the CAPS, particularly as they have been around for fifty years, and as cultural habits are changing so fast due to digital tools. The experience accumulated in surveys from various countries provides a significant source of information to reflect on how they have developed over the period, good practices, gaps, and ways to move ahead. The investigation will also help to show that despite the accumulated experience, we still know little about how cultural indicators such as the CAPS are actually used by governments (Blomkamp, 2015). And that it is still difficult to make direct comparisons because of the differences in the design of the surveys (O'Hagan, 2016).

This scrutiny is particularly relevant in the present scenario. In the last two decades, the digital revolution has been changing how people communicate and engage in cultural activities. New products (tablets, mobile phones, smart TVs) and services (social networks, apps, podcasts, streaming platforms) have disrupted the audio-visual and music industries, amplifying the possibilities of access to cultural content at home, at the office and even while moving around in cars, buses and metros. Artificial intelligence (AI) will bring even more changes. This context has been compelling the surveys' designers to adapt them and look for strategies to measure the new ways of engaging in culture. The Covid-19 pandemic has accelerated digital tendencies that were

already on the march. Beyond that, the long-term impacts of two years of social distancing for a set of offline cultural activities is not yet clear, particularly for older groups of the population.

The CAPS can be considered today to be the main public source of quantitative information about the number of people engaging in arts and culture, since they embrace a comprehensive set of cultural activities and explore different aspects associated with them. The questionnaires explore what people do or do not do, what they do or do not like, their educational background, their parents' educational background, with whom they go to cultural activities and where, some of their tastes, whether they do any voluntary work in the area, whether they donate to cultural projects, their aspirations for cultural engagement, and the main barriers preventing them from going to cinemas, museums, theatres, libraries, etc. And even when they include questions about sports and/or other leisure activities, the focus remains on arts and culture.

They are not, however, the only source of quantitative information on this subject. But other relevant tools that provide quantitative information about cultural engagement, such as the Time Use Surveys (TUS), Leisure Surveys (LS), Omnibus Surveys (OS), Household Social Surveys (HSS), and the Household Budget Surveys (HBS), are not exclusively centred on culture. They have a broader reach, including information about other areas. Their focus is not culture, but they may allow comparisons between cultural habits and other activities depending on their design.

The TUS measure the time people dedicate to culture, providing a reference for its relevance in the total time people have for leisure as well as comparisons with other activities. The HBS gather data about where people spend their money, including cultural goods and services. However, in most countries they do not work with a comprehensive set of cultural activities and are usually restricted to their main topic (how people use their time; how they spend their money), limiting the reach of the information provided by their data sets. Another important source of information is the administrative data provided by museums, theatres, libraries, etc. Even though they can gather detailed information about their audiences, they do not inform us about the other side of the coin, about the people who are not attending certain venues, events, and activities. And, in most cases, they do not have precise data about how many different people accessed their activities. A visitor who goes to a museum three times in a year will appear three times in the counting of visitors.

The ability to measure the number of people engaging or failing to engage in cultural activities implies the CAPS are an important indicator of some aspects of cultural rights (Laaksonen, 2010; Donders, 2012), which reinforces the relevance of the present study. First expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in 1948, the notion of cultural rights certainly goes a long way beyond what is measured by the CAPS. The concept brings together all the complexities and amplitude of defining culture (Ringelheim, 2017; Caust, 2019) and is primarily and more commonly associated with the right different individuals and groups must have to freely express their own culture, which certainly is not measured by the surveys.

It is important to highlight that the connection supported here between 'access' and 'participation' and cultural rights is restricted to the limits defined by the specific questions included in the CAPS and does not aim to encompass its overall definition. As stated in article 27 of the declaration, *'Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.'* What the surveys try to register is the percentage of people engaging in some aspects of *'the cultural life of the community'* and enjoying *'the arts.'* These general statements are directly connected to questions of access and participation, both of which explore an extensive list of activities associated with the *'cultural life of the community.'* 'Access' will be considered here as attendance to some specific cultural activities and consumption of products and services, such as cinemas, theatres, museums, circus, concerts, libraries, digital platforms, books, etc. 'Participation', on the other hand, will refer to the opportunities people have to express themselves through painting, acting, singing, playing an instrument, dancing, writing, photography or filming as part of a non-professional experience. Either individually, or as part of a community activity. It also includes the chance people either have or do not have to take classes to develop some creative skills. In both cases the research will consider the impact of digital technologies in the way people may engage with culture.

These two means of engagement in cultural life constitute the backbone of the CAPS (UNESCO, 2012a), and can be associated with two different and sometimes complementary strategies on cultural policies. The measure of 'access' allows governments to build strategies to reduce inequalities, since they identify the sociodemographic profile of those excluded from cultural activities. It is therefore a helpful tool for the achievement of aims from the perspective of the democratisation of culture (where the aim is to make artistic and cultural production available to all segments of society). Likewise, the measure of 'participation' provides decision-makers with strategic information to promote public policies directed at enhancing the level of cultural democracy, giving more people the skills and opportunities to express themselves and engage socially through arts and culture. Discussion of the ties linking the CAPS to access and participation, the democratisation of culture, and cultural democracy and cultural rights will be resumed further on, especially in chapters six to nine.

My aim is to look for a balanced approach to the democratisation of culture and the cultural democracy debate, considering both paradigms of cultural policy to be relevant and intrinsically connected. The CAPS help to evidence this bond through studies that show the importance of experiencing culture in childhood for increasing the likelihood of adult cultural engagement (Orend, 1987; Leguina et al., 2022), for example. While the former is still the main paradigm of public policies, the latter has gained importance in recent decades, from Brazil to England. Despite their potential complementarity and the holistic perspective they may encompass, these goals are often opposed in debates. The CAPS are seen as a technocratic instrument of the democratisation of

culture, and as inaccurately minimising the information they have gathered about cultural democracy since the first surveys (Goldbard, 2015).

This positioning does not mean an uncritical or technocratic approach to the tool, ignoring its social and political life. The dissertation includes large chunks of discussion on the CAPS' technical limits and their political instrumentalisation, by both governments and their critics (chapter eight). A closer look at the information they provide, however, going beyond its politics, could help to avoid inaccurate criticisms that do not balance the potentials and limitations of the CAPS, and to recognise their contributions without ignoring their caveats.

Finally, the topic is embedded in my professional trajectory as a consultant in the field. My company, *JLeiva Cultura & Esporte* (JLEIVA)[1], has developed several CAPS in Brazil since 2010. This extensive experience, coupled with the practice-based knowledge accumulated over almost a decade of investigating cultural habits in my country, has motivated me to engage in academic research. The insights gained from tasks ranging from defining the sample and constructing questionnaires to analysing data and designing methods for disseminating results will contribute to the discussions conducted in the next chapters. I will address potential ethical issues in chapter two and describe JLEIVA's activities in chapter four.

1.3. Brazilian data gap

Reflection on the production of quantitative data about arts and culture is particularly critical, and especially relevant when we take a closer look at the Brazilian context. The dissertation will explore how the economic and political development of the country connects with the history of Brazilian cultural policies in the last fifty years. It will evidence how the lack of institutionalization of culture and periods of administrative turmoil have prevented the country of having basic official statistics about the area, including the CAPS.

Unlike other nations addressed throughout the dissertation, whether in Europe or South America, Brazil has not yet implemented basic quantitative measurements to evaluate the economic and social impacts of arts and culture, such as the Cultural Satellite Accounts (CSA), a measure of the 'GDP (Gross Domestic Product) of culture', or a CAPS. Even some basic administrative data, like statistics on the number of people visiting public museums and heritage sites, is poorly handled. There is no organisational culture of considering quantitative data in the planning of public cultural institutions, which undermines debates about the social and economic impact of culture in Brazil.To fill this gap, institutions and companies have been developing their own studies in the last decades, focused either on contribution to the economy (Firjan[2] and Itaú

[1] Consultancy company (https://www.jleiva.com.br)
[2] Industry Federation of the State of Rio de Janeiro (https://www.firjan.com.br/english/firjan/)

Cultural[3]) or on the cultural habits of the population (Cebrap,[4] Fecomércio-RJ,[5] Observatório de Favelas,[6] SESC,[7] 3D3 Comunicação e Cultura,[8] JLEIVA, and Itaú Cultural). Therefore, unlike most other countries mapped by this investigation, where the CAPS were carried out by the federal government, either directly through a public statistical institution or via a private company hired for the job, the largest available surveys in Brazil were structured by private companies or cultural institutions.

Two exceptions that deserve closer attention will be detailed in chapter four. The public quantitative studies with more information about cultural engagement were done by the *Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada* (IPEA)[9] in 2010 and 2013. The multisectoral institution *Núcleo de Informação e Coordenação do Ponto* BR (NIC.br)[10] has already developed two editions (2017 and 2020) of a large survey about how the population uses information technology to engage in cultural activities. Finally, there are localised efforts by states (Minas Gerais) and municipalities (Porto Alegre-RS and Jundiaí-SP) which have already developed one-off studies.

The absence of an official public national survey, with the strong participation of the Ministry of Culture, as well as other basic indicators and administrative data on the cultural area, undermine the ability of Brazilian researchers and policymakers to make the case for the importance of arts and culture for sustainable socioeconomic development and for the creation of evidence-based policies capable of addressing the multiple inequalities in the country.

The comparison between the Brazilian surveys and the CAPS developed in other countries aims to contribute to the debate about the production of cultural data in Brazil (and hopefully to stimulate it). Regarding the methodology, it also works as a counterpoint to countries where the national studies are developed by the federal government.

1.4. Chapter outlines

After the introduction, the second chapter details the methodology of the dissertation. Beyond describing the methods adopted to fulfil the objectives outlined above, it describes the practical decisions taken during the study, particularly those associated with the Covid-19 pandemic, that made important changes to the original research design. The chapter also

---

[3] Cultural institution maintained by Itaú bank (https://www.itaucultural.org.br)
[4] *Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento* (https://cebrap.org.br/home-en/); Brazilian Center of Analysis and Planning
[5] *Federação do Comércio de Bens, Serviços e Turismo do Estado do Rio de Janeiro* (https://www.portaldocomercio.org.br/entidade/fecomercio-rj/); Trade, Services and Tourism Federation of the State of Rio de Janeiro
[6] https://observatoriodefavelas.org.br
[7] *Serviço Social do Comércio* (https://www.sesc.com.br); Social Service of Commerce
[8] Consultancy company (https://panoramadacultura.com.br/contato/)
[9] (https://www.ipea.gov.br/portal/); Institute of Economic Applied Research
[10] (https://www.nic.br); Brazilian Network Information Centre

addresses ethical issues, particularly the fact that I have a consultancy company in Brazil (JLEIVA) that develops CAPS, being an active player of the tool's social life I am investigating. The chapter also highlights the critical challenges and limitations of the study.

The next chapter (chapter three) contains the literature review underpinning the dissertation. It includes information about the academic discussions that build the background and underpin the whole study. Considering that one of the aims of the investigation is to address the main contributions of the CAPS to our knowledge about cultural engagement and the main findings from the surveys, part of this chapter is specifically concerned with this topic. The literature review also goes through the reports released by governments to disclose the data, since they are the primary and sometimes only available source of information emerging from the data collected, and sometimes contain academic reflections on the quantitative work being done.

Structuring a literature review with the CAPS as its central focus evidenced some important particularities on the way they have been explored by researchers. The surveys were fundamental to the establishment of the key concepts of 'distinction' and 'homology' (Bourdieu, 1979) and 'omnivorousness' (Peterson, 1992). There are several studies that aim to confirm, oppose or conciliate each of these theories. Although the surveys measure numerous variables, they have mostly been addressed as a group (articles about 'cultural activities', in the plural) and not individually (articles about attending the circus, or theatres, or dance, etc.). Finally, information on access has been much more explored than information about participation. These three 'tendencies' will be of great importance throughout the dissertation, not only providing information about the CAPS' contributions to knowledge about cultural engagement, but also their gaps and limitations, the underexplored data, and their political use in debates on culture.

The fourth chapter presents the historical context underpinning the first efforts to measure cultural activities and how they developed up to the first CAPS in the 70s in France, the US and some Nordic countries. Attempts to quantify culture began in the late eighteenth century, according to Goodwin (2006), but were taken further only two centuries later, in the second half of the last century, when culture became relevant for the design of public policies. It also addresses the growth in the number of countries adopting CAPS in recent decades.

This historical contextualisation paves the way for the next chapter (chapter five), which displays the results of the mapping, showing all the countries that have already conducted CAPS that I could find and the years in which they were developed. It brings together information about some key methodological assumptions, like frequency of the studies, sample size and its geographical distribution. The fifth chapter also discusses the implications of some technical decisions, supported not only by the available data, but also by in-depth interviews with researchers and policymakers.

The overview of the development of the CAPS presented in chapters four and five assists in the discussion of their questionnaires, which are at the centre of the sixth chapter. At this point, the dissertation highlights the concept of culture emerging from the surveys, as well as the ways they

address cultural engagement, with questions about access and participation. The chapter details the activities investigated and the quantitative units chosen to measure cultural engagement. It presents a comprehensive list of activities included in the surveys of the six focus countries as well as those of the continental studies developed in Europe and Latin America.

The seventh chapter discusses how academia either uses or neglects to use the data from the surveys and the reasons for this. The analysis explores the technical characteristics of the surveys, the professional background of scholars who investigate culture, the job market for researchers in the area and the way data is disclosed. Prejudice against the use of quantitative data in the area of culture and the consequences of that, come up as important issues. The chapter takes up again some of the topics addressed in the literature review to recap the main lines of research and academic debates enabled by the CAPS, as well as highlighting which variables are more frequently explored by scholars and those that get less attention. It also comments on the collaboration between the academy and governments and cultural institutions in the exploration of the data from the surveys.

The following chapter (chapter eight) explores whether and how the CAPS have been able to provide meaningful data for the development of informed public policies. Despite examples of projects and policies inspired or certified by the surveys, the social inequalities in access to culture persist, which brings into question the efficiency of public initiatives built to democratise culture. Chapter eight also discusses the main challenges and barriers to better use of the surveys faced by policymakers, a discussion that reprises some of the arguments of chapter seven, such as technical issues, prejudice and the way governments disclose the results of the surveys.

The last but one chapter reflects on possible ways to move ahead. Underpinned by the discussions of the previous chapters and the conversations with the interviewees, it addresses the main challenges for measuring the different ways people engage in cultural activities. Particularly in a scenario where digital products and services grow at an incredible pace, debates on culture explore the concepts of creativity, cultural democracy and participation, and aim to assess the impacts of cultural engagement on health, wellbeing and social cohesion.

Finally, the last chapter addresses the main contributions of the dissertation. It briefly summarises the state of the art of the surveys, with a critical assessment of the methodologies adopted, the data collected, the knowledge brought by the official reports and academic debates, and their use to underpin public policies for the area. It reprises the main challenges for the CAPS, arguing that they are a key public tool for measuring cultural engagement, particularly when this information is becoming private through the digital technologies and AI already on its way. I will argue that they need to adapt, combining with other quantitative and qualitative tools, and likely to experiment deeper changes, to keep contributing to knowledge about culture and remain relevant and worth spending public money on.

CHAPTER TWO
METHODOLOGY

Although I explore in this dissertation the contributions made by a quantitative tool, my research used mostly qualitative methods; I worked with a mixture of desk research, content analysis, comparative analysis and in-depth interviews. In the paragraphs that follow, I explain how these methods were combined to explore each of the six objectives mentioned in the previous chapter, as well as the initial mapping of the CAPS. I then explain the role of the in-depth interviews, which covered all six topics. I end the chapter by addressing changes made to the research design during the development of the thesis, and pointing out some ethical issues, as well as potential challenges, biases and the limits of this investigation.

The research design was conceived to see the whole process of the CAPS with a bird's eye view, from their initial building to their final publication and use by society, especially researchers and policymakers, and including a dive into the questionnaires. This strategy allows me to mix the technical and political issues associated with the CAPS, and avoid approaching them only as the technocratic tool of a political agenda or as a neutral form of knowledge (Blomkamp, 2015).

2.1. Initial research

I began the study by conducting desk research into how the CAPS were measuring cultural engagement. Considering that Brazil does not have a national survey, my aim was to map as many CAPS as possible to build a broad picture of the reach of this quantitative tool and to enhance subsequent discussions on their design. My starting point was the first guide developed by UNESCO (2012a), which contains a meaningful list of countries working with surveys that include questions on what the institution defines as 'cultural participation.'[11] This was the first worldwide effort to gather information about surveys carried out specifically for the purpose of measuring cultural engagement.

Some of the surveys conducted in Europe (*Eurobarometre*, 2001, 2007, 2013) and Latin America (*Latinobarómetro*, 2013) were particularly relevant, since they also collected information about other available data sources in the countries included in their studies. Another meaningful source of data was *The Compendium of Cultural Policies & Trends,*[12] an *'online database with in-*

[11] The guide includes as 'participation' what in this dissertation is addressed as 'access' and 'participation'
[12] https://www.culturalpolicies.net

depth information on cultural policies, statistics and trends', from which it was possible to get to national data sources. The dissertation flowed from these starting points, updating the available information and gathering references from academic articles, special reports and official websites to add new surveys.

Beyond the CAPS, which focus primarily on culture, UNESCO's guide also includes information about some TUS and HS, since they both gather data about people's engagement in cultural activities. Even though they are not the focus of the dissertation and explore topics other than culture, in some countries they are the main source of information about cultural engagement. I made a methodological decision to add these other studies, including LS, OS, HSS and HBS in countries in which there were no studies focused only on culture.

To get to these 444 surveys, it was sometimes necessary to contact the department of culture or statistics in several of the countries (Australia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, England, Finland, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Singapore, US) to ask for missing information and/or to get access to some studies, particularly the early ones. Some are available online only upon request (Ford Foundation, 1974), while others no longer have any physical copy available (Finland, Japan, Singapore), according to information coming from the national institutions in charge of the studies.

Surveys customised for specific sectors, such as those that considered only readership, would have hugely expanded the number of potential data sources and made it extremely difficult to find all the quantitative studies on the various sectors under the umbrella of culture. I therefore excluded these. There are also probably gaps in the number of CAPS conducted by private institutions, not-for-profit organisations and independent researchers, either because the thesis has primarily trailed an official path (public websites) or because many of these, being private, do not disclose their data. Despite this limitation, however, the study does include some examples of surveys carried out by researchers, think tanks and/or private institutions (Argentina, Brazil, US, Morocco, and Portugal).

The mapping exercise was particularly important and drew my attention to the way data is disclosed to potential users, a topic that gained in importance throughout the investigation. While in some countries the results were organised in a straightforward way, with all the available data accessible on one webpage and largely using the same design from one report to the other, in others it was hard to gather all the surveys and the most important methodological information. The reports changed their design from one edition to the other; there were gaps in the survey reports and sometimes even cultural offices did not show them on their websites but made the CAPS available only through national statistics offices. This probably reflects changes of government, changes in the teams managing the studies, in the surveys themselves, their degree of importance in each national context and even efforts to improve their design. These difficulties, with which I was faced during the mapping, partly reflect difficulties that would likely confront any interested

person who wanted to access the data, an issue that I discuss in greater detail (chapters seven to ten), since it affects the use of the CAPS, especially their route from data to knowledge.

The list of mapped surveys is presented in the annexes one and two. the former shows country, year, geographic scope, name, sample size and collection method of the surveys, whilst the latter include the reference of the CAPS. Unfortunately, not all information is available for all studies. The mapping is described in chapter five, in which I also summarize some key information about the CAPS, like the number of studies in each country.

2.2. Historical context

In the next step of the dissertation, I added content analysis to support the desk research, aiming to reflect on the emergence of different quantitative tools to measure a variety of elements connected to arts and culture since the middle of the last century, the first specific objective of the dissertation. At this point, my aim was to build a big picture, to understand the context in which the CAPS became relevant and in which they have developed in the last 50 years.

The different paths they have taken in France and in the US helped me to reflect on the surveys' role in other countries during this period. Looking for the first national studies evidenced some necessary conditions for their implementation, like a specific department in charge of the studies, as well as the moment when the CAPS began to grow, when they were adopted by a large number of countries. It also put me in contact with important regional studies, something that will echo throughout the dissertation.

The historical approach allowed me to get back to the questionnaires from the first studies. Although they will not be detailed in the dissertation, these evidence 'two sides of culture' and a key question imprecisely addressed in some studies. They show the culture that 'never changes', the variables that have been measured since the first studies, like museums, theatres and cinema, and the culture that 'is always changing', driven by technology, where new variables to be measured are added at each new study (tape recorders, VHS, Walkmans, DVDs, cell phones, tablets, the Internet) and others are buried (tape recorders, VHS, Walkmans). More importantly, it shows that cultural participation, including several creative hobby activities, have been measured since the 70s.

This investigation showed that the history of data collection on culture is an underexplored topic, especially for data on cultural engagement, adding relevance to the dissertation. The first efforts of both governments and private institutions to investigate the profile of audiences of culture seemed to be better mapped in the US. Visitor studies of museums and the performing arts seem to have paved the way to the CAPS. I hoped that looking at the available studies and their context would help me reflect on possible ways to move ahead, taking into consideration the social, economic, political and technological aspects that currently shape society and debates on culture.

2.3. Design of the surveys

Having completed the mapping and contextualisation I began to narrow my focus on the CAPS, reflecting on their methodologies using a mixture of desk research and comparative analysis. Comparing different CAPS was particularly relevant for a better understanding of their differences and similarities, and of the potentials and limits of different approaches. Initially, I compared three technical decisions made by governments: the sample size, the geographic distribution and the frequency of the surveys. These three variables are extremely important, since they influence the potential of the data collected, restricting or enriching it in such a way as to limit or enhance policymakers' and academics' use of the surveys. The topic will be detailed in chapters five to seven, but it is important at this point to mention the main reasons for shining a spotlight on these particular variables.

The sample size is particularly important, since it determines the potential for cross-sectional data analysis, either allowing researchers to combine multiple variables to examine their various influences on cultural engagement or preventing them from doing so. This is critical, because a large sample size is what could allow researchers to see beyond the consolidated idea that education and earnings are the key variables enhancing access to and participation in cultural activities, exploring how gender, age, marital status, kids at home and other factors add to the debate. On the other hand, small samples prevent them from doing so.

Sample size and geographic distribution, two connected parameters, determine the data's capacity to provide information about cultural engagement in particular regions of the country, directly affecting whether the national surveys can provide evidence to support policies at a local level. With the increasing importance of cities as places where cultural engagement happens and needs to be nourished, national data sets which cannot be drilled down into at lower administrative levels have limited potential to provide a detailed picture about cultural life in different microregions of a country. Finally, the frequency and regularity of the surveys combine with the two previous assumptions to provide relevant information about potential changes in the patterns of cultural engagement. This debate was enhanced by contributions coming from the in-depth interviews.

Conducting a comparison between the countries helped me identify the main tendencies regarding the combination of these three key variables, as well as some good practice and some challenges that should be tackled to improve the quality and usability of the CAPS. The analysis also mentions other methodological decisions, including the data collection method, such as the increase in going online, the collection time, the age of the interviewees and whether or not they included a module targeted specifically at either children or their parents.

At this point I did not aim to conduct an extensive investigation of the technicalities of each country's surveys, but to look at the key issues that could narrow or increase their ability to address

cultural engagement. I recognise the limitations of the survey method for social science research, as addressed by previous studies (Groves, 2011) and discuss some of them in relation to the CAPS, and the particularities of what they are trying to measure. I will not detail sampling techniques, for example, but the lack of local robust data will be explored from different perspectives, as mentioned above. The thesis does not address from a theoretical perspective the issue of the clarity of the questions, rather discussing it within the CAPS' context. This will become clear in the contrast of the variables measuring access and participation (chapter six).

2.4. Key concepts

Desk research, content analysis and comparative analysis guided the investigation of the key concepts embodied in the CAPS, which was the third goal of the dissertation. The surveys' methods were particularly valuable for understanding the challenges faced by quantitative studies of culture, especially when they must develop variables, figures and statistics to measure things that do not always have a clear and universal definition. Crucially, starting with the concepts of arts and culture, they help demonstrate how these notions are represented in the surveys by a set of 'activities'; and then, how cultural engagement is translated into and assessed as measures of 'access' and 'participation.' Once again, the in-depth interviews helped me reflect on this topic.

At this point, I was not trying to explore the multiple definitions of arts and culture or checking the extent to which the surveys comply with them, but to work the other way around. The particular 'activities' the CAPS elect to measure provide information about the concepts of arts and culture they embrace; or to be more accurate, about the ideas of arts and culture they could be connected to, showing the potentials, prejudices, bias and limits of the measurement. From a detailed study of the surveys' questionnaires, I aimed to get to the concepts of arts and culture they reflect and reproduce, and to their connection with public policies, particularly the debate on the democratisation of culture and cultural democracy.

A comparative analysis put the questionnaires of eight CAPS side by side: two continental surveys conducted in Europe (*Eurobarometer*, 2013) and Central and South America (*Latinobarómetro*, 2013), and the last CAPS before the Covid-19 pandemic conducted in the six focus countries (Argentina, 2017; Brazil, 2013;[13] Chile, 2017; England 2018-19; France, 2018; and Spain 2018-19). These countries were chosen for different and complementary reasons.

In Europe, France pioneered the CAPS and has the longest series with around a decade between each investigation; England is the country where the surveys have deserved more

[13] For ethical reasons, in the Brazilian case the last available survey was not selected (see topic 2.9).

attention from public bodies in the last years, with two annual studies; and Spain is an intermediate example. With regular surveys conducted each four years, its inclusion allows the opportunity to compare studies conducted in the Global North and South in the same language. All three countries have a relevant academic production exploring the surveys' results.

In South America, even though Colombia is the only country having conducted more than four regular surveys, it lacks more structured reports and academic debates, what made me decide by Argentina and Chile. Brazil was a key reference, being my home country and working as a counterpoint to the other five nations where the surveys are developed by the federal government.

The continental studies showed the 'lowest common denominator' of cultural activities adopted by the CAPS, evidencing the core of the surveys. Comparing national studies complicated the discussion, since they showed different ways of building variables to address certain activities, the diversity of cultural activities that can be included in a survey, how far the studies can go in detailing them, and also their limits.

I anticipated that the 'culture' emerging from the CAPS would be predominantly associated with the so-called traditional arts, fine arts and cultural industries, as well as with some popular manifestations and more recently with the digital practices. Almost all the questionnaires I studied covered the visual arts, the performing arts and heritage. Simultaneously, they mixed elements from the so-called cultural industries and mass media (newspapers, magazines, radio, cinema and television), and more recently the internet (blogs, podcasts, lives, videogames) and social networks. There are also variables that attempt to investigate popular culture, a topic that usually includes crafts and festivities common to several countries, such as carnivals, and other celebrations country specific. Some countries aggregated specific queries about social engagement (whether people take part in clubs, community groups, religious groups, etc.) and gastronomy. The possibility of cultural engagement through donation or voluntary work was also included in several studies. This shows that the surveys measure much more than traditional cultural activities, or 'legitimate culture.'

Although the survey questionnaires have a lot in common, there are ethnic, geographical, historical, political and particularly cultural differences between the countries in which they are carried out, which certainly play a part in whether they add specific variables to their questionnaires or exclude them. What is considered culturally relevant may change depending on the country. Some examples are the inclusion of questions about the zarzuela and bullfighting (Spain), pantomime (UK), *peñas musicales* (Argentina), *coleos* and *corralejas* (Colombia), comics (France), *capoeira* (Brazil), origami (Japan), and native crafts (Chile and New Zealand).

Moving beyond the more traditional cultural activities that have been included in most surveys since the 70s, the CAPS are struggling to deal with the disruptive impact of the internet and social media, not only on the way people read, listen to music, watch films, series and audio-visual productions, but also on how people interact online, producing and sharing their own cultural content, and use their devices in different places while doing other activities. The digital scenario

has been very challenging, compelling CAPS designers to add new practices to the activities traditionally included in their questionnaires, expanding what they consider as 'cultural.' The survey designers have also tried to follow the main debates on culture, including variables that may provide information that can contribute to discussions on diversity, creativity and cultural value, as the questions about the relevance people attribute to culture and its impacts on wellbeing.

This elastic set of activities means that the adjectives used by Blomkamp to comment on the concept of culture – *'certainly a sleepy, promiscuous term'* (2015, p. 16) – fit these quantitative studies like a glove. The CAPS seem to incorporate the use of the word 'culture' from at least two different moments in its development, according to the model of changes suggested by Williams (1993/1958, p. xvi), meaning both *'the general body of the arts'* – if we consider only the traditional variables of access – and *'a whole way of life'* – when we pay attention to the whole set of variables being measured, mixing arts, culture, creativity and the so-called 'everyday practices.' Although older than the CAPS, the quote works quite well in the present context.

In the comparative analysis, which puts side by side things that some countries have decided are 'cultural activities', I aimed to fulfil two objectives. The first, based on the great range of variables that are squeezed into it, was to show how tricky it is to measure culture and how far the concept may be extended, engulfing several variables. Secondly, I wanted to show how this challenge could be approached with different strategies, depending on the objective pursued.

I got another glimpse of how content and comparative analysis can work together when I looked at the titles adopted by these studies. The surveys nominated themselves as surveys of 'cultural consumption', 'cultural practices consumption', 'participation and cultural consumption', 'arts participation', 'cultural participation', 'cultural practices', 'cultural experiences', 'cultural demand', 'arts attendance', 'habits, practices and cultural consumption', 'imaginary and cultural consumption', 'public participation in the arts', 'attitudes to the arts', 'cultural enjoyment', 'taking part', 'active lives', 'cultural behaviour', 'population survey on the arts', 'cultural habits surveys', as well as 'cultural access and participation survey.' I employed content analysis to elucidate how these terminologies reflect discussions about key concepts on cultural debates, especially the polarisation between two binomials: arts and culture, and social and economic. The first was expressed directly in the CAPS' titles, which used both expressions – 'arts' and 'culture' – interchangeably, even though a closer look showed that they were mostly talking about the same things and measuring similar activities. The latter can be seen in the use of the words 'demand' and 'consumption', which are associated with an economic idea on one side, and expressions like 'taking part,' 'practices,' 'participation,' 'imaginary,' and 'attitudes,' more connected to a social approach, on the other. There were also words that seemed to float between the social and the economic poles, like 'access', 'habits', 'attendance' and 'experiences', which were not being clearly

associated with one of the ‘extremes.’ Finally, some surveys combined both ideas in their titles: ‘habits, practices and cultural consumption’ and ‘participation and cultural consumption.’

It was reasonable to infer that different titles might imply different approaches to culture, to the questionnaires, and even to their final contents. Thus, while the ‘consuming’ surveys should have brought more information about spending on cultural activities, services and goods, the ‘access/participation’ ones should have explored the experience and the social impacts. But that was not always the case. The content and the comparative analysis showed that, regardless of how they defined themselves the survey questionnaires had a meaningful group of variables in common and their titles in most cases did not reflect substantial contrasts between the concepts of art and culture they embraced. There were differences that reflected the effort to add new perspectives to the surveys, but the core questions were fundamentally the same.

2.5. Culture and data in academia

From context, methodology and key concepts I moved on to concentrate on the surveys’ main findings and contributions, investigating the ways they have been appropriated and explored by academia and policymakers. I used a combination of desk research, content analysis and the in-depth interviews to address how researchers have moved from the raw data collected by the surveys to knowledge, and the challenges they have faced along the way.

Although the dissertation does not focus on the figures from the data sets, developing new cross-analysis, mining the results, or exploring new correlational tests, all the findings I discuss here emerged from these data. Desk research was necessary to find out how the data were disclosed, since this was the first step towards allowing researchers to explore them. The statistical reports edited by each country were the main source of information. These mostly contained basic descriptive statistics that showed the average number of people accessing and participating in a set of cultural activities and how this percentage varied among the different sociodemographic groups (for example by gender, age, educational levels, earnings, etc.). Most of the reports considered only one sociodemographic variable at a time and did not investigate how they combined. Some went a step further, including scholarly text that interpreted the results, and/or commented on the methods or importance of the studies. Regardless of their framework, they represent a first layer of knowledge coming from the data.

Moving from the available data to how they have been explored by researchers, desk research and content analysis clearly overlapped with the literature review. Researchers have produced knowledge, underpinned by data from the CAPS, which has materialised in the articles and books they have written, while the CAPS themselves have not yet merited enough investigation to provide a specific academic production allowing a literature review only about their use. To deal with this situation, I opted to develop the discussion of the topic in two different

chapters. The literature review (chapter three) addresses the main findings and debates directly informed or supported by the quantitative information provided by the CAPS. It does not follow every direction taken by the discussions, focusing on those to which the quantitative tool has contributed. Neither does it explore studies in which the surveys were used only as a source of contextual information. Although this is one of the CAPS' useful contributions, it is not the focus of the dissertation. And it is likely much more fragmented and difficult to capture. Chapter seven, which focuses on academia, will return to some aspects of the literature review, but mostly to reference and highlight data that has been underused and the reasons for this. I also discuss, in chapter seven, whether and how researchers have been collaborating with governments to reflect on the data.

Having used desk research and content analysis to help build a kind of a family tree of the most important debates underpinned by the CAPS, I start with Bourdieu's extensive reflection on cultural engagement, which used, among other sources, data provided by the first quantitative survey carried out in France (1973). His pivotal work is still a reference for many scholars and has had several ramifications in the last 50 years. Following this, I mention the concepts of *omnivore* and *univore,* which have gained importance among academics since the works of Peterson in the beginning of the 90s, supported by data on music preferences from the series *Survey of Public Participation in the Arts* (SPPA), started in 1982. While the *omnivores* would engage with both elite and popular cultural activities and genres, the *univores* would preferentially engage with one or the other. Peterson's ideas have stimulated similar studies using data sets from other countries, including France, Spain and England, with academics sometimes affirming that they represent a rupture with Bourdieu's theories and sometimes arguing they are complementary.

I used both methods together to explore the kind of CAPS data prioritised by academic researchers and the general tendencies coming from a group of around 150 academic articles. For this exercise, I did not include historical or theoretical ones, focusing on those directly exploring their data sets. This strategy allowed me to evidence un(der)explored data and those deserving more attention from scholars. It allowed me to show, for example, that access is explored more than participation, that most studies address cultural activities as a group, rather than focusing on a particular one, and that there are few studies investigating children's engagement with culture, the variables of race and religion, or that connect access with demand. The methods also helped me address the different quantitative tools adopted by researchers to mine the data. While most official CAPS reports use only descriptive statistics to disclose the data collected, scholars have worked with different statistical procedures in their reflections, from the multiple correspondence analysis embraced by Bourdieu to the different regressions adopted by others in their articles (multiple factor, logistic, negative binomial, ordinary least square, etc.).

The in-depth interviews, detailed in topic 2.7 below, added another layer of information to all these topics, allowing me to investigate the main challenges faced by researchers wanting to

explore the available data. This method was important for reflecting, not only on the importance of the data, but particularly on the gaps, and on information researchers would like to see in the surveys. It also supported the discussion on prejudice against the use of data among professionals from the cultural area as well as the barriers limiting the investigation of culture by scholars skilled in quantitative methods, highlighting the consequences of that 'mutual suspicion' in academia.

2.6. Data and politics in policymaking

Finally, I discuss whether the surveys are being used to underpin informed cultural policies and the main barriers facing the movement from data to policy. This was mostly researched through the in-depth interviews with some additional desk research. The interviewees, as will be mentioned, were an important source of information since they were almost all aware of the public policies in their countries. Their expertise allowed me to comment from two perspectives. First, thinking about the policies coming out of the national offices in charge of culture; and second, considering cultural public institutions' possible use of the CAPS, either under their own initiative or coordinated by the national office. Debate on the topic has also introduced the politics of cultural measurement, as data may be a useful tool to inform the political speeches and narratives of both governments and their critics.

The analysis at this point was limited and naturally biased by their nationality and expertise, especially by the fact that most of them were from the focus countries and not all of them had international experience that allowed them to provide examples beyond their own national borders. In the Brazilian case, the lack of an official public survey made the interviewees reflect on their particular experiences with the CAPS and also on the general use of data and other surveys in cultural management, not always referring to the CAPS.

It was very tricky to address this topic accurately, as there was no guarantee that government initiatives could be properly tracked to identify how each idea was born or the main arguments supporting them. Some public initiatives might even have a political origin outside the cultural sector, making them more difficult to track. If it was reasonable to expect at least some public documentation and/or media repercussions regarding important government decisions and their most relevant projects and policies, it was also likely that small projects and local initiatives may not have been widely publicised and thus have been much more difficult to track. Beyond that, the underuse of data to promote evidence-based policies is a challenge not just for culture.

The blind spot here was the private cultural institutions, private companies and potential donors. I did not investigate how these potential stakeholders evaluate the surveys. Considering the number of countries already included in the dissertation, it was a task beyond the reach of the study and would also have required a different research design.

2.7. The in-depth interviews

To complement the methods mentioned above in connection with the most important objectives of the research, I also carried out in-depth interviews. These are addressed independently from the other tools because they play an important role in the overall methodology, contributing to each step of the dissertation.

I interviewed 32 key informants who were aware of the CAPS, having explored them at different levels and in dfferent ways as academics, independent researchers, policymakers, or cultural practitioners. The sample was mainly focused on professionals from Argentina (3), Brazil (8), Chile (4), France (3), Spain (5) and the United Kingdom (5), but also included four professionals from other European countries who were particularly important in the debate about cultural measurement.

The interviewees were selected according to the relevance of their work and their experience in working with cultural engagement directly or cultural policies more broadly. Most of them had participated directly in the surveys (coordinating or integrating the teams in charge of them) or indirectly (having been invited to collaborate in previous discussions about the methodology and the questionnaire). They included professionals who had studied sociology (9), economy and business (10), anthropology (2), art history (1), cultural studies (1), geography (1), history (1), international relations (1), political sciences (1), publicity (1) and statistics (3). The scholars among them had had articles published in a relevant list of magazines, like *Poetics, New Media & Society, Cultural Trends, Journal of Consumer Culture, Journal of Cultural Economics, Nova Economia, Sociology, American Behavioral Scientist, European Sociological Review, Journal of Youth Studies, Leisure Sciences, Cultural Sociology, Estudios de Economía Aplicada* and *Revue Française de Sociologie*.

The interviews were carried out in English, French, Portuguese or Spanish, according to the preference of the interviewees, by video call, between July 2021 and January 2023. Only one of the interviewees asked to answer the questions by email. I am responsible for the translation of all the interviews not conducted in English. The interviews lasted an average of 73 minutes and varied in length from 37 to 127 minutes. They were all recorded and guided by a semi-structured questionnaire focused on the following topics:

- The main problems, challenges, gaps, and limits of the CAPS, considering,
    - Their methodology (sample size, geographic distribution, frequency);
    - Their content (missing questions, missing sociodemographic or behavioural variables).
- The main contributions of the CAPS;
- Whether academia is exploring the surveys, and how;
- Whether policymakers are using the surveys, and how;
- Based on the problems mentioned previously, discussion of ways to move ahead.

The topics addressed in the in-depth interviews were not evenly distributed among each of the interviewees, since they had different experience, interests and backgrounds. Some had specific knowledge only about their country, while others could navigate through different data sources. Some were particularly interested in one aspect of the CAPS, either economic or sociological, while others had a broader perspective, and a general knowledge of the tool. In the interviews, which in many cases ended up being a conversation, I tried to explore the know-how of each key informant, paying more attention to their area of expertise, and sometimes even omitting some of the questions not to cut the flow of their ideas.

Because there are no official national public CAPS in Brazil, the research design opted for interviewing at least one person with a good knowledge of the most important Brazilian surveys. Of the eight Brazilian interviewees, five had been in close contact with at least one survey.

As there are very few people studying these issues from a quantitative perspective, it is possible to say that this group of interviewees consisted of some of the leading professionals in the development of the CAPS, or in debates on their data in the focus countries in recent years. This enhances the key informants' contributions to all the stages of the dissertation, from the overall scenario supporting the first surveys to the challenges to converting their findings into informed policies. Their points of view were particularly important in highlighting the critical challenges faced by the surveys and ways to move ahead.

The challenges and limits of in-depth interviews with specialists need to be taken into consideration (Seale et al., 2004). Interviewees may say what the interviewer wants to hear, they may be more or less focused on the interview depending on the day and moment it happens, they may avoid more polemical statements, keeping away from any disagreement with other colleagues or institutions they work for or with. In the context of this dissertation, it would be expected that their professional background could result in a more or less intense defence or criticism of the CAPS. Whilst quantitative researchers could speak more comprehensively about the surveys' limitations, praising their potential, qualitative researchers could take the opposite approach. And in some particular cases, some interviewees may not be able to avoid bias, when asked to comment, for example, on the gaps in studies they helped to develop and sometimes even coordinated.

I opted to maintain confidentiality for key informants to try to mitigate some of these potential problems. All the interviewees signed a consent form before the conversations took place, which assured them that their names would be kept anonymous, preserving the confidentiality of their opinions. They could also choose not to answer questions they did not feel comfortable with. The key informants are identified as 'scholar', 'academic', 'researcher', 'policymaker', or 'researcher and policymaker.' When I mention them below, I have frequently included their country since this is information that adds context to some statements. I have omitted their nationality at certain specific

moments to preserve the source of some political comments. Their gender has also been omitted. I have used the 'expressions' 's/he', 'her/him', 'her/his' to introduce their comments.

Although confidentiality does not eliminate those caveats, the breadth of the study, encompassing several aspects of the CAPS, helps moderate its possible effects for at least four reasons. First, the definition of 'culture' may embrace so many different activities that it is almost common sense that the surveys cannot handle everything needed, making it easy to criticise and point out gaps and challenges. Second, even when an interviewee did not feel comfortable talking about a specific question, many other topics were addressed in the conversation, lowering the risk of sterile interviews. What might have been lost in one interview could be recovered in another. The interviewee with less to say about topic A might have lots of contributions on topic B. Third, there is a general belief that politicians do not consider arts and culture to be of much importance, which means that professionals working in the area find it easier to talk about how governments handle cultural policies. Finally, the dissertation does not deal with a critical topic, like violence, drug abuse and others, that could increase the likelihood of discomfort with the questions asked.

During the conversations, only one interviewee questioned the way a particular answer would be mentioned in the dissertation, the topic being how the surveys should address the issues of immigration and religion in the design of the questionnaires. Interviewees only occasionally spotlighted that they did not want to be identified in connection with an answer but did not say that they did not want me to use their answer. This was almost always in relation to the question about the use of the surveys for the development of public policies. And none of the key informants avoided answering or commenting on any of the topics covered during the interview. Some of them mentioned they were not specialists on some specific topic and asked the interviewer to take that into consideration when analysing the answer.

These few remarks indicate that most of the time the interviewees appeared to be quite comfortable answering the questions and that the themes under investigation were not so critical as to blur or compromise their contributions. Their professional experience and the variety of countries they came from or worked in will certainly add important knowledge and practical experience to discussion of the CAPS' social and political life.

2.8. Adapting to the pandemic

I had to reshape the research design twice after embarking on this PhD in September 2018. Originally, it included the analysis of a new CAPS, which was scheduled to collect data from 19,500 interviewees in the 27 Brazilian regional capitals from May to July of 2020[14]. My plan was

[14] It would be coordinated by *JLEIVA* and was postponed for the end of 2023.

for reflections on the historical context and methodology of the CAPS to nourish the questionnaire about this new survey, exploring some possible ways to address the challenges faced by the tool. The Covid-19 pandemic, however, completely changed that scenario. Large scale face-to-face interviews became impossible, and the lockdowns adopted in several countries closed almost all live cultural activities.

These factors compelled the study to take a different approach, working with data from an earlier survey conducted in 2017 in 12 Brazilian regional capitals, which would be compared to surveys developed in the other five focus countries. The comparisons would be focused on the variables of gender and age. The objective would be to highlight two important differences between Brazil and other countries. While access and participation in developed countries is higher among women and starts to decline after the age of about 70, in Brazil, men and women have equal access to cultural activities and attendance starts to decline much earlier, at around 40 or 50 years old. The first twelve interviews were done with this new design. Beyond the questions mentioned previously (p. 30), the key-informants were also questioned about the variables of gender and age.

Two factors, however, contributed to another change, resulting in the current research design. It became clear after 12 interviews that the questions of gender and age were the least productive, being quite specific and requiring interviewees to have particular knowledge of the data from different countries to make for a fruitful discussion. The method was therefore not useful for meeting that part of the objective. At the same time, with the Covid-19 pandemic still disrupting live cultural activities and the CAPS around the world, there was an increase in debate about the competition and/or complementarity between offline and online activities.

These two factors made me consider that it would be more important to explore in depth the contributions and challenges of the CAPS, to underpin the debate on how to measure access and participation activities in a changing scenario. As a result, I abandoned the questions about gender and age and focused on the other topics, exploring them a bit further. I also decided to expand the mapping of the CAPS to provide a broader picture of their development. Regarding the survey initially scheduled to take place in the Brazilian regional capitals in 2020, data collection has had to be postponed to 2023 and it will hopefully profit from the lessons from this study.

2.9. Ethical issues

Two ethical issues need to be addressed to keep transparency regarding the methodological approach adopted in this thesis. The first, as I have already mentioned, is that I take part in the social life of the object of my investigation. My consultancy company, *JLEIVA Cultura & Esporte* (JLEIVA), is responsible for some of the surveys mentioned throughout the

dissertation[15]. The other is that I personally know six of the eight Brazilian interviewees. As argued below, I am completely confident that neither of these questions have compromised the findings of the study. Both topics were disclosed and detailed in my ethics application to Goldsmiths University and approved with no issues on 13th November 2020.

Unlike other countries where the federal government is in charge of the CAPS, which collect data through an official statistics institution or hire a private company for the job, Brazil does not yet have any official survey developed by the Ministry of Culture that could allow researchers to investigate the cultural habits of its population. The only national public surveys on the topic were somewhat different from the traditional CAPS, since their two editions were part of a series carried out by IPEA in 2010 and 2013 dedicated to investigating the population's perception of nine different public services, one of them being culture.

Beyond that, think tanks (CEBRAP), private institutions (Itaú Cultural, Fecomércio-RJ, SESC) and private companies (3D3, JLEIVA) have been responsible for most efforts to produce quantitative information about cultural engagement in Brazil. Fecomércio-RJ pioneered the studies in Brazil in 2005, but works with a limited sample (from 1,000 to 1,200 interviews depending on the year) and does not disclose their methodology and results openly to the public. Unfortunately, the important one-off study from CEBRAP, focused on the metropolitan region of São Paulo (2,002 interviews) is only partially available online. The surveys that do make reports and data available are carried out by the other private initiatives. SESC and 3D3 developed their one-off studies in 2013, with 2,400 and 1,620 interviews, respectively. Itaú Cultural has so far developed only online surveys during the pandemic, implying a different approach from the other studies. The surveys by JLEIVA were conducted in 2010 (state of São Paulo, 2,414 interviews), 2013 and 2015 (Rio de Janeiro city, 1,500 interviews), 2014 (21 cities from the state of São Paulo, 7,939 interviews) and 2017 (12 Brazilian regional capitals, 10,630 interviews).

This brief scenario amply justifies the inclusion of the CAPS from JLEIVA in the dissertation. It is important to reinforce that the goal is not to rank the surveys, but to investigate them as a group of similar studies on cultural engagement with differences in their methodologies and questionnaires, implying different strategies, potentials and limits. To rule out any potential conflict of interest, the comparative analysis of the questionnaires of the focus countries (chapter six) will not include the surveys conducted by JLEIVA, but the one carried out by SESC, a cultural institution with venues all over the country. JLEIVA's surveys will be mentioned residually.

The second point has to do with the interviewees. Since the number of professionals working in the intersection between cultural engagement and quantitative methods is very restricted, and not only in Brazil, it is unlikely for someone working in the area to avoid choosing a

[15] JLEIVA is not a survey research institute. It hires them to make the data collection.

person s/he knows when building a representative and relevant group of researchers to discuss the theme. Beyond that, the decision to interview at least one person who participated in the most important CAPS developed in Brazil increased the likelihood of previous contact with them. Due to the limited number of people working in the field and the lack of quantitative data on culture, there is more collaboration than competition among professionals. In the twelve years I have been working with CAPS, therefore, I have had the opportunity to get in touch, always for professional reasons, with six of the eight interviewees. Two of them collaborated on at least one of the surveys developed by JLEIVA between 2010 and 2017, either suggesting questions, writing articles, or debating the results. Two of them I interviewed about another topic, during work done by my consultancy for the British Council. And I have participated with other two professionals in seminars or debates on audience development or surveys on cultural engagement. These connections may have constrained the key informants to mitigate potential criticisms of the surveys conducted by Brazilian institutions, particularly, of course, those of JLEIVA. However, since the focus was not to explore each survey individually, but the potentials and limits of the tool, this can be considered a minor issue.

2.10. Critical challenges and biases

The following paragraphs briefly highlight some critical issues for the dissertation: the concepts of 'arts' and 'culture' and of 'access' and 'participation'; the politics of cultural measurement connected to these ideas; and the comparability of the surveys. The first and third challenges are very similar to those mostly mentioned by other researchers in their analyses of the CAPS (Ateca-Amestoy and Villarroya, 2017; Fuertes and Badillo, 2016; Keaney, 2008; Madden, 2005a; O'Hagan and Castiglioine, 2010; O'Hagan, 2016; Schuster, 2007; Stevenson, 2013; Stevenson et al., 2017). The second issue connects to the first and involves a critical approach to the use of data on policymaking. I have not addressed these topics exhaustively here, but have confined myself to explaining concisely how they will be dealt with later in the text. Some of them have already been introduced in the description of the research design.

Raymond Williams (1993/1958, p. XVI-XVII) first described the development of the concept of 'culture', from the end of the eighteenth century to the 50s, as *'striking'*, writing that *'it could be seen, in itself, as a special kind of map'* to explore the changes in our social, economic, and political life, including here the definition of 'art.' His famous quote came almost two decades later, when he defined 'culture' as *'one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language'* (1985/1976, p. 87). Both quotes echo in the dissertation in different ways. Changes in the questionnaires over time also build 'a special kind of map' of which activities were considered to be 'cultural' throughout the last 50 years, reflecting transformations in our daily life. Examples of

these include the gradual incorporation of elements from pop culture, variables aimed to address diversity, and now digital practices.

Regarding the definition of culture, its complexity inevitably affects every effort to measure it. To mitigate this challenge and avoid a conceptual trap, my strategy was not to outline a concept for arts and culture and then check whether the CAPS are able to assess them properly, whether they comply with the definitions, or if there are any missing variables. My aim was to work in the opposite direction. Starting from the questionnaires, I aimed to work back to the concept of arts and culture arising from the CAPS, demonstrating the variables investigated by the surveys by first identifying what is being measured, then connecting it to the different concepts of arts and culture, and finally addressing the main gaps, the arts and culture that are missing from the surveys. This option echoes the pragmatic approach mentioned by UNESCO (2009, p.10; 2012a, p.16).

The landmarks of the CAPS – the ideas of access and participation – were just as challenging to address. They add to the fluid concept of culture the also tricky challenge of defining and translating into variables the diverse ways in which people may engage with it. The concept of participation was particularly critical. While access seemed to be clearer, and could be measured by questions about whether or not people had engaged in cultural activities in the last 12 months, most of which were associated with specific venues, such as cinemas, theatres and museums, participation is more complex and diverse. It mixes different experiences, like hobbies, amateur practices, learning some artistic or cultural activity, sporadic practices, and activities that can be made individually or collectively, engaging in specific communities. Participation brings together these different layers of engagement that do not necessarily have the same meaning and impact on people lives, but that in many (but not all) surveys, are counted together. Using the last 12 months as a measure for these practices also seemed to be less accurate when moving from access to participation.

This challenging and necessary debate is developed from chapter six to nine. Once again, my strategy was to start with the data produced, to focus on the variables included in the questionnaires, and then check the extent to which they inform us about ‘participation’ in cultural activities and whether they connect to the ongoing debates on the topic. Particularly critical will be the idea of ‘everyday participation’, since it does not have a clear definition and refers to an anthropological concept of culture, meaning it could encompass almost everything.

The study’s initial focus on technical decisions taken during the design of the surveys and on its most important variables, those measuring access and participation, did not mean that it ignored the politics behind them. I fully recognise that social and cultural indicators *‘are not a neutral form of knowledge’* (Blomkamp, 2015, p. 13). I began designing the research by addressing the CAPS, and then tried to balance the debate on their technicalities and politics. It is,

nevertheless, a tight rope to walk, particularly in the discussion of the CAPS' contributions to policymaking (chapters eight and nine), in which I have tried to combine both perspectives.

It notes, for example, that if the CAPS are not a neutral tool, being part of a broader context (social, political, economic and technological), this does not mean they only reflect one political agenda. As their histories in France and England show, quantitative indicators can support the narratives of both governments and their critics. Built to prove with quantitative evidence what would be an inevitable success, the French public policies then on the agenda, the surveys *Pratiques Culturelles des Français* (PCF) depicted a different reality, questioning the reach of the programs developed by the government and enhancing the opposition's discourse. In England, data from the *Taking Part Survey* (TPS) allow an 'all or nothing' approach. In Portuguese, the expression would be *'oito ou oitenta'* (eight or eighty). As will be discussed, whilst *The Warwick Report* criticises public policies saying only 8% of the population in England are highly engaged in culture (Neelands et al, 2015), the government highlights that almost 80% of the population engage in at least one cultural activity per year (DCMS, 2017, 2018, 2019). Unfortunately for the surveys' reputation, both are right.

Beyond the political use of data, it was more difficult to track the way the CAPS navigate from data to informing, suggesting, confirming, validating, evaluating, and/or evidencing public policies. The decision to investigate several countries simultaneously added to the complexity of the question, to provide a fragmented picture on the topic. The thesis highlights important aspects of the debate, specifically in relation to the CAPS, raises doubts about some general assumptions and shows the interviewees' different points of view, but the complexity of the theme certainly requires much more investigation.

There was also the always critical issue of comparability. Even when the CAPS have the same parameters, the differences 'on the ground' must not be underestimated. How could we compare, as an example, visits to museums in countries A and B, with the same sized population, if we found a percentage of 25% in both cases? Looking at this figure on its own made them appear equal. However, the picture might be very different if country A had 30% more museums than country B; if the results by social group showed there was more inequality in country B; or if data was collected in A one month after a huge exhibition in the country's main museum. The use of additional information brings another perspective to results that initially appear to coincide absolutely. That is to say that a 100% fair comparison should take into account all the variables that could influence access to museums, from the existing traditions in each country to the specific supply conditions, which could not be achieved across a large number of countries simultaneously. When the various cultural activities encompassed by the CAPS are taken into consideration, the overall challenge grows exponentially.

However, if it was difficult to directly compare the results of the surveys, not only because of the different methodologies adopted by each country, but also because of the different realities

they reflected, it was not that critical to compare their questionnaires. It would help not only to illustrate different approaches, but to provide an overview of all 'cultural variables' being measured by a certain set of surveys. Another possible strategy would be to explore the tendencies within each country. Despite the differences, almost all the surveys showed that education and earnings are the main variables shaping artistic and cultural engagement. There were other tendencies, such as the reduction in the number of visits to the cinema as people get older, that are common to most countries. If a direct comparison of the numeric results is subjected to several caveats, it could be useful and meaningful to carefully register some similar tendencies.

Beyond these conceptual challenges, it is important to point out some of the potential biases in the dissertation as a result of some methodological decisions, the country in which the study was conducted (England), and the languages it explored.

The CAPS mapping was not absolute and comprehensive. Even though it included a robust sample of surveys, particularly from Europe and South America, the surveys I did not manage to study may have contained insightful information about the measurement of cultural engagement, particularly those from Africa and Asia, as well as the regional ones.

The same remark could be made regarding discussions of the contributions coming from the CAPS. I did not cover extensively academic work from around the world, but instead emphasised studies coming mostly from England, US, Spain and France, which reflects the number of surveys already made in these countries, and the consequent attention they have had from scholars. The fact that the dissertation was based in England, and the focus on studies carried out in English, Spanish, French and Portuguese also add to this potential bias. In the case of policymaking, as England had recently conducted annual surveys and had initiatives for collaborating with academics, there are more quotes from the English key informants in subsequent chapters.

Regardless of all these challenges, potential biases and limitations, my aim was to gather meaningful information to raise awareness of the importance of measuring access and participation in cultural activities. Starting with a bird's eye view, then diving into the CAPS' questionnaires, and connecting with researchers and policymakers from different countries, the study aims to reflect on possible ways to improve them, recognising their contributions and particularly their blind spots. Recapping where they came from and how they have developed in the last 50 years will be the starting point of this effort to find a workable balance between the technical and the political, between what needs to be measured and what can be measured.

Note

Before moving on, a note must be added. Victoria Ateca-Amestoy, a Spanish researcher I interviewed for the dissertation, died unexpectedly at the end of last year. As suggested by some of her friends, and in agreement with my supervisors, we decided to disclose her name as well as her quotes, making visible her contributions to the thesis and to the debates on culture. This decision had the approval of her husband, Francisco Javier Lausín del Barrio.

I had the opportunity to meet Ateca-Amestoy twice. When I first wrote asking for the interview, she suggested an initial video conference to get a better understanding of my thesis, to suggest some literature to me, and so that she could be prepared for the interview. In the second conversation, the one quoted here, she emphasised more than once her worries about the importance of a careful and conscious move from data to knowledge. This key idea echoes throughout the dissertation.

CHAPTER THREE
LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature supporting the dissertation is primarily focused on the studies exploring data on cultural engagement from the CAPS, both the official surveys, developed by national or local governments (including some TUS, LS, OS and HSS), and other occasional quantitative studies by researchers, think tanks, private companies and cultural institutions. It encompasses the official reports disclosing their results, since many of them include reflections and analyses by scholars, not just a description of the main results, meaning they are also part of the debate about the topic. Consequently, it is important to have some historical perspective to understand when, why and where these surveys began to be carried out and how they developed, to be aware of the politics behind cultural statistics (Blomkamp, 2015). This helps position the surveys as part of the wider effort to collect quantitative data on culture, which have flourished in parallel to the recognition of its social and economic potential and the development of public policies for culture.

At the same time, this historical perspective will build the background that connects some of the key concepts in cultural studies to the surveys, particularly the ideas of access, participation, democratisation of culture, cultural democracy and cultural rights, the notions of cultural industries, creative economy, instrumentalism and everyday participation. It is beyond the scope of the thesis to develop an exhaustive investigation of the different approaches all these concepts have so far been subjected. The intention is not to detail the debate, but essentially to show how the basic ideas these concepts embody connect with efforts to translate into figures, data and indices the different ways people can engage with culture and – reversing the direction of the sentence – to explore whether and how the data collected by the CAPS are able to provide a reasonable measurement to underpin the discussions around some of these topics.

3.1. Cultural rights

The pivotal reference for the concept of cultural rights is the work of Annamari Laaksonen and Yvonne Donders, which tries to show how culture became a basic dimension of human rights, how we can relate such rights to our daily life, and the implications of this. In *Finding Ways to Measure the Cultural Dimension of Human Rights and Development* (Donders and Laaksonen, 2009, p. 1), the researchers examine, from a legal point of view, the connection between cultural rights and development and suggest indicators to measure this relationship. They argue that,

> *Overarching the relationship between culture, human rights and development are the principles of equality, access and participation. These human rights are not only moral issues; they are legal obligations that should guide States in all policy-planning, including the drafting of cultural policies.*

The authors underline the juridical framework that could create the conditions to improve access and participation, emphasising that the possibility of engaging in cultural activities and expressing oneself through arts and culture are two of the driving forces of the idea of culture as a right. This concept is also addressed in *Making Culture Accessible* (Laaksonen, 2010). From a very open definition, which states that culture *'is mostly about sharing, experimenting, feeling, doing and living together (…) is about the contents of life, understanding and expressing our reality, and our reactions to the world'*, Laaksonen (2010, p. 7) maintains that the *'backbone of human rights related to culture'* is formed by exactly the two aspects measured in the CAPS: *'participating in cultural activities, together with access to them.'*

Cultural rights, evidently, have a broader definition and their pivotal goal is to protect people threatened with not being able to live according to their culture, not to ensure they can go to a museum. Cultural rights are mostly mentioned in discussions about the opportunities that local groups, ethnic minorities, native populations and others either have or do not have to express themselves and their culture freely, according to their own beliefs, and to live their lives in the culture they decide to embrace. Even though in a broader sense this idea could be associated with 'participation', this is not what the CAPS measure. The surveys focus on a series of specific practices, on the opportunities people have to express themselves through arts and culture, not on the overall concept of self-determination. In other words, they measure some important and meaningful aspects of cultural rights but are clearly far from addressing the overall concept.

3.2. Measuring culture, checking the ground

Craufurd Goodwin (2006) has done broad research on how some economists and social scientists struggled from the end of the eighteenth century to the end of the second World War to analyse the economic aspects of the arts. The topic still deserves further investigation. We have little information about the first quantitative studies developed at the beginning of the last century. From the second half of the twentieth century, however, this scenario gradually begins to change. The work of Baumol and Bowen (1966) is a pivotal reference. Even though *Performing Arts: The Economic Dilemma* does not take a comprehensive historical approach to the topic and focus on specific cultural activities, the analysis of the data sets employed in the book builds a revealing

picture of the quantitative sources available at the time, as well as of what was missing, since the authors had to produce some quantitative data to fill important gaps in their investigation.

At the beginning of the next decade, The Ford Foundation (1974) carried out a survey, in which they conducted 8,400 interviews in 12 regional capitals; the National Research Centre for the Arts (NRCA) launched a series called *Americans and the Arts* (1973), which involved 3,005 face-to-face interviews across the whole country.[16] Parallel to that, in France at the end of 1973, the Ministry of Culture collected data to launch, in the following year, what is considered today to be the longest-running series of surveys about cultural habits.

At the end of the 70s, with the boom in audience studies by cultural institutions in the US, and the first public CAPS in France (1973) and some private ones in the US (1972, 1973, 1974), more quantitative information was available to stimulate the work of researchers. In 1978, DiMaggio, Useem and Brown, commissioned by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), released *Audience Studies of the Performing Arts and Museums: a Critical Review*. They mapped 270 quantitative audience studies conducted throughout the country, showing the growing interest of arts organisations in understanding their publics. The report registered three surveys made in the 1950s and around 30 in the 1960s. However, almost 90% of the studies were from the 1970s.

All these pioneering data collections, although different in many respects, shared one important similar result, pointing to education, earnings (and occupations) as the most important variables distinguishing between the different audiences of cultural activities. That which we could say was already being captured by observation and qualitative studies was starting to be reinforced and detailed by survey techniques.

The objectives and politics behind these studies, as well as the socioeconomic context in each country, will be explained in the next chapter. For the moment, it is relevant to mention that the US studies not only received some public money but also the important and decisive support of private institutions (Twentieth Century Fund, Ford Foundation, Philip Morris and The Wallace Foundation), while the French survey was funded only by the federal government. Regarding the objectives, the former aimed to understand the behaviour of audiences for the purpose of developing the consumer market for arts organisations and justifying public investment in and corporate donations to the sector. Although cultural policies in Europe rely on greater participation from public authorities than in the US, NEA's budget was growing fast at the time, as was the number of state and local art councils and agencies (DiMaggio and Useem, 1978a). In France, the *Service des Études et Recherches* (SER), created in 1968, aimed to provide evidence-based data to help plan government investments in culture (Martin, 2012) as well as to measure the impact of cultural policies (Dubois, 2007).

[16] This study completed a total of six editions up to the beginning of the Nineties (1973, 1975, 1980, 1984, 1987, 1992)

3.3. Mapping inequalities, building distinction

In the US, DiMaggio, Useem and Brown (1978) explored data on the audiences of the performing arts and museums in a very descriptive and practical way, highlighting the results by gender, age, education, occupation, income, and race, and discussing ways to improve the quality of the data collected as well as how to use them. In another study published in the same year, underpinned by the same data sets, the authors moved a step forward, aiming *'to contribute to the development of a theory of the political economy of culture in the US'* (DiMaggio and Useem, 1978b, p. 142). Building on data on education, income and occupation, they argued that families from different social classes have different socialisation practices and are likely to have different artistic tastes. *'Thus, the adoption of artistic interests, tastes, standards and activities associated with a social class helps establish an individual's membership in that class'* (DiMaggio and Useem, 1978b, p. 143). Family ties and schooling would therefore be powerful mechanisms to reproduce class differentiation and the patterns of arts consumption, particularly regarding the high arts.

These arguments are quite like those expounded by Bourdieu the following year when *La distinction: Critique social du jugement* (1979) was published. The seed of the ideas expressed in this most influential book had begun to be germinated at least fifteen years before, in his studies on education in France (1964) and systems of cultural and social reproduction (1973). Supported by empirical research and quantitative studies, including the first French CAPS, Bourdieu added another dimension to the connections between culture, education, the constitution of social groups and the reproduction of the relations of power embedded in these groups. Families and schools, particularly universities, would build the foundations of taste and cultural practices, driving the elite to like certain artistic products and to attend to specific cultural activities, which would distinguish them from other social groups. On the other side of the divide, the popular classes, less educated, less wealthy and occupying inferior working positions (from a salary perspective), would be oriented towards different cultural tastes and practices. Culture would help to shape a distinction between a snobby/highbrow elite and a slobby/lowbrow popular class, being part of a system that would tend to reproduce itself, reaffirming a divide among social groups.

