Table of Contents

Introduction

EDITORIAL BOARD

Pat Cooke, Emily Mark-FitzGerald, Kerry McCall, Victoria Durrer (Asst. Editor)

Our challenge, as scholars and shapers of Irish culture in all its forms, is precisely this: to find the ideas, language and vision that will inspire and inform new directions in policy and practice.

We are delighted to launch the *Irish Journal of Arts Management and Cultural Policy*. As a peer-reviewed, open access e-journal, this platform will publish original research on the arts and cultural sector in Ireland. We hope it will serve as a gathering place for critical thinking and constructive debate on the challenges and opportunities facing arts professionals in Ireland. This inaugural issue is only the start of what we hope will be a shared discussion on a wide spectrum of topics encompassing arts and cultural management; governance; policy decisions/outcomes; cultural economics; arts education; social practices and cultural production. While democratic governments will always need the freedom to respond tactically to circumstances, policy decisions that are concerned with equity, integrity and credibility, must also be rooted in longer-term analysis, critique and a transparent articulation and consideration of principles. As we continue to face new challenges, we hope the *Irish Journal of Arts Management and Cultural Policy* will serve not only to inform these circumstances but also act as an educational resource for arts management and cultural policy professionals and students.

An initiative based at the School of Art History and Cultural Policy, University College Dublin (UCD), the *Journal* aims to provide a readable and engaging discussion of recent arts management and cultural policy relating specifically to an Irish context. One of the goals is to encourage new research directions in the sector and offer a platform for aspiring researchers and writers. For this inaugural issue, we cast the net widely to embrace a variety of policy and management topics. This, we will continue to do. We welcome submissions from those working and researching in the fields of Irish cultural policy and arts management. We understand that some issues raised by the contributing authors may be contentious and we welcome this. It is our intention to provide a considered space for research and informed reflection. We hope the *Journal* may provoke lively debate amongst those who understand that there is a need for independent-minded research that is more than purely academic.

As funding tightens, the impulse may be to retract and narrow the scope of our cultural ambitions and aspirations. Our challenge, as scholars and shapers of Irish culture in all its forms, is precisely this: to find the ideas, language and vision that will inspire and inform new directions in policy and practice. Our pragmatic political culture tends to be more comfortable with policies that arise from deal-making, tactical response and improvisation. In 1992 Professor Ciarán Benson, once an officer of the Arts Council and later its chairman, wrote in an issue of *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* that actual cultural policy in Ireland tended to emerge in decisions taken, rather than from published strategies and statements of principle.[1] We hope this e-journal may help to fill, and inform, the gap to which Professor Benson has referred.

We would like to thank the authors, peer reviewers, and advisory board who have supported this first issue. We welcome you as readers, and future contributors, to join us in growing a vibrant Irish research environment that allows for the exchange of constructive critical ideas that will shape the future of Irish cultural policy.

[1] Benson, Ciarán (1992). Towards a Cultural Democracy. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, v. 81, no. 321, p.32.

Foreword

CIARÁN BENSON

Introduction

Sometimes it is only when something arrives that you realise that it was missing and has been missed. The *Irish Journal of Arts Management and Cultural Policy* is just such an arrival. While there has long been a commitment to actively shape cultural policy in and for Ireland, often as a means of furthering nationalism, it is only in the last forty years or so that a more self-critical and diverse constituency has emerged with a common commitment to making 'culture', in all its rich variety, a central part of Irish social life and political discourse.

Paradoxically, when financial resources were in uncontrolled spate during the recent boom years, the foundational role of ideas and of argument in the formation of cultural policy seemed to recede into the background. Now that the economic catastrophe has turned that torrent of money into a trickle, the opportunity exists to review what has happened and to wonder where we can and should go next. That is a good thing. Money can mask thoughtlessness and, worse still, can fuel it.

Orthodoxies when unchecked and unchallenged simply flow on regardless. They become 'obvious'. Ireland is painfully awakening from a particularly intense period when it was obvious that the way to go was to build bigger 'signature' buildings; to take the imagined admiring gaze of the rest of the world, conceived as an unfettered global market, as the perspective that would allow us feel that we were 'world-class', when it might have been better for us to have wanted to be of 'world-interest'; and to believe that the best approach to making things happen, and happen well, was what management 'science' was telling us. Had this been the orthodoxy of previous decades much that we now revere and value would never have been made or enabled.

Part of the problem was one of control. Money, temporarily flowing though our hands, created the illusion that we were imaginatively powerful when all we were often doing was buying depleted or ersatz cultural capital and aspirations with other people's money. Ownership is control, but a culture of competitive, imitative ownership – as is now more nakedly apparent – is a treadmill that can only lead to exhaustion. Worse still, it becomes banal.

A key part of the control that goes with ownership is the control of decision-making. If, like me, you think that cultural democracy is a viewpoint that should strongly influence cultural policy-making then it will also be an ideal that accountability and transparency should be qualities of such decision-making. Now, as we look for new sources and loci of cultural and artistic energy, issues of control and influence have not gone away. They may well be shifting to levers of power in other arenas, not least within state bureaucracies whose decision-makers rarely rise, or feel the need to rise, above the parapets to publicly account for the decisions they make.

Ideas have their own lives and make us what we are. Integrating new ideas into our identities can change us profoundly. Ideas can travel through us all, individually and socially, benignly or, like malignant parasites, they can harm us by misdirecting our attention. Like the huge,

A key part of the control that goes with ownership is the control of decision-making. If, like me, you think that cultural democracy is a viewpoint that should strongly influence cultural policy-making then it will also be an ideal that accountability and transparency should be qualities of such decision-making.

Foreword

Ciarán Benson

subterranean, filamentous networks of Oregon's famous honey mushroom – slowly growing mile by mile under its woodland floor – the connected networks of ideas that shape what a government department or agency thinks it should do when it addresses 'citizens' as 'customers', for instance, is not without consequence for the nation! Such networks of ideas make some things possible while at the very same time negating others.

There is never a time when there are not choices to be made, and latent ideas with their attendant impulses – as our contemporary understanding of 'thinking', especially as described by Daniel Kahneman in his recent best-seller 'Thinking Fast and Slow' forcefully tells us – shape those choices in ways that are all too often unnoticed and uncontrolled.

To understand such things we need credible research, critical review, imaginative reflection and a journal like the *Irish Journal of Arts Management and Cultural Policy*. This inaugural issue promises well in the range and quality of its contents. We know that the twenty-first century will be highly visual in its ways of making meaning, and McGraw Lewis addresses this as an educational challenge. Mahony considers an aspect of how a modern liberal democratic state might approach challenging visual art projects. Lalor's paper is a timely investigation of volunteer labour in the cultural sector at a time of great stress for cultural organizations. On the issue of accessing funding in straitened times Carew explores the effectiveness with which Irish performing arts organizations access European cultural funds, while King raises the important question of how to generate novel income streams from private sources. Coming from a variety of institutions and backgrounds, these inaugural authors show how an otherwise obscure source of nutrients for nourishing cultural policy can be productively harvested and disseminated by an imaginative new journal like this.

The digital revolution is profoundly reshaping social and cultural life in the twenty-first century, and hence the kinds of decisions that cultural policymakers can and should make. Changes in taxation and its flow into local and regional authorities' coffers should also change the Irish cultural landscape in the coming decades. One would also like to think that dynamic educational policies would do the same. The achievements of cultural policy advocates over recent decades have laid a lively and fertile ground for new seeds to take root and older ones to consolidate. And the signal achievements of Irish artists of all kinds have moved 'culture' to the central role it plays in the thinking of business leaders, for example. These are all positive developments, notwithstanding the need to be vigilant about protecting cultural policy from self-serving political influence, or from becoming the exclusive preserve of secretive mandarins.

The *Irish Journal of Arts Management and Cultural Policy*, especially in its open access format, has the potential to address issues such as these and to re-engineer the gears of cultural policy thinking. All involved are to be congratulated on making it happen, but special thanks to Emily Mark-FitzGerald, Pat Cooke, Kerry McCall and Victoria Durrer for taking those vital first steps.

Towards Creative Europe: Irish Performing Arts Organisations and the EU Culture Programme

MICHELLE CAREW

Abstract: Research was conducted to examine engagement with the EU Culture Programme from the Irish perspective with an emphasis on the performing arts sector. The research aimed to quantify actual levels of Irish participation and identify the barriers to, and benefits for, Irish performing arts organisations pursuing project funding from the EU Culture Programme. Extant statistical data was analysed to create a macro picture of overall Irish participation expressed through quantitative findings. These statistical findings were then examined through qualititative research conducted with individuals and organisations representing Irish international performing arts experience on either a practical or policy level. With an ultimate benefit to the artistic practice of the participating organisation, as well as to the Irish performing arts ecology as a whole, the research findings demonstrate the need for a clear national policy on the provision of support to organisations in a position to leverage EU cultural funds.

Keywords: EU culture programme; Irish performing arts; Irish international arts policy; cultural funding, EU cultural policy; European cultural cooperation

Participation in EU Culture Programme-funded projects translates to opportunities for individuals who have the chance to work in an international context; build professional networks; be exposed to different practices and expand their own practice beyond domestic influences.

Introduction

On 23rd November 2011 the Creative Europe programme was proposed by the European Commission as the EU cultural funding instrument for the period 2014–2020. The proposed programme will provide a joint framework for the existing Culture and Media programmes, and will focus on building capacity in the cultural and creative sectors to contribute to the Europe 2020 strategy of promoting smart, sustainable and inclusive growth (Commission Communication, 2011, p.2).

The programme that Creative Europe will replace, the EU Culture Programme 2007–2013, is the current cultural financing instrument of the European Commission. The Culture Programme is delivered by the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) and has a budget of €400 million 'to develop cooperation activities among cultural operators from [eligible] countries taking part in the programme' (EACEA, 2010, p.8). It resulted from the evaluation of the programme it replaced – Culture 2000, which operated from 2000-2006 (ECOTEC Research and Consulting, 2008). As did Culture 2000, the 2007–2013 programme predominantly supports multi-partner cooperation projects between eligible countries. Its guiding mission is 'to enhance the cultural area shared by Europeans … with a view to encouraging the emergence of European citizenship' (EACEA, 2010, p.8).

The formulation of Creative Europe suggests a shift in EU cultural policy from promoting European citizenship to a more economic rationale that will 'focus on capacity-building and transnational circulation, including international touring' (Commission Communication, 2011, p.7). But despite concerns about the joint framework approach to the commercial and non-profit cultural sectors (Hesmondhalgh, 2012), the opportunity to access cultural funding from the EU is set to be secured until at least 2020. As such, Ireland's ability to compete for such funds is a subject for timely consideration.

While anecdotal evidence suggests that the Irish arts sector is currently underachieving in ac-

cessing EU cultural funds (Traynor, 2011), this article presents the findings from research conducted in 2011 to examine actual instances of engagement with the EU Culture Programme from the Irish perspective. The research aimed to identify the barriers to, and benefits for, Irish performing arts organisations pursuing project funding from the EU Culture Programme. It was guided by three questions:

• Could the Irish performing arts sector do better in accessing funds from the EU Culture Programme?

• What internal organisational actions or external domestic support mechanisms would be needed to improve levels of access to the EU Culture Programme?

• Do the potential benefits warrant such interventions?

For the purpose of the study the scope of the performing arts included theatre, dance, music, opera, circus and street spectacle as well as festivals with a strong performing arts focus. The performing arts sector was chosen as a focus for the research due to the significant resource implications of international activity for this sector.

The EU Culture Programme: Its remit, criteria and legal competence

The Culture Programme 2007–2013 has three stated objectives:

1. Promotion of the trans-national mobility of people working in the cultural sector

2. Support for the trans-national circulation of cultural and artistic works and products

3. Promotion of intercultural dialogue

These objectives are served by three strands of activity. Strand 1, 2 and 3 deal with support for cultural actions, support for organisations active at a European level (e.g. European Youth Orchestra) and support for analysis and dissemination activities, respectively. Strand 1 – support for cultural actions – accounts for 77% of the entire Culture Programme budget and it is this strand that best applies to Irish performing arts organisations. Such cultural actions are expected to take the form of cultural cooperation projects and measures (EACEA, 2010, p.8-14).

Depending on the sub-strand, Strand 1 offers funds from between €50,000 and €500,000 for cooperation projects but support is limited to 50% of the eligible costs. With a minimum project budget of at least €100,000, the scale of funded projects is significantly large, as is the resultant amount of match-funding required. Conversely, under Strand 1.3.6, 'Support for Cultural Festivals', there is a maximum award for festivals of €100,000, representing an EU contribution of 60%, with no minimum grant amount stipulated (EACEA, 2010, p.9-10). Therefore, festivals applying under this strand benefit from greater flexibility in terms of budget size.

Cooperation actions must include partners from between three (in the case of cooperation measures) and six (for multi-annual projects) eligible countries (EACEA, 2010, p.8-9), and festivals applying to strand 1.3.6. must include works from at least seven countries (EACEA, 2010, p.62). For cooperation projects, organisations can participate as a coordinator, co-organiser or associate partner. The coordinator (or project leader) takes the largest part of the responsibility for the project in terms of implementation, reporting and financing; the co-organiser contributes to the design, implementation and funding of the project; and associate partners participate in the activities of a project but have no responsibility for financing the projects and costs incurred by them are not eligible (EACEA, 2010, p.41). In this sense associate partners have only a peripheral involvement and their participation is not considered as fulfilment of the minimum partnership requirement. Co-organisers must be established prior to, and identified in, the project application, and moreover the quality of the partnership is as-

#1

Towards Creative Europe:
Irish Performing Arts
Organisations and the EU
Culture Programme

Michelle Carew

sessed under the award criteria (EACEA, 2010, p.45).

The restrictions of the funding criteria and the emphasis on trans-national cooperation within the programme are not arbitrary provisions and are necessitated by the application of the principle of subsidiarity, a central tenet of the EU. Two years after Article 128 of the 1992 Maastricht Treaty provided legal competence for culture in the EU for the first time, Forrest (1994), examined the implications of the provisions therein.[1] He noted that Article 128 represents a balance between member states that wanted culture included in the treaty to allow wider community action, and those who wanted to include it in order to set a limit on such action (1994, p.17). It is for this reason that the principle of subsidiarity was applied to full effect in the case of culture. Subsidiarity is the organising principle that holds that matters ought to be handled by the most local or least centralised competent authority. This means that the EU cannot intervene in the cultural policies of member states and will only supplement cultural actions where it is the most appropriate body to do so. Therefore the EU must, by provision of the Treaty, 'restrict its financial support to cultural cooperation between the member states' (Gordon, 2007, p.15). Furthermore the harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the member states in the area of culture is explicitly prohibited (Forrest, 1994, p.18).

Research Methodology

The research employed both quantitative and qualitative methodologies and consisted of three stages. The first stage aimed to create a macro picture of overall Irish participation expressed through quantitative findings. This comprised of an analysis of the statistical data available from the EACEA in relation to all successful and unsuccessful applications submitted under the EU Culture Programme in the eleven years between 2000 and 2011. The second stage aimed to examine the 'lived experience' of these statistical findings and consisted of the analysis of four semi-structured interviews, and one recorded presentation sourced online. All research subjects represented Irish international performing arts experience on either a practical or policy level. The third stage then comprised of the comparative analysis of structured questionnaires completed by nine Irish performing arts organisations, all active on an international level, but who either had, or had not, participated in the EU Culture Programme.

In order to gain a reliable indication of Ireland's performance in terms of accessing the EU Culture Programme, instances of involvement were quantified and compared with rates of involvement by other countries. Though the available analytics are processed and presented in relation to all eligible countries in the Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-2013 (ECORYS, 2010, p.52-55), documentary analysis of the spreadsheets and charts available from the EACEA website (EACEA, 2012) was conducted for this research in order to generate results specific to Ireland.[2]

The qualitative research took the form of semi-structured interviews and structured questionnaires. In total, five individuals were interviewed, chosen for their considerable expertise and experience of the EU Cuture Programme specifically. These interviews were analysed against the research questions in order to extract findings. Two interviews were with representatives of organisations who have participated in the EU Culture Programme: Verena Cornwall, creative director of the St. Patrick's Festival and an independent arts consultant who has been involved with Culture Programme funded projects on behalf of Irish and British organisations; and Gerry Godley who, as director of the Improvised Music Company, gave an insight into the experience of an organisation recently successful in accessing Culture Programme funding for the 12 Points! Festival.

A further two interviews were conducted with individuals who offered an authoritative perspec-

Towards Creative Europe:
Irish Performing Arts
Organisations and the EU
Culture Programme

Michelle Carew

tive on the subject: Katie Lowry, officer at the Irish Cultural Contact Point was interviewed jointly with Fionnuala Sweeney, Head of International Arts at the Arts Council of Ireland/ An Chomhairle Ealaíon; and Jane Daly, Co-director of the Irish Theatre Institute, who offered her insight as a member of the expert panel for assessment of performing arts applications for the EU Culture Programme 2007-2013 and also a past applicant to the programme.[3] Content from an online video recording of a presentation made by Gavin Quinn, director of Pan Pan Theatre Company – the Irish performing arts organisation that has been most prolific in accessing the programme funds – at the Irish Theatre Institute in March 2011 (Irish Theatre Institute, 2011), was incorporated as a secondary source and integrated with the findings from the research interviews.

Finally, a further nine organisations were invited to complete a structured questionnaire conducted by e-mail or telephone.[4] All of the organisations chosen had an international dimension to their work, and the selection represented a balanced mix of organisations who have participated in the EU Culture Programme and those who have not. The questionnaires focused on attitudes to the EU Culture Programme against attitudes to international activity more generally. The results were analysed to identify broader evidence in support of the findings from the interviews; and to determine barriers to participation by consulting organisations who have not engaged with the Culture Programme to support their international activity.[5]

Quantifying Ireland's participation in the EU Culture Programme

In the twelve years between 2000 and 2012, the data shows that a total of 101 projects had some level of Irish participation, with a total of 98 organisations participating as coordinator, co-organiser or associate partner. Isolating the years of the Culture Programme 2007–2013, a total of 30 Irish organisations have participated.[6] At 30% of all participating Irish organisations, since 2007 nine performing arts organisations have accessed the EU Culture programme. Three of these organisations – Cork Midsummer Festival, the Improvised Music Company and West Cork Music – have done so as project coordinators and six as co-organisers.

These statistics provide only a limited picture of Irish engagement in the programme however. The real measure of Ireland's performance in accessing the EU Culture Programme only comes into view in the context of Europe-wide access to the programme. With 77 out of a total of 10,114 applications, Irish organisations account for 0.8% of all organisations applying to the programme since 2009.[7] Ireland's percentage of all 3,307 successful organisations in the same period is 0.9%. With Ireland's population of approximately 4.5 million people also representing 0.9% of the entire population of the European Union (Eurostat, 2011), the statistical analysis of this research suggests that Irish organisations are in fact performing to an appropriate and correlatory level in terms of accessing funds from the Culture Programme.

However, the interim evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007–2013 provides an interesting consideration through which to view these statistics. Referencing the 'small country effect', the evaluation report highlights the case that many smaller countries have been successful in applications to the programme to an extent greater than their share of the population (ECORYS, 2010, p.52). As the countries most resembling Ireland in terms of population size and cultural infrastructure, Denmark and Finland were chosen for comparative analysis. Denmark's population of approximately 5.5 million accounts for 1% of the total population of Europe as does Finland's population of 5.3 million.

While Ireland is responsible for only 0.8% of all applications, (a little below its percentage of the EU population), Denmark and Finland's rates of application are slightly above their share of the population at 1.5% and 1.8% respectively. The gap is starker when Ireland's percentage

#1

Towards Creative Europe:
Irish Performing Arts
Organisations and the EU
Culture Programme

Michelle Carew

of successful organisations is compared with those of Denmark and Finland. Compared with Ireland's 0.9% share, Denmark shows a healthy share of 1.6% of all successful organisations. Finland however, provides the best example of the 'small country effect', with an impressive share of 2.3% of all successful organisations - over twice its share of the EU population. While the percentages here appear small, it is worth remembering that Ireland's share of 0.9% over 4 years represents 26 organisations across 25 projects. This demonstrates the potential reach and impact of an increase of even 0.5% in the share of all successful applications, which would translate into approximately 13 further organisations associated with 12 projects

A further important consideration arising from the statistical analysis is that Ireland performs better, on average, than Denmark or Finland in terms of successful applications as a percentage of applications made (50% compared to 31% and 40% respectively in 2012). It follows then that there is scope for Ireland to increase its participaton rate in the EU Culture Programme, particularly if we are to fully take into account the ramifications of the 'small country effect' named above. Director of the Irish Theatre Institute (ITI) and member of the expert panel for assessment of performing arts applications for the Culture Programme, Jane Daly's observation on the issue of performance provides the context for these statistics:

> I would not say at all that Ireland is underperforming in the context of the culture programme, Ireland just isn't competing. That is the problem …I think that if we were competing … then we would be far more successful. (Daly, 2011)

The existence of an un-tapped opportunity was further observed by Gerry Godley, Director of the Improvised Music Company (IMC):

> There is huge opportunity – a huge European opportunity for Irish artists because of our absence from the sphere in many ways. Certainly in my area there is a big gaping Irish shaped hole. (Godley, 2011)

Barriers to participation: the practical and ideological limitations of the Culture Programme

The inherent administrative challenges of the EU Culture Programme can be seen as a potential deterrent to organisations contemplating an application to the programme. The interim evaluation report for the Culture Programme 2007 - 2013 found that:

> in the case of multi-annual co-operation projects (and to an extent cooperation measures), the administrative capacity required to apply for, receive and properly account for large amounts of EU funding might be expected to constitute a hurdle which smaller organisations struggle to overcome. (ECORYS, 2010, p.34)

The original qualitative research finds that for Irish performing arts organisations this is very much the case (Cornwall, 2011; Cunningham, 2011; Daly, 2011; Lowry, 2011) and the challenge is particularly relevent given that most Irish performing arts organisations are small to medium sized enterprises (Lowry, 2011). The general tenor of the findings in this regard are summed up by Jane Daly:

> I think it's a resource issue, it's a matching funding issue, I think it's because people haven't found the right partners to work with…They don't have the administrators or the experience in the organisation to actually go through the process – I mean it's huge and you have to have everything in duplicate and in triplicate and legal statements etc.- it's a huge draw on administrative resources. (Daly, 2011)

While contributors to the research proposed that organisations could participate as a co-organiser in order to avoid the greater part of the administrative and accounting burden (Cornwall, 2011; Daly, 2011; Duke, 2011; Sweeney, 2011), significant financial barriers to participation, even at that level, were highlighted. Research subjects identified the lack of suitable domestic opportunities to secure the match-funding requirement for projects as a considerable challenge (Cornwall, 2011; Daly, 2011; Irish Theatre Institute, 2011). Furthermore, the investment required to network and establish essential partnerships in Europe was cited as a

#1

Towards Creative Europe:
Irish Performing Arts
Organisations and the EU
Culture Programme

Michelle Carew

barrier, particularly in light of the emphasis on partnership and collaboration in the programme criteria (Cornwall, 2011; Daly, 2011).

Given the scale of projects funded by the EU Culture Programme, the significant match-funding commitments required, and the financial barriers faced by Irish organisations, all parties warn that the EU Culture Programme is not a way of shoring up a loss in domestic funding (Cornwall, 2011; Daly, 2011; Godley, 2011; Irish Theatre Institute, 2011; Lowry, 2011). Instead the project should be seen as an adjunct to the organisation's other activities, without any expectation that the funds will underwrite the operational costs of the organisation. Verena Cornwall, creative director of the St. Patrick's Festival and an independent arts consultant who has been involved with many Culture Programme funded projects, proposes a suitable approach to the programme:

> If I want to do something [I think] how could it be better, how can I enhance that by going to Europe. Rather than thinking 'I'm a bit broke - how do I get some money out of Europe'? (Cornwall, 2011)

Another barrier to participation cited was geographical isolation (Godley, 2011; Lowry, 2011) as emphasised by Gerry Godley:

> I think there are philosophical reasons …and they are geographical too - our relative isolation and our lack of being plugged into networks. So for example if you are a venue in Ghent you're working with Dutch, German, Danish partners all the time. It's in the DNA. Its not so straightforward for us to do that, both geographically and culturally, and linguistically because remember you're moving outside of the anglophone European footprint as well. (Godley, 2011)

Language was seen as an issue by all the interviewees. Though not a problem for musical forms (Godley, 2011), the respondents recognised that the 'language-driven' (Daly, 2011) nature of much of Irish theatre potentially presents a barrier to participation (Daly, 2011; Godley; 2011; Lowry, 2011).

Alongside the practical barriers, the research revealed a different ideology behind the international activity of those organisations that participate in the EU Culture Programme, and those active on an international level but which don't participate in the programme. For the latter, the purpose of their international activity is presented as 'touring' as distinct from partnering with EU organisations (Kelly, 2011; Lovett, 2011; Roche, 2011; Smith, 2011). For Druid Theatre Company and the Irish Chamber Orchestra such touring is in the context of promoting existing bodies of work to new international audiences (Kelly, 2011; Smith, 2011), with a rationale complementary to Culture Ireland's cultural diplomacy remit of 'promoting Irish arts worldwide' (Culture Ireland, 2011). This rationale is of a different ideological nature to the transnational partnerships required by the EU Culture Programme.

The promotional agenda that underpins traditional models of touring runs counter to the values of European reciprocity and mutuality currently promoted by EU cultural policy and its instruments. The interview subjects were asked for their opinion on the difference between 'transnational cooperation', as promoted by the criteria of the Culture Programme, and the concept of touring. All were cogniscent of the difference between the two:

> There is a huge difference …one of the first things you spot when you're doing the assessment of the criteria is you spot very quickly what is a tour and what is a cooperation. (Daly, 2011)

Though touring is an admissible method of 'trans-national cooperation' (ECORYS, 2010, p.vii, Lowry, 2011), it is clear that to meet the programme criteria of 'European added value' (EACEA, 2010, p.45; Godley, 2011) such activity must derive from a genuine engagement with other organisations in Europe and be what Gavin Quinn, artistic director of Pan Pan Theatre Company, terms as 'genuinely European' (Irish Theatre Institute, 2011):

> In a basic way it's working and exchanging across borders. Within the EU Culture Programme it's usually

#1

Towards Creative Europe:
Irish Performing Arts
Organisations and the EU
Culture Programme

Michelle Carew

within a specific project framework – the partnership framework. It's working, touring and exchanging…
(Lowry, 2011)

This concept of 'genuinely European' relates to the 'common cultural heritage' that the Culture Programme is designed to promote by supporting partnership and cooperation (Commission Communication, 2007, p.2). In that sense the research revealed that the EU Culture Programme is not a suitable funding avenue for every organisation (Daly, 2011; Irish Theatre Institute, 2011). If the ethos of cooperation as embodied by the criteria of the programme is in no way complementary to the mission of an organisation, then it may be more prudent to avoid committing considerable resources to pursuing European cultural funds.

Expanding creative horizons – the benefits of participation

As a funding avenue for Irish performing arts organisations, the research reveals that the EU Culture Programme does not match the objectives of all organisations and that it does not represent a replacement for losses in domestic funding. However, for organisations that wish to genuinely engage in European cooperation projects some benefits were identified. The research found that the primary benefit of participation in EU Culture Programme funded projects is to the artistic practice of the organisation, and that participation also leads to further European mobility, after the duration of the funded project.

The contributors to the research referenced exposure to diverse artistic practices (Cornwall, 2011; Godley, 2011; Johnson, 2011) and art form development (Daly, 2011; Sweeney, 2011) as key benefits of participation. In all cases participation in the Culture Programme was found to lead to further mobility. Further projects with partners were reported (Edelstein, 2011; Irish Theatre Institute, 2011) and all expressed that they had, or would, collaborate with European organisations again (Cunningham, 2011; Edelstein, 2011; Johnson, 2011; Uprichard, 2011). Verena Cornwall illustrated how involvement in cooperation projects can beget further participation:

> The week after we were in Meridians I had a phone call from the largest outdoor EU Consortia called 'In Situ' who had just been awarded €500,000 to ask us to join … I don't think that unless we had put our hand in the air and said to Europe and the European partners, 'we are out and doing things' that [they] would necessarily have connected us … with the idea of doing that. (Cornwall, 2011)

Aside from the benefits accrued to participating organisations, the research also highlighted the multiplier effect of participation in terms of the inclusion of individual artists, cultural managers and even other organisations in the project activities (Cornwall, 2011; Cunningham, 2011; Godley, 2011; Johnston, 2011; Roche, 2011; Uprichard, 2011). Each funded project requires the participation of individual musicians, performers and other artists who all reap the benefits of trans-national mobility. Furthermore, there are also instances where Irish artists have participated in projects that do not have an Irish co-organiser. Representing a UK-based organisation, Verena Cornwall is involved in a circus arts cooperation project for which participation in the project activity is open to individuals from all over Europe, including – via Tralee Circus Festival – Irish circus artists who can expect to:

> … meet a completely wide range of people from other practitioners who are emerging through to established festival directors like myself and everything in between - and each other. (Cornwall, 2011)

Participation in EU Culture Programme funded projects translates to opportunities for individuals who have the chance to work in an international context; build professional networks; be exposed to different practices and expand their own practice beyond domestic influences. It may be the experience of these individuals that can fully reveal the value of the EU Culture Programme.

Towards Creative Europe:
Irish Performing Arts
Organisations and the EU
Culture Programme

Michelle Carew

Removing the barriers – creating the conditions for success

Another objective of the research was to identify the organisational actions and domestic support mechanisms that could improve access to the EU Culture Programme for Irish performing arts organisations. The evidence from the research is that the single most important action that organisations can take is to invest in the building of partnerships with European counterparts. All of the respondents to the structured questionnaire, who had been involved in EU Culture Programme funded projects, had been invited by already established professional contacts rather than via online partner searches. The experience of the Dublin Dance Festival is typical:

> Dublin Dance Festival became involved in E-Motional Bodies and Cities at the invitation of the project's leader, Cosmin Manolescu, who had known and worked with DDF Director Laurie Uprichard on East-West exchanges for more than a decade. (Uprichard, 2011)

Quality and depth in these partnerships is cited as a key success factor (Cornwall, 2011; Daly 2011; Godley, 2011; Irish Theatre Institute, 2011; Lowry, 2011), and engagement with formal networks such as IETM - The International Network for Contemporary Performing Arts (Irish Theatre Institute, 2011) or Europe Jazz Network (Godley, 2011) is seen as important for the development of such relationships. In the case of all of the organisations who have participated, membership of formal networks and a long-term investment in partnership building has been a key success factor (Cornwall, 2011; Cunningham, 2011; Daly, 2011; Edelstein, 2011; Godley, 2011; Johnson, 2011; Uprichard, 2011).

Along with strong partnerships, Daly suggests that organisations carry out an audit of their resources to ensure that they have the capacity to manage a project on the scale of an EU Culture Programme project (Daly, 2011). It is further suggested that first-time participants act as a co-organiser before attempting to participate as a lead partner (Cornwall, 2011; Daly, 2011; Duke, 2011; Sweeney, 2011;). It should be noted however that the Improvised Music Company participated as a lead partner for its first Culture Programme funded project. Lowry advises that if the proposition and the partnerships are sophisticated, then an organisation should not be discouraged from applying in a leadership capacity (Lowry, 2011). On the theme of organisational resources, Pan Pan director, Gavin Quinn, observes that projects 'should be run as if it is a completely separate project within your organisation, otherwise you are going to get into trouble' (Irish Theatre Institute, 2011).

In terms of the domestic support mechanisms required to make the EU Culture Programme more accessible to Irish performing arts organisations, along with 'the need for practical, accessible information in an easy to understand language' (Lowry, 2011), the issue of match-funding supports was also addressed. When asked about the prospect of introducing a match-funding scheme akin to those found in some other eligible countries (Gerth, 2006, p.9), the proposition was not seen as particularly realistic at the current time (Godley, 2011; Daly, 2011; Lowry, 2011; Sweeney, 2011), with the Head of International Arts at the Arts Council of Ireland, Fionnuala Sweeney, making the point that it would have to be at the expense of something else (Sweeney, 2011). On the issue of financing, Lowry added that projects can generate income (though not profit) and proposed that sponsorship as well as, for example, earned revenue from ticket sales can be considered opportunities for financing the match-funding requirement.

However, while lateral approaches to financing are possible, the considerable financial commitment required, renders many of these approaches as high risk strategies that may run contrary to sound financial management. Therefore, given the difficulties outlined, a policy on supporting organisations to leverage EU Culture Programme funding will require considerable

#1

Towards Creative Europe:
Irish Performing Arts
Organisations and the EU
Culture Programme

Michelle Carew

leadership. Since 2005 the remit for international arts in Ireland has been divided between the Arts Council of Ireland, the government agency for funding and developing the arts in Ireland, and Culture Ireland, the national body for promoting Irish arts worldwide. A situation that Jane Daly suggests has led to a policy vacuum on the issue:

> I think there is a need for them [the agencies] to sit down collectively and to see what the impact of that policy has been and if anything has fallen between two stools. And if so then it has to be shored up somehow…there needs to be a very clear policy around the Culture Programme: where does it sit, who is responsible in terms of supporting organisations, what are the agency's policies? (Daly, 2011)

While it should be acknowledged that Culture Ireland is a partner in the Improvised Music Company's 12 Points! Festival project, interventions beyond a case by case basis are unlikely from Culture Ireland given its over-riding cultural diplomacy remit. Since European 'transnational cooperation' and the priority of 'intercultural dialogue' are not about promoting Irish culture in Europe, the development of a policy for leveraging European funding does not fit comfortably with Culture Ireland's principle objective.

The Arts Council of Ireland does provide support under its 'Travel and Training Awards' to cover some of the costs associated with making an application under the EU Culture Programme, including the cost of face-to-face meetings. This demonstrates a commitment to promote participation in the programme. However, with a spend in the region of 1% of the total Arts Council budget financing the agencies international arts remit, that agency is not equipped to address the project match-funding issue (Staines, 2011). Furthermore, the fact that the Irish Cultural Contact Point (CCP), is accommodated in the Arts Council of Ireland should not be considered a significant indicator that the agency is driving the agenda, since the CCP's remit comes directly from from the European Commission (Cultural Contact Point, 2011).

In addressing the match-funding issue, Verena Cornwall summarises the central problem:

> The funds the Arts Council has to fund activity in Ireland are very limited …similarly, Culture Ireland's funding is about enlisting companies who already have performance work to go abroad to promote that or to actually present that. So there isn't a fund that we have identified to pay for our match-funding. (Cornwall, 2011)

It is clear from the research that the remit and resources to leverage the EU Culture Programme will need to be assigned to the appropriate agency, before progress in this respect can be made.

Conclusion

Despite being responsible for a share of all successful applications to the EU Culture Programme equal to Ireland's share of the EU population, the Irish arts sector lags behind countries of a similar population and cultural infrastructure, who punch above their weight in this regard. This study examines Irish participation in the EU Culture Programme for the first time. It serves to bring current voices on the topic together and provides an overview of the Irish experience of the instruments of EU cultural policy at a time when that policy is shifting. Ahead of the introduction of Creative Europe, the research findings demonstrate the current barriers to participation in the Culture Programme from the perspective of the Irish performing arts sector.

The shift in EU cultural policy from the rationale of promoting European citizenship to a more economic rationale will have an impact on the ability of Irish organisations to participate - for better or for worse. Regardless, the fundamental barriers to participation as identified in the research are likely to remain and domestic intervention is required to address them. The research highlights the need for a clear national policy on the provision of support to organisations in a position to leverage the funds. Also identified are some key actions for organisations

to take in order to improve their ability to participate: commitment to long-term networking and international partnership building is essential, as is the development of projects that are 'genuinely European'.

The findings show that the EU Culture Programme should only be pursued where it provides a genuine match for the objectives of an organisation, and that the programme does not represent an alternative to domestic funding. However, for organisations that wish to engage in European cooperation projects, the EU Culture Programme offers an opportunity to do so with an ultimate benefit to the development of the artistic practice of the organisation, as well as to the performing arts ecology as a whole, via the many individual practitioners who stand to benefit from participation in the funded project activities. Regardless of the design of Creative Europe, without a strategic approach to removing the barriers to participation at a domestic level, Irish organisations will struggle to fully capitalise on the opportunities presented by EU cultural funding in the long term.

Michelle Carew is director of the National Association for Youth Drama (NAYD). She has worked in the cultural and creative industries for thirteen years in the areas of youth arts, film production and cultural festivals. Michelle holds a BA in Theatre Acting: Devised Performance from the University of Leeds and an MA in Cultural Policy and Arts Management from University College Dublin.

NOTES

1. This article has been renumbered in subsequent treaties. It is Article 151 in the Amsterdam Treaty and more recently it was renumbered as Article 167 with the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty.

2. The original research project examined data up to and including budget year 2011. The findings have been updated to include data from 2012 for the purpose of this article.

3. Housed at the Arts Council of Ireland, the Cultural Contact Point (CCP) is one of a network of CCP's across the EU member states charged with providing information and support to organisations wishing to apply for EU cultural funds. CCP's are financed under the EU Culture Programme.

4. See bibliography for a list of questionnaire respondents.

5. The Dublin Theatre Festival (DTF) was interviewed in 2011 as an organization active internationally without participating in the EU Culture Programme. Since the research was conducted, DTF has been successful in applying as a co-organiser under Strand 1.1. in 2012.

6. It is important to note that involvement by associate partners has not been recorded in official documentation for the 2007 cycle, therefore 30 organisations does not necessarily represent a decrease in participation in the current cycle.

7. Comparative data is only available from 2009, statistical data presented here is averaged over four years 2009–2012.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Commission Communication, 2011/786/2 (2011). *Creative Europe – A new framework programme for the cultural and creative sectors 2014–2020*. Brussels: European Commission.

-- , 2007/242/ EC (10 May 2007). *European agenda for culture in a globalizing world*. Brussels: European Commission.

Cultural Contact Point Ireland (2013). *About Us.* [online] Available at http://www.ccp.ie/aboutus [Accessed 4 March 2013].

Towards Creative Europe:
Irish Performing Arts
Organisations and the EU
Culture Programme

Michelle Carew

Culture Ireland (2011). *Culture Ireland promoting Irish arts worldwide*. [online] Available at http://www.cultureireland.gov.ie [Accessed 14 August 2011].

EACEA (2012). *Culture Programme selection results.* [online] Available at http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/culture/results_compendia/results_en.php [Accessed 29 July 2012].

-- (2010). *Programme guide: Culture Programme (2007–2013)*. Brussels: European Commission.

ECORYS (2010). *Interim evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007–13*. Birmingham: ECORYS.

ECOTEC (2008). *Final external evaluation of the Culture 2000 Programme (2000–2006) – framework contract on evaluation, impact assessment and related services*. Birmingham: ECOTEC.

Eurostat (2011). *Total population.* [online]. Available at http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/population/data/main_tables [Accessed 27 July 2011].

Hesmondhalgh, David (2012). *Defining the Future EU Culture and Media Programmes* [pdf]. Available at http://www.europarl.europa.eu/document/activities/cont/201205/20120507ATT44555/20120507ATT44555EN.pdf [Accessed 29 July 2012].

Forrest, Alan (1994). A new start for cultural action in the European Community: Genesis and implications of article 128 of the treaty on European Union. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 1(1), 11-20.

Gerth, Hella (2006). EU Cultural Policy and transnational networks. In: *ECPR (European Consortium for Political Research), 3rd Pan European Conference*. Istanbul, Turkey 21–23 September 2006. Istanbul: ECPR.

Gordon, Christopher (2007). Culture and the European Union in a Global Context. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, 37(1),11-30.

Irish Theatre Institute (2011). *Gavin Quinn, Artistic Director, Pan Pan Theatre and Marten Oosthoek, Manager, Dood Paard Theatre Company discuss EU funding* [video online]. Available at http://vimeo.com/21951599 [Accessed 11 July 2011].

Staines, Judith (2011). *IFACCA d'art report no. 40: Supporting international arts activity – issues for national arts funding agencies*. Sydney: International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies.

Traynor, Cian (2011). What's keeping Irish arts on the EU money margins? *Irish Times*, 11 March 2011.

INTERVIEWS

Cornwall, Verena (2011). Creative Director, St. Patricks Festival: Interview with author, 24 June [Interview transcript in possession of the author].

Cunningham, Teena (2011). General Manager, Baboró International Arts Festival for Children: Returned questionnaire [Completed questionnaire in possession of the author].

Daly, Jane (2011). Director, Irish Theatre Institute: Interview with author, 22 June [Interview transcript in possession of the author].

Duke, Gemma (2011). Development Manager, Dublin Theatre Festival: Telephone interview with author, 23 June [Interview transcript in possession of the author].

Edelstein, Trish (2011). Director, Boomerang Theatre Company: Returned questionnaire [Completed questionnaire in possession of the author].

Godley, Gerard, 2011. Director, Improvised Music Company: Interview with author, 22 June [Interview transcript in possession of the author].

#1

Towards Creative Europe:
Irish Performing Arts
Organisations and the EU
Culture Programme

Michelle Carew

Johnson, Paul (2011). CEO, Dance Ireland: Returned questionnaire [Completed questionnaire in possession of the author].

Kelly, John (2011). CEO, Irish Chamber Orchestra: Returned questionnaire [Completed questionnaire in possession of the author].

Lovett, Conor (2011). Gare St. Lazare Players: Returned questionnaire [Completed questionnaire in possession of the author].

Lowry, Katie (2011). International Arts Officer, the Arts Council / An Chomhairle Ealaíon: Interview with author, 6 July [Interview transcript in possession of the author].

Roche, Liz (2011). Artistic Director, Rex Levitates: Returned questionnaire [Completed questionnaire in possession of the author].

Smith, Tim (2011). General Manager, Druid Theatre Company: Returned questionnaire [Completed questionnaire in possession of the author].

Sweeney, Fionnuala (2011). Head of International Arts, the Arts Council / An Chomhairle Ealaíon: Interview with author, 6 July [Interview transcript in possession of the author].

Uprichard, Laurie (2011). Artistic Director, Dublin Dance Festival: Returned questionnaire [Completed questionnaire in possession of the author].

www.culturalpolicy.ie

Tapping the *Culturati*: An Underexploited Source of Private Finance for the Arts in Ireland

TIMOTHY KING

Abstract: The paper asks why cultural organizations in Ireland, in contrast to the UK, raise so little finance from private individuals, and in particular from those who go regularly to live performances or to galleries and museums. The rationale for cultural subsidies, including the offer of relief from income tax on the value of individual donations is reviewed and accepted. Income tax relief in Ireland has several unique features which probably explain why it has been such a limited source of finance. These include the high minimum value required for a donation to be eligible for tax relief, the administrative complexity of reclaiming tax on behalf of PAYE taxpayers, and the very restrictive inter-pretation of the tax legislation that is applied to determine a donation's eligibility. Ways of overcoming these obstacles, in the light of changes announced in the December 2012 budget, are suggested. In particular, cooperation among cultural organizations could both facilitate the reclamation of income tax on donations and carry out cost-effective fundraising campaigns.

Keywords: cultural subsidy, tax relief, philanthropy

Even though private donations should not be considered as an alternative source of finance, but rather an additional one, cuts in public funding are likely to continue and it is therefore to private finance that cultural organizations must turn if they are to maintain their present levels of activity.

Introduction

In 2007, the UK's population was about fourteen times that of the Irish Republic, its GDP was about eleven times as large, its private donations to cultural organizations from all sources were about sixty times and those from individuals were over 200 times the Irish amount.[1] Ireland is probably unique in the extent to which private funding of cultural organizations comes from corporate sponsorship. A 2007 survey found that sponsorship provided five times the support that was given by individuals. In contrast, in the UK, individual giving was 2.5 times that of businesses. In the United States, where cultural organizations depend much more heavily on private finance, commercial sponsorship is even less important. This paper explores the reasons why so little use had been made of the provisions in the Irish income tax code designed to encourage individual giving to cultural organizations. In particular, why is not more done to raise money from the *culturati* – regular theatre, concert and gallery-goers – many of whom become Friends of various cultural organizations but do not consider making larger donations?

The case for public support of the arts

This paper is frankly normative. It is based on an assertion that taxpayer support for the arts is justified, rather than an analysis of this, which would require a separate paper.

In spite of the current economic recession in many parts of the world, there is no serious challenge anywhere to considering the operations of the market, more or less regulated, as the central feature of national economic organization. Economic analysis of public policies therefore normally begins by asking whether there is a rationale for departing from the market outcome. For many economists, the only justification for this is a demonstration that decisions by one economic actor affect the situation of other economic actors – in the jargon, they have 'external effects'. It is possible to make this case for arts support in 2012 in Ireland. There is massive underemployment of all types of potentially productive resources, with particularly

Timothy King

serious consequences for young workers, and putting unemployed resources to work should be of the highest priority. Measures to stimulate the economy by increasing general public expenditure are ruled out by the fiscal crisis. In any case, in an economy that is so small and one of the most open in the world (in 2011, the value of exports was 5% larger than GDP), the effects of the stimulus would leak abroad. Even if it were not precluded by the adoption of the euro, currency devaluation would be unlikely to work for similar reasons. Membership of the EU and the WTO means that selective measures aimed at stimulating specific industries cannot be considered, and with costless internet communication many services that once had to be domestically supplied are equally subject to international competition under single market rules. There are, however, many cultural activities that cannot be internationally traded – for example the location of heritage sites, museums and performing arts festivals are fixed. Public subsidies to maintain the quality and diversity of Irish cultural offerings may be justified through their effects on employment and, via tourism, on foreign earnings.

This is an important argument that needs to be made. But there is nothing that is arts-specific about it, and it is vulnerable to the possibility that golfing enthusiasts or the hotel industry will publish findings showing that subsidizing golf-courses or hotels are more cost-effective ways of achieving the same economic benefits.

A second line of economic argument is more generally associated with local government support for the arts in the United States. Almost half the US government support for the arts comes from city and county governments, and nearly a further third is provided by State governments (National Endowment for the Arts, 2012). Cultural opportunities are among the things that make individual cities attractive as places to live, and help firms to attract or maintain people with the skills needed to be competitive. Since a key element in Ireland's economic strategy has been to persuade multinational firms from outside the EU to use the country as a productive base for supplying their EU markets, this is a relevant issue for Ireland.