Bennett et al. (2009) synthesised Bourdieu's ideas about culture in three main arguments: *'the importance of cultural capital, the homology between cultural fields and the role of culture in reproducing advantage.'* The concepts of cultural capital, habitus and homology influenced several studies in the following decades, also attracting different criticisms. The main challenge to the ideas of Bourdieu, built from a quantitative perspective, appeared a little over a decade later in the US. Working on data from the 1982 SPPA, conducted by the National Bureau of the Census, Peterson proposed a change in the dichotomy presented by studies that opposed a highly educated elite to an uninformed and undifferentiated mass, a 'highbrow' to a 'lowbrow' pattern of cultural consumption (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Simkus, 1992). Exploring information about musical taste, specifically the type of music liked best by the interviewees, Peterson observed that

the stratification of an elite-to-mass model associated with a high culture-to-popular culture hierarchy was not as strict as many scholars had assumed. Data associated high-status occupational groups not only with a greater preference for classical music, but also with a significant level of engagement with more popular genres, like country music and rock. At the bottom of the pyramid, low-status occupational groups were mostly restricted to one particular genre, leading the sociologist to suggest the adoption of an 'omnivore-to-univore' status hierarchy, ruled by the diversification of taste and cultural consumption. Eclecticism and openness to diversity would contrast with rigid opposition to mark the difference between the informed culture of the elite and the popular culture of the masses.

3.4. Shuffling highbrow, lowbrow, univorous, omnivorous

Even with their limitations in terms of breadth and time, the first wave of surveys developed in the last century provided enough data to lay the foundations of the main tendencies and guidelines of quantitative research on cultural engagement. First, they pointed out some general patterns of cultural access and consumption that would be confirmed with small variations in many of the surveys developed in the following decades. Second, they made an important contribution to the consummation of the first robust social theory of cultural practices. At the same time, they also inspired what we could consider so far as the most important counterpoint to this theory. These three major contributions, coming from a very limited number of surveys at that point, would shape a significant part of the academic debate in the years to come. After the turn of the century, the number of countries implementing this kind of measurement continued to grow, particularly in South and Central America. In Europe, Spain and England reshaped their initial studies, improving their quality and starting a new series that would continue until at least the beginning of this decade (2020s). The continent also developed, in 2001, the first survey covering different countries, to collect comparable data. All these initiatives stimulated UNESCO (2012a) to edit its first guide, compiling several surveys that aimed to measure cultural engagement around the globe. One year after (2013), Latin-American countries repeated the European effort to build a multinational survey.

This relatively new area of study, that until the end of last century was mostly limited to American and French scholars had started to broaden its reach, with new databases underpinning contributions from England, Spain, Netherlands, Germany, Australia, Canada and South America. Most of the reflections made possible either by the new data produced in other countries or by the enlargement of the American and French series had as a central reference the debate about how cultural engagement/cultural consumption was connected with the different social groups/classes and how taste and practices were reproduced.

The concepts of Bourdieu and Peterson were a central reference for a wide range of quantitative studies not only in their countries, but also for researchers aiming to test their ideas in

other contexts (Denmark, Netherlands, Spain, England). As Peterson (1992, p.256) wrote in the last paragraph of one of his seminal articles, '*The pyramidal hierarchy proposed here ranging from omnivore down to univore is just that, "*a proposal".[17] *The conception must undergo rigorous testing before it can claim to be an adequate successor to the elite-to-mass conception (…).'*

And *'rigorous testing'* did happen. Following the main methodological paths opened up by Bourdieu, Peterson and DiMaggio, a lot of research has been developed in the last three decades that investigates the omnivore/univore concept in contrast with the model of class distinction and homology. Repeating or adapting the original work of Peterson, one of the most scrutinised variables has been musical taste (Prieto-Rodríguez and Fernández-Blanco, 2000; Van Eijk, 2001; Coulangeon, 2003, 2013a; Ariño, 2007; Coulangeon and Lemel, 2007; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2006; López-Sintas et al., 2008; Tampubolon, 2010; Savage and Gayo, 2011; López-Sintas et al., 2014). Some researchers have contributed to the debate by mixing quantitative and qualitative techniques, either questioning the figure of the omnivore (Warde, Wright and Gayo, 2007; Atkinson, 2011) or trying to expand upon it (Ollivier, 2008a, 2008b; Van Eijck and Lievens, 2008). Enlarging the reach of the investigation, the findings of Peterson have also been tested using data on engagement in other cultural sectors, like reading (Van Rees et al., 1999), and particularly the visual and performing arts (Bellavance et al., 2004; Silva, 2006, 2008; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007b; Wuggenig, 2007; Ateca-Amestoy, 2008; Hanquinet, 2013). Since most of the surveys gathered data on attendance and participation in more than a dozen cultural activities, other studies opted to mix some of them in their methodological design (López-Sintas and Álvarez, 2002, 2004; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005, 2007a; Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2006; Coulangeon and Lemel, 2009), exploring a range of practices, and not just musical taste, including the effect of globalization (Coulangeon, 2017). There were studies done in countries from Canada (Vanzela-Yang, 2018) and South Korea (Lee et al., 2015) to Belgium (Stichele and Laermans, 2006) and Finland (Purhonen et al., 2011).

Most of these studies have found evidence of a group of well-educated and wealthy people who appreciate diverse music genres and not just those traditionally associated with the upper classes, and engaging in a set of different cultural activities, not only the 'legitimate' ones. If this finding could challenge the concept of homology, corroborating the omnivore concept, most of the studies also observed at least two groups showing a more homogeneous pattern of cultural consumption at both ends of the social spectrum: one with a limited range of musical tastes and/or cultural practices, closely associated with the lower classes, and the other at the opposite end of the social gradient, with the same limited range of musical taste, but attending a broad range of cultural activities, representing a more traditional upper class. The omnivores would be between

[17] Highlighted by Peterson in his original text.

both but closer to the upper-class univores (López-Sintas and Álvarez, 2004; Peterson, 2005). Authors differ in tone on the consequences of these findings for both theories (homology and omnivore-univore). If it is clear that the data has not shown evidence of a rigid and clear association between particular social groups and cultural tastes and practices across the whole social gradient, it is also indisputable that *'the consumption of (and preferences for) cultural products varies sharply according to social class'* (López-Sintas and Álvarez, 2004, p. 465). While some authors reject Bourdieu's ideas based on the former part of the last sentence, others try to reconcile it with the omnivore-effect supported by the latter.

Chan and Goldthorpe have also tried to add a framework to the discussion, by testing the omnivore-effect for several cultural activities. They claimed *'the importance of maintaining the Weberian distinction between class and status'* (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2006, p.1) in interpreting the results. Building on the importance of the symbolic value of culture emphasised by Bourdieu, they argued this would help to explain the omnivores, a group that was worried about status, in a counterpoint to more traditional upper-class segments who valued social position (class) instead. Bennett argues that although cultural capital, homology, and the role of culture in reproducing inequalities have received attention from scholars, they have frequently been addressed in a fragmented way that misses the way they articulate with one another, a mistake they tried to avoid while testing Bourdieu's theory in the English context (Bennett et al., 2009).

Efforts to deal with the fragmentation of the social gradient and the methodological differences between the studies made some authors suggest different terms to characterise groups that did not fit entirely into the omnivore-univore or highbrow-lowbrow models, such as 'voraciousness' (Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2006) and 'cumulation' (Coulangeon and Lemel, 2009).

Peterson himself reflected on the social groups emerging from his studies, adapting the binary categories after repeating his pivotal investigation with data from the new SPPAs. He first used data from the SPPA from 1982 (Peterson and Simkus, 1992), then compared the SPPAs of 1982 and 1992 (Peterson and Kern, 1996), adding to his reflections data from the 1997 and 2002 editions (Peterson and Rossman, 2008). Finally, he explored data from the 2008 SPPA (Rossman and Peterson, 2015).[18] His studies showed an increase in omnivorous behaviour from 1982 to 1992 and then a decrease to 2002 and throughout 2008 (Rossman and Peterson, 2015). In articles published this century, Peterson has made some remarks about his initial approach, arguing that it has changed from a dual perspective in 1992 (highbrow-lowbrow = omnivore-univore), to a three-cell model in 1996 (highbrow = snob/univore and omnivore, and lowbrow = univore), as argued by López-Sintas and Álvarez (2004), and then to a four-cell model with both highbrow and lowbrow being divided in two cells, one univore and the other omnivore (Peterson, 2005).

[18] *The instability of omnivorous cultural taste over time* was published in 2015, five years after Peterson's death. The text was finished by his research partner, Gabriel Rossman, and published in *Poetics (n. 52, p. 139-153).*

The Canadian sociologist Romain Brisson (2019) built on the remarks made by Peterson (2005) and Rossman and Peterson (2015), highlighting the limitations of the methodology they adopted, particularly the power of the database and the statistical tools employed. Brisson had previously assessed the statistical significance of the data used by Bourdieu, concluding that two thirds of the differences he reported in *Distinction* were significant. Unfortunately, the study did not include the French government survey, as it was restricted to the data collected directly by Bourdieu (Brisson and Bianchi, 2015).

3.5. Diversifying approaches

The aim of this literature review is not to encompass all the developments and multiple paths opened by discussions around homology and omnivorousness, many of which did not use statistical tests (Kawashima, 2006; Lahire, 2008; Prieur and Savage, 2011; Lizardo and Skiles, 2012; Silva, 2015, 2016; Cicchelli et al., 2016; Ferrant, 2018). The aim is, rather, to emphasise how quantitative data on cultural engagement has contributed to building (or blurring and confounding) the main arguments in the different directions taken by the debate on cultural engagement.

In parallel with the discussions around the omnivore-effect, and sometimes as a by-product of it, there has been diversification in the sociodemographic variables investigated by researchers, and an effort to test how cultural taste and habits are reproduced from one generation to the other, as well as some attempts to position cultural activities in relation to other forms of leisure and social engagement. Regarding the first, several studies aimed to investigate how cultural engagement could change between different age groups (Peterson and Sherkat, 1995; Peterson et al., 1996; Peterson et al., 2000; Savage, 2006; Keaney and Oskala, 2007; Scherger, 2009) and also between genders (Bihagen and Katz-Gerro, 2000; Christin, 2012; Willekens and Lievens, 2016; López-Sintas et al., 2017). In the case of age, the French studies profited from the temporal series accumulated in that country since 1973, exploring the question of how cultural habits have changed or remained stable from one generation to the other (Donnat, 2009, 2011a, 2011b, 2013; Coulangeon, 2013b; Lombardo and Wolff, 2020). These studies were able to compare the behaviour of a particular group (for example of people 35 to 44 years old), not only with both younger and older groups in one specific year, but also with people who were the same age at other moments in time. Considering age, there are few studies exploring data on children's engagement with culture (Leguina et al., 2022).

Some scholars have also made sporadic efforts to address ethnicity (DiMaggio and Ostrower, 1990), but as in the case of religion, it is a largely unexplored topic, in part due to a lack of more robust data in some surveys, as will be discussed in chapter seven. The same happens with the question of geographic distribution, an issue addressed throughout the dissertation in

different ways. There are some works exploring the available data considering their limitations (Schuster, 2000; Evans, 2016; Leguina and Miles, 2017), while other work builds on CAPS limits, showing the importance of adding qualitative methods to circumvent these gaps (Gilmore, 2013).

Some articles have explored the effects of social mobility and the variables underpinning the transmission of cultural tastes and practices (Scherger and Savage, 2010; Christin, 2011; Coulangeon, 2013a; Herrera-Usagre, 2013). Cultural engagement was also explored in connection to the influence of new technologies from a consumption (Foote, 2002) or communication perspective (Güell, 2010). Finally, as many surveys include questions about other leisure alternatives (indoors and outdoors, community activities and sports practices), some researchers and institutions explored the relations between culture and leisure, and culture and sports (López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro, 2005; Coulangeon and Lemel, 2009; DCMS, 2010; Muñiz et al., 2011; Brook, 2011; Miles and Sullivan, 2012; Hallman et al., 2017; López-Sintas et al., 2017). These latter efforts have been stimulated partly by the recognition that these activities could compete with cultural engagement, competing for the population's free time, and partly because data to do so has been available in the same data set, allowing researchers to explore these activities.

3.6. Struggling to compare

The growing debate about cultural policies and the democratisation of culture, from an institutional viewpoint, and cultural institutions' need to increase funds and audiences, from a practical perspective, fostered the diversification of surveys on cultural engagement and leisure activities and the expansion of studies analysing different quantitative aspects of attendance and participation in cultural institutions. The fast increase in the amount of data available during the 70s stimulated some authors and institutions to compile and discuss both sources of information, trying to make sense of the main findings by looking at a range of data and studies, particularly in the US.

DiMaggio, Useem and Brown (1978) were probably pioneers in this area, followed by Citro (1990), who reflected on the two first SPPAs (1982 and 1985), examining how to 'improve the quality and utility of the data', and Schuster (1991), who focused on data on the audience for art museums in the US. All initiatives were funded by the Research Division of NEA. In 1995, the American institution released *'A practical guide to arts participation research'*, to help cultural institutions enlarge their audiences. Another meaningful compilation of CAPS was done by Pettit (2000), listing basic information about the studies made in the US and Canada, but without comparing them. McCarthy et al. (2001) and McCarthy and Jinnett (2001) have also summed up the main literature on participation, addressing both quantitative and qualitative studies, and trying to build a kind of a guide to help cultural institutions and policymakers develop their own surveys.

One of the most prolific researchers of quantitative studies on cultural engagement, Schuster (2007) highlights the European Round Table on Cultural Research in Moscow, in 1991, as one of the first efforts to compile and discuss a broader set of cultural participation studies and surveys in Europe (Fisher et al., 1993). In one of her first articles, Selwood (1998) mentioned the fact that at that point many studies of museum visitors in England were unpublished, regardless of the growing importance of understanding audience behaviour and the priority attributed by the Labour government, elected in 1997, to increasing attendance at public institutions, particularly museums. The text was published as an afterword, in a reprint of *Museum visitor studies in the 90s*, originally issued by the Science Museum in 1993, with several articles from scholars and practitioners. Selwood drew attention to the fact that most contributions were by American authors and that only two British museums (the Science Museum and the Natural History Museum) were represented in the book, while none of the British institutions with fine art collections were even mentioned. If the use of quantitative visitor studies for audience development was still building momentum among cultural institutions in the UK, there were already some unstructured efforts to measure attendance at cultural activities among the population overall. A report from the Arts Council of England (ACE) compared available data to inform a pilot study to collect information to underpin a future survey (Bridgwood and Skelton, 2000). They worked with data from six different surveys developed in the UK from 1986 to 2000 (four of which were one-off studies).

During this period, some scholars also tried to put side-by-side data from participation collected in different countries, like Jermyn (1999), who compared surveys from England and US, and Pronovost (2002), who matched data from the province of Quebec (Canada) with surveys from France and the US. The most significant wide-ranging mapping of quantitative data on participation was done by Schuster (2007), including data from Europe. Beyond compiling sources from different countries, Schuster also stressed different questions of cross-national comparability among the surveys, in the most comprehensive effort made so far to analyse a large number of studies. In England, Keaney (2008) reflected on the available data, focusing on two sources in particular, the *Target Group Index* (TGI) and the *Taking Part Survey* (TPS), which at the time was a recent initiative. The author highlighted *'the benefits and pitfalls'* of the existing data, analysing how they related to qualitative studies by the ACE.

All these efforts preceded the guide released by UNESCO in 2012, *'Measuring Cultural Participation'*, compiling a series of experiences developed around the world and highlighting the main conceptual and methodological challenges faced by countries and institutions trying to quantify public engagement with the arts. Taking a very didactic approach, the publication managed to broaden the reach of the surveys mapped, including initiatives developed since the beginning of the century in Africa, Asia, Oceania and South America. The earlier and important study done by Schuster (2007), beyond the US-Europe axis, had included Mexico, Australia, New Zealand and Japan.

Even though the comments about why, what and how to measure culture are brief, the UNESCO guide assesses some of the critical issues very objectively. The expression *'pragmatic approach'*, first used in the *'2009 Framework for Cultural Statistics'* to meet the challenges of measuring culture, was again invoked in the 2012 edition, to help build an *'operational definition of cultural participation.'* And since the guidelines suggested by that document are also based on a comparative approach, putting existing surveys side by side, it was a useful methodological reference for the comparisons I develop later in this research.

All the studies that have attempted to compare surveys on cultural participation are unanimous in warning about the limits these efforts imply, even when comparing data from the same country. Schuster reflected insightfully on these challenges (2007, p. 135):

> *When I began this paper, I thought that I was writing a paper that would compare participation rates across countries. (…) Perhaps I would discover broad similarities in participation rates across countries, or perhaps I would discover surprising differences. But what I actually discovered is that the variations in design greatly complicated my ability to author a coherent account of the meaning and significance of the results. This paper swerved from a paper about comparative results to a paper about comparative methodology.*

Madden (2005a) has also emphasised the challenge of cross-country comparisons, mentioning not only the obvious methodological differences in data collection, but also the quality of the data. Some red lights have also been flashed up by O'Hagan and Castiglione (2010) and O'Hagan (2016), in reference to the European scenario, and by Pessoa (2015), who considered the international development of cultural measurement and the need for capacity building in this area to help to mitigate the difficulties, an idea that will be explored in the dissertation. The complexity and diversity of what could be considered culture, the multiple ways people interact with it and the differences between countries are so great that even the CAPS developed on a continental level, with the same or very similar methodologies as those carried out in Europe and by the OEI, are careful to avoid systematic comparisons between the countries and are always alert to their limits. This does not mean comparisons are not possible. Referring to Jowell (1998), Madden (2005a) mentions some *'rules of thumb'* that could help to avoid pitfalls and hasty conclusions, among which were the importance of stating limitations clearly and being aware of the context in which the data was collected. Like Schuster, Madden had the feeling that he was comparing methodologies rather than data and results. The thesis follows a similar path, looking to the strategies to build the variables.

Beyond studies focused only on or mostly supported by the CAPS, there are also several mentions of the quantitative surveys on cultural participation in research that aims to address the

question of cultural indicators or cultural policy with a broader perspective (Selwood, 2002, 2019, 2021; Gordon and Beilby-Orrin, 2006). Even studies which do not have the audience as their key concern are sometimes able to show the challenges of measuring cultural practices, by highlighting the multiplicity and complexity of defining what could be considered a cultural activity, and, more recently, a creative activity (Madden, 2005b, Fuertes and Badillo, 2016; Stano and Weziak-Bialowolska, 2017; Selwood, 2021).

Unfortunately, there is no systematic compilation of all the available data sources regarding cultural participation in each country, but there are some studies which collect information about different sources and/or which try to critically analyse the kind of information produced. Ateca-Amestoy and Villarroya (2017) provide an important and didactic mapping of the available data on participation in the arts in Spain. It is a good example of the quantitative information that could be used by researchers and policymakers, since the country gathers data from HBS, TUS and CAPS (both national and regional), which are the three main sources that try to measure cultural practices and consumption. Before them, Ariño (2010) mapped different surveys on cultural engagement, including studies developed in the 60s and 70s, each one focused on specific topics, like media, TV, newspapers, reading, leisure and possession of cultural goods. In Italy, some available sources of information were listed by Cicerchia (2017).

The availability of data will directly determine the studies possible in each country. In Brazil, the main public sources of quantitative information about culture are described by Athias and Botelho (2019). The lack of an official CAPS limits studies of cultural practices, most of which are supported by HBS (Barbosa et al., 2007; Diniz and Machado, 2011; Machado et al., 2017). One of the limitations of the HBS, among other problems, is that they do not include information about free activities. In a country with great inequalities, like Brazil, this is not a minor gap.

3.7. Reporting the results

The large number of mapped CAPS provide useful information about their declared objectives and main strategical approaches, which include data on a) the frequency and regularity (or irregularity) of the surveys; b) their main methodological aspects, like sample size, how the interviews are collected and geographical reach; c) and how the results are disclosed to the public. This last topic, as the dissertation will show, can strongly influence whether and how their main conclusions can be fully accessible to society. From a large group of researchers, and not just statisticians, to the cultural institutions and private agents aiming to increase their audiences, as well as useful for informing government decisions about cultural policies. The building of informed policies and projects also depends hugely on the accessibility of this information – the potential 'evidence' – and on a comprehensive and user-friendly presentation of the findings of the surveys.

While some countries present the main conclusions in reports that include methodology, tables and analytical texts (Australia, Chile, Uruguay), others disclose the results through a series of condensed reports on specific topics (Argentina).

Some of the publications are very technical, presenting the main data without much analysis, while others try to make their conclusions more accessible. As Ateca-Amestoy mentioned in her interview, the Spanish reports, with lots of tables and graphics as well as some descriptive texts, are 'almost an annuary.' In Italy, data from the survey *Aspetti della vita quotidiana* are actually published in the *Annuario Statistico Italiano*. Reports from the focus countries will be mentioned throughout the research to illustrate the different topics under discussion, while other CAPS will be accessed to address particular issues.

The Argentinian government, for example, has edited a general report that presents the main results of the *Encuesta Nacional de Consumos Culturales – 2017* (SINCA, 2017c) and a series of reports addressing particular findings *(Audiovisual, Computadora, internet y videojuegos; Editorial; Música; Radio; Teatro y otros consumos culturales)*[19]. The study has also engendered reflections on three variables: *Los Jóvenes y los Consumos Culturales* (SINCA, 2017d)*, Mujeres en la Cultura – Notas para el análisis del acceso y la participación cultural en el consumo y en el mercado de trabajo* (SINCA, 2017e) and *Cultura Comunitaria en la Argentina* (SINCA, 2017b)*.* They are examples of possible ways to explore the data with a different perspective. In the first two examples, the focus is not on a particular cultural activity, but on social groups (the young and women), whilst in the third the analysis connects with the idea of cultural democracy.

If the Argentinian survey briefly explores the conceptual question of the meaning of culture in a small report titled *¿De qué hablamos cuando hablamos de cultura?* (SINCA, 2017a), there is a deeper discussion in the Chilean study. The report *Encuesta Nacional de Participación Cultural 2017* (CNCA, 2017) reflects on the concepts of cultural participation, cultural democracy and cultural capital and their association with the quantitative studies (Symmes, 2017; Peters, 2017). It also explores how the CAPS can support evidence-based policies (Gayo, 2017a; Keller,2017), trying to position the study as an important tool with which to measure the level of democratisation of culture in the country. The Chilean report also highlights how a quantitative survey could inform us about cultural diversity, since the country has a large native population.

The study from Uruguay, *Imaginarios y Consumo Cultural,*[20] a pioneer in South America in 2002, explores the population's perceptions of some stereotypes commonly associated with Uruguayans. The report mixes sociological and anthropological reflections with a variety of data on consumption. Some of the main results are presented in articles addressing Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital (Dominzain, 2014) and social distinction, underlining the intersections between 'the

[19] Reports available at: https://www.sinca.gob.ar/Encuestas.aspx
[20] *Imaginaries and Cultural Consumption*

cult, the popular and the technique-audiovisual' (Radakovich, 2014). The survey and the report engender original questions and discussions not commonly found in other studies. Finally, in South America, Colombia is the country which has conducted the largest series of studies. The *Encuesta de Consumo Cultural*[21] was carried out six times between 2007 and 2016. Nevertheless, the reports located are slide presentations with little reflection on the results.

Moving to Central and North America, the same is true of Mexico and Canada. Most of the reports I found are either slide presentations containing the main findings of the surveys or technical reports that only describe the data sets with very few analyses. *Encuesta Nacional de Hábitos, Práticas y Consumo Culturales – Conaculta*[22] *2010* (Mexico)*, Demographic Patterns in Canadians' Arts Participation in 2016* and *Canadians' Arts, Culture, and Heritage Participation in 2016* (Canada) are some examples. The US has been changing the way they communicate their surveys, alternating between general and technical reports (*Demographic Characteristics of Arts Attendance: 1997* and *Demographic Characteristics of Arts Attendance: 2002*) and more elaborate ones, even though they remain focused on describing the main results *(US Patterns of Arts Participation: A Full Report from the 2017 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts*). Alongside that, NEA has also published some special reports exploring either the time series *(Age and Arts Participation: 1982-1997; A Decade of Arts Engagement: 2002-2012*) or a particular topic related to a sociodemographic variable or to a culture sector (*Age and Arts Participation: With a Focus on the Baby Boom Cohort; How do We Read? Let's Count the Ways*). Finally, there are studies that delve deeper into the data analysis, splitting the audience into cultural segments (*Beyond attendance: a multi-modal understanding of arts participation*).

In Europe, this study focused on surveys conducted by England, France and Spain, which disclose data in very different ways. Beyond the descriptive data containing the main results, in France, the Ministry of Culture, through the *Département des études, de la prospective, des statistiques et de la documentation* (DEPS)[23] has been editing a series of important reports that analyse the series available in the country and discuss how to interpretate their results (Donnat, 2011b). Some reports explore not only the differences between the groups of age, but also how the different generations interact with cultural activities, reflecting on the impact of traditional and digital media (Donnat, 2009, 2011a; Donnat and Lévy, 2007). France is a special case. Even though surveys have been conducted with long intervals between them (in 1981 and 1988, a gap of seven years, and in 2008 and 2018, a gap of ten years), and also irregularly (the results of the last survey, for which data was collected in 2018, were published in 2020), the country pioneered studies in this area and is one of the few that can provide us with comparisons that go back to the beginning of the 70s.

---

[21] *Cultural Consumption Survey*
[22] *National Survey of Cultural Habits, Practices and Consumption*
[23] Department of Research, Prospective, Statistics and Documentation of the Ministry of Culture

As happens in many other countries, the reports from Spain are mostly descriptive, with an intensive use of graphics and tables. Even though the documents present a huge amount of data, more than other countries, with cross comparison of results by different variables and regions, they do not include discussion of the main results or reflect on them. On the other hand, the series *Encuesta de hábitos y prácticas culturales en España*[24] seems to offer one of the most detailed descriptions of the methodological steps adopted to build the survey and a very comprehensive website, with all the reports from the six studies easily accessible on a single webpage[25].

England is the only country that has bi-annual surveys – TPS[26] and *Active Lives Survey* (ALS). Some documents from the TPS series, initiated in 2005, are very concise, simple to read, focused on little information and probably more accessible to non-specialists. They mix quarterly reports (the interviews are conducted throughout the year), thematic and technical documents. The DCMS, responsible for the series, edited an important and unique document after ten years of study. *Taking Part: the next five years* (DCMS, 2016) contains an important discussion of the findings of the surveys, its methodological decisions (from the sample size to the questionnaire), the main challenges and guidelines to the technical changes implemented at that point. The document includes a brief summary, with the results of a survey carried out in 2015 among its users. And, since 2010, the DCMS has hosted events to promote the survey. These initiatives are closely associated with the debate on the usability of the CAPS and express the importance of making data more accessible to cultural agents.

Moving on to Asia and Oceania, reports from Singapore have evolved from a single slide presentation (*Population Survey on the Arts – 2015*) to more elaborate technical documents (*Population Survey on the Arts – 2017*), but with few conceptual reflections or discussion of the results. The reports from Australia are less technical, exploring the use of photos and design to improve their legibility, but not rejecting traditional tables and graphics. *Connecting Australians* (ACA, 2017) explores the effects of people's attendance at cultural events and their perception of identity and diversity in Australian society, echoing the Uruguayan approach. The data collection was preceded and succeeded by focus groups, inspiring some questions for the survey and helping to interpret its results.[27] The report was complemented by an audience segmentation study carried out by MHM, a British cultural consultancy that has used its methodology to analyse the Australian people's connection with the arts. *Culture Segments Australia – Pen Portraits for the Australia Council* (MHM, 2017) works with data from the *National Arts Participation Survey* and tries to be *'a practical, accessible tool'* for Australian cultural institutions to understand their audiences (MHM, 2017, p. 2). New Zealand moved from a technical and descriptive report in its

[24] *Cultural habits and practices survey in Spain.*
[25] https://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/servicios-al-ciudadano/estadisticas/cultura/mc/ehpc.html# and/or https://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/servicios-al-ciudadano/estadisticas/cultura/mc/culturabase/encuesta-de-habitos/resultados-habitos.html
[26] TPS was substituted in 2021 by the *Participation Survey* (PS).
[27] A similar approach was adopted in Chile and Brazil.

first survey (*A Measure of Culture: Cultural experiences and spending in New Zealand;* SNZ, 2003) to publications that present the data with a more didactic approach and colourful graphics to highlight the main results. Its main contribution is related to the particular attention paid to the Māori population (Creative New Zealand, 2021).

The investigation also explores the works of Eurobarometer, Eurostat and OEI. Since they are international studies that have already struggled to find a common methodology to assess cultural habits in several countries, they can inform the investigation about the comparability not just of the data, but also of the analysis of results. As mentioned, their final reports express the huge challenge of comparing data on cultural habits. The variety of things that can be called 'cultural activities' adds to the cultural diversity and particularities of each country, making the data analysis more and more complicated. Regardless of that, these surveys are the only available source of information that put side by side data from a great number of countries (from 15 to 35 in Europe and 16 in South and Central America, respectively) under a very similar methodology.

3.8. The politics behind and beyond

As mentioned before, the thesis will investigate how data from the CAPS have been used to support or shape some theories and policies but will not address all the main debates on the topics and concepts the surveys try to measure. Frequently the discussions neither refer to nor are supported by any specific database. As an example, the debate about which approach governments should take in their cultural policies, prioritising the democratisation of culture or cultural democracy, is often done without any supporting data. The point here is to understand whether (and how) data was used to inform the debate, technically and politically.

As stated by Matarasso and Landry (1999, p. 14), even though these concepts *'are not necessarily mutually exclusive, they have tended to polarise political debate around cultural policy in many European countries.'* Bonet and Négrier (2019) address the question in terms of a 'dialectic tension' between both alternatives. England looks to be the place where this debate is more polarised (Hadley and Belfiore, 2018; Hadley, 2021; Miles and Ebrey, 2017; Janconvich, 2017; Walmsley, 2021; Neelands et al., 2015), and where policies start to reflect or try to incorporate elements of the 'everyday participation' agenda and cultural democracy – e.g. the ACE project *Creative People and Places* and the white paper *Let's Create* (ACE, 2021).

Despite the arguments for or against the democratisation of culture and cultural democracy, the former remains as the main paradigm for cultural policies and the majority of academic studies mentioned so far have predominantly explored data about attendance. Data on participation have received less attention. The spotlight on data about access could be easily understood (and sometimes is, Goldbard, 2015), as reflecting a technocratic agenda and the politics behind the measurement. The thesis will show the argument is not so simple, calling attention to the risk of a

political critique that simply rejects the data being measured, ignoring potentially meaningful information from the surveys.

The theoretical approach guiding this study will try to balance two different approaches that can be illustrated by the reflections of Dubois (2015) and Donnat (1991), regarding the use of the CAPS in France. Dubois analyses the way access was connected to the idea of the democratisation of culture in France around the 1960s, and how cultural statistics were used by the Ministry to try to legitimise the recently created public policies for culture at that moment. The PCF surveys helped to measure what should be a growing audience, justifying the public investment in cultural institutions and government policies. The author, however, argues that the strategy backfired, since the 1988 survey, the third conducted by the Ministry of Culture, showed a decrease in attendance at cultural activities. The results fostered a conservative discourse on behalf of the traditional arts, and against the cultural industries, the French cultural policies and the 'messenger of bad news', the CAPS. Dubois concludes his article with a statement (2015, p. 50) that echoes Blomkamp's (2015) emphasis on the lack of neutrality of cultural measurement.

> *This goes to show that numbers do not speak for themselves. They only fully make sense in light of the contexts in which they are used and the uses they elicit. The analysis of these contexts and uses is therefore necessary to understand what statistics mean socially and politically, beyond their technical and scientific significance. This is what I call the politics of cultural statistics.*

Directly involved in the original controversy, since he was in charge of the French survey, Donnat deflected criticism, arguing it was impossible *'to make a strict distinction between culture and the cultural industries'* (1991, p. 71) and backing the work of the Ministry. The author strongly championed the CAPS, complaining the critics did not discuss their methodology, but simply rejected it. The author highlights that one of the aims of the study was

> *(…) to avoid a work division in which the statisticians would ignore the issues related to the categories they investigate, while the intellectuals or essayists would develop their theories without ever taking care to confront them to the facts measured by statistic tools (…).* (Donnat, 1991, pp. 65-66)

Donnat positions the CAPS as a tool to add to the debate about culture and cultural policies, showing that they must be built with the aim of balancing quantitative and qualitative knowledge. Or, flip-flopping the words of Dubois, researchers and practitioners should explore not only the social and political meaning of the data from the surveys, but also their *'technical and scientific significance.'* Blomkamp and Dubois emphasise their political use.

In England the academic debate about cultural measurement is mostly centred on the idea of cultural value (Holden, 2004; Belfiore, 2004; Selwood et al., 2005; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2014; O'Brien, 2015). The same tendency can be seen in Australia (Blomkamp, 2015; Redden, 2015; Phiddian et al., 2017; Throsby, 2017). The debate does not always distinguish the exact role of the CAPS in it, with criticism most of the time directed towards the use of quantitative methods in the study of culture in general. Consequently, counting the number of people employed in culture, the number of children studying music, or the number of theatre plays on, or movie tickets or musical instruments sold, or people doing ceramics, or people attending cultural activities are part of the same instrumental agenda.

This dissertation follows a different path. It focuses on one specific type of measurement and tries to explore both perspectives, demonstrating the contributions and limits of the CAPS, and also the social and political context in which they were built and explored, by both governments and their critics. It is certainly a tightrope to walk, but this seems to be an assumption of most cultural studies, particularly those involving data. If there is a political dimension in measuring culture, there is also a political dimension in not measuring it. As argued by Savage (2013, p. 16), *'We need to distance ourselves from the view that statistics is a necessarily deterministic mode of thinking.'* Such a perspective could tie the analysis of the CAPS only to a political agenda. The effort here is to give context to the data without making it disappear.

The political contexts underlying the adoption of the CAPS vary from country to country, particularly because of the different moments in which they were implemented and also depending on the way arts and culture are or are not managed by the government. This implies their social and political uses are likely to vary in their specific roles and intensity. In the US, where studies were funded by NEA and private foundations, and the debate about the use of data on cultural participation was not so heated, the role they have had in the American cultural scenario were explored by DiMaggio and Useem (1978), Citro (1990), Pettit (2000) and Schuster (2007). In England and Australia, there is an important debate about the use of cultural indicators, particularly those related to the value of culture. The dissertation will not go through all the debates, focusing on the use of the CAPS, from a historical perspective to its technical, social, and political role (Bridgwood and Skelton, 2000; Belfiore, 2002, 2009; Keaney, 2008; Taylor, 2016a; Hanquinet et al., 2019; Selwood, 1999, 2002, 2019). Unfortunately, there are few studies investigating the introduction and use of the surveys in different countries. Exceptions to this include the report on ten years of TPS in England (DCMS, 2016), Taylor's analysis of that document (2016b), and the study conducted by Bunting et al. (2019), one of the few efforts to specifically investigate the CAPS' introduction in public offices.

3.9. Sources and gaps

And finally, a word about the main sources mentioned throughout the dissertation, the CAPS and the academic reflections that come from or use these data sets. Regarding the CAPS, the investigation started with a broad perspective, considering as many surveys as possible, and narrowing their focus in a second step. This extensive initial look at the CAPS, even the one-off studies, will enhance the study's capacity to create a strong overview of its development, reach and use today. This approach adds a clearer account of how the tool has improved (or not) in the last decades and of the stubborn challenges still facing researchers.

However, as most of the searches I carried out in these quantitative studies were done online, they may have missed some surveys that were not digitised (particularly those conducted before the 1990s), some that were developed by private institutions, and possibly some that had titles that did not contain the most common expressions used to designate them, like 'participation', 'practices', 'engagement', 'habits' and 'consumption.' With the exception of the Brazilian surveys, I have opted not to include private quantitative studies that do not disclose their data, mentioning them to build some specific context. I was also limited by the language used in the surveys. Since I am a native speaker of a Latin language (Portuguese), the research was limited to explore the studies published, or at least referenced (as were some of the Nordic ones), in Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italian or English.

The scope of the academic sources used in the investigation was also subject to the language restrictions above, and, to a lesser extent, the pitfalls of any online research that might miss some useful resource. Beginning with the main references on the topic, such as the works of Bourdieu, Peterson and DiMaggio, I have followed the discussion raised by their ideas, walking the paths to the several references mentioned by scholars in academic articles. This cascading procedure paid a particular attention to the earliest writing on the CAPS, since this could be helpful to build the historic perspective. Unfortunately, as the surveys in South America only began in this century, there is a significant gap in the academic debate, and consequently in the sources used in the dissertation, when compared with the number of articles from the US and Europe. The chapter seven will briefly present some general tendencies in the use of data by academia.

CHAPTER FOUR
MEASURING CULTURE: FROM PRODUCTION TO ENGAGEMENT

This chapter contains an overview of how techniques for measuring culture have evolved from the second half of the last century, with a particular emphasis on the Cultural Access and Participation Surveys (CAPS). The objective is to show that the CAPS must be understood in the wider context that underlies the gradual introduction of different methods to measure different aspects of culture, from the number of people employed in the area to the financial value of their work, from the number of plays and films being produced to the impact the cultural activities have in our society. It argues that this tendency has been influenced, and sometimes determined, by three driving forces: the recognition of culture as an important asset in economic and social development, the quantitative tools and methods already available to assess other dimensions of our social activities, and the elastic and fluid concepts of art and culture, since these factors articulate 'why', 'how' and 'what' should be measured.

Beyond this, it briefly addresses some of the particularities that shaped the introduction of CAPS in the focus countries. The chapter also draws attention to the lack of quantitative information about the Brazilian cultural scenario, showing how the erratic development of cultural policies in the country has not been able to foster the production of some basic data.

4.1. *'Widely scattered'* references

In his study of the history of arts and culture in economic thought, Goodwin (2006) locates the first significant efforts to address the theme in the late 18th century. Although there were some sporadic attempts to discuss the topic before that, it was only with the work of economists and philosophers such as Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, David Hume and Adam Smith, that the work of artists started to get some attention beyond their aesthetic and fruition value. Williams (1993/1958) mentions that the period also defines *'the modern meaning'* of 'art', which changed from signifying a particular skill to defining a set of practices nourished by creativity and imagination, grouping

activities like literature, music, painting, sculpture and theatre.[28] As the dissertation will show, one first block of cultural activities measured by the CAPS, 'the what', is associated to this idea.

Among the first questions debated by philosophers and economists were how the prices of art works were determined, the reasons why people would be interested in buying them and the value of the labour of different kinds of artists. There were also discussions about whether there was a need for public investment in these activities. The economy was at the time a new field of study, and they were trying to understand if and how its tools and principles could work in the area of arts and culture. Questions about price, value, labour, consumer behaviour and the role of government in society were landmarks in the development of economic thought and the approach towards measuring culture followed this path.

Regardless of *'the rich and suggestive menu of topics of art and culture'* left by these authors, Goodwin argues that *'it is surprising how little was done with the subject by political economists in the nineteenth century'* (2006, p. 41). One of the reasons mentioned to justify this gap could be related to the idea of *'productive'* and *'unproductive'* labour and sectors. It was believed that the new-born discipline of political economy should pay attention to the former, which contributes to economic growth, and that the arts should play no part, at least at that moment. Goodwin (2006, p. 42) also claims that the need to acquire scientific status drove economic studies to search for *'simple and generalisable models of explanation and prediction'*, which was not an easy task to accomplish in relation to the production and consumption of cultural goods. The idea that art could lead to a unique aesthetic experience, to something that could not be translated into a universal law, *'might throw into question the scientific legitimacy of political economy.'*

Beyond this, consumer behaviour theories, which discussed people's priorities, gave little to no attention to cultural goods, since they became important only after people had satisfied their basic needs, and they were mostly restricted to the higher classes. Arts and culture were a luxury accessible to an elite, with particular means of production that could not be as easily reproduced as other goods. These special characteristics of art and culture were not exactly appealing to the new field of science. However, philosophers and political economists recognised some positive externalities associated with the arts and their importance for society, but, as Goodwin states (2006, p. 53), that was not enough to instigate a closer look at it: *'None of the main neo-classical texts had a separate chapter, or even part of a chapter, devoted to the economics of culture and the arts. The references to the subject were widely scattered throughout.'*

Since the dynamics of arts and culture seemed not to comply entirely with the laws and rules of economic thought and considering the prevalent perception that their financial value was not particularly relevant in the overall wealth of a country, there was little effort to study the impact

[28] Even though the definition of art and culture is much more complex and varies in time, the point here is to keep Goodwin's approach in mind, since it helps the understanding of his arguments.

of cultural activities on the economy during the nineteenth century. Goodwin argues (2006, p. 53) that the rise of the *'marginalist'* economists, who focused on the *'simple and universal principles of human behaviour'* and on the *'search for generality'* helped to push aside interest in the topic. He points out that the period brought a series of critiques from what he describes as *'humanist works'*, challenging the economic view that the value of arts and culture was not relevant for society. Mentioning the reflections of Mathew Arnold, John Ruskin and William Morris among others, he states that *'The result was a widening gulf between the evolving discipline of political economy on the one hand and the humanities and the arts on the other.'* (2006, p. 48).

Following a period of limited progress in economic theory about arts and culture, special attention is given to the work of John Maynard Keynes. The economist was a central figure in the Bloomsbury Group, which in the first half of last century reunited an expressive group of artists, writers and philosophers in London. Even though the group did not create a homogeneous school of thought, Goodwin has confirmed that their works have enhanced debates connecting arts, culture and the economy in at least five topics the author considers relevant:

> *a) the place of the arts in human life, including economic life; b) the character of the artistic experience, both for artists and for their audience; c) the use made of the arts by artists and others to shape behaviour in society and the economy; d) the nature of the demand and supply of art works in art markets; and e) opportunities for experiments with policy change and institutional reform.* (Goodwin: 2006, p. 61)

Almost all these topics could be related in some way to the concepts of the democratisation of culture and cultural democracy, and consequently to the future measurement of cultural habits since they all made the case for the relevance of arts and culture in society. First, the group advocated that everybody should be exposed to the arts, not just the wealthy; the idea of culture for all echoing the concept of culture as a right. There were debates about the determinants of interest in the arts, since understanding that could help to improve demand for cultural goods and therefore foster the work of artists. Furthermore, the group helped promote the importance of public support for the arts, when and where the private sector could not guarantee it. Finally, special attention was given to policy reforms that could stimulate, from a public and private perspective, both the supply of and demand for cultural goods, from the patronage of artists to a humanistic education that could spread the presence of arts and culture in our society.

Like economists before him, Keynes did not dedicate a specific book or chapter to the relations between culture and the economy. Goodwin states, however, that Keynes strongly contributed to heightening the importance of the arts for economic development through his work and activities in the Bloomsbury Group. A meaningful example of the impact of his ideas was the

founding of the Arts Council of Great Britain (ACGB) in 1946, right after the Second World War. From 1940, Keynes had been the chair of CEMA (Committee for Encouragement of Music and the Arts), which funded more than 45 arts organisations and was a kind of embryonic Arts Council.

4.2. An industry and a right

The work of Keynes is just an example of how the arts and culture scene was changing between the last years of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, during a period of major transformations in society. From around the turn of the century, the population began to grow much faster than in previous eras, people continued to move to cities, accelerating an urbanisation process that had started decades before in America and Europe; literacy rates were still improving, particularly among women, and the developed countries were facing a Second Industrial Revolution, with electric light spreading into the big cities.

The means of communication were becoming more relevant and powerful, with the modernisation of existing industries and the arrival of new inventions closely or directly related to what was considered the world of the arts. Years after the invention of the typewriter, the printing industry skyrocketed, with a huge increase in the publication of newspapers, magazines and books. A series of important mass media icons were launched during this period, like 'National Geographic Magazine' (1888), 'Life' (1883), 'Vogue' (1892), 'Time' (1923) and 'The Reader's Digest' (1922). The turn of the century also brought the first radio transmission, increasing the speed at which information could be transmitted. The photographic image, first produced at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was becoming popular and had evolved technically, paving the way to the invention of the cinema in 1895. The new technique, acclaimed as 'the seventh art' in some European countries, would become a huge industry within a few decades, particularly in America. Mass transport was also preparing a massive revolution, with cars arriving in the cities and the first commercial flights crossing the skies. Globalisation was gaining momentum.

The growing importance of automation and industrial techniques, which allowed the reproduction of goods on a large scale, including images and sound, had a direct and decisive influence on studies of arts and culture, engendering the concept of 'cultural industries' (Adorno and Horkheimer, 2002/1944). Although the authors did not come from an economic tradition, their ideas were strictly connected with one of the ideas that had already challenged political economists, the concept of the uniqueness of works of art. Adorno and Horkheimer highlighted the possibility of industrial reproduction of cultural goods, particularly films, radio, jazz and magazines, and consequently their wider reach when compared with pictures and sculptures, for example. What were once considered creative and individual goods, with limited circulation, destined for a small elite, and of little interest from an economic perspective, could now be reproduced on a large scale, becoming industrial products, commercial goods looking for profits, reaching many people

and manipulating audiences through repetition. Referring to the *'captains of film industry'* Adorno and Horkheimer claimed that *'Their ideology is business'* (2002, pp. 108-109/1944). This perspective will add a second block of cultural activities to be measured by the CAPS ('the what').

That period also witnessed the first economic crisis of capitalism, and Europe was at the centre of two World Wars. The intensity of the conflicts between the countries, the impact of the ideas spread by the movements of Nazism and Fascism, the deaths of more than 70 million people and the economic crisis that spread unemployment, misery and poverty among the countries attracted international attention to the importance of human rights and social development. As a consequence of all the political, economic and social disruption of the period, some governments founded international institutions with the aim of maintaining peace and security, protecting human rights and promoting sustainable development. The United Nations (UN) was established in 1945, with the support of 51 countries. In the same year, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was formalised. Three years later, the World Health Organisation (WHO) was established.

For arts and culture, these initiatives had an institutional relevance. In 1948, the UN signed the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. The document declares that everyone has the right to *'freedom of thought, conscience and religion'* as well as *'freedom of opinion and expression.'* Arts and culture were specifically mentioned in the two paragraphs of article 27, albeit without a clear definition of their meanings, as mentioned:

> *'(1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share its scientific advancement and its benefits. … (2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.*

These ideas inspired and were later unfolded in the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (UN, 1966) and, more recently, the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (UNESCO, 2005). Although these documents are obviously much more political than juridical, they have helped to make the case for the relevance of culture as a right and as an important alternative to enhance sustainable development. They have also influenced the development of public policies for culture. For some cultural measurements and the CAPS, they have started to articulate 'the why.'

4.3. Starting to count

After the gap mentioned by Goodwin and the ideas disseminated by the Bloomsbury Group, the work of Baumol and Bowen (1966), *'Performing Arts – The Economic Dilemma'*, is probably the study most referred to in bringing to light the economy of culture. Their analysis of the *Problems*

Common to Theater, Opera, Music and Dance was supported by a great variety of data. They went on to use information about earnings, expenditure and the number of productions and tickets sold by the largest American and English theatres and orchestras; about donations to the arts, including information from the US Treasury and company reports, like the one by the Ford Foundation; about total expenditure on arts admissions from the US Department of Commerce in its *Survey of Current Business*; and about the audience profile, including data they gathered by conducting a huge survey in the US and England with 29,413 interviews across 153 different performances from 66 cultural institutions, including theatre, orchestras, opera, dance, ensembles and two open air spectacles. Some of the data underpinning their work goes back as far as 1889, other series start at the end of the 20s, but most of the records were from the 40s and 50s, which gives us a perspective on the data accessible to researchers at the time.

As economists, their analyses were very technical, with an intensive use of data on supply and demand and special attention to the expenditure of institutions and their funding sources. Compared to the previous discussions of philosophers and economists, there was a considerable inflection of tone and tools, reflecting not only changes in society, but the data and statistical and economic techniques available in the 60s. Notwithstanding the technicalities, the authors addressed some of the same questions that had arisen almost two centuries before, like how prices were determined and the importance of public support for the arts.

It was not accidental that this topic commanded such a considerable effort. The use of quantitative data in arts and culture was nurtured by waves of sociodemographic, economic and technological transformation from the end of the 19th century and by the socioeconomic and political scenario after the Second World War. Beyond all the changes of the first half of the last century, the post war period included the popularisation of television, a mass medium that would shape the way information circulates throughout society. And immediately after that, home computers would bring another wave of technological revolution, with a huge impact on the way and the speed we process information.

Parallel to this, several countries started to institutionalise culture. After the successful experience of the Ministry of Culture in France in 1959, other nations followed a similar path, either creating a specific department to manage cultural issues, or fostering the status of those already existing. Some examples could be seen in the Netherlands (the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work, created in 1965), Austria (the Ministry of Education and Arts, created in 1971), Italy (the creation of the *Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali,* in 1974), Spain (*Ministerio de Cultura y Bienestar,* from 1977) and Portugal (*Secretaria de Estado da Cultura,* in 1976). In the UK, the ACGB was founded in 1946. Its activities were boosted in the 60s, when Jennie Lee was appointed the first arts minister (1964), and the first White Paper was published (*A Policy for the Arts,* 1965). The word culture gained institutional status only in 1997, when the Department for National Heritage, created in 1992, was renamed Department of Culture, Media and Sport

(DCMS). Twenty years later, in 2017, the acronym changed its meaning to Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, going back to its original designation in February 2023, when digital issues became the responsibility of the new Department for Science, Innovation and Technology.

In Brazil, the word 'culture' was instituted in 1953, when the Ministry of Education and Health, which handled cultural issues, was split in two, and cultural affairs were associated with educational ones. However, the existence of a Ministry of Education and Culture in the 50s did not mean culture had received any particular attention at that time. It was the consequence of a bureaucratic arrangement that aimed to reorganise two growing ministries (health and education). A national cultural policy began to be discussed only in the mid-sixties, and was finally approved in 1975, under a military dictatorship.

The efforts to look at arts and culture through the lens of figures, data and indicators were part of the process of capitalism expansion, fostered by the communications and information revolutions that began in the early 20th century and accelerated from the 1950s. The growth of cities in this context increased and diversified the presence of artistic and cultural goods and services in society. This process, deeply rooted in an industrial world, needed to be measured. Much of the data that started to be collected was associated either with the objective of enhancing the profitability and productivity of cultural goods and services (cultural management) or with evaluating their societal and economic importance and impact from a public standpoint.

4.4. *'An initial bias'*

The growing presence of data in studies of culture came with the recognition that it was not easy to establish where exactly its boundaries may lie. One example can be seen in the academy, with the launching of the *Journal of Cultural Economics*. In the foreword to the first issue its editor, William Hendon, without detailing the content nor the editorial guidelines of the new publication, evidences its exploratory approach (something that also can be said about the first CAPS):

> *It was agreed that the term 'cultural' should be expanded to cover aspects of the society beyond the limited use of the term as applied to the arts. In general, the feeling was to not constrain the 'cultural' limits of the journal until we see precisely where the interests of an economist might fall. On the other hand, given the focus of sessions at various meetings, i.e., focusing on the arts, we anticipate an initial bias of the journal towards the arts.* (Hendon, 1977, p. ii)

The first edition clearly exemplifies the diversity of questions that could arise from the encounter between culture and economics: methodological discussions about the concepts of

goods and services in culture (Boulding, 1977), a seminal debate about *'the use of public funds to support the production and delivery of cultural services'* (Vaughan, 1977), follow-up rights in painting (Stein, 1977), and a curious study comparing the style of paintings from the Italian cities of Florence and Siena through the economic theory of monopsony (Owen, 1977). The first edition also included an article from Steven Globerman and Sam Book (1977) about the impact of education and income on arts attendance, one of the CAPS' central topics. The following editions went down the same path, balancing pivotal themes around cultural value with case studies.

Before moving on to the specificities of the CAPS, a final look at the work of Baumol and Bowen can illustrate how questions of the value of culture and discussions about where, how and how much governments should invest in the area, would be the main driving force behind the studies to come. In the book's foreword, the sponsor of their research and director of The Twentieth Century Fund,[29] August Heckscher, remarks on the origins of the work:

> *The economic condition of the performing arts has been of concern to a growing number of people throughout the country and (if I may add a personal word) has been a preoccupation of mine since President Kennedy asked me to serve as his Special Consultant, to look with a fresh eye at the life of the arts in the United States. The Trustees of the Fund were enthusiastic about the prospect of a study in this field, falling as it did within the broad range of problems which present themselves to an advanced industrial society when the material needs of life seem in a fair way of being met and questions of values and goals begin to appear central. (*August Heckscher, in Baumol and Bowen, 1966, p. vii)

In his foreword, Heckscher remembers that the original idea for the project came from another study, financed by the Rockfeller Brothers Fund, the *Special Studies Project*. Coordinated by Henry Kissinger, the research was conducted in the late fifties, during a period marked by Cold War tensions, bringing together professionals from different areas (*'business, universities, journalism, the military, labour, and science')*[30] to produce papers on the challenges and possible opportunities facing the US. Culture was not one of the six central themes orienting the research, although its importance was mentioned in the panel on policy recommendations and the economics underpinning it. Heckscher was a member of the panel, while Baumol and Bowen were consultants. At the end of the day, both funds were developing their studies with one eye on private opportunities and the other on the responsibilities that should be directed to the state. Even

[29] Founded in 1919 by Edward Filene, and American businessman and philanthropist, under the name of The Cooperative League, the fund was renamed in 1922 to The Twentieth Century Fund and in 1999 to The Century Foundation.
[30] https://www.rbf.org/75/special-studies-project

though *Performing Arts – The Economic Dilemma* was not purposely oriented towards pointing out solutions to the eventual problems and challenges faced by the cultural sector, the title of some chapters illustrates how the book moves from identifying the *'Anatomy of the Income Gap'* to the debate *'On the Rationale of Public Support'*, taking into consideration that the *'Contributions by Individuals'* and the *'Private Institutional Support'* would not be enough to sustain the activities of cultural institutions. Funded by a wealthy private fund, close to the federal government, the study was launched one year after the creation of the NEA in the US, calling attention to the challenge of where and how to shape public investment in the arts, once the boundaries of ticket sales and private donations had been acknowledged.

The economists did not come back to the theme with the same strength of purpose. Baumol edited only two more articles about the performing arts in the seventies, while Bowen concentrated on his doctoral education. Heckscher concluded his foreword by thanking the authors and saying, *'It was not easy to find economists who would give to the performing arts the prolonged and serious attention which is ordinarily given to more mundane concerns'* (Baumol and Bowen, 1966, p. vii). His comments resonated almost 30 years later, in 1994, in the editorial of the first edition of the *Journal of Cultural Economics* under new ownership: *'Despite all the successes, cultural economics remains a minority interest and is virtually unknown in the economics profession at large.'* Almost three decades later, there is still a feeling that there are not enough professionals skilled in quantitative methods investigating the world of arts and culture, an opinion coming from several interviews as will be discussed later in chapters seven to ten.

4.5. Culture in the GDP

As part of the same general process that fostered the initiative of The Twentieth Century Fund, the *UNESCO Conference of European Ministers of Culture*, held in Helsinki in 1972, planted one of the first seeds of a systematic measurement of culture, with among its recommendations the importance of *'the establishment of better and more comprehensive statistics of culture'* (UNESCO, 1986, p. 2). The first concrete suggestions to achieve this goal came two years later, in a joint meeting of UNESCO and the ECE (Economic Commission for Europe) Working Group on Cultural Statistics. The document highlighted three major recommendations: a) data should include *'both the social and economic aspects of cultural phenomena'*, considering production, distribution and consuming of cultural goods and services, b) it should be *'possible to link with related statistical systems'*, and c) *'it should serve the needs of planning, controlling and study of matters connected with cultural policies and therefore include all phenomena which are of importance in this field.'* The first and third suggestions reiterate the growing importance of culture and generally inform us about 'what' and 'why' it should be so studied. The second brings the 'how' and attaches cultural statistics to the same rules adopted to measure other activities in our society, such as

agriculture or industry. The document specifies the *System of Social and Demographic Statistics*, the *System of National Accounts and Balances* and the *System of Environmental Statistics* as basic references for cultural measurement.

The UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS) was finally published in 1986. Almost 50 years after the first efforts to measure a country's economy using a standardised system (the modern concept of GDP comes from the 30s), a framework was developed to assess the economic contribution of culture. The most critical aspect of the work, and of almost all discussions about culture, regardless of the methodology embraced, was its own definition:

> *At the outset, therefore, there was the wish not to fall into the trap of starting to define culture. A patient researcher has collected over five hundred definitions of culture found in recent literature! Neither was there the wish to restrict it to its narrow 'elitist' concept which confines it to the fine arts and literature, nor to broaden it as much as possible within an anthropological context.* (UNESCO, 1986, p. 8)

The final framework defined the categories to be assessed[31] and their breakdown, mentioning that the selection *'contains a measure of arbitrariness.'* The document assumes that it should adopt a pragmatic approach, including *'areas of culture which were the object of cultural policies of a good number of countries'* and balancing *'the data on culture that it was considered desirable to obtain and the data that could effectively be collected with a satisfactory degree of pertinence and reliability'* (UNESCO, 1986, p. 8). This balance, required in most quantitative studies of culture, will be a challenge for the CAPS, particularly in the present scenario.

UNESCO reviewed the initial methodology in 2009,[32] considering that the first edition *'was based on a formal and static notion of culture that does not reflect the current more inclusive approach and the priorities of developing countries'* (2009, p. iii). The report was the most robust global document on cultural statistics the institution had so far published; it tried to *'enable the measurement of a wide range of cultural expressions' and 'the production of internationally comparable data'* (UNESCO, 2009, p. 9). In the same year, the intergovernmental organisation Covenant Andrés Bello (CAB) launched a manual for the implementation of the CSAs in Latin America[33], which was better tailored to the reality of the countries in the region. Both institutions

[31] The categories were: Cultural Heritage; Printed Matter and Literature; Music and the Performing Arts; Visual Arts; Audio and Audio-Visual Media; Socio-Cultural Activities; Sports and Games; Environment and Nature. (UNESCO, 1986, pp.6-8)
[32] Framework for Cultural Statistics, 2009.
[33] *Cuenta Satélite de Cultura en Latinoamerica*, 2009.

revised their documents in 2012[34] and 2015[35], respectively. These works reflect the effort to find a common framework that could allow comparisons between nations, but also the need to catch up with the unbridled development of the digital technologies and the changing concept of culture, particularly the emerging idea of the creative economy at the turn of the last century (Smith, 1998; Florida, 2004; Pratt, 2004).

The UK government started to debate this idea institutionally in June of 1997, when the *Creative Industries Task Force* was established, a cross departmental body involving the recently created DCMS, that in the following year launched the *Creative Industries Mapping Document* (1998).[36] Many European countries have adopted a similar approach, implementing their own measurements according to their realities and concepts.

The recent advent of the internet, laptops, mobile phones and other digital technologies have triggered ground-breaking changes in the way we communicate and access information, radically transforming how, where and when we listen to music and watch films. The innovative technologies have boosted the circulation of cultural goods and services and have drastically changed the industries of music and cinema. Traditional companies have almost gone bankrupt (Kodak, Blockbuster, local newspapers and magazines), many products have disappeared (such as the Walkman and VHS tapes), and new tech giants have appeared, allowing people to access a huge range of artistic and cultural content for free. New services have been launched, including platforms on which to read books and stream videos and music. Such innovative technologies have been changing not only the way we access some cultural goods and services, but also how we make them, allowing people to create music and films with cheaper devices and distribute them much more easily than before. The clear importance acquired by music and videos in the traffic flow of digital information has enhanced the importance and urgency of measuring them. And not only the number of songs heard, and videos watched on different devices, but also the whole environment that ensures their creation and production, including a vast series of live events and activities and other distribution platforms.

If the CSA is the indicator that best stands for an economic approach to culture, aiming to measure its contribution to the wealth of a country, it does not tell us much about the people behind it. It does not show how many people are accessing cultural goods and services, nor which citizens are included in or excluded from these activities. The CAPS try to fill this gap, looking specifically at some of the cultural habits of the population.

---

[34] *Measuring the Economic Contribution of Cultural Industries: a review and assessment of current methodological approaches* (UNESCO, 2012b)
[35] *Guía Metodológica para la Implementación de las Cuentas Satélites de Cultura en Iberoamérica* (CAB, 2015)
[36] The first mapping was done by sector, comprising the following areas: Advertising, Antiques, Architecture, Crafts, Design, Fashion, Film, Leisure software, Music, the Performing Arts, Publishing, Software and TV and radio.

4.6. Measuring cultural engagement

The effort to measure cultural engagement is, though, strictly embedded in the picture presented so far, characterised by urbanisation, consecutive technical revolutions, globalisation, and a growing belief that arts and culture are important driving forces for social and economic development. This scenario underpinned not only the emergence of the CAPS, but also of the LS, with slightly different contours. The latter came up to assess the leisure time available to the population by comparison with working hours, part of the agenda around studies on labour. Measuring leisure would almost automatically bring at least some information about culture and vice versa, as the first experiences in Denmark (LS) and France (CAPS) show.

Writing in 1965, Augustin Girard, the first director of the department in charge of the French cultural statistics *Service des études et recherches* (SER), mentioned that '*the "leisure and culture" item is the one that is growing the fastest of all items in the household budget, before the car, housing or health*.' Given the interest, it was not a coincidence the measurement of both topics started almost at the same time and overlapping each other.

Technically, the CAPS and the LS became possible because of the development of the survey research method. Starting in the 1930s, the practice of interviewing sample populations, with the aim of portraying the population or specific groups in society to investigate their habits and behaviours boomed between the 60s and the 90s (Groves, 2011). The technique would allow the first efforts to quantify cultural engagement with a broad perspective, looking at a group of (rather than individual) activities, and addressing the whole country instead of just specific regions.

4.6.1. The first studies

The study *Pratiques Culturelles des Français* (PCF), conducted at the end of 1973 by the Ministry of Culture, and of which the results were published in December 1974, is often said to be the first national public survey with cultural activities as the main topic of investigation, even though data was collected only on metropolitan regions. A decade before that, Denmark (1964) developed its first *Leisure Time Survey,* a national public study inquiring whether people had been to a series of cultural activities. The primary aim, as stated in the title, however, was to measure the leisure time of Danish citizens, in terms of the number of hours and how it was used.

Balling and Kann-Christensen (2013) have shown how the surveys' aim changed, from an exploratory approach at first, to being a means to a political end in the following edition (1975). The word culture was introduced in 1987 (The Danes and the culture: Leisure time activities for citizens aged 16–74). According to the authors, from working with an initial open concept of cultural activities in the first editions, the surveys gradually moved more towards a 'democratization of culture approach' in its 1998, 2004 and 2012 editions, returning to a broader concept of culture

after that. In 2004 its title changed to *Danes' Cultural Habits* (*Danskernes kulturvaner,* the current denomination presenting the whole series in the Danish National Archives).[37]

In the US, the Associated Council for the Arts (today the non-profit organisation Americans for the Arts) contracted the National Research Center of the Arts, an affiliate of Louis Harris and Associates (a survey company), to develop a study *'designed to measure a variety of dimensions of the American public's interest in the arts.'*[38] Assisted by the NEA, it seems to be the first national study developed in the US, with data collected (3,005 interviews) ten months before the French study, in January of 1973. Sponsored by Philip Morris, the survey opened a series of five studies that ended in 1992 (1973-1980-1984-1987-1992). Despite releasing two editions before the first official public survey (*Survey of Public Participation in the Arts,* SPPA, 1982), the series *American and the Arts* was not thoroughly explored by researchers, apparently because some of its results were questioned after the SPPA was launched (Schuster, 2007, p.109).

The first collection of data on cultural engagement, however, seems to have been made in 1971, with 6,000 interviews in 12 metropolitan areas. Developed by the Ford Foundation, its results were released only in 1974, as part of a broader study focused on the performing arts (*The Finances of the Performing Arts Volume II: A Survey of the Characteristics and Attitudes of Audiences for Theater, Opera, Symphony and Ballet in 12 US Cities)*. Curiously, the US Census Bureau conducted the three first national public CAPS as part of the *National Crime Survey*. In 1997 it was a stand-alone study conducted by a private contractor. In 2002 it again became the responsibility of the Census Bureau, but as part of the *Current Populations Survey* (NEA, 2015).

Beyond the overall scenario in which the CAPS developed, particularities of the local context also triggered the first studies in France and in the US. From a political perspective, what they had in common was that they were experiencing the strong growth of the counter-culture movements, fostered by the Vietnam War and the events of May 1968 in France. Culture was connected to inequality in two ways. It both reflected, and was a tool to fight inequality. From a technical and operational approach, at least two factors, or steps, fostered the CAPS. First, both countries had launched research departments in the area. NEA opened its *Research Division* in the mid 70s, while in France in 1963 the Ministry of Culture launched the SER, which in 1986 was renamed DEP (*Département des études et de la Prospective)*, and in 2004 DEPS (*Département des études, de la prospective, des statistiques et de la documentation).*[39] Secondly, research surveys were beginning to study culture in both countries. American and French cultural institutions made several measurements in the 60s (DiMaggio et al., 1978), particularly of museums, to understand the profile of their audiences, and these paved the way to the development of broader surveys,

---

[37] https://www.sa.dk/en/the-cultural-habits-survey-1964-2012-danish-national-archives/

[38] https://www.americansforthearts.org/by-program/reports-and-data/legislation-policy/naappd/americans-and-the-arts-a-survey-of-public-opinion-0

[39] In English, Studies and Research Department, Studies and Forecasting Department, and Studies, Forecasting, Statistics and Documentation Department, respectively.

including representative groups of the population to measure the percentage of people either engaging or failing to engage in cultural activities, as well as their sociodemographic profiles.

The differences were in the almost opposite attitudes of the governments of France and the US to the management of culture. While the former believed culture should be object of a specific policy aimed not only at protecting heritage, but also guaranteeing the population's access to cultural activities, the latter had a less interventional approach, believing the economic growth fostered by a strong private initiative would guarantee equal access to cultural goods and services.