A third justification draws on what economists call a 'merit' argument (Musgrave, 1959, p.13-14). This rests on a philosophical view that a proper function for a democratic government is to devote resources to preserving and improving the quality of life of its citizens in intangible ways, including the preservation of freedom of religious belief and political choice, providing universal access to the education system and a social safety net, and ensuring a diversity of opportunities for individual happiness. Public subsidy of the arts then has a merit rationale similar to the rationale for subsidising the preservation of other parts of our heritage, including our physical environment. The cultural heritage of each generation is a stock of items and practices that contains some of the highest achievements of mankind, and which greatly enriches the quality of life today. The preservation of this heritage cannot be taken for granted. In particular, some of the most valued performing arts were created under the patronage of European rulers and fellow aristocrats. In opera and some parts of the symphonic repertoire, this resulted in cost structures which have never been sustainable by markets, at least at prices which would make them accessible to the general public, even though the fees of even well-known performers are modest by the standards of sports or film stars. Although the historic role of the commercial theatre in developing new dramatic works has been quite different, in English-speaking countries nonprofit theatre companies, relying on finance from nonmarket sources, have for the past half century become the main nursery for new plays that may have a subsequent commercial life, as well as making such work much more widely accessible.[2] The survival of such art forms requires that successive generations of students and other young people develop an understanding and appreciation of them, in part through education but also through regular exposure to live performances at prices that they can afford. This requires subsidy. Without it, audiences will get older and smaller, artistic traditions may wither,

Tapping the *Culturati*: An Underexploited Source of Private Finance for the Arts in Ireland

Timothy King

and perhaps even perish beyond possible restoration.

The merit argument sees the need to preserve our cultural inheritance for the benefit of our descendants as a collective moral obligation to future generations (just as we have to take measures to protect our physical environment). Moreover the diversity of our artistic heritage gives us a respect for the ancestral generations that created it. We would like to be similarly respected by our descendants, which gives us a collective interest in supporting the creation of new work.

This is a philosophical rather than an economic line of reasoning. Economists may prefer to reach the same conclusion by referring to the widely accepted 'bequest motive' to explain private economic decisions that are clearly intended to benefit an individual's heirs rather than himself. It is, however, one thing to accept such a rationale for cultural subsidy, and quite another to compare the social value of cultural subsidies with alternative claims on public resources. Environmental economists have developed techniques of 'contingent valuation', using surveys and experiments to attempt to measure a public 'willingness to pay' to preserve a beauty spot or an endangered species, or, alternatively, the 'willingness to accept' – the amount that would be required to compensate the public for the irreversible loss of an environmental amenity (Carson and Czajkowski, 2012). This work has been extended to cultural policy issues, particularly with respect to heritage sites (Epstein, 2003; Noonan, 2003; Throsby, 2003). But in the performing arts a failure of ticket sales to cover costs is *prima facie* evidence of a public unwillingness to pay, and surveys that use contingent valuation to demonstrate the opposite are unlikely to convince sceptics.

Budgetary support versus tax expenditures

Irish taxpayers provide cultural support from the budget through a variety of channels. Some of this is allocated directly from the budget to state-run galleries and museums. Support to the performing and visual arts and to literary events is allocated by the Arts Council, a mechanism designed to minimise the possibility of political interference. Local authorities also provide finance to cultural events. The leading Irish orchestras and other performing groups are funded by the national broadcasting company, RTÉ, via a tax (licence fee) on television usage. Ireland is not generous in this regard by international standards. A 2006 comparative study estimated that Irish public expenditure for culture was 0.20% of GDP in 2001–3 (Klamer et al., 2006, p.81-3).[3] This was not only the lowest in the EU but the lowest by an enormous margin; in 2003, the next lowest country, was Portugal whose GDP share, 0.38%, was almost twice the Irish level, and was also rising rapidly. The share of culture in the Irish budget was also among the very lowest in the EU. Unsurprisingly the fiscal crisis has led to a fall in direct cultural support. Omitting expenditure on the Film Board, whose justification is an industrial one, quite different from the other cultural subsidies, total direct support in 2011 was about €190m, equivalent to about 0.12% of GDP. Expenditures on the 'built heritage' (including archaeological sites) are of the order of 0.04% of GDP (based on 2008 data; it is probably lower now).

In addition, taxpayers provide cultural support via what economists call 'tax expenditures', tax exemptions or reductions designed to encourage the production and/or consumption of goods or services whose social value is thought to exceed their market value. More colloquially, these are called 'tax breaks' but the use of the term 'tax expenditures' emphasises that they reduce the public finance available for other public expenditures, and are consequently a similar burden on the taxpayer. In Ireland cultural tax expenditures include at least partial exemption from tax on incomes received by writers, painters and sculptors from the sale of their work, and exemption from VAT on tickets to live theatrical and musical events. Relief from

Tapping the *Culturati*: An Underexploited Source of Private Finance for the Arts in Ireland

Timothy King

income tax on the value of some donations to eligible cultural organizations, or the recovery of income tax already paid, is granted by Irish tax legislation but has been little used.[4]

The main object of this paper is to consider the obstacles to making greater use of the donor income tax relief (the Donations Scheme) and how they might be overcome. This is based on the view that such tax expenditures are a socially justifiable way of subsidising the arts. This is not obvious. Economists generally disapprove of tax expenditures. Compared with direct expenditures designed to achieve the same goal, they have adverse effects on economic efficiency and, being politically less conspicuous, are less likely to receive legislative scrutiny (Netzer, 2006, p.1242; Callan et al., 2005, p.47-49). The fiscal cost of direct expenditures is more transparent, and is in most cases easier to calculate in advance, and the fact that the expenditures must be periodically reauthorized in budgets keeps them under political review. In contrast, a tax expenditure may appear to be very limited in scope when it is first put into the tax code, but since it is presumably intended as an incentive, its fiscal cost will rise in proportion to its success. It may have side effects on non-subsidised activities that were not anticipated. It does not need continual reauthorization, and as it becomes more established, the political cost of reducing or eliminating it will also increase. Legislated exemptions from particular taxes make for complexity in the tax code and tax auditing, as the boundaries to their applicability in practical situations may be contested, and perhaps require judicial determination.

In the United States, income tax expenditures are the predominant way of providing public support to the arts and culture. The seminal work on supporting the arts through tax expenditures was Feld, O'Hare and Schuster (1983), which, believing that the true cost to the taxpayer of such a system and some of its other drawbacks were not well understood, stressed its disadvantages compared with direct budgetary support. Using data from a 1973 National Study of Philanthropy, a time when marginal income tax rates were very much higher than they are today, the authors found that most donations came from the very wealthy, who therefore exerted a vastly disproportionate influence on the cultural offerings available to the taxpayers who carried the major part of the subsidy. Tax laws that encouraged the donation of a work of art to a museum rather than its cash equivalent (by allowing its owner both to claim its market value against income tax, and to escape any capital gains tax on its appreciation while in his possession) were particularly problematic, since they meant that the taxpayer contributed most of the cost of a donation that often did not accord with the acquisition priorities of the director. Moreover exemptions from property tax encouraged museums to build extensions rather than acquire more art.

One of the difficulties of relying on private donations is a concern that changes in taxation – such as a shift in marginal rates of income tax – can make a significant impact on the aggregate of cultural donations, and upset the plans of cultural organizations. When the British basic tax rate was reduced in 2008, for example, charities were granted the previous proportion of the donation for a further three years to enable them to adjust. But there is nothing a charity can do about the fact that if rates fall, donors using self-assessment (as all US taxpayers do) will perceive a smaller benefit to their tax bill, and may give less, even though they have more disposable income. List (2011) reviews a large number of studies of the relationship between US income tax rates and charitable donations using a wide variety of methodologies and data sources, some of which made a distinction between high-income and average taxpayers. No very clear conclusion emerges, although on balance List thinks that charitable giving is responsive to taxpayer incentives – i.e. the loss or gain of tax revenue resulting from a change in tax rates would be at least matched by a corresponding change in the volume of charitable giving, especially by high income taxpayers, from whom donors to cultural organizations tend

Tapping the *Culturati*: An Underexploited Source of Private Finance for the Arts in Ireland

Timothy King

to come. A recent review in *The Economist* (9 June 2012) however, which included some UK studies, concluded that reducing the tax incentive to donate reduced the amount donated.

Feld et al. (1983) argued that the cultural preferences of most regular donors are conservative, and that there might be less creativity under a financing system dependent on private donations. For example, there can be little doubt that the reliance of American regional opera companies on private donors has led to a narrow repertoire and very traditional productions compared with their European counterparts. Boards of these companies are mainly composed of larger donors. Board members are selected because they can bring to the company money, or accounting or legal skills, rather than knowledge of opera. Service on the board of an artistic or heritage organization is, for many, a mark of social standing in a local community (Ostrower, 1995). The appeal to snobbery may be effective but is likely to encourage the view that classical art forms are something for elites, frustrating attempts to compete effectively with other, especially new, media in attracting younger audiences at a time of life when their cultural habits are being formed.

It is, however, difficult to generalize about donor priorities. The controversial exhibition *Sensation* at the Royal Academy of Art in London in 1997, featuring work from a private collection, demonstrated that very wealthy patrons of the visual arts may have remarkably radical tastes, and there may well be their equivalents for the performing arts. Moreover, although it may in principle be desirable that the representatives of the taxpayers (i.e. the government) can review the use of taxpayer funds, this can have the effect of fostering caution in those who allocated money for the arts. A controversial 1989 exhibition in Philadelphia using funds from the National Endowment for the Arts gave rise to the so-called 'culture wars' in which conservative Members of Congress threatened to abolish the agency (Netzer, 2006, p.1232-3). The NEA, like the UK Arts Council on which it was modelled, was supposed to be out of reach of government influence in its allocation decisions – the so-called 'arms-length' principle – but there is nothing to compel demagogic politicians to comply. Insofar as the principle is honoured, then one of the objections to the tax expenditure approach – that taxpayers have no control over how exactly how their funds are being used – is equally true for money channelled through Arts Councils.

What these examples stress is the desirability of a system of public support that does not rely on a single mode of allocation, whether this is either direct subsidies based on expert assessment of relative merit or private donors (Weil, 1991). Even where there are generous tax expenditures for private donations, there is still a case for direct subsidies.

A practical problem with a reliance on private funds is that the necessary fundraising can be hugely expensive and reduces the amount of each donation that actually serves the intention of the donor. The Metropolitan Opera, which has a development department with forty-one staff, spent $12.4 million on fundraising in FY2011.[5] Of course the Met's total income – $362 million (about €290m) in FY2011 (58% of which was private donations) – is so massive by Irish standards that it might appear irrelevant. But the Shakespeare Theatre Company, Washington DC, whose mainstage seating capacity and annual turnover (451 and $17 million in 2010) make it comparable in size to the Abbey Theatre (498 and €11.5m, average 2006-8), has a development department of thirteen (and also uses 1050 volunteers) and spent $1.4 million on fundraising in FY2009.[6] For comparison, in 2009, the development department of the Abbey Theatre employed two full-time and one part-time staff members.[7]

After 2000, when UK Gift Aid took its present form (see below) and individual giving rose 2.6 times in seven years (Arts and Business, 2009) fundraising became increasingly important in the UK. For example, the Royal Opera House now employs twenty-nine people in its develop-

Tapping the *Culturati*: An Underexploited Source of Private Finance for the Arts in Ireland

Timothy King

ment department. London's National Gallery spent £1.2m. (€1.9m.) on fundraising in its 2011-12 financial year.[8] On a smaller scale, perhaps more relevant to Ireland, the Royal Exchange Theatre, Manchester, with a total income of £7.2m. (€8.4m.) in its FY 2011, spent £270,000 on fundraising, and had four staff members in its development department; Nottingham Playhouse, with an income of £3.6 m. (€4.2m.) in its FY 2012, had a development staff of three.[9]

Direct comparison with Irish organizations is difficult, because there appears to be no comparable obligation on charities to make financial data easily accessible, but it is clear that most Irish organizations make little effort to raise private funds, especially beyond seeking commercial sponsorship. The 2007 survey of Irish cultural institutions cited above found that only 45% of them devoted any staff time to fundraising and development, and only 21% had staff employed full-time on this.

Fundraising is almost inevitably competitive. Each organization may believe that its fundraising increases the volume of donations by more than its cost, but competition for donations among charities may mean that the main effect of fundraising is to redistribute donor funds – probably favouring larger rather than smaller charities – rather than increase total donations, and that the net charitable effect is negative. Moreover repeated requests to the same donors can destroy the impact of fundraising, and may even be counterproductive by irritating regular donors rather than reaching new ones.

However, in spite of requiring expensive fundraising, income tax expenditures for cultural purposes have a special merit. Taxpayer support is triggered only where individuals are prepared to use their own money for the same purpose (and at today's marginal rates, normally in larger amounts). €100 of nonmarket support to a performing arts organization via private donations has been costing Irish taxpayers at most €41 (and in future will, under changes introduced in the December 2013 budget cost only €31), whereas channelled through the budget to an Arts Council it costs €100, plus administrative costs. Even though private donations should not be considered as an alternative source of finance, but rather an additional one, cuts in public funding are likely to continue and it is therefore to private finance that cultural organizations must turn if they are to maintain their present levels of activity.

Income tax relief in Ireland and the UK

Both the Irish and the British systems of income tax relief on charitable donations originated with the nineteenth-century practice of recognizing Deeds of Covenant whereby if an income tax payer made a binding legal agreement to make an unrequited gift to an individual out of his net-of-tax income on a regular basis over a minimum period of years, this could be treated by the recipient as part of his gross income on which tax at the basic rate had been paid (Schuster, 1989). Normally the recipient would have a lower tax liability than the donor (there would be little point in the arrangement otherwise) and he could therefore claim a repayment. In the 1920's, charities (including eligible educational and cultural organizations) which were exempt from income tax, began to reclaim tax on all covenanted donations at the basic rate.

Beginning in 1980 in the UK, when higher rate taxpayers began to be able to reclaim tax at the difference between their own marginal rate and the basic rate, tax relief on charitable donations was made more generous in a number of steps. Especially important was the establishment of Gift Aid in 1990, at first requiring a minimum donation of £600, but progressively reduced until, in 2000, the minimum was abolished altogether. All Gift Aid donations by UK taxpayers are eligible for relief at the basic rate. This has to be reclaimed by charities. The 'grossing up' principle inherent in covenants has been retained (and also in Ireland), so that at a 20% basic rate a donation of an after-tax £1 is treated as a donation of £1.25, so that

Tapping the *Culturati*: An Underexploited Source of Private Finance for the Arts in Ireland

Timothy King

£0.25 can be reclaimed. The considerable paperwork required is no doubt routine for larger charities but a potential burden for smaller ones. A recent estimate is that around £750m of Gift Aid goes unclaimed each year (Charities Aid Foundation 2011, p.2). Higher rate taxpayers can also claim back the difference between higher rate and basic rate of tax on the value of the donation.

The Irish tax system has also replaced Deeds of Covenant with a system of income tax relief on the value of donations to charitable and cultural organizations.[10] Unlike the UK, it continues to require that a donation be of minimum size (which has been €250 since 2001). From 2000–2012, the scheme of income tax relief on donations to charitable and cultural organizations was a complicated one. Where the taxpayer's income taxes were all collected under PAYE (i.e. withheld by an employer) the tax was collected in the normal way and then reclaimed by the charity at the taxpayer's marginal rate. Where there was income not subject to PAYE (for example from self-employment or property) the taxpayer had to submit a return on a self-assessment basis and eligible charitable donations could be directly claimed to reduce taxable income. The latter were a distinct minority among all income taxpayers, probably not more than 20%, but I have not been able to find an exact percentage.

Not only was this system complex, it also required the charity to ascertain the tax status of a donor – not merely whether he was self-assessed but, if all his income tax was PAYE, whether he paid tax at a basic or higher rate. A donor might well be unwilling to reveal his tax status to the organizer of a charity, who may be a social friend or neighbour. This probably meant that a considerable amount of income tax relief went unclaimed.

In his December 2012 budget speech, the Minister of Finance, Michael Noonan, announced a major change in the Donations Scheme. Beginning in January 2013, eligible charities can reclaim the income taxes that would have been paid on income used to make an eligible donation at the same rate, irrespective of the tax status of the donor, provided he paid as much tax as the value of the donation. The rate has been set at 31%, approximately half way between the lower tax rate of 20% and the upper one of 41%.[11] This change is believed to be revenue-neutral. The new system will simplify the process of reclaiming taxes, but it means that no taxpayer will observe any direct link between a donation and his own tax liability. Self-assessed taxpayers will lose the psychological incentive to donate that comes from seeing how an eligible donation actually reduces the tax bill, and, since their donations come now from after-tax income, are likely to make smaller donations.

Ending the association between the tax relief on a particular donation and the marginal tax rate of the donor is something that has often been recommended. Feld et al. (1983) proposed that the American system give tax credits in fixed proportion to the donation, rather than tax relief at the marginal rate, in order to reduce the influence of the preferences of wealthy donors, who favour some types of charitable activity rather than others. Canada has such a system. In the US, cultural organizations, which are disproportionately favoured by the wealthy, would lose relatively to churches if such a reform were adopted. It is not possible to make a similar statement about Ireland. As far as I know, there is no way to disaggregate the €54m given in 2009 by 155,000 taxpayers under the Donations Scheme either by the type of charity or by the income or other classification of the donor. Moreover, the retention of a minimum size of donation to be eligible for tax relief has probably meant that most such taxpayers are relatively affluent, and there is no *a priori* reason for expecting the change in the tax regime to affect one type of charity more than another.

Timothy King

Implications of the new scheme for cultural organizations

Even if the new Irish scheme will mean relatively smaller charitable donations, the 2007 survey, cited above, showed Irish cultural institutions get only a very small amount of private finance from individuals so the damage to cultural financing will not be very large. The private funding of participating organizations responding to the survey was €16.2m., equivalent to an average of 12% of participant's total annual turnover. Only 16% of this (about €2.6m.) was provided by individuals. Gifts described as 'donations' were only about €365,000. 'Major gifts' (undefined, but amounting to nearly €1m.) were in a separate category. About €200,000 of individual giving was from 'other' sources, which were not identified. The Finance Bill published in February 2013 reflects no changes other than those announced in the Budget. The minimum size of eligible donation is to be retained. This is unfortunate.

Under the previous system, it could be argued that a minimum size of eligible donation was desirable to deter self-assessed taxpayers from overstating their total donations in circumstances where it would probably have been impossible to carry out effective auditing of very large numbers of small claims. Under the new system, auditing of claims by individual taxpayers will no longer be necessary, except to ascertain that they have paid at least as much tax as can be reclaimed on their donation. Eliminating the minimum would increase the number of claims to be handled by the Irish Revenue, but UK charities can reclaim tax at the standard rate on all donations from qualified taxpayers, so it does not seem that the administrative obstacles need be insuperable. Since the purpose of the Donation Scheme is to encourage all taxpayers to donate, this should include donations by those who cannot afford to give as much as €250, so the minimum is in principle undesirable. I am not aware of any other country that still has one. One might note that the UK has recently moved in the opposite direction, with the recent passage of the Small Charitable Donations Act, which enables charities to collect Gift Aid repayments on very small donations (up to £20) without a full Gift Aid Declaration.

There has also been no proposed change in the other criteria that determine the eligibility of a donation for tax relief – in particular 'benefits' received by donors in return for their contribution – which Ireland defines much more strictly than comparable countries. Deeds of Covenant required that the transfer of income convey no benefit to the giver, and this has been a feature of the Donation Schemes that have replaced them. The requirement of the 2001 Finance Act that 'neither the donor nor any person connected with the donor receives a benefit in consequence of making the donation, either directly or indirectly' remains in effect.

This raises no issue for donations to, say, Oxfam. But donations to non-profit cultural organizations are less obviously altruistic, because at a minimum the donor is seeking to ensure the survival of an organization whose work he appreciates. Roughly 40% of individual funding in Ireland (€1.1 million) in 2007 was given through friends/membership schemes. This is the way in which the *culturati* typically support the arts (although of course there are many other members of individual schemes whose own interests are narrower than those I have defined as *culturati*). Members of Friends' societies usually get some 'benefit' as a result of their subscriptions.

In the UK and Australia, careful attention has been paid to permissible and impermissible benefits. The Australian regulations are quite explicit.[12] They make it clear that the benefits that disqualify a donation from eligibility for tax relief have to be 'of a material nature.' If they are formally offered as part of a published scheme, they are ruled out. If, however, they were unanticipated and serve as a token of gratitude they might be acceptable. Both Australia and the UK allow for acknowledgements in theatre programmes. The UK also recognizes that organizations may want to make other token gestures of gratitude for a donation, but severely

#1

Tapping the *Culturati*: An Underexploited Source of Private Finance for the Arts in Ireland

Timothy King

limits their permitted cost to 25% of donations of less than £100, £25 for donations of £101-£1000, and 5% above that.[13]

The Irish guidelines for charities emphasise that 'donations must be at arm's length and no benefit whatsoever may attach in order to attract tax relief.' This appears to rule out membership of Friends' societies as a route for donor finance. Since the purpose of the Donation Scheme is to benefit recipient organizations, this is counterproductive. The purpose of such societies is not only to provide an organization with financial and other support, but also to foster some long-term 'family loyalty'. Among other things, this loyalty will be reflected in a willingness to buy tickets and interest their friends in the performances, exhibitions and other events that the organization puts on. Friends' societies also provide management with a useful feedback from a knowledgeable and well-disposed group of consumers of their products, which can be useful to any manager in determining future plans.

Since all donations will in future be made out of income net of taxes, there need no longer be the suspicion that donors are somehow buying benefits at the expense of other taxpayers. Of course charities that provide benefits in return for donations cannot reclaim taxes on the full value of the donation. The simplest way to handle this is for organizations to regard the cost of providing benefits as a fundraising expense to obtain a donation, and to deduct this cost from the amount donated before reclaiming taxes on the remainder. *Mutatis mutandis*, this would be similar to the treatment of benefits in the US and Canada, where the market value of benefits is deducted from a donation before a charitable deduction is claimed.

If this is regarded as a step too far, then the Australian inclusion of the word 'material' before the word 'benefits' would be a very simple legislative change that would make a substantial improvement. It would presumably rule out discounts on tickets, and possibly even a free programme, if not available to every member of the audience. But it would permit priority booking, which in my personal view is the most valuable benefit of Friends' membership. This is not material, in that it does not provide Friends with cheaper seats than the general public, but merely a wider choice. In the UK, priority booking does not disqualify subscriptions Friends' societies from eligibility for Gift Aid.

What can be done if there are no further changes to the Donation Scheme?

1. Organizations could organize their membership into a two-tier system, concentrating all their 'benefits' on members for a relatively small subscription, and strongly encouraging donations above this amount. By 'strongly encouraging' I envisage the sort of appeal routinely made by non-profit cultural organizations in America, pointing out the fact that ticket revenue covers only a limited proportion of costs. If a €250 minimum persists, it can be pointed out that a donation of this size would enable the organization to reclaim an additional €112.[14]

2. Cultural organizations could cooperate in pooling their Friends' programmes so that where a taxpayer's donations to a number of cultural organizations aggregated to more than the minimum threshold for tax relief, the tax could be reclaimed on behalf of the organizations, even though no single donation reached the threshold. For example, there could be a Friends of Dublin Opera, that would entitle subscribers to a minimal level of benefits from each of four Dublin-based opera companies – Lyric Opera, the Opera Theatre Company, Glasthule Opera, and Wide Open Opera – but which would also have a higher level of Friends, carrying no additional benefits, but amounting to an additional donation of €250.

3. Even if no effort is made to pool donations, a cooperative association of cultural organizations might still be of great help to its smaller members who may find that the paperwork

required to reclaim tax is more trouble than it is worth. In the UK, the Charities Aid Foundation helps charities to reclaim income taxes declared on Gift Aid donations (and also other assistance with fundraising).[15] It should be possible for a cooperative organization to perform similar services in Ireland.

4. Such a cooperative organization could also run fundraising campaigns on behalf of its members, which as noted, has been neglected by Irish cultural organizations. This could overcome some of the problems with competitive fundraising, which are bound to be acute in a small country with a limited number of potential donors. This might be particularly useful in raising money for smaller companies and it might also offset the current tendency for wealthy donors to favour particular art forms such as opera, and to neglect others, such as dance, which appeal to a more diverse and scattered audience. In many American communities, charities have decided to join together in an annual fundraising drive, usually known as the United Way. The United Way publicizes charitable needs, provides information about the work of organizations trying to meet these needs, receives donations and, where these have been earmarked by the donor, channels these to the designated organizations. A cooperative fundraising drive once or twice a year – Culture Night is an obvious occasion for one such attempt – might be a much more efficient way to raise funding for arts and heritage than separate competitive efforts by each organization.

Such campaigns would provide a periodic opportunity to remind audiences and gallery-goers that they cannot rely solely on taxpayers and/or corporate sponsors to continue to subsidize their cultural enrichment. In the performing arts, audience members, particularly the *culturati*, need to understand the difference between the cost of putting on a performance and the amount that can be raised through ticket sales. They should be urged to cover at least their own share of total cost. The message need not be strident – its aim should be to jog the conscience of those who can afford to give without discomforting those who cannot. In some ways this should be an easier message to deliver in an era of public expenditure cutbacks than in boom times.

Timothy King, now retired, was formerly a University Lecturer in Economics, and Fellow and Director of Studies, Queens' College, Cambridge, and more recently held a variety of economist and managerial positions on the World Bank staff in Washington.

NOTES

1. This estimate is derived from comparable surveys carried out by Deloitte for Business to Arts in Ireland and by Arts & Business in the UK. The Irish survey is the latest available but the UK survey is an annual one. It is likely that the disparity in individual giving between the countries has widened even further, since in 2010/11 the UK figure had returned to its 2007 level (after an intermediate fall) whereas anecdotal information suggests that it has continued to fall in Ireland. (Business to Arts in Ireland, 2008; Arts & Business, 2009)

2. There may also be other reasons that nonprofits have become such an important part of the theatrical scene in English-speaking countries. Paul DiMaggio offers a useful review of the different reasons that have been advanced to explain the dominance of the nonprofit form of organization in many branches of the performing arts in the US (DiMaggio, 2006).

3. The study uses the Eurostat definition of culture, which includes creative arts, museums and archives, the performing arts, libraries, and film and video, without broadcasting and art education.

4. The Irish system of tax expenditures designed to benefit charities (and other "approved organizations") has been changed in 2013 in the manner described below. It is important to keep separate "tax exemptions" which exempt charitable organizations from certain taxes that other companies or individuals would have to pay, and "tax relief

Tapping the *Culturati*: An Underexploited Source of Private Finance for the Arts in Ireland

Timothy King

on donations" which either reduce the income tax liability of the donor, or allow charities to reclaim income taxes that the donor has already paid. The Irish Revenue uses the term "tax relief" in both cases, although it also refers to Donations Schemes. This is especially important in the Irish context because only about 25% of tax-exempt charities have been approved for tax relief on donations.

5. The income tax returns for US nonprofits are in the public domain. For the Met, they are available at: http://www.metoperafamily.org/metopera/about/form990.aspx.

6. See Shakespeare Theatre, income tax return (Form 990) 2010: http://207.153.189.83/EINS/521405988/521405988_2010_085f7f86.PDF

7. Advertised Abbey Theatre vacancy for part-time development officer: http://www.abbeytheatre.ie/images/uploads/user/resources/28854b97016c183f4071fd9fc38f8ec6.pdf

8. The National Gallery Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2012, http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/content/ConMediaFile/19818 [Accessed March 2013].

9. UK charities have to provide accounts to the Charities Commission and the respective income data was obtained from its website http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk in March 2013. The size of their respective development departments were obtained from http://www.royalexchange.co.uk/page.aspx?page=573 and http://www.nottinghamplayhouse.co.uk/about-us/resources [Accessed March 2013]

10. In Ireland, cultural organizations are registered for tax relief as "bodies approved for education in the arts" although some of these are also registered as charities. To my knowledge, the eligibility conditions for income tax relief for donations are identical, so the distinction is ignored here.

11. Since grossing up will apply this means that a charity can reclaim almost 45% of each eligible donation. On receipt of €250 from an eligible taxpayer, the charity can reclaim €112.

12. See Australian Taxation Office, Taxation Ruling TR 2005/13: http://law.ato.gov.au/pdf/pbr/tr2005-013.pdf

13. See HM Revenue and Customs, Charities > Detailed Guidance Notes > Chapter 3, "Benefits received by donors", http://www.hmrc.gov.uk/charities/guidance-notes/chapter3/sectiond.htm#ab

14. An early draft of this paper proposed the establishment of a separate organization whose main function would be pooling donations made by Friends of cultural organizations, and reclaiming taxes back on their behalf. In private email correspondence with the head of the Charities Section of the Irish Revenue, however, I was warned that if donations to this organization were contingent on Friends 'membership in any organization, this would make the donation reliant on the other donation and it would therefore carry an "indirect benefit".

15. See Charities Aid Foundation, "Making multi-channel fundraising easy": https://www.cafonline.org/charity-finance--fundraising/charity-fundraising--support/fundraising-support.aspx

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arts & Business (2009). *Private Investment in Culture 2007/8*. London: Arts & Business. Available at http://artsandbusiness.org.uk/media%20library/Files/Research/pics-1011/artsandbusiness-Private-Investment-in-Culture10-11.pdf [Accessed October 2012].

Business to Arts (2008). *Private Investment in Arts and Culture Survey Report*. Dublin: Business to Arts. Available at http://www.businesstoarts.ie/pdfs/Private_Investment_in_Arts_&_Culture_Report.pdf [Accessed October 2012].

Callan, Tim, John Walsh and Kieran Coleman (2005). Tax Expenditures. In: Callan, Tim and Aedín Doris (eds). 2005. *Budget Perspectives 2006*. Dublin: Economic and Social Research Institute. Available at http://www.esri.ie/UserFiles/publications/BKMNINT181.pdf [Accessed October 2012].

Carson, Richard and Mikołaj Czajkowski (2012). *The Discrete Choice Experiment Approach to Environmental Contingent Valuation.* Sydney: Centre for the Study of Choice (University of Technology Sydney), Working Paper Series, No. 12-003. Available at http://www.censoc.uts.edu.au/

Tapping the *Culturati*: An Underexploited Source of Private Finance for the Arts in Ireland

Timothy King

researchoutput/wp_12_03.pdf [Accesssed January 2013].

Charities Aid Foundation (2011). *The Benefits of Giving – simplifying the benefit rules for charitable donations to encourage effective fundraising*. London: Charities Aid Foundation. Available at https://www.cafonline.org/charity-finance--fundraising/charity-fundraising--support/fundraising-support.aspx [Accessed October 2012].

Department of Finance, (2012). *Tax Relief for Donations to Approved Bodies under Section 848A of the Taxes Consolidation Act 1997*. Dublin: Department of Finance. Available at http://www.finance.gov.ie/documents/pressreleases/2012/mn085append.pdf [Accessed September 2012].

DiMaggio, Paul (2006). Nonprofit organizations and the Intersectoral Division of Labor in the Arts. In: Powell, Walter W. and Richard Steinberg, (eds). 2006. *The Non-Profit Sector: A Research Handbook. Second Edition*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

The Economist (2012). Sweetened Charity. *The Economist [online]*, 9 June 2012. Available at http://www.economist.com/node/21556570 [Accessed July 2012].

Epstein, Richard A. (2003). The Regrettable Necessity of Contingent Valuation. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 27, 259-274.

Giving USA (2012). *Executive Summary 2012*. Indianapolis: Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University. Available at http://www.givingusareports.org [Accessed October 2012].

Klamer, Arjo, Lyudmilla Petrova, and Anna Mignosa (2006). *Financing The Arts And Culture in the European Union, 2006*. Brussels: European Parliament, Director General Internal Policies of the Union, Policy Department, Structural and Cohesion Policies. Available at http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/studiesdownload.html?languageDocument=EN&file=17262 [Accessed July 2012].

List, John A. (2011). The Market for Charitable Giving. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 25, 157–180.

Musgrave, Richard A. (1959). *The Theory of Public Finance*. New York and London: McGraw-Hill.

National Endowment for the Arts (2012). *How the United States Funds the Arts*. Washington DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

Netzer, Dick (2006). Cultural Policy: An American View. In: Ginsburgh, Victor and David Throsby (eds.). 2006. *Handbook of the Economics of Art and Culture, Volume 1*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, New York: W.W.Norton.

Noonan, Douglas S. (2003). Contingent Value and Cultural Resources: A Meta-Analytic Review of the Literature. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 27, 159-176.

Ostrower, Francie (1995). *Why the Wealthy Give:The Culture of Elite Philanthropy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Schuster, J. Mark Davidson (1989). The British Deed of Covenant as a Tax Incentive for Charitable Donations: Vestige or Viable Alternative? In: Estelle James, 1989. *The Nonprofit sector in International Perspective: Studies in Comparative Culture and Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Throsby, David (2003). Determining the Value of Cultural Goods: How much (or How Little) Does Contingent Valuation Tell Us? *Journal of Cultural Economics,* 27, 275-285

Weil, Stephen E. (1991). Tax Policy and Private Giving. In: Benedict, Stephen (ed) 1993. *Public Money and the Muse: Essays on Government Funding for the Arts*. New York and London: Norton.

Safeguarding Giving: the Volunteer and the Intern

EVE LALOR

Abstract: *Levels of volunteering have risen dramatically within the last four years in Ireland. Unemployment in August 2012 was at 14.8%, and 50% of those volunteering are doing so to improve their job prospects. This study examines the growing prevalence and status of volunteers and interns in the Irish non-profit cultural sector. The role that organisational policy may play in the relationship between volunteer and host organisation within the context of the current economic climate is also investigated. The paper concludes that developing a volunteer policy can enable cultural organisations to ethically harness the valuable resource volunteers provide. Further, such policy development is an important stage in the volunteer management cycle for achieving best practice and avoiding job substitution.*

Keywords: Volunteer policy; internship; philanthropy; volunteer management; unemployment

There is without a doubt a growing concern that interns may be taken advantage of, that the educative nature of an internship is being ignored and that the cultural industry may become overly dependent on free labour.

Introduction

Private giving has become an increasingly popular panacea within the cultural sector in Ireland, especially within an environment of reduced public funding, unstable self-generated revenue streams, high unemployment and increased competition between arts organisations for vital resources. Giving can take many forms, both financial and in-kind, from donations of funds to mentoring, resource sharing to voluntary labour. A narrowing between the American 'facilitator' model of funding and the Irish 'patron' model (Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey, 1989, p. 1) through the development of private giving has been mooted on many occasions in recent years, but it remains to be seen whether Ireland could or should adopt this more corporate vision of arts funding (Wright, 2001, p. 6). What this research puts forward is that developing a wider range of funding models could be encouraged through the broadening of our preconceived definition of private giving.

This essay will examine voluntary labour (volunteer/intern), and how a change in the nature of its use could help both to reduce financial uncertainties and capitalise on a wide range of opportunities which it presents. In a time of particularly high unemployment, the changing nature of the volunteer workforce will be examined, as well as how this resource can be developed within the cultural sector for both the volunteer and the organisation through policy creation. It will also investigate the common perception that there is a growing demand for and dependence on voluntary labour within cultural organisations.

Recent research into volunteering trends has revealed a 100% increase in volunteering numbers over the 2008/2009 period (Curran, 2009, p. 2) and there is no sign that this is abating. With over 34,000 people registering to volunteer in the 2010-2012 period at volunteer centres alone, 11% of registrants volunteering to improve skills (Volunteering Ireland, 2012) and an unemployment rate of 14.8% in August 2012, investigating how the cultural sector can harness this opportunity while safeguarding the volunteer is vital.

Volunteer and intern: clarifying terms

To begin, there are numerous difficulties associated with defining voluntary work, mainly because of the variety of non-profit organisations and volunteer roles. A voluntary act is a gift and

#1

Safeguarding Giving: the
Volunteer and the Intern

Eve Lalor

is therefore a significant form of private giving:

> Volunteering is work without pay; the branch of philanthropy in which time replaces cheque book... The word "volunteer" is a victim of the slippery English language, its meaning changing over time at ever-increasing speed... (Gunyon, 2004).

The difficulties of definition become even more apparent when attempting to distinguish between volunteers and interns, because while both are forms of voluntary labour, a volunteer can have a philanthropic interest at heart (fulfilling a social function), whereas an intern often has a more personal and self-motivated interest (fulfilling a knowledge or instrumental function) (Ruddle, 1993). Motivations, therefore, vary widely and the boundaries between unpaid volunteers and unpaid interns have become increasingly blurred in recent years.

According to Volunteering Ireland[1] (Williams, 2010) the distinction between the two is best explained in terms of added value: volunteers add value and capacity rather than filling a vital role; interns may not have the skills to carry out the job effectively (but have the potential) and so require training. The Oxford Dictionary (2012) similarly defines an intern as 'a student or trainee who does a job, sometimes without pay, in order to gain work experience or satisfy requirements for a qualification.' However other recent research concerning volunteers and interns adopt varying definitions: the Arts Council England defines an intern as: '…short term... should be either their first experience of a particular sector or role, or the "next step"… the intern is expected to contribute to the work of the organisation' (2011). Voluntary Arts and Volunteering England have defined volunteerism as: 'any activity that involves spending time, unpaid, doing something that aims to benefit the environment or someone… other than, or in addition to, close relatives' (2012).

The significant difference here relates to the educative nature of an internship, but both roles are voluntary. Essentially, although distinctions between them have been drawn in different ways, volunteering and internships are both unpaid donations of time, skill and effort. For the purposes of this article, the term 'volunteers' will refer to both interns and volunteers, unless otherwise specified, as the issues facing both groups share many similarities.

The situation, status and regulation of volunteers in Ireland

The volunteer infrastructure within Ireland has developed quite considerably in the last decade especially since the establishment of the National Committee on Volunteering in 2000, which examined and made recommendations on three important issues:

> (1) The possibilities for recognition and accreditation of voluntary work and for training undertaken as a volunteer, (2) measures to widen the pool of volunteers and (3) the range of supports needed to promote, sustain and develop volunteering. (National Committee on Volunteering, 2002, p. II)

In addition to a phenomenal increase in volunteering numbers, there has been a growing emphasis on the status, regulation and development of voluntary activity in Ireland through such initiatives as the establishment of the national volunteer development agency, Volunteering Ireland (now Volunteer Ireland) (2001); Volunteering Ireland's national awards, the Ireland InVOLved Awards (2001); the governmental advice group, the Taskforce on Active Citizenship (2007); and the university volunteer programme ROVE (Recognition of Voluntary Engagement) in University College Dublin and National University of Ireland, Galway (2008).

In 2004, The Joint Committee on Arts, Sports, Tourism, Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs produced a number of recommendations which were designed to 'raise public awareness of volunteering (and) facilitate new ways of participating in voluntary work' (Del Cid and Hurley, 2005, p. 9). Despite these initiatives, there is no central government policy on volunteering,[2] and[7] the volunteering support and development infrastructure is well below European

Safeguarding Giving: the
Volunteer and the Intern

Eve Lalor

levels, both in terms of a lack of information technology for local support centres and a lack of funds for volunteer management (National Committee on Volunteering, 2002, p. VI).

Despite research suggesting that the current economic situation will lead to a decline in volunteering (Anheier, 2009, p. 4), recent statistics indicate otherwise: CSO figures[3] report that between 17% and 33% of the adult population regularly volunteers (Volunteering Ireland 2010a). A 2009 report by the Volunteer Development Agency of Northern Ireland on *Volunteering and the Recession* notes that 50% of organisations have registered an increase in volunteering numbers. This rising figure is thought to be due to a number of factors: recent initiatives to promote volunteering, an increase in awareness of social concerns, a growth in the number of voluntary organisations (GHK, 2010, p. 8), and people wanting to increase their employability (Volunteer Development Agency, 2009). This emphasis on improving one's employability is backed up by McKenna[4] (2009, p., 12) and also by Garvey, CEO of The Wheel (Ireland's support and representative umbrella network for community, voluntary and charitable organisations), who states that a record number of unemployed people are engaging in volunteering 'as a means of maintaining their skills and making a meaningful commitment to their communities' (Garvey, 2009, p. 2).

It has also become evident that both the number of people applying for internships and the length of internships on offer has increased phenomenally, despite the lack of financial remuneration (Theatre Forum Ireland, 2009, p. 50). The newest development in this area is JobBridge, the National Internship Scheme (National Employment and Entitlements Service, 2012). By September 2012, over 10,000 people had commenced an internship through this Scheme since it was launched in July 2011. The greatest proportion of the placements (46%) are carried out by those between the ages of 25 and 34, and 67% are with private companies. However JobBridge has not been without its critics, particularly with respect to the lengthy duration of its placements, the replacing of paid jobs with intern positions, and questions over their vetting and appropriateness. As Una Mullally has pointed out in a series of recent *Irish Times* articles, the scheme has the potential to develop into an institutionalisation of internships, formally supported and implemented by government bodies:

> In Ireland the extension of internships from traditionally desirable workplaces, and industries perceived as hard to access, to those perceived to be less desirable was made official by JobBridge. By creating a Government scheme within what had been an unregulated market – dominated by casual internship schemes, university work placements and more official Fortune 500 company training programmes – State-sponsored internships are now available in many sectors. (Mullally, 2013)

Due to the fact that the average volunteer is now more highly skilled and experienced than before, volunteers have higher aspirations and expectations and organisations are demanding higher qualifications for volunteer positions (GHK, 2010). This presents a situation which potentially benefits the employer over the volunteer: the organisation has better qualified applicants to choose from, whilst competition amongst volunteers is higher than ever before. This is especially true for internships (Greenhouse, 2010).

The *Volunteering and the Recession* report (2009) found the length of time volunteers are willing to give has increased considerably, a change the authors concluded can be put down to the increase in unemployment: volunteers/interns wish to use their time productively when out of work, gain new skills and contacts, and enjoy themselves without expense. This is both an opportunity and a risk: an opportunity for both the organisation and the volunteer in terms of skills, experience and knowledge that can be transferred, and a risk, as volunteering is not regulated.

One of the greatest risks is the legal status of interns, and this is an area where limited research currently exists. According to a recent *New York Times* article (Greenhouse, 2010), US

Safeguarding Giving: the
Volunteer and the Intern

Eve Lalor

labour laws are becoming stricter about the legal criteria for employers taking on interns. The US Department of Labor (2010) currently defines an internship as:

> ...similar to training which would be given in an educational environment... is for the benefit of the intern (and)... does not displace regular employees... The employer that provides the training derives no immediate advantage from the activities of the intern... The employer and the intern understand that the intern is not entitled to wages...

Much debate centres on how viable this definition really is, especially seeing as it is unlikely that an organisation would take on an intern if there was no 'advantage' to doing so. There is a growing concern that internships are getting out of control, that 'the internship has become about taking advantage of free labour rather than a mutually beneficial exchange of work and training for employers and students' (San Francisco Chronicle, 2010). Advocacy groups such as Intern Aware (UK) currently lobby for application of minimum wage legislation to all classes of interns, and a 'global summit' of intern advocacy groups held in January 2013 suggests these concerns (and litigation connected to them) are becoming widespread (Bacalso, 2013).

A significant step has been made by Arts Council England who released guidelines in 2011 on engaging interns within arts organisations. Legal obligations of employers are outlined, as well as definitions of interns, 'workers' and how the existence of a 'contract,' either written or oral, can in some cases entitle interns to the minimum wage as 'workers' (Arts Council England, 2011). It remains to be seen how arts organisations in the UK adopt these guidelines, but a new £15 million Creative Employment Programme (launched in September 2012) to provide fairer routes into the arts through funding paid apprenticeships and internships will hopefully, in the long term, encourage companies to follow best practice. As Andrea Stark, Executive Director of Arts Council England states (Arts Council England, 2012):

> If young people cannot gain entry into the sector workforce we risk losing a generation of talent, which would potentially have an adverse impact on the art that is produced, distributed and attended by the wider audience.

In Ireland no laws relate specifically to the legal protection of interns or volunteers. One important protection is the Duty of Care as set out by Volunteering Ireland (Volunteering Ireland, 2010c), which states that all organisations are legally bound to do everything possible to protect those with whom they come into contact with (staff, volunteers, customers etc). The purchase of insurance for volunteers on-the-job is believed to be common practice (Del Cid and Hurley, 2005, p. 5).

Despite legal shortcomings, a recent pan-European study on volunteering grouped Ireland with those countries (e.g. France, the UK) that lack a legal framework for volunteers but where regulation is implicit in other laws (GHK, 2010, p. 10). However 'implicit regulation' is not legal protection and we have much to learn from other countries, especially the UK.

Volunteers, interns and the cultural sector work force in Ireland

From a management perspective, there is limited literature on the nature of the workforce in the cultural sector in Ireland (or internationally), and on how the volunteer and intern fit into this structure.[5] Fitzgibbon and Kelly (1997, p. 345) describe the overall employment structure in the cultural sector in Ireland as follows:

> ...a relatively small proportion of core, full-time permanent positions... a significant use of non-standard work (contract/temporary) and part-time work and a heavy reliance on government employment schemes and volunteers.

According to Fitzgibbon and Kelly, this model, characterised by 'increasing numbers of peripheral workers combined with a small, stable core of workers,' has resulted in a situation where almost 50% of arts managers experience periods of unemployment and high job movement

Safeguarding Giving: the
Volunteer and the Intern

Eve Lalor

and instability (p. 345). Little seems to have changed in the intervening years, and research suggests that the trend for engaging interns is inceading (Theatre Forum Ireland, 2009) and voluntary labour continues to make up a significant proportion of the workforce.

The Centre for Non-profit Management in Trinity College Dublin has been a forerunner in research on the voluntary sector in Ireland. Their 2008 report entitled *A Profile of Volunteer-Involving Organisations* is the most recent analysis of volunteering in Ireland. It states that the cultural sector accounts for 10% of volunteer-involving organisations (Prizeman and Donovan, 2008, p. 3) and is one of the five largest subsectors in the Irish non-profit sector (Donoghue et al., 2006, p. 9). One notable addition to research on volunteering in Ireland is the work by Bussell and Forbes (2005) which highlights the importance of 'intangible benefits' for volunteers within artistic institutions e.g. emotional ties, cultural awareness etc. In addition, the majority of respondents (35%) in a 2004 Association of Irish Festival Events report gave 'love of content' as their main reason for volunteering (Fiona Goh Consulting, 2004, p. 22). Volunteers are also believed to be more important in the cultural sector in terms of their 'input as "in-kind" employees' than in other sectors (National Committee on Volunteering, 2002, p. 7). Many arts organisations, especially festivals and much of the voluntary arts sector could not operate without volunteers and many cultural organisations (as charities) use voluntary boards.

Levels of volunteering in the non-profit sector have fluctuated over the last decade, and due to the absence of consistent research, it is difficult to ascertain the actual level of volunteering in Ireland. Further research is needed. What is without doubt however is a dramatic increase since 2008. This increase can be seen as a positive development, leading to increased involvement by the community in the arts, increased resources available to organisations with declining funds and the opening up of the area of volunteering to people who wish to use their free time and professional skill sets for a good cause, whether this is personal gain or to help society. As voluntary activities contribute to the stock of capital in a society (Armstrong and Baron, 2002), this increase can be seen as a positive marker for Irish civic society.

Another social benefit of volunteering is explained by NIACE, the UK's National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, which recognises the 'contribution that voluntary work can make to reskilling the workforce' as a route for 'unwaged adults wishing to use voluntary work as a stepping stone into paid employment' (NIACE, 1990, p. 10). Benefits include empowerment, skills and personal development, as well as recognising the existing skills, experience and competences of the volunteers (NIACE, 1990, p. 7). Problems include a lack of standards and a failure to recognise existing skills (NIACE, 1990, p. 12). The JobBridge Scheme states similar aims for its placements but at the time of writing it remains to be seen how this Scheme will affect the healthy development of the labour market.