In France, the CAPS' first aim was to measure the penetration rates within the French population of the main forms of access to culture and the sociodemographic profile of those attending to cultural activities. The repetition of the survey in the following years would allow the ministry to check if the initial figures had increased or decreased and if the profile of attendance had changed. The answer to these questions would help to monitor the efficiency of the cultural policies. Statistics would provide '*'modernity' and 'scientific legitimacy''* to the project of investing in an area where decisions were traditionally guided by *'the arbitrary preferences'* of public officers. It would reconcile a bureaucratic state with the *'humanist project of democratisation of culture'* (Dubois, 2007), bringing together statisticians, economists, and sociologists. The first results, showing a large proportion of people who had never attended some cultural activities, strongly justified the policies being implemented and the importance of continuing to carry out the surveys.

One French researcher interviewed for this study commented on the importance of the surveys in the first decades of the ministry: '*There was this sense that in the 60s, 70s, 80s, while the ministry was growing, the diagnosis and studies of the DEPS were being used not so much to shape policy directly, but more as a justification that policy was needed. It was a kind of a useful alliance between researchers who needed money to develop their studies and the politicians who needed to say, 'hey, there is a problem here that we need to fix.''*

In the US, the first studies of the 70s aimed to supply cultural institutions with information that could help them to advocate for funding from donors and public offices. Understanding the sociodemographic profile of the population engaging or failing to engage in cultural activities would help them to connect with both stakeholders. Roughly speaking, while donors, particularly private companies, which were an important source of financial resources, wanted to know who was attending cultural institutions, the US government was interested in the non-attendees. Reflecting these differences, the French study was publicly funded, while two powerful private companies, Ford and Philip Morris, sponsored the US's surveys, the federal government supplying resources only for the third study, one decade later.

Almost in parallel, at least four other countries began undertaking surveys about cultural engagement in the 70s: Japan (1976), Finland (1977), Spain (1978), and the Netherlands (1979). The first Asian measurement of cultural engagement and the surveys developed in Finland and Netherlands, as it happened in Denmark, were part of broader studies focused on leisure. The only

other European survey focused primarily on culture was conducted in Spain, where an impressive 31,385 interviews were carried out. *'La Realidad Cultural de España'* had as its first goal, to *'know in detail and depth the cultural practices that the Spanish population demands, with its nuances and conditioning factors*' (Ministerio de la Cultura, 1978). The study aimed to support the recently created ministry (it was founded in1977) to develop a national cultural policy after the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975). The Spanish surveys, however, would become regular only in this century (Ariño, 2010).

In 1979, a CAPS was also conducted in Canada, but it was not a national study. *Enquête sur les Pratiques Culturelles au Québec*[40] (EPC) is probably the first regional survey with a robust sample (2,983 interviews). The second was from the region of Catalonia, in 1985, with 1,491 interviews (*Estudi del comportament i les característiques tècniques de la demanda de productes culturals a Catalunya*)[41]. The first national Canadian survey was conducted only in 1992, as part of the second edition of the *General Social Survey on Time Use*, a study started in 1986. These two regional surveys are particularly important to the national/local debate about the CAPS and will be detailed in the following chapter. Not only did they precede the development of regular national series in their countries, as they were conducted in regions where the spoken language (French and Catalan) is different from the one adopted by most of the countries' population (English and Spanish, respectively), a key issue in thinking about culture and cultural diplomacy.

Until the turn of the millennium, initiatives aimed at expanding surveys to measure cultural engagement were quite limited. Governments' interest in knowing how many of its citizens were able to attend cultural activities as part of their daily lives was not a priority, but was starting to grow, with some countries perceiving the importance of regularly measuring access and participation. The mapping underpinning the dissertation found another eleven countries making a public effort to measure their populations' engagement in culture between 1980 and 1999, seven in Europe (England, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway and Sweden), two in Asia (Singapore and South Korea), one in Oceania (Australia), and one in South America (Argentina). At the end of last century, there were surveys developed on the topic in at least 19 countries and around one hundred CAPS had already been done. England had started measuring cultural engagement in 1986 in a limited way, as will be detailed further on.

Interest in measuring cultural engagement has increased in this century, when in just the first decade, 19 countries conducted their first studies, the same number than in the four previous decades. The CAPS have got to South America (Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Uruguay) and Africa (Uganda). At the same time, countries like England have increased investment in measuring

[40] In English, Quebec Cultural Practices Survey
[41] In English, Study of the behaviour and technical characteristics of the demand for cultural products in Catalonia

culture, starting a new series of annual studies (TPS, in 2005). Spain has also decided to conduct them regularly, each four years, starting from 2002-2003.

4.6.2. Continental surveys

Reflecting these countries' initiatives to measure cultural engagement, the growing importance of cultural diplomacy, and an agenda of international cooperation and globalisation, some international organisations became interested in having a study that covered several nations. European efforts to acquire harmonised and comparable data on cultural employment, financing, and engagement, initiated at the end of the 80s, led to the first continental survey at the beginning of the century.

In 1987, the Council of the European Union (EU) invited the Commission *'to study the relationship between culture and the economy'* (Allin, 2000). In 1991, the European Round Table on Cultural Research in Moscow gathered available data on cultural engagement from 20 countries (Fisher and Wiesand, 1991). The document is likely the first to bring together information about what was being measured regarding cultural engagement in a large group of European countries. It includes a variety of information, as the first CAPS, TUS, LS, and administrative data. As the work of Baumol and Bowen before (1966), it reflects the available and the missing data.

After the establishment of the Culture 2000 programme, including attention to cultural statistics, the first European survey was conducted in 2001. *European's participation in cultural activities – Eurobarometer 56.0* – was commissioned by the Press and Communication Directorate-General of the European Commission, as part of the studies developed by the Eurobarometer, and included 17 countries. The study was repeated in 2007 and 2013. It was reshaped for the second edition, when the survey was commissioned by the Education and Culture Directorate-General of the European Commission (DG-EAC) with the participation of the area of communication, responsible for the first initiative, and conducted in all 27 EU Member States.

It is important to mention that reports from Fisher and Wiesand (1991), Fisher et al. (1992) and Allin (2000) evidence that the data collected at the time and the debates about harmonising them already considered cultural engagement from a broad perspective, including access and participation. They were *'making the distinction between attending, performing as an amateur, and consuming cultural goods and services'* (Allin, 2000, p.68).

Beyond Eurobarometer, Eurostat has collected data on cultural engagement through an ad hoc module of at least two larger surveys, EU-SILC *(Survey on Income and Living Conditions)* and AES *(Adult Education Survey)*. The latter included a pilot study on cultural engagement in 2007 and an optional module in 2011, meaning that the results are not available for all European countries. The former study had already conducted three modules on culture: 2006, 2015 and 2022. The results of the last survey were scheduled to be available at the end of 2023, providing an important source of data on cultural engagement for all Europe after the Covid-19 pandemic.

The European initiatives have echoes in the Organisation of Ibero-American States (OEI), which conducted similar work in 16 countries in South and Central America *(Latinobarómetro - Encuesta latinoamericana de hábitos y prácticas culturales,)* in 2013. The survey was developed as an exercise in cultural diplomacy among the member countries. The decision to run the survey was taken after a conference of ministries of culture in 2012 as part of the effort to create the *Observatorio Iberoamericano de Cultura* (OIBC).

4.6.3. Growing interest

Returning to Spain, the initial survey in the 70s was followed by three other studies before becoming a regular official series. The first was in 1985, developed by the ministry, and the others, more than a decade later, in 1997 and 1998. It was the first case of a survey being repeated in consecutive years and, curiously, with only one report. Conducted by the *Sociedad General de Autores y Editores*[42] (SGAE), the surveys[43] are treated as one study in the presentation (SGAE, 2000, p.10, 11), whilst in the methodology (SGAE, 2000, p.13, 14) and in the following chapters data from 1997 and 1998 are presented separately.

The national series *Hábitos y Práticas Culturales en España*[44] would start only in 2002-2003, in a partnership between the Ministry of Culture and SGAE, which had been developing quantitative studies of culture since 1995. Initially the study had no periodicity established, but became a four-yearly study conducted by the ministry on its own after 2006-2007.

In England, Bridgwood and Skelton (2000), in a study conducted by ACE to underpin a future CAPS, have reported on previously available information from studies on *'attendance, participation and attitudes towards the arts'* at the time. The first data collection they mention was carried out in 1986 by the private company *British Market Research Bureau's* (BMRB) *Target Group Index* (TGI). Questions about attendance at eight types of artistic activities have been included in its Omnibus Survey (Walker, 1986), collecting data from 25,000 interviews (the survey started in 1969)[45]. The measurement, however, was different from other studies made at the time. While most CAPS used a 12-month period, BMRB asked people how frequently they had engaged in some activities *'these days'*, making any comparison quite tricky (Jermyn, 1999). Beyond that, '*ACE can publish figures for England in its annual report; for copyright reasons, however, it is not possible to publish more detailed analysis of the data'* (Bridgwood and Skelton, 2000, p. 53).

Bridgwood and Skelton registered the first public effort to carry out a specific survey focused on culture in 1991. It was developed by at that time the ACGB and involved the commissioning of

---

[42] In English, Spanish Society of Authors and Editors
[43] The study was published as *Informe SGAE sobre Hábitos de Consumo Cultural* (in English, SGAE Report ofHabits of Cultural Consumption)
[44] In English, Habits and Cultural Practices in Spain
[45] It is not clear when the agreement with BMRB stopped. Apparently, it was in 1991/1992. I could not find any document about these studies, except a 17-page report from the 1986 edition in the British Library.

Research Services of Great Britain (RSGB) to carry out 7,919 interviews in England, Scotland and Wales. They also record that the second public effort was in May 2000, when ACE commissioned MORI to conduct a survey with 1,801 interviews, in England alone. The reasons for this second study, as almost 30 years before in France, were associated with the democratisation of culture:

> *ACE is committed to building an evidence base to inform planning and policy and to support advocacy, in line with Modernising Government's focus on evidence-based policy (Cabinet Office, 2000). One of ACE's five strategic priorities is 'Diversity and public inclusion with special reference to race, disability and economic class.' Information is clearly needed on the current profile of audiences for the range of work supported by ACE (…). The Arts Council's commitment to widening access to the arts has been reinforced by the government since its election in 1997. It has been incorporated into the Department of Culture, Media and Sport's Public Service Agreement (PSA) with the Treasury in the form of a target to increase by 500,000 the number of people attending the arts by March 2004.* (Bridgwood and Skelton, 2000, p.49).

Local factors have definitely influenced the decision to start measuring cultural engagement in each country, as well as their decision to either develop a particular study centred on culture or to incorporate a module dedicated to culture in other ongoing surveys. Regardless of the motivation, the CAPS have probably benefited from a cascade effect, with each initiative inspiring other countries to adopt them.

Technology development was also important. Garon (2022, p. 38-39) reports how the capacity to process and reflect on the data of the Quebecois CAPS was limited before 1994: *'Although the department had data from the 1989 survey, it was unable to use it properly.'* According to the author, the scenario improved for the 1994 edition, and particularly in the following one in 1999, with new computers: *'(…) we went beyond cross-tabulations to use the techniques of multivariate analysis in the construction of typologies.'* The internet has certainly contributed to accelerating the process in recent decades, especially by making information accessible almost in real time and improving the capacity of computers to process data.

The growing number of initiatives that aim to measure cultural engagement encouraged UNESCO to consolidate the various studies being developed around the world. *Measuring Cultural Participation* (2012a) was presented as a guide, a handbook, a *'resource for organisations interested in measuring cultural participation, as well as a tool for raising awareness among policymakers'* (UNESCO, 2012a, p. iii). Unlike 'economic', underpinned by established international frameworks documents (UNESCO, 1986, 2009), the guide does not go that far. It operates with a limited number of surveys supported by different methodologies without a common framework.

UNESCO's handbook splits the potential data on access and participation into two big groups: 'administrative data' and 'survey data.' The former includes information about attendance at cultural activities and the purchase of cultural goods, which is usually collected by their producers and/or distributors. This includes data on admissions to museums, heritage sites, theatre, cinema, music venues, and the number of books sold and visits to libraries, etc. In almost all these cases we have no information about how many people are consuming these goods or attending to these activities. Some people may have bought more than one book or gone several times to the cinema, while others may not have engaged with culture at all, which means that these kinds of 'administrative data' do not tell us how many people fail to buy cultural goods or to attend cultural activities. They do not measure reach and exclusion, which is particularly important when we consider that the chance to read a book, go to a theatre, visit a museum, etc, are activities that should be available to all (from a democratisation of culture perspective).

The CAPS are included in the four types of 'survey data' mentioned by UNESCO: audience or visitor surveys, sample population surveys, time use surveys, and household expenditure surveys. All gather quantitative information about engagement in cultural activities. The first type is usually focused on particular cultural domains or venues, not considering the non-audiences. The second type, which includes the CAPS, is based on a broader approach, covering a wide range of domains and exploring different details on attendance, sometimes even including time and money spent on cultural activities.

The lack of earlier quantitative attempts in a substantial number of countries to measure cultural habits has shaped UNESCO's handbook, preventing it from being more prescriptive. It compares the methodologies adopted by some countries, informs us about the challenges of defining culture (and consequently to choose exactly what to measure), highlights the lack of existing international references to work as a consistent basis for a future global framework, and makes general suggestions for countries aiming to implement similar measurements. The conclusion underlines the importance of exploring *'the non-audience and all those people excluded (or excluding themselves) from participation activities'*, arguing that understanding the *'obstacles and constrains in cultural participation'* is vital to underpin the development of effective cultural policies to confront cultural exclusion (UNESCO, 2012a, p. 75).

The document explores the connection between the CAPS and cultural rights. Its core idea is not to guarantee people's access to a museum or a theatre play, instead being centred on reaffirming the right of any people or group to live according to and express their own culture. The fragmented ways in which arts, culture and creativity may be expressed and experienced, however, make inevitable some association between cultural rights and cultural engagement (Donders and Laaksonen, 2009; Laaksonen, 2010).

Data on the sociodemographic profile of people included in, or excluded from, cultural activities could provide a link to the principle of cultural rights and also to support the newly created public institutions in charge of cultural issues, helping them either to develop evidence-based

cultural policies, or to justify public investment in the area (as illustrated by the debate on the surveys in French mentioned in the previous chapter).

The guide was probably the first to systematise the ongoing experiences of a broad group of countries and was an important reference for countries aiming to measure cultural engagement, mixing a theoretical approach with practical examples of the different variables under investigation. It aimed to raise awareness of the importance of measuring cultural engagement and of the CAPS' potential as one of the tools available for this. With the growing number of countries that have adopted some measure of cultural engagement since the beginning of the century, the challenge seems to be maintaining the regularity of repeat surveys.

The Covid-19 pandemic disrupted the development of surveys from approximately 2020 to 2022. Face-to-face interviews were prohibited in many countries for several months and the measure of 'the last 12 months' was disrupted even for the studies that collected data online or by phone. With most offline cultural activities closed for at least some months during these years, the results could no longer be compared with other surveys in the national series. Countries that continued to carry out their CAPS had to alter their questionnaires to focus on digital activities and, among other topics, on the extent to which people were missing live activities, and expectations of and potential barriers to future engagement.

With most offline cultural activities resuming, countries are now also resuming their CAPS, but some that were previously face-to-face have moved online and been redesigned, like TPS. The impact of the pandemic on cultural activities and attendance is not yet clear. Should we expect changes in behaviour lasting beyond its end? If yes, will it affect particular groups in society in different ways? From production to engagement, the effects are not yet 100% clear. At the end of 2022, for example, attendance at cinemas and museums in the UK had not returned to pre-pandemic levels. Beyond the administrative data, the CAPS may provide another layer of information to help understand the overall impact of the disruption on cultural engagement.

Before moving on to the mapping, the next section briefly discusses the scenario in Brazil, where the development of cultural policies has not yet been able to provide the country with the basic measurements developed in other nations.

4.7. *'Unhappy traditions'*

Brazil is far behind other nations, not only in Europe but also in South America, in terms of the production of data about its cultural environment, reflecting the low importance of public policies on culture and also the level of association between private agents and producers. A brief overview of Brazilian cultural policies may facilitate an understanding of this scenario and how

think tanks, private institutions, and consulting companies have been trying to fill part of this gap developing CAPS, mappings and other quantitative measurements about the area

Two of the landmarks of Brazilian cultural policies are associated with authoritarian governments: the dictatorship of Getulio Vargas in the 30s, and the military government of 1964-1985. At both moments, the government founded cultural institutions, introduced pieces of legislation, defined funding for cultural activities, and supported its approach to the arts, culture, and media with censorship. Researchers note similarities between the ideology underlying both programs (Calabre, 2007; Rubim, 2007; Rubim and Barbalho, 2007; Azevedo, 2016; Chuva and Lavinas, 2016). Culture would help to build the image of a great and unified country, articulating the regional and the national, the popular and the erudite, through a process commanded by an elite. It would help improve the image of the military regime among artists and intellectuals in a period of violence, torture, and deaths. Unfortunately, there is little information still available about projects funded by the federal government during the military dictatorship, particularly quantitative ones (Calabre, 2006, 2007, 2008).

The decade after the military dictatorship was marked by hyperinflation, unemployment, corruption and economic turmoil, resulting in five economic plans between 1985 and 1994. Politically, the period was very unsettled. In 1985, Congress chose an opposition leader to be the next president, but he died before inauguration day. The vice-president, José Sarney, who was a conservative leader, took office. In 1989, direct elections brought into power Fernando Collor de Mello, who was later impeached based on accusations of corruption. Economically, the 80s were known as the lost decade. Inflation skyrocketed from 99% in 1980, to 1,973%, in 1989, and only the fifth economic plan, the Real Plan (1994), stabilised economy, and allowing growth to resume.

The end of dictatorship and censorship, the creation of the Ministry of Culture (1985), differentiated from the former Ministry of Education and Culture, and the new Constitution (1988) did not invigorate cultural policies as expected. With the economy in chaos, the first directly elected president in more than 20 years promoted a 'cultural blackout.' Several public cultural institutions were abolished.[46] The recently created Ministry of Culture had almost nothing to manage and became a secretariat. As a result, only three Brazilian movies were released in 1992. Curiously, an incentive tax law launched in 1991 (the Rouanet Law)[47] which aimed to mitigate the demolition of culture, would persist until today as one of the most important funding sources for the area.

After Collor's impeachment, the Ministry was re-established (1993), inflation controlled, and the country went through a period of financial stability and economic growth that lasted for two decades, until the first term of Dilma Rousseff. During the governments of Fernando Henrique

[46] Like the National Foundation for the Arts (Fundação Nacional de Arte, created in 1975), the National Foundation for Memory (Fundação Pró-Memória, 1978) and the Brazilian Company for the Cinema (Embrafilme, 1969)
[47] The law allows private and public companies to invest part of a federal tax in cultural projects previously approved by the Secretary of Culture. In 1996, 451 projects were sponsored by the law. Five years later, 1.216, and in 2019, 3.307 projects received R$ 1,5 billion (£214 million).

Cardoso (FCH) (1995-2002), Luis Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2010), and Dilma Roussef (2011-2016), the Ministry of Culture has never been a priority, as happens in most countries, but has achieved an important institutional stability.

Rubim (2007) argues that under FHC, little attention was paid to culture, which was left to the growing funds of the Rouanet Law. Rubin compares the FHC years with another democratic period, from 1945 to 1964. The alternation between the neglect during both democratic periods and the control imposed during the dictatorships would stand for an *'unhappy tradition'* in the foundations of Brazilian cultural policies. The author argues that this changed during Lula's years, when the public sector undertook responsibility for building cultural policies. The first efforts to introduce the National Culture Plan and the National Culture System (a policy detailed by Barbalho, 2019) would be examples of this new approach. In the first fifteen years of this century, the cultural area developed significantly, fostered by economic growth and a meaningful improvement in education. Federal, state and city offices were created, and new legislation was implemented in the public sphere. Cultural production was boosted, and the audio-visual area resurrected, going from three films released in 1992 to more than 100 two decades later.

One symbolic example of the turnaround after the dictatorship was in attitudes towards the debate on cultural rights in the UN. Only after the military dictatorships did Brazil ratify the 1966 *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, more than 25 years late. Its adhesion to the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, however, was much faster. Approved in 2005 by UNESCO, it was ratified by Brazil only two years later. Despite the development of the area, much remains to be done. The production of data, for example, has been largely neglected. The first efforts to adopt the CSA, started in 2004, remain unfinished.

After some prosperous years, Brazil experienced almost no growth in 2014 (0.5%) and two years of recession (-3.5% and -3.31%) in 2015 and 2016.[48] The economic downturn, alongside a political crisis, resulted in Rouseff's impeachment, two turbulent years under the leadership of her vice-president, Michel Temer, and in the election of a far-right leader, Jair Bolsonaro. Temer tried to extinguish the Ministry of Culture (and did in fact succeed for some weeks, but had to step back after strong criticism), and ultimately Bolsonaro succeeded. During the sixteen years of FHC and Lula, there were three ministries of culture. Dilma had the same number in six years. Temer had four ministries in two years. Under Bolsonaro, the Ministry became a Secretariat, first under the umbrella of the Ministry of Citizenship, and then of the Ministry of Tourism. Under his administration, there were five different secretaries in charge of culture. Several initiatives

[48] Source: World Bank.

developed by former governments were either stopped or dismantled. Lula's return in 2023 may start the rebuilding of the public cultural institutions.

Beyond this huge discontinuity in management in recent years, there are also other reasons for the chronic lack of data on culture. After years of economic crisis before the Real Plan, there were other priorities, like resuming investment in cultural institutions. There is no articulation with other public offices, which could have enhanced data collection. There has been a lack of training of cultural managers, a gap that has become clear in recent decades, when the area has been growing and in need of these professionals. Finally, Brazil does not have a strong associative culture, a factor that would stimulate private agents to organise themselves and produce data about the sector. Regarding the CAPS, it also reflects the lack of attention to audiences. Most debates on cultural policies in Brazil are focused on production, on the work of artists and cultural institutions, with little consideration given to thinking about how to get more people to engage with arts and culture, either as attendees or as the protagonists of creative processes. Beyond this, Brazil is a large country, which makes it challenging and costly to develop national surveys. Finally, there is still some prejudice against the use of quantitative information among cultural agents. This scenario, in which there is a huge lack of basic data, reinforces the importance of this dissertation.

4.8. The Brazilian surveys

CEBRAP seems to have conducted the first large survey on cultural engagement in 2003. Encompassing the metropolitan region of São Paulo, 2,002 interviews were carried out with people from 15 years old. *O uso do tempo livre e as práticas culturais na Região Metropolitana de São Paulo*[49] also included a second module which aimed to conduct 105 in-depth interviews with two subgroups, of which only 93 were carried out. Neither the qualitative nor the quantitative report was available on the institution's website. It was accessed upon request. Fecomércio-RJ, a private institution, looks to have pioneered the cultural habits surveys encompassing larger areas of the country in 2005, and has been doing it annually since then. Most of the references to the surveys, however, are in newspapers and on websites, and the data is not openly disclosed to the public.[50]

In 2013, a decade ago, SESC and the researchers Jordão & Alucci (in charge of 3D3 and Alucci & Associados, respectively) conducted their one-off surveys. SESC carried out 2,400 interviews in 139 cities and built an interactive website to present the results of the study *Públicos*

[49] In English, *The use of free time and cultural practices in the São Paulo Metropolitan Region.*
[50] The institution promotes press conferences to release some results, but not seminars engaging practitioners in discussion of its methodology and findings. The mapping could find only one report from the 2007 study in the PDF *O hábito de lazer cultural do brasileiro* (Brazilian's leisure cultural habits), with few methodological details and only 14 slides showcasing its results. The introduction mentions that the study is not about 'cultural habits', but about 'leisure habits related to culture.' The sample varies from 1,000 to 1,200 interviews depending on the year. The institution did not answer emails asking for details on its methodology.

da Cultura.[51] SESC is one of the most important Brazilian cultural institutions, particularly in the state of São Paulo, where it manages 43 venues for leisure activities, including sports and culture, with high-quality infrastructure.[52] In São Paulo, the institution also has a Centre for Research and Training, where they promote courses and workshops about culture, trying to bring together *'knowledge production, training and dissemination.'* The Centre has specific departments for each area: *Research, Training and Publishing & Dissemination*. One current anecdote among Brazilian cultural practitioners, particularly from São Paulo, is that *'SESC is the true Ministry of Culture'*, due to the high quality and diversity of the supported cultural activities and excellence of their venues.

In the same year, Jordão & Allucci did 1,620 interviews in 74 cities with a population sample aged between 16 and 75 years old, as one of three modules of a larger project called *Panorama Setorial da Cultura Brasileira*[53]*.* It included a report on the professional profile of cultural agents and producers, a CAPS named *Consumo Brasileiro de Práticas Culturais*[54] (Jordão, 2014), and also one on the distribution channels for cultural goods and services.[55] Both researchers are associated with private universities: Gisele Jordão to ESPM (Higher School of Publicity & Marketing) and Renata Allucci to PUC-SP (Pontifical Catholic University). JLEIVA started carrying out surveys in 2010, but unlike SESC and Jordão & Allucci, has always focused on specific localities: in the whole state of São Paulo (2,414 interviews in 2010), in 21 cities in the state with more than 100,000 inhabitants (7,939 interviews in 2014)[56]; in the city of Rio de Janeiro (1,500 interviews in both 2013 and 2015), and in 12 Brazilian regional capitals (10,360 interviews in 2017).

Both JLEIVA (2010, 2014 and 2017) and Jordão & Allucci funded their studies through Brazilian incentive laws for culture. The survey developed by Jordão & Allucci was sponsored by Vale, a Brazilian mining company, through the Rouanet Law.[57] The first survey carried out by JLeiva (2010) was funded by a São Paulo legislation called Proac-SP (*Programa de Ação Cultural*),[58] while all the others were supported by both laws. The last survey was sponsored by the CCR Group (an infrastructure company responsible for the operation of highways, airports and metros in Brazil), and by Braskem (a plastic resin company). Additionally, the project had the support of the *Fundação Roberto Marinho* (funded by Globo's Organisation). The data collection of all studies was carried out by Datafolha (polling institute from Grupo Folha).

---

[51] In English, *Audiences of Culture* (http://www.sesc.com.br/portal/site/publicosdecultura)
[52] (https://www.sescsp.org.br/unidades/#/content=grande-sao-paulo)
[53] In English, *Sectorial Overview of the Brazilian Culture*
[54] In English, *Brazilian consumption of cultural practices*
[55] https://oibc.oei.es/documents/statistic_documents/documents/110/pdfs_pscb_2013-2014.pdf?1524827029
[56] This survey also included nine cities from other Brazilian states.
[57] The Rouanet Law allows public and private companies to invest part of their federal taxes in cultural projects approved by the Secretariat of Culture. The legislation also allows companies to include their logos in visual communication about the projects, as a way to do corporate marketing.
[58] The Proac-SP is similar to the Rouanet Law but is based on a São Paulo state tax.

During the Covid-19 pandemic, Itaú Cultural, an institution supported by Itaú bank, developed three waves of a national phone survey (2020-2021-2022) with between 1,500 and 2,300 interviews, to investigate how the pandemic was affecting the way people experience culture. Among its activities, that institution has a cultural observatory that contributes to the production and distribution of quantitative data about culture.[59]

From a public perspective, the only national effort made by a public institution has been by IPEA. The series *Sistema de Indicadores de Percepção Social* (SIPS)[60] aimed to evaluate *'the effectiveness of government initiatives in the social area based on the subjectivity of people's perceptions'* (Barbosa, 2019, p.291), conducted surveys from 2010 to 2013 on national security, democracy, education, gender equality, housing, immigration, financial inclusion, justice, urban mobility, poverty, quality of life, health, public security, labour and earnings and victimisation. Information about culture was collected in 2010 (2,888 interviews) and 2013 (3,810 interviews). While the first report was more descriptive, presenting the main findings in tables and text, the second included a series of more academic articles. The report reflected on some theoretical approaches to the concept of '*cultural practices',* discussed the main results according to cultural field (cinema, readership, dance, circus, theatre, music concerts and museums), and debated the importance of cultural institutions (Barbosa, 2019). The surveys do not follow the framework of most CAPS, having been developed with a different aim.

I also mapped some one-off studies carried out by the city councils of Porto Alegre (RS) and Jundiaí (SP), the public foundation of Minas Gerais state (*Fundação João Pinheiro*), and by the institutions *Nossa São Paulo* (2018), and *Observatório de Favelas* (Barbosa, 2013). This last study is particularly relevant since it is focused on five slums of Rio de Janeiro city and on a particular group of the population, those between 15 and 29 years old.

The thesis does not aim to go through the whole history of the CAPS, addressing their connections with the economic, social, and political landscape of each country. This chapter has aimed to present the broader economic, social, and political context of the CAPS' development since the 70s, calling attention to tendencies that may help to understand some of the mapping results presented in the next chapter and which, at the same time, were informed by it. At this point, it is important to highlight that, despite differences between countries, the main reasons claimed for the adoption of the CAPS are basically the same: to produce knowledge about the diverse ways people engage with culture, inform about the inequalities in access to and participation in cultural activities, produce information to develop evidence-based policies, and to evaluate the efficiency of initiatives adopted by governments, regardless of the frustrating results measured in some countries.While in several countries the first CAPS were made by federal

[59] https://www.itaucultural.org.br/observatorio/paineldedados/
[60] In English, *Social Perception Indicators System*

governments, in Brazil they were conducted by think tanks, private institutions and consultancy companies. It also deserves attention how the surveys were used in two opposite directions: to promote continental studies, including several countries, and to look for a closer investigation in particular regions or cities of a country. Considering the ongoing debates on culture, three topics seem to reverberate in the CAPS, requiring minor or major changes in their geographic scope and questionnaire: the concept of creativity, increasing attention to the variables aiming to measure participation; the exponential growth of online activities; and the growing discourse on the connection of arts and culture with health, wellbeing and social cohesion. All the questions summarized in the last two paragraphs will resume in the next chapters, in which the dissertation starts to detail the content of the CAPS and some of its methodological conundrums.

CHAPTER FIVE
MAPPING THE SURVEYS

This chapter introduces the CAPS mapped during the research and discusses some of their methodological aspects. The aim is to provide an overview of how data have been produced to highlight some of their implications and the things that either facilitate or hamper their usability, both within academia and for policymaking. The main focus of the chapter, however, is to build an overview of the CAPS before discussing the variables they measure. I start by showing how they have grown since the 70s in all the countries where I was able to find at least one study.

The description of the main methodological decisions will evidence the different options countries have adopted. While some topics will be briefly addressed, like collection method and period, margin of error and confidence interval, others deserve further discussion, as they have greater influence on the potential to explore the results of the surveys, including sample size, frequency and geographic distribution. My reflections on the last two topics, key for policymaking, but also for research, will be supported by comments from the in-depth interviews, which from this chapter start to be much more present in the discussions. The following chapter will then narrow the focus of the analyses, moving to the questionnaire.

5.1. The CAPS

My research identified a total of 45 countries where at least one cultural engagement survey was developed, either as a survey that primarily asked questions related to arts and culture or asking such questions as part of a module included in other studies (as TUS, LS, or HS). If we also consider the nations included in the European and Latin-American studies, the number of countries comes to 66. Beyond that, in three countries the mapping has identified studies only made in one city (United Arab Emirates) or in a group of cities (China and South Africa) [61], but no national CAPS. In total, at least 444 surveys have been developed since 1964, including continental, national, regional and local ones. These figures reinforce the growing efforts to know how many people are either attending or participating in cultural activities and their sociodemographic profile.

[61] The survey was carried on in 13 Chinese cities and four metropolitan regions from South Africa

My research prioritized surveys focused primarily or exclusively on cultural engagement and developed by governments (including federal, state and city levels). In countries where none were found, I have also looked for the other kinds of surveys mentioned above. Even though they may include fewer questions about culture, they allow the investigation of possible relations between cultural habits and other social and political issues, and they may have richer demographic data (Pettit, 2000). Beyond that, many countries build specific modules for culture, providing a large number of variables of access and participation and sometimes even detailing information about the genre of some activities, reasons for engaging and barriers to participation, among other data.

The mapping did not include surveys focused on one particular cultural activity, like reading, which would have complicated the work. Nevertheless, this would be a worthwhile research topic since these studies go deeper into the understanding of their focus-activity, and probably provide inspiring contributions to the CAPS. Another group of surveys not mentioned here but important to explore are those interviewing young people and children. Many countries have a specific module to assess the cultural habits of these groups, but was not possible to detail them here. The exceptions were four studies focused on age groups which were not part of broader surveys. Three of them are from Germany (two with young people from 14 to 24 years old and one with people from 50 years old), and one is from Brazil (15 to 29 years old). The map has also identified a survey focused on immigrants *(Das 1º InterKulturBarometer, 2011)* in Germany (Keuchel, 2015).

Surveys developed by private companies, non-governmental institutions, or independent researchers were mentioned for historical reasons, or in countries where there were limited or no other surveys available, like in Brazil, China (Courty and Zhang, 2018), Morocco (Essaadani et al., 2015), and the city of Porto (Pereira, 2018). Except for historical reasons and the Brazilian case, private studies that do not disclose their data and methodology were not included in the mapping.

The different ways countries develop and disclose data made it challenging to provide an as comprehensive as possible data set of CAPS. While some nations issue regular reports with the basic information on the surveys and keep the raw data easy to find on the websites of the ministries of culture (Spain) or of the offices in charge of national statistics (Denmark, Norway), others change constantly the way they present them, making research tricky, increasing the risk of missing relevant data and hampering the comparison of the results, even among studies in the same series and in the same country. Since this study was mainly done online, there are certainly gaps, particularly concerning surveys done in the last century. Language limitations also probably reduced the reach of the mapping in Africa, where only three CAPS were found, as well as in Asia and Eastern Europe. Studies developed at the city or regional level are also underrepresented, since mapping them would have increased exponentially the magnitude of the research.[62]

[62] During the review of the thesis, I have located surveys in Ecuador and Peru. Unfortunately, there was not enough time to include them in the mapping. These studies can be located at: https://siic.culturaypatrimonio.gob.ec/index.php/encuesta-de-habitos-lectores-practicas-y-consumos-culturales-ehlpracc/ and https://www.gob.pe/institucion/cultura/campañas/4101-consumo-cultural-en-el-peru

Figure 1 shows the number of mapped surveys on the six continents. The data is split into national, regional and metropolitan studies. The latter gathers the surveys developed in one or a specific group of cities or metropolitan regions. It also includes two surveys developed in specific boroughs of particular cities (one from Queens, New York; and the other carried out in five slums of Rio de Janeiro). Beyond cities which developed their own studies, sometimes also including neighbouring cities that form a metropolitan area (Buenos Aires, 2021; São Paulo, 2003), there are initiatives focused on specific group of cities/metropolitan areas, such as some studies conducted by Louis Harris and Associates and the Wallace Foundation in the US, and by JLEIVA in Brazil. Unlike this group, the regional surveys encompass a whole geographical area, including several cities, as those done in Catalonia and the Basque country (Spain), Skåne (Sweden), Minas Gerais, São Paulo (Brazil), and the province of Quebec (Canada).

Figure 1. Number of CAPS mapped by country and geographic scope

Countries	Total	National	Regional	Metropolitan
Africa	**5**	**2**	**2**	**1**
Morocco	1	1		
South Africa	1			1
Uganda	1	1		
United Arab Emirates	2		2	
Asia	**34**	**29**	**4**	**1**
China	1			1
Hong Kong	4		4	
Israel	1	1		
Japan	9	9		
Singapore	10	10		
South Korea	9	9		
Oceania	**19**	**19**	**0**	**0**
Australia	9	9		
New Zealand	10	10		
Central and North America	**57**	**39**	**10**	**8**
Canada	16	8	8	
Costa Rica	2	2		
Domenican Republic	1	1		
Mexico	5	4		1
United States	33	24	2	7
South America	**44**	**26**	**4**	**14**
Argentina	8	3		5
Brazil	20	8	4	8
Chile	4	4		
Colombia	9	8		1
Uruguay	3	3		

Countries	Total	National	Regional	Metropolitan
Europe	**275**	**250**	**20**	**5**
Austria	2	1		1
Belgium	4	4		
Bulgaria	4	4		
Denmark	8	8		
England	32	32		
Finland	5	5		
France	7	7		
Germany	14	12		2
Ireland	15	15		
Italy	28	28		
Luxembourg	2	2		
Malta	3	3		
Netherlands	17	17		
North Macedonia*	1	1		
Northern Ireland	14	14		
Norway	10	10		
Portugal	2	1		1
Romania	14	14		
Scotland	12	12		
Serbia*	3	3		
Spain	30	12	17	1
Sweden	38	35	3	
Switzerland	2	2		
Wales	7	7		
Several countries	**13**			
United Kingdom	3			
Europe	9			
Latin America	1			
TOTAL	**444**	**365**	**40**	**29**

** The survey conducted simultaneously in Serbia and North Macedonia in 2005 was counted separetly for each country*

Source: Elaborated by the author

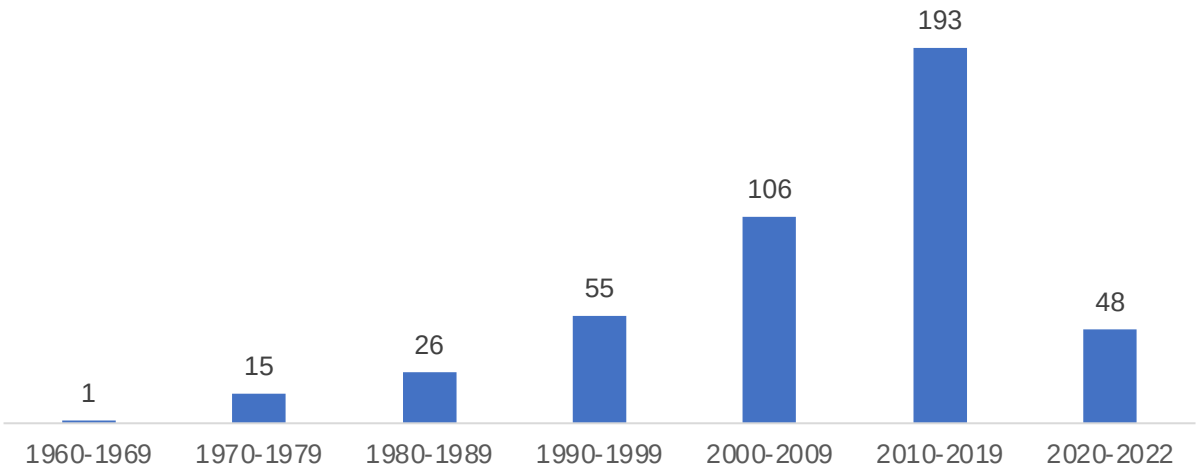
The mapping includes some surveys that did not have a relevant document trace online (methodology, executive summary, questionnaire, or report), but which are mentioned in studies published by other researchers or by the institutions in charge of the studies. The Arts Council in

Singapore have carried out regular surveys every three years since 1996 but answered an email saying it does not have any copies of the first two studies. The same happened for the first survey done in Finland. The study from the Ford Foundation (1974) is not available on the institution's website and was accessed upon request. Regardless of these challenges and constraints, the data gathered for the dissertation shows a robust picture of the national CAPS and of some other studies that aim to measure cultural engagement.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, there has been considerable growth in the number of surveys since the 60s, with a boost in the first decade of the century. This growth looks to be connected to urbanisation, globalisation, the increasing importance of culture in the period, the development of research surveys, the first European studies, and a cascade effect, with the experience of one country stimulating others to implement similar measurements.

The countries that started carrying out annual (England, Romania, Scotland, Wales) or biennial (Colombia) series this century have also contributed to the increase in the number of surveys in the last two decades. *Figure 2* illustrates the number of surveys mapped by decade, while *Figure 3* showcases the number of countries initiating new surveys every five years and provides a breakdown of the respective countries involved.

*Figure 2. Number of surveys measuring cultural engagement mapped by decade**



Source: Elaborated by the author

Figure 3. Evolution in the number of countries in which the mapping has found surveys.

	Nº of countries with new surveys	Nº of countries with at least one survey*	Countries in which the mapping has found the first surveys
1960-1969	1	1	Denmark (1964)
1970-1974	2	3	France (1972), United States (1972)[a]
1975-1979	5	8	Japan (1976), Finland (1977), Canada (1978)[a], Spain (1978), Netherlands (1979)
1980-1984	2	10	Ireland (1981), Germany (1984)
1985-1989	4	14	England (1986), Australia (1987), Sweden (1988), Argentina (1988)[a]
1990-1994	2	16	Italy (1993), Norway (1991)
1995-1999	3	19	Singapore (1996), South Korea (1997), Luxembourg (1999)
2000-2004	10	29	Malta (2000), Portugal (2000)[a], Colombia (2002), New Zealand (2002), Uruguay (2002), Belgium (2003), Brazil (2003)[a], Chile (2004), Mexico (2004), Northern Ireland (2004)
2005-2009	9	38	Bulgaria (2005), China (2005)*a*, North Macedonia (2005)b, Romania (2005), Serbia (2005), Israel (2006), Austria (2007), Scotland (2009), Uganda (2009)
2010-2014	3	41	Costa Rica (2013), Dominican Republic (2014), Switzerland (2014)
2015-2019	3	44	Morocco (2015), South Africa (2015), Wales (2015)
2020-2023	1	45	United Arab Emirates (2021)[a]

** From 1960 until the end of the correspondent period*

a) Regional or metropolitan surveys; b) At the time named Macedonia

Source: Elaborated by the author

In the following pages, I try to summarise some aspects of the design of the surveys to show the range of alternatives adopted by countries regarding frequency, sample size, geographic area, data collection method, age of interviewees, and the period over which the interviews are conducted. Even though these issues are frequently interconnected, with one methodological decision influencing and/or being influenced by the others, topics are discussed in turn, to address the large number of countries and surveys mapped and to help to highlight the scale of the differences in survey design adopted by different nations. Although I tried to collect the same kind of information about the survey methodology of all the studies, the differences in the way different countries disclose the data have made gaps unavoidable. While sample size is an item of technical information almost always available, there are surveys that do not detail in the available documents information such as when data collection was made, margin of error, confidence interval or the timing of the interviews.

The two annexes to the dissertation include all the mapped surveys. The first indicates country, year, where the surveys were carried out (when not national), sample size, data collection method, age range of interviewees and name of the study. The second brings the references to

access the available surveys, mentioning reports, websites, or the articles from where the information about the ones I could not find the original study was collected.

5.2. Frequency

A brief look at how often countries conduct their surveys shows that even though there has been an increase in the number of nations adopting this kind of measurement, it would be premature to state that they have been consolidated in most countries as a regular administrative and strategic procedure. While there are several examples of nations managing to maintain some regularity in their measurements, like Colombia, Japan, New Zealand, Singapore, Spain and England, or making small adjustments in the surveys' frequency (France, Norway, Denmark, and US), others still miss some years in their series or change them (Chile, Costa Rica, Mexico, Uruguay), unclear whether they will be continued. The Covid-19 pandemic has also disrupted some series.

The time between the surveys has varied from annual measurements to around a decade. Most countries, however, repeat their studies every two to five years. The mapping has identified at least five countries conducting annual surveys: England, Scotland, Wales, Romania and Sweden. TPS was conducted from 2005 to 2020 by the DCMS, and in the other cases in the UK, data is coming from larger national studies, the *Scottish Household Survey* and the *National Survey for Wales*. Considering the start date and frequency, Sweden seems to have the longest running series of leisure activities and media habits surveys that include cultural practices, with 35 editions so far. This series began in 1986, as part of a larger survey including topics as diverse as *'mass media, politics and society, energy and nuclear power, Sweden's relation to other countries, residential environment, interests and leisure activities, and social background.'* Conducted by the University of Gothenburg, the *SOM Survey (Society, Opinions and Mass Media)*, the study has gradually increased the collected information about arts and culture. Beyond these countries, the region of Catalonia, in Spain, has carried out annual measurements since 2013, with earlier studies in 1986, 1991, 1995, 2001 and 2006.[63] France, at the other extreme, registered between seven and nine years between its four initial surveys, and then eleven between the last two. The next Finnish survey is planned for 2027, a decade after the last study, carried out in 2017.

There are financial, political, operational and strategic aspects underlying decisions about how frequently to repeat surveys, since this is up to governments. This study did not investigate

[63] The 2001 study (available at: https://drac.cultura.gencat.cat/handle/20.500.12368/1532#page=14) mentions details from the first study, done in 1985 (included in the mapping), but not from those done in 1991 or 1996 (not included).

each case in detail, restricting itself at this point to registering the surveys conducted in each country and commenting on the technical implications surrounding the options.

The outcome of the 32 in-depth interviews repeated what was observed in the mapping. While a small number of researchers and policymakers opted for extremes, believing that the surveys should either be done every decade or repeated annually, most of the key informants tended to mention periods between two and five years. Most argued that decisions about how often to do the surveys should take into account government objectives and priorities, the speed at which changes happen in the cultural area, and, inevitably, budget constraints.

Researchers who supported a decade long gap argued it on the basis of the slow pace of change in some of the population's cultural habits. There would not be enough meaningful variation in the way people interact with arts and culture to justify more frequent measurements. *'Culture does not change from one day to the other',* according to one researcher.

Another comment, made by more than one interviewee, was related to the difficulties in organising what is considered a complex operation. From questionnaire design to data collection, processing and analysing the answers, the surveys require a lot of effort and time that could only be justified if the surveys were used more (a topic that will be discussed further below). Annual studies would not allow enough time even for a survey to be properly produced, disclosed and analysed before a new edition was already available.

Closely associated with this point, three Spanish interviewees also referred to the question of budget. One mentioned their cost (*'this kind of survey is huge and expensive'*), while the two others made almost the same complaint about the imbalance between cost and benefit (*'You spend a lot of money, and they are underused'; 'The problem is that we spend a lot of money doing these surveys and we get little results.'*)

On the other hand, although most interviewees recognise the financial stress of repeating the surveys annually and that significant changes in part of the activities being measured do not happen so fast, some researchers have mentioned the benefits of an annual approach. New tendencies would be detected much faster. Commenting on TPS, one British scholar said that *'one of its major sources of value is that it was delivered annually with a pretty big sample. And the frequency of data collection means that it's possible to monitor change over time pretty precisely.'*

This would not be a detail, particularly in the present scenario of constant innovations in digital gadgets, with huge implications for the way we communicate and access cultural content. One Brazilian researcher highlighted the challenge of building surveys that address digital habits, something that other interviewvees were also alert to:

> *Changes are happening at an absurd speed. (…) The migration of many practices to the digital has deeply disrupted our behaviour. (…) There is a paradigm shift that will change our habits. (…) The surveys became a bit lost. (…) What should I ask?*

> *Would I have enough time to collect, process, analyse, and publish the data before it gets old?*

The interviews were conducted during the pandemic, which may have influenced the interviewees' approach. Nevertheless, their comments remain relevant after the pandemic as innovation is not likely to stop. A European researcher even questioned the ability of the CAPS to keep up with the speed of the transformations:

> *The frequency of any survey depends on the rate you think the phenomena changes. For culture, in some aspects, it changes very fast, at least in the last years. (...) Is the way we approach the measurement, the technique, in tune with the rapid change? If we look to digitisation, which is a big part of cultural participation, the CAPS may not be the most appropriate way. By the time you get the results the questions could be outdated.*

In France, the long gap between surveys meant that some gadgets have been excluded from one study to the next. Cassette tapes, Walkmans and VHS tapes, which were popular ways to listen to music and watch home videos for some years, are examples of devices included in the first surveys that have disappeared in the latest ones.

Another argument in defence of annual studies is to allow ministries of culture to adopt new questions each year, improving the exploratory potential of the surveys without losing track of the historical and basic data. This would avoid what a Spanish scholar referred to as a *'certain inertia of the questionnaires'*, which are sometimes excessively focused on building historical series, losing the opportunity to include relevant new questions that might emerge from time to time.

An Argentinian researcher said s/he would like to have a survey *'even every six months, if we had the resources.'* It would be a way to manage the large set of variables to be measured:

> *If we want to ask specific questions about a particular topic, we need to have more waves that allow us to focus on some things, keeping the comparability of the surveys, but being able to explore other issues.*

Finally, annual studies would help our understanding even of long-term changes in cultural behaviour, providing annual pictures of the process. Completing his/her argument about TPS, a British researcher quoted on the previous page argued that *'one of the reasons TP is so good is because it has a very large sample size. It's run for several years with relatively few changes to the concept of the questionnaire. If you roll things up together, you can do quite interesting analysis.'*

A Brazilian researcher addressed the same question, but from a different perspective: '*Infrequent surveys may compromise the understanding of the results.'* Differences in the overall landscape of countries between far apart surveys could make it more difficult to interpret the results, since there could then be so many explanations for eventual changes in some variables.

The intermediate approach, prevailing among researchers, seemed to be driven by pragmatism. Many interviewees agreed that something between two and five years could be enough to balance financial restrictions in the cultural area with the contrast between cultural habits that would change only in the long term and others that had recently undergone speedy and profound transformations triggered by the digital revolution.

A European researcher was very direct in her/his answer: *'Every second year to me is sufficient. There are not major structural changes in the cultural consumption patterns that justify a yearly data collection.'* At the other extreme of the two-to-five approach, a Brazilian researcher advocated for a five-year gap, considering the financial restrictions: *'There is no need to have them annually because they are very expensive. To have them every five years would be fine.'* This is the same argument used by Ateca-Amestoy to support a four-year gap. One of her colleagues from Spain used the argument about the pace of change to support the same frequency, even though s/he personally would like to have annual studies.

> *A good span must go deep on the characteristics of cultural consumption and also* (have) *enough time to add new questions when there are new ways of consumption. You need to be careful not to introduce everything every year. (…) Four years could be a good span. Enough time to balance new tendencies, new questions, and habits that don't change every year. To produce papers, it's better to have surveys every year. (…) You can write papers about what have changed in the last year. But in terms of relevance, things change slowly.*

Beyond pragmatism, experimentation shaped the reflections of a policymaker who had participated in at least two surveys during a period in which mobile-phone use to access the internet skyrocketed from 9% to 75% in his/her country, impacting cultural consumption by changing the way people watch videos and listen to the radio and music.

> *One year is too much, but four years seems to be a large gap. From one survey to the other, we had to add variables that did not exist in the first study. We saw a picture of one world (…) and, four years after, a picture of a world completely transformed. Perhaps two years would have given us an intermediate point to help us to better understand this transition.*

With a new set of data available each two to five years, the investigation teams would have more time to plan, execute and disclose the results of surveys, while researchers and policymakers would be provided with sufficient time to explore their findings. This would avoid a potential data overload as verified in England. In their reflections on TPS, based on interviews with key players who participated in its design and implementation, Bunting et al., (2009, p.200) argued that *'the regular production of participation measures became both laborious and monotonous (…).'* Reports were published quarterly and annually, prompting interviewees to mention how tiring the process of moving from the data to the reports became: *'All my time in the end was about a schedule, the next report….'*

The authors' investigation was echoed among scholars interviewed for the thesis. *'Data comes too quick. I've just finished a couple of things that I was writing on 2016-2017 data. In part, there is no capacity to do more'*, said one researcher, observing that there were other competing tasks required from a scholar at universities.

The frequency conundrum was well recapped by a researcher with international experience who preferred not to prescribe any periodicity:

> *'I don't have a frequency. Some aspects of cultural consumption may not change overtime, but some can change a lot. (…) It all goes back to what is the country's priority. What is the policy? Is culture important as a policy? (…) No politician will say is not, (…) but even if they say is important, do they really mean it? Are they measuring it? Are they doing analysis, looking at impact, monitoring? This is not happening in a lot of countries. The ones you mentioned[64] share a common element. For whatever reason, well-being or economic, culture is important. (…) And so, they do have information collected, whether it is through CAPS or other kind of survey.'*

5.3. Sample size, geographic distribution

Researchers and policymakers are unanimous in their desire to have samples as robust as possible, which allows more detailed cross-analysis between the variables and better geographic coverage, both factors that could improve the usability of the surveys. Reality, however, dictates the number of people interviewed in each country, guided by political will, the extent of the managerial capacity of cultural authorities to partner with the federal public institution in charge of

[64] The interviewer had named Colombia, Spain, Singapore and England as examples of countries doing regular surveys.

national statistics and, particularly, budget constraints. The method of data collection is also connected to the sample size, either influencing it or being influenced by it, as discussed later in this chapter.

This scenario means that sample sizes vary from around 2,000 interviewees in the first French survey to more than 30,000 in some years in Mexico, Colombia, England, Spain, Switzerland and Japan. There are also examples of surveys in which between 1,000 and 2,000 residents were interviewed, in countries with a population of up to 6 million inhabitants, like Singapore, Norway, New Zealand, Ireland and Wales. The number of interviewees commonly changes even within a series in a country. The sample in France went from around 2,000 to 3,000 in the first editions to 5,000 and 9,200 in the latest. Sample sizes in Chile rose from 4,890 (2004/2005) to 12,151 (2017). While some nations constantly change the sample size, others have kept them stable, including Spain (around 16,000 in the last four surveys), the Netherlands (between 13,000 and 14,000), and Colombia (27,000).

If there is no doubt that, technically, 'the bigger, the better', the reality of limited resources constrains countries to adjust the sample size of their surveys and data collection methods according to their budgets, sometimes arriving at the minimum necessary to address the basic sociodemographic variables (gender, age, education, and earnings). The geographic variable is most affected by this decision. This may be particularly critical in larger countries, limiting understanding of regional differences in the way people engage with arts and culture.

5.3.1 National CAPS

Geographic distribution presents an important conundrum for the CAPS, since there is a critical trade-off in the decision to opt for a national or local survey, particularly in large countries. One common complaint of policymakers who could potentially be beneficiaries of the CAPS is that they do not create useful information for their everyday work (Bunting et al., 2019). Their reality is their city, sometimes their neighbourhood, while the surveys provide national or, where there are robust samples, regional data (Gilmore, 2013; Leguina and Miles, 2017). From a theoretical perspective, in recent decades the literature has highlighted *creative cities*, not *creative countries*, which reinforces the importance assigned to the municipal level.

It is not only reasonable to expect meaningful variation in the proportion of people attending different cultural activities in large and small cities, for example, as this number can vary even when considering cities of the same size. Two small localities could have completely different attendance rates if, for example, one is located near a large metropolitan centre, like Buenos Aires, Paris or São Paulo, and the other is far from these urban centres. Even surveys which can display their geographic data by region cannot fill this gap between the potential power of local data and of an indicator that provides a picture of the whole country.

Local surveys have the power to investigate the level of knowledge the population have about specific venues, to get more value from information about where people live, specifying the

neighbourhood (not only the city), and to describe the means of transport used to get to cultural activities, something important in developing countries, as mentioned by researchers in Brazil and Chile. All these could be strategic information, particularly in large cities in developing countries, where there are meaningful imbalances between the population's degree of access to cultural activities, which is closely associated with the neighbourhood in which they live (Barbosa and Dias, 2013; Leiva, 2014). One key informant with experience of both national and local surveys gave several examples of specific questions that could be asked on a local level that would not apply at national level, like asking about attendance at specific local events and venues, as well as people's perceptions about the cultural offering in their neighbourhoods.

Beyond that, local and regional surveys usually have larger sample sizes, allowing more detailed analysis of what is happening at the city level. And the cost per interview may be lower than for national studies, which have to interview people across very large areas. Surveys carried out in 10 American cities by the Urban Institute had 8,166 interviews, nearly half the number of people interviewed by SPPA for the whole US. The Buenos Aires Metropolitan Region survey of 2021 had more interviewees than the national studies done in Argentina in 2013 and 2017. The survey carried out by the city of Porto Alegre, in the south of Brazil, drew on 1,200 interviews, half the sample size adopted by SESC to measure cultural engagement in the whole country.

Politically, however, it would be very difficult for a national government to advocate for a survey restricted only to a specific region. I did not find any example of a local or regional survey funded by a national government. All examples of local and regional public surveys were funded by authorities at the level of the city or state that could directly benefit from them (Catalonia, province of Quebec, Porto Alegre, Vienna). They were also sometimes funded by think tanks or private institutions. In South Africa, the only mapped survey was developed by the South African Cultural Observatory (2015) and underpinned by data from the *All Media Products Survey*, a quantitative study developed annually by The South African Audience Research Foundation in the metropolitan areas of Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg, and Pretoria.

Researchers largely recognise the tension and trade-off between these alternatives, which have different aims. After acknowledging the importance of focusing on specific areas, on geographical units, one Spanish scholar explained her/his preference for national studies:

> *We need representative samples of all the country and of all social levels. If you are running a survey only in large cities, you are going to forget the problems people living in small cities may have accessing culture. (…) In order to say, 'we have to spend money here and there.' (…) I'm more interested in the whole picture, in the differences between big and small cities. It all depends on your aim.*

Picturing the national CAPS *'as a guide', a*n Argentinian researcher and policymaker emphasised that the surveys do not translate the territorial diversity of either her/his country or Brazil. S/he advocates for regional surveys that would allow recognition of the reality and of the specific challenges of each locality *'revealing their problems, going deeper into it,* (…) *beyond this first macro photo. And this is not happening (…) It is certainly good to have the photo, but the territorial work is key.'* A Brazilian researcher followed the same path, saying s/he wanted *'the regional and territorial dynamics to be expressed in the surveys.'*

The problem is far from being limited to developing countries. A French researcher articulated quite well the relation between sample size and geographic distribution and its implications in the (in)ability of the CAPS to measure regional differences within the country. In her/his opinion it was one of the most critical *'weaknesses'* of the French CAPS.

> *This has been slightly corrected in the last edition (…), the sample was bigger.*[65] *(…) Previous surveys were relatively poor at capturing wholesale geographic disparities. The surveys from 1973 to 2008 were well equipped to measure differences between Paris and the rest of France, between Paris and the big cities. (…) But very poorly equipped to measure finer regional disparities, which are very important but really too little measured. (…) It's a bit of a blind spot. This is not true only for PCF. It's a general problem of French public statistics. It's very political, somewhat linked to the French republican mythology of the one and indivisible France. We prefer to be blind about territorial disparities.*

And s/he finished the reflection by arguing in the same direction as the Argentinian researcher: '*I think there is still a lot to do in this area. Perhaps we need regionalised sub-samples to try to measure more closely these local, geographical disparities which are actually insufficiently documented.'*

Since the mapping was focused on national surveys, most of the samples are nationally distributed, with interviews conducted throughout countries. This topic, however, is strategically important for understanding the surveys' ability to underpin public policies. Before getting into this, it is important to briefly highlight a few of the geographic details of particular samples.

Although most surveys try to interview people all over the country, some regions might be more difficult to get to, and consequently more expensive, particularly in large countries and where data collection is face-to-face. Some countries therefore limit the size of the cities included in the CAPS according to their populations. In Chile, the samples of the 2013 and 2017 surveys excluded

[65] The evolution of the sample size in France: 1,987 (1973); 3,000 (1981); 5,000 (1988); 3,000 (1997); 5,004 (2008); 9,200 (2018).

cities of fewer than 5,000 and 10,000 inhabitants, respectively. In Uruguay, Colombia, Mexico and Argentina, the minimum population required by the methodology was 5,000, 7,000, 15,000 and 30,000 inhabitants, respectively. If we consider only the issue of the representativeness of the sample, this seems not to be a huge caveat, since most of the population lives in large cities. In Argentina, for example, the country where the population limit for the survey is highest, 94% of the population lived in cities with more than 30,000 inhabitants, according to the Census of 2010. On the other hand, if we take into consideration the 6% excluded from the survey, they correspond to 2.6 million Argentinians.

There are also geographic restrictions associated with the data collection method. The surveys carried out over the phone in the 70s and 80s in the US are likely to have considerable bias in their samples, not only in rural areas, but also in the most deprived zones of urban areas, where some people would not have telephones or would be for less time at home. It is reasonable, however, to consider that the gap in the geographic distribution would underrepresent citizens with lower levels of education, lower salaries, Latinos and Afro-descendants, depending on the region.

5.3.2 Regional CAPS and the language

Beyond national surveys that aimed to cover whole (or almost the whole) countries, the mapping also identified examples of surveys focused on some regions (Canada, Spain, Sweden), in some states (California, New York, Minas Gerais, São Paulo), on a group of cities (Brazil, China, Colombia, Dubai, South Africa, US) or on a particular city (Barcelona, Berlin, Buenos Aires, City of Mexico, City of Porto, Jundiaí, Porto Alegre, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Vienna). These examples are likely to be associated with the desire of regional or local administrations to understand specificities not addressed by national surveys (Buenos Aires, the regional Spanish studies), with the absence of national official surveys (Brazilian studies, City of Porto[66]) and with the availability of occasional funding opportunities (Buenos Aires, City of Mexico, Rio de Janeiro, and US).

In Spain, a country with diverse sources of data on cultural engagement, at least four regions have developed their own CAPS: Andalusia, Aragon, the Basque Country and Catalonia.[67] Andalusia (2010) and Aragon (2009) have conducted one-off studies, and the Basque country two studies (2008 and 2018). Catalonia did its first survey in 1985, repeating it each five years until 2006, and initiating an annual series in 2013. These investigations allow their regional governments to acquire a better understanding of cultural habits at a sub-regional level and to address specific cultural issues, like the consumption of cultural goods and services in the local language. Data for three of the regions in the Basque Country survey, can be seen individually: the autonomous communities of Euskadi, Navarra and the Northern Basque Country. In Catalonia, the

[66] The survey was carried out two decades before the national study.
[67] In 2020, the government of Navarre, part of the Basque Country, also did a survey about the importance of culture during the pandemic with 1,064 telephonic interviews. It was not included in the mapping.

2001 and 2006 studies, with the largest samples of the series (around 7,000 interviews), also gave results for six different sub-regions. In comparison, the 2006/2007 Spanish national survey interviewed 1,792 people in Catalonia.

Even though regional surveys are more appropriate than national for measuring cultural engagement from a local perspective, it is likely that the historical development of these regions, which speak different languages (Basque and Catalan) and have a history of separatist movements, has influenced the decision of the autonomous communities of Spain to carry out their own surveys. Otherwise, we would find more examples of regional surveys being developed all over the world, particularly in larger countries.

Another meaningful example was developed in Quebec, which carried out the first regional CAPS identified by the mapping. Inspired by the policies being implemented at the time in France, particularly the idea of the democratisation of culture, the Canadian province started to measure cultural participation in 1979 and has conducted eight studies since then. The surveys were part of a wider effort to preserve the national identity of Quebecers, with the French language at its centre (Lapointe, 2022).

The introduction of the Quebecoise CAPS mixes elements from the Canadian history with the model implemented at the time in France. It reproduces its steps. First, with the creation of the *Ministère des Affaires Culturelles du Québec* (MACQ) in 1961, then of a department for research two years after *(Service de recherches)*, followed by the implementation of a CAPS, and the analysis of its results following the logic of social groups from Bourdieu. The first ministry of culture, Georges-Émile Lapalme, met the writer André Malraux, who was at the time the French minister for the area, in Paris in 1960 (Lapointe, 2022).

The CAPS, however, was also part of a broader agenda of public planning being developed at the time in all the ministries of the Quebecoise administration. This organisational agenda fostered a certain tension between professional managers and those coming from the artistic and cultural sphere (a topic that will resonate throughout the thesis), according to Garon, who took part in the process. Curiously, but reinforcing the key importance of local studies, one of the priorities of this regional survey was to understand the regional realities within the province. The survey was part of a broader research project aiming to map the cultural institutions in the municipalities as well as venues and places able to host cultural activities (Garon, 2022).

Regularly developed every five years, the studies were interrupted for the 2019 edition and now the ministry is discussing reviewing its methodology and resuming it in partnership with the *Observatoire de la Culture et des Communications du Québec* (OCCQ)[68]. Starting with 2,983 interviews in the first edition, the sample gradually increased, reaching 6,765 interviews in 2014. This figure represents 69% of the sample used in the national survey of cultural practices

[68] According to email sent me on May 16th by the *Direction des politiques et de la prospective du Ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec*

developed in 2016 (9,844 interviews), while the province contains only 23% of the Canadian population, according to the last census. The sample size allowed the ministry to describe the results for four sub-regions in the province, which would be impossible with the national survey.

More recently, regardless of the frequent surveys developed in Sweden, the region of Skåne (also called Scania County), an administrative county in the south of the country, has also developed at least three CAPS (2012, 2014, 2016). Unlike Quebec and the Spanish regions, Skåne's population also speaks Swedish. And if there is not as strong a separatist movement as in Catalonia, there is a meaningful sense of local identity nourishing a strong regionalism.

Culture, though, looks to foster regional surveys in the three countries, with the spoken language being a key issue of the CAPS in Catalonia, the Basque Country and Quebec. The language is likely one of the main cultural assets of a country. The examples included here evidence its strength to both mark differences and build bridges. Exploring the case of eight Portuguese-speaking countries, Figueira (2018) discusses the potential of a common language to inspire common cultural projects and policies *'between and beyond nation-states.'*

In the opposite context, different languages spoken in the same country, the Swiss survey is the one best exploring the topic. The word 'language' is included in the title of the study and investigated with several questions, including a distinction between 'Swiss' and 'Standard' German, different dialects and signs languages (Bundesamt für Statistik, 2020).