Despite the fact that volunteering can be hugely beneficial to society, the management of the increase in volunteering numbers is vitally important as both arts professionals and volunteers are at risk should job substitution become a reality: those who are employed fear substitution by an unpaid worker, and those who are interns fear a continuation of interning without the prospect of a paid position. Bowgett claims that there are many who would argue that job substitution is a viable solution: 'a pragmatic solution to a loss of funding' (Bowgett, 2009) but this would spell disaster for the reputation and future of volunteering, and for arts roles as viable careers. The reality is that the replacement and displacement of paid jobs by interns does happen, and although unethical, is hard to prove illegal.

It is clear that despite the potentially diverse motivations behind offering, or recruiting voluntary labour, and despite the risk of job substitution, the outcome of such activity is generally

Safeguarding Giving: the Volunteer and the Intern

Eve Lalor

beneficial to both the organisation and the individual. These same complex, diverse motivations can add to the confusion over the language used to describe those involved (volunteers, voluntary workers and interns) or the language used to talk about them (not 'use' but involve, empower, etc.).

Garvey (2009, p. 2) believes that volunteering will be essential to Ireland's economic recovery for a number of reasons:

> Because it empowers individuals... breaks cycles of dependency... (and) reduces the social impact of recession... We have an opportunity to harness the energy, enthusiasm and skills of the growing army of volunteers...

Garvey may overestimate the power of volunteering but her article does reveal how important a resource volunteering can be both for non-profit organisations struggling with a sudden and unexpected drop in public and private funding, and for social capital formation. What remains to be seen however, is the actual extent of policy development on the ground and if this could help to 'achieve an enduring bond between the organisation and the volunteer, moving the potential volunteer up the ladder of loyalty to becoming an advocate of the organisation' (Bussell and Forbes, 2005, p. 2).

Best practice would indicate that the learning element of volunteering assists in the creation of 'an enduring bond between the organisation and the volunteer' (Bussell and Forbes, 2005, p. 2): the more time invested in candidates by the organisation, the better the rewards that can be reaped: benefits such as loyalty, returning (better trained) volunteers and an enhanced reputation. Unfortunately, recent Volunteering Ireland figures suggest that almost 80% of volunteers are given no training in their roles (Volunteering Ireland, 2010a). When present, induction processes for volunteers or on-the-job learning for interns can benefit the volunteer-organisation relationship. The extent to which volunteering can contribute to the employability of the worker varies hugely, but it is clear that the more formalised and educational the volunteering, the more productive it is for the volunteeer's long term job prospects, and it should be undertaken with this goal in mind.

Discovering each volunteer's motivation, as well as the motivation of the individual host, is essential to proper management. Since volunteers are unpaid, their emotional engagement and satisfaction with the organisation are the most important elements for influencing the retention rates of both current and future volunteers and, if respected, voluntary labour has the potential to become a renewable and sustainable resource (Brudney and Meijs, 2009, p. 576). Especially in the cultural sector, volunteers are also a significant customer base (Bussell and Forbes, 2005, p. 2) and, as such, should be considered like any other stakeholder (Anheier, 2009, p. 5).

It is important to note that many of these new volunteers are vastly overqualified for the basic roles given. However, if they were given more responsible roles (and therefore risk job substitution), they would require increased supervision, necessitating an investment of additional time and resources on the organisation's part. Therefore the organisation is in a very tricky situation. If an organisation comes to see that it cannot carry out its mission without considerable volunteer input, then Volunteering Ireland (Williams, 2010) believes that it may be advisable to rethink one's mission and down-size, and not place undue pressure or responsibilities on volunteers. Revising an organisation's mission is not an easy task. Key challenges include clearly articulating the mission and having the time and resources to undertake the process. To avoid exploiting free labour however, it is essential.

Safeguarding Giving: the
Volunteer and the Intern

Eve Lalor

Volunteer management and policy creation

Voluntary labour, like all non-cash resources, is not a free resource. It comes with a certain level of costs, both monetary and managerial, but these are minimal in relation to the return which volunteers give through their gifts of time, experience, expertise, and even money (Eisner et al., 2009, p. 32). Volunteers and interns are an enormous and regularly undervalued resource: in 2004, volunteers clocked up over 185 Full Time Equivalent positions in Ireland in the festivals sector alone (Fiona Goh Consulting, 2004, p. 17), and numbers have increased since then with volunteers nationally contributing at least €9.3 million to the economy in 2011 (Volunteering Ireland, 2012).

Volunteer management theory is based primarily around the volunteer management cycle: developing policies and procedures; recruitment; screening/selection; training; support and supervision; motivation and recognition; monitoring and evaluation (Volunteer Benevoles Canada, 2010). It states that policy development is necessary in the planning stage to ensure all other stages of the cycle run smoothly. This has a number of benefits: it helps the organisation to think strategically and act professionally; it ensures continuity over time; it encourages more compliance and it lessens the chance of misinterpretation (Volunteering Ireland, 2010b).

The volunteer development agencies in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland have developed policies and procedures for organisations, covering the involvement and recruitment of volunteers, as well as training for volunteer managers (Volunteer Centres Ireland, 2010). The Professional Association of Volunteer Managers of Ireland (PAVMI), Volunteering Ireland and Volunteer Now (Northern Ireland) run policy development and managerial courses for volunteer managers, and several databases exist for prospective volunteers. Most of the literature on volunteering and the formation of volunteer policies relates to non-profit social and health organisations. However, this literature is highly applicable to the cultural sector and provides a professional and transparent resource. Documents such as *Developing a Volunteer Policy for your Organisation* (Volunteer Centres Ireland, 2010), are clear, concise and relevant to the whole non-profit sector.

Although there are critics who would resist the professionalisation of volunteer management, fearing the over-regulation of a volunteer sector largely based on goodwill (GHK, 2010, p. 12), in the absence of explicit legal protection for volunteers, policies provide a basic employment agreement that sets out the responsibilities of each party. This is particularly relevant to the current economic climate where there is a growing need for cultural organisations to become more transparent and accountable.[6]

From the research, best practice encompasses:

* following the volunteer management cycle, especially planning and policy development, training/induction, supervision and feedback/exit interviews. All this must be tailored to suit the organisation.

* being aware and respectful of volunteer's motivations, skills and gift of time.

* having insurance in place and paying expenses.

* policies should be expanded in the case of interns to include the provision of job descriptions and formal training.

On the volunteer's side it is important to be aware of:

* why and how the organisation involves volunteers.

Safeguarding Giving: the Volunteer and the Intern

Eve Lalor

- their own motivations and expectations.

Despite improvements in volunteer management procedures, job substitution will happen: in a situation where the funds are not there to do a job, but a volunteer is willing to do it unpaid, a policy can hinder but not impede this substitution. The JobBridge Scheme is a perfect example of this, with private companies rather than public or voluntary organisations being the main employer in the Scheme, and a number of these companies have recently been disqualified from the scheme for 'not adhering to compliance requirements and filling an existing job vacancy with an internship post' (Kennedy, 2013).

From the volunteer's point of view, policy is important in so far as it supports the proper management of volunteers. Respect, appreciation and clarity of intent are essential and the statement of this in a policy increases the likelihood of effective implementation.

Conclusions: danger or opportunity?

A recessionary environment demands rigorous attention to limited resources and an increase in the numbers of volunteers could present an important opportunity for non-profit cultural organisations. It is clear that for volunteers to add value to an organisation they need to be properly managed. Developing a volunteer policy which sets the boundaries and expectations for a mutually beneficial experience and which states clearly the aims and responsibilities of both organisation and volunteer, can make it easier to capitalise on the opportunities presented for all involved. However, if an organisation comes to see that it cannot carry out its mission without considerable volunteer input, then its mission needs to be revised.

There is without a doubt a growing concern that interns may be taken advantage of, that the educative nature of an internship is being ignored and that the cultural industry may become overly dependent on free labour. Should this situation be realised, it could 'stop making a career in the (cultural/voluntary) sector a viable choice, which will inevitably lead to a much less vibrant, sustainable sector' (Bowgett, 2009). Legally, there is little one can do to prevent a situation of job substitution by interns, or an over-reliance by organisations on volunteers. We can however, develop and implement volunteer policies to safeguard this fragile form of public giving.

As government-led initiatives aimed at decreasing unemployment and providing entry-level opportunities, Arts Council England's Creative Employment Programme and the JobBridge Scheme are vastly different approaches. Furthermore, Arts Council England's guidelines which state that interns are generally 'workers' and as such, under UK law, are entitled to the national minimum wage is a huge step forward for the cultural sector, and one which the Arts Council/An Chomhairle Ealaíon should take note of, invest time and thought in, and guarantee that a generation of talent within the arts is not lost.

Above all, voluntary labour is a significant resource that needs to be harnessed ethically and efficiently, for both the organisation and society. This is undoubtedly a positive but challenging opportunity for the cultural sector. Inspiring motivation and loyalty in today's volunteers through professionalism and policy development will help guarantee a healthy sector in the years to come.

Eve Lalor is the Foundation Administrator at the RDS Foundation, Dublin, where she works in the areas of Arts, Science, Agriculture and Industry. A graduate of European Studies (TCD) and Arts Management and Cultural Policy (UCD), Lalor has most recently worked for The Ark, Dublin Dance Festival and Dance Theatre of Ireland, in administration, volunteer management and marketing.

#1

Safeguarding Giving: the
Volunteer and the Intern

Eve Lalor

NOTES

1.   Volunteering Ireland and Volunteer Centres Ireland joined forces in 2012 and are now known as Volunteer Ireland. Volunteer Ireland, whose goal is also to inspire, promote and celebrate voluntary activity, is an essential resource for any volunteer-involving organisation. It provides essential training and literature for volunteer managers on management issues and policy development. See www.volunteer.ie.

2.   The Green Party has developed a volunteer policy which includes a definition of volunteering and the key challenges faced by volunteer involving organisations (Green Party/Comhaontas Glas, 2006, p. 4).

3.   The 2006 Census was the first time that a question on volunteering had been included in a census and it revealed a 4% rise on previous figures (VI, 2010). However this question was not repeated in the 2011 Census.

4.   McKenna notes that 20% of volunteers in 2009 claim to want to develop their skills set or gain valuable work experience, and 20% put 'free-time' or 'recently made redundant' as the main reason for volunteering.

5.   In 1983 a UK museum journal described a situation very similar to that which exists today, and despite a gap of 20 years, job security is still a serious concern: '...it is understandable that...professionals and other employees should be afraid that an increasing use of volunteers...might put their jobs in jeopardy.' (Prestwich, 1983, p. 171)

6.   Transparency and accountability are essential elements of the National Campaign for the Arts' petition to keep the arts on local and national agendas, and relevant policy creation can greatly contribute to this need for transparency (NCFA, 2010).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anheier, Helmut K. (2009). *Reflections on the Global Economic Downturn, Philanthropy and Nonprofits.* Heidelberg: Centre for Social Investment, University of Heidelberg.

Armstrong, Michael & Baron, Angela (2002). *Strategic HRM.* London: Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development.

Arts Council England (2011). Internships in the arts - A guide for arts organisations. London: Arts Council England and Cultural & Creative Skills.

Arts Council England (2012). *Arts Council News [Online]*. 11 September. Available at http://www. artscouncil.org.uk/news/arts-council-news/creative-employment-programme-launch [Accessed 12 February, 2013].

Bacalso, Cristina (2013). *Intern Views: "Interns Rising – The First Global Summit of Intern Advocacy Groups",* blog post on Hague Interns Association, 4 February. Available at http:// hagueinternsassociation.org/2013/02/04/intern-views-interns-rising-the-first-global-summit-of-intern-advocacy-groups [Accessed 20 July 2013].

Bowgett, Kate (2009). *The Economic Downturn and the Spectre of Job Substitution [Online]*. Volunteering Managers, 27 June. Available at http://www.volunteermanagers.org.uk/economic-downturn-and-spectre-job-substitution [Accessed 30 July, 2010].

Brudney, Jeffrey & Meijs, Lucas (2009). It Ain't Natural: Toward a New (Natural) Resource Conceptualization for Volunteer Management. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* , 38 (4), 564-81.

Bussell, Helen and Forbes, Deborah (2005). Volunteer Management in Arts Organisations: A Case Study and Mangerial Implications. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 9 (2), 1-12.

Curran, John T.D. (2009). *Address by Minister of State John Curran T.D. to the Volunteering Ireland's and PAVMI Conference [Online]*. 3 December. Dublin. Available at http://www.volunteeringireland.ie/docs/conference_opening-_minister_curran.pdf [Accessed 17 January, 2010].

Del Cid, Natalia and Hurley, Gail (2005). *Country Report on the Legal Status of Volunteers in Ireland*. Brussels: AVSO/ Association of Voluntary Service Organisations, European Volunteer Centre / Centre

Safeguarding Giving: the
Volunteer and the Intern

Eve Lalor

Europeen du Volontariat.

Donoghue, Freda, Geraldine Prizeman, Andrew O'Regan and Virginie Noël (2006). *The Hidden Landscape: First Forays into Mapping Nonprofit Organisations in Ireland*. Dublin: Centre for Nonprofit Management, Trinity College Dublin.

Eisner, David, Robert T. Grimm Jr and Shannon Maynard (2009). The New Volunteer Workforce. *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, 32-37.

Fiona Goh Consulting (2004). *Irish Festivals Irish Life. Celebrating the Wealth of Ireland's Festivals.* Galway: AOIFE.

Fitzgibbon, Marian and Kelly, Anne (1997). *From Maestro to Manager. Critical Issues in Arts and Culture Management*. Dublin: Oak Tree Press in association with Graduate School of Business, University College Dublin.

Fuchs, Simon (1989). *Tackling Training - Practical Training Guidelines fro Voluntary Organisations.* London: LVSC Training Unit.

Garvey, Deirdre (2009). Getting involved is more important than ever. *Le Cheile Magazine*, 18 (2), 2.

GHK (2010). *Study on Volunteering in the EU*. Brussels: Educational, Audiovisual & Culture Executive Agency, Directorate General Education and Culture.

Green Party/Comhaontas Glas (2006). *Supporting Volunteering: 'Building Stronger Communities'*. Green Party Policy Document, Dublin.

Greenhouse, Steven (2010). The Unpaid Intern - Legal or Not [Online]. *New York Times*, 2 April.

Gunyon, Bill (2004). The Language of Volunteering - A Time for Vigilance [Online]. World Volunteer Web, 19 July. Available at http://www.worldvolunteerweb.org/news-views/viewpoints/doc/the-language-of-volunteering.html [Accessed 22 July, 2010].

Hillman-Chartrand, Harry and McCaughey, Claire (1989). The Arm's Length Principle and the Arts: An International Perspective-Past, Present and Future. In: MC Cummings Jr and J Mark Davidson Schuster (eds), *Who's to Pay? for the Arts: The International Search for Models of Support*. New York: American Council for the Arts, 43-77.

Kennedy, Jason (2013). Companies Disqualified from JobBridge. *Irish Times*, 30 January.

McKenna, Yvonne (2009). How To Get The Most Out Of Volunteers. *Le Cheile Magazine*, 18 (2), 12.

Mullally, Una (2013). What can Ireland learn from US intern culture? *Irish Times*, May 11.

National Committee on Volunteering (2002). *Tipping the Balance: report and recommendations to Government*. Dublin: National Committee on Volunteering

National Employment & Entitlements Service (2012). *JobBridge Data [Online]*. 21 September. Available at http://www.jobbridge.ie/toolkit/JobBridgeData.pdf [Accessed October 2012]

NCFA - National Campaign for the Arts (2010). *National Campaign for the Arts (mission statement)*. Available at http://www.ncfa.ie [Accessed 12 July, 2010].

NIACE - National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (1990). *Valuing Volunteers- The Accreditation of Voluntary Training and Experience*. Leicester: NIACE, REPLAN in association with NACAB - National Association of Citizens' Advice Bureau.

Prestwich, Patricia (1983). Museums, Friends and Volunteers - A Delicate Relationship. *International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, 2, 171-176.

Prizeman, Geraldine and Donovan, Anne-Marie (2008). *A Profile of Volunteer-Involving Organisations*. Dublin: Centre for Nonporfit Management, School of Business, University of Dublin, Trinity College.

Ruddle, Helen (1993). *Reaching Out: Charitable Giving and Volunteering in the Republic of Ireland*.

Safeguarding Giving: the Volunteer and the Intern

Eve Lalor

Dublin: Policy Research Centre.

San Francisco Chronicle (editorial) (2010). On The Proliferation Of Unpaid Internships: When 'Education' Becomes Exploitation [Online]. *San Franciso Chronicle*, 11 April. Available at http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2010/04/10/EDSQ1C135H.DTL#ixzz0uRWr0CTG [Accessed 22 July, 2010].

Theatre Forum Ireland (2009). *Open Space 2009 - Book of Proceedings: The Elephant in the Room*. Dublin, Theatre Forum. Available at http://www.theatreforumireland.com/member-login/theatre-forum-notices/view/notices/noticeaction/show/noitce/notes-from-open-space/ret/193 [Accessed 26 May, 2010], 49-52.

US Department of Labor (2010). *Fact Sheet #71: Internship Programs Under The Fair Labor Standards Act [Online]*, April. Available at http://www.wagehour.dol.gov [Accessed 22 July, 2010].

Voluntary Arts and Volunteering England (2012). *Volunteering in the Arts [Online]*. 11 September, London, Voluntary Arts England. Available at http://www.voluntaryarts.org/2012/09/11/volunteering-in-the-arts-toolkit [Accessed 21 February, 2013].

Volunteer Benevoles Canada (2010). *The Canadian Code for Volunteer Involvement: An Audit Tool* [Online]. Available at http://volunteer.ca/content/canadian-code-volunteer-involvement [Accessed 22 July, 2010], 4.

Volunteer Centres Ireland (2010). *Developing a Volunteer Policy for Your Organisation [Online]*, January. Dublin, Volunteer Centres Ireland. Available at http://www.volunteer.ie/factsheets_guides/Developing_a_Volunteer_Policy.pdf [Accessed 20 June, 2010]

Volunteer Development Agency (2009). *Volunteering and the Recession*. Belfast: Volunteer Development Agency of Northern Ireland.

Volunteering Ireland (2010a). *Facts and Figures [Online]*. Dublin: Volunteering Ireland. Available at http://www.volunteeringireland.ie/page.php?id=11 [Accessed 31 July, 2010]

-- (2010b). Managing Volunteers [Online]. Dublin: Volunteering Ireland. Available at http://www.volunteeringireland.ie/page.php?id=3 [Accessed 17 January, 2010]

-- (2010c). *Volunteering Jargon Buster [Online]*. Dublin: Volunteering Ireland. Available at http://www.volunteeringireland.com/page.php?id=77 [Accessed 17 January, 2010].

-- (2012). Volunteering Statistics [Online]. Dublin: Volunteering Ireland. Available at http://www.volunteer.ie/resources/volunteering-statistics [Accessed 12 October, 2012].

Williams, Sarah (2010). Former programme manager, Volunteering Ireland: Interview with author, 6 July.

Wright, Karen (2001). Generosity vs. Altruism. Philanthropy and Charity in the US and the UK. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Non-Profit Organisations*, 12 (4), 399-416.

Challenging the Literacy of 'Literacy and Numeracy': The Potential for Film and Moving Image Media in the Irish Educational Landscape

THOMAS MCGRAW LEWIS

Abstract: This paper argues that despite a nationally sanctioned plan of action that sees media literacy as little more than the capacity to send an email, recent changes to curricular policy and intent at subject-specific and cycle-wide levels are making spaces for the possibility of wider film usage within Irish education. In its overview of the contemporary pedagogical landscape, the assertion is made that many benefits would come from such inclusion. The analysis asserts that the unique capacities of dialogic, multimodal engagement can incentivise learning and strengthen direct curricular support as well as wider outcomes-based objectives oriented within, and beyond, the four walls of the Irish classroom. It is argued that the time to engage in such thinking is now. Coupled with a host of initiatives and arguments from educational, cultural and media industry stakeholders, the exploration of such possibilities, new models of filmic engagement, and a greater emphasis on media literacy skillsets, is necessary to equip Irish students for both scholastic endeavour and wider civic participation.

Keywords: film, media literacy, Irish curricula, education policy

Film and moving image media have the capacity to broaden the Irish mandate for literacy education in a manner in keeping with international precedents and the nation's own recently revised outcomes for student development.

Introduction

In July 2011, the Irish Department of Education and Skills (DES) published a new strategy to underpin the aims of primary and secondary curricula across the Republic of Ireland through the end of the decade. *Literacy and Numeracy for Learning and Life* places these titular skillsets at the core of this new educational remit (DES, 2011a). Acknowledging the influence of '[a]lmost 480 written submissions' from stakeholders that included educators, community organisations and public bodies as well as concerned parents, the document addressed Ireland's recent slippage in the triennial Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) – a global league table of students' aptitude administered by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (DES, 2011a, p.7). The 2009 scores returned a significant drop in both percentile, and placement, when compared to Irish students' results in the 2006 and 2003 research reports. Ireland's mean score for reading comprehension placed it 21st amongst nations in 2009, compared to sixth and seventh amongst nations in 2006 and 2003, respectively (PISA, 2003; 2006).[1]

It is clear that at present, the Irish educational system is at a crucial interstice. Through the year 2020, these dual notions of 'literacy' and 'numeracy' will continue to act as lightning rods for Irish educational discourse. The purpose of this paper is to explore the definition of literacy as determined by this national plan for action and challenge the role delegated to film, media and other forms of communication that demarcate a notion of literacy informed by the current, digital climate. This paper argues that the myopia of the national plan makes little concession for such skills in the face of cultural benefit, international precedent and the findings of indigenous stakeholders from both educational and industry-led perspectives. It stands to assert the place of film in the wider second level curricula, and challenges the notions of literacy and numeracy as currently envisaged for the future Irish educational landscape. The core of this argument emphasises a widening of the Irish educational landscape's discussion around

#1

Challenging the Literacy of
'Literacy and Numeracy':
The Potential for Film and
Moving Image Media in the
Irish Educational Landscape

Thomas McGraw Lewis

literacy – its definition, mediums of employ and wider benefits – by arguing that film and moving image media can expand the manner in which curricula are investigated. Such strategies, this essay will argue, benefit subject specific learning outcomes as well as the development of students beyond the classroom.

Defining Literacy in Irish Educational Policy

In the autumn prior to the release of Literacy and Numeracy for Learning and Life, the Department of Education and Skills released its draft national plan under the title *Better Literacy and Numeracy for Children and Young People* (DES, 2010a). The curriculum-wide, draft plan presented a definition of literacy that succinctly set out its goals. 'Literacy', it argued:

> conventionally refers to reading, writing, speaking, viewing, and listening effectively in a range of contexts. In the 21st century, the definition of literacy has expanded to refer to a flexible, sustainable mastery of a set of capabilities in the use and production of traditional texts and new communications technologies using spoken language, print and multimedia (DES, 2010a, p. 9).

The draft policy then asserted, in bold typeface, that:

> it is essential that every child leaving our school system […] is able to speak, read and write at a level that enables them [sic] to participate fully in education and in Irish life and society' (DES, 2010a, p. 9).

Borrowed verbatim from the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority's (ACARA) publication, *Shape of the Australian Curriculum: English* (2009), the working definition of literacy in the Irish document appeared in a footnote and did not provide a citation identifying the definition's provenance. Furthermore, elements found within the Australian report that did not end up in the Irish draft plan, placed the former in a stronger position regarding curricular development and wider learning outcomes.

The originary document expands its definition of literacy to include a sense of malleability necessary for young people in the navigation of the modern day world. 'Students', ACARA argues, 'need to be able to adjust and modify their use of language to better meet contextual demands in varying situations', and they must be able to assert themselves across varying modes of communication: 'listening, speaking, reading, viewing, writing and creating' (ACARA, 2009, p.6). This idea of 'creation' is wholly ignored in the Irish draft plan for the bolstering of literacy skillsets within the Republic. Defined in the Australian document as 'the production of multimodal texts in the same way that writing refers to the production of print text', no such identification exists in Ireland's educational strategy (ACARA, 2009, p.6).

In the wake of the half-year long consultation process, the finalized educational strategy made concessions toward a wider variety of media; however, the notions of creative value, explorative engagement, or the benefits of such actions – with any type of text – were still lacking. Arguing that for the national educational outlook 'our understanding of literacy […] includes the capacity to read, understand and critically appreciate various forms of communication including spoken language, printed text broadcast and digital media', the plan acknowledges the encroachment of digital media on the paper-centric classroom, as well as the wider world (DES, 2011a, p. 8). However, it asserts that mastery of such analytical capacities of digital texts is requisite for 'basic tasks, such as reading or sending an email' (DES, 2011a, p. 8). Furthermore, the only time any acknowledgement of 'creative' engagement with any medium appears in *Literacy and Numeracy for Learning and Life* it is a singular observation, in footnote form. Appended to the argument that as a nation, there requires a greater rollout of standardized testing across the Republic – for the sake of keeping tabs on the progress of our literacy standards, the note acknowledges that such 'testing cannot measure […students'] ability to write creatively' (DES, 2011a, p.75).

Challenging the Literacy of
'Literacy and Numeracy':
The Potential for Film and
Moving Image Media in the
Irish Educational Landscape

Thomas McGraw Lewis

Media Literacy: Creating, Critiquing and Using Multimodal Texts

Defined rather broadly by The Office of Communications (Ofcom), the British regulatory body for the communication industries, media literacy is 'the ability to access, understand and create communications in a variety of contexts' (Ofcom, 2006, p.3). For a more nuanced definition of the term, the work of the Europe-wide MEDIA programme (2007), and the 2009 European Association for Viewers' Interests [EAVI], under the European Union's Media Literacy Unit, point to expanded denotations. Both are presented as more specific than Ofcom's model, yet broadly multiplicitous in what they encompass under the rubric of 'media literacy'.

The European Union's MEDIA project defines media literacy as an enmeshing of 'classical' literacy capabilities and audiovisual comprehension skills grounded upon electronic, sequentially presented, materials such as film, radio and broadcast media. According to the project these digital/informational literacies are necessary to negotiate and organize the torrents of stimuli that present themselves to citizens whether via an active seeking-out of media or through the passive consumption that occurs in daily social life (Media Literacy, 2007, p.8). Furthering the user-centric specificity, EAVI's *Study on Assessment Criteria for Media Literacy* (2009), equally stresses the critical understanding of multimodal texts, in analogue and new media forms, as well as visual criticality and digital navigability. In the shadow of Marshall McLuhan's notion of convergent forms of technology and communication (McLuhan, 1964/2001), and with an acknowledged debt to the work of EU Kids Online director Professor Sonia Livingstone, EAVI moves beyond an understanding of literacy benefitting the singular, literate individual. This in turn argues that such media literacy capabilities are vital for social relations around the nexuses of civil society, education, policy and industry (EAVI, 2009, p.8). Literacy is not just for 'learning and life' for the individual, for the EAVI, it is necessary for civic participation and wider social discourse.
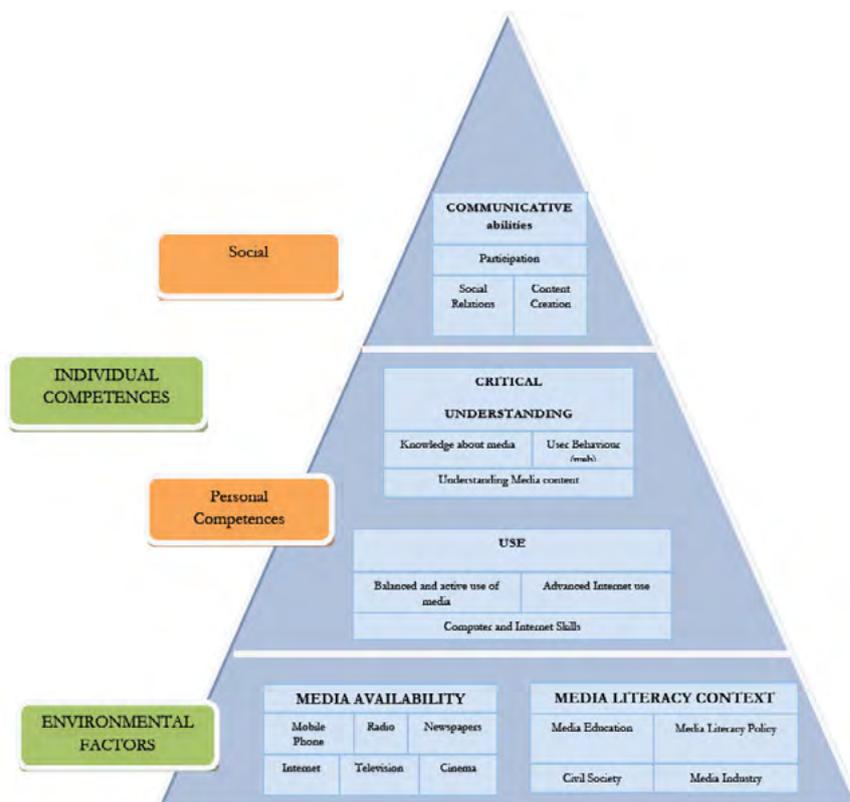

Figure 1: EAVI Model for Media Literacy (EAVI, 2009, p.32)

Challenging the Literacy of
'Literacy and Numeracy':
The Potential for Film and
Moving Image Media in the
Irish Educational Landscape

Thomas McGraw Lewis

Toward this definition, the EAVI presents a comprehensive graph (Figure 1) to envisage all of the elements they fold into their pedagogical, and andragogical, aims. The model also shows the manner in which these wider relations, and individuated critical comprehensive and active 'use' skills, ultimately serve to foster creative endeavours as well social and industrial cohesion.

Rather than compartmentalizing competing prefix terminology often attached to the notion of 'literacy', the EAVI study points to a series of 'similar terms and concepts including […] "cultural literacy", "information literacy", "audiovisual literacy" and "media education"' that are implicit in the formation of media literate citizens in the 21st century (EAVI, 2009, p. 21). The fluidity of this 2009 model has had a lasting effect at the Europe-wide policy level. In the September 2011 publication of the European Cooperation in Science and Technology (COST) summit proceedings on the theme of *Transforming Audiences*, Susanne Ding, who was then serving as European Commission Directorate General for Education and Culture, acknowledged that the 2009 EAVI study provides the guiding document by which media literacy levels are to subsequently be assessed across the European Union (Ding, 2011, in Livingstone, 2011, p.5-6).

In her arguments, Ding cited the dually oriented nature of the EAVI study, and its overt acknowledgement of individual skillsets and wider policy-driven and infrastructural elements as vital to understanding how to:

> further strengthen the role of media literacy in these policy field[s], streamline the understanding of media literacy and the requirements for media literacy education, […] while constantly adapting to new results in media literacy research or the development of new technologies (Ding, 2011, in Livingstone, 2011, p. 7).

While making accessions to 'new technologies' as they may arise, one facet of media literacy identified by Ding in her statements to the convened researchers and stakeholders was that of film; specifically '[t]he place of film literacy in European school education' (Ding, 2011, in Livingstone, 2011, p. 7). Before looking at the benefits of film for the classroom, a brief survey must be undertaken to determine where film presently exists within Irish national curricula.

The Place of Film in Irish Education

Presently the standardized use of film in Irish schools is relegated, at curricular level, to two instances: secondary English classes – where prescribed feature films are treated as, and compared to, a novel, play or poem – and can be written about as such, and a singular, more-or-less bi-annual inclusion of one film-related question on the Higher Level Fine Art Leaving Certificate Examination. It must be noted that the Fine Art programme has not been revised in forty-one years and the suggested resources for 'contemporary' practices of art of any medium are three decades old.[2] While revisions to the syllabus were explored as recently as 2007, and provisions were to be made for electronic, and digital, media within Irish art education, these plans have yet to be implemented.[3]

Film in the English Classroom

In the English classroom, films appear on the comparative element of the Leaving Certificate Examination. Annually, a list of six films as determined by the State Examinations Commission (SEC) is given out for each Leaving Certificate Exam-taking class, and from the list of prescribed films, the educator may choose to screen any, or all, of them. As they are placed within the context of comparative study, the films are then merited on their capacity to be analyzed against a host of forms of the written word. Looking at the films chosen between 2007 and 2013, a clear pattern can be inferred by the titles selected. Annually there exists one 'black and white' film; one subtitled film – though whether films in Italian or Spanish should

Challenging the Literacy of
'Literacy and Numeracy':
The Potential for Film and
Moving Image Media in the
Irish Educational Landscape

Thomas McGraw Lewis

be reserved for the English curriculum is a debate for another day; a Shakespearian adaptation; an obligatory Irish feature such as *32A* (Quinn, 2007) or *Inside I'm Dancing* (O'Donnell, 2004) and two additional films that are discriminating enough in their construction to carry the mantle of 'art' film, but straight forward enough in narrative and construction to find popular appeal. Despite marked difference in subject matter and construction, the films of Peter Weir, the addition of Alfonso Cuarón's *Children of Men* (2006), as well as the recent examples of films directed by Fernando Meirelles and Baz Luhrmann's non-Shakespearian work fit, into this rubric.

The films chosen appear under the auspice of comparing them to text-based forms of storytelling. Even at Higher Level examination, the unique capacities of film – what determines 'film as film' as theorist Victor F. Perkins (1972/1993) asserts – is lost in light of simply working through the 'themes or issues' raised in each example as well as the 'values and attitudes' portrayed by the actors in each tableaux (SEC, 2011a, p.4-5). In turn, the questions on recent Ordinary Level examinations ask students to analyze the 'social settings' in which actions take place or the 'relationships between characters' on display, in any one of the texts he or she has read, or watched, over the course of the year (SEC, 2011b, p.8-9). For both examinations, writing on film is wholly optional.

By engaging with the properties of the medium that are transferrable to dramatic or poetic forms of narration, the comparative element of the English Examination focuses solely on the dialogue and its acted delivery found within these films – simply reading their screenplays would indeed suffice. In many ways the English curriculum appears to operate under the fallacy identified by the British Film Institute (BFI) when they argue that:

> [f]or many years 'media literacy' has been seen as a different, and often threatening alternative to print literacy. Media skills, it is assumed, are bound to dilute or displace learning about the written word. They are also seen as highly specialised: not only different from other literacy skills, but requiring a completely different pedagogy. (BFI, 2008, p.9)

Concomitant to the work of the EAVI, the British organization argues that '[l]iteracy is not just about the written word', and that learning about moving image media is a 'fundamental entitlement' that allows young people to be in a position in which they can participate in 'social, cultural and political life' (BFI, 2008, p.5-8). Such an impetus for wider learning is not found in the manner to which film is presently relegated in the English syllabus. Similarly, any impulse toward the creative aspect of media engagement championed within Australia's English curriculum, is equally missing in the use of film in the English classroom.

The Place of Film in Irish Education; the Art Curriculum

The place of film in Leaving Certificate Art is equally problematic for the medium. Over the past six years, 2007-2012, only the Higher Level papers of four Leaving Certificate Examinations have included the choice of answering a question about the medium of art. The most recent example of the exam script posed the notion of the "suspen[sion of dis]belief" to students and asked those sitting the exam to discuss any films they have enjoyed which 'transport[ed] them to another time, another place [or] even another world' (SEC, 2012, p.6).

While this question leaves the choice of films to be discussed open to the student, other questions have been more prescriptive. The 2011 examination gave students the option of discussing the merits, and entrepreneurial success, of Pixar animations, under the auspice that the studio has come to such popular, and populist, approval by strategically making films 'firmly fixed on the understanding that the animated world should be based on the real world' (SEC, 2011c, p.5). Recent blockbuster successes such as the *Toy Story* franchise,[4] *Monsters*

Thomas McGraw Lewis

Inc. (Docter, 2001), and *Up* (Docter/Peterson, 2009) are given as examples from which the students could draw their elucidations (ibid.). The other portions of the question to which the test takers had to attend in the multi-part film assessment, was a discussion of the visual appeal of the animations about which they chose to write – and a prompt to provide illustrations of the specific elements of these films they were addressing.

The 2011 question was a near verbatim reiteration of the single film-related question on the 2009 Leaving Certificate examination. In 2009, students were asked to provide insight into why the animated films of Pixar and Dreamworks 'proved to be very popular' (SEC, 2009, p.5). Similarly, the question asked for illustrative renderings of the films about which the students wrote (SEC, 2009, p.5). This questions was possibly drawn-up on the heels of *Toy Story 3* having taken over a billion dollars at box offices worldwide the summer previous to the exam sitting students' final year (Box Office Mojo online, n.d). In 2008, the paper had students attending to why there might be broad-based appeal for recent films such as the *Chronicles of Narnia* series,[5] *The Pirates of the Caribbean* franchise[6] and the adaptations of the *Harry Potter* novels[7] (SEC, 2008, p.5).

Since the nation of Ireland has, in the last decade, had the distinction of being the second most cinema-attending nation on the globe (Arts Council, 2004, p.6), and we have more recently been deemed the most cinema-going nation in Europe (De Burca Butler, 2012), the argument can be made that film is resource heavy for teachers – requiring time and specificities of knowledge that not all art educators may possess. Therefore providing questions based on more populist fare – and blockbuster franchises – which students are more likely to have seen of their own volition in the local multiplex, can be considered to make sense in a Leaving Certificate examination. It pays credence to the medium without having to task students with film viewing during class time.

These examples of English and art, and the problematic employ of those analyzed above, are the summative total of the Irish curricular investment in film and moving image media. Counter to the arguments of Ding that film education should be the standard-bearer for European engagement with media at the scholastic level, nowhere else in the national curricula do concessions for film and moving image media appear (in Livingstone, 2011, p.7).

The Benefits of Film Education

Ding's insistence on film literacy as a necessary component of scholastic remit, and the EAVI's belief that film education lends itself to wider cultural benefits, is not without precedent. In the United Kingdom, the place of film in schools was demarcated as a '21st Century Literacy' skillset in a three-year (2008-2011) Lottery funded research endeavour of the same name. The project aimed to 'help children and young people to use, enjoy and understand moving images; not just to be technically capable but to be culturally literate too' (21st Century Literacy, 2008, p.2). Across 10 pilot projects that incorporated both viewing and filmmaking practices, 21st Century Literacy distilled their findings into 10 primary arguments (21st Century Literacy and Available Light Advisory, 2012). As well as having the capacity for uptake 'across the entire curriculum' and 'enhanc[ing] critical, cultural and creative abilities', the study bolstered the notion that film, as a cultural artefact, can teach young people about the diversity found within their own nation, as well as the wider world (21st Century Literacy and Available Light Advisory, 2012, p.6-10).

This idea of culture being transmitted through critical textual analysis is at home in the study of film and the moving image. Speaking in front of the European Parliament in October of 2010, German director and president of the European Film Academy, Wim Wenders, asserted that

Challenging the Literacy of
'Literacy and Numeracy':
The Potential for Film and
Moving Image Media in the
Irish Educational Landscape

Thomas McGraw Lewis

the effective implementation of film education can be a vital component in 'the imparting of cultural and social competence' and that, fundamentally, film is 'a universal language that can be taught and learned' (Wenders, 2010, p.4). Wenders further asserts the critical ability to understand the moving image text—to be 'cinemate' to use a portmanteau coined by Thorold Dickinson—leads one from a state of cultural consumption to cultural production (Dickinson in Smith, 1976, p.9). As Wenders states:

> We need to equip our children with the skills to decode images so they'll still have the taste for their own ones, so we can continue in Europe to produce and project our own imagery, our own image and identity, in the future. (Wenders, 2010, p.6 [emphasis in original])

While such momentum has yet to be achieved in the Irish educational landscape, a series of indigenous stakeholders are posing arguments in line with the acknowledgement of cultural identity being tied to regionalized notions of film in the words of Wenders, Ding and the EAVI alike.

The Benefits of Film Education in Ireland

In their efforts to tether film to Irish education, a number of organizations have placed an emphasis on film's ability to spark learning, bolster cultural identity and mobilise economic redevelopment. In particular Ireland's film and animation industries have been argued to play a central role in functions of what Eurostat had, by the year 2000, deemed the "cultural sector" (European Commission, 2010, p.5). As one of the core domains outlined by *Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries* (2010), the European Union-wide Green Paper solicited thinking around, by, and about professional cultural and creative content producers, suggesting that audiovisual media plays a fundamental part in the 'preservation, creation, production dissemination, trade/sales and education' of Ireland's indigenous cultural specificities. According to this document, education in, and production and transmission of, film, may lead to a 'positive spill-over' of such modes of engagement and thereby entrepreneurial thinking (European Commission, 2010, p.3-5). Simply put, students who have engagement with film, and other creative endeavours in the educational sector, will benefit strongly in their scholastic and professional lives.

There is strong evidence that such thinking is not off the mark. In an April 2011 report presented to the Department for Arts, Heritage and Gaeltacht,[8] the Audiovisual Strategic Review Steering Group (AvSRSG[9]) argued that the Irish industries they represented showed a sense of 'resilience' across the country, and that they are poised to increase apace, despite the overwhelming economic despair in which Ireland finds itself today (AvSRSG, 2011, p.32). Having maintained positive growth during a time of significant fiscal retraction, the report identifies that the Irish film and broadcast industries grew from 694 fulltime employees in 1991, to more than 5,400 people by 2007 – presently providing an industry worth more than half a billion Euro to the nation (AvSRSG, 2011, p.i).

Ireland's digital economy is still growing. In the current social and economic climate an 8% net industry growth per annum is achievable, with projected employment totalling to 10,000 people working in a billion-Euro industry by 2016; the AvSRSG's report implores the government to place 'education and training' for young people as the preeminent catalyst for nurturing the innate talent that 'constitutes the quantum of creative, entrepreneurial and technical' skills necessary for the continued success, and ambitious expansion of the industry (AvSRSG, 2011, p.ii-v, 10). The AvSRSG document asserts that it is 'the education system […] in which the skills that develop creativity are fostered' (AvSRSG, 2011, p.12). The invocation of the education system, and a wider definition of literacy itself, removes the document from the confines of the Department of Arts, Heritage and Gaeltacht and places its advocacy squarely

Thomas McGraw Lewis

at the foot of its sister department, the Department in Education and Skills. Simply:

> Film and television [...] are a contemporary form of communication and, as a visual medium, benefit the curriculum as a dynamic method of education delivery. This content would play a key part in delivering the Government's objectives to build digital and media literacy (AvSRSG, 2011, p.12).

While the Green Paper and the AvSRSG's report make for strong arguments for the expansion of the current role of film across Irish curricula while also lending financial return to the cultural advocacy supported by the arguments of Wim Wenders (2010), such implorations find little uptake within the Department of Education's policy document. Despite the architecture of Ireland's national educational plan, the interests of the cultural and industry stakeholders detailed above may yet gain traction. But as to questions of assessment and the intended outcomes of Irish education, these are being debated by other professional educational organisations.

The Process of Revision to Curricular Assessment, and the Potential for Curricular Inclusion of Film and Moving Image Media

At the same time that DES is calling for a return toward MEDIA's notion of classically-oriented literacy as well as numeracy measures that can provide quantitative ends across primary and Senior Cycle curricula, the manner in which the interstitial years of the Irish Junior Cycle are organized and delivered has undergone significant scrutiny and debate toward forthcoming revision. After a call for consultancy submissions, the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) presented their findings in relation to an overhaul of the Junior Cycle framework (NCCA, 2011). Chief amongst these findings was a call to implement wider 'key skills' based learning in the classroom (NCCA, 2011a, slide 2). In a wider concession than the Literacy and Numeracy for Learning and Life document, these skills include processes such as 'communicating, being creative, working with others and managing information and thinking' – as well as an emphasis on exploratory teaching and learning practices that are grounded in 'practical and creative' subjects, rather than text-oriented rote learning in advance of cumulative assessments (NCCA, 2011a, slide 5).

Eighteen months later after the call to revise the Junior Certificate, the Minister for Education and Skills, Ruairí Quinn, released a statement confirming that the 'terminal Junior Certificate Examinations will be replaced with a school-based model of assessment which would place emphasis on the quality of students' learning experience'. Beginning with the English curriculum, the phasing in of such measures will commence in the autumn of 2014 (DES, 2012).

It must be noted that the overarching aims of literacy and numeracy remain fixed as the primary goals for all Junior Cycle students. Rather than a rote-based learning system, these changes, will focus on in-class assessments of 'understanding and competencies' as well as summative exams (DES, 2012). *Towards a Framework for Junior Cycle* draws upon twenty-four 'Statements of Learning', prized as overarching learning outcomes towards which all educators will strive. The qualities that are reflected in the revised Junior Cycle curriculum run the gamut from entrepreneurial thinking, championed above as an inherent outcome of film-based criticality and problem-solving, to physical well being and healthy diet (NCCA, 2011b, p.15). A number of the goals presented are applicable to the envisaging of film within the Irish curricula as indicated in the work of the BFI and wider European institutions such as MEDIA and the EAVI – all of whom place an emphasis on the integration of media into wider subject specificities.

Eight of the Junior Cycle's key intentions for the revised syllabus are particularly relevant to the discourse around film in the classroom established in this essay. Statements of learning 1,

Challenging the Literacy of
'Literacy and Numeracy':
The Potential for Film and
Moving Image Media in the
Irish Educational Landscape

Thomas McGraw Lewis

2, 3, 7, 12, 17, 19 and 21 read as follows:

1. The student communicates effectively using a variety of means in a range of contexts in L1[10]

2. The student reaches a level of personal proficiency in L2 and one other language in reading, writing, speaking and listening

3. The student creates, appreciates and critically interprets texts (including written, oral, visual or other texts)

7. The student improves their [sic] observation, inquiry and critical-thinking skills

12. The student values local and national heritage and recognises the relevance of the past to the current national and international issues and events

17. The student, creates, presents and appreciates artistic works

19. The student uses ICT effectively and ethically in learning and in life

21. The student appreciates and respects how diverse values, beliefs and traditions have contributed to the communities and culture in which they live

(NCCA, 2011b, p.15)

In each of these 'Statements of Learning', film can be used in a far more nuanced manner than the medium's current employ in the English and Fine Art syllabi. While changes are occurring at the level of the Junior Cycle, and the possibility of a 'short course' in Digital Media Literacy has been noted as coming on stream for Junior Cycle students, this sets up an 'either/or' dynamic which continues the trend of a lack of genuine integration between digital and creative skillsets and core course content that such skills can inform (DES, 2012).

Avenues for change appear to be opening. In January of 2013, the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, and the Departments of Education and Skills, jointly recognised the launch of the *Arts in Education Charter* (DAHG/DES, 2013). While steadfastly centred on a widening of the dynamic between 'arts education and arts-in-education', which are respectively defined as 'mainstream teaching and learning of the arts as part of a general education' and 'artists of all disciplines visiting schools [or] engaging with arts and cultural practice in the public arena' (DAHG/DES, 2013, p.3), there remains a concession in the document for arts-in-education to make inroads to 'support learning in other curricular areas' (DAHG/DES, 2013, p.11). While not elaborated upon by the charter, the acknowledgement that 'the arts' has the potential to engage wider curricula gives credence to the ability for multimodal engagement to challenge the codified nature of the Irish educational system. It must be observed however that while 'music, painting, dance and drama' are given credence within the charter, film and video as media, as well as teaching tools, still face an uphill battle, as neither is mentioned within the charter (DAHG/DES, 2013, p.7-8).