5.3.3. Metropolitan CAPS

Beyond the regional studies, there are examples of surveys conducted in either a single city or a group of cities. For single cities, examples include CAPS conducted in Argentina (Buenos Aires), Austria (Vienna), Brazil (Jundiaí, Porto Alegre, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo), Mexico (Mexico City), Portugal (Porto), United Arab Emirates (Abu Dhabi), and US (several American cities). These surveys were developed either by local government (Abu Dhabi, Buenos Aires, Porto Alegre), seeking more detailed information to support local cultural policies; by universities (Mexico City, Porto); or by think tanks or private institutions aiming to contribute to the debate about the importance of arts and culture to socioeconomic development (Brazil and US).

The Pew Charitable Trusts, for example, have funded surveys developed by the Urban Institute in nine American cities (Austin, Boston, Cincinnati, Denver, Minneapolis-Saint Paul, Pittsburgh, Sarasota, Seattle and Washington DC) and in Alaska. In Brazil, almost all surveys done by JLEIVA were in cities and there are two other surveys developed by think tanks in São Paulo (Cebrap and Nossa São Paulo). In Buenos Aires, beyond the survey done by the City Hall (2021), the Institute of Research Gino Germani at the University of Buenos Aires (2012), and the State and Society Study Centre (1998)[69] have also developed surveys.

[69] *Centro de Estudio de Estado y Sociedad* (CEDES).

Two South American researchers mentioned in the interviews the importance of some studies not only detailing differences between the city neighbourhoods, but also exploring beyond its limits, reaching the metropolitan regions of capitals. A large metropolis usually attracts residents from smaller cities throughout the country, particularly those closest to it, as evidenced by the study done by JLeiva in 21 cities of the state of São Paulo (Leiva, 2014, p.122-125) and the analysis of Macclesfield, near Manchester, by Gilmore (2013).

Moving to the city, the 'local' can still be distant and unfocused in the surveys, particularly in large cities (Miles and Gibson, 2017). In England, Brook (2016) explored data on attendance at museums and galleries from TPS to argue about the importance of considering the characteristics of the neighbourhood in studies about cultural participation. Delrieu and Gibson (2017) explored access to libraries in Gateshead with a similar perspective. The study *Solos Culturais*, in Rio, turns it lenses on five slums (Manguinhos, Complexo do Alemão, Complexo da Penha, Cidade de Deus e Rocinha), and focuses on a specific age group, interviewing 2,000 people from 15 to 29 years old. The study is an important reference for thinking about the framework of the surveys in the future, which will be discussed further in the next chapters. If it misses the other age groups and the rest of the city, it manages to detail several practices either underrepresented or not represented in other studies, even those that look only at one city, providing a key source of information about local cultural practices at community level. As the regional connects with the popular, the local connects to participation.

5.4 Age and data collection methods

Most surveys interview people from the ages of 15, 16, 17 or 18 years old, probably following local legislation about interviewing young people and/or who are considered an adult in each country. There are examples, however, of surveys working with a lower age limit, as in Brazil and Colombia (12 years old), and Catalonia (14 years old). Some countries, like Colombia, Denmark, England, Japan and New Zealand, among others, have also developed special modules for interviewing teenagers and children, adapting the questionnaires for these age groups. Colombia has a special questionnaire for children aged between 5 and 11 years old. In Denmark, the age range goes from 7 to 14 years old. Japan, New Zealand and Spain target children from 10 to 14 years old. TPS, in England, had two alternative questionnaires, one for children between 11 and 15 years old, and another for the parents of children from 5 to 10 years old. In Spain, data on children's engagement in culture comes from the adult questionnaire, which has a special module for parents to answer questions about the cultural activities engaged in by their sons and daughters of between 10 and 14 years old.

At the other extreme of the age range, in Norway and Singapore there was, for a while, an age limit on interviewees. From 1991 to 2016, the Norwegian sample included people aged from 9 to 79 years old. This limit was abolished only in the last survey, in 2021. In Singapore, people from 65 years old were excluded from the sample design of at least three studies (2002, 2005, 2009). The age restriction was abandoned in the 2011 survey. Sweden is the only country mapped that still has this kind of restriction. From the beginning of the series to 2018 the age limit was 75 years old. In 2019 this limit was extended to 85 years old.

Most countries mapped the cultural habits of their population with face-to-face interviews, which is considered the most reliable method to get closer to what people really think, particularly when there are not many critical topics being addressed, as is the case in the CAPS. The method also allows for longer interviews, meaning more questions can be asked. The TPS series, in England, registered an average of 50 minutes for adult interviews in 2015/2016, while in other years this figure fluctuated between 36 and 45 minutes. In Chile, interviews lasted 38 minutes on average in the last survey (2017). However, face-to-face interviews are also the most expensive polling method, an option that in some cases could limit the sample size or even prompt policymakers to exchange it for cheaper alternatives. The face-to-face method has also been adopted by countries like France, Spain, Argentina, Colombia, Uruguay and Singapore.

In the US, a country with a great tradition of telephone polling, this method has prevailed. The SPPA series has combined it with face-to-face interviews. During the 1980s, most interviews (75%) in the two SPPA surveys (1982 and 1985) were carried out face-to-face, but this began to change in the 90s, with the increase in the number of households with telephones. In 1992, 75% of the interviews were conducted by phone. In 1997, the survey was conducted by a private company (not the Bureau of the Census) solely in households with a telephone line, both decisions that limit the comparability of its result with previous results from the SPPA series. And since 2002, around 90% of interviews have begun to be conducted by phone.

Australia has moved from carrying out phone interviews (in 2009 and 2013) to the online method (2019), mixing both alternatives in the middle (2016). Switzerland is another example of a country that has mixed its interview methods; in the two surveys made so far (2014 and 2019), the studies have used phone calls to reach 54% of the sample, and a combination of online and mail methods to reach the remaining 46%. The report mentions that interviews lasted 30 minutes on average, without differentiating between the collection methods.

Canada, Norway and Finland have followed the online tendency, changing their research method and increasing their samples. The *Arts and Heritage in Canada: Access and Availability Survey* expanded from 1,001 phone interviews in 2012 to 10,220 online interviews in the

2020/2021 edition.[70] The Norwegian *Kulturbarometer has* grown from around 2,000 telephone interviews in the eight editions conducted between 1991 and 2016, to 3,548 online interviews in the most recent study (2021). In Finland, the sample has doubled, going from 3,355 face-to-face interviews in 2002 to 7,155 in 2017, when the survey went online due to financial restrictions.

Beyond the examples of Australia, Canada, Switzerland and Nordic countries, there is evidence of a greater likelihood of more countries adopting online surveys in the future. In 2021, the city of Buenos Aires developed an online study with 3,620 interviewees, a similar sample to the one used in the first national survey (3,574), in 2013. Although the decision was motivated by the pandemic restrictions, it could stimulate the City Hall to adopt this collection method in the future.

In England, for example, since 2015/2016, the DCMS has sponsored the online ALS. With 198,911 interviewees in its first edition and 177,273 in 2020/2021, it is focused on sports activities, and includes 15 questions about culture. Beyond that, the face-to-face TP was interrupted in 2020 and the DCMS replaced it, during the time this dissertation took to complete, with the online PS. Unlike ALS, the PS is mostly about arts and culture. Regardless of the DCMS decision and of the well-known problems of online surveys, from sampling to potential bias, they are much cheaper than face-to-face studies, allowing for much larger samples. Its first edition, with data collection between October 2021 and March 2022 contained 33,589 interviews (84% online and 16% on paper). The paper alternative was to allow the participation of people unable or unwilling to complete it online. There are other examples of data collection by a mixture of means, with countries combining in different ways face-to-face, telephone, online and mail interviews.

Beyond their use of quantitative methods, some countries also added focus groups or ethnographic investigations to their studies, either to acquire a deeper understanding of the main quantitative findings or to help with the questionnaire design before the data collection. Australia, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, and Hong Kong adopted the use of focus groups in combination with survey methods. Chile included 23 case studies of cultural participation mixing different research techniques to explore the multiple types of cultural engagement, including all the regions of the country, from children to older groups, and from the native population to immigrants. *Solos Culturais,* in Rio, also added an investigation of the local production in the surveyed slums. Many key informants mentioned the necessity of articulating quantitative with qualitative methods to increase awareness of the determinants of cultural engagement, as I will discuss in chapter nine.

One issue challenging survey research is the reduction in the tax of response registered in some studies. The number of people agreeing to participate in surveys, whether or not they are about cultural engagement, has been declining. Vercruyssen et al. (2014) mention studies in Europe and the US in which this tendency has been observed and investigate what they call

[70] The sample was complemented by 306 phone interviews in three territories.

'busyness effect.' The main reason people give for not taking part in surveys is 'lack of time'; they claim being too busy. Time pressure derived from an increase in work and family duties would explain this fact or the perception of it, as investigated by the authors.

Regarding the CAPS, Taylor (2016a) and Garon (2022) briefly mention this question, whilst the study of Jæger and Katz-Gerro about Denmark (2010) shows the response rate in the country went from 80% (1964) to 65% (2004). In England, the TPS response rate started at 55.6% (2005/2006), getting to 50.8% before the pandemic (2018/2019), and 46.9% during it (2019/2020).

The problem with falling response rates is the risk of bias in the samples. If the CAPS, for example, start to have more respondents prone to socialise due to the falling response rates, this could theoretically inflate the figures on engagement. The ability to build online surveys may also negatively influence the interest of people taking part in surveys. Nowadays there are a lot of demands from all kinds of products and services asking their clients to answer online surveys.

5.5. Other methodological aspects

Before getting to the questionnaire, some comments are needed about the data collection period, length of the questionnaire, application time, confidence intervals and margin of error, all methodological information not always available or that I was unable to find in many of the surveys.

The data collection period varied from one week (an occasional survey developed in Ireland in 1988) to one year (Spain, Scotland, Wales, England). Most surveys, however, collect their data over a period of between one and three months, regardless of the chosen method (face-to-face, phone or online interviews).

It is not easy to identify all the possible biases introduced into the surveys because of this methodological decision; the analysis should be done by country and cultural activity. If data collection happens over a whole year, there is a lower probability that the proportion of people attending or participating in cultural activities will be influenced by a particular seasonal issue. However, it is not financially viable to adopt this all-year strategy for smaller samples, since it is costly. Spain (12 months) and Switzerland (10 months), for example, countries that adopted long time periods for data collection, interviewed 16,520 and 24,672 people, respectively. In England, the TPS series went from an average of 26,000 interviews in the first three years to an average of 7,800 in the last three. With few exceptions, like the Colombian surveys and some of the studies carried out in Mexico, Australia, and Chile, most of the surveys developed in six months or less had samples with fewer than 8,000 interviewees.

The two to three months approach, and certainly those surveys carried out over a shorter period, may influence the answers to some questions. The bias, also, will probably be different from one country to the other. Cultural activities happening in a certain period of the year, like Carnival and the popular festivities in June in Brazil, or the pantomime season in England

(Schuster, 2007), may register different attendance rates if the data collection is made one to two months either side. Even though attendance questions refer to 'the last 12 months', which in theory could avoid this caveat, people are more likely to remember what they have done recently. This implies that attendance at a specific activity could vary depending on the moment the data collection is made. It is important to highlight, however, that this kind of bias does not happen for all questions, being more critical in the case of activities that take place at a particular time of year. To reduce the impact of this methodological decision, data collection in Norway is made in alternate months. Interviews are carried out in four months: March, June, September and December.

The most extreme example of a survey carried out over a short period of time with a large sample is the SPPA series. Where a period of 12 months was chosen for the collection of 17,254 interviews in 1982, this changed to data collection in a single month in the four surveys made between 2002 and 2017, with no reduction in sample size, which varied between 17,135 (2002) and 18,444 interviews (2008). More problematically, the month chosen for the interviews changed from one survey to the other.

The length - or number of questions included in the survey - and administration or completion time of the questionnaires, are two methodological aspects that are not described in most reports. Consequently, I gathered little information about these in the mapping exercise. Regarding the administration or completion time, in many cases the information is not even collected, as for example in non-assisted mail interviews and some online interviews. There are also cases of surveys which including other questions apart from those on culture that do not specify the time taken to answer the questions about culture. Although it would be possible to count the questions whenever a questionnaire was available, it would be a rough and likely ineffective operation. The way in which questions are numbered varies greatly, since most surveys have several questions that can be expanded upon in other questions or not, depending on the answer to the initial inquiry. If someone answers positively about having gone to a museum, just for example, other questions will almost certainly follow, about frequency, type of museum, with whom, etc. If another person says no, these questions are not asked, but other questions may follow, almost always in different quantities.

The length of the questionnaire has a direct impact on the time the interview takes to complete. Studies that offered this kind of information mentioned an interval of from 15 to 90 minutes, with the great majority taking between 30 minutes and 50 minutes to complete. Regarding the number of questions, this ranges from 100 to more than 400 questions in the Danish survey. The methodology, however, does not detail how expanding questions were counted.

Information about confidence intervals is not available for all studies, but all the reports that gave a figure indicated that it was between 95% and 95.5%. Margin of error varies widely and is more problematic to address. Beyond the information not being available in some studies, some

reports indicate only a general figure, ranging from around 0.5 percentage points in Norway and Scotland, which work with large samples in comparison with the population of the country, to 9 percentage points in other places. Some countries detail different margins of error according to the number of respondents of each question.

This chapter has described in detail the mapping of surveys that underpinned this dissertation, highlighting its growth in this century and the different alternatives countries have adopted for collecting data on cultural engagement, either by developing specific CAPS or creating modules about culture for inclusion in larger surveys. The chapter has also presented some characteristics of the surveys' research design, and discussed some critical issues, particularly frequency, sample size and geographic scope. The effort to map the first studies has helped to build the historical context of the previous chapter and has called attention to data that is either difficult to access or already lost.

The mapping has shown that growth in the number of surveys does not mean stability. The CAPS' future as a public tool for monitoring cultural engagement remains uncertain and looks to be cost driven, with an increase in the option for online surveys. The diversity found in design has shown multiple possibilities and good practices, but has also evidenced the challenges of comparing different CAPS. The regional and local surveys highlight one of the key issues for cultural policies, the importance of the local approach. This last topic will be particularly important for the next chapter, which aims to describe the variables concerning the cultural activities measured by the CAPS, which represent the core of their questionnaires.

CHAPTER SIX
ACCESS AND PARTICIPATION

This chapter examines the content of the CAPS, reflecting on the information gleaned from their questionnaires. It focuses on the main variables used to assess cultural engagement, detailing the categories associated with 'access' and 'participation.' Activities under these umbrella terms make up the core of the CAPS. A closer look at them will spotlight the concepts of culture emanating from the surveys, their reach and the main gaps.

The chapter has two layers of information. The first shows the categories adopted by two continental surveys from 2013, *Eurobarometer* (28 countries)[71] and *Latinobarómetro* (16 countries).[72] The second describes the questionnaires of six national surveys: Argentina (2017), Brazil (2013), Chile (2017), England (2018/2019), France (2018) and Spain (2017/2018). The first part shows the activities recognised as cultural by a large group of nations, evidencing what could be called the core of the CAPS. It also highlights the challenge of producing comparable data about cultural engagement, a frequent frustration among researchers (Madden, 2005; O'Hagan and Castiglione, 2010; Pessoa, 2015). The second part broadens the spectrum, revealing the variety of activities measured by each nation as they focus on their 'own culture.' The movement from 'continent to country' evidences the challenge of expanding the concept of 'culture' in specific categories, highlighting, through their diversity, how blurred are the boundaries between them.

The analysis supports the argument that the surveys have built a workable indicator for measuring access to a meaningful number of cultural activities, able to partially capture their diversity and some of the different ways in which they can happen. However, they still fall short of addressing traditional and popular manifestations and online activities. Participation has to date also been less successfully measured requiring improvement in the variables under investigation.

6.1. Latin America and Europe

Both the studies analysed here were developed by international institutions to gather comparable data about cultural engagement in their respective countries. *Latinobarómetro,* so far a one-off study commissioned by OEI, was designed to *'have more information on access to and*

[71] Requested by the European Commission, Directorate-General for Education and Culture, the report *"Special Eurobarometer 399 – Cultural access and participation"* was co-ordinated by the Directorate-General of Communication. It will be mentioned in this chapter as *Eurobarometer*.
[72] Officially named *'Encuesta Latinoamericana de hábitos y prácticas culturales'* (Latinamerican survey of cultural habits and practices), it will be mentioned here as *Latinobarómetro*.

participation in cultural activities (…), to know which groups access them (…), to identify how the populations value the available cultural production and their expectations about it in the future' (OEI, 2013, p.13). Whilst the third edition of *Eurobarometer* had a similar goal: *'exploring and measuring how EU citizens think and behave in the area of culture'* (Eurobarometer, 2013, p. 2).

These surveys faced the challenge of finding common variables for the investigation of cultural practices in different countries. They had to work with categories that could be meaningful for researchers and policymakers in every country they included. At the same time, they needed to be clearly understood by respondents, regardless of their social, political, economic or cultural environment. The results of both exercises, though, may be considered as the core of the CAPS, highlighting a minimum set of activities consensually seen as 'cultural' for a large group of countries in Europe and in Central and South America.

6.1.1. Access

Starting with the concept of access, *Eurobarometer 2013* asks people if they have engaged in ten different activities in the last 12 months. Seven require some physical displacement and most of the time take place in specific venues: *'a ballet, a dance performance or an opera; cinema; theatre; concert; public library; historical monument or site, like palaces, castells, churches, gardens, etc.; museum or gallery.'* The other three can be done at home or in a variety of places: *'watched or listened to a cultural programme on TV or on the radio; read a book; used the internet for cultural purposes like, for instance, searching for cultural information, buying cultural products or reading articles related to culture.'*

The *Latinobarómetro* works almost with the same categories, as can be seen in Figure 1. Only three of the ten European variables are absent from the survey: *'public libraries', 'ballet, dance performances or opera'* and *'museum or gallery.'* The description of heritage, however, encompasses *'artistic sites',* which could induce some people to think of either a museum or a gallery when answering the question. The Latin American study also asks about access to *'community celebrations of cultural or historic events (for example Carnival)',*[73] a variable not included in the European survey. Moving to the mass media, it explores all the variables adopted in Europe (TV, radio and internet), and adds newspapers. These are explored in different ways. *Eurobarometer 2013* asks if people have used TV to access cultural content, while *Latinobarómetro* has two different approaches. First, it asks if people have watched videos in VHS or DVD, which requires a TV, and later asks how many hours per day people usually watch TV, on weekdays, weekends and holidays. The latter question is also asked about listening to the radio. In neither case is there a question about the type of program people watch or listen to.

[73] *Celebraciones comunitarias de eventos culturales o históricos* in the original in Spanish.

Figure 1. Variables included in two CAPS carried out in several countries.

EUROBAROMETER (2013)	**LATINOBAROMETRO (2013)**
theatre	theatre
concert	concert, recitals, live music in open or closed venues
a ballet, a dance performance or an opera	community celebrations of cultural or historic events (for example Carnival)
cinema	movie showings, cinema, cine festivals
historical monument or site, like palaces, castells, churches, gardens, etc	historical, cultural or heritage site (monument, historical, artistic or archeological site)
read a book	read a book
public library	VHS, DVD or other video device
museum or gallery	recorded music
used the internet for cultural purposes	internet
watched or listened to a cultural programme on TV or on the radio	radio
	TV
	newspaper
	computer to leisure, entertainment or personal interest

Sources: Eurobarometer (2013) and Latinobarómetro (2013)

This first comparative exercise shows some valuable information about the concepts of arts and culture emerging from the surveys and about the complexity of measuring the way people interact with them. The questionnaires address two main groups of 'activities.' One of these is more associated with the traditional arts and heritage (which is reflected in the questions about the performing arts, visual arts and readership), while the other relates to the cultural industries - the mass media (cinema, TV, radio, magazine, newspapers, and the internet). The *'community celebrations'* , that appear only in *Latinobarómetro*, represent a kind of third category, reflecting the effort to widen the concept of culture, by including popular festivities.

The variables addressed by the continental surveys express the complexity of measuring cultural engagement, because even in a small and apparently simple group of activities there are many ways to define and group them. Only *'theatre'* and *'read a book'* are defined in the same way by both surveys. *'Concert',* which in *Eurobarometer 2013* is a single word variable, in *Latinobarómetro* is complemented by *'recitals, live music in open or closed venues.' 'Cinema'* is complemented by *'movie showings'* and *'cine festivals.'* Heritage, a word not mentioned in the European survey, but whose concept is addressed in the question about *'historical monument or site (palaces, castles, churches, gardens, etc.)',* is slightly differently defined in the Latin study: *'monument, historic, artistic or archeologic sites.'* Museums, dance and popular festivities appear in only one of the studies.

Regardless of the reasons for these choices, there is an important question about how respondents understand the variables. Can we strongly affirm that no one who lives in a Latinamerican country answered 'yes' to the question about going to the theatre, when in fact he/she attended a dance performance or concert *in* a theatre? Did interviewees think of museums

and galleries when they were given examples of *'heritage'*? Could some Europeans have answered 'yes' to visiting a *'historical monument or site'* thinking of the church they regularly frequent, based on their interpretation of the examples presented in the variable? The variety and transversality of things that can be associated with culture can blur even what may seem clear and obvious at first glance.

As the fluidity of the idea of culture means that words struggle to define it, the same happens with the numbers. After all, the CAPS measure 'things' expressed in words. A Brazilian researcher defined quite well the challenge of choosing clear variables to address cultural engagement: *'To work with a structured questionnaire is very difficult. You don't know how to ask, and the person doesn't know how to answer.'*

The challenge gets more complex when we move to the cultural industries. Only cinema seems to be a slightly clearer variable. The so called '7th art' has a simpler pattern when considering only films shown in movie theatres: it refers to one kind of content (a film), in one kind of venue (movie theatres). Even considering the way this question was framed by *Latinobarómetro*, which also included *'movie showings'* and *'cine festivals'* to build this variable, it is unlikely to have blurred the understanding of the question or its outcome.

Nevertheless, the mass media is completely different and overly complicated to measure. Newspapers, magazines, radio, TV and the internet present distinct kinds of content. Some are traditionally associated with the arts, like poetry, music, movies, plays, ballet, etc., and some are not, such as news, sports competitions and talk shows, among others. How should we measure the artistic and cultural activities within these overcrowded environments? Is it necessary or worthwhile to split one kind of content from the other? Is it possible to do it in a meaningful way?

Eurobarometer 2013 began by leaving this problem with the interviewee, when asking if in the last 12 months they had *'watched or listened to a cultural programme on TV or on the radio?'* (2013, Q1). Respondents were given no clues about what to consider a *'cultural programme.'* Moving to the internet, the challenge was a bit better addressed, with two questions (2013, Q5 and Q6). The first briefly clarified what could be considered a '*cultural purpose', aiming* to split internet users from non-users at the same time as it collected data about frequency. The second question explored twelve ways people might have engaged with culture online:

> *QB5. How often do you use the Internet for cultural purposes like, for instance, searching for cultural information, buying cultural products or reading articles related to culture? (READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)*
> *1) Every day, 2) Several times a week, 3) Once a week, 4) 1 to 3 times a month, 5) Less often, 6) Never, 7) No access to the internet (spontaneous), 8) Don't know'*

QB6. What do you use the Internet for, in terms of cultural purposes? (SHOW CARD – READ OUT – ROTATION – MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)
1) Visiting museum or library websites or other specialised websites to improve your knowledge, 2) Playing computer games, interactive or not, 3) Downloading movies, radio programmes (podcasts) or TV programmes, 4) Watching streamed or on demand movies or TV programmes, 5) Reading newspaper articles online, 6) Creating your own website or blog with cultural content, 7) Downloading music, 8) Listening to radio or music, 9) Reading or looking at cultural blogs, 10) Putting your own cultural content online, e.g. on an online social network or on a sharing site, 11) Buying cultural products such as books, CDs or theatre tickets, 12) Searching for information on cultural products or events, 13) Other (spontaneous), 14) Don't know.'

Alternatively, the *Latinobarómetro* (OEI, 2013, p. 82) tried to measure the hours people spent watching TV and listening to the radio, and splits the questions into 'weekdays', and 'weekends and holidays', arguing that they *'were, are and will be cultural goods with high impact in the population: the Latin-Americans are informed, instructed, and entertained through them. Besides, as they are for free (except for paid television), these cultural practices are extremely popular, with few barriers to access them.'*

Regardless of its importance, the survey did not explore the content people usually access on radio and TV, probably because of the sheer variety of things this would cover across all 16 countries. Instead, the study opted to work with a measure theoretically comparable but inaccurate. It is difficult to say with any precision the average time spent on activities we can do intermittently throughout the day.

Regarding online practices, the questionnaire first asks how often respondents use the computer in their *'free time for leisure, entertainment, personal interest, etc.'* It then inquires whether people use email or connect to the internet, a question that is probably useless in developed countries, but which in 2013 registered a high percentage of 'no' answers in the *Latinobarómetro*: 55%. According to the report, internet accessibility was particularly lacking in countries like Honduras and El Salvador. The questionnaire then explores access to social networks among the 44% internet users, finally getting to what they do online: *'When you connect to the internet, what activities do you do? Mention all you want.'* From the 24 activities mentioned by at least 2% of interviewees, 16 could be considered to be associated with culture.[74] Even though this was an open question, the answers contain almost all the alternatives presented to

[74] 'Listening to music directly from the internet', 'Read directly from the internet books, press, magazines', 'Search information about music, cinema and shows', 'Buy music or download music', 'Watch films directly on the internet', 'play video games directly on the internet', 'Add content (music, videos) to be shared', 'Listen to the radio', 'Find information about museums, libraries', 'Buy or download books, press, magazines', 'Buy or download video games', 'Buy or book tickets for cultural activities', 'Buy or download films', 'Watch television', 'See stage shows directly from the internet', 'Participate in cultural forums (literary, cinema, etc.)', 'Carry out virtual visits to museums, exhibitions, etc.'

Europeans in the closed question of the *Eurobarometer 2013* (QB6). And apart from two mentions of video games, the other 14 'cultural answers' are associated with culture accessed offline, from the traditional arts to the mass media.

6.1.2. Participation

Eurobarometer 2013 also asked interviewees about activities in which they had directly participated, a topic that was not included in *Latinobarómetro*. Unlike the questions about access, which were explored in terms of the frequency with which interviewees accessed them, reasons for not attending, and whether the content was from a European country different from the interviewees' own, the only question about participation tried to measure a set of eight activities in rotation model. The question allowed for multiple answers as well as other alternatives spontaneously mentioned by the interviewees (Eurobarometer, 2013, p. Q4):

> *I am going to read out a list of cultural activities. Please tell me if, in the last 12 months, you have either on your own or as part of an organised group or classes...? 1. Played a musical instrument; 2. Sung; 3. Acted on the stage or in a film; 4. Danced; 5. Written a poem, an essay, a novel, etc.; 6. Made a film, done some photography; 7. Done any other artistic activities like sculpture, painting, handicrafts or drawing; 8. Done creative computing such as designing websites or blogs, etc.; 9. Other; 10, None, 11. Don't Know.*

This single question in the European questionnaire and its absence in the *Latinobarómetro* are the first indication that access is better explored and measured than participation. The question above seems to have been constructed with less precision, and the topic of active engagement in cultural activities is much trickier to dissect than when respondents are part of the audience. It mixes learning activities with amateur practices and does not exclude professional work. It uses variables that do not seem to clearly express a particular kind of engagement, mixing several possibilities. It includes making a film or photography, which nowadays could get a positive answer from anyone who has a cell phone, regardless of artistic purpose (a distinction that some national surveys try to address). After asking whether interviewees have *'acted on the stage or in a film',* suggesting either an amateur or professional performance, the following question is about whether they have *'danced',* an activity that they might have engaged in for entertainment at a friend's party, or at a bar or a night club. The last variable in the participation question starts with *'creative computing',* an imprecise category clarified by the explanation *'such as designing websites or blogs',* which could include anyone from professional art designers and programmers to people writing a blog. Beyond mixing completely different activities, the 'clarification' could also limit the understanding of what *'creative computing'* is to just the two examples it offers, restricting its reach.

This first layer of information has shown that the culture measured by the CAPS is mostly represented by the traditional arts, heritage, and cultural industries. Popular culture appears only residually. The most noticed difference between the surveys was the lack of a participation module in *Latinobarómetro.* Regarding access, there were more similarities than differences. Moving to the way the idea of culture was translated into questions, the difficulties in creating clear variables are evident. Both studies address the same activities, but the final variables rarely fully coincide. In the case of the mass media, particularly the internet, the differences between the studies are greater. The same is true for participation since active engagement can happen in multiple ways. Looking at the national surveys will reinforce some of these findings as well as showing whether and how the CAPS have dealt with these challenges.

6.2. Six countries

Unlike the continental studies, the CAPS developed in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, England, France and Spain could explore the cultural activities each considered relevant, either to gather information about cultural engagement or to look for data that could help the government monitor and/or develop public policies. Except for Brazil, where the one-off survey analysed here was developed by a private institution, all the other studies were part of series conducted by the ministries of culture. In France, the series started in the 70s. In the other countries, they began this century,[75] meaning that all questionnaires consider questions included in previous surveys.

Compared to the two questionnaires explored previously, the national surveys adopt more variables to investigate access and participation, using some of the same categories as the continental studies, and adding new ones that make sense only in specific countries, increasing the effort to include popular and traditional culture, and exploring new activities associated with a broader concept of culture, and also related to leisure and sports.

Regardless of the differences, these surveys have a lot in common both with each other and with the continental surveys. Fifteen cultural activities in total, the umbrella categories, appear in the questionnaires of at least five countries, nine that people have to leave their homes to do (dance, cinema, theatre, concerts, heritage, museum, libraries, popular festivities, and the circus - the only category not included in the continental studies), and six that can be done either at home or in other places (TV, radio, reading a book, reading newspapers, the internet and gaming).

The nine tables presented below were built by me in the effort to allow some comparability. They show the variables as they were presented to interviewees, but not always in the same order and in the same modules they are organized here. England is the only country that has a module

[75] Argentina, 2017: 2nd survey, first in 2013; Chile, 2017: 4th survey, first in 2004; England 2018-19: 14th survey, first in 2005-06; France, 2019: 6th survey, first in 1973; Spain, 2018-19: 5th survey, first in 2002-03.

for attendance and another for participation. In the other countries, the questions were structured by thematic area (performing arts, museums and heritage, audio-visual, etc.), but they rarely coincide completely, as in the continental surveys.

Except for the Brazilian questionnaire, all the others are available online in the websites of the ministries of culture. In the case of Chile, it comes at the end of the main report. In the other countries there is a specific archive for it. The source of the questions of the Brazilian survey is the report available at SESC's website. To avoid the repetition of the sources in the next nine tables, they are mentioned in the following footnote[76].

6.2.1. Access

The variables are described in two main ways. Some of the umbrella categories are split into different variables or expanded into subcategories, either to differentiate between similar but not identical activities or to offer detail about the nature of the practice, exploring its content. The main difference between the alternatives is that while in the former all interviewees are offered all the variables, in the latter the expanded question with subcategories is asked only of those answering 'yes' to the initial question (the main variable).

Music concerts fit into both scenarios. While in the continental surveys there was just one variable (*'music concerts'*), the national studies explore their genre. Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Spain work with two variables, one of which is *'classical concerts.'* There are differences in the denomination of the other variable even among the Spanish speaking countries, as shown in *Figure 2*. Argentina uses '*recital or musical presentation'*[77]. Chile adopts almost the same definition: '*recital, concert or musical presentation.'* In Spain, the variable is *'contemporary music concert'*[78]. After the question about attendance, Chile and Spain go further, investigating the musical genre of concerts beyond the 'classical x non-classical' approach. To do that, both countries abandon the timeframe of the 'last 12 months' and introduce a method also used to explore other umbrella activities throughout the questionnaire. While the Chilean survey asks about *their preferred genre*, the Spanish asks about *the genre of their last activity.* Both strategies, 'the preferred' and 'the last', avoids the need to construct variables for all the possible kinds of concerts people might have attended. The question is asked only of people who have attended concerts.

---

[76] All the documents were accessed on 22nd June 2023.
Argentina:https://datos.cultura.gob.ar/dataset/251c2ac2-e670-451c-9dbf-a4212af225b5/resource/18ccc305-eada-44e7-a06a-5877ec83e0b8/download/cuestionario_encc-2017.pdf
Brazil:https://portaldev.sesc.com.br/portal/site/publicosdecultura/sintese/
Chile: https://www.cultura.gob.cl/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/enpc_2017.pdf
England:http://doc.ukdataservice.ac.uk/doc/8631/mrdoc/pdf/8631_taking_part_14_adult_child_youth_questionnaire.pdfhttp://doc.ukdataservice.ac.uk/doc/8631/mrdoc/pdf/8631_taking_part_14_adult_child_youth_questionnaire.pdf
France:https://www.culture.gouv.fr/Thematiques/Etudes-et-statistiques/L-enquete-pratiques-culturelles/L-enquete-2018
Spain:https://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/dam/jcr:c1eb1b96-b911-4ffb-9273-6e6b7c1a8cb7/cuestionario-encuesta-de-habitos-y-practicas-culturales-2018-2019.pdf

[77] *Recitales o presentaciones de musica en vivo,* in Spanish

[78] *Concierto de musica actual,* in Spanish

The Brazilian survey works with the 'classical x non-classical' approach but adds a request for extra information to the variables: where the concerts were staged. The method results in four variables, mixing two genres and two places where respondents could have been. Regarding genre, the categories are *'music concerts'* and *'opera or classical concert.'* Considering 'where', the alternatives are, *'indoor venue'*[79] and *'at home, in the street or anywhere other than an indoor venue.'* The latter category, mixing completely different experiences, like watching a concert on TV and going to Glastonbury Festival, for example, can be explained by the fact that SESC oversees this survey. Being a leisure centre organisation, which has venues throughout the country, isolating attendance at *'indoor venues'* from other possible alternatives makes sense from its point of view. As in the Chilean and Spanish case, the strategy is repeated for other 'umbrella activities.'

Figure 2. Variables for music concerts in six national surveys.

ARGENTINA (2017)	BRAZIL (2013)	CHILE (2017)	ENGLAND (2018-2019)	FRANCE (2018)	SPAIN (2017-2018)
1. Classical music concert	1. Opera or classic concert at an indoor venue	1. Classical music concert	1. Classical music performance	1. Classical music concert	1. Classical music concert
2. Recital or musical presentation	2. Opera or classic concert at home, in the street or anywhere other than an indoor venue	2. Recital, concert or musical presentation	2. Jazz performance	2. Opera	2. Contemporary music concert
	3. Music concert at an indoor venue		3. Other live music event	3. French music concert	
	4. Music concert at home, in the street or anywhere other than an indoor venue			4. World music concert	
				5. Traditional music concert	
				6. International music concert	
				7. RnB concert	
				8. Techno & electronic music concert	
				9. Hip-hop & hap concert	
				10. Metal & hard rock concert	
				11. Pop & rock concert	
				12. Jazz concert	

England uses three variables for live music (*'classical music performance', 'jazz performance'* and *'other live music event'*), while France investigates the concert music genre far more deeply than the other countries, adopting 12 different variables: *'French music',*[80] *'world music', 'traditional music', 'international music',*[81] *'RnB', 'techno & electronic music', 'hip-hop & rap', 'metal & hard rock', 'pop & rock', 'jazz', 'opera',*[82] and *'classical music*.' The French survey also explores attendance at *'festivals.'* The question does not appear in the questionnaire's music module, but in the one named *'Cinema, Theatre, Dance, Festivals*.' The module starts by asking if people have been to a *'festival',* without any further detail. To those answering 'yes', the interviewer

[79] *Sala de espetáculos* in Portuguese.
[80] *Chansons ou variétés françaises* in French.
[81] V*ariétés internationals* in French.
[82] As in Brazil, opera is included in the music module, while in most countries it is associated to theatre or dance.

shows a card with seven alternatives, half of which are associated with music: *'theatre, dance, arts in the streets'; 'classical music, opera or jazz'; 'world music or traditional music'; 'rock, varieties, and other music genres'; 'cinema', 'photography'* and *'others.'*

The other performing arts (theatre, dance, opera, and circus) are investigated in a similar way *(Figure 3)*, with countries either listing all the desired activities in specific categories (Argentina, Brazil and England) or first working with a main variable and then exploring the topic with further questions, particularly for dance and theatre. Argentina works with the four main variables. Brazil, which includes opera with music, repeats the method of splitting each of the other three variables into two, to differentiate performances in the theatre from those happening in other places. England splits theatre into three main variables *('play & drama', 'pantomime', and 'musical')*, dance into four *('ballet', 'contemporary dance', 'African people's dance or South Asian and Chinese dance', 'other live dance event')*, and makes other minor adjustments to the others *('opera & operetta' and 'circus –not animals')*. Chile and Spain repeat their method of starting with the main variables and then adding extra questions for those who answer 'yes.' In Chile, the survey asks for the preferred genre only of dance; in Spain, it asks for the genre of the last attendance at theatre, dance and circus. The Spanish survey also includes two other variables in its initial questions: *'zarzuela'*, a local theatre genre like the British pantomime, and *'performing arts show not mentioned above.'* France once again explores access to the theatre, circus and dance more deeply, by first asking a general question, and then listing four subcategories for each of these three variables and giving the interviewees the opportunity to nominate a fifth if necessary.

Figure 3. Variables for the performing arts in six national surveys.
Initial variables are indicated by numbers, categories indicated by letters.

ARGENTINA (2017)	BRAZIL (2013)	CHILE (2017)	ENGLAND (2018-19)	FRANCE (2018)	SPAIN (2017-18)
1. Theatre	1. Play - in a theatre	1. Theatre	1. Play & drama	1. Theatre (includes stand up and improvisation)	1. Theatre
2. Dance	2. Play - in the street or other place (not a theatre)	2. Contemporary dance, folkloric, ballet or other	2. Pantomime	1.a. Classical	2. Zarzuela
3. Opera	3. Dance or ballet in a theatre	3. Opera	3. Musical	1.b. Contemporary	3. Dance
4. Circus	4. Dance at home, in the street or other place (not a theatre)	4. Circus	4. Opera & operetta	1.c. Pièce de boulevard & vaudeville	4. Opera
	5. Traditional circus with a big top and ring		5. Ballet	1.d. Standup, Café théâtre, improvisation	5. Circus
	6. Circus not in a big top		6.Contemporary dance	1.e. Other	6. Performing arts show not mentioned above
			7. African people's dance or South Asian and Chinese Dance	2. Dance	
			8. Other live dance event	2.a. Classical dance	
			9. Circus (not animals)	2.b. Traditional or folkloric	
				2.c. Modern jazz	
				2.d. Contemporary	
				2.e. Other	
				3. Circus	

The same pattern can be observed in the umbrella categories of *'museums'* and *'heritage.'* The national surveys work with more variables than the continental studies, both including new ones and/or expanding some to explore different content they can work with. National peculiarities, such as the zarzuelas and pantomimes do not appear in the case of museums *(Figure 4).*

The categories most associated with *'museums'* are *'art galleries',* and *'exhibitions.'* Art gallery does not appear in the surveys of Argentina and Chile. It has been dealt with as a separate variable in France and Spain (*'art gallery'*) and incorporated into museums in England and Brazil (*'museums or galleries'*). The latter is present in all studies, being the main word used to build new categories associated with *'museum.'* Chile and Spain adopt simple and general variables. The Chilean survey works with only two: *'museum'* and *'exhibition',* then asks for the preferred genre in each case. The Spanish study has added a third category, *'art gallery',* exploring a bit further in the case of *'museums',* asking for the 'genre' of the last-visited institution. Argentina has opted to include ten variables, six that differentiate museums by theme, and four according to what they exhibit: *'paintings & drawings', 'sculpture', 'photography' or 'crafts.'* Brazil has repeated the 'what + where' approach, building variables combining content and the places where it happens. Content has been expanded into *'painting, sculpture or other art exhibition'* and *'photographic exhibition.'* Locales are *'in a museum or gallery'* and *'in another place.'*

Figure 4. Variables for museums and visual arts in six national surveys.
Initial variables are indicated by numbers, expanded categories by letters.

ARGENTINA (2017)	BRAZIL (2013)	CHILE (2017)	ENGLAND (2018-19)	FRANCE (2018)	SPAIN (2017-18)
1. Museum	1. Paintings, sculpture or other art exhibition in a museum or gallery	1. Museum	1. Museums or galleries	1. Museum or exhibition	1. Museum
1.a. Historic museums	2. Paintings, sculpture or other art exhibition in another place	2. Exhibition	2. Exhibition or collection of art, photography or sculpture	1.a. Museum or exhibition of painting, sculpture, from Antiquity to the beginning of the 20th century	2. Exhibition
1.b. Natural sciences museums	3. Photographic exhibition in a museum or gallery		3. Craft exhibition (not crafts market)	1.b. Museum or exhibition of modern or contemporary art	3. Art gallery
1.c. Science and technology museums	4. Photographic exhibition in another place		4. A public art display or installation (an art work such as sculpture that is outdoors or in a public place)	1.c. Museum or exhibition of history, memory	
1.d. Arts Museums			5. Event which included video or electronic art	1.d. Museum or exhibition of prehistory, archeology	
1.e. Anthropology and Archeology museums				1.e. Museum or exhibition of science and technology, natural history, industry…	
1.f. Theme museums(examples: Wine or Toy museum)				1.f. Museum or exhibition of ethnography, crafts, society (popular arts and traditions, local crafts, ecomuseum...)	
2. Paintings & drawings exhibition				1.g. Museum or exhibition of architecture, design, decorative arts	
3. Sculpture exhibition				2. Another kind of museum or exhibition (including in a public space: station, park, workshop, etc.)	
4. Photography exhibition				3. Art gallery	
5. Craft fairs and exhibitions					

The French survey uses seven different variables for museums, one more than the Argentinian. They are quite similar, the main difference being that the French questionnaire lists two categories of art museum, *'modern or contemporary art'* and *'from Antiquity to the beginning of the 20th Century.'* Another methodological difference is that Argentina has differentiated between the variables for 'museums' and 'exhibitions', while in France all seven variables are defined as 'museum or exhibition.' Both words always appear together within the variables. England has adopted a curious approach, mixing general and very specific categories among their five variables. Beyond *'museums and galleries',* the survey works with two categories for *'exhibitions'* (one for *'craft',* and the other including *'art, photography and sculpture'*). The other two variables are *'a public art display or installation (an artwork such as sculpture that is outdoors or in a public place)'* and an *'event which included video or electronic art.'* While the latter category is very specific and could be justified by the ambition to understand public interest in an artistic tendency that was growing at the time of the survey, the former seems a bit blurred and confusing. While *'a public art display or installation'* may sound like a reference to more contemporary interventions in public space, the explanation added here could evoke the image of an old statue of any ancient hero *('sculpture in a public place').*

Figure 5. Variables for heritage and visual arts in six national surveys.
Initial variables are indicated by numbers, expanded categories by letters.

ARGENTINA (2017)	BRAZIL (2013)	CHILE (2017)	ENGLAND (2018-19)	FRANCE (2018)	SPAIN (2017-18)
1. Archaeological site		1. Historic buildings, neighborhoods or sites	1. City or town with historic character	1. Cathedral, abbey, monastery, etc.	1. Archeological site
2. Monument		2. Heritage activities	2. Historic building open to the public (non-religious)	2. Fortified castle or other ancient non-religious monument (palace, mansion, birthplace, etc.)	2. Monument
3. Archive		2.a. heritage day	3. Historic park or garden open to the public	3. Old district in a tourist town or a traditional village	3. Archive
		2.b. Midnight museums	4. Place connected with industrial history (old factory, mine or dockyard) or historic transport system (old ship or railway)	4. Industrial site (former factory, mining, stations, tourist trains, etc.)	
		2.c. Heritage day for children	5. Historic place of worship attended as a visitor (not to worship)	5. Historical park or garden	
		2.d. Regional Heritage day (only Magallanes)	6. Monument such as a castle, fort or ruin	6. Battlefield, a memorial	
		2.e. Visited the web page about Chilean Memory	7. Site of archaeological interest (i.e. Roman villa, ancient burial site)	7. Archives center for historical or genealogical research	
			8. Site connected with sports heritage (e.g. Wimbledon, not visited for the purposes of watching sport)	8. Archaeological site or excavation site	
				9. Historic monument (castle, religious monument, historic district)	

For heritage, most countries work only with fixed categories, and did not explore the theme more deeply *(Figure 5)*. Argentina and Spain list three categories: *'archeological site', 'monument'* and *'archive.'* Chile works with two: *'historic buildings, neighborhoods or sites'* and *'heritage activities',* asking whether people had been to five different events. England and France explore the theme in more detail, expanding historic sites into specific categories, including *'parks or gardens'* (natural heritage). Brazil is the only country that did not address this topic with the traditional method of 'attendance at (…) in the last 12 months.' There is only one mention of the topic in a question asking whether people enjoyed seeing six aspects of the urban environment in the city. Three of the categories here can be associated with heritage (*'parks, trees and gardens', 'old or modern buildings / architecture in general' and 'monument and statues')*.

The surveys of all six countries ask whether people read books and access libraries. England, however, includes reading books among the categories listed in the module about participation. Considering access to libraries, the only survey with a different approach is the Argentinian. While the other countries' surveys ask whether interviewees have been to a library in the last 12 months and then further explore the topic later, in Argentina the category is included in a module named *'Community culture.'* The question does not include 'the last 12 months' and the variable *'popular or community library'* is one of nine investigated under the following statement: *'Now I am going to name a list of community spaces and organisations and I would like to know if you attend, participate or carry out some type of activity in one of them.'* The possible answers are 'yes' or 'no', and the other variables include *'retirement centre', 'indigenous community'* and *'venue, centre or religious group',* among others, which will be addressed below in the session about participation *(Figure 10)*.

The analysis of the national surveys has so far addressed the umbrella categories mentioned in the continental studies and how they expand to list the variables and/or to add information about the content and places where these cultural activities can happen. However, depending on the country and the topics administered by the institution in charge of the survey, the questionnaires go further, exploring local and traditional cultural manifestations and adding questions about different leisure activities. Beyond the traditional arts, the surveys of all six countries include around 25 other variables, covering cultural centres, thematic parks, national parks, botanical gardens, zoos, popular festivities, religious festivities, traditional festivities, street art, conferences and fairs, sports events, among others *(Figure 7)*.

Both Spain and Argentina explore a greater variety of these kinds of activities, including some very specific to their contexts. Spain has variables for *'cultural centre', 'conference or round table', 'book fair or festival', 'fair', 'sports events',* and five different thematic parks. It also has a broad category for *'manifestations of traditional culture or intangible heritage'* and two specific categories for bullfighting: *'bullfighting'* and *'another type of bullfighting.'* Argentina includes, among

others, *'gastronomic festival', 'carnival'* (a popular festivity also covered in England, France and Spain), *'religious festivity',* and *'popular or regional festivities.'* More specific categories are *'kermes'*[83] and *'peñas musicales.'*[84] Since this group of questions seems to be designed to gather all the activities not included in the traditional modules analysed so far, they are not explored any further. Chile was the exception, asking what activity the interviewee had done in the last visit to a *'cultural centre.'*

Figure 6. Variables for other cultural activities in six national surveys.
Initial variables are indicated by numbers, expanded categories by letters.

ARGENTINA (2017)	CHILE (2017)	ENGLAND (2018-19)	FRANCE (2018)	SPAIN (2017-18)
1. National park	1. National parks, nature sanctuaries or other natural heritage sites	1. Event connected with books or writing	1. Amusement park like Disneyland Paris or Parc Astérix	1. Cultural Centre
2. Cultural centre	2. Cultural centre	2. Street arts (art in everyday surroundings like parks, streets or shopping centres)	2. Park like the Futuroscope or the Cité des sciences de la Villette	2. Conference or round table
3. Book fair	3. Religious or cerimonial festivities	3. Carnival	3. Carnival	3. Book fair or festival
4. Gastronomic festival	4. Activities happening in the streets, public transport, parks or squares	4. Culturally specific festival (for example, Mela or Chinese New Year)	4. Zoo or park with free-roaming animals	4. Zoo or a Park with animals
5. Carnival	4.a. Juggling, clowns or other circus arts		5. Sound and light show	5. Botanical Garden
6. Religious festivity	4.b. Mimicry		6. Street show including major national events, local festivals (July 14, music festival, celebration of a saint's day)	6. Theme Park
7. Popular or regional festivities	4.c. Theatre performances			7. Water Park
8. "Kermés"	4.d. Musicians or singers			8. Amusement Park
9. "Peñas musicales"	4.e. Dance or coreographies (K-pop. Tinku, comparsa, tango, etc.)			9. Fair
	4.f. Títeres o marionetas			10. Sports events
	4.g. Storytelling			11. Manifestations of traditional culture or intangible heritage (popular festivals, carnivals, etc.)
	4.h. Video mapping			12. Bullfighting (corrida de toros, novillos o rejones)
	4.i. Grafitis			13. Another type of bullfighting
	4.j. Wall painting			
	4.k. Other			

Arts events in the streets are another challenge for the surveys since they are difficult to define. Sometimes streets and other public spaces are just another stage for some of the activities

[83] Popular fairs happening in communities, with several tents with games, food and cultural attractions for the families.

[84] Popular and folkloric parties, happening in various parts of the country with different characteristics and music genre.

mentioned before, like a music concert or a play, sometimes they can provide space for different cultural manifestations and experiences (graffiti, video mapping, multicultural fairs and festivals).

Chile and France explored this topic a bit further. The Chilean survey asks if interviewees have seen any of ten different activities *'that can happen in the streets, public transport, parks or squares',* from *'mimicry'* to *'video-mapping'* and *'graffiti.'* The questionnaire in France is less specific, mixing a lot of activities in very loose and unclear variables, and not exploring them individually as has been done in the Chilean survey. Interviewees are first asked whether they have attended *'a street show, including major national events, local festivities (July 14th, Music Day, 'fête votive').'* Those who answer 'yes' are asked what kind of activity they have been to and shown a card with six categories: *a major national event; event in a commercial site; a local festivity or event in the city streets; a musician, juggler, living statue, etc. in the street (including the metro); an arts festival in the streets; another festival (theatre, music, cinema…)*. Allowing multiple answers, the question mixes completely different things, from a huge national celebration, such as July 14th, where an interviewee could have been for hours, to a living statue he/she could have seen in seconds on the way home. In Brazil, 'the street' was mentioned only in the case of theatre and dance to differentiate activities happening indoors or *'at home, in the street or other place.'*

Efforts to investigate popular, traditional or regional cultural activities are either restricted to these broad and very ill-defined categories or highlight specific big events, like carnivals. A common strategy to avoid confusion is to give some examples after the question, something that can strongly influence the interviewee to think only about those examples. This adds clarity but can restrict the reach of the answers. The English survey asks if people have been to a *'culturally specific festival'*, which is a broad variable, but then adds *'for example, Mela or Chinese New Year'*, which can direct the interviewee's attention only to these two celebrations. The French study, as mentioned, mixes different things in the variable *'a street show (…) a major national event'*, making it tricky to answer it. The topic is better explored only for those answering 'yes' to the initial question.

6.2.2. Cultural industries

The national surveys explore engagement with the cultural industries and mass media in greater detail than the continental studies. The way they approach it varies a lot. Newspapers and magazines are explored either directly, with specific questions about whether or not people read them (Spanish speaking countries and England), or indirectly, by asking people how they get informed, which includes the press as one alternative answer (Brazil and France). Some countries ask whether people read printed or online versions. In Brazil and England, the surveys give less importance to the radio. There is no specific question about radio in the former, while the latter includes it only to ask if people use it to listen to the news and in the module about participation. All the other countries go a bit further, asking what kind of program people listen to, their preferred stations, whether they listen to music, and how often and where people access it.

TV and the internet are present in all the studies. All the countries explore what kind of program people watch. The Brazilian survey asks what people mostly watch on TV (an open question). The English study focuses on cultural content, exploring, beyond sports, ten types of cultural programmes, including four kinds of documentaries *('history, architecture and/or monuments of Britain', 'other historical documentaries', 'museums/galleries', 'about the arts)*.' Curiously, there is no question about TV series. The Argentinian study follows a similar pattern. The other countries mix cultural and non-cultural content, including a wide variety of alternatives (10 in France, 16 in Chile and 20 in Spain).[85]

Beyond that, many countries include questions about the kind of connection people use to watch TV (open, cable, satellite or the internet), where they watch it (TV, computer, tablet or smartphone), with whom, for how many hours a week and how much money they spend on it.

Strategies used to investigate culture on the internet are even more diverse than those noticed in strategies to investigate TV. The digital media can not only absorb all the content available on TV, radios, newspapers and magazines, but is also a platform where people and cultural institutions can upload new content, products and services, multiplying the alternatives for cultural engagement. Consequently, it becomes more difficult for the surveys to address all the possibilities. It is as if all the questions asked up to that point in the questionnaire have had to be redone to include the internet and new ones still need to be added.

The Brazilian survey asks where people use the internet (at home, in the office, on their cell phones, etc.) and what for, through an open question to which there were 18 different answers which received at least 1% of the total number of answers. The Argentinian study explores ten variables, mixing cultural and personal activities. It investigates how frequently people '*check emails'; 'read blogs or newspapers'; 'study or do school or university homework'; 'buy products and services or do online banking;' 'watch youtuber videos'; 'look for movie reviews or comments'; 'look for book reviews or comments'; 'look for cultural activities to watch or listen to'; 'watch tutorials about music, theatre or books' or 'do personal things.'* It also explores social networks, asking how frequently people do seven different activities, almost all associated with culture, like sharing music and videos, following artists or cultural institutions, commenting about films, series and books. The module also includes some questions about participation (*'record or edit your own videos to share'*). The Chilean study focuses only on cultural activities, asking whether people have watched or downloaded 14 specific types of cultural content in the last 12 months. It also asks whether people make comments about cultural content online, and if they produce online cultural content (which is here considered participation).

[85] The cultural variables from the Chilean survey are *'theatre plays', 'dance or ballet', 'opera', 'classical concerts', 'modern or contemporary music concerts', 'documentaries', 'programmes about arts (painting, sculpture, engravings, drawings, artistic-photography, video-art)', 'programmes about books and literature', 'other cultural programmes.'*

Among European countries, France has the survey with the fewest questions about the internet. It starts by asking if people use the internet and social networks and how frequently. And ends with a question in which six cultural activities are investigated, five types of content *('music', 'theatre', 'dance', 'museums or exhibitions', 'science or technical)'* and one service *('look for practical information about a cultural event).'* Spain and England explore the internet in more detail. The Spanish survey asks if people usually any of more than 20 online activities do, most of them associated with culture, like visiting museums. It also asks for details about whether people use cultural content to interact on social networks, investigating six specific categories. Beyond that, almost all other cultural activities have at least one or two questions asking whether people do them only *'offline'* or also *'online',* from museums to bullfighting, and if they use the internet to buy tickets for 'offline' activities. The questionnaire also asks for details about the content people access when listening to the radio or watching TV online.

The English study uses a different strategy, first asking if the interviewees have visited a website or app associated with any of six different topics: *'museums and galleries', 'libraries', 'historical or heritage sites', 'arts websites (e.g. music, theatre, dance, visual arts and literature)', 'archives & record offices', and 'sports.'* Those answering 'yes' to any of these websites are then asked about specific activities they have done there, from buying tickets and looking for practical information about live activities to downloading content and taking virtual tours. The questions are adapted to each of the five cultural areas and include between three and six alternatives with multiple answers. This method allows a better understanding of how each cultural activity is connected with the internet.

Beyond the modules designed to address the mass media, almost every country except England have a block of questions on how people listen to music and watch films and series. The strategy is adopted to face the challenge of addressing the ubiquity of these products, which can be accessed via different media, from the radio and TV to computers, tablets and smartphones. The surveys explore which devices people use and their preferred film and music genres. Except for Brazil, all other countries ask whether people use the internet to play videogames.[86] The English survey has only one question about gaming, which explores whether and how often people play videogames. The other countries take some extra steps, investigating the devices people use to play online, the kind of games they prefer, their motivation and how much money they spend on the activity.

6.2.3. Defining variables

The analysis of access through the various variables suggests some important conclusions. Artistic and cultural activities happen in so many ways, in so many spaces, with so much different

[86] Videogames were mentioned in the Brazilian study only when people were asked about the activities they do in their free time and when using their cell phones.

content, that the surveys have adopted multiple strategies to embrace them. Even the lengthiest questionnaire is not able to encompass all the multiple possibilities. The questions about the visual arts, for example, show that even when we focus on a particular topic, it is still tricky to define the variables. Apparently simple and clear, the words *'museum', 'art gallery'* and *'exhibition'* allow different combinations, evidencing how fluid and fragmented culture is. Broadly speaking, the two first words represent venues, and the third relates to an event, not a place, that may include a vast range of forms and contents. These three words can be used separately or combined in different ways to build some variables. Regardless of the preferred arrangement, they can include different content, meaning completely different experiences. The range of variables adopted by countries reflects the CAPS' struggle to understand how people navigate throughout these possibilities.

The more an activity happens in a specific way, in a specific place, the more efficient and reliable the measurements seem to be, as in the question about going to the circus or the cinema. The 'last 12 months' measure seems quite reasonable in these cases. It is certainly an arbitrary and conventional estimate, but it is clear, tangible and does not seem to conflict with the activities being measured. At the same time, thinking about public policies, as a trackable indicator, it provides meaningful information.

Even the diverse contents of a cultural activity can be reasonably addressed by the CAPS, as shown by the variables exploring the different museums, music concerts, theatre plays and movie genres people may access. It is important to remember that these kinds of data made an important contribution to the main academic debates about culture, as in the works of Bourdieu and Peterson and many other researchers who developed quantitative studies confirming or challenging their ideas, a topic that will be resumed in the next chapter.

The CAPS have also been able to map the places where people engage with culture, as seen in the questions that work with outdoor and indoor venues and the ones that list different indoor ones. This is another important layer of information, since different places can mean different experiences, different ways to engage with culture.

Looking at the national surveys, each country has explored possible combinations of activity, place and content in different ways. If they do not include all the possibilities, they at least address a meaningful group of categories. Unfortunately, the reasons for choosing to adopt one or other strategy for constructing particular variables are neither explicit in the reports, nor can be easily guessed, except in the case of the Brazilian survey.

Changing the perspective and looking to the products distributed between different means, particularly films and songs, the surveys have also managed to track access to them on TV, radio, computers, tablets, and smartphones. The 'last 12 months' measure, however, loses its efficiency as these activities may be done frequently and fragmentedly. So far, however, there is not yet a clear and tangible parameter adopted by most CAPS to measure access via these media.

With the internet it is not only films and songs that have another medium on which they can be accessed, but almost all kinds of cultural content. Moreover, they can be accessed not just on a single device, but on computers, tablets, cell phones and even TV, resulting in different experiences. The internet also allows people to produce and share (the word in the offline world would be 'distribute') content like texts, photos, images and short movies that may or may not be considered artistic and cultural. From a practical perspective, this means a new world for the CAPS to explore. It requires a huge number of questions to be added to properly check all the possible interactions and identify the artistic or cultural nature of the content being produced, as well as the main behavioural tendencies. Access and participation also may get mixed up, a question that will resume on chapter nine.

6.2.4. Getting the big picture, losing diversity

Finally, there is a tension, almost a conflict, between trying to produce data that can be compared between countries at the same time as addressing the diversity of their cultural environments. Comparability, in the case of the surveys, asks for similar patterns, similar variables; regarding cultural activities, this implies reducing diversity. This is the main reason why popular, regional and traditional cultural manifestations are not better explored. Just as the continental CAPS had to cut from their questionnaires what might be typical of only one country or a small group of countries, the national surveys also struggle to address the diversity within their boundaries. Particularly when it is connected to geography. The larger the country, the greater the likelihood of a nation having different cultural manifestations in different regions, including those of traditional communities and immigrants.

The six surveys addressed here, however, work with a national sample and the same questionnaire for the whole country, replicating, on the domestic level, the problems faced by the continental surveys. The questions must make sense for the whole country. Categories that can be nationally understood, such as carnival, zarzuela, pantomime and bullfighting, for example, can be perfectly well used as individual variables. Multiple other possibilities existing in each country, however, are likely to make sense only in particular regions. In Brazil even the carnival festivities have different characteristics and music genres depending on the state where they take place, as do the *peñas musicales* in Argentina. If technically it is possible to put some questions just to interviewees from a certain region to address local issues, the national surveys have not opted for that.[87] As a result, cultural diversity ends up being packaged and hidden under the words 'popular', 'local', 'regional', 'traditional', 'community', etc.

Despite this tension, the comparative analysis shows that the countries predominantly try to measure similar things, meaning their cultures have a lot in common. Even though they use

[87] It usually implies additional cost, since they require more time to collect, process and analyse the results

different strategies, the starting point, the umbrella categories are closely related. Every country wants to know if people are going to *'museums', 'art galleries'* and *'exhibitions',* regardless of the way these categories are named in the final variables. The same can be said about access to theatre, dance, concerts, heritage, libraries, cinema and all the mass media, from newspapers to the internet. They mix the legitimate culture, the cultural industries, and try to explore the digital and popular culture. Globalisation plays a huge part in it.

Although each country has its own particularities, its own culture and traditions, they are all capitalist democracies of a predominantly urban population professing Christian religions. The influence of the indigenous population (in Argentina, Chile and Brazil) and of Africa (in Brazil) adds diversity to the predominant cultural traditions coming from Europe. It is important to highlight that the CAPS have started to operate in metropolitan regions, where most of the activities measured take place, and where most of the population lives.

As a counterpoint, in countries where most of the population lives in rural areas, as Uganda, the questionnaire has a different perspective. It lists only four of the activities mentioned so far (*'music galas', 'theatre shows', 'cultural sites', 'read from library'*). However, it includes other two variables reflecting the 'local culture' and that are not associated with the urban environment: *'attend introductions, funeral rites and local marriages',* and *'celebrate birth, child naming and initiation into adulthood'* (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2010).

Most, if not all arts and culture under the direct influence of the public policies created by the offices of culture or directly under their management are included in the surveys, even though they are not distinct from the ones privately sponsored. Museums, heritage, libraries, and some of the performing arts and popular festivities could be cited as examples. They also address many cultural activities not under the direct influence of the ministries of culture, including some of the performing arts and popular festivities, the film industry, most of the music sector, the mass media and the internet. As the multiple examples evidence, access to many artistic and cultural activities is being measured by the surveys. Things get trickier when it comes to participation, however.

6.2.5. Participation

The difficulties of addressing this topic start with trying to collate the questions in a comparable way, to maintain the methodological decision of starting from the questionnaire, not from the concept. Since the focus countries do not all work with the same modules, I included as many variables as possible to build the idea of 'participation' expressed by the CAPS, the only guide being the general idea of finding questions addressing things people do by themselves or as part of a group, a community and not as part of an audience.

For didactic reasons, and to take advantage of the questionnaires' framework, the questions were assembled into three main groups. The first included activities people do sporadically in their free time, as a hobby or as amateurs; the second included practices that can

be in the first group, but where people have participated in classes, workshops, or training sessions; the third collected together participation in groups, communities, and organisations.

As with access, all the countries explore a group of similar activities. There are, however, more differences in the way they approach participation. These begin with the way the participation modules are named in the questionnaires. Argentina gathers the questions into a module named *'Community culture;'* Chile, *'Interpretative and inventive participation;'* England*, 'Arts participation;'* France has two modules titled *'Leisure',* and *'Amateur practices';* and Spain, *'Active Cultural Practices',* and *'Cultural training.'* The way the Brazilian report is presented does not show the modules, only the questions.