Conclusion

Film and moving image media have the capacity to broaden the Irish mandate for literacy education in a manner in keeping with international precedents and the nation's own recently revised outcomes for student development. This paper has argued for a wider engagement with film that is at once critical, cultural and creative in contexts that largely challenge national educational directives. The approach adopted by this paper (in keeping with the host of sympathetic stakeholders from educational, cultural and industrial sectors) would see the Irish curricula moving beyond the stymieing confines found within the Republic of Ireland's strategies for English and Fine Art education. The present models for engaging with film, as well as teaching and assessing such material, diverge from wider thinking across the European Union where more novel and integrative approaches to curricular content create the space for a radical overhaul of the discourse around media in the education system.

Such an approach is echoed in Wenders' statements to the European Parliament and the Green Paper's insistence that '[m]edia literacy education […] promote[s] citizens' creativity and participation in the cultural life of society' – the scholastic benefits of which can be attributed to the fostering of 'imagination, interpersonal skills […and] critical thinking' (European Commission, 2010, p.18). Such an opportunity remains absent from Ireland's national plan as outlined in the Literacy and Numeracy for Learning and Life.

While the NCCA's document articulates a place for the 'encourage[ment of] innovation in schooling and teaching and creative learning in the classroom', there is as yet no mention of film as being one such example of an innovative technique for any such curriculum (NCCA, 2011b, p.14). Through wider advocacy and a synthesis of the like-minded positions across the sectors from which support for film in education has been drawn, the benefits for both 'learning and life' that are arrived at through media-based investigation can find place and uptake within the Irish educational landscape.

Thomas McGraw Lewis is a Dublin-based researcher, educator and filmmaker. His recent research initiatives revolve around media literacy and film education for organisations including the Irish Film Institute, Irish Film Board, Arts Council and the Broadcasting Authority of Ireland. As a GradCAM Research Scholar his doctorate was in the fields of film, educational strategy and historical theory and practice . His film work includes fine art, documentary, fashion advertising and educational material, which screens in galleries, festivals and classrooms throughout Europe and the United States.

NOTES

1. Mathematics scores fared worse in 2009 with the mean score of Irish 15 year olds placing the Republic 33rd amongst 65 participating nations – below PISA's arithmetic mean score (PISA, 2009).

2. The 'suggested' list of titles for use in the Leaving Certificate syllabus is populated by texts such as New Grange (O'Riordáin and Daniel, 1964) and Leask's three volumes of Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings (1955, 1958, 1960) toward 'contemporary' art, the syllabus recommends the Modern Irish Landscape slide pack (Arts Council, 1981) and Nicola Gordon Bowe's Recent Irish Stained Glass slide pack (1983) (NCCA, n.d.).

3. Murray (2007) notes proposed changes including 'media and communications, and discovering Irish art' that evolved within the NCCA between 2005 and 2007. Given the lack of revision to syllabi between then and the present, it is clear that these changes have not yet taken place.

4. Toy Story 1 and Toy Story 2 (Lasseter,1995;1999), Toy Story 3 (Unkrich, 2010).

5. Presently, The Lion the Witch and the Wardrobe (Adamson, 2005); Prince Caspian (Adamson, 2008) and The Voyage of the Dawn Treader (Apted, 2010).

6. Presently, Pirates of the Caribbean [PotC]: The Curse of the Black Pearl (Verbinski ,2003), PotC: Dead Man's Chest (Verbinski, 2006), PotC: At World's End (Verbinski, 2007) and PotC: On Stranger Tides (Marshall, 2010).

7. Harry Potter [HP] and the Philosopher's Stone (Columbus, 2001), HP and the Chamber of Secrets (Columbus, 2002), HP and the Prisoner of Azkaban (Cuarón, 2004), HP and the Goblet of Fire (Newell, 2005), HP and the Order of the Phoenix (Yates, 2007), HP and the Half-blood Prince (Yates, 2009), HP and the Deathly Hollows [Parts I and II] (Yates, 2010; 2011).

8. The report was initially undertaken under the Department of Arts, Sports and Tourism; the departments were reshuffled to their present affiliations after the March 2011 election.

9. The working group was comprised of Brendan Tuohy, Cathal Gaffney (MD Brown Bag Films), Éanna Ó Conghaile (Department of Communications, Energy and National Resources), Ed Guiney (Director Element Pictures), James Morris (Irish Film Board, CEO Windmill Pictures), Larry Bass (CEO Screentime Shinawil), Margaret Lawlor (Department of Enterprise, Jobs and Innovation), Niall O'Donnchu (Department of Arts, Heritage

Challenging the Literacy of 'Literacy and Numeracy': The Potential for Film and Moving Image Media in the Irish Educational Landscape

Thomas McGraw Lewis

and the Gaeltacht) and Tristan Orpen Lynch (MD Subotica Entertainment) (AvRSRG, 2011, p. i-ii).

10. L1 is the primary language used within the school, whether English or Irish.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

21st Century Literacy (2008). *21st Century Literacy* [pdf]. Available at http://www.21stcenturyliteracy.org.uk/about_us.php [Accessed January 21, 2013].

21st Century Literacy and Available Light Advisory (2012). *Integrating Film into Education – Advocacy Report* [pdf]. Available at http://www.21stcenturyliteracy.org.uk/docs/Advocacy-Report.pdf [Accessed January 28, 2013].

32A (2007). [film] d. M. Quinn, Ireland: Janey Pictures.

The Arts Council (2004). *The cultural and economic trends of cinema in Ireland and Wales*, The Arts Council of Ireland.

-- (1981). *Modern Irish Landscape* [slide pack], The Arts Council of Ireland.

Audiovisual Strategic Review Steering Group (2011). *Creative Capital: Building Ireland's Audiovisual Creative Economy* [pdf]. Available at http://www.irishfilmboard.ie/files/Creative%20Capital%20Web.pdf [Accessed January 22, 2013].

Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (2009). *Shape of the Australian Curriculum: English, National Curriculum Board* [pdf]. Available at http://www.acara.edu.au/verve/_resources/Australian_Curriculum_-_English.pdf [Accessed January 22, 2013].

British Film Institute (2008). *Reframing Literacy* [pdf]. Available at http://www.21stcenturyliteracy.org.uk/docs/Reframing_Literacy.pdf [Accessed January 24, 2013].

Bowe, Nicola Gordon (1983). *Recent Irish Stained Glass* [slide pack], The Arts Council of Ireland.

Box Office Mojo online (undated). *Toy Story 3*. Available at http://www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?id=toystory3.htm [Accessed January 24, 2013].

Children of Men (2006). [film] d. A. Cuarón, UK: Universal Pictures.

The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion the Witch and the Wardrobe (2005). [film] d. Adamson, US Walt Disney Pictures/Walden Media.

The Chronicles of Narnia: Prince Caspian (2008). [film] d. Adamson, US Walt Disney Pictures/Walden Media.

The Chronicles of Narnia: The Voyage of the Dawn Treader (2010). [film] d. Apted, US Walt Disney Pictures/Walden Media.

DeBurca Butler, Jonathan (2012). 'Our moving stories of going to the movies', in *Irish Examiner*, Wednesday January 25, 2012.

Department of Education and Science (2009). *Prescribed Material for English in the Leaving Certificate Examination in 2011* [pdf]. Available at http://english.slss.ie/resources/English%20Prescribed%20Text%202011.doc [Accessed July 22, 2012].

-- (2008). *Prescribed Material for English in the Leaving Certificate Examination in 2010* [pdf]. Available at http://english.slss.ie/resources/cl0008_2008%281%29.doc [Accessed July 22, 2012].

-- (2007). *Prescribed Material for English in the Leaving Certificate Examination in 2009* [pdf]. Available at http://english.slss.ie/resources/Course%20Content%202009%286%29.doc [Accessed July 22, 2012].

--, Qualifications, Curriculum and Assessment Policy Unit (2006). *Prescribed Material for English in the*

Challenging the Literacy of
'Literacy and Numeracy':
The Potential for Film and
Moving Image Media in the
Irish Educational Landscape

Thomas McGraw Lewis

Leaving Certificate Examination in 2008 [pdf]. Available at http://english.slss.ie/resources/Course%20Content%202008.doc [Accessed July 22, 2012].

--, Qualifications, Curriculum and Assessment Policy Unit (2005). *Prescribed Material for English in the Leaving Certificate Examination in 2007* [pdf]. Available at http://english.slss.ie/resources/2007_course_content.doc [Accessed July 18, 2012].

Department of Education and Skills (2013). *Arts in Education Charter launched by Ministers Quinn and Deenihan* [pdf]. Available at http://education.ie/en/Press-Events/Press-Releases/2013-Press-Releases/PR12-01-04.html [Accessed January 15, 2013].

-- (2012). *Minister Quinn announces major reform of the Junior Certificate* [pdf]. Available at http://education.ie/en/Press-Events/Press-Releases/2012-Press-Releases/PR12-10-04.html [Accessed November 28, 2012].

-- (2011a). *Literacy and Numeracy for Learning and Life* [pdf]. Available at http://www.education.ie/admin/servlet/blobservlet/lit_num_strat.pdf [Accessed January 22, 2013].

-- , Qualifications, Curriculum and Assessment Policy Unit (2011b). *Prescribed Material for English in the Leaving Certificate Examination in 2013* [pdf]. Available at http://www.education.ie/servlet/blobservlet/cl0004_2011.pdf?language=EN [Accessed January 22, 2013].

-- (2011c). *Speaking notes for the address of Ruairi Quinn, T.D Minister for Education and Skills to the meeting of the NCCA Council* [pdf]. Available at http://www.education.ie/home/home.jsp?maincat=&pcategory=10861&ecategory=11469&sectionpage=12251&language=EN&link=link001&page=1&doc=55466 [Accessed, November 9, 2011].

-- (2010a). *Better Literacy and Numeracy for Children and Young People: A Draft National Plan to Improve Literacy and Numeracy in Schools* [pdf] Available at http://www.education.ie/servlet/blobservlet/pr_literacy_numeracy_national_plan_2010.pdf [Accessed January 22, 2013].

-- , Qualifications, Curriculum and Assessment Policy Unit (2010b). *Prescribed Material for English in the Leaving Certificate Examination in 2012* [pdf]. Available at http://www.education.ie/servlet/blobservlet/lc_pm_english.pdf?language=EN [Accessed January 9, 2013].

Department of Heritage, Arts and Gaeltacht & Department of Education and Skills (2013). *Arts in Education Charter* [pdf]. Available at http://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Arts-In-Education-Charter.pdf [Accessed January 16, 2013].

Ding, Susanne (2011). 'The European Commission's approach to media literacy', in Livingstone, Sonia (ed.), (2011), *Media Literacy: Ambitions, policies and measures, COST* [pdf]. Available at http://www.cost-transforming-audiences.eu/system/files/cost_media_literacy_report.pdf [Accessed July 16, 2012].

European Association of Viewers' Interests (2009). *Study on Assessment Criteria for Media Literacy Levels - A comprehensive view of the concept of media literacy and an understanding of how media literacy level in Europe should be assessed* [pdf]. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/culture/media/media-content/media-literacy/studies/eavi_study_assess_crit_media_lit_levels_europe_finrep.pdf [Accessed April 16, 2012].

European Commission (2010). *Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries [Green Paper], Brussels* [pdf]. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/culture/documents/greenpaper_creative_industries_en.pdf [Accessed February, 7, 2012].

Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets (2002). [film] d. Chris Columbus, US: Warner Bros.

Harry Potter and the Deathly Hollows [Parts I and II] (2010; 2011). [film] d. David Yates, US: Warner Bros.

Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire (2005). [film] d. Michael Newell, US: Warner Bros.

Harry Potter and the Half-blood Prince (2009). [film] d. David Yates, US: Warner Bros.

Challenging the Literacy of
'Literacy and Numeracy':
The Potential for Film and
Moving Image Media in the
Irish Educational Landscape

Thomas McGraw Lewis

Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix (2007). [film] d. David Yates, US: Warner Bros.

Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone (2001). [film] d. Chris Columbus, US: Warner Bros.

Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban (2004). [film] d. Alfonso Cuarón, US: Warner Bros.

Leask (1955, 1958, 1960). *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings* [vol 1-3], Dundalk: Dundalgan Press.

McLuhan, Marshall (1964/2001). *Understanding Media*, London, Sage.

Media Literacy [EU MEDIA Initiative] (2007). *Study on the Current Trends and Approaches to Media Literacy in Europe* [pdf]. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/culture/media/literacy/docs/studies/study.pdf [Accessed October 16, 2011].

Murray, Niall (2007). Leaving Cert reform to introduce project work. in *Irish Examiner*, Monday November 19, 2007.

National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (2011a). *Junior Cycle Developments [PowerPoint presentation]* [pdf]. Available at http://www.ncca.ie/en/Curriculum_and_Assessment/Post-Primary_Education/Junior_Cycle/Junior_cycle_developments/presentation_update_on_jc_dev.pdf [Accessed July 22, 2012].

-- (2011b). *Towards a Framework for Junior Cycle* [pdf] Available at http://ncca.ie/framework/doc/NCCA-Junior-Cycle.pdf [Accessed, July 22, 2012].

Ofcom (2006). *Media Literacy Audit: Report on Media Literacy Amongst Children* [pdf] Available at http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/binaries/research/media-literacy/children.pdf [Accessed April 23, 2012].

O'Riordáin and Daniel (1964). *New Grange and the Bend of the Boyne*, London: Thames and Hudson.

Perkins, Victor F. (1972/1993). *Film as Film*, Cambridge and New York, Da Capo Press.

Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl (2003). [film] d. Verbinski, US: Walt Disney Pictures.

Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest (2006). [film] d. Verbinski, US: Walt Disney Pictures.

Pirates of the Caribbean: At World's End (2007). [film] d. Verbinski, US: Walt Disney Pictures.

Pirates of the Caribbean: On Stranger Tides (2010). [film] d. Marshall, US: Walt Disney Pictures.

Programme for International Student Assessment, (n.d.). *The PISA 2009 Profiles by Country/Economy [interactive statistics visualization], Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development* [pdf]. Available at http://stats.oecd.org/PISA2009Profiles [Accessed October 5, 2011].

-- , (n.d.). *PISA Country Profiles [interacive statistics for the 2003 and 2006 Cycles], Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and the Australian Council for Educational Research* [pdf]. Available at http://pisacountry.acer.edu.au, [Accessed October 5, 2011].

Quinn, Ruarí (2011). *Written Answers – Departmental Agencies [Dáil Éireann Debate vol. 748 no. 7]*, Tuesday 6, December, 2011, p. 94 [press release]. Available at http://debates.oireachtas.ie/dail/2011/12/06/00094.asp [Accessed February 23, 2012].

Smith, Paul (1976). *The Historian and Film*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

State Examinations Commission (2012). *Leaving Certificate Examination, 2012 History and Appreciation of Art Higher Level* [pdf]. Available at http://www.examinations.ie/archive/exampapers/2012/LC014ALP013EV.pdf [Accessed July 1, 2012].

-- (2011a). *Leaving Certificate Examination, 2011 English – Higher Level – Paper 1* [pdf]. Available at http://www.examinations.ie/archive/exampapers/2011/LC002ALP100EV.pdf [Accessed October 12, 2011].

Challenging the Literacy of
'Literacy and Numeracy':
The Potential for Film and
Moving Image Media in the
Irish Educational Landscape

Thomas McGraw Lewis

-- (2011b). *Leaving Certificate Examination, 2011 English – Ordinary Level – Paper 1* [pdf]. Available at http://www.examinations.ie/archive/exampapers/2011/LC002GLP100EV.pdf [Accessed October 12, 2011].

-- (2011c). *Leaving Certificate Examination, 2011 History and Appreciation of Art – Higher Level* [pdf]. Available at http://www.examinations.ie/archive/exampapers/2011/LC014ALP013EV.pdf [Accessed October 12, 2011].

-- (2009). *Leaving Certificate Examination, 2009 History and Appreciation of Art Higher Level* [pdf]. Available at http://www.examinations.ie/archive/exampapers/2009/LC014ALP000EV.pdf [Accessed October 12, 2011].

-- (2008). *Leaving Certificate Examination, 2008 History and Appreciation of Art Higher Level* [pdf]. Available at http://www.examinations.ie/archive/exampapers/2008/LC014ALP000EV.pdf [Accessed October 12, 2011].

Toy Story (1995). [film] d. Lasseter, US: Walt Disney Pictures/Pixar.

Toy Story 2 (1999). [film] d. Lasseter, US: Walt Disney Pictures/Pixar.

Toy Story 3 (2010). [film] d. Unkrich, US: Walt Disney Pictures/Pixar.

Wenders, Wim (2010). *Image and Identity of Europe[:] The Role of Cinema and Film Literacy [speech delivered October 27, 2010, Brussels]* [pdf]. Available at http://www.mediadeskuk.eu/usr/downloads/wim_wenders_speech_european_parliament_november_2010.pdf [Accessed July 18, 2012].

Where Do They Stand? Deviant Art Institutions and the Liberal Democratic State

EMMA MAHONY

Abstract: *This paper takes the public seminar,* What Do You Stand For: Who's Afraid of Solidarity*?, held at the National College of Art and Design, Dublin in 2012, as a case study for an analysis of the relationship between visual art institutions and left-wing political ideologies. It seeks to contextualise the oppositional practices of its four panellists: Valerie Connor (representing Blue Funk), Mark Garry, Garrett Phelan, and Sarah Pierce, in relation to how they align their practices with the liberal democratic state and the art institutions it funds. The relationship of the state to the politics of resistance that operates against it is the starting point for this analysis. This framework is then mapped onto the art institutional landscape and onto the activities of the panellists. The question then becomes: where do these deviant institutions stand in relation to the state-funded established art institution?*

Keywords: art institution; politics of resistance; new institutionalism; art collective; interstitial

The first task of the deviant art institution is to show the establishment how things can be done differently, to reintroduce the emancipatory potential of art into the establishment.

Introduction

This text will seek to frame the practices of four self-organised artist-initiatives as deviant art institutions, by examining how they align their practices with the liberal democratic state. It takes as its starting point the public seminar *What Do You Stand For: Who's Afraid of Solidarity?*[1] which took place at the National College of Art and Design (NCAD) on 31 March 2012. The seminar brought together a range of self-organised practices that operate alongside, but at a distance to established institutional structures.

The artists' collective, Blue Funk (represented by Valerie Connor), was set up in 1989 by a group of recent graduates from the NCAD (Evelyn Byrne, Valerie Connor, Brian Cross, Tom Green, Brian Hand, Jaki Irvine and Kevin Kelly). Through the use of time-based and new media art, they sought to interrogate the interface between art and politics. At the time, their goal was quite radical: galleries in Ireland were yet to embrace new media on the scale they do today, and literature, not art, was the main source of culture's engagement with politics. The remaining panellists have individual practices that encompass modes of dissemination other than those offered by institutional structures. Mark Garry's curatorial practice sought to address the lack of exhibition opportunities for emerging artists in Ireland; his solution was to initiate a number of ambitious independent exhibitions in the public realm. Alongside his artistic practice, Garrett Phelan established a radio station called A.A.R.T. Radio, which was for a time funded by the Arts Council/An Chomhairle Ealaíon and Irish Museum of Modern Art (IMMA). Sarah Pierce describes her critically reflexive interdisciplinary practice as the *Metropolitan Complex*. It encompasses talks, events, exhibitions and papers in the form of the regularly published *Metropolitan Papers*.

In the context of this text, the adjective 'deviant' refers to an art institution that resists instrumentalisation by the state. It is an institutional model that seeks to operate at arm's length from the state, or, in some instances, entirely outside of it. Its goal is to open up spaces of opposition against the state and to promote counter hegemonic practices. In line with Chantal Mouffe's theory of agonism, it is an institution that 'foments dissent; that makes visible what

Where Do They Stand?
Deviant Art Institutions and
the Liberal Democratic State

Emma Mahony

the dominant consensus tends to obscure and obliterate' (2005a, p. 162).

The relationship to the state is of particular concern here because it refers to the degree to which these deviant art institutions can exercise their democratic potential. However, it is also important to point out that it is not possible to extricate this relationship with the state from a relationship with capital. As Charles Esche points out 'all [art institutions] are necessarily located within the economic hegemony of capitalism' (2004, p. 2). As the welfare state continues to shrink, the former bourgeois Enlightenment model of the art institution is being gradually replaced by a corporatised one with neoliberal values. Furthermore, the state is often complicit in the corporatisation of the art institution by making funding contingent on the adoption of neoliberal values, as is evidenced by the 2012 Irish state Philanthropy Initiative, which incentives art institutions to seek funding from the private sector.[2]

A second distinction that needs to be drawn is between the "establishment" – the dominant state-funded art institutions – and those self-organised initiatives that utilize their existence outside of the establishment to be oppositional. However, it must also be acknowledged that often the goal of emerging self-organised initiatives, the panellists included, is to break into the establishment. Each of the speakers admitted that when they began their alternative activities, they aspired to "become establishment". Doubtless, this ambition was rooted not only in the continuity and stability the mainstream establishment offers (in place of the precarity of the self-organised initiative), but also in achieving institutional ratification.

As it transpired, their early engagements with the establishment were not plain sailing. When faced with rebukes and blank refusals, they were forced to resort to bolder strategies. Unable to secure an exhibition through the conventional route, Blue Funk persuaded the director of the Douglas Hyde Gallery, John Hutchinson, to let them squeeze a one-off exhibition into the turn-around period between the installation and de-installation of the official exhibition programme. Mark Garry realized his most ambitious curatorial venture by not being entirely truthful with potential host venues. Garrett Phelan resorted to unorthodox strategies when his initial applications for funding A.A.R.T. Radio were turned down: he threatened to dedicate his first episode to the shortcomings of state funding mechanisms. Where breaking into the establishment may have been their original ambition, experience has taught the panellists that "becoming established without being establishment" was, in many instances, a preferable goal.

Where do they stand? The political landscape

Where the seminar under discussion examined *what* these self-organised initiatives stand for, I would like to examine *where* they stand. More specifically, where they stand in relation to the state – inside or outside? Or, is there another way of being in relation to the state that is neither completely inside nor outside?

In order to answer these questions, I propose to briefly interrogate the relationship of the liberal democratic state to the left-wing politics of resistance that operates against it. I will then map this political structure onto the art institutional landscape and, in so doing, I will address the question of where the practices of the panellists stand in relation to the state and the art institutions it funds.

Arguably, the dominant paradigm in left wing political philosophy today supports strategies of exodus, defection or exit. Theorists of exodus, Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri and Paolo Virno posit that our society of control necessitates a complete withdrawal from state power – from the liberal democratic parliamentary arena – in order to establish a counter discourse outside

Where Do They Stand?
Deviant Art Institutions and
the Liberal Democratic State

Emma Mahony

of it. What they are proposing is not a negative, defeatist form of withdrawal or individual exodus à la Bartleby,[3] but a positive, collective turning away from society that should instead be linked with Negri's (2009, p. 8) understanding of constituent power – power that is in a permanent process of constituting. Exodus, then, can be interpreted as simultaneously a flight and a constituent practice.

Hardt, Negri and Virno nominate 'the multitude'[4] as the contemporary political subject of exodus. Hardt and Negri posit that the multitude has come into being as a result of 'Empire'[5] and that it represents Empires' counter-revolutionary force. They understand the multitude, in opposition to the people, as boundless, immeasurable and unrepresentable. Virno (2004, p. 22) inverts Thomas Hobbes' understanding of the people to articulate the nature of the multitude. If the people, as Hobbes argued, have 'one will…to whom one action may be attributed' (cited in Virno, 2004, p. 22), then the multitude is the 'dissensual' many. Moreover, if, as Hobbes contends, the concept of the people is related to the existence of the state, then the multitude is linked to an extra-statal existence.