Figure 7. Variables for participation in cultural activities in Brazil, Chile and Spain

Figure 7. Variables for cultural participation in three national surveys		
BRAZIL (2013)	**CHILE (2017)**	**SPAIN (2017-18)**
I will mention some activities and I would like you to say which ones you do	In the last 12 months, without considering compulsory activities in the educational context (school, institute, university, etc.) have you...	In relation to the artistic activities on the LIST, could you tell me if in the last year you have practiced any of them (as a hobby not as a profession)?
1. Sing, individually or in a group	1. Taken photographs for artistic purposes *Do not consider tourist photos, family reunions or of friends.*	1. Write (poetry, stories, etc.)
2. Dance, individually or in a group	2. Drawn, painted pictures, made a sculpture or an engraving	2. Paint or draw
3. Play an instrument	3. Produced arts and crafts such as: weaving, embroidery, decorations, textiles, woodwork, etc.	3. Other plastic arts (ceramics, paper, etc.)
4. Take photographs	4. Composed music or songs, played instruments or performed songs	4. Take photographs
5. Paint, draw, engrave, sculpt	5. Written short stories, poetry or novels	5. Make videos
6. Creative writing (stories, poems, theatre or movie scripts)	6. Acted, directed or produced a play	6. Website Design
7. Compose music	7. Acted, directed or produced any film, documentary, short film or audiovisual work	7. Other audiovisual
8. Do theatre or circus activities	8. Performed or created any work of dance, dance or choreography	8. Do Theater
9. Make body expression / dramatization	9. Practiced juggling, acrobatics, clowning, street parades, "batucadas", mime, stilts or other similar activities	9. Dance, ballet
	10. Worked in the production of murals or graffiti	10. Flamenco, Spanish dance
		11. Play a musical instrument
		12. Sing in a choir
		13. Others linked to music
		14. Have your own blog
		15. Other artistic activities

Participation is least explored in Brazil even though SESC offers several training opportunities regarding artistic and cultural activities *(Figure 7)*. The question addressing the topic asks whether people have done any of nine different activities. There is no time measure or further clarification. In the case of Argentina, only to those responding 'yes' to a question about taking part in community groups are given more detailed questions (community groups are discussed in more detail later) *(Figure 10)*. All other countries specify that the questions relate to the *'last 12 months.'*

Chile covers ten activities, explaining that respondents should not include *'compulsory activities in the educational context (school, institute, university).'* Spain investigates the activities *'as a hobby, not as a profession.'*

Figure 8. Variables for participation in cultural activities in England and France

ENGLAND (2018-19)		**FRANCE (2018)**	
In the last 12 months, have you done any of these activities?		During your life, what activity have you practiced? Activities practiced in the school and/or professional context can be counted	Here is a list of activities. Can you tell me which ones you have practiced in the last 12 months?
1. Ballet	13. Taken part in a carnival (eg. as a musician, dancer or costume maker)	1. Making music or singing	1. Knit, embroider or sew, design or personalize clothing
2. Other dance (for fitness)	14. Taken part in street arts (an artistic performance that takes place in everyday surroundings like parks, streets or shopping centres)	2. Keep a diary or personal, note your impressions or thoughts	2. Playing cards, board games, number or letter games (*)
3. Other dance (not for fitness).	15. Learned or practised circus skills	3. Write poems, short stories or a novel	3. Play gambling or bet (scratch games, Loto, belote, PMU, poker, casino, etc.) (*)
4. Sang to an audience or rehearsed for a performance (not karaoke)	16. Painting, drawing, printmaking or sculpture	4. Paint, sculpt or print	4. Make "good dishes" or try new cooking recipes
5. Sang as part of a group or taken singing lessons	17. Photography as an artistic activity (not family or holiday 'snaps')	5. Make audio, video montages	5. Do DIY or decoration work yourself
6. Played a musical instrument to an audience or rehearsed for a performance	18. Made films or videos as an artistic activity (not family or holidays)	6. Do a circus	6. Take care of a vegetable garden
7. Played a musical instrument for your own pleasure	19. Used a computer to create original artworks or animation	7. Make pottery, ceramics, bookbinding or other arts and crafts	7. Take care of a pleasure garden (flowers, lawn)
8. Written music	20. Textile crafts such as embroidery, crocheting or knitting	8. Acting	8. Go fishing or hunting
9. Written any stories or plays	21. Wood crafts such as wood turning, carving or furniture making	9. Drawing	9. Make a collection
10. Written any poetry	22. Other crafts such as calligraphy, pottery or jewellery for yourself	10. Dance	10. Personalize/customize a vehicle (car, motorcycle, moped)
11. Rehearsed or performed in a play / drama	23. Read for pleasure (not newspapers, magazines or comics)	11. Do some photography	11. None of these activities
12. Rehearsed or performed in an opera / operetta or musical theatre		12. Do genealogical or historical research	
		13. Practice a scientific or technical activity (such as observing the stars, doing historical research, etc.)	
(*) Variables from the French questionnaire presented for those answering 'yes' for questions 2 or 3:			
1. Card and dice games (tarot, belote, poker, yam's, etc.)	4. Memory and observation games (The lynx, Dobble, Uno…)	7. TV show games (Questions for a champion, who wants to win millions, the right price…)	10. Trading Card Games (Pokémon, Game of Thrones…)
2. Logic, deduction and strategy games (chess, checkers, Rubik's cube, Les aventuriers du rail)	5. Letter, number and word games (crosswords, arrows, sudoku, scrabble, dominoes, etc.)	8. Speed games (Times'up, Jungle speed…)	11. Other Games
3. Action and skill games (mikado, table football, pinball, billiards, etc.)	6. General culture games, quizzes and riddles (Trivial pursuit, Family Quizz, Eureka, etc.)	9. Cooperation and role-playing games (Werewolves, Conan, Edge of the empire…)	

England, which mentions only the *'last 12 months'* in an opening question that includes 23 variables *(Figure 8)*, asks for details about participation and non-participation with further

questions. Regarding participation, it explores context and frequency, whether the activity was done as part of a group, and level of satisfaction with the practice. First, it asks if the activity was done: *'in your own time;' 'for paid work;' 'for academic study;' 'as part of voluntary work;' 'for some other reason.'* Then, it offers a choice of answers for people to say how frequently they have done something in the last 12 months. The 'with whom question' aims to know whether the activity was done 'as part of a club or group.' And finally, it asks respondents about how much they enjoyed the last time they did the activity, asking them to give a score from one to ten. People who answered that they have not participated, are asked further questions about why they have not. These further questions are made for all 23 activities.

The French questionnaire has two modules with different time approaches *(Figure 8)*. The *'leisure* activities' module works with the *'last 12 months'*, while *'amateur practices',* which embraces artistic activities, mentions *'during your life',* alerting respondents they could consider *'activities practiced in school and/or professional context.'* The latter includes 14 variables associated with artistic and cultural practices. The former gathers a diverse group of categories from home activities to fishing and hunting, including *'personalise/customise a vehicle (car, motorcycle, moped).'* Two of the 11 variables ask whether people play either board or betting games. Those answering 'yes' to either of these two questions are asked another question, mentioning 33 different kinds of games, from tarot to sudoku, split into ten variables.

The strategies used to choose the final variables for 'participation' follow some of the patterns already found in 'access.' While some countries work with broader categories, others expand them into multiple variables. The Chilean and French surveys have just one category for music: *'composed music or songs, played instruments or performed songs'* and *'play music or sing',* respectively. In France, however, the questionnaire explores the practiced music genres and played instruments further. Brazil expands this question into three *('sing, individually or in a group', 'play a musical instrument', 'compose music).'* Spain does the same: *'play a musical instrument', 'sing in a choir', 'others linked to music.'* And England works with four: *'sung to an audience or rehearsed for a performance (not karaoke)', 'played a musical instrument to an audience or rehearsed for a performance', 'played a musical instrument for your own pleasure',* and *'written music.'* There are simple and direct categories, as *'play a musical instrument',* and others more specific, such as *'sing in a choir',* and a very specific particularity of the English questionnaire, including *'rehearsals.'* Finally, most countries leave a door open to other possibilities not captured by the variables with the option to answer *'others.'*

The same patterns are found for the performing arts, visual arts and audio-visual. It is important, however, to highlight some details that show the efforts made to embrace the diversity of possible practices and the different contexts in which participation they occur *(Figures 7 and 8)*. Brazil has a category for *'body expression / dramatisation',* separate from *'theatre activities.'* One of the categories into which the visual arts are expanded in the Chilean survey is *'worked on the*

production of murals or graffiti.' The questionnaire has also included the activity of production as an artistic/cultural practice while specifying types of participation in theatre and audio-visual. The English survey explores participation in carnival '*as a musician, dancer or costume maker',* in street arts (as in Chile), and expands into crafts activities and manual work via three variables: *'textile crafts such as embroidery, crocheting or knitting'; 'wood crafts such as wood turning, carving or furniture making;'* and *'other crafts such as calligraphy, pottery or jewellery for yourself.'* While most countries have one variable for writing, England expands this into *'poetry'* and *'stories or plays.'* And dance is expanded into three: *'ballet', 'other dance (for fitness)', and 'other dance (not for fitness')*. Spain lists two categories under dance, including, beyond *'dance, ballet',* the only variable designed to address a local kind of cultural manifestation: *'Flamenco, Spanish dance.'*

Regarding the activities associated with the cultural industries, beyond audio-visual content (photography, films and movies), which is present in all the surveys, categories explicitly associated with possibilities opened up by the computers appear in the English *('used a computer to create original artworks or animation only')*; Spanish *('website design'* and *'has your own blog');* and Chilean surveys, which asks if people have uploaded any of 14 different kinds of content to the internet in the last 12 months. The Brazilian survey does not have any specific inquiry about cultural participation on the internet, but some practices appear in the questions about what people use the internet and their cell phone for.

6.2.6. Mirror-effect

The similarities between access and participation are not restricted to the building of the variables. Roughly speaking, the questions in this first block seem to mirror many of the activities detailed in 'access', but with a shift of perspective from attendance to practice. The variables of participation also connect to the visual arts, performing arts, music, literature, and audio-visual. It is another evidence of the interconnection between these concepts. It is even possible to find questions associated with the popular festivities (England), and an effort to explore the genre of musical practice (France), the main difference being the inclusion of some home manual craft activities (Chile, England, and France), and the module on leisure, with several activities.

The same mirror-effect will be found in the second block[88], which has questions about the classes, courses and workshops people participate in. Only three countries explicitly explore this possible way to participate: Argentina, Chile and Spain. The variables addressed by the surveys (*Figure 9*) are closely associated with those seen in 'access.' Chile works with *'music', 'dancing', 'theatre', 'painting, sculpture, drawing, engraving', 'circus arts', 'computer, programming, use of software', 'literary',* and gives respondents the opportunity to mention other possibilities. Except for computer, the Argentinian survey repeats these categories, but mixes some of them, and adds the

[88] Several countries have explored if people have participated in cultural activities during childhood. Since the aim, however, was to understand if this could influence attendance in adulthood, they were not included in the comparison.

audio-visual, which was not included in the Chilean survey. Spain works with 13 topics, essentially the same as those noted in Chile and Argentina. *'Design' and 'cultural heritage (restoration, etc.)'* are the new categories. The difference in the number of variables comes from five questions where the word *'other'* is used to explore a previous category or to finish the block: *'other plastic arts', 'other audio-visual', 'other performing arts', 'other musical training',* and finally *'other matters related to culture.'* Although it does not have a block of questions about training, the French survey explores this among those who answered 'yes' to the question about *'to play music or sing',* asking whether at the moment of the interview they were taking any music courses and where.

Figure 9. Variables for classes, courses and workshops in Argentina, Chile and Spain

ARGENTINA (2017)	**CHILE (2017)**	**SPAIN (2017-18)**
In the last year, did you take classes or attend workshops in…	In the last 12 months, have you attended art workshops or classes outside of work, school or university? What type are these workshops or classes? List all that apply.	Please indicate if in the last year you have been enrolled in any of the complementary training courses of the list (outside of the school, institute, University)
1. Dancing or singing	1. Music (singing, playing instruments, composition, music theory or reading)	1. Writing course or workshop
2. Circus, theatre or acting	2. Dancing	2. Painting or drawing
3. Painting, sculpture, drawing or other "plastic" arts	3. Theater	3. Other plastic arts (ceramics, etc.)
4. Literature or other writing practices	4. Painting, sculpture, drawing, engraving	4. Non-professional photography
5. Cinema, video, animation or other audiovisual practice	5. Circus arts	5. Other audiovisual
	6. Computing, programming, use of software	6. Theater
	7. Literary	7. Dance
	8. Other type: Specify	8. Other performing arts
		9. Play a musical instrument
		10. Other musical training (singing, etc.)
		11. Design
		12. Cultural heritage (restoration, etc.)
		13. Other matters related to culture

This module has an important caveat. It is possible that some interviewees responding 'yes' to the questions in the first block engaged in cultural activities through classes or workshops. And even in the countries using both modules, Chile and Spain, it is likely there was an overlap between the possibilities. An interviewee who has taken part in singing classes could answer 'yes' to the question about music in the first and second blocks. The multiple situations in which people can participate in culture make it difficult to measure exactly whether and how they did it and the strategies adopted by the countries already show more variations than when measuring access.

The third block for participation is mostly focused on the groups, organisations and communities people participate in *(Figure 10)*. The Argentinian survey is the only one to explore the activities people do as part of these communities. It starts by asking if people take part in any of nine kinds of groups, from a *'senior centre'* to a *'political organisation.'* Then comes a second

question to find out whether they are a director / manager, volunteer / collaborator, coordinator / instructor, or someone taking part in some activity. Finally, the questionnaire gets to the questions in the first participation block *(Figure 7)*. They include six variables, three of them associated with music, theatre & dance, circus & street arts activities. One of the categories puts together several arts courses mentioned before but adds cooking and language classes to these. The other asks about taking part in a neighbourhood newspaper, magazine or radio show, activities not included in any of the other five cases. And finally, it includes participating in a *'murga*.' Traditional in the carnival in Argentina and Uruguay, a *'murga'* is a musical group that parades through the streets singing satirical songs about events in the social and political life of the country. The only two questions the Argentinian survey explores in the same way as the other countries, asks all interviewees, regardless of their participation in a specific community, about playing music and dancing (questions 7 and 8 in the bottom of *Figure 10*).

Figure 10. Variables for groups, associations and organisations in Argentina and Chile

ARGENTINA (2017)		**CHILE (2017)**
I would like to know if you attend, participate or carry out any type of activity in … (*)		In the last 12 months, have you participated in any organization, group or club? Spontaneous answer, mark the ones indicated by the interviewee.
1. Club or non-proffitable association	6. Foreign community	1. Neighborhood associations or other local organization (water committee, relatives committee, others)
2. Senior centre	7. Indigenous community	2. Sports or recreational club
3. Religious centre or group	8. Cultural or local centre, cooperative or organization	3. Religious or church organization
4. Popular or community library	9. Any other non-governamental organization	4. Artistic or cultural groups (folk group, theater, music, dance, others)
5. Political organization		5. Cultural identity group (indigenous associations, immigrant circles, others)
		6. Youth or student groups (scouts, student centres, others)
(*) Question asked for those answering yes to any of the nine initial variables above: Do you do any of the following activities?		7. Women's groups (mothers' or women's centres, gender organizations)
a. Are you part of a choir, orchestra or musical band	d. Are you part of a circus or street art group	8. Senior groups or clubs
b. Are you part of a *'murga'*?	e. Regularly attend workshop or arts classes, like writing, painting, cooking, languages, crafts or similars	9. Volunteer groups
c. Are you part of a dance or theatre group	f. Are you part of a neighborhood or community radio show, magazine or newspaper as an amateur	10. Health self-help groups (diabetic, hypertensive, obese, anonymous alcoholics, people with disabilities, other health problems)
		11. Political party
Questions asked for all interviewees, regardless of their answers to the initial nine questions above		12. Syndicate
		13. Trade or professional association
1. Do you play an instrument, sing or do any musical activity?	2. Have you danced at parties, '*bailantas*', bars or night clubs?	14. Parents and Guardians centre

The Chilean questionnaire works with an open question: *'In the last 12 months, have you participated in any organisation, group, or club? Spontaneous answer, mark the ones indicated by the interviewee.'* The interviewers had a form with 15 alternatives people could answer, including women, young people and cultural identity groups.

Finally, the English survey, as mentioned before, asks whether people have engaged in cultural activities as part of a *'club or group',* without inquiring about what kind of group, but explaining they *'could be formally organised clubs or just groups of people who get together, in person or online, to do an activity or talk about things.'* Beyond that, TPS has some questions that list charitable giving and voluntary work and explore these two means of participation, first in general, including different areas, and then by focusing on culture. The Spanish study also includes these topics in a 'yes or no' question asking if people have supported any cultural activity through donation, voluntary work or participation in any cultural institution.

6.3. Much more than high culture

The description of variables guided by the comparative analysis shows that despite the great number of activities measured, the data on participation collected by the CAPS looks less accurate than that on access, from the activities to the measures. This is because active engagement is simply more difficult to define, or transform into clear categories and measure, than when the interviewees are considered only as part of an audience.

From a sporadic artistic, cultural, or creative practice, to an interest stimulating someone to take part in a class or workshop, to taking part in a community activity, to a habit, or to a habit that grows into a systematic and amateur practice, there is a gradient with different levels of engagement that it is difficult to capture in a single, direct question or even by a group of questions. Apprehending this continuum, describing it in clear and meaningful categories seems to be more challenging than defining the activities themselves (which does not at all mean that these are easy to capture). The different strategies countries adopt reflect these difficulties.

Despite this, and partly because of it, participation receives less attention in the questionnaires. While for 'access' several countries have specific modules for the umbrella activities, in 'participation' they are all gathered under one or two modules. In the former case, several questions explore details about attendees and non-attendees. In the latter, there are few examples that go beyond the initial 'yes-or-no' question.

There are, however, examples of a clear effort to face the challenges of measuring participation. The English survey, as mentioned, has more variables for participation than access, exploring engagement beyond the 'yes-or-no' question. The French study works with several leisure activities, and in music explores the instruments and the musical genres people play.

An enormous number of variables is addressed by the eight surveys in their effort to measure engagement in cultural activities. These go beyond the core of what is commonly recognised as art and culture, to include questions about how people get their information about what is happening in the world, their leisure habits, hobbies, community and sports activities. The wide spectrum investigated includes government and non-government funded activities. They address some practices connected with the arts and others connected with the concept of culture, regardless of the fuzzy boundaries between them. They explore both home activities, and those that take place away from the home. They include online and offline activities. Overall, they reflect the fluidity of culture.

Although this observation may seem obvious, in order to understand their potential, challenges and limits it is important to be aware of the variety of topics and nuances embraced by the CAPS. The design of the variables in each questionnaire reflects the complexity and transversality of what they are trying to measure. The many examples of categories that are investigating not just one practice, but also where it happens, and what it involves demonstrates that the CAPS recognise the different experiences that might be implied in the initial question.

Regardless of this fluidity, there is a central focus. The core of the surveys, the questions included in almost all studies and summarised by the continental surveys, investigate activities associated with the fine arts, the performing arts, heritage and other productions of the cultural industries, including the internet. The national surveys broaden this spectrum, also exploring popular and traditional cultural manifestations, as well as other leisure and social activities, from religious to political. This approach widens the concept of culture addressed by the CAPS, gathering information associated with anthropological and social studies, even though these are not at the centre of the questionnaires.

What is being measured in all six countries is similar, despite the differences in the building of the variables. These variances, however, are important since they can bring alternatives which add clarity, accuracy, and detail to what is being measured. Their essence, however, is similar and is expressed in the 'umbrella categories.' Variations that reflect differences in diversity, in what each nation considers to be cultural, can be found at the borders of the questionnaires. Pantomime, zarzuela, bullfighting, *peñas musicales*, *murgas, kermés and* national celebrations are investigated, but they are an exception. The reasons for the lack of questions reflecting cultural diversity among the countries, particularly regarding local traditions, are twofold. The first reason is not to do with the surveys. The landscapes they explore have a lot in common, determined by urbanisation, and partly by globalisation. The second reason stems from the design of the surveys, whose national scope requires questions that make sense across the whole country, and rarely includes activities done only in specific regions, where diversity flourishes.

When examining the final variables, the measures of access are more accurate compared to those of participation. The information, for example, that 30% of respondents went to a theatre or museum in the last 12 months is more tangible and uncomplicated than data showing that 10%

of the population has drawn or taken a photo in the same period. Nonetheless, there are clear and varied efforts to improve the accuracy of measuring participation. The countries have adopted different strategies to face the challenge to sort the multiple ways in which people may take part in cultural activities (hobby, amateur practices, classes, workshops, community activities) that deserve further investigation. The challenge of measuring online cultural activities, however, goes far beyond that, requiring many questions to address the multiple possibilities for both access and participation provided by the internet and the social networks.

The aim of this chapter was not to rank the questionnaires but to look at them as a group, as part of the same effort to investigate cultural engagement. The comparative analysis has shown the different strategies adopted by continental and national surveys, spotlighting the core of these studies as well as their main differences; the centre and the borders; the kind of culture they have in common, and the diversity of things they measure. It has also helped to highlight efficiencies and inaccuracies; the culture they manage to reach, and where they fall short. The Brazilian survey has evidenced a strong similarity with other national studies as well as particularities determined by the fact it was conducted by a private cultural institution, not the federal government.

Using this overall perspective as a reference, the next two chapters will dive into the interviews, reflecting on whether and how the data collected by this tool is reverberating in academia and policymaking.

CHAPTER SEVEN
ACADEMIA

This and the next chapter discuss whether and how academics and policymakers have used the CAPS, which is one of the central research questions of the thesis. Although the topics overlap, discussing them in different chapters will help to evidence the particularities of each circumstance in which data may be used. The complexity of the discussion, the fact they are context specific, with particularities in each country, and especially the rich input from the interviews made me decide to work with longer quotes throughout both chapters. In some, the key informants mix descriptions of certain issues with their points of view about them, whilst in others they bring vivid portrayals of their experiences.

These reflections on how academics are using the data will be supported by articles they have written and reflections from the in-depth interviews. There is a certain overlap with the literature review since some of the main findings of the surveys and the key debates emerging from them have already been mentioned. To avoid repetition, this chapter will add information about general aspects of the articles, highlighting broad patterns in the knowledge being produced and information that seems to be insufficiently explored. This will help me reflect on the reasons for that and pave the way for a discussion of alternative ways to move ahead.

Following this strategy, the chapter comments on articles' geographic scope, temporal series and most addressed variables, among others. The aim is not to develop a meta-analysis of the literature that explores the CAPS, or a systematic review, but to highlight the main characteristics of a group of around 160 articles in which CAPS are central. This will help to understand the movement from data to knowledge, as well as the potential of, and gaps in, the CAPS. Mostly centred on articles from the six focus countries, the chapter also covers studies from the US and other countries that have begun to investigate this topic since the end of last century.

7.1. Un(der)explored data

Regardless of the long list of studies published so far, most of the interviewees believe that the available data are still largely underexplored by academics. A few researchers from or based in the three European countries were the exception to this. One of the main reasons for the underuse of the CAPS is the shortage of professionals interested and skilled in both economy or statistics and cultural studies. Beyond this shortage there is prejudice, or a certain discomfort, among

professionals at the idea of surveying culture by means of quantitative tools, as well as on the part of quantitative researchers about adapting their tools to the particularities of arts and culture. This tension would reverberate in the academic job market. According to several key informants, from every country and from different backgrounds, there are not enough academic researchers with a good knowledge of both quantitative methods and experienced on the particularities of the cultural area to mine the available data and produce knowledge from it.

As one British researcher said, '*There is a bit of an issue, certainly in the UK, but possibly more broadly. The number of people who have got the skill set to analyse large, complex survey data sets and who are interested in sociology of culture is very small. You are probably interviewing all of us.'* Key informants from four countries spontaneously tried to count this *'very small'* group. Two European scholars mentioned figures from *'probably three or four'* to *'less than twenty'* to illustrate their comments about the situation in the UK. A researcher from France, saying s/he was being optimistic, estimated that there are at most 15 professionals investigating the data. In Chile, one interviewee mentioned five scholars, while two others repeated the idea of a small group. These estimates bring some perspective of the present scenario.

In some countries, the lack of data on culture (Brazil) or its recent introduction (Argentine, Chile, and Spain) is another meaningful factor undermining studies in the area. Regular and robust data collection is obviously necessary to attract academic researchers whose main contribution would be precisely to investigate this kind of information. The ability of governments to build partnerships with academia to develop the surveys and the way to make the data accessible, also plays a part in stimulating or hampering the work of researchers. The characteristics of the academic job market add another limiting factor to economists and data scientists aiming to walk the bridge towards researching culture providing them with fewer databases to mine, fewer journals to publish, a paucity of job opportunities and probably lower salaries.

7.2. Prejudice, shortage of bi-skilled scholars

This gap in *'bi-skilled'* professionals is not primarily connected to any particularity of the CAPS, rather reflecting a natural distance between arts and culture on one side and tables and charts on the other. Almost all the interviewees agreed that there is some resistance or discomfort among cultural agents, researchers and policymakers regarding the use of quantitative data and methods to investigate culture. The closer association of artistic and cultural work with creativity, subjectivity, immaterial value and individual forms of expression and experience would attract people more interested in exploring these attributes than those aiming to address it from a quantitative perspective.

When asked if they believed there was some prejudice against quantitative methods among those who research culture, only one European interviewee refuted it with a clear *'no.'* Another

interviewee preferred to address the distance between culture and data as a question of *'ideology'* instead of 'prejudice.' Her/his argument was that the latter would imply something *'malicious or vindictive.'* The vocabulary they used to describe their point of view ranged from a *'tends to dilute'* approach to an intense *'oh my god!',* with most opting for a *'yes,'* or a *'certainly.'*

None of them, however, said this resistance was getting worse. *'Today there is less prejudice, but when I started, I had to apologise'* for working with data on the cultural area, said one economist who believes prejudice against the use of data is gradually decreasing. A Brazilian researcher made a direct connection between prejudice and the shortage of professionals with quantitative skills: '*There is a devaluation of the surveys within the cultural area. Nobody values them. The producers don't think they are important. The government doesn't think art surveys are important. So, what happens? No one values it, no one specialises in it.'*

This complaint came not just from South America. It also showed up on the other side of the spectrum, among researchers in England.

> *I always say there aren't enough people doing the analyses. There are probably three or four people in the UK who are sufficiently sophisticated in their quantitative analysis skills and that are inside and experienced in the cultural sector.* (…) *They're all brilliant, but there aren't enough people really drilling down into that data.*

The researcher also connected the shortage of *bi-skilled* professionals to some prejudice: *'You know, lots of cultural sets of workers are incredibly fearful of numbers and figures. It's not why they went into the arts and culture. So, there's a huge data problem within the sector.'* And in the case of England, the lack of data is certainly not a problem: *'I think there is a myth that there aren't enough good quality cooks or data around. I think there is too much cultural data around. The problem is that it is really fragmented and very few people know what to do with it.'*

The scholar is not alone in her/his perception about what happens in the country. Asked at the end of the interview if s/he wanted to make any additional comment, a different British researcher came back to something already mentioned previously:

> *I would reiterate that there are just not that many people who are interested in this area and who have both the technical background and the time to do very much analysis with it. (…) I often see people suggesting more data should be collected, there should be more surveys. I really don't think that's the problem. The problem is finding enough people who have the capacity to analyse this sort of data.*

Almost the same words came from a scholar in France.

> *In France, in sociology, the researchers who are interested in cultural questions and who are a little versed in the manipulation and processing of statistical data are not so numerous. Let's be optimistic. There are about fifteen of us at most who are very comfortable with this stuff. It creates a bit of underuse. That is to say that professionals in this field are not very familiar with these materials and tools.*

Similar comments were made by researchers from the three South American countries. For the first, the shortage of quantitative professionals in the area of culture goes beyond economists:

> *Recently, I've been to a seminar on data and management in the cultural area from the perspective of big data, data science. And that made me reflect not only on the interest of economics, but also on the field of data science. It is also difficult to find professionals who are approaching data science from the field of culture. It is very complex. I have the feeling that there is a lot to do in the sector.*

This perception could be exemplified by the experience of the second, a researcher who worked in partnership with an important university from her/his country: *'no one there wanted to deal with data, even though they were considering launching an Observatory of Culture.'* And for the third, more people mining the data was critical, to *'add value to the tool'*: *'There is not enough critical mass to add value to the tools in my country. There are a lot of people researching culture, but not with enough of either quantitative knowledge and understanding of the cultural area.'*

Commenting on the efforts made by British institutions running doctoral training programs on the analysis of data on culture, one scholar mentioned that s/he had heard reports of other researchers commenting on how this imbalance challenges the ability of some academic professionals to develop quantitative skills.

> *Because the students don't have a background in the focus, they really struggle to apply the analysis to the sector, to policy questions, to public engagement questions. So, there is a real problem. There's a real skills gap and there aren't many, you know, modules or courses or programs in the UK or globally really* (aiming to address these gaps).

The same imbalance in the profile of students enrolled in some cultural management master's degrees designed to reduce the gap and bring together quantitative and qualitative methods in the area, was mentioned by an Argentinian professional. *'The master's degree in cultural management from the Faculty of Economic Sciences (…) addresses the issue of economics in culture, but in general the students do not come from the economic side.'* According to a Brazilian researcher, this scenario just reflects what happens in the graduation: '*The courses*

in arts in general, whatever they are (fine arts, performing arts, audiovisual), prepare the professional for the language, not for a professional career (beyond that)*.'*

7.3. Fewer opportunities

The distance between culture and data reflects back onto the job market, meaning fewer opportunities in academia for those aiming to work with both perspectives. According to a European researcher,

> *There are not the conditions to build a long and systematic intellectual career. People do their PhDs, go to University, write one or two articles and that is the end of their careers* (in culture)*. They move to another area because in culture there are not so many opportunities, the institutions rather want professionals coming from sociology, I don't know…*

This restrictive scenario has made her/him explore international partnerships: *'You must think as part of an international community because locally there are few people* (working on it).' The researcher claimed to have struggled to keep working in the area, and that s/he did it because of being *'an intellectual committed to culture.'*

One piece of evidence of the lack of opportunities mentioned by another scholar from the same country is the absence of academic centres specialised in exploring data about culture, which could enhance the production of knowledge supported by it. *'Universities have not created research centres on the topic. They do not have a concern to use this data to reflect, to create publications.'* The size of the country (Chile has a population of around 19,6 million people) could also play a part in challenging academia to be more robust in quantitative studies of culture. Without the necessary academic institutionalisation, data would be mostly used to foster *'individual investigative trajectories. (…) The 'research team' is rather an individual element.'*

A similar perception comes from Argentina, where a policymaker highlighted that this is a new area of knowledge:

> *The trajectory of working with data may be just beginning. There are many careers with professionals who do not think of culture as a working area. There are very few economists in Argentina who think about cultural issues. Most are anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists. There is not a tradition of anthropologists and sociologists working with data in Argentina. It may be a matter of academic traditions, right? That goes far beyond culture, but things are starting to change.*

A Spanish researcher followed a similar path, emphasising academic job opportunities as a key issue, both from a financial and a status point of view.

> *If you're at an economics department of a university, and if you study health economics or labour economics, you're on the top. You are going to publish in good journals. There are a lot of journals on these topics. You're probably getting better opportunities to get promoted and to have a higher reputation among your peers. But cultural economics, at least in Spain, is quite marginal. When you try to be promoted, when you submit your CV, you are probably not in a good position.*

And s/he continued by showing how tricky and circular the challenge can be:

> *This is important in terms of the use of the CAPS. It means that they are underused just because there are not many people mining them. (…) In my case, reputation is not important. Having fun with what I really like to do is more important. Sometimes I must do things in other fields to publish more often in areas that have a higher reputation, or try to mix both things, some public economics with the cultural area.*

The comments above, made by three researchers about their personal trajectories, illustrate the different strategies some scholars adopt to cope with the practical challenges of working in the area: mixing it with studies of other fields, looking for international cooperation and exploring databases from other countries, respectively.

7.4. Data and research

Reducing the distance between culture and data would require the removal of a practical barrier in some countries: the lack of data. This would be mostly problematic in developing countries, where the production of larger official cultural data sets began only in this century. The scenario seems particularly critical in Brazil.

Asked why there were few professionals in the country working with data, especially economists, an academic provided a straight and clarifying reflection: *'Because in our country you don't have consistent data sets to test hypotheses associated with production, consumption, or dissemination of arts and culture.'* S/he mentioned that the health and education data sets developed in the last 25 years in Brazil had an important impact on the job market, attracting researchers from applied economics to explore these two areas. *'In the eighties, when these data about education and health were not available yet, most of these professionals were oriented to the labour economy, an area already with enough data to be explored.'* S/he argues that culture

could benefit from the same process if there were available and meaningful quantitative information. Without it, however, either in her/his own work or when supporting their students, the alternative is to collect their own data, which has limitations and frequently results in smaller samples.

Advocating for the development of specifically designed indicators for arts and culture, s/he highlighted that some of the data available today are a *'compilation from other sources, from data sets built with other aims',* resulting sometimes in categories of *'fragile definitions.'* Her/his reflections speak to those of another Brazilian researcher who made the same complaints and summarised the scenario in the country in quite a strong way: *'It's hard to talk about what's missing when everything is missing.'* This researcher also faced the challenge of having to collect her/his own data. *The perfect scenario, 'my dream as a researcher',* s/he mentioned, would be to have the government producing large databases. *'So, what would I work on? I would work on the densification of these numbers.'*

These last reflections from Brazil make a counterpoint with the England scenario. In the former there are few data to be explored, in the latter there are few people to mine the fresh data available year after year. Another concrete example of the impact of data on research came from Spain. An experienced scholar working on cultural economics mentioned that s/he had started out exploring data from the US, since there were almost no available data in Spain in the 90s. The situation, however, has changed completely in this century, allowing her/him to develop different studies supported by the statistics provided by federal and regional governments.

Not surprisingly, scholars who did not consider prejudice as a meaningful issue came from Spain and England, countries with different and robust sources of quantitative information about culture, regardless of both having started to build them regularly in this century. Ateca-Amestoy said on the subject that the country was *'privileged',* while a British scholar considered themselves *'lucky'* to have the opportunity to work in an academic landscape with people who recognise and value the importance of data. Spain regularly collects data about time use and cultural engagement, including from a robust national CAPS, and regional surveys from Catalonia. In England, where two annual surveys are available with data about culture (TPS and ALS), the development of the concept of creative economy and the effort to use quantitative indicators for public policy are likely to have stimulated quantitative academic studies, including those supported by the CAPS. Both recognise, however, that they work in particular scenarios that do not reflect the reality faced by most countries.

The French case allows a different perspective on the role data can have in research. France was the first European country to implement a CAPS in the 70s, connecting it to public policies. It made a leading contribution to the development of the sociology of culture with the work of Pierre Bourdieu, who used the research surveys as a key tool for his investigations. One French interviewee highlighted his contributions when asked about the use of data in academia. In several

countries, scholars have used the CAPS to test Bourdieu's idea of *distinction* in their particular national contexts, confirming the importance of education and earnings as the main variables influencing cultural engagement. Regardless of that, the country does not seem to be producing as many academic reflections based on the PCF survey as its historical background would suggest.

According to her/his perception,

> *Today these surveys are of less interest to researchers than 15 or 20 years ago. It seems clear to me that, in France, there are fewer researchers making their thesis about cultural practices or cultural policies. Lots of other study objects have appeared and culture itself seems less attractive.*

Unlike the idea of the economy of culture, where culture is central, becoming a particular object of study, in the creative economy culture could be immersed within a larger category, becoming *'a slightly drowned element',* as mentioned the researcher. Beyond the emergence of new concepts that blur the already tricky idea of culture, the large gap between surveys, of from seven to 11 years, could also play a decisive part in reducing the number of French studies underpinned by the CAPS.

Considering the last decade, an English researcher could explore data collected every year, with ten editions to mine. A Spanish researcher could have three surveys to compare (from 2011, 2015 and 2019). Their French colleague, however, would have to rely only on data collected in 2018. The frequency and regularity with which data are collected are likely to whet researchers' appetites to invest in a specific field, reflecting on the knowledge coming from them. With eight surveys conducted between 1979 and 2014, the province of Quebec has attracted a relevant group of academics to explore data sets on cultural participation.

Commenting on the European surveys, one researcher said they are not much used by academics because data get old (the last general studies are from 2015 and 2016). S/he believes the new wave of cultural data to be released in 2023 may stimulate more scholars to explore them. One Spanish researcher made the same comment in relation to the private companies, whose decisions are taken in an annual basis.

The difficulties of creating an area of proximity between the qualitative and the quantitative in culture are reflected even in the academic debates that address the way people engage with culture, leading to what a Brazilian researcher defines as a *'knowledge-protection-area.'* S/he has exemplified it with situations in which his/her articles were submitted to academic discussion panels about art and behaviour with the words 'cultural consumption' in the title.

> *What do they do? They move me. They always throw me to the art and economy panel. OK, there I go to the art and economy panel... And a skirmish starts. Because*

> *the sources I use are not from traditional economics. I work breaking some of the main assumptions of economists, right? I say that competition and the market do not necessarily provide efficiency* (in arts and culture)*. They take away efficiency, right?*

The consequence is distance between researchers investigating the same area:

> *So, there is also a view of protecting-one's-area-of-knowledge in the academy that prevents people from being open to data collaboration. This for me is the worst situation we could face. (…) We must work together. (…) I'm working with consumption in the anthropological, in the sociological point of view, of use and appropriation of signs, symbols and values.*

This idea of reducing barriers and bringing different knowledges together was repeated by researchers from Europe and Argentina, respectively:

> *Sometimes it does, but it's very hard to get them talk to each other. (…) You have these two different models and then it's quite hard to marry both. (…) What would be an ideal is that you have that interdisciplinary holistic way… that you have the economist and the social researcher reading the data together.*

> *But how to break those barriers of the imaginary of culture? That culture does not contribute to anything. (...) On the other hand, when you talk about economy, cultural professionals tell you one should not talk about it. You'll be considered a heretic for talking about the economy of culture. This is a challenge to overcome*.

This researcher continued by contrasting one image of culture as self-encapsulated (as culture is often portrayed by other areas) to another, where it would be transversally spread throughout different aspects of society (as culture often portrays itself). '*How to think that culture, like education, is a cross-cutting issue in all disciplines? When we talk about culture, it seems we are talking about something distant, a closed niche. For me it is cross-cutting, a transversal issue.'*

In some respects, the debate is country specific, influenced by the role data effectively play in each cultural policy context, and there are nuances depending on the area (cinema, music, visual arts, etc.). While producers and cultural managers seem more amenable to the use of data in the area, artists look more resistant. Overall, tension persists. The key informants quoted in the last three pages show that there is discomfort on both sides. Culture resists at being looked at with quantitative lenses, while economics resists adapting its tools to look at culture

Belfiore and Bennett (2008) addressed how the diversity of ways to look to the arts in our society can be synchronic, with different perspectives being manifested at the same time. From their intrinsic value to different instrumental approaches (political, social, economic, wellbeing, etc). This fluidity of ideas, of social roles, allows the arts to swing from one definition to another depending on the circumstances and dangers ahead. If someone comes to measure their value, arts flag its intangibility, leave culture aside, and contract inside an inscrutable shell. When funding is needed, they flag the power of ubiquity, embrace culture, and show up its multiple arms, exposing its transversal potentials (social, economic, health, wellbeing, social cohesion).

7.5. From data to knowledge

Beyond prejudice, lack of data and/or professionals, there are other reasons for the underuse of the CAPS in academia according to the interviewees. The way the surveys are made, from the building of the questionnaire to the way the results are disclosed also contributes to keeping the data underexplored.

One Argentinian researcher, who agreed that academics could explore the surveys more, mentioned that governments should look for ways to improve collaboration.

> *We know people who use it, but there could be many more. Communication is a very important aspect, the accessibility of this information and the links it builds. It is a question government could improve. The public sector often has timings and vicissitudes that make it difficult. When you set up a survey, the ideal was to be able to convene academics to provide a tool that could be useful to them. But the government has different timing. You managed to get funds for the survey. This is not cheap in the Argentinian context. You had to do it in a short time to keep the funding. And sometimes you can't invite academics to help in the questionnaire.*

S/he argued that the best scenario would be if there was *'appropriation by both parties.'*

Although I did not investigate in detail how the questionnaires were constructed in different countries, is possible to say that, at least in Chile, England and France, governments made an effort to be closer to the academy. The Chilean report (2017) includes texts written by researchers (as detailed in page 51), some scholars were consulted about the building of the questionnaire, and there was a partnership with French researchers. In England, the DCMS has made several changes to Taking Part from the 2016-2017 edition, informed by different *'user engagement actions'* (DCMS, 2016), including a meeting with researchers *'working in the field of culture and sports'* and consultations carried out through its Science Advisory Council. The process involved

academics or freelance researchers associated with the University of London, the Arts and Humanities Research Council, Loughborough University, the University of Sheffield, the University of Birmingham and Kings College, London.

In France, one academic researcher mentioned having directly collaborated in the development of the questionnaire in at least two editions of the survey. Another interviewee from the same country said that the Ministry was always worried about making the data accessible to researchers and had even funded some studies underpinned by the surveys. Many articles published by the French ministry have an analytical approach and are quoted in several academic articles, like the works of Olivier Donnat and Loup Wolff.

The relationship between the academy and policymakers in Spain looks to be more distant than in France or England. After three interviews I mentioned this feeling to a fourth Spanish researcher, who told me s/he agreed with it:

> *Data is presented by the government, published, and forgotten. There is no debate with specialists. They don't want to be questioned, if the methodology is the best… (…) They make the presentation, you can go there, ask questions, period. It is a simple presentation of results. (…) In Spain, there is no such tradition of debate with the academic world (…) beyond the fact that they commission (…) a person or two for a specific service. It's not feeding a dialogue. In this sense, the presentation of the Barcelona data is not only entrusted into academy, but there is a debate with academics, and a critical debate. That is not usual in Spain.*[89]

Moving one step ahead, the way data is disclosed by governments is also key to whether or not people feel encouraged to use it, facilitating scholars in their aim to transform '*data into knowledge'* - as Ateca-Amestoy defined it. Experienced in accessing databases about cultural engagement, s/he emphasised that results from the surveys should be

> *First, accessible; second, understandable. Understandable to different segments of society that could have legitimate interests on exploring the data: students, the industry, the media, and academic researchers. It seems essential to me to have understandable reports designed to each of these segments.*

Ateca-Amestoy highlighted that the easy access to data in the US, particularly micro data, would probably have played a positive part in the high number and diversity of studies about cultural participation underpinned by data from the CAPS. The easy access attracted scholars from

[89] The interviewee was referring to the survey conducted in 2019 in Barcelona and the debate that marked its launch (Video available at: https://barcelonadadescultura.bcn.cat/mesurar-la-participacio-cultural-com-i-per-a-que/)

other countries (Canada, France, England and Spain) to explore them, as well as facilitating their use in the training of researchers.

> *Countries that have these data infrastructures in open data instead of putting the records in complicated formats (…) they are going to get us to learn a lot more about what are the determinants, the barriers, the consequences of cultural participation, the implications of the social structure (…) I think this is another of the challenges. Not to think only in the statistics, what data and with what regularity, but how that is disclosed* (to society) *so that the data becomes knowledge.*

Right at the beginning of the interview, the testimony of a British researcher illustrated quite well the importance of the design of survey output. When contextualising her/his work, s/he said: *'I am not especially interested in things like reports published by national corporate ministries or whatever else like. I'm not against them, but the way that I work is to work with individual level record data, so that I can model my own analysis.'* Later in the interview, when asked about the importance of the surveys for policymakers, s/he highlighted quite well the importance of having different ways of disclosing the data.

> *Another critical distinction I would make is between the survey itself, which is something that I use for analysis, and the publications from DCMS. I went to a workshop with somebody who is sort of consulting on the future of DCMS statistics, and I explained that, in the kind of work I do, I am not very interested in dashboards. (…) My priority is being able to get immediate access to the raw data. And the person was very good at explaining that in the work that she's been doing, this was a real minority position. That most people very much wanted access to summary data, dashboards and so on to be able to interrogate these things more effectively. This is the kind of thing that is especially useful for policymakers.*

This comment also exemplifies the way the government and stakeholders in the surveys are interacting to try to improve them, from the questionnaire to the publication of the results.

7.6. Building bridges

Despite the barriers mentioned so far, universities were frequently mentioned as a key tool for fostering the use of cultural data. Supporting the argument that society still cherishes artists as enlightened professionals, a Brazilian researcher commented on how her/his work aims to offer another perspective to people entering the area.

> *Students arrive young, aiming to be artists, (…) not having to compromise on anything. This is the great vision. (…) And then we start building. We are at a business school. So, we start to build not only the artistic, but also the business vision. And then they change. But it's a construction, it's a training process.*

An Argentinian researcher argued in the same direction. Experienced in the CAPS, s/he tries to train students in how they could explore the data to plan their projects and ideas.

> *I work all the time with my students, and I put the survey* (*Encuesta Nacional de Consumos Culturales - ENCC*)[90] *everywhere. We work with design and planning of cultural processes. One of the axes, in addition to diagnosis, is the issue of cultural mapping. They are going to work in a special locality, right? What is mapping? Mapping implies knowing all the actors in the creative system* (of that locality)*. We work so that they begin to visualise this* (the information about the cultural habits of the population coming from the surveys)*. (...) It is a big paradigm shift.*

The researcher advocated for the use of data about cultural participation to be a formal topic in universities. *'It is a central issue to be included in the curriculum. And hammered out in some way that what is not measured cannot be evaluated and cannot be changed.'* According to her/him, people who are being trained to work with culture should have more access to quantitative information about the sector. *'There should be one central topic on training, or at least they should know this world exists. It should be part of the academic environment.'*

Another interviewee from Argentina said that

> *…much of the information generated at the Sistema de Información Cultural de la Argentina (SINCA)[91] is used in academic fields linked to cultural management, the economy of culture. The ENCC is widely used as information from macroeconomic indicators. It happens to me a lot to meet with different officials and state agencies from other areas that tell me they've used the SINCA reports to teach classes.*

S/he highlighted the cross-sectional report about community culture, edited in partnership with Argentine's program *Puntos de Cultura*[92] in 2017, was much appreciated, especially for having explored different levels of engagement in community activities according to gender.

---

[90] In English*, Argentinian Cultural Consumption Survey*
[91] In English, *Argentine Cultural Information System*
[92] *Puntos de Cultura* (Cultural Places) 'is a national program that seeks to strengthen the actions of networks, collectives, and cultural organizations of territorial anchorage.' (https://www.argentina.gob.ar/cultura/gestion/puntos-de-cultura).

> *It was widely used by the community culture academic sector, in which there are postgraduate courses. (…) The module had questions about hierarchical engagement, asking if people have participated in community culture as activity organiser, group coordinator, voluntarily or just passively. When it came to the most hierarchical positions, organising or coordinating activities, 75% were men; when it came to participating voluntarily or only going passively to an activity, the vast majority were women. There was a very large gender difference.*

Courses on arts and cultural management are certainly contributing to reducing the gap between the areas, as they foster the circulation of more quantitative information about culture. Even in Brazil, where the distance looks greater than in other countries, there is a growing interest in understanding arts and culture beyond the artistic language. The first academic course at the Federal Fluminense University, in the state of Rio de Janeiro – a bachelor's degree in Cultural Production – was launched in 1995. From then, up to 2016, another 126 initiatives in the areas of Cultural Production or Cultural Management have been mapped, 81% of these starting between 2006 and 2016 (Jordão, Birche and Allucci, 2016).

Reflecting on the main observations from the interviews, it seems clear that the differences in the kind of knowledge and content that attract professionals to work in arts and culture on the one hand, and statistics and economics on the other, curb the number of professionals able to navigate between these two areas, which is a key asset in fostering the academic production of quantitative studies about culture. Professionals aiming to study arts and culture have limited interest in developing quantitative skills, while economists, statisticians, and quantitative researchers are not attracted to explore the specificities of the cultural area. With a restricted number of professionals aiming to walk the bridge from one side to the other, there is a shortage of opportunities to attract people to build these bridges, exploring and developing the available data. In Brazil, there is also a shortage of bricks, the data, to build the bridges. Considering the CAPS specifically, this means less mining, lower academic production, less *'added value.'*

This difficult and tense interaction between culture and numbers, though, is being slowly and gradually attenuated. There are more countries using quantitative techniques to measure the social and economic importance of culture from different perspectives, including the ones aimed to assess cultural engagement.

And there seem to be more initiatives aiming to train students to explore the economics of culture, either as researchers or as cultural professionals. The flow of students from a qualitative background towards some quantitative training (management training to be more specific) looks to be more intense than in the opposite direction (quantitative background to artistic, cultural, creative training). How to improve the articulation between these areas is probably a topic deserving more

attention and investigation. Even strong critics of social and economic instrumentalism of culture highlight the importance of cultural measurements (Belfiore, 2022).

7.7. General tendencies

Regardless of the limitations mentioned so far, sociologists, economists, statisticians and anthropologists investigating the CAPS from multiple perspectives have already produced a significant amount of work. The main debates supported by the surveys have already been addressed in the literature review. As a conclusion to the chapter, it may be helpful to highlight some general tendencies of and limits to the academic production emerging from CAPS' data. A detailed analysis would require a systematic review and a better understanding of each countries' cultural landscape, particularly of the available data.

This exercise aims to show the general patterns of knowledge produced from the surveys' data, to spotlight the most explored variables and those that are underexplored. Some issues were either already discussed in the chapter on CAPS' methodology and/or will be addressed in the reflections on how to move ahead. Analysis of more than 130 articles has shown that:

- **The comparisons again:** Most studies are centred on data from a single country.

There have been some efforts to explore results between countries, but these are a minority. Comparisons have been made between France and the US (Christin and Donnat, 2014), France, Quebec, and the US (Pronovost, 2002), and Quebec and the US (Garon, 2009). It can be questionable to compare a province (Quebec) with countries, but similar language (Quebec and France), proximity (Quebec and US), and the existence of long series (all coming from the 70s or 80s) seems to have facilitated it. Garon (2009), for example, explores data from four surveys in Quebec (1979-1989-199-2004) and in the US (1982-1992-2002-2008).

The tendency of researchers to explore the main trends in their own countries is exacerbated by the several restraints on comparability already mentioned. These difficulties and differences between the countries made *Kulturanalys Norden,* a Nordic knowledge centre for cultural policy develop a report arguing for a cultural engagement survey among young people from the countries' regions (Björnsson, 2018). Also based on the countries' proximity, Myrczik et al. (2022) have written an article comparing the effects of the pandemic between Dannes and Finns. In Latin America, Nivón and Bonnilla (2012) compared surveys in Chile and Mexico, addressing a range of things from methodological and political issues between the countries to specific results.

The continental surveys would, in theory, stimulate the development of analyses that include several countries, since they were built to provide researchers and policymakers with a study that adopts the same questions in all countries, facilitating comparability. However, the academic production that explores these data using a comparative approach is still restricted (Falk

and Katz-Gerro, 2016; Van Hek and Kraaykamp, 2013; Ateca-Amestoy et al., 2020). One limiting factor seems to be that the countries with more scholars working on CAPS also have larger and/or better data sources, which means that their 'home surveys' use larger samples and/or questionnaires, probably discouraging academics from exploring the continental surveys.

Beyond comparative analyses, the European surveys have allowed the development of studies in countries where I did not find a CAPS (what does not mean they do not exist), like Poland (Grześkowiak, 2016) and Slovakia (Šebová and Révészová, 2020), and focused on a particular group, like youths (Parvu, 2014).

- **Losing the regions:** *There are few studies exploring data by region.*

Many scholars have complained about the lack of data on what happens in specific territories, either a region, a city or a neighbourhood, that could demonstrate cultural diversity within each country. This complaint is largely supported by the analysis of this group of articles. There are few studies addressing the regional differences within countries. In Argentina, Brazil, and France until the latest study, a small sample size is a limiting factor.

In others, where the reports do disclose the results by some administrative divisions, as in Chile, Spain and England, the reasons for the scholars' lack of interest are not clear, particularly because the concentration of public investments in some regions is an issue in several countries. Regarding the questionnaire, if on the one hand the lack of specific questions for particular regions limits the CAPS' ability to explore diversity, on the other, similar questions would allow for comparability. Considering the sample size, they are most of the time reduced to mining sociodemographic variables within each region, but the samples are not so small as to make investigation completely inaccurate.

There are, however, examples of studies that highlight regional differences within some countries. In the US, Schuster looked for correlations between public funding and cultural participation (1988), and major regional differences on cultural habits (2000). In England, Leguina and Miles (2017) built on the TPS to compare cultural engagement in nine different regions. In Switzerland, Rössel and Weingartner (2016) showed how differences in the cultural offer contribute to levels of engagement in four countries' cantons.

There are also examples of studies that referred to CAPS to highlight their limited ability to look in detail at more specific localities, either at a country's region (Gilmore, 2013) or at subregions of large cities, as in London (Evans, 2016). In the former case, Gilmore explored data from ALS (which are more geographically detailed than TPS) as a starting point to then apply qualitative methods to investigate topics not allowed by the characteristics of the CAPS. In the latter, Evans used more granular data from other quantitative sources to investigate whether the existence of cinemas, libraries and arts centres throughout London could influence cultural participation among those living closer to these facilities.

- **Still building temporal series:** *Most studies explore data from a single year.*

Since there are few countries with regular survey initiated over 20 or 30 years ago, studies following series over time are still limited compared to analyses focused on surveys of a specific year. Methodological changes within the series can also pose challenges for studies comparing surveys conducted in different years.

As they have two of the more extensive series of surveys, coming from the 70's and 80's, respectively, France (Coulangeon, 2013b; Farges, 2015) and the US (Peterson and Sherkat, 1995; Peterson et al., 2000; DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004; Rossman and Peterson, 2015; López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro, 2005) have more examples of studies aiming to address the evolution of cultural habits. The long interval between the surveys, the largest among the countries investigated, seems naturally to invite comparisons. Changes in cultural participation would be more expected in the long term. Nevertheless, there are already some studies tracking series starting this century, like in Chile (Peters, 2021). Other examples of countries and regions that initiated their surveys' series before the 90s, providing data for temporal analysis were Denmark (Jaeger and Katz-Gerro, 2010), the Netherlands (Van Eijck and Knulst, 2005) and Quebec (Lapointe, Pronovost and Lemieux, 2017).

The French interest is also associated with the fact that one of the objectives of the surveys was not only to measure the effectiveness of cultural policies, but potential changes in the sociodemographic profile of audiences. Beyond the works already mentioned, the report from the latest French survey, almost wholly focused on the analysis of the whole temporal series, highlights changes that have happened in the last five decades (Lombardo and Wolff, 2022), providing a picture (in this case a movie), that few countries have.

In the US, the long series also allowed similar studies. Stern (2011), commissioned by NEA, investigated whether there were differences in cultural consumption among different cohorts. The author worked with four main groups: World War II (born between 1935-1944), Early Baby Boom, (1945-1954), Later Baby Boom (1955-1964), and Generation X (1965-1974), since the sample sizes did not allow robust analysis of those born before 1935 and after 1974. NORC at the University of Chicago, also commissioned by NEA, explored the influence of taking part in art classes during childhood on cultural participation in adult life (Rabkin and Hedberg, 2011).

- **Access and participation:** *Data about participation is underexplored.*

This tendency seems to reflect one of the main arguments presented in the last chapter (chapter six), that the measures for access coming from the CAPS seem clearer, more objective, and tangible than those for participation. It is easier to explore data showing that a certain percentage of people have been to the theatre or to a museum than to explore data addressing how many people have engaged in singing, acting, or painting. In the former case, it is possible to connect the data with public investment and economic development of those areas and to use them as a reference for democratisation of culture policies, for example.

In the latter case, the information from the surveys seems to be early-stage data that requires further development. Is the data connected to an amateur practice, a hobby, some occasional classes, or what? Even though the surveys investigated in chapter six include variables that explore some forms of participation, countries collect them differently, not addressing all possibilities, and data seems indistinct, less ready to be adopted as a clear and uncomplicated indicator. Despite their theoretical potential to express cultural democracy, they seem to require more adjustment to connect to cultural policies. Another hypothesis deserving investigation are the lower percentage rates these activities show in the surveys. From 15 participatory activities with results mentioned in the 2018-2019 Spanish report, only one registered a percentage higher than 20% (*'taking photo'*, 29%), and ten had results below 10% (MCUD, 2019b, p. 41).

- **Choosing variables:** *Most articles focus on a group of activities.*

Even though there are several articles that explore the data of specific cultural segments, most academic studies supported by CAPS data focus on a group of activities simultaneously. If not included music because of the 'omnivore-effect', the area of museums and heritage is the one attracting more attention from scholars. Some examples of the diversity of studies are analysis coming from the early 90s (Schuster, 1991), from Belgium (Willekens and Lievens, 2016), focused on the *Latinobarómetro* (Ateca-Amestoy et al., 2020), or exploring online and offline engagement (Mihelj et al., 2019). It looks to be an exception.

The investigation of the sociodemographic variables influencing cultural habits and the differences in engagement between social groups benefit from the work with a group of activities. In many of these studies, specific areas are mentioned. Sometimes this is done only descriptively, so that readers can be aware of the methodology and of the activities included in the analyses. Sometimes they differentiate consumption patterns, to illustrate, for example, that attendance at the opera is associated more with the higher social classes than cinema or music festivals.

Music is a particular case. Many articles about the concept of omnivorousness explore data about musical genres and are examples of one-area-studies. They are, however, focused on the patterns of consumption associated with specific social groups than on the musical field itself. The musical genres themselves are diluted behind the categories of univorous and omnivorous consumption. And there are not many studies exploring data on music festivals, for example. As a counterpoint, Leguina et al. (2017) explored musical taste and different ways to listen to it in Chile, from radio to cell phones. Activities like dance, circus and even theatre have deserved less attention from researchers.

It is reasonable to imagine that the tendency reflects the area of interest of the scholars exploring the data, many of whom have a background in sociology, and some in economics. The CAPS have not attracted so much interest of academics aiming to explore specific cultural fields. This can help explain, reflect or be a symptom of the underuse of data and of the lack of a stronger connection between academia and the development of specific public policies. At the same time,

the lack of analysis by field can deter professionals from cultural institutions aiming for specific information from their fields, not 'culture' in general. This discussion will resume on chapter nine.

- **The digital:** *Starting to face the mismatch between supply and demand?*

The recent growth in the supply of data on cultural participation online in most of the countries starts to be reflected in studies coming from the CAPS. However, the investigation conducted here is not broad enough to strongly support this point of view. It would require wider investigation of academic production, including digital, media and communication journals, for example. Some examples are the efforts to investigate how online and offline activities combine (Ateca-Amestoy and Castiglione 2014; De la Vega et al., 2020; López-Sintas et al., 2023), videogame (Borowiecki and Prieto-Rodriguez, 2015) and future perspectives (López-Sintas, 2021).

Nevertheless, there is seemingly a mismatch between the data on digital engagement, the importance this has in the daily life of society, the relevance these data need to gain in future surveys, as requested by many interviewees, and the use of the information available. The absence of an established quantitative methodology for measuring the digital could be one reason for this. The speed of the digital changes could also make researchers insecure about exploring the data, since they can get old very fast. The existence of other data sets on digital engagement, much more robust and being constantly updated could also help to explain it.

- **Children:** *Data on the cultural habits of children are almost unexplored.*

Researchers seem to have very little interest in surveys of or about children. Even in the countries where these data have been available since the beginning of the national series, with specific questionnaires administered either to children or to their parents, as in England, Spain and some Nordic countries, there is no robust group of studies exploring this information.

Some of the exceptions supported by the TPS are the studies by Sherger and Savage (2010), and Leguina et al. (2022). With slightly different approaches, both articles explore how cultural socialisation during childhood and parents' encouragement influence the intergenerational reproduction of cultural capital. In Belgium, researchers have investigated whether the fathers' or the mothers' education had more influence in cultural participation of adolescents (Willekens, et al., 2014; Willekens and Lievens, 2014). Similar studies were made in the Netherlands (Van Hek and Kraaykamp, 2015).

- **Education, earnings, class:** *Variables associated with 'class' are the most explored.*

Regarding the multiple sociodemographic variables addressed by the surveys, those more influential in cultural engagement are naturally the most mentioned in academic articles. They are at the core of Bourdieu's studies and play an important part in the debate about omnivorousness, differentiating between groups and/or subgroups depending on the investigation. Occupation,

when available, is also explored since it can refer to the social status of interviewees. The topic was mostly addressed in the literature review.

After these 'structural variables', age seems to be the information attracting more interest. Beyond the several examples already mentioned in the topic of 'Still building temporal series', there are specific studies focused on young people (Octobre, 2009; Mendes and Costa, 2015; López-Sintas et al., 2017) and on elderly people (Keaney and Oskala, 2007).

Age has received more attention from scholars than gender (Christin, 2011, 2012; Ateca-Amestoy and Ugidos, 2021; Katz-Gerro and Sullivan, 2023), marital status and kids at home (Di Maggio and Mohr, 1985; Upright, 2004; Lazzaro and Frateschi, 2017; Ateca-Amestoy and Ugidos, 2021). Race (DiMaggio and Ostrower, 1990) and religion, regardless of the importance they have in many societies today, are still largely underexplored. In some countries like France, there are restrictions on the collection of data on ethnicity. In England, the geographical distribution of immigrants from different countries in particular cities and/or regions makes it difficult to explore the data, even with the boost samples sometimes adopted. In the US, due to the predominance of data collection by phone, many surveys developed in the last century have a potential bias in that they are likely to under-represent racial minorities. Language limitations prevented me of investigating if and how the German survey focused on immigrants *(Das 1º InterKulturBarometer, 2011)* was explored by academics.

- **Supply, demand:** *There is a gap in studies trying to match these concepts.*

Finally, one of the pillars of economic theory, the relation between supply and demand, is almost unaddressed by researchers. There are articles and reports that mention market trends occurring in certain periods and in particular areas of culture, as the growth of TV, the closure of bookshops, and the boom in streaming services mentioned in some French reports with focus on changes over time. There is not, however, a consistent group of studies matching the CAPS' results with the supply of cultural activities described in chapter six.

Like generational studies, supply-demand investigations also require temporal series of surveys to provide more robust analysis of the influence of, for example, more cinemas and theatres on attendance and depending on the focus of the analyses of more detailed regional data, as mentioned in the study of Evans (2016). Beyond the difficulty in some countries of not having national data on the supply of cultural activities, it would imply the development of much more sophisticated research.

Roughly speaking, this chapter has worked as a kind of counterpoint to the literature review. The latter demonstrated the main contributions to knowledge about cultural engagement and to the development of the sociology of culture and cultural economics made by academic articles supported by the CAPS. This chapter addressed the prejudice still facing the development of cultural studies underpinned by quantitative data and technical gaps specific to the surveys

which may hinder their usability by academics. Additionally, it offered a brief overview of the main variables explored and not explored by scholars.

The investigation of the ‘academic life’ of the surveys transitioned from the lack of official public data in Brazil to the recent introduction of data collection in Argentina and Chile, and ultimately to the shortage of bi-skilled scholars, something noted even in Europe. The chapter explored a possible relationship between the frequency of data collection and the number of academic studies produced, suggesting that countries collecting data more frequently tend to attract a larger number of scholars. The argument spotlights an important consequence of the data gap in the Brazilian context. However, even researchers from countries conducting yearly surveys expressed concerns about the availability of professionals to effectively investigate the available data. Some of the topics mentioned here will be taken up again in the next chapter, which aims to explore the connections between the CAPS and policymakers.

CHAPTER EIGHT
POLICYMAKING

In this chapter, the thesis keeps tracking the social life of the surveys, moving the focus from academia to the main aim of the CAPS: to inform policymaking. Supported by the conversations with the interviewees, it adds another layer of information to the understanding of the use of the surveys, paving the way to reflect on possible ways to improve them. Despite recognising the CAPS' importance, the key informants argued that they are barely used to support evidence-based policies.

Political and technical issues are behind this. The use of data to drive policies is a challenge in all areas, not just in culture. Governments' political agendas, as well as a certain inertia of the cultural sector are some of the main determinants of cultural policies, regardless of what surveys and other studies may show. In the South American countries, particularly in Brazil, the late institutionalisation of culture and of cultural statistics add another challenge to the introduction of evidence-based policies.Several issues discussed in the last chapter, like prejudice, shortage of bi-skilled professionals and technical characteristics that limit the use of the data, are resumed here. The short-term contributions are in fragmented and punctual initiatives, while the long-term ones are in raising awareness of questions like cultural inequality, the importance of amateur practices, and the limits of the democratisation of culture policies.

Two caveats are needed here. The debate benefits from the interviewees being or having been throughout their careers either policymakers or researchers exploring issues connected with cultural policies. It is, however, influenced by this. The professionals' testimony incorporates their political bias. Second, I did not go through the countries' policies to check whether and how the surveys' connect to the policies implemented in each context. The discussion, though, is limited by these issues, being underpinned by the experience of professionals working and/or reflecting on it.

8.1. Institutionalisation

The fact that cultural policies are mostly built at national or local level, reflecting the particularities of each country, the concept of culture they embrace, the political agenda of the party in power, and differences in the socioeconomic development was largely expressed in the conversations. Nevertheless, interviewees also mentioned similar tendencies arising from the

political use of data, once again prejudice and a common feeling that the tool would help raise awareness of cultural inequalities in the long term. Data gives politicians of all colours a flag to raise, including those in opposition.

Roughly speaking, and always considering the caveats mentioned above, the CAPS look to be experiencing different moments in South America and Europe. In the former, their absence (in Brazil) or recent introduction (in Argentina and Chile) reflects an emerging, and sometimes fragile, institutionalisation of culture. With the cultural sector institutionally weak, its policies are more exposed to discontinuity in governments, and the CAPS do not really connect to the ongoing debates on democratisation of culture and cultural democracy, for example.

In Europe on the other hand, more specifically in England and France, data from the CAPS play an important part in the debate, not exactly to inform policy, but contrary to what was expected by governments, to bring news of their inefficiency. Although they are apparently not under threat of being stopped, the CAPS have a residual impact on public policies. They seem to contribute, however, to raising awareness about the persistent inequalities in cultural engagement, about the need of audience studies, and about the importance of cultural participation.

8.1.1. Brazil: lack of governance

All six Brazilian interviewees connected the lack of institutionalisation of culture to the data gap there, mentioning some of its possible consequences, from a lack of continuity in policy and the shortage of bi-skilled professionals to high turnover in public office.

A lack of institutionalisation will weaken the cultural area, limiting the possibility of collecting data and isolating it from other federal departments. According to one key informant, experienced in working with different governmental areas:

> *Culture has this weakness, it lacks the culture of using data, with few initiatives in this direction. We work with many sectors, doing quantitative studies about health, education... (...) We had a large demand from education last year* (2020, during the Covid-19 pandemic)*, for data on internet connection in schools, for students and teachers, so they could think about remote teaching policies. This dialogue and effective use of data is broader in more institutionalised sectors.*

Two other researchers complained about culture's isolation. As mentioned by the first, *'Education does not dialogue with culture. And culture doesn't have enough hands to carry out all the necessary actions, right? So, culture needs to talk to someone....'* The second went in a similar direction, saying s/he was quoting another policymaker: *'the areas of education and culture must have an arm in economics, right? In the Ministry of Economy and Finance. But anyway, we know the reality.'*

The shortage of bi-skilled professionals contributes to the high turnover in the cultural departments in charge of data, studies and surveys (when they exist). Or in the professionals in charge of culture in the technical departments providing services for public bodies. In the Brazilian context, a researcher who had the opportunity to interact with the Ministry of Culture, mentioned that *'there is a lack of staff in the government regarding cultural management. And a huge turnover. This is really a problem.'* S/he commented on how professionals from technical bodies were frustrated while working in partnership with the cultural area because at each meeting they had to interact with different staff. According to her/his evaluation

> *…the challenges are rather of governance in data production and definition of priorities than conceptual ones. The lack of structure in the federal level* (both in the Ministry of Culture and in the institutions in charge of official statistics) *makes you do not have a clear demand or the possibility of a partnership* (to investigate some areas). *The government has many priorities, like health, education, security...*

The turnover question was mentioned by interviewees not only from Brazil, but also from Chile and England. The countries' level of institutionalisation, however, appear imply different impacts. In England, the DCMS has had an average of almost one minister per year since 2010. A relative stability in the overall structure of ACE, civil service and policy would make changes in the professionals in charge of or working with data less critical.

In the Brazilian context, in which there is no department focused on research and/or data, no consolidated civil service structure in the cultural department, turnover would be more problematic. Not to mention the dismantling promoted in culture by the far-right government between 2019 and 2022.

The interviewees commented on the challenges of institutionalising a culture of data collection before the government of Jair Bolsonaro (2019-2022), and the huge dismantling of cultural institutions when he came to power. According to one researcher, in an interview carried out in 2021, *'we are experiencing the total failure of cultural policies at the national level*. *Five years ago, there was still some dialogue between data production and policy development that no longer exists.'* The rupture has interrupted a process that was already fragile, but that was starting to gain traction, with efforts, for example, to implement the *Sistema Nacional de Cultura* (SNC).[93]

For her/him, the data collection gap starts even before the CAPS.

[93] In English, National System of Culture

> *In terms of public management, we are still a few points behind, still trying to understand what is done in the territory, the practices, (…) what is being produced and its manifestations. Frequently, on practice research, you discover things in the territory that you haven't imagined were being produced.*

S/he highlights that this is not a new problem.

> *The ministry failed to develop an area of study. There was a project, but that area ended up not taking off. Data systematisation has advanced very little. In fact, there was a lag in discussions regarding the design of what the national system of indicators and cultural data should be, with some people wanting a system providing information for management and policy, and others thinking about the dynamics of actors and territorial issues. In fact, it didn't even get to a formal design.*

Echoing the researcher's argument, a Brazilian policymaker also mentioned the gap in data on production, particularly regarding producers far from big cities and those less institutionalised. This would curb studies of their profile, of the production that could be accessed by the population, a step before the CAPS. *'Since you don't have a basic dataset, it's difficult to assemble any sample. It ends up biased, as in some places the information that a survey is being carried out does not even arrive. (...) And then there's a big crowd out there.'* Highlighting the fact that unsuccessful efforts were made, s/he concluded: *'The government is not even capable of producing data and measuring the impact of its own actions. That would be a first step, knowing at least what is being done, (…) to then take a second step, from the population's point of view (...) We can't even handle the first step on this path, you know?'*

For a third Brazilian interviewee, changes come in the long term and prejudice against data *'tends to be diluted:*

> *The attempt to implement the SNC had a great responsibility in paving the ground, although I find it very technocratic. (...) I think the implementation of the municipal culture policies, the local councils, the conferences, this was creating a culture of information about culture that can change the landscape. It changes little by little.*

S/he also mentioned how the building of a dataset on the cultural infra-structure in Brazilian municipalities, developed by the *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* (IBGE), has helped to raise some awareness of the importance of collecting more data on culture since it mobilised cultural professionals throughout the country.

A researcher who participated in some efforts to introduce data into public management highlighted how the transit of professionals between academia and government positions was another factor slowly stimulating the use of data in public management.

> *In Brazil, the use of surveys ends up being more intense at academy (...) In public management, they are not used that much. You don't have a technical staff doing systematic evaluation, monitoring data. In the 2000s we were able to insert the use of surveys into management practice, but in a very incipient way. (...) We don't have this practice. This only occurs in certain areas, like reading and museums, which have been structured more recently. But the data is important to academic works' diversification, reflecting on management. Key figures in public management end up going through the academy, taking some of this academic practice to management.*

The importance of contact with the reality on the ground of public services was also underlined by the researcher, who called attention to another transition, the one leading some cultural agents to get jobs in government. Commenting about her/his experience, s/he said that when some cultural professionals started to get jobs in the public sector in her/his state, they realised they needed databases that were not available. This would have made them less resistant to the use of quantitative information.

8.1.2. Timing mismatch and discontinuity

Beyond all these questions, a researcher also mentioned how the gap between the length of time necessary to carry out a survey and the speed at which politicians wanted data to deliver their agendas restrict a survey's ability to influence public policies.

> *For political leaders, the surveys are annoying, inconvenient. (...) Technicians who deal with cultural activities, who are committed, are the ones interested in doing them. (...) Politicians are not interested because it is too slow. It doesn't match political timing. (...) Imagine I take over the ministry and commission a survey. The time to formulate, collect, analyse it... It's already time for me to leave. And the guy who takes my place has no interest* (in continuing the survey)*. (…) The technicians are the ones that carry on.*

A similar feeling came from a different Brazilian interviewee who worked on developing surveys and in public service. Her/his comments echo the one made in the last chapter by an Argentinian researcher on the difficulties to connect with academia:

> *Sometimes in the academy you have time to analyse and reflect which could ease the dialogue with the surveys, right? Regardless of the survey. But when you're in public management, it's difficult to create that time for a more accurate look at certain phenomena. Time is so fast, there's a lot to deliver, a lot to be done. And a lack of time for reflection and planning based on indicators and data.*

Institutionalisation has helped Argentina and Chile to develop their surveys. Unlike Brazil, which does not have departments to take care of quantitative information about culture, both countries developed their CAPS with the support of specific areas: SINCA in Argentina and the *Subsecretaría de las Culturas y las Artes, Departamento de Estudios, Sección de Estadísticas Culturales* in Chile. France and Spain also have statistical departments.

The existence of these public bodies, however, would be necessary to assure the production of data, but not sufficient to avoid their underutilisation. None of the Chilean interviewees believed surveys were properly used to plan public interventions and three of them mentioned how the 2017 survey was underexplored, in part due to a change in government. One of them directly addressed the mismatch between state policies (built every five years) and the presidential elections (every four years) as a factor undermining the use of the surveys.

> *On one hand, there are the cultural policies of the state, which are the guidelines. (...) On the other hand, there are the decisions made by the governments in power. (...) They already come with the plan previously made. The investigation, documents and background do not matter. (…) And these decisions must be implemented because they were campaign promises. The cultural policies that are more complex are hidden; they don't matter. They work more as a discursive element than anything else.*

Finished in 2017, the last Chilean survey was released in the following year by a new elected government and the mismatch would have played a key role in that. One researcher taking part in the survey made a strong and personal report about it:

> *It is unfortunate. One does a public survey; it is not from the sitting government... There is a responsibility, you have committed intellectual, professional and technical efforts from many institutions and actors. (...) It was very unfortunate that it came across a change of government and a minister, in my opinion, who played a disastrous role. They neither studied nor reviewed the survey. They left it aside, they didn't use the results to connect with what was key... policies, plans and programs must be underpinned by statistics. (...) That's democracy. (...) Of course each government wants to put its stamp, that is very legitimate. Another thing is do not*

> *recognise the instruments that must go much further than one administration. (…) After the change of government in 2018, the minister literally threw it away. That speaks of an institutional weakness, of an incapacity and a precariousness the cultural field still has. (…) It was a tremendous effort, a lot of work over two years. We worked weekends, it was a hell of a job, building the questionnaire, looking for internal consistency, methodological adjustments, focus, scope, UNESCO recommendations, a small team (…) It was crazy. If they didn't have this quality, I don't think we would have been able to really pull off a mission like this.*

According to this researcher, the situation changed after the right-wing government lost the election in 2021. After that, s/he saw the CAPS quoted in some official documents at least.

An Argentinian researcher mentioned the same concern: '*One of the big problems that Argentina is facing is the continuity of public policies. Each government throws away what the previous did.'* For her/him, the surveys' discontinuity fostered problems: *'Having continuity in the regulation of information is essential. In Argentina it doesn't happen, which clearly generates a lot of information gaps and these black holes in planning.'* S/he believes it is a *'perverse'* process. If the surveys show good results, governments are inspired to highlight some data. If they do not, it exposes the administration, showing a potential lack of action regarding the sector.

A Brazilian researcher added that this could be particularly critical if the country does not have a culture of evaluating its policies.

> *We don't have this culture. I think public policy research must be useful for the manager, right? It must relate to management questions. It's fundamental to learn, to create networks (...), to show things are complex. And not by making a speech about the research, right? You ask a researcher to investigate something, and when he criticises* (a public project) *you say s/he must adjust... 'It's too hard'* (the evaluation) *and the government risks ending the program because the researcher was too critical. You must take advantage of the criticism, make it public, call researchers and managers to debate.*

A similar evaluation came from a Chilean researcher, who believes the CAPS are used for two reasons.

> *First, to communicate that during an administration, access to culture has increased. When that has not happened, it's not reported. (...) Second, in basic diagnoses, using statistics to elaborate regional cultural policies. When a plan is made for the region, it integrates (...) some descriptive data about cultural engagement in that*

region. It serves as a kind of diagnosis in a document that no one reads, that is not very relevant and that is useful to be able to map the situation a bit.

Echoing the distinction between public servants and political leaders made by a Brazilian researcher, s/he concluded:

But, if you ask me, within the public policy decision-makers, about the ministers of culture... These data are presented to them in a moment, and then they are not used any more. I believe in Chile, as well as in Latin America, the investigations do not serve as a complex input for the final decisions about cultural policies.

8.2. *'Your results are wrong'*

Moving to the European countries, the key informants' testimonials changed a bit in perspective and seemed to be more embedded in the discussion of public policies, particularly the tension between the democratisation of culture and cultural democracy. The institutionalisation of the CAPS, however, would not prevent neither underuse nor political use of data. On the contrary.

France is the classical example of how cultural policies, data and politics combine. The first quantitative studies had as an explicit ambition to measure the impact of recently introduced cultural policies and, as mentioned by a Spanish researcher, were an *'organic part of it.'* Already mentioned in chapter four, this case shows how the results of the survey done in 1988 thwarted the expectations of the government, enhancing a heated debate not just about the cultural policy, but also about the surveys (Donnat, 1991). According to one interviewee, one minister, dissatisfied with the surveys' results, said to a member of the research team: *'Your results are wrong.'* The messenger had become a problem for bringing what was considered to be embarrassing news.

Curiously, as a result, at least in the French case, the 'good news approach' just changed hands, becoming a propaganda tool not for the government, as expected, but for its critics.

I think there is a real problem linked to its political use, in the narrow sense of the term. (…) They've always been used as an 'a posteriori' measure of cultural policies' failure or success, rather than as a support tool for policy development. (…) We hold up statistics saying: 'Oh well, look! Public subsidy for culture doesn't work.' I may be exaggerating a bit. But not much. I have the impression that since the 1997 edition, the CAPS have been essentially brandished by the opposition. So, it can alternately be in one camp or the other, depending on the situation, but it is always brandished as an instrument for measuring the failure of policies and, in particular, the failure of the democratisation of culture.

Although the government always needs to present positive results, one British researcher believes that raising awareness of this *'a bit negative'* trend is one of the important contributions of TPS to policymaking.

> *From a policy perspective, one of the most interesting things, with a handful of exceptions, is that the rates of people participating in various bits of publicly funded culture are incredibly stable. The numbers are relatively flat over the entire period. Something will go up here, or we'll go down there, but broadly, the story is very much one of stability. Which is interesting because there is often an expectation that interventions to cultural policy will lead to significant differences in cultural consumption. And TPS shows pretty effectively that's not the case. (…) You also see relative stability in demographic breakdowns of audiences. Policymakers implement policy expecting that it will have implications for the diversity of audiences, and I think TPS communicates that's not the case, which sounds a bit negative. I think it's incredibly helpful because there can be the sort of optimism bias in a lot of cultural policy, this belief that individual interventions will make significant differences. It's helpful for TPS to exist as a kind of benchmark to establish whether or not these are going to be the case.*

Returning to the French researcher, beyond the allegedly negative results (a point I return to later in the dissertation), s/he also complained that discussions about democratisation of culture would have overshadowed other approaches to public policies.

> *These surveys would make it possible to measure other things, but they're used a lot in that spirit, in such a way, there's only it. Today's politicians, I feel, are trying to hide their results, which are perceived as a tool to potentially delegitimise public intervention in culture. Politicians are often very embarrassed by their results in a country where cultural policy has perhaps been given the exclusive aim of democratisation a little abusively. After all, one could say that the public financing of culture is justified by this objective of democratisation, but it is not justified by it alone. There are the aims of heritage, conservation, support for the aesthetic avant-garde, which do not directly find an audience, and so on (…). But in France we consider that the main justification is democratisation. And the surveys risk being essentially mobilised as a tool measuring the failure of these policies. So, politicians get very embarrassed using it. That's a huge problem.'*

8.3. Inertia: changing narratives, not the money

Also frustrated by the lack of change in the sociodemographic patterns of audiences in England, a researcher argued that what s/he defined as 'action' would not come from social science or surveys, but from funding. Her/his arguments reinforced the idea that the problem is not having data to inform policy, but to move beyond that, facing the inertia of public policies and cultural institutions.

> *We've seen 40, 50 years of ACE saying 'we'd like more ethnic diverse audiences.' (…) And there's not been much of a change. It strikes me, yeah. You know, social science and the use of audience surveys is not where the action is. (…) They're designed to give you national pictures, to tell you about art forms. They're not designed to tell you about individual organisations or institutions. I always think, if ACE wants a more diverse theatre audience, they should fund organisations that care to it. They shouldn't fund organisations that don't care to diverse audiences and expect them to do something different because they won't. We've got 40 years of evidence they won't.*

Political inertia in the way the money was distributed among cultural institutions and in the way these institutions behave would explain the resistance of inequalities in CAPS' results:

> *The question is the extent to which organisations act on information about potential customers. You've got a sense that with better information institutions would act differently. And I always wonder in cultural policy, whether institutions will just carry on doing whatever they want to do. (…) That's a much more kind of a plausible explanation. If you look at how the Royal Opera House (ROH) behaves, they carry on doing the things that they want, almost irrespective of the broad policy landscape. They interact with it, but there's not been like total transformations of their audiences over time.*

According to a European researcher, the surveys would have residual impact on policies.

> *Most of the budget goes to maintaining the cultural institutions you already have. That's something that won't change. Then you have that kind of more independent cultural activity. (…) I think that information is useful for knowing where that extra funding could be channelled. It has a kind of impact in that sense. As a kind of large cultural policy, humm… Policy is in general run by political objectives.*

This gap between a diagnosis of inequalities and a practice unable to confront them was a constant complaint in the British scenario. Another scholar highlighted that despite DCMS' investment in understanding audience behaviour, policies were not able to diversify their profile.

> *DCMS is going back to TPS data from 5, 10 years ago and trying to track patterns and trends. So, they certainly are in public policy. Examples are the huge amount of money that's been spent on audience development initiatives, particularly ACE. The reality, however, is that those policies have singularly failed in democratising audiences. (…) There's a feeling among staff that the arts are very much for a left-wing-elite-liberal-Guardian-reader, which is actually true, I think. And there is a huge focus now and nervousness at the ACE that wants, again,*[94] *this agenda of 'we can't spend that much money on 8% of the population' will rise to the fore and be very uncomfortable for them.*

A third British key informant argued that the surveys still support past decisions, rather than drive new ones:

> *I suspect DCMS use them as a source of proof rather than as a source of curiosity. (…) I think policymakers by and large go to TPS when they want to find something that's going to tell them that their decisions are the right ones, you know. (…) I don't think there's a big vision about how data gets fed into the decision-making process at all. (…) We're not necessarily on the front foot using that information to drive policy, but we're using it as a way of justifying policy.*

This perception was manifested by interviewees from both South America and Europe. The lack of meaningful changes in the percentage of people attending cultural activities would put the CAPS in a perverse circle. Once they repeatedly evidence inequalities, governments would be able to repeatedly invoke policies of democratisation of culture to deal with them. Paradoxically, the negative results would justify both the past and the future fundings, providing a comfortable and easy answer for a difficult question.

The ROH was also the example used by a fourth researcher to make her/his remarks. *'What's interesting is that you can have all the data in the world, because we've had all the data for a long time, and nothing ever really changed.'* S/he highlighted, however, that this happens not only in culture, but also in other areas. In her/his words:

[94] Interview made in October of 2021.

> *If you look at drugs policy, it is not based on evidence. It's simply based on personal experience, prejudice, and false beliefs almost universally. It's a very good case study for how data is irrelevant to policymaking. If the people in charge of policy don't want to change their minds... Because that's surely, at a very basic level, the purpose of data. To enable people to change their minds based on data. But we know full well that cultural policy doesn't really work like that.*

After a moment of optimism, when it was asserted that one thing *'data is achieving (…) is it pushes conversations about inequality forward,'* s/he resumed the argument about inertia.

> *But it's very, very difficult for people who work in the arts to see themselves as part of the problem, because they only self-identify as being good liberals. (…) What do you do in a situation where your career, your professional and personal identity is all about being a good person, developing audiences and democratising the arts, and then somebody says, 'actually, no, you're one of the bad guys? Because this isn't a fair system, it's structurally unequal.' And nothing ever changes.*

And the researcher gets to the ROH:

> *It's the inability of people in the cultural sector to see themselves as part of the problem. There is huge, vested interest and privilege in maintaining the status quo. If you look at the ROH, they don't want anything to change. Why wouldn't they? There're people working there with very good salaries and very nice jobs, (…) and they will fight to stop change. It doesn't matter what the data says.*

The idea that the surveys could help to shape and inspire the discourse but fail to promote practical changes, was also strong in the reflections of the British researcher. *'The project of democratisation of culture has largely failed and needs to be replaced',* something s/he did not believe would happen *'anytime soon.'* Her/his reflection continued by highlighting how other discourses came up, without changing the inertia in the way money is distributed.

> *The ultimate test of all of this is where does the money go? Always follow the money, not the changing language or the shifting discourse that ACE continually generates. You just need to see if the money is still going to the same places. All they have done is that classic neoliberal thing of just (…) changing the language and changing the minds whilst continuing to do the things they've always done.*

For her/him, data would also challenge the narratives of the cultural area.

> *The cultural sector lives on narrative. (…) If there is no data, you tell yourself stories. Humans have done this throughout history. Whether it's about gods, or the weather, or anything, we tell ourselves stories. Arts organisations have the stories they tell themselves about their audience, their community, their values, and most of those stories are just not true. And you always have a challenge when data is introduced that contradicts the narrative. And that is really the big story. Of all data in the cultural sector, whether it's TPS or a marketing report (…), whatever it is... It challenges this narrative, and that narrative might be the enlightenment narrative of cultivating sensibilities and human attainment, or (…) of developing audiences or democratising the arts. They're all narratives that data challenges in some way.*

Before moving on, a brief note about the opera, the great villain of high culture. It was chosen by interviewees from England, Spain, and Chile as a kind of symbol of elitist cultural activities. The interviews of the British key informants were carried out before the announcement, by ACE, in November 2022, that it would cut funds for the *English National Opera* (ENO) if the institution did not move out of London. ENO's ACE funding is around 50% of ROH's. The question was still being discussed and some decisions reviewed towards the end of the thesis. It was not clear, though, whether this is an initial signal of further changes (the long-term effect of raising awareness) or a timely initiative to show that nothing ever changes.

8.4. *'A bit of a threat'*

Prejudice was mentioned again as a source of resistance to the use of data, as well as a limiting factor for training that would result in a shortage of bi-skilled professionals working in the area, repeating what happens in academia. This point was mentioned in different tones by the interviewees. A Chilean researcher explored a certain misbelief about data:

> *I have the impression that decision makers don't believe in the data. They do not believe in research; they do not value it as an element that helps them to discern. I believe that there is a kind of prejudice, of discomfort, of not understanding the importance of the investigation to understand the problems.*

A policymaker also from Chile argued that data could challenge the status of the area:

> *It is a sector not used to working in these languages, sometimes it is even uncomfortable. (…) Not just because of the numbers or the rationalisation behind it. It is easier to know that one has a vested right to a certain place, even if that place is less than what one should like. (…) Research put this matter into discussion. And paradoxically, the sector that is the most innovative, the most avant-garde, can also be the more conservative.*

As an example, s/he mentioned that artists were not comfortable with data showing low levels of attendance at some cultural activities, like opera. *'They don't like it; they see it as a threat.'* A similar belief, using the same word, was manifested by a French researcher: *'I have the impression that this is a domain where the statistical tool is seen as a bit of a threat.'*

A scholar reported her/his experience of talking with British policymakers and senior managers in the area.

> *They don't really believe in the instrument. They think it's flawed, and they are very critical about how well we can measure culture. They don't really take it very seriously or as seriously as they should. It's perfectly fine to admit the weaknesses of the survey in this field. (…) I do it every time in presentations and writings. (…) But if the sector itself doesn't even believe in their main source of information* (TPS)*, then... And it is a very rich* (source)*, probably one of the best in the world.*

According to a British policymaker, most cultural institutions do not even know about the survey: '*I'm pretty sure that most cultural organisations in this country have no idea what TPS is. I'm pretty sure. I do a lot of talking to people about audiences and that is not a data source that's accessible to them.'* S/he believes many cultural professionals do not recognise any value in these kinds of studies: '*I have a suspicion, an untested suspicion, that people in the cultural sector feel that consumer research is sort of a-creative, sort of counter creative.'*

8.4.1. Who needs a statistician?

Other researchers, however, in a more provocative way, do not assess the distance as a necessarily critical issue. According to a British scholar, there would be a natural job division between the creatives and the marketing teams of cultural institutions.

> *Obviously, senior curators, theatre directors, etc, virtually none of them have training in data analysis. They're meant to be trained as curators, directors, whatever. Their marketing teams are the* (data) *experts. And there is a complex relationship between them. The issue is not so much, 'do they use the data?' It's more like, 'why would they?' There's a distinction between the needs of a cultural institution to sell*

tickets and put on what they consider to be good work. And then broader things about what are the social patterns of cultural consumption in your country. (…) It would be slightly strange if an artistic director engaged with data beyond the kind of 'give me a summary of what the trends are.' If you see what I mean.

For another British key informant, the question should be tackled depending on the size and on the institution's profile. According to her/him, the main issue with using data is in small organisations which require a different approach than big museums and large theatres.

If you work in the theatre, where dynamic pricing is (…) a very important part of your revenue model then you want someone who's really good on dynamic pricing and has the statistical ability to do that, right? (…) If your business model justifies it (you should have a statistician)*, but the idea that most cultural organisations need somebody who's statistically able inside, I personally really push back on.*

Her/his reflections addressed in a practical way how to improve the use of data in culture. Small organisations with limited resources would not be able to afford specialists in many areas. They would have to choose the most strategic specialists to have in-house and know where to look for the other skills when they need them.

I don't think you need lots of people great at doing data. You need people who are good at doing data that can help those organisations. (…) You don't need to be a bloody quant researcher as well. You need to know how to use it. (…) I'm not really arguing against our ability to look at statistics and understand what they mean. But I think we should be able to do that as people on the street that understand (…) the basic economics. (…) The idea of having stats specialists inside organisations is nonsense. I think what we want are good mediators and people who are good at using insight inside their own organisations.

8.4.2. Building bridges

Providing the best 'survey trends', however, would also imply a good knowledge of cultural trends. Following a similar line of thought, two Argentinian interviewees underlined that quantitative professionals should also adapt and reflect on how to contribute to the area. There should be an effort on both sides to reduce the distance. According to one researcher, it is important to be aware of the resistance to find better ways to introduce data in the cultural area:

> *It is still difficult when one talks about data. It seems that data is contrary to the spirit of culture. It would encapsulate those intangibles that culture has in a number. Well, and that is why there is also a lot of work left to do in the areas that generate the data, to understand that they are tools, tools that can help others.*

A similar evaluation came from a policymaker.

> *There is still a challenge in how to translate in the best possible way, from the processing to the analysis in a way that serves public management. It has been used as a tool to implement public policies, but (…) there is much more to exploit. The Argentinian surveys have around 120 questions, the sample allows lots of crossovers (…). They have great potential. The challenge is how, from the officials who make the policies, as from those who produce data, to better interpret what the needs are. The challenge is to get both sides closer. We could produce much more information than we do.*

Arguing in the same direction, a Brazilian researcher considered that proximity should be built from the start: '*The surveys should be more integrated with the activity of those working in public institutions, right? It is difficult to incorporate them when there is no involvement of the teams from the beginning. It's very difficult to bring the surveys into their daily work.'* One example came from the experience of a Brazilian economist. S/he mentioned that, in her/his first meetings with cultural professionals, s/he used to argue:

> *I am sorry, but eventually you would all be included in a category. This is the way to build an indicator. I won't be able to differentiate the quality of your work. I will need a concept; for these concepts, I will need some dimensions; for these dimensions, some variables; to eventually get to an indicator. Will I be able to embrace all the diversity of the artistical and cultural scene? No, I will not, but you will have much more consistency when you need to defend your proposals, to implement your plans. So, you must be more flexible too…*

Another interviewee also commented on her/his experience of dialoguing with the sector in Argentina, where the Ministry of Culture had a high demand for quantitative information. S/he highlighted that the convergence of audio-visual content on online platforms is raising awareness among cultural producers of the importance of data.

> *They are aware that the strategic axis of these businesses is data (...), and of the need to process and understand it. (...) From a CAPS that allows inferring the entire*

> *population to administrative records of people who enrolled in a program. How is the data analysed? How do people behave? Who are they?*

The researcher also mentioned that there were *'tense moments, which have to do with sectors that do not feel fully reflected in the data.'* Nevertheless, s/he considered as positive their attitude of aiming to see themselves reflected in the data, to understand how they work and expand the possible measurements. *'I say data are not perfect, but we can improve them.'*

Regardless of the complaints about prejudice or the ideological differences keeping the cultural area at a certain distance from data, there were optimistic comments about the way things are moving; 'optimistic' from the point of view of those who believe it could be a good thing for culture. The most assertive came from this Argentinian researcher.

> *This idea of understanding culture as a dynamic economic sector, in which there are people working and living from it, and that's why it must be understood and measured. It is quite a settled discussion. There is no longer so much prejudice. Even the less industrialised sectors, which are more artisanal, are asking for more recognition as productive sectors because that implies expanding their rights as job and income generators, as dynamic sectors. At one point there was* (prejudice) *and the discussion was how to soften the discourse, how to bring those worlds closer. I think they are much closer, at least in Argentina there is less prejudice than before.*

8.4.3. Get to the ground

The way to move ahead, as also mentioned regarding academia, is to insist on training. An experienced Brazilian researcher highlighted more than once during the interview the importance of training to allow a better appropriation of data by public managers. Her/his reflection also anticipates some caveats about the data being produced, a topic that will be addressed further below, providing an insightful picture of how prejudice and the lack of training work in the area.

> *The analysis of culture is very empirical. (…) You have a feeling about the cultural landscape, but how effectively can you use that data? It's very far from reality. And there is a lot of arrogance deriving from the absence of method to deal with the surveys, isn't there? This work of honing, of tracking how the survey could be carried out in the daily work* (of cultural institutions)*, ends up slipping away. They end up being more important for academia (…) than for the cultural manager on the front line, working on the ground, who needs them. (…) The main challenge to these surveys is how to be meaningful for this engaged public manager, so s/he can take*

> *ownership of this data. (…) The surveys are key, but you must train these kids. We hit on that a lot. I'm not saying empirical experience is not necessary. Of course, it is. You have the feeling of what can work. But we also have a lot of arrogance. I can't find another word when some people say, 'I know what's right for the public.' It's not like this. If you don't have this data, this close relationship to cultural practice, you end up shooting yourself in the foot.*

And s/he concludes: *(...) 'The big strategic key is to train those who will receive the survey. If the person doesn't have the key to read it, to open the door, s/he will not be able to enter the survey, right?'* A practical example of the need to make the surveys reach the front line, connecting to the practical challenges of cultural managers was given by an Argentinian researcher:

> *They are extremely interesting, but policymakers, whether at the national, provincial or municipal level don't use them. They are designed for people with a technical profile. If you're not from the field, they are heavy, boring. The big challenge for my team was to think how the survey could go down to the ground to be understandable for people not from the field of numbers and be used for policy decisions, for the ministry, in academia, for private cultural institutions. The survey is an input. If you don't understand what's going on in the territory, you can't manage anything. (…) How to define public policies not knowing what's going on? (...) When I arrived in the territory of a province, I used to ask to the secretary of culture: 'Do you know how many artists you have in your city?' How can you plan if you don't know it? You don't even have the map showing the cultural scene of your community.*

The concern to map the ground to identify its needs manifested by this Argentinian researcher was repeated by almost all the Brazilian researchers.

8.5. Technical issues

Beyond questions of the institutionalisation of culture, data-driven political narratives, prejudice, ideology and its practical implications, there are also challenges associated with the technicalities of the surveys, with their methodological design. The key informants mentioned two main reasons potentially undermining their use: the geographic distribution of the samples (again) and a certain fragility of the surveys in providing information for public managers *'on how to act.'*

While the first reason is very clear, pointing to a technical characteristic of the sample that curbs its practical use in some situations, particularly regarding strategies to reduce inequalities, either in the direction of democratisation of culture or cultural democracy, the second seems a bit

unclear, requiring a more open approach. It has already been anticipated by some South American interviewees in the previous pages in connection with a certain distance between those making and those receiving the surveys, but it seems to go beyond that.

8.5.1. *'Not at the right scale of observation'*

It is clear at this point that one of the critical problems of the CAPS is their geographic distribution. Their limited ability to provide detailed information on regional level, particularly in large countries, curbs their use either for research or policymaking. This is a key discussion, since most debates on public policies at some point highlight the necessity of engaging people and/or institutions in the poorest regions, rural or urban, which would require exactly the data that is missing, some granularity. It connects with debates on diversity, as the lack of local focus means a gap of information that could differentiate what is happening in various parts of the country, particularly regarding popular culture and participation (Johanson et al., 2014).

The difficulties of addressing local challenges have already been described by a French researcher in chapter six. At the end of the interview, when I asked if s/he had something to add, s/he returned to the topic, reflecting this time on how to deal with the challenge.

> *I would be tempted to come back to a point I mentioned earlier: the difficulty that these surveys have in grasping local disparities. They provide insufficient information to study the impact of very localised initiatives. We must reflect on the transformation of the formats for the dissemination of culture, especially in France, where we still have a cultural policy that traditionally relies heavily on the major institutions (the Comédie-Française, the opera, etc.). (…) I think democratisation goes more through small structures, is more involved in local life, in neighbourhood life. We probably don't know enough how (…) to measure that. This is why we need more statistical tools produced at local and regional level which would allow us to measure (…) the impact of initiatives carried out locally by structures less prestigious, but undoubtedly more effective in creating cultural dissemination. I think that's what is mostly missing. We are probably not at the right scale of observation. We lack the tools to study changes on a finer, more localised scale, where initiatives occur which may have some effectiveness.*

To get to a proper *'scale of observation',* however, would require not only larger samples, but a questionnaire targeted at each region, meaning different questions in different regions. A closer investigation of the regional CAPS developed in Canada, Spain and Sweden, as well as the municipal surveys developed in cities in various countries, could help to check whether a local approach could really enhance the surveys' contribution when compared to a national one, or if this is just a wishful expectation.

8.5.2. How to inspire action?

The lack of practical outcomes, of findings that could inspire practical initiatives for cultural institutions and public policy was expressed in different ways by the key informants. The comment of one Brazilian researcher could be used to synthetise the different reflections made on the topic:

> *I think there is a serious problem. You deal with the data in a way that they give you little answer on how to act, but a reference to produce narratives. People take them less to plan and more to advocate for the importance of culture. This is relevant, of course, but the bonds between the person doing the research and the questions and the answers are a little frayed, tenuous. They want the data, but don't know why. (...) The difficulty of dealing with data in a dynamic way, with questions that are really action oriented, is one of the main problems we face in Brazil. We have on one hand a positivism in data production and, on the other, a practice closer to a narrative than a proper use of that information. (…) The surveys' use is disproportionate to the effort you put in. What's the meaning for the manager of the research we do?*

Two other Brazilian researchers expressed their worries using similar expressions. The first said that *'when the indicator is only the percentage of goers / non-goers, you do not provide a mechanism of action.'* The second complained that the surveys must be more *'effective'*: '*What is the key point? The survey to be effective. (...) Mapping what are the possible actions, what are the developments, how you build the relationship with the public.'* Arts professionals interviewed about the implementation of TPS also mentioned this discomfort (Bunting et al., 2019). The argument that a gap exists between the information collected by the surveys and the inputs needed to orient action on the ground was a topic also addressed by several researchers from both continents in slightly different ways. One British researcher argued that the questions should be *'more targeted.'*

> *We do need to get better about cultural data. (…) It's topsy-turvy. We're collecting far too much data and starting with the data rather than with the research questions, which is who wants to know, what and why, and to what end. We need the policy steer to determine the kind of data that organisations need to collect in a much more targeted way, so it will be useful. (…) We need to think about resources and about what we really need rather than take a very slapdash approach to collecting as much stuff as possible.*

Another European researcher developed a very strong argument about the importance of having a clear answer for the questions made by the British researcher in the previous paragraph to boost the development of the surveys, giving a historical context to support her/his point of view.

I think part of the problem arises from the fact that we have no certain purpose for our surveys. Starting from the mid 80s, when UNESCO first produced the framework for cultural statistics, we have been moving from one political demand to another in a very confusing way, although I think each of them was perfectly legitimate.

After mentioning how data about culture moved from a time use perspective to an economic approach, resulting in the need to collect different kinds of data, s/he went on:

We have a variety of possible purposes. I don't think we are producing data in a full corresponding way because we are asking the same kind of data to respond to all these pressures. (…) In some cases, I may let the boundaries be blurred. Let's say, I'm interested in assessing the contribution of culture to wellbeing. Maybe I'm not interested if you prefer Brahms or Ringo Starr. I could be interested in seeing if music suits you when you are sad or when you are singing, conquering your fears or putting the family together. I think we really need to refine the set of methods and indicators on the purpose.

Her/his point of view was also supported by a parallel with environmental data.

Until the mid 70s, there were almost no environmental statistics because simply the political perception of the relevance of the topic wasn't yet there. (…) This is strictly related to the fact that you have policies in motion. The policies are addressing some aspects and neglecting some others.

After mentioning the different indicators developed to address different policies' needs, s/he resumed her argument: *'I think that, for culture, it would be impossible to do something of the sort provided that we receive a clear political demand. Is not an indication, is to have a client, a political client that specifies* (its purposes)*.'*

8.6. Contributions

Regardless of the natural limits to the impact that any kind of quantitative survey can have on public policies, from the economic and political agenda that drive societies to the inaccuracies and technical caveats all datasets have, the key informants also mentioned several contributions made by the CAPS. They would come particularly in the long term, through a slow process of raising awareness about cultural inequality, evidencing patterns of cultural consumption, the different ways people engage with culture and the importance of participation, amateur practices,

cultural democracy. Even the understanding of the limits of public policies was mentioned as a positive outcome, as already discussed. Despite frustrating and challenging them, it would call attention to a real situation.

In the short term, they would mostly contribute to punctual funding decisions, inspiring some particular projects, and certifying others that were either already ongoing or going round in circles waiting for a push. In this sense, they would be more helpful to justify policies or programs, adding a quantitative argument to the narrative supporting them.

8.6.1. Through media and social debate

A French researcher gave an informed description of how this process happened in her/his country. According to her/him, with the influence coming via the media and the academy, through a *'social debate'* that mediated the use of data.

> *My experience is that the relationship between researchers and the political world is complicated. I've never seen a politician who make decisions based on research directly. Political decisions have their own logic, but it doesn't mean the surveys don't have any effect on cultural policies. It's often an effect more by ricochet or in the long term. The French surveys have often been debated in the media or in academia. And little by little, it gradually permeates (…) the political world and therefore the debates. (…) It's wrong to believe researchers publish results and politicians say, 'oh, that's interesting, so I'm going to do that.' I doubt it happens. On the other hand, the results often go through the media and are appropriated by social actors, and then influence the political world (…). And finally, it can influence cultural policies. My experience is more like that. It doesn't go directly from researchers to politics, but through the media and social debate.*

Data would also shape some political discourses.

> *And there are actors who take up certain elements of the investigation and use them as weapons in the political debate, right? For example, in France, the debates on democratisation of culture (…). Initially, in fact, it was not considered at all by the politicians, but five, ten years later, they've admitted the limits of the democratisation policy. I think that the survey results have contributed to influencing the political discourse of cultural policy in a significant way. It's indirect.*

The researcher mentioned two contributions made by the surveys. They have inspired public policies aiming to increase readership among young people and to help arts schools to

promote amateur cultural practices. S/he highlighted how the survey done at the end of the 80s showed society a more nuanced picture than the one coming from the publishing market data.

> *The 1988 survey was the first to show a decline in reading among the younger generations. We had continued to work on this drop, which at the time had taken cultural, publishing and political circles a little by surprise, because there was no drop in the turnover of publishing. No drop in turnover, it means 'everything is fine actually.' And what the CAPS had shown was that adults were basically reading more than before, explaining a positive effect on turnover. On the other hand, there was a risk that young people would read less. The surveys raised awareness about the problem. There were several measures taken in favour of reading for young people after that.'*

8.6.2. Cultural participation, cultural democracy

The second example came from the following survey, done almost ten years later, in 1997.

> *This survey had shown the importance of amateur practices which are a little abandoned, because in fact the Ministry of Culture paid little attention, if at all, to them. It only dealt with professionals in fact. So, in France, there is a much stronger divide between the practices of professionals and amateurs. And the results of this survey showed the importance and the development of amateur practices, contributing to raise awareness of the problem. And there was a policy towards amateurs, music schools, for example, theatre schools, writing workshops, and so on, that was developed from the 90s because of the results of this survey.*

In England there is a similar perception among some researchers about the importance of the surveys for raising awareness of cultural engagement through participation. One researcher associated the development of the CPP *(Creative People and Places)* program to an audience development approach to culture, fostered using the surveys.

> *Probably the single most important policy initiative has been CPP. And it came out of work from audience development. It came out of this old school kind of conversation about how hard it is to reach audiences in crap towns. (…) Those places and areas that had little cultural infrastructure or little ACE funded* (activities). *They have very rich community culture, of course, everywhere does. (…) And the model was: 'We've got these hard to engage audiences in their crap towns, mostly in the Midlands and the north of England. We can't build our centres and civic theatres like we did before. So, let's take culture to them and we'll let them co-create culture with (…) all these creative people and places. Projects sprung up and really*

> *caught the ACE by surprise. In terms of how successful and how welcome they were. CPP is what started the much bigger conversation around cultural democracy within the whole English sector. It came from an audience development perspective.*

The importance of audience development work in the English scenario, which had already been mentioned as an important contribution of the surveys by a researcher who highlighted the investments made by ACE, was mentioned by a third British interviewee. Beyond roughly agreeing with the 'long term-perspective' presented by a French researcher, s/he argued that private organisations would be more permeable to data.

> *That reflects, I think, on longer term trends, in things like museology training, arts management training. (…) Audience research is crucial because of the commercial nature of many of those artistic and cultural organisations. (…) It's a lot easier to be an artistic director who is, you know, aggressively dismissive of audience research if your funding does not depend on knowing anything about your audience.*

S/he also agrees with the French researcher regarding the role academy can play as a kind of a mediator between data and public policies but highlighting this could tell two different stories. At this point, the use of data by academy and policymakers overlaps.

> *You can tell a really positive story working backwards from Let's Create and (…) from Scottish and Wales cultural policy documents. (…) You could tell a story where all three of these countries have got fairly kind of good relationships… And cultural policy reflects these relationships and dialogues. You can tell another story where the academy is (…) relentlessly critical of everything that government does. (…) You'll get articles* (saying) *most cultural policy interventions are a neo-liberal action, and the government shouldn't be doing this. And on that level, you'd have to say, you know, 'there's no kind of relationship whatsoever.' It's an antagonistic and combative relationship. It depends at what level you want to pitch your analysis.*

The move from the CAPS, in this case TPS, to the academy, to public bodies, and then to the media was addressed by Belfiore (2016), who reflected on the possible impacts of the report *Enriching Britain: Culture, creativity and growth* (Neelands et al., 2015). The article discusses the repercussions of one statistic in the report: that only 8% of the English population was highly engaged in culture. It had great media impact, was quoted by several newspapers and used as a *'rhetorical tool in the intense debates around cultural policy and arts funding that took place in the months that preceded the 2015 UK general election'* (2016, p. 213).

Adopting a critical perspective to highlight the fact that scholars do not control the *'impact of their work,'* the researcher discussed how statistics could raise awareness about some important issues while at the same time risked being misinterpreted and hiding the case in which they were originally embedded. The '8% case' echoes what happened in France 25 years before.

8.6.3. Cultural segmentation

The economic approach to culture and the democratisation of culture agenda, which ask cultural institutions to expand and diversify the sociodemographic profile of their audiences to justify their funds and/or raise their revenues through donations and ticket sales, have fostered the development of segmentation strategies. Inspired by marketing tools that portray the population according to its consumption characteristics, different models were designed to address how people engage with culture in the US (WolfBrown) and particularly in the UK – ACE, MHM, The Audience Agency (TAA). The British models were analysed by Ashton and Gowland-Pryde (2019).

ACE used data from the TPS and TGI to update its segmentation model in 2011.[95] As defined by the main document supporting the strategy,

> '*This segmentation analysis is based on an analysis of the patterns of arts engagement and attitudes towards the arts, drawn from TPS. (…) It therefore provides a tailored, more effective tool for arts marketing in particular, allowing us to explore socio-demographic and other lifestyle factors in the context of people's artistic lives, not vice versa'* (ACE, 2011, p. 4).

ACE's model divides the population into 10 subgroups. MHM and TAA work with 8 and 13 groups respectively. The three segmentations are presented as being supported by the motivations, preferences and attitudes people have towards the arts.

The interviewees were questioned about the contributions of these methodologies for debates about cultural engagement. Among those more familiar with them, the preponderant point of view was that they would be mostly useful as a marketing tool, but not add much to the academic debate. The arguments were manifested in slightly different ways:

> *If you need to design a marketing strategy and you want to (…) customise it in different areas, then they are tremendously useful. (…) From an academic perspective, they're often telling the same story most of the time. You know, there's one group, which is a relatively small fraction of the population (…), they tend to be highly educated, affluent, white, live in the Southeast, and so on.* (First researcher)

[95] The earlier work, from 2008, was the Geodemographic classification of consumer types developed by CACI (ACORN) and Experian (Mosaic).

They're useful, but very reductive. (…) I think they're interesting, (…) but they're blunt tools, aren't they? They categorise people in often very unhelpful ways. (…) There are kind of ideological problems on segmentation, but it has a role to play. Certainly, in arts marketing. From a policy perspective, I'm not sure... (Second researcher)

For marketing, it's important to do segmentation analysis. For academic purposes, it's important to do robust research with real categories, like class, race, gender… (…) Academically, it's not that we don't care, but it's like a division of labour between sociology of culture and arts marketing. Arts marketing is the legitimate subfield of marketing, business studies. Sociology of culture is interested in the stratification of cultural tastes, of cultural attendance. They do different things. (Third researcher)

8.6.4. Engaging audiences, legitimating action, supporting small initiatives

Moving back to the South American countries, the interviewees provided some examples of different repercussions the surveys had had in the management of cultural institutions, in specific projects, in some sectors and in funding decisions. According to two Argentinian interviewees, the existence of a national survey would have worked as a benchmark for the sector.

In recent years, there have been some efforts to improve the work with data. There are some surveys (made by private venues) *and mappings. (…) Before they were not even observed. This is good (...) It seems it was first possible by the framework developed by the government, in a large operation. Then there are technological issues that help, now it's cheaper to make the surveys (...) they can be done online.*

One example of an institution that would be using the national survey is the *Instituto Nacional de la Música*, according to her/him. The CAPS would have inspired the development of other surveys focused on the profile of its audience and actions aiming to attract more women to concerts. These initiatives look to reproduce on a much smaller scale what happened in England.

According to one interviewee, beyond stimulating cultural institutions to have a closer look at their audiences, the CAPS seem to have endorsed some specific projects. In October of 2021, the government launched the program *Más Cultura Joven* (More Young Culture), which aimed to provide financial resources for economically disadvantaged youth (18 to 24 years old) to access cultural products and services. The document that implements the program several times quotes data from the 2017 survey. Another example comes from the circus. CAPS' data have provided contextual information that was used by the Directorate of Cultural Industries of the Ministry of

Culture to support the decision to declare the circus a new sector of the cultural industry (implying it should be included on public policies on a national level).

According to another Argentinian interviewee, some surveys were also useful for endorsing ideas *'that were already under discussion'* but coming and going, and to prioritise some competing projects. *'In general, what we have seen is that there are projects, ideas and those that appear later endorsed by the surveys are taken.'* Commenting on a question about the most relevant cultural events for the population, which was included in one survey, s/he mentioned that the results helped the government to prioritise investments in particular areas and to justify funding decisions in a scenario of financial restrictions. *'Are these the events that interest people the most? So, let's make sure that they are held.'*

The researcher said the survey also helped them to gather useful information to advocate for new programs and practices that could be improved, particularly when discussing with government authorities from other areas. S/he highlighted two topics associated with key issues discussed by the thesis: the regional disparities ('*to understand which regions are most lacking in cultural venues and services')* and cultural democracy ('*to understand that many people carry out active cultural practices, like singing, playing instruments, taking classes. And we should pay more attention to training spaces, venues for people to do activities').*

These examples highlight the potentials of the surveys to validate some ideas and projects. It would be a kind of counterpoint to the situations in which the CAPS would only justify past policies. They would not be the primary source of information to promote the projects, but would inform governments, providing additional evidence that some projects would make sense.

Small initiatives that used data to support policy decisions could also be seen in Brazil. One interviewee assessed that they are barely used for public policies (*'we are still quite far from that'*) but pointed to positive initiatives coming from some cultural institutions. Curiously, these were from the same sectors already mentioned by another Brazilian researcher.

> *Data on internet access have guided discussions at the National System of Public Libraries to try to develop initiatives to connect them. Or data on digitisation of collections in museums that have guided some initiatives to think about making collections available online. What we have are some specific experiences of using data by specific sectors.*

Regardless of these brief examples, it is important to consider one caveat pointed out by a British researcher. Calling attention to the importance of the overall context underpinning policy decisions, s/he emphasised the risk of misinterpretation: *'Unpacking the use of social science in policymaking I think is complex. And I tend to be sort of quite cautious when you see (…) analysis*

that says, 'this evidence was produced, therefore this institution did that.' Those types of analysis I think are never correct.' I address some of the implications of this comment in the next chapter.

Thinking the other way around, on how to properly assess the impact of a certain policy, a Brazilian researcher argued it would require specific assessments, not broad surveys. *'If I want to evaluate a specific policy, I have to cut out the segments and then do a qualitative x quantitative analysis. You must do it for that specific area of policy. So, you can assess whether that policy was effective or not.'*

Spain was underrepresented in this chapter (no key informant was quoted). This may be due to a certain distance between the CAPS production and the overall cultural sector, as mentioned in the last chapter, specifically regarding the lack of interaction between government and academia. Or it may be a bias of the group of professionals I interviewed, who would be less involved in the political debates. Overall, their reflections were more technical.

This chapter has shown that, similar to academia, CAPS are underused by policymakers. Their long-term contributions can be observed in raising awareness about cultural inequalities in society and informing debates on cultural policy. In the short term, CAPS help endorse projects and programs and encourage cultural institutions to closely examine their audiences. They are also utilized to construct political narratives by both the government and its critics.

The move from data to policy in culture is exposed to the same problems as in other areas, confronting limits determined by the political agenda, particularly in countries where culture is less institutionalised and lacks governance, as in the Brazilian case. Prejudice and a shortage of bi-skilled professionals limit institutions' ability to explore them. The methodology employed by the CAPS also contributes to their underuse, particularly due to the inability to provide data at a local level, losing a crucial layer of information for policymakers to act upon.

The next chapter works on these challenges and on those mentioned in the previous chapter. It reflects on potential strategies to improve the quality of CAPS, enabling them to continue contributing to the understanding of cultural engagement and improving their ability on informing public policies.

CHAPTER NINE
MOVING AHEAD

This chapter discusses the main challenges facing the CAPS and possible ways to improve their contribution to the understanding of cultural engagement. The previous chapters have given an overview of their history and methodology, highlighting the cultural variables they measure and their underuse in academia and policymaking. The last layer of debate builds on these reflections and on the comments from the interviewees. The key informants said what they thought should be improved in the surveys, either when directly asked about it or while addressing other questions. This chapter contains an overview of their arguments and critically reflects on them, to stimulate debate on possible improvements.

The aim is to provide an overall picture of the limits and challenges to the CAPS, from planning to disclosure. This broad portrait limits in-depth discussion on particular topics but highlights the entire process and key issues that can be seen from this bird's eye view. The key informants noted the importance of having a clear concept to the surveys and explored different variables which could add value to the studies, from sociodemographic to behavioural ones. Regarding cultural activities, three topics prevailed: everyday activities, popular culture (these two highlighted by sociologists) and digital practices.

The chapter ends by reflecting on a tricky question. Part of what the key informants said was missing from the surveys is in fact either already there or relates to what they are less equipped to measure (participation, popular culture, bits of the digital, value and impact). Despite unanimous recognition of the importance of the surveys, the increasing number of variables that need to be addressed, may bring the surveys to a turning point, requiring radical change rather than fine tuning, and a closer partnership with other qualitative and quantitative methods.

9.1. Context, purpose, concept

According to the interviewees, the first elements in the construction of a good and robust survey involve an accurate picture of the cultural landscape of the country; to have a purpose, clear aims, and a political need, a *'political demand if possible'*; finally, to work with a transparent definition of arts and culture. This could improve their contribution to knowledge, public policies, and the cultural private sector. To inform, they need to be informed.

Any new survey design should take into consideration the previous experience embedded in the other available quantitative and qualitative data sources on culture, including the CAPS, as

well as the characteristics of the cultural environment. This last element includes the structure of the public bodies (directly and indirectly associated with culture), the main characteristics of the private sector and the legislation ruling the area. The ongoing debates about culture are also obviously relevant and should play a part in the design. These broad and general suggestions apply to surveys of a country, a region, a city or a particular neighbourhood.

9.1.1. Where are we?

Despite the need to address context locally, it is possible to mention, as a reference, general tendencies that may be present – with different contours – in several countries. Culture today seems to be diluted into broader concepts that can either move it out of the spotlight or blur its definition or both, such as the ideas of creativity and everyday participation.

Digitalisation has added fluidity to the scenario, making more difficult the work of prioritising the variables to be measured. Research surveys look less suited to the navigation of a fragmented landscape than big data, which are a tool able to provide a detailed picture of consumption patterns the CAPS struggle to capture. Most of the time, however, they are not publicly available.

After waves of social and economic arguments that have underlined the importance of culture, health and wellbeing have gained momentum as meaningful driving forces of what is frequently called an 'instrumentalisation of culture.' The political importance of culture to democracy has also been an object of debate in a scenario where far-right groups are increasingly influential, as in Brazil, Chile and France (Peters, 2012). Lastly, cultural policies struggle to have some meaningful influence in the flow and balance of this fluid landscape.

Despite being condemned by many researchers and showing limited practical results, the democratisation of culture agenda seems to be an inescapable policy aim. The goal of having more people attending cultural activities, appears to be inevitably attached to most official plans. Cultural democracy, on the other hand, is praised by many scholars, but still struggles to have a greater influence on public policies. England is arguably the country where the debate is most advanced from a policy perspective.

9.1.2. 'What are we talking about?'

Moving from context to concept and purpose, a British and a Brazilian researcher used almost the same words to call attention to the importance of a clear definition of culture: *'What are we talking about?'* And the latter went on: *'It's not about digressing into the three hundred or so possible definitions... It's a matter of delimiting the field. UNESCO's definition is enough, it already gives us a lot of headaches.'* This implies a political attitude, an act of giving special status to a certain group of activities. Today the CAPS distinguish some activities as associated with *'Culture with capital letters',* as stated by a Spanish researcher. One Chilean policymaker addressed the political implications of this decision process:

> *The CAPS work under the logic of access. It's the paradigm, the political-ideological premise. How to measure if the population accesses a set of limited and identifiable practices to which we are granting political and moral value (…), above other social practices also having a cultural meaning. (…) That's critical to identify the scope of culture. What worried me (…) was to make methodologically transparent what to understand by cultural participation (...). And, to make an explicit action of recognising certain practices that were outside the* (previous) *questionnaire. Like traditional practices of indigenous peoples, generally excluded from these processes, not only because of a Eurocentric vision of high culture existing in Latin American countries, but because they are difficult to measure.*

The political decisions behind and beyond the technicalities that justify the categories included and excluded from the surveys should be clearly expressed by governments, since they legitimise and make visible some activities while overshadowing others. As straightforwardly argued by a Brazilian researcher, '*The questionnaires express a picture of those people who are doing the surveys. Of their prejudices. Not theirs but of the institutions they represent.'* One European researcher was very critical about a possible lack of purpose: *'We must think about why we want the surveys. I think the ministry doesn't know it. Perhaps just to say they have it.'*

It is important to remember, however, that the CAPS do not only measure 'Culture' (chapter six), although the activities that represent it are those with greater visibility, and that there are things more difficult to measure, as stated by the Chilean researcher.

Moving ahead, though, implies reviewing the answers to the question above: *'What are we talking about?'* No interviewee suggested that the surveys should stop measuring traditional activities. It is important to note that significant numbers of the population engage in some of these activities (cinema, concerts, museums), despite sometimes not being a majority (theatre, dance, circus). There are areas that receive considerable public funds (museums, heritage, some of the performing arts). If governments oversee some museums, it is reasonable to keep asking people whether they access them. But many interviewees either asked for some activities to be added to the questionnaire and/or suggested further details should be added to some of the variables already measured.

9.2. Focus on participation

Three topics prevailed among the activities missing from the surveys, according to the key informants: popular culture, digital activities and what I will call 'everyday cultural practices.' These three driving forces relate to different contexts that, as happens within the fluid cultural landscape,

may be intertwined and tricky to define. The digital is self-explanatory. It is a new paradigm changing the way people communicate and behave, introducing new ways to experience culture.

The interviewees gave the expression ‘popular culture’ two main connotations. The first is associated with traditional festivities and rituals, usually including dance and music. These might or might not be associated with ethnic groups, native populations or religious ceremonies. Sometimes they mean a folkloric activity and sometimes huge commercial festivals with different configurations depending on the region, like Carnival and the June Festivities in Brazil. In this sense, ‘popular culture’ encompasses everything from small local to massive national manifestations. The second approach associates ‘popular’ with large volumes of people and relates either to the cultural industries, particularly TV and the internet or to differentiating the taste of larger groups of the population from a small elite. Here, the term popular culture will be used with the former meaning (traditional festivities). The latter will appear in periodic comments and in the debate about the digital. Interviewees wanting more visibility for popular cultural festivities came mostly from South American countries, particularly Brazil and Chile, where it can be associated with rich regional diversity and the presence of native populations.

Finally, interest in everyday cultural practices reflects the growing importance of cultural democracy among researchers and policymakers. The general perception that policies for the democratisation of culture have failed and the criticism of its ‘top-down approach’ have fostered the idea of broadening the spectrum of cultural engagement beyond legitimate practices (Neelands et al., 2015; Junker and Balling, 2016; Wilson et al., 2017; Hadley and Gray, 2017; Belfiore and Hadley, 2018; Walmsley, 2019, 2021). There was neither a common definition among researchers of the expression used to label this group of practices, nor which activities should be included among them. Roughly speaking, they are related to the concept of participation, referring mostly to practices in which people actively take part, including hobbies, courses, classes, amateur practices, social, creative and community activities.

The word creativity fits strategically in this scenario, navigating from the economic to the sociological aspects of culture. Regarding the former, it has come to the cultural policies debate attached to the words ‘industries’ (creative industries) and ‘economy’ (creative economy). And considering the latter, it has made some smart moves. It has absorbed the ‘arts’, highlighting creativity as a non-exclusive attribute of artists, breaking their market reserve; it has moved to a secondary plan the tension between arts and culture; and it has helped to legitimate the investigation of how people express their own creativity, fostering part of the *‘everyday participation’* agenda.

Creativity is also associated with health and wellbeing, topics which are increasingly being incorporated into the political agenda of culture as a positive effect of people engaging in cultural activities (Devlin, 2010; Rajan and Rajan, 2017; Lemyre et al., 2018; Fancourt and Finn, 2019; Fancourt et al., 2020), meaning another layer of value that some researchers would like to see

measured. Finally, some interviewees suggested that attitudes towards democracy should be measured, worried about the polarised political debate and the emergence of far-right movements.

9.2.1. Popular culture and the regional gap

The surveys should also recognise other practices, including more variables connected to popular festivities, folkloric traditions and regional manifestations of culture. This complaint was repeated by several key informants, particularly from South America, with different emphasis. Quoting Bourdieu, a Chilean researcher mentioned that the *'ideas travel without their context, that is, when you want to apply a theoretical or methodological perspective, you always have to consider that each territory has its singularities.'*

Advocating for *'regional and territorial dynamics to be expressed in the surveys',* a Brazilian researcher exemplified why there is a need for different questions in different places:

> *They'd have to be territory specific. For example, in Rio de Janeiro, one of the alternative activities practiced daily is samba. You have the formal side, like listening to, attending concerts. And the informal side, right? The 'samba de roda', the blocks, the schools, the shed, right? So, it's not Carnival, it's samba. But it's also Carnival, it's also the samba school, the rehearsal, the shed, the parade. This is the practice. (…) I keep imagining if we had done this survey in Maranhão, you would've worked with the 'Bumba meu Boi.'*[96] *They come together in the field of popular practices, but can't be universalised, right? We could explore the samba in Niterói and at the 'Baixada Fluminense'* (both close to Rio)*, but not in Petrópolis, Teresópolis and Valença* (cities in the mountain regions distancing 3 hours by car from the capital). *It would make no sense.*

S/he said that these differences may happen even within a city, mentioning that the *'rodas de samba'* are more popular in certain neighbourhoods of Rio than in others. Another researcher, commenting on the design of Brazilian public policies, developed a similar argument: *'In a country like Brazil, you cannot centralise decisions at the federal level in the way culturalists intend to.'* To exemplify her/his view, s/he mentioned a comment made by a policymaker from Bahia, a state in the Northeast region: *'I remember him saying to me: 'if you're going to discuss cultural venues in Bahia, you've already started on the wrong foot. Because here culture happens on the street.''*

[96] Also known as *'Boi-Bumbá'*, which translates into English as Ox party, or Ox festivities, the *'Bumba meu Boi'* is a traditional folkloric festival from the North and Northeast regions, but today happens in many parts of the country. The festivities are particularly important in the states of Maranhão and Amazonas. In 2012 it was officially named part of Brazilian Cultural Heritage.

Most of the surveys, however, have not had their questionnaires developed regionally to address the diversity of popular culture at a local level. The national approach to the public policies prevailing in some countries, limited samples in some cases and budget constraints curb the likelihood of surveys exploring cultural engagement from a local perspective.

This caveat was mentioned even in England, where ACE is criticised for concentrating investments in the Southeast. For a British researcher, one of the *'issues'* of *TPS* is the lack of *'granularity of drilling down particularly at sub-regional levels, doing things that are city-based. (…) Cross national comparisons are really difficult.'* TPS's sample size decreased from around 25.000 interviews in the first three years to around 8.000 in the last three editions. In Argentina and Chile, samples do not include the smallest cities. The problem was mentioned by an Argentinian policymaker: *'The survey must be expanded for cities with less than 30.000 inhabitants. We lose valuable information about cultural consumption in smaller cities.'*

Large countries such the ones on which this dissertation focuses, should encourage their regions, government divisions and/or cities to develop their own studies on cultural engagement. It would allow tailored approaches according to each reality. Regardless of the limited capacity of national CAPS to address local issues, regional studies are an exception in the countries explored here, probably due to cost as well as to a failure to prioritise them. In Spain, where there are regional examples of surveys in Catalonia, the Basque country and Andalucia, the existence of a different language and nationalist movements seem to be the driving forces, at least in the first two cases. Curiously, Barcelona, a city that could explore data both from national and regional surveys, also decided to develop its own CAPS. It would be interesting to compare the results of these surveys, despite the methodological differences, to see whether local surveys can bring different analytical perspectives as well as what these might be. Have the regional surveys developed in Canada and Spain added relevant information beyond what has already been measured by the national CAPS?

Popular culture, meaning mass culture, was also mentioned by interviewees. A strong statement came from a Brazilian researcher:

> *We are a country of popular culture insisting on erudite languages as a central consumption metric. We should reflect on the idea society has about culture. In our study, when asking what people understand by culture, what comes back is that they understand by culture everything they do not consume, the erudite languages. The rest they don't see as culture. They consider it entertainment. Which is also culture, right? (…) The academic view does not portray the consumption happening in our country. This is a problem. Why does it happen? Because most survey design*

> *comes from Europe, the erudite culture cradle, right? We really need to broaden what we understand by culture.*

This argument was repeated in Europe. A French researcher mentioned that the lack of data about mass culture in the first studies (1973, 1981) would have accentuated the contrast between a small group of people who were accessing *'high culture'* and a large culturally dispossessed group. The metrics would shape the results.

> *The surveys were conceived in line with the dominant policy. (…) They had large number of indicators relating to the legitimate practices and very few on practices belonging to mass, popular culture. (…) This bias has contributed to building a statistical image of culture opposing a privileged category accessing many practices and the popular categories, which were destitute at all. Which is (…) a bit biased by the fact that certain practices which could be intense among popular groups were simply not documented.*

For her/him, this imbalance has changed: *'Looking at the 2018 survey questionnaire, it is even richer on everything relating to leisure, cultural industry, cinema, music, video games, than on the most scholarly culture.'*

9.2.2. Everyday participation

Researchers from different countries asked for the diversification of data on participation, aiming to highlight practices suggesting an active artistic or cultural engagement, whether individually or collectively. As for popular culture, the argument was frequently raised in counterpoint to access, to elite culture.

Practices the key informants would like the surveys to explore were mentioned in slightly diverse ways, but almost always using broad concepts and umbrella expressions, adding to the idea that culture is a challenging and fluid concept. No researcher mentioned, for example, three or four variables explaining the concept of culture they would like the CAPS to reflect (the Brazilian researcher exploring samba was an exception). Some used the words *'hobbies'* and *'amateur practices'*, sometimes adding the words *'artistic', 'cultural',* or *'creative'* before them, sometimes not. There were mentions of *'singing in a choir',* and of cultural activities happening in *'churches'*, *'mosques'*, and *'alternative venues.'* Participation was addressed through the umbrella words *'everyday participation', 'everyday creativity agenda', 'daily lives', 'daily practices' and 'day to day activities',* among others. If it was clear some key informants would like the CAPS to embrace an anthropological approach to culture, sometimes even naming it, there were almost no examples of precisely which variables should be included to measure this.

Creativity would work as one of the driving forces, leaving the exclusive domain of artists and expanding to encompass 'audiences.' It was not clear, however, that it should be the only one. If we consider the way everyday participation has been addressed by scholars, it can include a range of things, from traditional cultural activities, explored from an active perspective, to almost everything, like *'shopping, taking the dog for a walk or meeting up with friends."*[97]

This shows the growing complexity of defining precisely what to consider an artistic or cultural activity when we move from access to participation, to *'everyday practices',* once *'creativity'* becomes referential and once an anthropological approach is required. It would mean to fall into the trap of answering the what-are-we-talking-about question with an *'everything'* approach.

Some key informants defined participation as amateur practices, saying that the CAPS undervalue them. According to a Brazilian researcher, *'The surveys show a cultural habit guided by the equipment, not by the practice, the habit is not at stake.'* S/he claimed that amateur practices are considered *'second class'* in most surveys: *'As a policymaker, I'm deeply interested in people's amateur practices. They are the training activities. The guy who has a so-called elitist practice is already trained; he is not a target for public policy. He is too, but should be secondary. Public policy should pay attention to the other.'*

Following this trail, another Brazilian policymaker believes the CAPS should include alternative venues where these practices happen. People would have *'deep rooted habits'* neither the surveys, nor themselves consider as cultural. *'When someone goes to a Baptist Church, s/he is in touch with music. Many musicians learn in Baptist churches, right? All cities have a local music band. This is not noticed.'* The researcher ends by regretting that the topic was not explored in a CAPS in which s/he took part. *'What about alternative spaces? We missed a lot in our study for not getting to the ground. For not exploring what's most rooted in people's daily lives, in that day after day.'* S/he believes, however, the surveys *'are improving, starting to get to the ground.'*

A British researcher also noted the importance of non-specific cultural venues. *'The big problem is trying to have a more democratic picture of cultural engagement.'* S/he backed up this argument by referring to her/his personal experience in a city where, on the basis of the administrative data, there was

> *…relatively low engagement in publicly funded arts. (…) But we all know that this is a culturally rich city, with lots of cultural engagement that takes place at mosques and all over the city and that just isn't captured by box office data. So, there's a real need to capture engagement through CPP programs, but in a much more kind of grassroots way that taps into the everyday creativity agenda.*

[97] https://www.everydayparticipation.org/about/test-showcase-page/

Beyond amateur practices, some interviewees also mentioned the importance of detailed information about workshops, courses and training opportunities. Two things would justify this. First, they would allow researchers to explore the connection between participation and access, since the available data demonstrate that people who participated in artistic classes in childhood are more likely to attend cultural activities in adult life (Christin, 2011). Second, they would allow the mapping of one of the ways people may actively engage with culture during their lives, regardless of age, an experience that could evolve into a hobby or an amateur practice.

As mentioned by both a Brazilian and a British researcher in the paragraphs above, some of the activities going on in churches and mosques are likely to be classes and courses in different creative activities. In Argentina, questions about community activities in the 2017 survey were among those most explored by academics. According to a policymaker, this has encouraged the government to consider including more questions about courses and training in future studies.

Data on courses and training connect with the interest shown by some researchers in more detailed information about peoples' educational journeys; what one key informant addressed as the way 'cultural capital' is built throughout life. They would show the different ways people could engage with culture in different moments of their lives. The surveys in Argentina, Chile and Spain include questions about classes and courses in cultural activities. They can be a reference for improving data on this topic. Combined with questions on activities people had the opportunity to explore while they were growing up, the former can help to map, in part, their educational journey.

9.2.5. Blind spots?

It is important to stress, at this point, that many of the variables associated with the idea of everyday cultural practices are, in fact, already measured, some since the very first CAPS in the 70s. This can be seen especially in the activities associated with active engagement in traditional cultural activities, but also in occasional examples of everyday practices associated with an anthropological approach to culture, including several leisure activities.

The reasons for what look like a blind spot in the surveys are not obvious and there are probably several contributing factors. Some hypotheses, however, deserve to be raised. One possibility is that some measures of participation lack simplicity and directness (chapter six). With some inaccurate variables requesting clarifications, it becomes difficult to explore the results in a meaningful way, not just for research purposes, but also to communicate them to the press and to inform policy. If it is sometimes not 100% clear whether the surveys are measuring a sporadic event, a hobby, an amateur practice or a class/training, how exactly to make sense of the data?

This hypothesis, however, could explain some particular cases, but certainly not all. Chile has three blocks of questions exploring participation: activities, training and community engagement. Argentina has two blocks: classes and community activities. Spain also has two. The first includes 15 different 'hobbies' (the question is more specific than in other countries) and the

second asks about courses. France and England do not explore training but are the countries with the longest list of variables for the first block (24 and 23, respectively).

TPS also had in its questionnaire a block for community activities under the module 'Volunteering' until the 2015/2016 edition quite like the Argentinian (DCMS, 2015, p. 145):

> *The next question is about involvement in groups, clubs and organisations. These could be formally organised groups or just groups of people who get together to do an activity or talk about things. Please exclude just paying a subscription, giving money and anything that was a requirement of your job.*
> *In the last 12 months, have you been involved with any groups of people who get together to do an activity or to talk about things? These could include evening classes, support groups, slimming clubs, keep-fit classes, pub teams and so on*.

The survey followed presenting 11 different kinds of groups in which people could take part in, from *'local community or neighbourhood groups'* to *'religious groups, including going to a place of worship or belonging to a religious based group'* ones. Drilling down into these data and reflecting on the questionnaires can certainly help to improve them.

Another possible explanation could be the lack of emphasis on data about participation in the reports disclosed by the countries. The 56 pages of the *'Taking Part Survey: England Adult report, 2018/2019'* does not have a chapter dedicated to the topic (DCMS, 2019). The last French report, with a summary of 50 years of surveys, addresses participation in just eight of its 92 pages (Lombardo and Wolff, 2020). The extensive report *'Encuesta de Hábitos y Prácticas Culturales en España 2018-2019' (550 pages)* has 22 (MCDU, 2019b, p. 41-62) pages in which it presents its 'main results' with little descriptive texts and graphics. Active practices do not qualify for more than one page in total and they share it with 16 'other leisure activities.'[98]

The topic is addressed in the analysis of the 2017 survey in Chile, but not in the graphs presenting the main results. One different approach can be seen in the 2012 Chilean survey. Data on participation is not mixed in the same block, but split according to the activities, connecting access and participation. Data on the percentage of people taking theatre classes are in the same chapter as data on people going to watch plays at the theatre. In any case, the information about active participation is always on the last page of each chapter and not in any great detail, unlike the treatment of data on access, which is explained according to genre, age, education, etc.

The two most frequent academic approaches to CAPS data do not help make data on participation visible. As seen in chapter eight, they either mix several variables together (on attendance and participation), sometimes excluding those of community activities and classes, or

[98] The books I edited presenting the results of CAPS (Leiva, 2014; Leiva and Meirelles, 2018) have the same problem.

focus on attendance. Lastly, a simple disinterest in data as a meaningful source of information could also contribute to explaining the invisibility of data on participation. There are more than 20 variables investigating everyday participation in the French and the Spanish surveys, and more than 30 in the British and Chilean ones. Three of the six questionnaires include activities done in churches. Before making any adjustments to the questionnaires, it would be worth exploring the available data. Was it a good decision from TPS to abandon the block on community activities?

9.3. The digital and data ownership

Online cultural activities were by far the main topic mentioned by researchers and policymakers, when they were asked what should be improved in the CAPS. If, on the one hand, this was an easy answer to come up with, on the other the arguments were developed in multiple directions, demonstrating the extent of the challenges ahead.

The two most incisive comments about the future of the CAPS came up while key informants were reflecting on the impact of digital cultural habits for the way people engage with culture, for its concept, for the surveys, for public policy and for their work as researchers as well. Even though they both emphasised that their governments should not abandon their series of CAPS, it became clear this is probably a moment of change for the surveys. In fact, for the efforts to address cultural engagement from a quantitative perspective.

A French researcher began his reflections by saying that the main question today was to improve our knowledge about *'how people use the internet, particularly the uses related with culture.'* And s/he went on with a question that probably started with television (and that will resume below in the sub-topic 9.3.5. Online x offline):

> *One of the big questions is whether the development of digital cultural practices has a negative effect on the live ones. (…) Will Netflix and video platforms result in a drop in cinema attendance, for example? To answer that, you must understand digital uses, what people really do. It seems a real challenge for the surveys. It's difficult to grasp it with a quantitative survey. (…) My personal view is that the CAPS have reached a little... Well, they were born in the 70s, 80s and they have reached their limit a little. It doesn't mean they shouldn't be done anymore, but I think they have become one source of information among others. Alongside these surveys, we need to develop much more than we have done, the understanding of digital practices through other tools, as massive online data.*

At this point, the researcher raised a question that also worried other key informants – the fact that key datasets for this understanding are owned by private companies. This should drive governments to work in partnership with them.

> *It's complicated. This data is often private, so access is difficult, but that's the direction to go. Through partnerships with companies that own them or setting up devices that allow a better description of these practices. (…) The gigantic size of the data and the files requires both important computer tools and skills in computer science and in data mining you don't always have when you're a sociologist. That's the direction we must go to put in place richer systems than only the CAPS. (…) For traditional cultural practices, (…) we can continue to use them, it stays as the main tool. But we must understand how the two intertwine between traditional and online practices, how people go from one to the other. And to achieve that, we need to set up systems other than the traditional surveys.*

For one British researcher, the digital technologies challenge the concept of culture itself.

> *The big question is the extent to which our categories are robust and relevant and our particular genres are appropriate. Like* (how to measure) *films and television, if people are increasingly live streaming. We should think of those differently, in terms of what kind of behavioural habits and the affordances of digital modes of delivery. There are lots of important challenges, but I wouldn't say kind of don't do robust, nationally representative surveys just yet.*

The real difficulty would come with social networks.

> *The issue is more with pervasive things like social media. 'Have you used social media in the last year?' is like a laughable question. (…) For more pervasive things (…) that framework doesn't work. This is a challenge, not just in terms of surveys, but for our understanding of what culture is and the kind of cultural hierarchies we have. Government surveys are probably at the end of a process of debate. It would be hard to see how they would lead them. (…) The academic debates on this aren't settled either. So, there would be a question about how you feed in these academic debates and into the governments as well.*

9.3.1. New practices, new questions

The comments of both researchers anticipated multiple issues for addressing what could be considered an artistic, cultural, or creative activity in the digital world, from variables to measures.

At the time of the first surveys, connection with home devices (TV, photos and film cameras, sound devices and radio) was mostly restricted to the variables of taking pictures, watching films and listening to music. The first French survey, for example, asked whether people had at home any of 12 different devices, all focused on these three activities. Beyond radio, TV and personal cameras, there were five devices just for listening to music and three to watch and edit images.

Today, with mobiles, tablets and computers, adding to it their portability, the connections with the traditional cultural activities have multiplied the way people can experience culture. The 2018-2019 Spanish survey, the one better detailing the audio-visual gadgets arsenal people can have at home and how they can use them, has around 40 questions only to investigate it.

The traditional variable measuring one activity happening at one specific place has become just one possibility in a scenario in which various activities may be experienced fragmentedly throughout the day, in different devices and places, from home to office and also along the way. The new technologies absorb more traditional practices than before, not only music and films. Measuring everything in one questionnaire is unlikely.

In the words of an Argentinian policymaker: *'They will have to adjust, to find ways to account for these transformations. Cultural practices are no longer specifically linked to a specific place.'* One key issue would be how to homologate each practice: *'What defines theatre? Is it the physical space? The streaming and the play are two different things? How is that validated? Watching a theatre streaming is the same as watching a concert or movie streaming? Or even a sports event streaming?'* A policymaker from Brazil added to the argument: *'You have a festival where there will be a debate, a monologue, a show.* (On the digital) *you have something less established in terms of artistic languages. (...) It also happens in the live activities, but there's a greater mix of languages in the online practices.'*

New practices bring new questions, requiring new approaches. One researcher noted the importance of understanding people's behaviour on new platforms and services: *'One of the challenges is to capture how people behave in terms of subscription. Why do you unsubscribe? How many subscriptions you have? How much do you pay? Do you share them with others? Which free services do you access?'* Another key thing would be *'measuring the time people spend on the internet.'* S/he answered her/his own question ironically, saying we otherwise could ask how long people stay disconnected from it or whether they disconnect at all at any point. Another key issue would be the time spent online in cultural activities. *'How much and what should be considered the time devoted to culture on the internet?'*

And the answer coincided with the approach of a French researcher: *'This is a challenge that perhaps we can support a little in the CAPS, but it would be necessary to complement it with new quantitative information coming from big data, from not so traditional data.'*

The difficulty to define and measure situations in which people access more than one activity simultaneously was another challenge mentioned by interviewees. As part of the

experience of engaging with culture, it would be important to map the possible overlaps among different activities (cultural and non-cultural). This is part of the experience.

One Brazilian researcher expanded this approach, exploring the idea of simultaneity by mixing online and offline activities and getting to the possibility of interaction while accessing. '*We still approach it from the perspective of access (...), as if audiences were just receivers of what is shown. We don't explore participation much further. Sometimes you're watching a concert and commenting and posting about it. There is a dimension of interaction with that content or even of content production. (...) You are in a live activity, but making a video and sharing it in your network, right? This interactive side, (...) we are not mapping. (...) And that is one of the strengths of digital.'*

The new possibilities blur the dualism of access and participation, questioning CAPS' ability to track them. Some changes are technically easier to measure than others. Some may require one additional question, others three or four. The quality of the measurement may vary. Roughly speaking, the 'what' is easier to address than defining the measure or the meaning of the new ways to engage with culture and the impact they have on those who experience it. The same can be said about offline activities, but the scale, speed and diversity of the ongoing changes in the digital will require more than just tuning the instrument.

Addressing the digital would require the surveys to include questions about the gadgets people have and about the kind of connections they use, since these factors would enlarge or restrict their ability to access cultural activities and interact with others through social media. One Brazilian researcher connected the question to the cultural rights:

> *'Any survey, whether on culture or on the impact of a public policy cannot help considering the digital today. (...) If the person doesn't have access to broadband, s/he cannot follow a certain online event. However, if s/he has and lives in a city in the countryside, with no theatre or certain live activities, s/he gains this possibility of access, right? It can be a very limiting factor if you don't have the basics to connect.'*

Another Brazilian researcher, worried about the inequalities in education and its consequences, also mentioned the importance of measuring the digital skills of the population, since particularly senior people could still find it difficult to operate some digital devices and/or remote controls developed for younger generations. Both arguments are evidenced by data coming from *Latinobarómetro* which show that the digital can also build another layer of inequality (OEI, 2013, p. 98, p. 102).

9.3.2. Online x offline

One frequent argument used to highlight the importance of measuring the digital was to understand whether and how they change the audiences of live cultural events. Some researchers

believe that they can have a negative effect on offline activities, differentiating it from the impact of TV in the past, some argue there is complementarity, while others believe we still do not have the right tools to assess it more properly.

Highlighting that s/he was being '*schematic',* a French researcher said that

> *Roughly speaking, people who watched a lot of TV rarely visited cultural venues. There was little competition. The educated community frequented cultural facilities and the heavy TV consumers were rather in popular circles. And this is not true about the digital practices. In the digital, it is rather young people, often graduates. The competition is much more real than in the TV context. It's a real subject to study for all people who are responsible for cultural venues. This competition is very real.*

According to a Brazilian policymaker, the fact that some surveys focus on live activities, whilst others focus on digital ones, hinders our ability to go further in the analysis.

> *You have two pictures that do not necessarily dialogue with each other. Are people who consume online content and those who attend live activities the same? Do people stop attending live events if they have other alternatives at home? Does the digital intensify consumption?*

Highlighting the data does not allow a direct statistical comparison or a straight answer in the Brazilian scenario, s/he said tending to see them *'as complementary rather than competing dimensions.'* This perception would be supported by two factors. First, as mentioned by another French researcher, there would be a similarity between the groups more frequently attending online and offline activities (Leiva and Meirelles, 2019); second, '*those who live in more distant places, with a smaller cultural offer, will be able to have greater access through digital.'*

One French researcher, who is exploring how cultural production and participation moved online, complained about the lack of robust and trustable data in this area. *'I find that it's very hard to get quality data at the national level about what cultural participation looks like online.'* The studies would have to navigate between data collected in two extremes. On one side, there would be national surveys with broad approaches that do not provide more detailed information. S/he exemplified these by questioning the meaning of some data, like the percentage of young people who access YouTube once a week. *'What does that even mean?'*

On the other side, there would be a lot of surveys with very small samples, many of them conducted online, that did not allow for any further conclusions. The gaps in quantitative information would contrast with the *'richness and diversity of online cultural practices.'* The size of the challenge could be seen in the sequence of example*s* s/he enumerated to evidence how

'multifaceted' would be the online content available and the questions s/he would like to find in the CAPS to map the scenario.

> *I would love to know more about... How many people listen to podcasts? What kind of podcasts? How many people watch music videos? What kind of videos? How many people use streaming platforms? What kind of platforms? How many people have a blog? Or a personal page? Do they regularly update and put content on? How many people create music or music videos that they post online on YouTube or Tick tock? You know, all that stuff... We just know so little about it.*

The digital adds to the already fluid scenario of arts, culture, access, participation, and engagement such a complexity of questions and directions to be explored that it seems difficult to imagine that a single questionnaire could handle everything. The challenges were summarised by an Argentinian researcher who made fun with the interviewer: *'There seems to be a great difficulty for all of us... and, if you do have an answer, please, I hear you!'*

9.3.3. Do we know what we are talking about?

The cultural activities mentioned so far that the interviewees believe should be more explored in the surveys put the CAPS in a tricky and challenging position. Many of them are already there, inaccurate, invisible, poorly disclosed, lacking more professionals to mine them, a question allowing multiple explanations. There are many topics deserving further investigation and new ones requiring closer attention. Considering the everyday cultural practices, the main challenge would be to answer the question that should drive the surveys: *'What are we talking about?'* Whatever the answer, it would certainly mean a lot of variables. To embrace all these necessities the surveys should have to *'navigate into the three hundred meanings or so'* of culture, adding new variables and an anthropological approach to the CAPS design.

Mark Taylor has approached the limits facing the surveys in a clear and pragmatic way. After mentioning the lack of questions that *'could allow more detailed understandings of people's everyday lives'*, the author reflected on what changes would imply:

> *It is impossible for a survey to cover everything, and for TPS to increase its coverage of some activities this would come at the cost of decreasing others; with TPS' longitudinal element in its infancy and overall declining participation rates in face-to-face surveys such changes are not without risk. This is not helped by the relative unpopularity of a large number of activities one might want to include in a national survey on participation. If activities are particular to local areas, have particular names and local signatures, and so on, a survey of around 10,000 people*

> *is unlikely to generate good estimates of the popularity and predictors of these activities.* (Taylor, 2016a, p.179)

These last two quotes speak volumes. The former came from a French interviewee who was a little breathless and distressed by the *'so little we know'* when we look at the culture flowing through the digital and social media. The latter, extracted from the last but one paragraph of an influential article in the English debates, expresses a consciousness of the limits of the CAPS when they try to address participation. Both topics – the digital and the everyday cultural practices – are key, and both, even if tackled independently, would mean a lot of trouble for the surveys.

According to a Brazilian researcher, '*Every time we create a box, reality slips away a bit. I had a co-worker who said, 'reality never waits for men to develop their concepts.' And that's what is happening. (…) Any instrument aiming to apprehend this reality must be elastic enough to be able at least to outline it.'* What has always been a huge challenge, to expand 'art' and 'culture' into boxes small and different enough to be measured, is arguably at its limit in the CAPS. Another British researcher followed the same path: *'No data set is going to be perfect. (…) As a researcher in this space, I always begin with 'nothing is perfect', you have to make compromises.'* Compromising, labelling a limited number of boxes with a growing number of alternatives, nonetheless, has become a huge challenge.

9.4. Education, earnings and beyond

Moving on from the variables that define the cultural activities, the interviewees also mentioned that drilling down into some sociodemographic information could help to better understand some trends. Questions associated with the educational and economic background of the population were mentioned as variables deserving further observation, particularly for being closely intertwined and for being the most influential in making people engage in cultural activities.

Starting with the economic approach, several researchers asked for variables that could improve the ability of the surveys to position the interviewee according to her/his earnings, occupation and social status. Starting by a Brazilian and a British researcher, respectively:

> *It would be important to rescue classic categories, for example, class. Not class discourse, but position at work. Are you unemployed, housewife, student, working in the service sector? (...) How much time does this guy have to engage with culture? It influences what he does, whether he's going to stay at home exhausted or if he's going to move to do something else. (…) We have income, but we should associate it to occupation, dialoguing with data on changes in the economy.*

> *Occupation can give you certain markers of social status, but it's unlikely to give you accurate versions of what income is. (…) Whereas income will tell you probably not much about the social status. Comparatively, lower social status skilled manual workers can earn high annual incomes, but obviously don't have the same kind of social status (…). In an ideal world, you'd get occupation, and income as well.*

Some researchers addressed the economic profile not in a static way, asking for more details about the trajectory of interviewees. '*We need more information about the economic trajectories, not only the earnings in the present, so we could also look to social mobility',* asked one key informants from Chile. A Brazilian researcher went in a similar direction: *'We must map the art consumer's journey. We map the consumer's journey of everything but art. This journey depends on the life cycle. Those who have a small child will have a different type of consumption than those who no longer have children.'*

At this point, the economic variables connect to the ones associated to education. They combine to try to address how '*the trajectory'*, '*the journey'* of culture engagement is built. Another Brazilian researcher asked for more details about access to culture in childhood and adolescence: *'To be a participant in a cultural activity you need to be introduced to them. You build the habit. You go to a theatre or to a cinema because you had the opportunity to do these activities in the past. I miss more information about the past behaviour.'*

One Spanish researcher mentioned it in two different ways. First, asking for general information on the influences people might experience: *'There is not enough information about the time before, the dynamics of how things change, parent's education and background and the influences coming from family, friends, etc.'* And then, noting how s/he would like to explore it.

> *'I'd like to analyse if the type of education influences participation. Engineers do attend more cultural exhibitions than lawyers? Is there any difference in the kind of museums they visit? They all are highly educated, but there could be differences in the things they like to do.'*

Another Spanish researcher shared a similar perspective: *'We need more information about the cultural trajectory, about how cultural capital was developed. And not only about the parents, but also about friends and what people have studied.*

The time it takes people to get to cultural activities was also a concern, particularly in Brazil and Chile. To engage in culture, people need time. And not just to dedicate to the activity but to their displacement. One Brazilian researcher supported her/his point by recounting a personal experience at a cultural institution that used to stay open at night on Thursdays.

> *It was impossible to engage people who lived far from the city's central area. It would take them one hour to go and one hour to come back. We changed the day, and this changed the public profile. (…) Thinking on our scenario, of a precarious public transport network, we should consider the time associated with displacement as a key variable. We need to know where people live, if they use public transport and how long it takes them to get to the central areas.*

This complaint also came from a Chilean researcher.

> *The issue of displacement and of making cultural policies for tired bodies... People spend an average of two to three hours on public transport, which is not comfortable and not of good quality. (...) At the end of the day they are extremely exhausted (…) especially the working class. It costs them much more. And the cultural venues are (...) hyper concentrated in some neighbourhoods of Santiago.*

Adopting a more exploratory approach, one Brazilian researcher said s/he was curious about where and how far people would go to develop their cultural activities, since this would create *'individual territories'* based on their *'flows.'*

> *People go out in their free time to do something, right? This organisation of information by flows, by the movement in the territory, they create in my imagination territories that are not simply the territories of offer, but which are where these individuals are moving, in search of interesting practices. This could be important and it's very difficult to portray.*

It is important to mention at this point that most of the variables suggested by the interviewees in relation to this topic do in fact appear in at least one of the surveys from the six countries, but not in all of them, which explain some comments asking for their inclusion. In many cases, the key informants were only aware of the surveys done in their own countries – or sometimes in one other, but not always in detail. Nevertheless, the decision was to include them as variables to be considered for planning future surveys.

The decision also calls attention to the fact that some of these variables were not even presented in the reports disclosing the survey data and main findings. One example is the cartography of personal flows imagined by the Brazilian researcher. The Chilean and Spanish surveys would in theory allow this kind of approach since they both ask where people have most recently attended several cultural activities. The answers, however, were not in the official reports.

This is another example of hidden meaningful information that are available only to skilled quantitative researchers who have the keys to open the doors of the raw data.

9.5. Barriers and motivations, value and impact

One common caveat mentioned by the key informants about the surveys was the inability of the tool to measure the reasons people have to attend or not to cultural activities, the impact of the experience for those engaging and the value they have. Coming mostly from sociologists and qualitative researchers, the comment was usually associated with the idea that this is key information for understanding cultural engagement and requires complementary qualitative studies. Despite some interviewees having mixed the two topics that appear in the title of this section of the chapter, it is important to make a distinction between them, since they have different implications for the CAPS.

Once again, it is interesting to acknowledge how frequently researchers and policymakers mentioned the lack of questions about barriers and motivations, despite their constant presence in many CAPS. They can be found in a large group of surveys, including continental ones, sometimes including both barriers and motivation, sometimes focused only on barriers, as a strategy for finding possible hints to deal with them and connect to the goal of democratisation of culture. Spain explores the reasons for not attending to a series of cultural activities since the first study in 2002/2003, sometimes with an open question (museums), sometimes presenting participants with alternatives, in areas such as dance, theatre, opera, and cinema. As in Argentina and most Brazilian surveys, however, the question is not asked for all activities. The 2018/2019 Spanish questionnaire asked it only for cinema, museums, classical concerts and other concerts.

The most recent Chilean survey asks for reasons for attending several activities. For theatre, dance, and opera the questions list 13 possible answers. Regarding TPS,[99] *'Respondents who had not participated in arts activities, used library services or visited an arts event, heritage site or museum were asked why they had not done so.'* The questions were added into the 2017/18 survey *'to help understand people's reasons for not engaging with DCMS sectors and asked again in 2018/19 and 2019/20.'* In parallel, the questionnaire added questions about the reasons why people visited a museum/gallery and heritage sites, but not about other activities.

Reasons for not taking part appear much more frequently in the surveys, with consistent results across countries showing that *'lack of interest'*, *'lack of time'* and *'financial reasons'* are the three key driving forces causing people to withdraw from different cultural activities (Kraaykamp et al., 2008; Gayo, 2017b). In theory a pivotal question, since it provides clues about how to attract

[99] https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/taking-part-201920-annexes/annexes-taking-part-survey-2019200

more people to cultural activities, the variable has not been of particular interest to scholars and policymakers. It is an example of a question that requires further investigation with qualitative tools. The answers do not have a clear boundary between them and there is no scale to assess the 'size of the problem.' What exactly disinterest and lack of time mean? Are we talking about something that could be changed, or about indifference and activities some people do not see as relevant?

Moving on to value and impact, the efforts to address these have been less frequent, less accurate, and clearly more exploratory than those focused on barriers and motivations. The French questionnaire, for example, has since the 70s asked how people would feel if they missed some cultural activities. It began by enquiring only about TV and was in subsequent studies extended to other cultural activities, and repeated for 16 activities in the most recent study, including one question that expands into 13 different ways to participate. The question allowed the following possible answers: a) yes, a lot; b) yes, a little; c) no, not so much; d) no, not at all; e) don't know; f) refused to answer. The Spanish questionnaire asks people to rank more than 20 cultural activities from 0 to 10 and to evaluate, on the same scale, their last attendance at some events.

Most of the efforts work either with a scale of importance or with statements that ask whether people agree or disagree with them. There are several examples, but all with limited reach, none going beyond this initial exploratory approach. They do not allow in-depth analysis, being useful either to provide insights for further research or to add evidence to findings from qualitative studies. One British researcher pictured it clearly:

> *As a qualitative researcher, I would always say that surveys will never get you deep or rich insights into cultural engagement and into value and impact.* (They measure) *certainly what people are doing, but not the impact that's having on their lives. I think we need stories to do that. Detailed longitudinal engagement with audience groups to really understand how culture feeds into people's lives over the years.*

One Brazilian researcher followed the same path to qualify participation in cultural activities. For her/him, *'if we really want to know people's practices and not just to produce statistics and qualifications for the creative industries',* the studies should 'qualify' access, considering the knowledge already built about society and the contexts in which the practices occur. *'We should have mechanisms to qualitatively measure the individual's commitment to that activity. Is it automatic* (compulsory) *or is it the result of an investment* (financial or time, being a frequent practice or hobby)?*'*

For another Brazilian researcher, qualitative studies could work in building particular groups to be investigated with different purposes. S/he started by reaffirming the importance of producing information anchored in quantities, '*but at the same time isolating some groups in a dynamic way and verticalising them. (...) Mixing quantitative and qualitative is key. There are quantitative*

dimensions we only understand when we understand the subjective strategies (of engagement)*.'* For her/him, it would allow investigation beyond the traditional categories.

> *Incorporating specific questions for groups is fundamental. Our republican imagination makes us always think about territorial or administrative divisions. What is being done in the city? By whom? But we don't think about transversalities, right? We don't reflect on the scale of individual strategies. This is a challenge I've faced working with data from structured research. (…) Verticalising subjectivities, understanding how they are produced in the face of things* (cultural activities) *that are offered* (to the population)*; this is key.*

Despite the difficulties of measuring value and particularly impact, one topic researchers believe should be assessed is whether culture helps to improve health and wellbeing. There are already some countries that include questions about it in their CAPS (France and Spain), but the goal is to identify whether interviewees have any condition that could withdraw them from cultural activities. In Canada, the *'Arts and Heritage Access and Availability Survey'* asks about the importance of cultural events to 'the quality of life' of interviewees. The questionnaire includes eight statements about arts and culture, exploring their significance to society and asking individuals whether they agree or disagree with them (two address collective and individual wellbeing).

The importance this argument is gaining as another key topic to advocate for the area will require further research and the use of other tools. As discussed, the CAPS do not seem tailored to detail value or impact, providing strong evidence of how culture impacts people's lives or how it connects with wellbeing. What they could do – underpinned by exploratory questions – is to provide some hints and clues to help other studies and, in the other direction, test hypotheses coming from qualitative studies.

9.6. Disclosing the data

Finally, moving ahead would require more attention to how data is disclosed, to how to move from a quantitative information in a spreadsheet to knowledge, as mentioned by Ateca-Amestoy. The great challenge at this point is to reflect on how to deal with the lack of bi-skilled professionals, with the different stakeholders to be addressed and with the volume and fragmentation of data itself. As mentioned by an Argentinian researcher, *'the surveys are designed and written for a small niche of specialists. They are thinking about their group, not about how to communicate what they are investigating.'*

Roughly speaking, the final reports should be tailored to communicate with three main audiences. Researchers trained in statistics and quantitative methods should have easy access to

the raw data to explore them from scratch. Researchers not skilled in quantitative methods should have access to general reports that would gather data about the main variables and the basic descriptive statistics in a more accessible way. Having data analysed by variables such as gender, age, ethnicity, religion, and region, for example, could also interest professionals from other areas. They would have a tool to include data on cultural engagement in their research agendas. Finally, there should be thematic reports to address the needs of policymakers and cultural institutions, presenting data analysed by sector, like museums, theatres, etc. The second and third group of reports would also be useful for communicating with the media, stimulating the main findings of the CAPS for inclusion in current societal debates. The private sector should also be considered as a potential stakeholder to explore the data in these three dimensions.

As mentioned by an Argentinian policymaker, *'Those less trained in data handling want to see something much simpler, because otherwise you also lose yourself in the middle of so much data. It's a challenge to find the middle ground.'* S/he believes that reports by cultural field (as was done in the 2013 survey) and region would be most useful for communicating with a larger group of professionals. Sectoral reports could attract more professionals from cultural institutions, according to a British researcher: *'They're not statisticians and it's time consuming* (to explore long reports)*. If they can get access to something quickly, they're getting the information they want.'*

One example of transversal reports are the ones focused on young people, women and community culture, such as in the 2017 survey in Argentina.[100] As one Argentinian researcher mentioned in chapter eight, these documents would also be useful to approximate culture from other areas, connecting it with other discussions mobilising society. Inequalities of gender and race, for example, could also be debated from the perspective of access and participation in cultural activities. The ministries of culture in England[101] and in France[102] make available some table sheets by area in their websites.

Listing some efforts being developed to make data more accessible to non-specialists by different consultants and companies, a British researcher highlighted the importance of the challenge: *'It is a huge problem. It's something we all realise that needs to be addressed and is starting to be addressed.'* The Argentinian researcher argued in the exact same direction:

> *It is a challenge to think on how to disclose the results because there is a lot of information, the survey is very extensive. (…) I believe that the stage of data visualisation, of how to present the data, must be considered as a stage of the work in itself. And a particularly important one that should not be underestimated.*

---

[100] '*Los jóvenes y los consumos culturales', 'Mujeres y cultura: accesso y participación'* and *'Cultura Comunitaria en la Argentina',* respectively. The reports are available at https://www.sinca.gob.ar/Encuestas.aspx.
[101] https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/taking-part-201819-statistical-release
[102] https://www.culture.gouv.fr/Thematiques/Etudes-et-statistiques/L-enquete-pratiques-culturelles/L-enquete-2018

A potential consequence of poor communication is likely to have reflected in the interviews for the dissertation. As mentioned throughout the chapter, many key informants asked for the inclusion of questions which are already there in the surveys. They are not to blame, since CAPS are extensive, exploring around 40 activities associated to access and participation, but with reports covering only some of them. This figure does not include secondary questions about where, with whom and why people have engaged with culture. Neither the variables aiming to investigate digital engagement nor the sociodemographic information that could be explored. The surveys still have a lot of 'hidden data.'

The chapter has discussed some questions the CAPS should address to provide a better contribution to research and policymaking. It started by highlighting the importance of taking into consideration the context in which the surveys are made, meaning the cultural, social, political, and geographic particularities of each country.

The ongoing debates on culture ask for the inclusion of variables about popular culture, everyday cultural practices, and digital activities. They imply the investigation of so many variables that it will be impossible to gather all of them in one study. Having a clear purpose can help the CAPS to navigate this ever-expanding landscape to be measured, but the challenge requires more than just adapt. The surveys have likely got to their limit. Working with tailored surveys by region, cultural sector and/or social group may add focus to the surveys and is likely to increase their usefulness, particularly for policymaking. Combining with other quantitative and qualitative methods is key. The latter is important to explore barriers, motivations for, and particularly value and impact of cultural activities. The former, to address the digital.

Finally, the chapter emphasised that the results of the surveys should be accessible to all potential stakeholders according to their needs, requiring urgent improvements. There is a lot of data either invisible or requiring further mining. If well-tailored and attractively designed reports will not make democratisation of culture work at last, or cultural democracy to lead the public agenda, it may help data to circulate, be debated and, consequently, to be improved.

CHAPTER TEN
CONCLUSIONS

For fifty years, the CAPS have been an important tool in attempts to measure a fluid and slippery interaction: the one happening between people and what society (dis)agrees to call artistic, cultural, and creative activities. Despite the fact that they have made key contributions to the knowledge about cultural engagement and the growing number of countries that have adopted them, the need to add new variables to keep up with transformations in the cultural landscape – from new technologies and big data to socio-political debates – demands further and deep changes in the way they operate.

The aim of this dissertation was to investigate the main contributions of these surveys to the debates on culture and policymaking, examining their origins and development, the concept of culture they work with and the critical methodological issues they face. Discussing these topics would help to reflect on possible ways to move ahead, improving the quantitative tools adopted to assess inequality in culture. Here, my aim is to summarise the ideas discussed in the preceding chapters, recapping the main findings associated with the research questions, highlighting some topics that deserve further investigation and addressing the contributions made by this research to debates on the efforts to measure cultural engagement.

10.1. Fifty years measuring cultural engagement

Along with administrative data and data from TUS, LS, HS and HBS, among other quantitative and qualitative tools, the CAPS data have been part of a debate that attributes value to artistic, cultural and creative activities. This debate was fostered by the assumption of culture as a human right, as an important element in efforts to reduce social inequalities and to foster economic development. What differentiates the CAPS from other quantitative tools is that they have had culture as a primary focus and not as one among other topics. This has allowed them to measure the proportion and profile of people accessing and participating in a long and diverse list of activities designed to meet the challenge of encompassing *'what are we talking about'* when we mention the words 'arts' and 'culture.'

The vast set of activities gathered under these umbrella words has challenged those in charge of the surveys since the beginning. Trying to encompass this broad and fluid landscape, their questionnaires have included activities ranging from those in which people are part of an

audience (access) to those where they engage themselves as active protagonists (participation). These two ways of engaging with culture connect two of the pivotal ideas in debates about cultural policy: the democratisation of culture and cultural democracy, respectively.

The questionnaires include variables that range from attendance at the most traditional fine arts, cultural events and heritage sites, to participation in different artistic and cultural activities, crafts, hobbies and – more recently – digital practices encompassing all the devices people use to listen to music and to watch films. Newspapers, magazines, television, radio, and a diversified list of home appliances have been present since the first studies. Depending on which activities are recognised as artistic or cultural in each country, specific variables are noted, including pantomime (England), zarzuela, bull fighting, Flamenco dance (Spain), *'peñas musicales'* (Argentina) and *'capoeira'* (Brazil). Some leisure activities are also being investigated.

As the idea of culture has gained importance, countries have established administrative institutions to deal with it (ministries, councils, etc.), implementing their first public policies from the second half of the last century. Providing a new source of information and knowledge about culture, data would help them navigate this environment, regardless of the public or private approach of governments towards it. Technical departments were established to develop the necessary studies, including the CAPS. In the case of Brazil, the tumultuous process of implementing public policies for culture has not yet included the creation of a department of statistics and indicators, as will be mentioned below. The information provided by the pioneer CAPS in the 70s aimed to help ministries of culture design (Spain) and/or monitor the efficiency of policies being implemented at the time (France), and cultural institutions to increase their audiences (Ford Foundation, 1974), as well as gathering data to advocate for more funding for their activities (US). The interest in assessing the balance between work and leisure hours was another reason for the first measurements (Denmark). In the 80s, language also played a part in stimulating the first regional surveys in the province of Quebec (Canada) and Catalonia (Spain).

After these initial pushes, more countries adopted the surveys in the 90s and the CAPS gained momentum after the turn of the 21st century. Despite the different national contexts that fostered the foundation of the initial surveys, some of the common objectives claimed by governments have been to provide knowledge about the population's cultural habits, practices and consumption (Spain, 2002/2003; Argentina, 2013) and to gather reliable statistical data to develop and to monitor evidence-based cultural policies (Great Britain, 1991; Chile, 2004/2005).

The CAPS have provided robust data on the proportion and sociodemographic profile of people who engage in cultural activities and, more importantly, of those who do not. In some countries, repeated studies have tracked changes that have occurred in recent decades. The 'reality' portrayed by the surveys, however, has contradicted the expectations of the French government. The CAPS have not shown an increase in attendance that would confirm the

efficiency of policies designed to democratise culture. On the contrary, they have identified a resistant inequality, not just in the first French surveys, but consistently, over the years and in several countries.

According to one British interviewee, this is one of the most important findings from the surveys: the inefficiency of public policies to reduce inequalities in the patterns of access and participation. Although there may be exceptions to this statement in some countries or in specific cultural sectors, like museums, the CAPS results have been disappointing overall from a political perspective. In Spain, a mismatch between the results of the first national survey and the implementation of a policy of decentralisation of public offices resulted in the initial and robust study being mostly ignored (Ariño, 2010).

10.2. Contrasting results

This study indicates that the surveys work quite well to measure access to offline activities associated with specific places or venues, like cinemas, theatres, circuses, libraries, concerts, festivals, dance, museums and heritage sites. Even though they may miss specific variations in these activities, or misread ways in which they can overlap, most of the possibilities are reasonably tracked, as shown by the comparison of the questionnaires. Many countries detail the kinds of theatres, concerts, museums and heritage sites people attend, adding another layer of information to the umbrella categories (chapter six). Some CAPS collect data about the last event people went to, where it was, how they got there, with whom, how much they paid and whether they liked it, among other information.

Data on attendance have been highlighted by government reports and explored by several academic studies in different countries. They have helped to develop and enhance one of the main social theories of culture (Bourdieu, 1979), providing vast and solid evidence that education and earnings are the main variables that determine people's level of engagement in a series of cultural activities in a large group of western countries. They also show that education is more important than earnings. Regardless of the educational categories adopted by each country surveys around the world have constantly shown the same tendency, reinforcing a class division (Le Roux et al., 2008). The results are so consistent that many interviewees, highlighting their importance, have also complained about a certain boredom and repetitiveness.

CAPS data on musical tastes have also underpinned the most engaging and prolific later debate, which started in the US (Peterson, 1992). There is a long list of articles that contrast univorous with omnivorous behaviour, which – depending on the author's point of view – constitutes a challenge to or a variation on Bourdieu's ideas, particularly the concept of homology. The debate has also explored data on engagement in different cultural activities, not just musical

tastes, to differentiate between social groups according to the activities they are more likely to be involved in. This is the line of study that has attracted more academic attention.

Studies supported by CAPS data have also consistently shown the importance of experiencing arts and culture in childhood, and that family encouragement, particularly from the mother, increases the likelihood of people engaging in culture during their adult life. In developed countries more women than men engage in cultural activities, while in South and Central America the figures for both genres are quite similar. Young people are also more likely to practice cultural activities than the elder. All these findings reinforce the conclusion that, beyond a political agenda, the CAPS have been able to provide meaningful information about how social inequalities reflect on the proportion of people who access cultural activities.

If the information about access looks mostly robust and accurate, data on participation have been less explored by academics and policymakers (chapters seven to nine). The reason for this is not that the surveys have not addressed participation. They have explored a meaningful number of variables associated with artistic and cultural hobbies, amateur practices, community activities, voluntary work, donation and collecting, among others. In many of the surveys, sports and leisure activities have been included, to measure how they compare to artistic and cultural activities. In France and the US, for example, these questions have been present since the initial studies.

With the growing debates about cultural democracy, it would be reasonable to expect greater interest in mining these diverse data. Nevertheless, not only are data on participation largely unexplored in academia in comparison with data on access, as many key informants asked for their inclusion in the surveys, either not realising that many participatory activities are already there or not recognising them as the everyday cultural practices that should be measured.

There seems to be a range of reasons for this apparent paradox. Data on everyday participation would be less accurate (in terms of both variables and measurement) than those on access, discouraging researchers from using them (chapters six and nine). Beyond a possible discomfort or disagreement with the available variables, they are usually not as detailed with further questions as those on attendance, and therefore do not allow researchers to build a better picture of what exactly has been measured.

Another critical factor is the way data is disseminated. Most reports spotlight attendance data and make those on participation literally invisible. The six countries focused on here have clearly undervalued data on participation in their reports. Counterexamples can be found in Australia and Brazil. The former's most recent report – *Creating Our Future* – explores what is called 'creative participation' via a specific topic where data is opened 'by art form' (ACA, 2020). *Solos Culturais* also details participatory activities, mixing quantitative and qualitative information (Barbosa, 2013).

The invisibility of data on participation undermines the possibility of improving them. They remain accessible only to a small group of researchers skilled in statistical tools and do not

circulate in society, do not have a social life. This is critical, since even the possibility of referencing them as contextual information becomes compromised. Having more accurate variables depends on trying to use and discuss them to monitor what works and what does not. It is a necessary exercise to test new alternatives and improve the questionnaire design.

Beyond that, ministries of culture have more agency in relation to attendance than participation, reducing the appeal of this data for policymakers. Although it could be argued that public policies could in fact stimulate cultural institutions to increase opportunities for active engagement (as many already do), it appears to be a less appealing political objective, very fragmented, requiring more changes in the work of cultural institutions and difficult to implement for larger groups of the population. Supporting activities in schools, for example, would not be within the reach of most cultural offices. Moreover, as mentioned fiercely by several key informants, inertia prevails in most cultural policies and cultural institutions. The examples of CPP in England and *Pontos de Cultura* in Brazil and Argentina, would be the exceptions that prove the rule. Lastly, it could be argued that this undervaluation of data on participation is a consequence of the prioritisation of policies of democratisation of culture. From this point of view, a change in policy objective could stimulate either more visibility or adjustments in the nature of the data collected.

10.3. Struggling to make sense of data

Despite the growing number of countries that are developing their surveys, the key informants were unanimous in considering that the CAPS have been largely underused in academia and to develop informed public policies. Prejudice (or ideology) against the use of quantitative methods in culture is one of the reasons undermining the use of the surveys.

The indifference towards data results in a shortage of professionals with good knowledge of the cultural area who are also prepared to work with quantitative methods. Those trained in quantitative techniques also have some resistance to engaging in cultural studies. Beyond the shortage of more robust data sets in comparison with other areas, as in Brazil, the particularities of the cultural area also represent a challenge for those exploring it with quantitative tools.

Prejudice, disbelief, and ideology, though, come from both sides. These differences also make it more difficult to build partnerships where professionals with complementary skills can work together. Nevertheless, there was a nuance in the key informants' comments, with some saying that prejudice had been stronger in the past but was now gradually being reduced.

In the academy, beyond prejudice, there would be a restricted job market for economists and statisticians aiming to apply their skills and knowledge to the investigation of culture, and a limited number of specialized journals and magazines, what would further hinder the efforts to bridge the gap between culture and quantitative studies.

There is, however, a growing effort from educational institutions to provide specific training for professionals interested in improving their quantitative skills, such as in courses on cultural management. This tendency deserves further investigation since it may serve as evidence of bridge-building aimed at reducing the distance and producing more bi-skilled professionals. While this movement is positive, it may take some time to have a significant impact. Another caveat is that, according to some researchers, the movement seems to be less strong among professionals skilled in quantitative methods who wish to receive training in the sociology of culture.

Beyond the limits of data to inform any public policies, not just in culture, other factors may limit the use of CAPS data. Most public offices for culture are focused on producing and/or distributing artistic and cultural content through the cultural institutions and programmes they fund. The development of strategies to engage bigger audiences and to diversify them is not their main area of expertise. Even though several institutions have been adopting audience development strategies, the sociodemographic profile of those attending most cultural venues has not changed significantly. Some interviewees argued different results would require changes in the profile of the funded institutions.

Another argument, directly connected to the results of the surveys, was barely raised by the interviewees but deserves to be mentioned. If education and earnings are the key determinants of cultural engagement, then logically these should be the main drivers of any significant initiative for reducing cultural inequalities, for the democratisation of culture. In most countries, however, the public offices of culture have little or no political capacity to interfere boldly in these areas.

From an economic perspective, ministries of culture are restricted to limited initiatives, like the traditional discounts in public cultural institutions, gratuities to social groups on specific days of the week, and arts vouchers, as in the Argentinian example. Regarding education, they would need to advocate for the inclusion of creative activities in the school curriculum, not an easy task and one that is out of reach to most ministries of culture. They are limited to fragmented activities, like reinforcing the educational areas of institutions they already fund, developing programs and encouraging schools to increase activities in cultural venues. There are certainly other examples, but the point is that it requires making an effort in partnership with other areas of government to promote an impact beyond localised improvements. Fragmentation is a challenge.

Interaction between the academy and policymakers, which could increase data mining, and contribute to improving the quality of the CAPS, varies from country to country. Even though this topic has not been investigated in detail, it is useful to mention some impressions from the interviews and academic papers, since they connect to the surveys' methodology. Cooperation looks more dynamic in England. The public effort to include the academy in debates by consulting them about the survey, and especially the existence of annual studies could be playing an important role. The yearly CAPS attract more researchers to explore their results. As a Brazilian

researcher mentioned, economists and statisticians depend on data to do their work. In the country, the lack of an official national CAPS limits academic study on the topic from a quantitative perspective.

The scenario looks different in France, where the debate gives the impression of having been more intense in the past, particularly during the 90s. With a new survey being disclosed only every ten years, there is simply less data to be mined and few 'windows of opportunity' to engage in debates underpinned by the CAPS. Spain, which releases new data every four years and has several regional surveys, but which started a regular national series only this century, seems to have a greater academic output than France. On the other hand, it seems to be the country where there is less interaction between the academy and the public sector in debating the data.

The South American landscape, with only four official surveys in Chile and two in Argentina, implies a less robust academic output and cannot be directly compared with the European countries. Chile, however, has tried to engage scholars in the development of its surveys and the CAPS carried out so far are starting to attract some interest from researchers. In Brazil, where there are no official public CAPS, interest in exploring the studies made by private institutions is significantly lower. In all three South American countries, data from the surveys seem to be slowly starting to get into the academy as reference information for training in different disciplines.

10.4. The geographic dilemma

Technically, the most critical limit of the surveys for policymaking is their inability to provide robust regional data. Due to political and budgetary constraints, most countries work with national samples which are not capable of providing detail about local realities. Their potential, at least in the largest countries, is in providing the big picture. The relevance of national studies, however, must not be undervalued. Having the regional does not mean losing the national.

Although they can show general differences between one region and another, such as the number of people visiting museums, they rarely have questions designed to investigate the particularities of each region. Beyond this, a proper regional analysis requires the inclusion of information about the supply of cultural activities to allow a robust comparison between different localities. This caveat challenges the surveys' capacity to 'get to the ground', limiting their potential to inform action on a local level, where it happens. This is critical, since they also fall short on addressing diversity, which frequently may be regionally determined.

These aspects were reinforced throughout the dissertation, in the analysis of the mapping, in the comparison of the questionnaires and in quotes coming from different key informants supported by a variety of arguments. They have been noted in important studies about the surveys (Schuster, 2002) and their implementation in public offices (Bunting et al., 2019). A more detailed

investigation of the regional surveys, and particularly of those developed at the city level could bring valuable insights into what is added by the CAPS when they change their geographic scope.

10.5. From data to knowledge

Changing the way data is disclosed could enhance the contributions of the surveys and foster their improvement. As reinforced by several researchers and particularly by Ateca-Amestoy, this is a critical decision that deserves to be addressed as a particular stage of the whole survey. It has an important influence on whether and how data moves (or not) from figures in a table to knowledge and circulates in society, helping to raise awareness of survey findings and informing policy. This is key to its social life.

Governments should work to produce information tailored for at least three different groups: scholars and professionals skilled in quantitative methods, non-specialised researchers and people working in the cultural sector. While the first must have easy access to the raw data, to mine it themselves, the second and third groups require general reports with basic descriptive statistics and segmented ones. This latter group of reports should be tailored by cultural sector (museums, theatre, circus, etc) and by particular topics (young people, women, elderly people, etc). The positive experience of Argentina seems to reinforce this approach.

This strategy may allow larger groups in society to access the CAPS according to their interest and need, connecting the cultural area with other ongoing debates and turning data into knowledge. Only long reports gathering information from all cultural sectors or complex statistical analysis discourage professionals non trained in quantitative methods to engage with the data. Debate with professionals working ‘on the ground’ may provide important and decisive feedback to improve the quality of the surveys. This interaction may help the CAPS to better connect with the main debates on culture in a meaningful way. To develop, methods require interaction, collaboration. They need to socialise.

10.6. Supporting narratives

The absence of a more consistent use of data to support informed policies would not prevent its appropriation for the construction of political narratives, both by governments and their critics. One example mentioned by interviewees is the data from the 2018/2019 survey disclosed by the DCMS, on people ‘engaging with the arts’, which showed that 77.4% of the English adult population (16+) attended at least one cultural activity in the 12 last months. Since TPS offers

participants 30 variables to choose from (16 for participation and 14 for attendance),[103] this figure is high, giving an idea of empowerment and efficiency. But the information was not disclosed as one bit among others. It is on the front page of the annual reports and since the 2015/2016 edition has opened the first chapter. Being ironic about this practice, one researcher commented that this could mean the arts councils are no longer needed, since a large part of the population is already engaging in some kind of cultural activity.

Data, however, are not narrative tools exclusive to governments or to a neoliberal agenda. They also add to the discourse of those criticising them, particularly as they repeatedly bring news of persistent inequalities. This is highlighted by the history of the French surveys (Donnat, 1991; Martin, 2014; Dubois, 2015) and the debates in England (Neelands et al., 2015). One Brazilian researcher has called attention to the consequences of not having data at all. This would allow political narratives to continue without much questioning and transparency.

Another common and important perception noted by scholars is a certain frustration with data that *'never change'* and *'tells always the same story.'* Two reflections are important here. First, there seems to be an expectation that new surveys could/should reveal good news (for the government), or at least some change in the trends (for researchers). Stability frustrates both expectations, as if studies finding flat results would not require further debate. As noted, 'no change' is itself meaningful information.

Even the allegedly inefficiency of public policies, however, could be relativised, deserving some attention. Is it reasonable to state that attendance would have gone down in the last two decades without any policy? As directly answered by another British researcher who put this question during the interview, *'we'll never know.'* If taking into consideration the huge increase in the alternatives to leisure and sports activities in the last decades, and especially the digital boom, we could argue that flat results are not that bad. Policies were not able to reduce inequalities (percentages stay relatively the same) but may have coped with a growing population (there are more people accessing cultural institutions if considered in absolute numbers).

Could we effectively attribute any result to a specific policy as questioned one interviewee? Or a flat result to its inefficiency (building on her/his comment)? One Brazilian researcher questioned the accuracy of national CAPS for the assessment of public policies, arguing for the necessity of tools tailored for each project/policy. This speculative exercise illustrates that a lot of dynamic movement may have happened behind what shows up as a tedious flat line.

Second, the way surveys are nominated and disclosed puts the spotlight on 'culture', on a group of activities, blurring the huge diversity of variables within it and overshadowing tendencies

[103] The indicator of 'arts engagement' does not include data from visits to heritage sites (72%), museums or galleries (50%), libraries (33%) and cinemas (not included in the survey). Their inclusion would likely make the index higher.

that could be ongoing in specific sectors, even if only at a slow pace. Is there nothing happening in between the 80% and 8% figures highlighted in the English scenario?

Visits to the cinema in France have grown from 49% of the surveyed population in the 80's to 63% in 2018. The data for theatre doubled from 10% in 1981 to 21% in the last study. The readership of comics, an icon of pop culture, first measured in the 1988 survey, has fallen from 41% in that year to 20% in 2018. In England and Spain there has been an increase in the proportion of interviewees who visited a museum or gallery from 42.3% (2005/06) to 50.2% (2018/19) and from 38.2% (2006/07) to 46.7% (2018/19), respectively. Visits to libraries in England have fallen from 48.2% in 2005/06 to 32.9% in 2018/19. Amateur practices look to be slowly increasing in Spain, while in France there has been a general reduction in the last survey (2018 compared to 2008), after some positive results between 1973 and 2008. Access to culture via digital devices and platforms is booming everywhere.

These are just some examples of how the available data would allow further investigation when we move from 'culture' to the specific activities being measured and look beyond the all-or-nothing approach. The collected data could have different meanings and uses for professionals working in museums, theatres, or libraries, depending on whether they are in France, England or another country. Drilling down into the sociodemographic variables could also reveal other details that may not be visible at first glance because of the way some figures are disclosed and analysed.

10.7. More to count

Nevertheless, debates on culture and 'reality', as mentioned by one interviewee, will not wait for data mining to move forward. They bring fresh concepts and recycle others, presenting new and old challenges for the surveys. The concept of 'arts and culture' is being engulfed by the concept of creativity, an approach that is likely to change little if we consider the variables of access, but which has increased the demand for data on participation in the everyday activities people actively engage. The CAPS may have to assess practices considered to be either 'creative' (and not already included in the surveys) or connected to an anthropological approach to culture. Alternatively, they need to discuss how to improve accuracy and detail on the participatory variables already being measured.

The pressure to develop indicators to assess the value and impact of culture are likely to be one of the main debates on culture in the next years. Coming since the end of last century, these efforts have gained new outlines with the growing interest in the individual and collective outcomes of culture. There are already several studies trying to assess its contribution to personal health and wellbeing, partly stimulated by an ageing population. From a collective perspective, the ascension of far-right movements is increasing debates about strategies to assert social cohesion, democracy

and strengthen community ties. At the international level, cultural diplomacy continues to grow. 'Arts' and 'culture', now under the sombrero of 'creativity', could play a part in this.

The CAPS will have to navigate a (not quite) new field. They have already been exploring these topics since the first studies. Either with open questions or by presenting some statements and asking people whether they agree with them. They say, for example, that 71% of the UK population agrees with the statement that *'Arts and cultural activities help to enrich the quality of our lives.'* Or that 79% believe *'Arts and cultural activities help to bring together people in local communities'* (ACGB, 1991). Nevertheless, they are less efficient in these fluid environments. They can just point out general trends and paths, rather than having clear and accurate diagnoses.

Finally, the transformations brought by the advance of the digital represent a huge challenge for the surveys. There are new devices for people to watch films on, and/or listen to music, like tablets and mobiles, and new content. The last edition of TPS investigated 20 different reasons why people access arts websites. The first French survey, fifty years ago, already had ten questions about watching TV. One of the critical challenges is to define a workable time frame. Twelve months does not make sense, it is '*laughable'* according to one interviewee. In Europe, the framework is three months, which is also a long period. Studies still need to find a meaningful framework. Beyond the content coming from the offline universe, there are new formats being developed, like games, apps, blogs, podcasts and live streaming, adding more variables to the surveys. It is also important to know the kind of connection people have and their digital skills, as they influence their ability to access particular content. Inclusion today is also digital.

Moving to how access happens, there is fragmentation (content can be seen in parts in different devices), mobility (it can be seen almost everywhere), simultaneity (watching two different things at the same time on different devices) and interaction (watching and sharing information about the content simultaneously). Social networks have empowered people to multiply the impact of their word of mouth and have changed the way they get informed. Knowledge about whether people like others' posts that contain cultural content, share activities suggested by others or publish their own cultural activities is already being measured, but needs to be detailed.

In 2016, when TPS was reviewed, the main change in the questionnaire at that time was the addition of questions about digital engagement. The challenge has grown since then.

10.8. Moving ahead

Despite the extensive range of activities already measured by the surveys, digital transformations in society and the current debates on culture and policymaking require the inclusion of more variables. Beyond what was mentioned about the digital, AI will add new challenges. The democratisation of culture, the political driving force behind the first CAPS,

persists as an almost inescapable policy objective. Cultural democracy, however, seems to gain momentum, requiring a closer look at strategies of participation and highlighting the concept of creativity. What has always been a slippery scenario, to unfold arts and culture into boxes small and different enough to be measured, is arguably at its limit in the CAPS. There are simply too many variables on the table. Compromising, labelling a limited number of boxes with a growing number of alternatives, nonetheless, has become a huge challenge. Incorporating all the necessary variables would transform the surveys into a cultural census.

Yet despite the request for more variables to be included in the surveys, the available data is largely underexplored by researchers and underused by policymakers, particularly regarding the variables of participation, religion, and race. Moving ahead, though, starts with a step back, drilling down the available data, to then move forward. The CAPS can improve the quality of data about participation, but need to avoid the trap of encompassing an anthropological concept of culture that the surveys are less suited to measure.

The CAPS must adapt to this new scenario to keep contributing to the understanding of cultural engagement. Combining qualitative and quantitative tools will be necessary to face the challenges and limits already putting pressure on the surveys. The former could add in-depth analysis about participation and the impacts of engaging with culture, a key issue to discuss wellbeing and social cohesion. The latter could allow the CAPS to focus on what they seem better tailored to address without losing track of the changes brought by digital technologies and exploring in detail particular groups or cultural sectors. Combined with big data, TUS, LS and administrative data, the CAPS could certainly add ‘critical mass’ to the measurements.

The tension between the national and the local remains without a satisfactory answer. Either decentralised studies are needed or larger samples with regional questionnaires. The former alternative looks to be residual today, while the latter come up against budgetary constraints. The adoption of online questionnaires could be helpful since these are cheaper and allow a regional design but may imply a lack of quality if compared with face-to-face studies. Drilling down into available national and regional data from Spain, Canada, and into the new PS, which has a meaningful sample, could help point in directions that would better address this critical issue. The history and data from the regional and local surveys may perhaps throw some light on the debate. What can they add in comparison with the information coming from the national surveys?

Increasing usability is key, otherwise the CAPS risk losing purpose. Without them, data on cultural engagement will be restricted to non-specific surveys (in the countries where there is data on culture), administrative data and reports from big tech companies, if, when and how they decide to open them. In the short term, governments should improve the way the data is disclosed, using rich segmented reports, and looking for more effective ways to engage with the academy, cultural professionals, cultural institutions and other areas of government.

More significant change depends on long-term factors. Reducing prejudice, training bi-skilled professionals and engaging people from both the academy and the business world to work

together takes time, but these things seem to be already on the move, particularly courses aiming to train cultural managers (Pessoa, 2015). Catalysing the ongoing processes and improving data disclosure could help to enhance the social life of the CAPS.

10.9. Contributions

I hope to have contributed, in different ways, to ongoing debates on cultural engagement. First, by calling attention to the origins and development of the main quantitative tool designed to measure the percentage of people that access and participate in cultural activities. The historical perspective helped to provide a context for the importance of measuring cultural engagement, the role the CAPS played in it and the role they still may play, considering the challenges lying ahead.

The fast-growing importance of digital and big data requires close attention to the data held by the governments and available to society, to the information that is private, to data not being collected, and particularly to the quantitative information about cultural engagement restricted to a small group of companies. This could certainly limit researchers and policymakers' ability to develop knowledge about some of the main trends in society, including some pertaining to cultural practices, which are increasingly online. This ability may remain exclusive to big tech companies.

In mapping a very large number of CAPS, I have gathered data from different countries and historical periods that may sometimes be difficult to locate, particularly regarding the earliest studies. I have retrieved extensive data concerning a 50-year period, including regional surveys and studies conducted locally, at city level. This can facilitate further investigation in the area, providing references from studies developed in 45 countries.

The effort to find references from the earliest surveys has drawn attention to important documents that could be lost as research becomes more digital. Some have already been lost, while others are available only in some libraries and should be digitised, as some initial British, French and Spanish studies, and the 1991 Round Table in Moscow. The variables they include tell part of the history of the changes in how society communicates (oral, written, audio-visual, digital) and how people spend part of their free time. They do not tell the whole history but provide a meaningful picture of the urban scenario of the last decades.

The mapping effort, likely one of the first with a large scope since UNESCO's guide in 2012, also helps to show the diversity of countries adopting the tool and the diverse methodologies they are using to address their cultural particularities. As most academic articles focus on and reference data from England, France, Spain and the US, the mapping provides a source of other surveys and realities to explore, particularly through the ways they fit in public policies and through their questionnaires. The detailed analysis presented from Argentina, Brazil and Chile, and specific examples from other countries and regional studies are a first step in that direction.

The examples from South America add at least two extra variables to the main driving forces guiding CAPS' development (or preventing it) in Europe and the US (p. 210). They evidence how the recent institutionalization of culture and the discontinuity in federal management were important issues restricting the use of the surveys as a management tool, particularly in Chile.

In Brazil, a cultural policy influenced by 'unhappy traditions' (Rubim, 2007), characterized by scepticism towards quantitative methods under left-wing governments, marked by periods of administrative instability in federal cultural management, and more recently, under a far-right government (chapter four), has hindered the establishment of a dedicated department for cultural statistics and, consequently, national CAPS. As a result, most available surveys were developed by private institutions, making them disconnected from formal cultural policies - despite their potential usefulness - and failing to attract researchers' interest due to their unofficial status. The Brazilian case serves as a contrasting example to the other countries examined in this thesis. There is, though, much more to be investigated, particularly regarding the regional and local surveys. One of the meaningful contributions of the thesis, regarding the CAPS history and its role in public policies, was to call attention to the regional studies in Quebec and Spain, particularly in Catalonia. It evidences the importance of the language as a key element in shaping a cultural group, despite of the frontiers in which they live. It is not a coincidence that the two longest series of regional CAPS are from provinces with a history of separatism in which the spoken language is different from the national one.

Another originality of this thesis was to use the comparative method to investigate a topic in which this technique is considered inefficient or very limited. Following the lessons and the careful approach adopted by Schuster (2007), and alert to the caveats pointed by other researchers (Madden, 2005a; O'Hagan and Castiglione, 2010; O'Hagan, 2016), the investigation was able to compare the experiences of six countries and two continents.

The comparative analysis of the questionnaires, apparently a simple and descriptive exercise, has had an important repercussion throughout the dissertation. It allowed me to tackle, simultaneously, the core of the CAPS, the variables repeated in most studies, the multiple categories being measured only in some countries, and the contrast between the global and the local (here meaning national). The exercise described different ways to build questions to provide the clearest information about how people engage with culture. It also showed that activities that at first glance look easy to address can have multiple approaches, reflecting how tricky it is to measure the fluidity of culture. This strategy also allowed me to demonstrate that the CAPS measure much more than the traditional culture, a criticism coming from the academy (Goldbard, 2015) and from some of the interviewees. Since the first studies they have included a range of activities from the fine arts to the means of communication, from popular culture to leisure activities. The exercise was particularly important in the case of participation, a topic extensively highlighted by the key informants, but frequently hidden in most national reports. Having a clear understanding of what exactly is being measured and not rejecting *a priori* a group of 30 or 40

variables by inaccurately defining all of them as elite culture, high culture or legitimate culture, could help researchers and cultural practitioners to be aware of the available data.

This apparently simple observation implies a meaningful contribution to the over polarized debate between democratization of culture and cultural democracy. By highlighting the variables connected to both access and participation and the different ways in which they try to capture the flexible concept of culture, the thesis argues that they are extremely connected, being part of the same continuum, of a flow in time in which one way of engagement stimulates the other (chapters one and six). As a result, strategies aimed at promoting either the democratization of culture or cultural democracy should be seen not as opposing choices but as interconnected and inseparable components of the same spectrum.

The thesis has also contributed by adding another perspective to the social life of cultural statistics. Often depicted as technocratic tools supporting the democratization of culture agenda, the examples from France and England evidence that the CAPS' social life encompasses not only the ways they fit in federal governments' agenda and discourses but also the ways they are used by its critics. This observation is crucial as it highlights the fact that, despite their political agenda and important technical limitations, the surveys yield valuable data regarding cultural engagement. If they are not a neutral form of knowledge (Blomkamp, 2015), they provide some measure of how many people are engaging in certain activities.

The dialogue with 32 researchers and policymakers has provided a rich and vivid picture of several aspects of the CAPS. It has helped to call attention to their underuse both in the academy and for policymaking. Among the different reasons for this, two that emerged from this research deserve special consideration. First, the shortage of bi-skilled professionals working in the area, both in universities and among practitioners, is a key factor that weakens the usability of quantitative tools in the cultural area (Pessoa, 2015). There are few people exploring the data already collected. Second, the way data is disseminated makes it difficult for non-specialists in quantitative methods to engage with them and makes part of the available data literally invisible. These topics, mostly ignored in academic studies about cultural engagement, has evidenced to limit the contribution of quantitative studies in the area.

These factors undermine not only the use of data from the CAPS, but also the possibility of improving them, since they weaken the discussion about the results of the surveys. These findings are important because they have a direct and significant impact on the key challenge of transforming data into knowledge. Without bi-skilled professionals, or partnerships able to bring together 'data' and 'culture', and an efficient strategy to get meaningful information to the professionals working 'on the ground', the surveys risk being left to fill drawers and online folders, and to feed political narratives.

I have also tried to explore ways to move ahead, improving the measurements made by the CAPS in the current context, which is very different from the landscape that confronted the earliest

surveys. From planning (involvement of cultural professionals) and technical issues (geographic distribution) to content (missing variables) and dissemination (segmented reports), the thesis lays out many topics that could be usefully taken into consideration in future surveys. The bird's eye view approach adopted here certainly has the limitation of not concentrating on the detail of the surveys and sometimes risks rambling around. On the other hand, I hope to have provided a broad view of their potential, challenges and some topics that deserve further investigation.

Finally, I hope to have contributed to raising awareness of the importance of quantitative tools for building a profile of who does or does not engage with culture, particularly in Brazil. The prejudice against the use of data in the study of culture, frequently supported by arguments that figures are not able to portray its real importance (experience, impact on people, value, etc.) and that they are part of a neo-liberal agenda, can sometimes undermine the CAPS' contributions.

In spotlighting this friction between culture and data, and highlighting both political and technical aspects of the CAPS, I hope to have shown that there is a lot of space for improvements in the use of quantitative information in cultural studies, and for a more holistic and collaborative approach between quantitative and qualitative methods and researchers. Rejecting quantitative methods as part of a technicist and neo-liberal agenda without a closer look at the information that is being collected or applying them without further consideration to the particularities of arts, culture, creativity, or whatever new concept could appear, is not the best way to move forward.

As stated by Thomas Piketty (2017, p. 402) in the last paragraph of *'Capital in the Twenty-First Century',* a book that addresses questions of inequality, *'Refusing to deal with numbers rarely serves the interests of the least well-off.'* Or as mentioned by one key informant after arguing about the shortage of bi-skilled professionals to contribute to the debates on culture: *'I am not only in favour of the democratisation of culture, but I am also in favour of the democratisation of statistics.'* If the experience of engaging with arts, culture and creativity is by any means of immeasurable value and importance, it is certainly important and invaluable to measure how many people have engaged with it and how many have not, regardless of how we define it, especially in a digital society, where this information is likely to become the exclusive property of big tech companies. If there is certainly a politics of the use of data on culture, there is also a social, economic and political risk of not using them.

LIST OF REFERENCES

ACA (2017) *Connecting Australians - 2016*. Survey report. Australia Council for the Arts.

ACA (2020) *Creating Our Future: Results of the National Arts Participation Survey*. Australia Council for the Arts.

ACE (2011) *Arts Audiences: Insight*. London: Arts Council England.

ACE (2021) *Let's Create - Strategy 2020-2030*. London: Arts Council England.

Allin, P. (2000) 'The development of comparable European cultural statistics', *Cultural Trends*, 10(37), pp. 65–75. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960009365109.

Ariño, A. (2007) 'Música, democratización y omnivoridad', *Política y Sociedad*, 44.

Ariño, A. (2010) *Prácticas culturales en España: desde los años sesenta hasta la actualidad*. 1a ed. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel (Ciencias sociales).

Arts Council of Great Britain (1965) 'A Policy for the Arts - The First Steps'.

Ashton, D. and Gowland-Pryde, R. (2019) 'Arts audience segmentation: data, profiles, segments and biographies', *Cultural Trends*, 28(2–3), pp. 146–161. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2019.1617938.

Ateca-Amestoy, V. (2008) 'Determining heterogeneous behavior for theater attendance', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 32(2), pp. 127–151. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10824-008-9065-z.

Ateca-Amestoy, V. and Castiglione, C. (2014) 'The consumption of cultural goods through the internet. How is it affected by the digital divide?', in. *VI Workshop on Cultural Economics and Management*, Madrid: ACEI (ACEI Working Paper Series).

Ateca-Amestoy, V., Gorostiaga, A. and Rossi, M. (2020) 'Motivations and barriers to heritage engagement in Latin America: tangible and intangible dimensions', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 44(3), pp. 397–423. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10824-019-09366-z.

Ateca-Amestoy, V. and Prieto-Rodriguez, J. (2013) 'Forecasting accuracy of behavioural models for participation in the arts', *European Journal of Operational Research*, 229(1), pp. 124–131. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejor.2013.02.005.

Ateca-Amestoy, V. and Ugidos, A. (2021) 'Gender differences in cultural and sports activities attendance: an intra-couple analysis', *Applied Economics*, 53(55), pp. 6426–6438. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/00036846.2021.1940085.

Ateca-Amestoy, V. and Villarroya, A. (2017) 'Measuring Participation in the Arts in Spain', in V.M. Ateca-Amestoy et al. (eds) *Enhancing Participation in the Arts in the EU*. Cham: Springer

International Publishing, pp. 19–33. Available at: http://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-319-09096-2_2 (Accessed: 17 April 2023).

Ateca-Amestoy, V.M. *et al.* (eds) (2017) *Enhancing Participation in the Arts in the EU: Challenges and Methods*. 1st ed. 2017. Cham: Springer International Publishing : Imprint: Springer.

Athias, L. and Botelho, L. (2019) *Panorama nacional e internacional da produção de indicadores sociais: estatísticas de governança*. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE (Estudos e análises. Informação demográfica e socioeconômica, número 8).

Atkinson, W. (2011) 'The context and genesis of musical tastes: Omnivorousness debunked, Bourdieu buttressed', *Poetics*, 39(3), pp. 169–186. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2011.03.002.

Azevedo, S.C.S. de (2016) 'Ditadura militar brasileira e política nacional de cultura (pnc): algumas reflexões acerca das políticas culturais', *Revista Brasileira de Sociologia - RBS*, 4(7), pp. 317–340. Available at: https://doi.org/10.20336/rbs.159.

Balling, G. and Kann-Christensen, N. (2013) 'What is a non-user? An analysis of Danish surveys on cultural habits and participation', *Cultural Trends*, 22(2), pp. 67–76. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2013.783159.

Barbalho, A. (2019) *Sistema Nacional de Cultura: campo, saber e poder*. Fortaleza, Ceará: EdUECE.

Barbosa, F.A. (2019) *Patrimônios de Práticas na Cultura Brasileira*. IPEA.

Barbosa, F.A., Araújo, H.E. and Souza, A.L. (2007) 'O Cosumo cultural das famílias brasileiras', in *Gasto e consumo das famílias brasileiras contemporâneas*. Fernando Gaiger Silveira, Luciana Mendes Santos Servo, Tatiane Menezes, Sérgio Francisco Piola. IPEA.

Barbosa, J.L. (2013) *Solos culturais*. Rio de Janeiro: Observatório de Favelas.

Baumol, W.J. and Bowen, W.G. (1966) *Performing arts: the economic dilemma: a study of problems common to theater, opera, music, and dance*. Millwood, N.Y: Kraus Reprint Co.

Belfiore, E. (2002) 'Art as a means of alleviating social exclusion: Does it really work? A critique of instrumental cultural policies and social impact studies in the UK', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8(1), pp. 91–106. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/102866302900324658.

Belfiore, E. (2004) 'Auditing culture: The subsidised cultural sector in the New Public Management', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 10(2), pp. 183–202. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/1028663042000255808.

Belfiore, E. (2009) 'On bullshit in cultural policy practice and research: notes from the British case', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15(3), pp. 343–359. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/10286630902806080.

Belfiore, E. (2016) 'Cultural policy research in the real world: curating "impact", facilitating "enlightenment"', *Cultural Trends*, 25(3), pp. 205–216. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2016.1204050.

Bellavance, G., Valex, M. and Ratté, M. (2004) 'Le goût des autres: Une analyse des répertoires culturels de nouvelles élites omnivores1', *Sociologie et sociétés*, 36(1), pp. 27–57. Available at: https://doi.org/10.7202/009581ar.

Bennett, T. *et al.* (2009) *Culture, class distinction*. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge (Culture, economy and the social).

Bihagen, E. and Katz-Gerro, T. (2000) 'Culture consumption in Sweden: The stability of gender differences', *Poetics*, 27(5–6), pp. 327–349. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-422X(00)00004-8.

Björnsson, M. (2018) *En gemensam nordisk undersökning av barns och ungas kulturvanor?* Stockholm: Kulturanalys Norden.

Blomkamp, E. (2015) 'A Critical History of Cultural Indicators', in L. MacDowall et al. (eds) *Making Culture Count: The Politics of Cultural Measurement*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 11–26. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-46458-3_2.

Bonet, L. and Négrier, E. (2018) 'The participative turn in cultural policy: Paradigms, models, contexts', *Poetics*, 66, pp. 64–73. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2018.02.006.

Borgonovi, F. (2004) 'Performing arts attendance: an economic approach', *Applied Economics*, 36(17), pp. 1871–1885. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/0003684042000264010.

Borowiecki, K.J. and Prieto-Rodriguez, J. (2015) 'Video games playing: A substitute for cultural consumptions?', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 39(3), pp. 239–258. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10824-014-9229-y.

Botelho, I. and Fiore, M. (2015) *O uso do tempo livre e as práticas culturais na Região Metropolitana de São Paulo*. Survey report 1st Report. Cebrap - Centro de Estudos da Metrópole.

Boulding, K.E. (1977) 'Notes on Goods Services, and Cultural Economics', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 1(1), pp. 1–12. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/41820976 (Accessed: 28 June 2023).

Bourdieu, P. (1979) *La distinction: critique sociale du jugement*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit (Le Sens commun).

Bridgwood, A. and Skelton, A. (2000) 'The arts in England: Developing a survey of attendance, participation and attitudes', *Cultural Trends*, 10(40), pp. 47–76. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960009365141.

Brisson, R. (2019) 'Back to the original omnivore: On the artefactual nature of Peterson's thesis of omnivorousness', *Poetics*, 76, p. 101359. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2019.03.004.

Brisson, R. and Bianchi, R. (2015) 'La distinction : addendum statistique: La distinction: addendum statistique', *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, 52(4), pp. 450–461. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/cars.12086.

Brook, O. (2011) *International comparisons of public engagement in culture and sport*. London: DCMS. Available at: https://www.culturehive.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Publication-participation-DCMS-1.pdf.

Brook, O. (2016) 'Spatial equity and cultural participation: how access influences attendance at museums and galleries in London', *Cultural Trends*, 25(1), pp. 21–34. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2015.1134098.

Bundesamt für Statistik (2020) *Enquête sur la langue, la religion et la culture 2019 - Questionnaire*. Survey Questionnaire. Neuchatel: Bundesamt für Statistik, p. 124. Available at: https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/enquetes/esrk.assetdetail.14961958.html.

Bunting, C., Gilmore, A. and Miles, A. (2019) 'Calling Participation to Account: Taking Part in the Politics of Method', in E. Belfiore and L. Gibson (eds) *Histories of Cultural Participation, Values and Governance*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 183–210. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55027-9_8.

CAB (2009) *Cuenta satélite de cultura: manual metodológico para su implementación en Latinoamérica*. Bogotá: Convenio Andrés Bello. Available at: https://convenioandresbello.org/cab/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Cuentas_Satelites_Cultura_Latinoamerica.pdf (Accessed: 16 June 2023).

CAB (2015) *Guía metodológica para la implementación de las cuentas satélite de cultura en Iberoamérica*. Bogotá: Convenio Andrés Bello. Available at: http://convenioandresbello.org/cab/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/guia_metodologica_digital-final.pdf (Accessed: 16 June 2023).

Calabre, L. (2006) 'O Conselho Federal de Cultura, 1971-1974', *Revista Estudos Históricos*, 37(1), pp. 81–98.

Calabre, L. (2007) 'Políticas Culturais no Brasil: balanço e perspectivas', in. Salvador-BA: Faculdade de Comunicação/UFBa.

Calabre, L. (2008) 'Políticas e Conselhos de Cultura no Brasil, 1967-1970', *Políticas Culturais em Revista*, 1(1), pp. 19–35.

Caust, J. (2020) 'Cultural Rights as Human Rights and the Impact on the Expression of Arts Practices', *Journal of Citizenship and Globalisation Studies*, 3(1), pp. 17–30. Available at: https://doi.org/10.2478/jcgs-2019-0004.

Chan, T.W. and Goldthorpe, J.H. (2005) 'The social stratification of theatre, dance and cinema attendance', *Cultural Trends*, 14(3), pp. 193–212. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960500436774.

Chan, T.W. and Goldthorpe, J.H. (2006) 'Social Stratification and Cultural Consumption: Music in England', *European Sociological Review*, 23(1), pp. 1–19. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcl016.

Chan, T.W. and Goldthorpe, J.H. (2007a) 'Class and Status: The Conceptual Distinction and its Empirical Relevance', *American Sociological Review*, 72(4), pp. 512–532. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240707200402.

Chan, T.W. and Goldthorpe, J.H. (2007b) 'Social stratification and cultural consumption: The visual arts in England', *Poetics*, 35(2–3), pp. 168–190. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2007.05.002.

Christin, A. (2011) 'Le rôle de la socialisation artistique durant l'enfance: Genre et pratiques culturelles légitimes aux États-Unis', *Réseaux*, n° 168-169(4), pp. 59–86. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3917/res.168.0059.

Christin, A. (2012) 'Gender and highbrow cultural participation in the United States', *Poetics*, 40(5), pp. 423–443. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2012.07.003.

Christin, A. and Donnat, O. (2014) 'Pratiques culturelles en France et aux États-Unis: Éléments de comparaison 1981-2008', *Culture Etudes*, 1(1), p. 1. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3917/cule.141.0001.

Chuva, M. and Lavinas, L.V. (2016) 'O Programa de Cidades Históricas (PCH) no âmbito das políticas culturais dos anos 1970: cultura, planejamento e nacional desenvolvimentismo', *Anais do*

Museu Paulista: História e Cultura Material, 24(1), pp. 75–98. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1590/1982-02672016v24n0103.

Cicchelli, V., Octobre, S. and Riegel, V. (2016) 'After the Omnivore, the Cosmopolitan Amateur: Reflections about Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism', *The Global Studies Journal*, 9(1), pp. 55–70. Available at: https://doi.org/10.18848/1835-4432/CGP/v09i01/55-70.

Cicerchia, A. (2015) 'Why we should measure, what we should measure', *Economia della Cultura*, (1), pp. 11–22. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1446/80344.

Cicerchia, A. (2017) 'Measuring Participation in the Arts in Italy', in *Enhancing Participation in the Arts in the EU: Challenges and Methods*. Victoria M. Ateca-Amestoy, Victor Ginsburgh, Isidoro Mazza, John O'Hagan, and Juan Prieto-Rodriguez. Cham: Springer International Publishing : Imprint: Springer.

Citro, C. (1990) *Public participation in the arts in America: A review of data sources and data needs*. Research / Technical. Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes (2017) *Encuesta Nacional de Participación Cultural 2017*. Survey Report. Santiago, Chile: Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, Gobierno de Chile.

Coulangeon, P. (2003) 'La stratification sociale des goûts musicaux: Le modèle de la légitimité culturelle en question', *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 44(1), p. 3. Available at: https://doi.org/10.2307/3323104.

Coulangeon, P. (2013a) 'Changing policies, challenging theories and persisting inequalities: Social disparities in cultural participation in France from 1981 to 2008', *Poetics*, 41(2), pp. 177–209. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2012.12.003.

Coulangeon, P. (2013b) 'The omnivore and the 'class defector'. Musical taste and social mobility in contemporary France'. Available at: https://hal-sciencespo.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00840790.

Coulangeon, P. (2017) 'Cultural Openness as an Emerging Form of Cultural Capital in Contemporary France', *Cultural Sociology*, 11(2), pp. 145–164. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975516680518.

Coulangeon, P. and Lemel, Y. (2007) 'Is "distinction" really outdated? Questioning the meaning of the omnivorization of musical taste in contemporary France', *Poetics*, 35(2–3), pp. 93–111. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2007.03.006.

Coulangeon, P. and Lemel, Y. (2009) 'Les pratiques culturelles et sportives des Français : arbitrage, diversité et cumul', *Economie et statistique*, 423(1), pp. 3–30. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3406/estat.2009.8021.

Courty, P. and Zhang, F. (2018) 'Cultural participation in major Chinese cities', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 42(4), pp. 543–592. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10824-018-9319-3.

Creative New Zealand (2021) *Audience Atlas Aotearoa 2020*. Survey report. Auckland: MHM for the Creative New Zealand.

Crossick, G. and Kaszynska, P. (2014) 'Under construction: Towards a framework for cultural value', *Cultural Trends*, 23(2), pp. 120–131. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2014.897453.

DCMS (1998) 'Creative Industries Mapping Document'. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/creative-industries-mapping-documents-1998.

DCMS (2010) *Understanding the drivers of engagement in culture and sport - Technical Report*. Department for Culture Media and Sport. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/88445/CASE-DriversTechnicalReport-_July10.pdf.

DCMS (2015) 'Adult Questionnaire - Taking Part Year 11'. Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport.

DCMS (2016) *Taking Part: a strategy for the next five years*. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/taking-part-a-strategy-for-the-next-five-years. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/taking-part-a-strategy-for-the-next-five-years (Accessed: 16 June 2023).

DCMS (2017) *Taking Part Survey Adult Report 2016-17*. Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/664933/Adult_stats_release_4.pdf (Accessed: 16 June 2023).

DCMS (2018) *Taking Part Survey Adult Report 2017-18*. Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/740242/180911_Taking_Part_Adult_Annual_Report_-_Revised.pdf (Accessed: 16 June 2023).

DCMS (2019) *Taking Part Survey Adult Report 2018-19*. Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/955293/Taking_Part_Survey_Adult_Report_2018_19_V2.pdf (Accessed: 16 June 2023).

De la Vega, P. *et al.* (2020) 'Playing a play: online and live performing arts consumers profiles and the role of supply constraints', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 44(3), pp. 425–450. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10824-019-09367-y.

Delrieu, V. and Gibson, L. (2017) 'Libraries and the geography of use: how does geography and asset "attractiveness" influence the local dimensions of cultural participation?', *Cultural Trends*, 26(1), pp. 18–33. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2017.1268331.

DEPS (2018) *Enquête sur les Pratiques culturelles*. Survey Questionnaire. Paris: Département des études, des statistiques et de la prospective. Available at: https://www.culture.gouv.fr/Thematiques/Etudes-et-statistiques/L-enquete-pratiques-culturelles/L-enquete-2018.

Devlin, P. (2010) *Restoring the balance: the effect of arts participation on wellbeing and health*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Voluntary Arts England.

DiMaggio, P. and Mohr, J. (1985) 'Cultural Capital, Educational Attainment, and Marital Selection', *American Journal of Sociology*, 90(6), pp. 1231–1261. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1086/228209.

DiMaggio, P. and Mukhtar, T. (2004) 'Arts participation as cultural capital in the United States, 1982–2002: Signs of decline?', pp. 169–194. Available at: https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0304422X04000154 (Accessed: 17 April 2023).

DiMaggio, P. and Ostrower, F. (1990) 'Participation in the Arts by Black and White Americans', *Social Forces*, 68(3), pp. 753–778. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2579352.

DiMaggio, P. and Useem, M. (1978a) 'Cultural Democracy in a Period of Expansion: the social composition of the arts in the United States', *Social Problems*, 26(2), pp. 179–197.

DiMaggio, P. and Useem, M. (1978b) *Social class and arts consumption: The origins and consequences of class differences in exposure to the arts in America*, pp. 141–161. Available at: http://link.springer.com/10.1007/BF01702159 (Accessed: 17 April 2023).

DiMaggio, P., Useem, M. and Brown, P. (1978) *Audience Studies of the Performing Arts and museums: a Critical Review*. Research / Technical 9. Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

Diniz, S.C. and Machado, A.F. (2011) 'Analysis of the consumption of artistic-cultural goods and services in Brazil', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 35(1), pp. 1–18. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10824-010-9129-8.

Dominzain, S. *et al.* (2014) *Imaginarios y consumo cultural - Tercer Informe sobre consumo y comportamiento cultural*. Survey report. Montevideo: Observatorio Universitario de Políticas Culturales.

Dominzain, S. (2014) 'Sonrían, digan whisky', in S. Dominzain et al. (eds) *Imaginarios y consumo cultural - Tercer Informe sobre consumo y comportamiento cultural*. Montevideo: Observatorio Universitario de Políticas Culturales.

Donders, Y. (2012) 'Human Rights and Cultural Diversity: Too Hot to Handle?', *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*, 30(4), pp. 377–381. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/016934411203000401.

Donders, Y. and Laaksonen, A. (2009) 'Finding Ways to Measure the Cultural Dimension of Human Rights and Development', *SSRN Electronic Journal* [Preprint]. Available at: https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1657837.

Donnat, O. (1991) 'Démocratisation culturelle : la fin d'un mythe', *Esprit (1940-)*, (170 (3/4)), pp. 65–82. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/24275379 (Accessed: 9 February 2021).

Donnat, O. (2009) 'Les pratiques culturelles des Français à l'ère numérique: Éléments de synthèse 1997-2008', *Culture Etudes*, 5(5), p. 1. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3917/cule.095.0001.

Donnat, O. (2011a) 'Pratiques culturelles, 1973-2008. Dynamiques générationnelles et pesanteurs sociales', *Culture études*, 7(7), pp. 1–36. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3917/cule.117.0001.

Donnat, O. (2011b) *Pratiques culturelles, 1973-2008. Question de mesure et d'interprétation de résultat*. Survey Report. Paris: Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, DEPS, p. 36. Available at: https://www.culture.gouv.fr/Thematiques/Etudes-et-statistiques/Publications/Collections-de-synthese/Culture-methodes-2007-2014/Pratiques-culturelles-1973-2008.-Questions-de-mesure-et-d-interpretation-CM-2011-2.

Donnat, O. (2013) 'Les connaissances artistiques des Français. Éléments de comparaison, 1988-2008', *Culture études*, 5(5), pp. 1–16. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3917/cule.135.0001.

Donnat, O. and Lévy, F. (2007) 'Approche générationnelle des pratiques culturelles et médiatiques', *Culture prospective*, 3(3), p. 1. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3917/culp.073.0001.

Dubois, V. (2007) 'La statistique culturelle au ministère de la Culture, de la croyance à la mauvaise conscience', in *Public(s) et politiques culturelles*. Presses de Science Po, pp. 25–32.

Dubois, V. (2015) 'The Politics of Cultural Statistics: from Legitimisation to Critique (France 1960–1990)', in L. MacDowall et al. (eds) *Making Culture Count: The Politics of Cultural Measurement*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 42–52. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-46458-3_14.

Essaadani, A., Nouri, A. and Sammouni, M. (2015) *Les pratiques culturelles des Marrocains*. Casablanca: UNESCO, Association Racines.

Eurobarometer (2002) *Europeans' participation in cultural activities - a Eurobarometer survey carried out at the request of the European Comission, Eurostat*. Survey. European Comission.

Eurobarometer (2007) *European Cultural Values - Special Eurobarometer 278*. Survey 278. European Comission.

Eurobarometer (2013) *Cultural Access and Participation - Special Eurobarometer 399*. Survey 399. European Comission.

Evans, G. (2016) 'Participation and provision in arts & culture – bridging the divide', *Cultural Trends*, 25(1), pp. 2–20. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2015.1135528.

Falk, M. and Katz-Gerro, T. (2016) 'Cultural participation in Europe: Can we identify common determinants?', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 40(2), pp. 127–162. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10824-015-9242-9.

Fancourt, D. and Finn, S. (2019) *What is the evidence on the role of the arts in improving health and well-being?: a scoping review*. Copenhagen: WHO Regional Office for Europe.

Fancourt, D., Warran, K. and Aughterson, H. (2020) *The role of arts in improving health & wellbeing.pdf*. Research Report. DCMS.

Farges, G. (2015) 'Approche de long terme des pratiques culturelles légitimes des enseignants: Stabilité dans une période de changement ?', *Revue française de sociologie*, Vol. 56(2), pp. 261–300. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3917/rfs.562.0261.

Ferrant, C. (2018) 'Class, culture, and structure: Stratification and mechanisms of omnivorousness', *Sociology Compass*, 12(7), p. e12590. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12590.

Figueira, C. (2017) 'Cultural policy between and beyond nation-states', in V. Durrer, T. Miller, and D. O'Brien (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Global Cultural Policy*. 1st edn. New York: Routledge, 2018.: Routledge, pp. 133–147. Available at: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781317512899/chapters/10.4324/9781315718408-9 (Accessed: 26 June 2023).

Fisher, R. *et al.* (1993) *Cultural participation in Europe: Trends, strategies and challenges—Proceedings of the European Cultural Research Round-Table, Moscow, April 1991*. CIRCLE, Cultural Information and Research Centres Liaison in Europe.

Fisher, R. and Wiesand, A.J. (1991) *Participation in cultural life: papers presented to the European Round Table on Cultural Research, Moscow, April 1991: with an introduction in Russian, French and German*. Zentrum für Kulturforschung. Edited by A.J. Wiesand. Bonn: ARCult (Kultur & Wissenschaft, 8).

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

Foote, J. (2002) 'Cultural Consumption and Participation', *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 27(2–3), pp. 209–220. Available at: https://doi.org/10.22230/cjc.2002v27n2a1295.

Ford Foundation (1974) 'The Finances of the Performing Arts. Volume II. A Survey of the Characteristics and Attitudes of Audiences for Theater, Opera, Symphony, and Ballet in 12 U.S. Cities'.

Fuertes, M. and Badillo, Á. (2016) 'La dificultad de medir la cultura y la diversidad. Comparación de tres modelos internacionales de medición cultural: MEC-2009, ESSnet-2012 y CAB-2015', *CIC. Cuadernos de Información y Comunicación*, 21(0), pp. 63–95. Available at: https://doi.org/10.5209/CIYC.52878.

Garon, R. (2009) 'Évolution des publics des arts et de la culture au québec et aux États-Unis : mise en perspective', *Loisir et Société / Society and Leisure*, 32(1), pp. 73–97. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/07053436.2009.10707784.

Garon, R. (2022) 'Petite histoire de iÉnquête sur les pratiques culturelles au Québec. Comment va-t-elle passer du XX au XXI siècle?', in arie-C. Lapointe and G. Pronovost (eds) *Les enquêtes sur les pratiques culturelles: mesures de la culture au Québec et ailleurs dans le monde*. Québec, Canada: Presses de l'Université du Québec.

Gayo, M. (2017a) 'Exploring Cultural Disengagement: The Example of Chile', *Cultural Sociology*, 11(4), pp. 468–488. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975517727441.

Gayo, M. (2017b) 'Medir para democratizar: saberes estadísticos y política pública', in *Encuesta Nacional de Participación Cultural 2017*. Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes. Santiago, Chile: Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, Gobierno de Chile.

Gayo, M., Savage, M. and Warde, A. (2006) 'A cultural map of the United Kingdom, 2003', *Cultural Trends*, 15(2), pp. 213–237. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960600713122.

Gilmore, A. (2013) 'Cold spots, crap towns and cultural deserts: The role of place and geography in cultural participation and creative place-making', *Cultural Trends*, 22(2), pp. 86–96. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2013.783174.

Girard, A. (1965) 'Pourquoi des recherches ? La fin de l'ère des goûts et des couleurs:', in *L'invention de la prospective culturelle*. Département des études, de la prospective et des statistiques. Available at: http://books.openedition.org/deps/839.

Glevarec, H. and Pinet, M. (2009) 'La « tablature » des goûts musicaux : un modèle de structuration des préférences et des jugements':, *Revue française de sociologie*, Vol. 50(3), pp. 599–640. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3917/rfs.503.0599.

Globerman, S. and Book, S.H. (1977) 'CONSUMPTION EFFICIENCY AND SPECTATOR ATTENDANCE', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 1(1), pp. 13–32. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/41820977 (Accessed: 28 June 2023).

Goldbard, A. (2015) 'The Metrics Syndrome: Cultural Scientism and Its Discontents', in L. MacDowall et al. (eds) *Making Culture Count: The Politics of Cultural Measurement*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 214–227. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-46458-3_14.

Goodwin, C. (2006) 'Chapter 2 Art and Culture in the History of Economic Thought', in V.A. Ginsburg and D. Throsby (eds) *Handbook of the Economics of Art and Culture*. Elsevier, pp. 25–68. Available at: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1574067606010027.

Gordon, J.C. and Beilby-Orrin, H. (2007) *International Measurement of the Economic and Social Importance of Culture*. OECD Statistics Working Papers 2007/03. Available at: https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/international-measurement-of-the-economic-and-social-importance-of-culture_5k92znx7sc30-en (Accessed: 15 June 2023).

Groves, R.M. (2011) 'Three Eras of Survey Research', *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 75(5,), pp. 861–871. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/41345914.

Grześkowiak, A. (2016) 'Assessment of Participation in Cultural Activities in Poland by Selected Multivariate Methods', *European Journal of Social Sciences Education and Research*, 6(1), p. 18. Available at: https://doi.org/10.26417/ejser.v6i1.p18-26.

Güell, P. (2010) 'Las Mediaciones de la Cultura: ¿Qué Medios de Información Utilizan los Chilenos para Informarse de la Oferta de Bienes y Servicios Culturales?', *Comunicación y Sociedad* [Preprint].

Hadley, S. (2021) *Audience Development and Cultural Policy*. Cham: Springer International Publishing (New Directions in Cultural Policy Research). Available at: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-030-62970-0 (Accessed: 17 April 2023).

Hadley, S. and Belfiore, E. (2018) 'Cultural democracy and cultural policy', *Cultural Trends*, 27(3), pp. 218–223. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2018.1474009.

Hadley, S. and Gray, C. (2017) 'Hyperinstrumentalism and cultural policy: means to an end or an end to meaning?', *Cultural Trends*, 26(2), pp. 95–106. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2017.1323836.

Hallmann, K. *et al.* (2017) 'Leisure participation: modelling the decision to engage in sports and culture', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 41(4), pp. 467–487. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10824-016-9275-8.

Hanquinet, L. (2013) 'Visitors to Modern and Contemporary Art Museums: Towards a New Sociology of "Cultural Profiles"', *The Sociological Review*, 61(4), pp. 790–813. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12072.

Hanquinet, L., O'Brien, D. and Taylor, M. (2019) 'The coming crisis of cultural engagement? Measurement, methods, and the nuances of niche activities', *Cultural Trends*, 28(2–3), pp. 198–219. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2019.1617941.

Hendon, B. (1994) 'Editorial: The culture of cultural economics', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 18(1), pp. 1–2. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01207148.

Herrera-Usagre, M. (2013) 'La transmisión intergeneracional de aptitudes y actitudes culturales. Adaptando el paradigma de la omnivoridad cultural para Andalucía', *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, 71(1), pp. 143–167. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3989/ris.2011.11.25.

Holden, J. (2006) *Cultural value and the crisis of legitimacy: why culture needs a democratic mandate*. London: Demos.

Horkheimer, M. and Adorno, T.W. (2002) 'The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception', in G. Schmid Noerr (ed.) *Dialectic of enlightenment: philosophical fragments*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press (Cultural memory in the present).

Horkheimer, M., Adorno, T.W. and Schmid Noerr, G. (2002) *Dialectic of enlightenment: philosophical fragments*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press (Cultural memory in the present).

Institut de la statistique du Québec and UNESCO, I. de statistique (2003) *Actes du Colloque international sur les statistiques culturelles, Montréal, 2002*. Québec, Montréal: Institut de la statistique du Québec; UNESCO, Institut de statistique.

Jæger, M.M. and Katz-Gerro, T. (2010) 'The Rise of the Eclectic Cultural Consumer in Denmark, 1964–2004', *The Sociological Quarterly*, 51(3), pp. 460–483. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.2010.01175.x.

Jancovich, L. (2017) ‘The participation myth’, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 23(1), pp. 107–121. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2015.1027698.

Jermyn, H. (1999) ‘Commentary 2: Arts attendance and participation’, *Cultural Trends*, 9(33), pp. 107–110. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548969909365070.

Jermyn, H., Skelton, S. and Bridgwood, A. (2001) *Arts in England: attendance, participation & attitudes*. London: Arts Council of England.

Johanson, K., Glow, H. and Kershaw, A. (2014) ‘New modes of arts participation and the limits of cultural indicators for local government’, *Poetics*, 43, pp. 43–59. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2014.02.002.

Jordão, G. (2014) *Consumo Brasileiro de Práticas Culturais*. Allucci&AssociAdos comunicAções. São Paulo (Panorama Setorial da Cultura Brasileira, 2013/2014). Available at: https://panoramadacultura.com.br/ (Accessed: 10 February 2021).

Jordão, G., Birche, L. and Allucci, R. (2016) *Mapeamento dos Cursos de Gestão e Produção Cultural no Brasil 1995-2015*. Itaú Cultural.

Jowell, R. (1998) ‘How comparative is comparative research?’:, *The American Behavioral Scientist*, 42(2), pp. 168–177.

Juncker, B. and Balling, G. (2016) ‘The Value of Art and Culture in Everyday Life: Towards an Expressive Cultural Democracy’, *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 46(5), pp. 231–242. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/10632921.2016.1225618.

Katz-Gerro, T. and Sullivan, O. (2023) ‘Cultural stratification in the UK: Persistent gender and class differences in cultural voraciousness’, *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 23(2), pp. 391–408. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/14695405221100388.

Kawashima, N. (2006) ‘Audeince development and social inclusion in Britain: Tensions, contradictions and paradoxes in policy and their implications for cultural management’, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 12(1), pp. 55–72. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/10286630600613309.

Keaney, E. (2008) ‘Understanding arts audiences: existing data and what it tells us’, *Cultural Trends*, 17(2), pp. 97–113. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960802090642.

Keaney, E. and Oskala, A. (2007) ‘The Golden Age of the Arts? Taking Part Survey Findings on Older People and the Arts’, *Cultural Trends*, 16(4), pp. 323–355. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960701692696.

Keller, A. (2017) ‘Perspectivas para la reactualización del análisis de la relación entre participación cultural y territorio: desde las experiencias presenciales al territorio-red’, in *Encuesta Nacional de Participación Cultural 2017*. Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes. Santiago, Chile: Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, Gobierno de Chile.

Keuchel, S. (2015) *Das 1. InterKulturBarometer – Zentrale Ergebnisse zum Thema Kunst, Kultur und Migration.* Kulturelle Bildung Online. Available at: https://www.kubi-online.de/index.php/artikel/1-interkulturbarometer-zentrale-ergebnisse-zum-thema-kunst-kultur-migration (Accessed: 31 May 2023).

Kraaykamp, G. and Eijck, K. van (2005) ‘Personality, media preferences, and cultural participation’, *Personality and Individual Differences*, 38(7), pp. 1675–1688. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2004.11.002.

Kraaykamp, G., van Gils, W. and Ultee, W. (2008) 'Cultural participation and time restrictions', *Poetics*, 36(4), pp. 316–332. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2008.04.001.

Laaksonen, A. (2010) *Making culture accessible: access, participation and cultural provision in the context of cultural rights in Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.

Lahire, B. (2008) 'The individual and the mixing of genres: Cultural dissonance and self-distinction', *Poetics*, 36(2–3), pp. 166–188. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2008.02.001.

Lapointe, M.-C. (2022) 'Repenser les enquêtes sur les pratiques culturelles au Québec : pour une refondation plutôt qu'un abandon', in M.-C. Lapointe and G. Pronovost (eds) *Les enquêtes sur les pratiques culturelles: mesures de la culture au Québec et ailleurs dans le monde*. Québec, Canada: Presses de l'Université du Québec.

Lapointe, M.-C. and Pronovost, G. (eds) (2022) *Les enquêtes sur les pratiques culturelles: mesures de la culture au Québec et ailleurs dans le monde*. Québec, Canada: Presses de l'Université du Québec.

Lapointe, M.-C., Pronovost, G. and Lemieux, J. (eds) (2017) *Générations et pratiques culturelles*. 1st edn. Presses de l'Université du Québec. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/j.ctt1z27hft (Accessed: 15 June 2023).

Lazzaro, E. and Frateschi, C. (2017) 'Couples' arts participation: assessing individual and joint time use', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 41(1), pp. 47–69. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10824-015-9264-3.

Le Roux, B. *et al.* (2008) 'Class and Cultural Division in the UK', *Sociology*, 42(6), pp. 1049–1071. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038508096933.

Lee, S.-S., SetByol, C. and Lee, M.-J. (2015) 'Omnivorous Consumer or Omnivorous Producer?: Patterns of Cultural Participation in Korea', *Journal of Asian Sociology*, 44(1), pp. 117–142. Available at: https://doi.org/10.21588/DNS.2015.44.1.005.

Leguina, A., Arancibia-Carvajal, S. and Widdop, P. (2017) 'Musical preferences and technologies: Contemporary material and symbolic distinctions criticized', *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 17(2), pp. 242–264. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540515586870.

Leguina, A., Karademir-Hazir, I. and Azpitarte, F. (2022) 'Exploring patterns of children's cultural participation: parental cultural capitals and their transmission', *Consumption and Society*, 1(1), pp. 170–196. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1332/IOJW2616.

Leguina, A. and Miles, A. (2017) 'Fields of participation and lifestyle in England: revealing the regional dimension from a reanalysis of the Taking Part Survey using Multiple Factor Analysis', *Cultural Trends*, 26(1), pp. 4–17. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2017.1274356.

Leiva, J. (2014) *Cultura SP: hábitos culturais dos paulistas*. São Paulo: Tuva Editora.

Leiva, J. and Meirelles, R. (2018) *Cultura nas capitais: como 33 milhões de brasileiros consomem diversão e arte*. 1a. edição. Rio de Janeiro: 17 Street.

Leiva, J. and Meirelles, R. (2019) 'Do online activities reduce or encourage access to offline cultural activities? What do quantitative studies suggest', in *ICT in culture 2018 : survey on the use of information and communication technologies in Brazilian cultural facilities*. Núcleo de Informação e Coordenação do Ponto BR. São Paulo: Comitê Gestor da Internet no Brasil.

Lemyre, X., Mader, J. and Ambard, M. (2018) *Quantifying and Valuing the Wellbeing Impacts of Arts, Culture and Sports in Canada*. Research Report. Canadian Heritage.

Lizardo, O. and Skiles, S. (2012) ‘Reconceptualizing and Theorizing “Omnivorousness”: Genetic and Relational Mechanisms’, *Sociological Theory*, 30(4), pp. 263–282. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0735275112466999.

Lombardo, P. and Wolff, L. (2020) ‘Cinquante ans de pratiques culturelles en France’, *Culture études*, n°2(2), p. 1. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3917/cule.202.0001.

López-Sintas, J. (2002) ‘Omnivores Show up Again: The Segmentation of Cultural Consumers in Spanish Social Space’, *European Sociological Review*, 18(3), pp. 353–368. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/18.3.353.

López-Sintas, J. *et al.* (2014) ‘Music access patterns: A social interpretation’, *Poetics*, 46, pp. 56–74. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2014.09.003.

López-Sintas, J. and Álvarez, E. (2004) ‘Omnivore versus univore consumption and its symbolic properties: evidence from Spaniards’ performing arts attendance’, *Poetics*, 32(6), pp. 471–491. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-422X(04)00055-5.

López-Sintas, J. and Álvarez, E.G. (2002) ‘The Consumption of Cultural Products: An Analysis of the Spanish Social Space’, *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 26(2), pp. 115–138. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1014473618476.

López-Sintas, J., Álvarez, E.G. and Filimon, N. (2008) ‘Scale and Periodicities of Recorded Music Consumption: Reconciling Bourdieu’s Theory of Taste with Facts’, *The Sociological Review*, 56(1), pp. 78–101. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2008.00778.x.

López-Sintas, J., Belbeze, M.P.L. and Lamberti, G. (2023) ‘Socially Patterned Strategic Complementarity between Offline Leisure Activities and Internet Practices among Young People’, *Leisure Sciences*, 45(1), pp. 24–45. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/01490400.2020.1782289.

López-Sintas, J., Ghahraman, A. and Pérez Rubiales, E. (2017) ‘Young people’s leisure patterns: testing social age, social gender, and linguistic capital hypotheses’, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 20(2), pp. 180–199. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2016.1206863.

López-Sintas, J. and Katz-Gerro, T. (2005) ‘From exclusive to inclusive elitists and further: Twenty years of omnivorousness and cultural diversity in arts participation in the USA’, *Poetics*, 33(5–6), pp. 299–319. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2005.10.004.

Machado, A.F. *et al.* (2017) ‘Consumption of cultural goods and services and time allocation in Brazil’, *Nova Economia*, 27(1), pp. 35–63. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1590/0103-6351/3115.

Madden, C. (2005a) ‘Cross-country comparisons of cultural statistics: Issues and good practice’, *Cultural Trends*, 14(4), pp. 299–316. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960600573559.

Madden, C. (2005b) ‘Indicators for arts and cultural policy: A Global perspective’, *Cultural Trends*, 14(3), pp. 217–247. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960500436824.

Martin, L. (2012) ‘Du SER au DEP, ou la constitution d’une socio-économie de la culture et d’une prospective culturelle au service de l’action (1959-1993)’, *Revue historique*, 663(3), p. 683. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3917/rhis.123.0683.

Martin, L. (2014) ‘The democratisation of culture in France in the nineteenth & twentieth centuries: an obsolete ambition?’, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 20(4), pp. 440–455. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2013.819860.

Matarasso, F. and Landry, C. (1999) *Balancing act: twenty-one strategic dilemmas in cultural policy*. Strasbourg : Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y: Council of Europe Pub. ; Sales agent in the United States and Canada, Manhattan Pub (Policy note, no. 4).

McCarthy, K.F. and Jinnett, K. (2001) *A New Framework for Building Participation in the Arts*. RAND.

McCarthy, K.F., Ondaatje, E.H. and Zakaras, L. (2001) *Guide to the Literature on Participation in the Arts*. Guide. RAND.

MCUD (2019a) *Cuestionario Encuesta de Hábitos y Prácticas Culturales en España 2018-2019*. Survey Questionnaire. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte - Secretaría General Técnica - Subdirección General de Atención al ciudadano, Documentación y Publicaciones. Available at: https://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/dam/jcr:c1eb1b96-b911-4ffb-9273-6e6b7c1a8cb7/cuestionario-encuesta-de-habitos-y-practicas-culturales-2018-2019.pdf.

MCUD (2019b) *Encuesta de Hábitos y Prácticas Culturales en España 2018-2019*. Survey Report. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte - Secretaría General Técnica - Subdirección General de Atención al ciudadano, Documentación y Publicaciones. Available at: https://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/dam/jcr:1712f192-d59b-427d-bbe0-db0f3e9f716b/encuesta-de-habitos-y-practicas-culturales-2018-2019.pdf (Accessed: 16 June 2023).

Mendes, I.A.A. and Costa, B.L.D. (2015) 'Considerações sobre o papel do capital cultural e acesso ao ensino superior: uma investigação com dados de Minas Gerais', *Educação em Revista*, 31(3), pp. 71–95. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1590/0102-4698135457.

MHM (2017) *Culture Segments Australia - Pen Portraits for the Australia Council*. Survey report. Sydney: MHM for the Australia Council for the Arts.

Mihelj, S., Leguina, A. and Downey, J. (2019) 'Culture is digital: Cultural participation, diversity and the digital divide', *New Media & Society*, 21(7), pp. 1465–1485. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818822816.

Miles, A. and Ebrey, J. (2017) 'The village in the city: participation and cultural value on the urban periphery', *Cultural Trends*, 26(1), pp. 58–69. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2017.1274360.

Miles, A. and Gibson, L. (2017) 'Everyday participation and cultural value in place', *Cultural Trends*, 26(1), pp. 1–3. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2017.1275129.

Miles, A. and Sullivan, A. (2012) 'Understanding participation in culture and sport: Mixing methods, reordering knowledges', *Cultural Trends*, 21(4), pp. 311–324. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2012.726795.

Ministerio de Cultura (1978) 'Demanda Cultural en España'. Ministerio de Cultura - Secretaria General Tecnica - Gabinete de Estadística e Informática.

Muñiz, C., Rodríguez, P. and Suárez, M.J. (no date) 'The Allocation of Time to Sports and Cultural Activities: An Analysis of Individual Decisions'.

Myrczik, E. *et al.* (2022) '"Missing out on culture—or not: Danes and Finns' cultural participation, the pandemic, and cultural policy measures"', *Nordisk kulturpolitisk tidsskrift*, 25(2), pp. 1–24. Available at: https://doi.org/10.18261/nkt.25.2.4.

NEA (1995) *A practical guide to Arts Participation Research.pdf*. Research Report. Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

NEA (2015) *A Decade of Arts Engagement: Findings from the Survey of Public Participation in the Arts, 2002–2012*. Survey Report 58. Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

Neelands, J. *et al.* (2015) *The Warwick Report: Enriching Britain: Culture, Creativity and Growth*. Available at: http://rgdoi.net/10.13140/2.1.4918.0960 (Accessed: 8 May 2023).

New Zealand and New Zealand (eds) (2003) *A measure of culture: cultural experiences and cultural spending in New Zealand*. Wellington, N.Z: Statistics New Zealand : Ministry for Culture and Heritage.

NIC.Br (2019) *ICT in culture 2018 : survey on the use of information and communication technologies in Brazilian cultural facilities*. Núcleo de Informação e Coordenação do Ponto BR. São Paulo: Comitê Gestor da Internet no Brasil.

NIC.Br (2021) *ICT in culture 2020 : survey on the use of information and communication technologies in Brazilian cultural facilities*. Núcleo de Informação e Coordenação do Ponto BR. São Paulo: Comitê Gestor da Internet no Brasil.

Nivón, E. and Bonilla, D.S. (2012) 'Algunas consideraciones sobre los estudios de consumo cultural en México y en Chile', *Alteridades*, 22, pp. 59–79. Available at: https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/747/74728323009.pdf.

O'Brien, D. (2010) *Measuring the value of culture: a report to the Department for Culture Media and Sport*. Research Report. London: Department for Culture Media and Sport.

O'Brien, D. (2015) 'Cultural value, measurement and policy making', *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, 14(1), pp. 79–94. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1474022214533892.

Octobre, S. (2009) 'Pratiques culturelles chez les jeunes et institutions de transmission : un choc de cultures ?: Cultural practices amongst the young and transmitting institutions: a clash of cultures?', *Culture prospective*, 1(1), p. 1. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3917/culp.091.0001.

OEI (2014) *Encuesta latinoamericana de hábitos y prácticas culturales, 2013.* Survey Report. Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos para la Educaciónla, la Ciencia y la Cultura.

O'Hagan, J. (2016) 'European statistics on cultural participation and their international comparability', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 22(2), pp. 291–303. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2014.973870.

O'Hagan, J. and Castiglione, C. (2010) 'European statistics on cultural attendance and participation and their international comparability', in. Trinity College Dublin, Ireland.

Ollivier, M. (2008a) 'Modes of openness to cultural diversity: Humanist, populist, practical, and indifferent', *Poetics*, 36(2–3), pp. 120–147. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2008.02.005.

Ollivier, M. (2008b) 'Revisiting Distinction: Bourdieu without class?', *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 1(3), pp. 263–279. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/17530350802476970.

Orend, R.J. (1987) *Socialization in the Arts*. Research / Technical 143. Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

Owen, V.L. (1977) 'The Florentine and Sienese Renaissance: a monopsonistic explanation', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 1(1), pp. 33–55. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/41820978 (Accessed: 28 June 2023).

Parvu, O. (2014) ‘Consumption and Participation to Culture among the European Youth’, *European Journal of Social Sciences Education and Research*, 1(1), p. 112. Available at: https://doi.org/10.26417/ejser.v1i1.p112-117.

Pereira, V.B. (2018) ‘Urban Distinctions: Class, Culture and Sociability in the City of Porto: Urban distinctions: Class, Culture and Sociability in the City of Porto’, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 42(1), pp. 126–137. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12532.

Pessoa, J. (2015) ‘Cultural Measurement in International Development: The Need for Capacity Building in Cultural Statistics’, in L. MacDowall et al. (eds) *Making Culture Count: The Politics of Cultural Measurement*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 109–128. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-46458-3_8.

Peters, T. (2012) ‘Nuevos desplazamientos en la investigación en cultura: aportes de la segunda encuesta nacional de participación y consumo cultural de Chile’, *Persona y Sociedad*, 26(1), p. 87. Available at: https://doi.org/10.53689/pys.v26i1.7.

Peters, T. (2017) ‘Capital cultural y participación cultural en Chile: apuntes históricos, propuestas emergentes’, in *Encuesta Nacional de Participación Cultural 2017*. Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes. Santiago, Chile: Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, Gobierno de Chile.

Peters, T. (2021) ‘Institucionalización y consumo cultural: continuidades y transformaciones de las lógicas de acceso a las artes en Chile (2003 – 2017)’, *Atenea (Concepción)*, 26(523), pp. 77–94. Available at: https://doi.org/10.29393/AtAt523-411TPIC10411.

Peterson, R. (1992) ‘Understanding audience segmentation: From elite and mass to omnivore and univore’, *Poetics*, 21(4), pp. 243–258. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-422X(92)90008-Q.

Peterson, R. (2005) ‘Problems in comparative research: The example of omnivorousness’, *Poetics*, 33(5–6), pp. 257–282. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2005.10.002.

Peterson, R. and Kern, R. (1996) ‘Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore’, *American Sociological Review*, 61(5), p. 900. Available at: https://doi.org/10.2307/2096460.

Peterson, R. and Rossman, G. (2008) ‘Changing Arts Audiences Capitalizing on Omnivorousness’, in S.J. Tepper and B.J. Ivey (eds) *Engaging art: the next great transformation of America’s cultural life*. New York: Routledge.

Peterson, R. and Sherkat, D. (1995) *Age Factors in Arts Participation- 1982-1992*. Research / Technical 143. Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

Peterson, R. and Simkus, A. (1992) ‘How musical tastes mark occupational status groups’, in *Cultivating differences: symbolic boundaries and the making of inequality*. Michèle Lamont and Marcel Fournier. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 152–186.

Peterson, R.A. *et al.* (1996) *Age and arts participation with a focus on the baby boom cohort*. Research Report 34. Santa Ana, California: National Endowment for the Arts.

Peterson, R.A., Hull, P.C. and Kern, R.M. (2000) *Age and arts participation: 1982-1997*. Survey Report 42. Santa Ana, Calif: National Endowment for the Arts.

Pettit, B. (2000) ‘Resources for studying public participation in and attitudes towards the arts’, *Poetics*, 27(5–6), pp. 351–395. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-422X(00)00008-5.

Phiddian, R. *et al.* (2017) ‘Counting culture to death: an Australian perspective on culture counts and quality metrics’, *Cultural Trends*, 26(2), pp. 174–180. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2017.1324014.

Piketty, T. (2014) *Capital in the twenty-first century*. Translated by A. Goldhammer. Cambridge Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Pratt, A. (2004) 'The Cultural Economy: A Call for Spatialized "Production of Culture" Perspectives', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 7(1), pp. 117–128. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877904040609.

Prieto-Rodríguez, J. (2021) 'La (alta) cultura ante el reto digital', in *Economía y cultura: una mirada hacia el futuro*. Victoria Ateca-Amestoi, Juan-José Ganuza and Jesús prieto Sacristán. Madrid: Funcas.

Prieto-Rodríguez, J. and Fernández-Blanco, V. (2000) 'Are Popular and Classical Music Listeners the Same People?', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 24(2), pp. 147–164.

Prieur, A. and Savage, M. (2011) 'Updating cultural capital theory: A discussion based on studies in Denmark and in Britain', *Poetics*, 39(6), pp. 566–580. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2011.09.002.

Pronovost, G. (2002) 'Les enquêtes de participation culturelle - Une comparaison France–Québec–États-Unis'. Available at: https://statistique.quebec.ca/en/fichier/enquetes-de-participation-culturelle-une-comparaison-france-quebec-etats-unis.pdf.

Purhonen, S., Gronow, J. and Rahkonen, K. (2011) 'Highbrow culture in Finland: Knowledge, taste and participation', *Acta Sociologica*, 54(4), pp. 385–402. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0001699311422092.

Rabkin, N. and Hedberg, E.C. (2011) *Arts education in America: What the declines mean for arts participation*. Research Report 52. Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

Radakovich, R. (2014) 'Intersecciones entre lo culto, lo popular y lo tecnico-visual', in S. Dominzain et al. (eds) *Imaginarios y consumo cultural - Tercer Informe sobre consumo y comportamiento cultural*. Montevideo: Observatorio Universitario de Políticas Culturales.

Rajan, K.B. and Rajan, R.S. (2017) *Health Patterns of Older Americans who Participate in the arts*. Research Report. Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

Redden, G. (2015) 'Culture, Value and Commensuration: The knowledge politics of indicators', in L. MacDowall et al. (eds) *Making Culture Count: The Politics of Cultural Measurement*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 11–26. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-46458-3_2.

Ringelheim, J. (2017) 'The rise of cultural rights in international human rights law'.

Robinson, J.P. *et al.* (1985) *Public participation in the arts: Final report on the 1982 survey*. Survey report. Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

Rössel, J. and Weingartner, S. (2016) 'Opportunities for cultural consumption: How is cultural participation in Switzerland shaped by regional cultural infrastructure?', *Rationality and Society*, 28(4), pp. 363–385. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1043463116658872.

Rossman, G. and Peterson, R.A. (2015) 'The instability of omnivorous cultural taste over time', *Poetics*, 52, pp. 139–153. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2015.05.004.

Rubim, A. and Barbalho, A. (eds) (2007) *Políticas culturais no Brasil*. Salvador: EDUFBA (Coleção CULT, 2).

Rubim, A. (2007) 'Políticas culturais no Brasil: tristes tradições', *revista Galáxia*, (13), pp. 101–113.

Savage, M. (2005) *Cultural capital in the UK: a preliminary report using correspondence analysis*. Milton Keynes: Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change.

Savage, M. *et al.* (2005) *Cultural capital in the UK: a preliminary report using correspondence analysis*. Research Report 4. Milton Keynes: Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change.

Savage, M. (2006) 'The musical field', *Cultural Trends*, 15(2–3), pp. 159–174. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960600712975.

Savage, M. (2013) 'The "Social Life of Methods": A Critical Introduction', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 30(4), pp. 3–21. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276413486160.

Savage, M. and Gayo, M. (2011) 'Unravelling the omnivore: A field analysis of contemporary musical taste in the United Kingdom', *Poetics*, 39(5), pp. 337–357. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2011.07.001.

Scherger, S. (2009) 'Cultural practices, age and the life course', *Cultural Trends*, 18(1), pp. 23–45. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960802651203.

Scherger, S. and Savage, M. (2010) 'Cultural Transmission, Educational Attainment and Social Mobility', *The Sociological Review*, 58(3), pp. 406–428. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2010.01927.x.

Schuster, J.M. (1991) *The Audience for American art museums*. Washington: Seven Locks Press (Research Division report / National Endowment for the Arts, 23).

Schuster, J.M. (1997) 'The Geography of Participation in the Arts and Culture'.

Schuster, J.M. (2002) 'Sub-national cultural policy--where the action is: Mapping state cultural policy in the United States', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8(2), pp. 181–196. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/1028663022000009623.

Schuster, J.M. (2007) 'Participation Studies and Cross-National Comparison: Proliferation, Prudence, and Possibility', *Cultural Trends*, 16(2), pp. 99–196. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960701299815.

Schuster, J.M.D. (2000) *The geography of participation in the arts and culture: a research monograph based on the 1997 survey of public participation in the arts*. Survey Report 41. Santa Ana, Calif.: National Endowment for the Arts.

Seale, C. *et al.* (eds) (2004) *Qualitative Research Practice*. 1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road, London England EC1Y 1SP United Kingdom: SAGE Publications Ltd. Available at: https://methods.sagepub.com/book/qualitative-research-practice (Accessed: 19 June 2023).

Šebová, M. and Révészová, Z. (2020) 'Unveiling Trends in Cultural Participation: The Case of Slovakia', *Social Sciences*, 9(11), p. 190. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci9110190.

Selwood, S. (1998) 'Museums, access and visitor studies in the late 90s', in S. Bicknell and G. Farmelo (eds) *Museum visitor studies in the 90s*. Reprinted, Published in 1993. London: Science Musuem.

Selwood, S. (1999) 'Access, efficiency and excellence: Measuring non-economic performance in the English subsidised cultural sector', *Cultural Trends*, 9(35), pp. 87–137. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548969909365090.

Selwood, S. (2002) ‘The politics of data collection: Gathering, analysing and using data about the subsidised cultural sector in England’, *Cultural Trends*, 12(47), pp. 13–84. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960209390330.

Selwood, S. *et al.* (2005) ‘John Holden s Capturing Cultural Value How Culture has Become a Tool of Government Policy (1).pdf’, *Cultural Value*, 14–1(53), pp. 113–128.

Selwood, S. (2019) ‘A possible teleology of cultural sector data in England’, *Cultural Trends*, 28(2–3), pp. 177–197. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2019.1617940.

Selwood, S. (2021) ‘Social Sciences and the Cultural Sector in England: A Commentary on the Literature’, *Museum Worlds*, 9(1), pp. 33–52. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3167/armw.2021.090104.

SGAE (2000) *Informe SGAE sobre hábitos de consumo cultural*. Madrid, Fundación Autor.

Silva, E. (2008) ‘Cultural capital and visual art in the contemporary UK’, *Cultural Trends*, 17(4), pp. 267–287. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960802615414.

Silva, E.B. (2006) ‘Distinction through visual art’, *Cultural Trends*, 15(2–3), pp. 141–158. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960600712942.

Silva, E.B. (2015) ‘Class in Contemporary Britain: Comparing the Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion (CCSE) Project and the Great British Class Survey (GBCS)’, *The Sociological Review*, 63(2), pp. 373–392. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12286.

Silva, E.B. (2016) ‘Unity and Fragmentation of the Habitus’, *The Sociological Review*, 64(1), pp. 166–183. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12346.

SINCA (2013a) *Audiovisual*. Survey Report. Buenos Aires: Sistema de Información Cultural de la Argentina.

SINCA (2013b) *Editorial*. Survey Report. Buenos Aires: Sistema de Información Cultural de la Argentina.

SINCA (2017a) *Cultura Comunitaria en la Argentina*. Survey Report. Buenos Aires: Sistema de Información Cultural de la Argentina.

SINCA (2017b) *¿De qué hablamos cuando hablamos de cultura?* Buenos Aires: Sistema de Información Cultural de la Argentina.

SINCA (2017c) *Encuesta Nacional de Consumos Culturales 2017*. Survey Report. Sistema de Información Cultural de la Argentina.

SINCA (2017d) *Los jóvenes y los consumos culturales*. Survey Report. Buenos Aires: Sistema de Información Cultural de la Argentina.

SINCA (2017e) *Mujeres en la cultura*. Survey Report. Buenos Aires: Sistema de Información Cultural de la Argentina.

Smith, C. (1998) *Creative Britain*. London: Faber and Faber.

South African Cultural Observatory (2015) ‘Cultural Participation and Consumption in South Africa: A Demand-side report’.

Stano, P.M. and Węziak-Białowolska, D. (2017) 'Measuring Cultural and Creative Activities in European Cities: Challenges and Practical Problems with Existing Indices', *Creativity Research Journal*, 29(3), pp. 292–303. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/10400419.2017.1360066.

Stein, J.P. (1977) 'SOME ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF ARTIST'S FOLLOW-UP RIGHTS', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 1(1), pp. 80–81. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/41820982 (Accessed: 28 June 2023).

Stern, M.J. (2011) *Age and Arts Participation: A Case against Demographic Destiny*. Research Report 53. Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

Stevenson, D. (2013) 'What's the problem again? The problematisation of cultural participation in Scottish cultural policy', *Cultural Trends*, 22(2), pp. 77–85. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2013.783172.

Stevenson, D., Balling, G. and Kann-Rasmussen, N. (2017) 'Cultural participation in Europe: shared problem or shared problematisation?', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 23(1), pp. 89–106. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2015.1043290.

Stichele, A.V. and Laermans, R. (2006) 'Cultural participation in Flanders: Testing the cultural omnivore thesis with population data', *Poetics*, 34(1), pp. 45–64. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2005.09.002.

Sullivan, O. and Katz-Gerro, T. (2006) 'The Omnivore Thesis Revisited: Voracious Cultural Consumers', *European Sociological Review*, 23(2), pp. 123–137. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcl024.

Symmes, C. (2017) 'La participación cultural como fundamento del tejido social: el horizonte de la nueva institucionalidad para las culturas, las artes y el patrimonio', in *Encuesta Nacional de Participación Cultural 2017*. Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes. Santiago, Chile: Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, Gobierno de Chile.

Tampubolon, G. (2010) 'Social Stratification and Cultures Hierarchy among the Omnivores: Evidence from the Arts Council England Surveys', *The Sociological Review*, 58(1), pp. 1–25. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2009.01880.x.

Taylor, M. (2016a) 'Nonparticipation or different styles of participation? Alternative interpretations from Taking Part', *Cultural Trends*, 25(3), pp. 169–181. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2016.1204051.

Taylor, M. (2016b) 'Taking Part: the next five years (2016) by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport', *Cultural Trends*, 25(4), pp. 291–294. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2016.1241377.

Throsby, D. (2017) 'In defence of measurement: a comment on Phiddian et al.', *Cultural Trends*, 26(4), pp. 314–317. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2017.1382767.

Toffler, A. (1967) 'The Art of Measuring the Arts', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 373, pp. 141–155. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1037357 (Accessed: 16 June 2023).

Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2010) *Uganda National Household Survey 2009/2010 - Socio-Economic Module*. Research Report. Kampala.

UN (1948) 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights'. United Nations.

UN (1966) 'International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights'. United Nations.

UNESCO (2009) *The 2009 Unesco framework for cultural statistics*. Montreal: UNESCO Institute for Statistics. Available at: http://www.uis.unesco.org/template/pdf/cscl/framework/FCS_2009_EN.pdf (Accessed: 9 February 2023).

UNESCO (2015) *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*. Montreal: UNESCO. Available at: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000142919 (Accessed: 9 February 2023).

UNESCO (2012a) *Measuring cultural participation*. Available at: http://www.uis.unesco.org/culture/Documents/fcs-handbook-2-cultural-participation-en.pdf (Accessed: 9 February 2023).

UNESCO (2012b) *Measuring the economic contribution of cultural industries: a review and assessment of current methodological approaches*. Montreal, Quebec: UNESCO Institute for Statistics. Available at: https://uis.unesco.org/en/files/measuring-economic-contribution-cultural-industries-review-and-assessment-current-0 (Accessed: 9 February 2023).

UNESCO (1986) *The UNESCO framework for cultural statistics*. UNESCO. Available at: http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/unesco-framework-for-cultural-statistics-1986-en_0.pdf (Accessed: 16 June 2023).

Upright, C.B. (2004) 'Social capital and cultural participation', *Poetics*, 32(2), pp. 129–143. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2004.02.002.

Usero, B. and Angel del Brío, J. (2011) 'Review of The 2009 UNESCO framework for cultural statistics', *Cultural Trends*, 20(2), pp. 193–197. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2011.563915.

Van Eijck, K. (2001) 'Social Differentiation in Musical Taste Patterns', *Social Forces*, 79(3), pp. 1163–1185. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2001.0017.

Van Eijck, K. and Knulst, W. (2005) 'No More Need for Snobbism: Highbrow Cultural Participation in a Taste Democracy', *European Sociological Review*, 21(5), pp. 513–528. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jci038.

Van Eijck, K. and Lievens, J. (2008) 'Cultural omnivorousness as a combination of highbrow, pop, and folk elements: The relation between taste patterns and attitudes concerning social integration', *Poetics*, 36(2–3), pp. 217–242. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2008.02.002.

Van Hek, M. and Kraaykamp, G. (2013) 'Cultural consumption across countries: A multi-level analysis of social inequality in highbrow culture in Europe', *Poetics*, 41(4), pp. 323–341. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2013.05.001.

Van Hek, M. and Kraaykamp, G. (2015) 'How do parents affect cultural participation of their children?', *Poetics*, 52, pp. 124–138. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2015.06.001.

Van Rees, K., Vermunt, J. and Verboord, M. (1999) 'Cultural classifications under discussion latent class analysis of highbrow and lowbrow reading', *Poetics*, 26(5–6), pp. 349–365. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-422X(99)00019-4.

Vanzella-Yang, A. (2018) 'The Stratification of Attendance at Cultural Activities in Canada', *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, 55(3), pp. 476–494. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/cars.12213.

Vaughan, R.J. (1977) ‘THE USE OF SUBSIDIES IN THE PRODUCTION OF CULTURAL SERVICES’, *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 1(1), pp. 82–92. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/41820983 (Accessed: 28 June 2023).

Vercruyssen, A. *et al.* (2014) ‘The effect of busyness on survey participation: being too busy or feeling too busy to cooperate?’, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 17(4), pp. 357–371. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2013.799255.

Vilhelmson, B., Thulin, E. and Elldér, E. (2017) ‘Where does time spent on the Internet come from? Tracing the influence of information and communications technology use on daily activities’, *Information, Communication & Society*, 20(2), pp. 250–263. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1164741.

Walker, P. (1986) *RSGB Omnibus Arts Survey - Report on a survey on arts and cultural activities in GB*. Survey Report. London: Arts Council of Great Britain.

Walmsley, B. (2019) ‘The death of arts marketing: a paradigm shift from consumption to enrichment’, *Arts and the Market*, 9(1), pp. 32–49. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/AAM-10-2018-0013.

Walmsley, B. (2021) ‘Engagement: The new paradigm for audience research’, *Journal of Audiences & Reception Studies*, 18(1).

Warde, A., Wright, D. and Gayo, M. (2007) ‘Understanding Cultural Omnivorousness: Or, the Myth of the Cultural Omnivore’, *Cultural Sociology*, 1(2), pp. 143–164. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975507078185.

Willekens, M., Daenekindt, S. and Lievens, J. (2014) ‘Whose Education Matters More? Mothers’ and Fathers’ Education and the Cultural Participation of Adolescents’, *Cultural Sociology*, 8(3), pp. 291–309. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975514533686.

Willekens, M. and Lievens, J. (2014) ‘Family (and) culture: The effect of cultural capital within the family on the cultural participation of adolescents’, *Poetics*, 42, pp. 98–113. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2013.11.003.

Willekens, M. and Lievens, J. (2016) ‘Who participates and how much? Explaining non-attendance and the frequency of attending arts and heritage activities’, *Poetics*, 56, pp. 50–63. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2016.01.004.

Williams, R. (1985) *Keywords: a vocabulary of culture and society*. Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Williams, R. (1993) *Culture & society: Coleridge to Orwell*. London: Hogarth (Hogarth Press).

Wilson, N., Gross, J. and Bull, A. (2017) *Towards cultural democracy - Promoting Cultural Capabilities for Everyone*. Research report. London: Kings College.

Wuggenig, U. (2007) ‘Comments on Chan and Goldthorpe: Pitfalls in testing Bourdieu’s homology assumptions using mainstream social science methodology’, *Poetics*, 35(4–5), pp. 306–316. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2007.06.002.