For Virno (2004, pp. 69-70), 'civil disobedience' and 'exodus' are the two forms of political action for the multitude. By civil disobedience he means radical disobedience. It is not about breaking laws but calling their very validity into question. Turning again to Hobbes, Virno argues that the natural law, which compels the people to obey their sovereign, is only law insofar as the state exists, or insofar as the multitude recognises its existence. He imagines civil disobedience, not as protest, but as a form of mass defection from the state, which will ultimately result in the establishment of a 'non-state-run public sphere'. This thinking is commensurate with the actions of the protagonists of José Saramango's 2006 novel, *Seeing*, in which an electorate in a nameless democracy reveal their dissent for government, not by abstaining from voting, but by leaving their ballot papers blank. Their actions can be interpreted as not just a refusal to elect any of the political parties, but as a refusal of the liberal democratic system in its entirely.

Hardt and Negri (2001, p. 330-4) locate the possibility of toppling Empire in a strategy they call 'counterpower'. For them, counterpower means the combination of three historical revolutionary strategies: resistance, insurrection and constituent power. They caution that to be effective these three elements need to be used in tandem. They locate this counterpower in the very flesh of the multitude, in their body and their intellect combined.

Not all thinkers on the left believe that flight is the only option. In her paper, 'Critique as Counter-Hegemonic Intervention' (2008), Chantal Mouffe contends that the strategy of exodus is inherently problematic, as it stems from a flawed understanding of the political that refuses to acknowledge the ever-present possibility of antagonism. In her view, the very existence of antagonism renders the formation of Hardt and Negri's absolute democracy and Virno's non-state-run public sphere impossible; it 'requires relinquishing the idea of a society beyond division and power, without any need for law or the state and where in fact politics would have disappeared' (Mouffe, 2008, p. 5).

Mouffe (2008, pp. 1-6) sets out an alternative approach, which she describes as 'critique as hegemonic engagement with'. In place of exodus and desertion, she proposes 'disarticulation' and 'rearticulation' as forms of political action. Where, as Virno has stated, exodus does not seek to fill the vacuum of power it would potentially leave if it toppled the ruling power, Mouffe contends that every hegemonic order could potentially be challenged and replaced by another counter-hegemonic order. Therefore, for Mouffe, a truly political intervention cannot merely be oppositional; it must both disarticulate and rearticulate the situation afresh.

Where Do They Stand?
Deviant Art Institutions and
the Liberal Democratic State

Emma Mahony

In place of flight from the state, Mouffe advocates Antonio Gramsci's 'war of position', a struggle against the hegemonic apparatuses of the state that needs to be launched in a multiplicity of sites over a long period of time. In her view, the enemy cannot be conceived as one single adversary, as in the case of Empire or capitalism, but as struggles in the plural, against multiple injustices. She sees these struggles forming chains of equivalence between social movements, political parties and trade unions that will transform non-convergent demands into a collective will that is capable of toppling the hegemon and establishing a new hegemony in its place.

For these four political philosophers the distinction is clear cut, one must either chose to fight state politics from within the state system, or flee from it in order to establish a non-state run system on the outside. There is, however, another manner of being in relation to the state that these theorists don't explore. Post-structuralism has theorised this as an 'interstitial' distance. According to Simon Critchley (2007, pp. 92-114) an interstice is an empty space or non-space between structured or established spaces. In effect, it is a space that does not exist. It needs to be created through political articulation, by working within the state to open a space of opposition against the state.

This concept of creating interstitial positions in relation to the state can be related to both the Jürgen Habermas' (1989) understanding of the liberal bourgeois public sphere as it manifested itself in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and György Konrád's (1984) theory of 'antipolitics'. Both antipolitics and the bourgeois public sphere seek to hold political power to account from *within* the state but at a distance to it. Antipolitics points to the need for conventional parliamentary politics to be regularly subjected to pressure by those people who exist *alongside* power. What Konrád is calling for is a system of checks and balances between political power and civil society. Likewise, the function of the bourgeois public sphere was to exercise critical publicity against public (state) power, from a position which was guaranteed by the bourgeois constitutional state to be autonomous from the state, namely civil society. Unlike Mouffe's counter-hegemonic strategy, neither approach wants to seize state power, but simply to exercise judgment over it.

Critchley is the main contemporary advocate of this concept of interstitial distance. He takes the view that we are stuck with the state, that its withering away (contrary to what Marx and Engels imagined, or what Hardt and Negri believe is achievable through Multitude) is unlikely. Given this reality, Critchley proposes that radical politics should be conceived at an interstitial distance from the state. He clarifies that this distance is still *within* the state: 'It is, we might say, an interstitial distance, an internal distance that has to be opened from the inside' (2007, p. 113). This semi-retreat that Critchley strategizes, is one that aims to better the state. In practice, this means using the state's machinations against it, in order to bring about political change.

In what Critchley (2007, p. 123-4) terms 'meta-anarchism', he locates an ability to imaginatively and creatively undermine the state through non-violent warfare. More specifically, he commends the carnivalesque humour, comic tactics and street theatre employed by contemporary anarchic groups like Ya Basta!, Rebel Clown Army and Billionaires for Bush. He argues that they have created a new and powerful language of civil disobedience.[6] Like Mouffe, Critchley also draws on Gramsci's theory of hegemony. It is his proposition that the left should promote a slow and patient establishment of a counter hegemonic force, with the ultimate goal of creating a universal claim against the hegemonic order. Unlike Mouffe, who locates her understanding of the political within the institutions of the state, for Critchley it exists at a distance from the state.

Where Do They Stand?
Deviant Art Institutions and
the Liberal Democratic State

Emma Mahony

The nature of democracy, as it is currently embodied in our liberal democratic hegemony, is a concern that links all three of these political strategies. Democracy, as they all see it, is an incomplete project. They each, in their own way, aim to formulate a more complete concept of democracy. Given that Hardt and Negri understand the multitude as boundless and unrepresentable, it therefore follows that democracy (which is constructed around a bounded national space) cannot represent them. In its place they propose a radical new type of democracy, an 'absolute democracy'. Virno envisions a type of extra-parliamentary democracy, organized on the principle of leagues and councils, which he terms a 'non-state run public sphere'. Mouffe calls for an alternative to liberal democracy that is rooted in radical pluralism. For her, the ineradicable dimension of antagonism necessitates a reliance on state institutions. She argues that such institutions are central to the process of taming antagonisms and converting them into 'agonism'.[7] Mouffe (2002, p. 95) does not, however, see these institutions as being bounded by the nation state, instead she advocates the existence of a global demos within which citizens can exercise their rights of citizenship. Critchley (2007, pp. 92,116-7), for this part, believes that the interstitial distance from the state he supports embodies the *wahre demokratie* (true democracy) that the young Marx championed. In his critique of Hegel's *Rechtsphilosophie*, Marx explains what he understands by true democracy – it is the democracy of the people against the state. The point, for Critchley, is that true democracy can only be enacted at a distance from the state, by the people, against the state.

Where do they stand? The art institutional landscape

Having briefly considered these three political strategies, I would now like to map this structure onto the art institutional landscape (and onto the activities of the panellists at the NCAD debate). In this hypothesis, the state funded art institution represents the liberal democratic state, and the deviant art institution represents the radical left opposition to the state. The question then becomes: where do these deviant art institutions stand in relation to the state-funded art institutions? Furthermore, should they engage in order to instigate change from within, or withdraw and set something else up on the outside? Or, is existing at an interstitial distance to the establishment a valid alternative?

Mouffe's strategy of engagement – fighting state power from within the system – is comparable to a strategy whereby the deviant art institution seeks to reform itself from within. Of course, in order to reform the establishment, you have to first be a part of it, and this involves passing through official channels. More crucially, as Gramsci theorises, becoming part of the establishment, involves the subaltern (in this case the deviant art institution) first being hegemonised by the establishment (accepting the common sense that it promotes), before it can put a counter-hegemonic operation into motion. Since the mid 1990s, a number of state funded northern European art institutions have been operating a counter critical model to the traditional art institution. This process has been called new institutionalism, and refers to the internalising of institutional critique by the art gallery, resulting in self-reflexive and auto-critical institutions. Charles Esche, one of the leading proponents of the movement, has rather ambitiously described the project of new institutionalism, as 'nothing short of resisting the totality of global capitalism' (cited in Farquharson, 2006, p. 2). In this thinking, new institutions are deviant in relation to the neoliberal status quo. They are sites in which it is possible to think beyond the Denverbot of liberal democracy and imagine the world differently.

If we consider the new institutions' struggle in light of Gramsci's theory of hegemony, then the possibility arises that the subalterns (new institutions) can lead a struggle against the hegemon (traditional institutions) and, in effect, replace them. After all, as Gramsci reminds us (Jones, p. 47), the hegemon must accept challenges to its leadership from its subalterns.

Where Do They Stand?
Deviant Art Institutions and
the Liberal Democratic State

Emma Mahony

In this hypothesis, the new institution can potentially replace the neoliberal values of the state funded art institution with its own counter-critical ones.

In this war of position, the new institutions' strongest weapon is their criticality, however, as Nina Möntmann notes in her paper, 'The Rise of Fall of New Institutionalism' (2007, pp. 155-6), this criticality has not survived the recent 'corporate turn' in the institutional landscape. Möntmann lists a number of key new institutions that have disappeared from the map in the last few years. These include the Nordic Institute for Contemporary Art (NIFCA) in Stockholm (where Möntmann worked as a curator from 2003-6), which was closed in 2006, and the Contemporary Art Centre in Vilnius, which is suffering from severe budget cuts. Most surprising of all, is the fate of Rooseum, Malmö, the flagship new institution, which has become a branch of the expanding Moderna Museet in Stockholm. It would appear that in the above instances, the new institution failed in its goal to educate local politicians and funding bodies as to the importance of contesting the dominant ideology. That said, the values that these critical institutions embodied have not withered away. Individuals like Charles Esche and Manuel Borja-Villel, have recently transposed them onto the running of much larger, state-funded art museums.[8]

While Mouffe's strategy of 'critique as hegemonic engagement with' is appropriate for the new institution, it is less compatible with the self-organised initiatives of the panellists, with the notable exception of Valerie Connor's solo career as it developed after her involvement with Blue Funk ceased in 1993. Connor began working as a curator and visual arts' consultant for various state bodies: she has served on the board of IMMA (2005-10), was the visual arts adviser to the Arts Council/An Chomhairle Ealaíon (2006-10), and is currently chairperson for the National Campaign for the Arts. In her role as a visual arts adviser for established state-funded art institutions, Connor has the capacity to change the art institution from within.

For the other panellists, the strategy of engagement is less appropriate for a number of reasons. Firstly, they are not part of the establishment. Secondly, given the urgency of their modus operandi – their desire to make something happen right now – the strategy of engagement with its long war of position, is simply too time consuming. Exodus would therefore appear to be more compatible with their practices. It is certainly true that all of the panellists initially set out to create something else on the outside. There is a problem, however. True exodus necessarily involves an ideological decision not to engage with the state, full stop. In simple terms, this means refusing state funding, but it also involves renouncing commercial models (given that capitalism is the economic form of the liberal democratic state). For practical and financial reasons few self-organised initiatives chose to take this ideological stance. Some of the most critically interesting artist-led initiatives in Ireland, namely The Joinery, Block T, Monster Truck (all based in Dublin), The Good Hatchery (Offaly), and Occupy Space (Limerick) were all at one time in receipt of both Arts Council and local County Council funding. The panellists have also been in receipt of state funding at some point in their careers. There are, however, a small number of artist-led initiatives that survive on little or no capital, and are in receipt of no state funding. BASIC SPACE, Dublin, is one such example. Its two benefactors make its existence possible: the landlord of the warehouse they occupy off Thomas Street, and the NCAD (where the members are all full-time students). The former permits them use of a 10,000 square foot space, rent-free, and the latter pays for the insurance of the building. Of course, their relationship to the NCAD is, de facto, a relationship to the state, which contradicts the principles of exodus.

I propose that there are two possible methods by which a self-organised initiative can exist completely outside of the state. The first of these relies on Hakim Bey's (2008, pp. 100-10) understanding of the TAZ – a temporary autonomous zone (TAZ). A TAZ is a transitory site of

Where Do They Stand?
Deviant Art Institutions and
the Liberal Democratic State

Emma Mahony

resistance, a form of guerrilla operation, which temporarily liberates an area from the control of the state, before dissolving and re-appearing elsewhere. Crucially, Bey theorises the TAZ as an uprising, as distinct from a revolution. Where the latter is protracted, allowing for its possible recuperation by the state, the former is usually so short in duration that it evades recuperation. He argues that in its very failure, the uprising is a success, that it is a peak experience that creates fundamental changes, fissures and fault lines in the status quo, '…things have changed, shifts and integrations have occurred – a *difference* is made' (2008, p. 103). A TAZ likewise seeks to create these fault lines and to undermine the hegemonic order. It is a long-term counter-political strategy, which Bey believes will result in the eventual collapse of the hegemonic order.

We can link Bey's comprehension of the TAZ with Virno's conception of radical disobedience. Both declare an existence outside of the state, where the rules of the state do not apply. Therefore, by working on the principle of the TAZ, a self-organised initiative could temporarily occupy a public site until such time as the state forces it to move on, it could then emerge elsewhere, and so on. Social media could be used to alert audiences to the existence of what I call temporary autonomous exhibition sites. The second method by which an artist-led initiative can exist outside the state is based on Kojin Karatani's interpretation of Karl Marx's 'association of associations'. According to Karatani (2005, p. 165-6), the young Marx advocated that the state should be replaced by a type of association that was neither 'a traditional community', nor a 'state-centred organisation', but an 'association of free and equal producers'. He acknowledged that this association required a centre to prevent its dissent into anarchy, but he nonetheless refused the centre of state power, instead advocating a representative association of associations.

Karatani (2005, p. 284) returns to Marx's understanding of the association to propose an avenue towards a possible existence outside of the state today. He notes that our present economic reality – which is largely based around immaterial information industries, as opposed to material commodities, and where mammoth-sized corporations are being challenged by new types of monopolies – could now, more than at any time in the past one hundred years, support an association of cooperatives. The problem that this associationism would face is how to circumnavigate the issue of money, how to create a currency that does not transform into capital and generate interest. Marx never identified a solution to this problem, but Karatani (2005, p. 298-300) suggests one that is based on a Local Exchange Trading System (LETS).[9] LETS operates on the basis of interest free credit, and offers an alternative, non-capitalist arena, where members can trade their goods and services with other members. *Eflux*, the international art journal, launched a project called time/bank which operates on a similar principle but focuses on the unit of time and the skills that cultural workers may wish to exchange. It is possible, then, that self-organised initiatives that seek to exist outside of the state and not engage in capitalistic transactions could come together in an association of like-minded institutions that trade through a form of LETS or time/bank. In this scenario, an individual could build a wall or invigilate a gallery, and use the credit she/he has accumulated to have a press release written or an advertisement designed. This association of like-minded institutions would work best if it were drawn across all cultural institutions, and, just as Marx envisioned for his association of associations, it should also be global, thereby negating the importance of the nation-state.

As intriguing as these alternative strategies might be, they do not reflect the practices of the panellists. In her contribution to the discussion, Sarah Pierce very aptly described the relationship between her own self-organised practice and that of the established state-funded art institution as a form of 'non-aligned' alignment. By non-aligned alignment, she was referring

Where Do They Stand?
Deviant Art Institutions and
the Liberal Democratic State

Emma Mahony

to the manner in which her practice consciously operates at arm's length to the establishment. A similar strategy can be said to apply to the practices of Blue Funk, Garry and Phelan. Like Pierce, they all carefully negotiate their relationships with the establishment, and where they all recognise the benefits of a connection with it, they also seek to maintain a degree of autonomy from it. In this regard, the two extremes – autonomy and instrumentalisation – are constantly working in opposition to each other.

Pierce's concept of non-aligned alignment can be most clearly linked with the post-structuralist stance of taking an interstitial distance to the state. Just as Critchley and Konrád begrudgingly accept that the state is here to stay, the panellists acknowledge that their self-organised practices stand in what Esche (2004, p. 2) describes as 'an engaged-autonomous relationship' to the established state-funded art institution. By which he means they are necessarily located within the hegemony of the dominant social and economic order, but seek to act from a position of interstitial distance towards it. For Esche, this compromised position is potentially to their advantage, as it enables them to imagine things other than they are. Esche describes this ability to imagine things differently in terms of 'possibility'. He proposes an artistic paradigm, which he calls 'Modest Proposals', as a way to access the realm of possibility. These Modest Proposals, which he categorises as art projects that 'talk about what might be rather than what is' (2006, pp. 24-5), enable art and its publics to look beyond the current world order by illuminating the cracks in its façade.

Conclusion

It would appear that the degree to which deviant art institutions are state funded, directly affects their capacity to produce democratic discourse in opposition to the state. Exodus then is the only political strategy that guarantees complete autonomy from the state. While exodus ideally embodies the values of a deviant art institution, it is not a strategy that is available to the majority of critical art institutions because it involves severing all ties with the state. Essentially, this means both refusing state funding and renouncing any system of exchange that is based on the accumulation of capital.

In the absence of being able to set something up on the outside, many deviant art institutions have attempted to turn their engaged-autonomous relationship with the state to their advantage. This strategy is commensurate both with the activities of new institutions and self-organised initiatives. It has been shown, however, that the former are more susceptible to instrumentalisation by the state. As Möntmann points out, cuts in state funding, or their amalgamation into bigger umbrella institutions, has seen the demise of many state funded critical art institutions in recent years. While not dismissing the potential for new institutions to resist this increasingly pervasive instrumentalisation by the state and by capital, the post-structuralist stance of assuming an interstitial distance to the state offers a better alternative for these self-organised initiatives who prefer to operate at arm's length to the establishment. Operating from the ground up, rather than the top down, enables self-organised initiatives to better evade the rationalization procedures of the state.

The first task of the deviant art institution, then, is to show the establishment how things can be done differently, to reintroduce the emancipatory potential of art into the establishment. As Konrád writes in *Antipolitics*, 'The most effective way to influence policy is by changing a society's customary thinking patterns and tacit compacts, by bringing the pace-setters to think differently' (1984, p. 224). Alain Badiou (2005, p. xvii) expands on this point when he writes that the task of philosophy is to imagine things other than they are; to expose the gap between the world we live in and the world we *could* live in. Here, belief, not knowledge is the only thing

Where Do They Stand?
Deviant Art Institutions and
the Liberal Democratic State

Emma Mahony

that is certain. The deviant art institution must believe in its capacity to make a difference.

To acquire this belief, the deviant art institution must challenge what Habermas has termed the *Undurchsichtlichkeit* (the new opacity) of our present times and rehearse the ideas that Žižek defines as *Denkverbot*; those very ideas which are excluded by today's liberal-democratic hegemony. To order to think beyond this *Denkverbot* and operate deviantly, the art institution must subtract itself from its immersion in the hegemonic order, or as Morpheus puts it in the *The Matrix* (1999), it must unplug itself.

Emma Mahony is a PhD researcher in the faculty of Visual Culture at NCAD where she also currently teaches on graduate and undergraduate programmes. She has served as exhibitions curator for the Hayward Gallery, London.

NOTES

1.   *What Do You Stand For: Who's Afraid of Solidarity?* (2012) followed on from *What Do You Stand For?* (2011) – a day of presentations and discussions on artist-run initiatives in Ireland, held at the National College of Art and Design, Dublin. Both events were co-organised by Vaari Claffey and Francis Halsall.

2.   The Philanthropy Initiative was launched by Minister Deenihan in 2012 to incentivise arts organisations to proactively seek funding from the private sector. Under this initiative funding raised from the private sector is augmented by the state.

3.   Bartleby, the protagonist in Herman Melville's short story, *Bartleby, the Scrivener* (1853), uses the standard retort 'I would prefer not to', when asked to carry out tasks by his employer.

4.   Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri describe 'the multitude' as the unbounded subjects of Empire, they stand in contrast to the concept of 'the people' as the bounded subjects of a nation state.

5.   Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri describe Empire as a new global form of sovereignty comprised of a network of dominant nation states, supranational organisations and major corporations.

6.   It should be noted that Simon Critchley's understanding of the term civil disobedience is distinct from Paolo Virno's. For the former it is about breaking laws, and for the latter it is about calling their very validity into question.

7.   Mouffe's theory of agonism aims to reintroduce antagonisms into parliamentary politics in order to neutralize them. The issue that agonism seeks to address is how can conflict (between enemies) be legitimated and transformed into a political process. What Mouffe advocates is a set of democratic procedures agreed by the adversaries, which allows them to reach a 'conflictual consensus' (Mouffe 2005a, pp. 158-9).

8.   Charles Esche, formerly the director of Rooseum, Malmö (2002-4), is now the director of the van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven and Manuel Borja-Villel, who ran MACBA Barcelona from 1998-2007, is currently the director of the Reina Sofia in Madrid. They both apply the tenets of new institutionalism to the running of these state funded art museums.

9.   The Local Exchange Trading System (LETS) was initiated by Michael Linton in British Columbia in 1982.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Badiou, Alain (2005). *Metapolitics*. London/New York: Verso.

Bey, Hakim (2008). *The Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism: Anarchy and Conspiracy*. Charleston, South Carolina: Forgotten Books.

Critchley, Simon (2007). *Infinitely Demanding: Ethics of Commitment, Politics of Resistance*. London/New York: Verso.

Esche, Charles (2004). *What's the Point of Art Centre's Anyway? – Possibility, Art and Democratic*

#1

Where Do They Stand?
Deviant Art Institutions and
the Liberal Democratic State

Emma Mahony

Deviance [Online]. Available at http://republicart.net/disc/institution/esche01_en.htm [Accessed November 2011].

Farquharson, Alex (2006). *Bureaux de change [Online]*. Frieze no.101, September 2006. Available at http://www.frieze.com/issue/article/bureaux_de_change [Accessed September 2009].

Gordon-Nesbitt, Rebecca (2003), Harnessing the Means of Production. In: Ekeberg, Jonas (ed.) 2003. *New Institutionalism Verksted #1*. Norway: Office for Contemporary Art.

Hardt, Michael and Negri, Antonio (2001). *Empire.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Hardt, Michael and Negri, Antonio (2006). *Multitude.* London: Penguin Books.

Jones, Steve (2006). *Antonio Gramsci, Routledge Critical Thinkers*. London/New York: Routledge.

Karatani, Kojin (2005). *Transcritique: On Kant and Marx*. Sabu Kohso (trans). Cambridge, Massachusetts/London: The MIT Press.

Konrád, György (1984). *Antipolitics: An Essay*. Richard E. Allen (trans). London/Melbourne/New York: Quartet Books.

Marx, Karl and Engels, Friedrich (2002). *The Communist Manifesto*. London: Penguin Books.

Möntmann, Nina (2006). *The Enterprise of the Art Institution in Late Capitalism [Online]*. Aileen Derieg (trans.). Available at http://www.eipcp.net/transversal/0106/Moentmann/en [Accessed November 2011].

Möntmann, Nina (2007). The Rise and Fall of New Institutionalism: Perspectives on a Possible Future. In: Raunig, Gerald and Ray, Gene (eds.) 2009. *Art and Contemporary Critical Practice, Reinventing Institutional Critique.* London: MayFly Books.

Möntmann, Nina (2008). *Playing the Wild Child. Art Institutions in a Situation of Changed Public Interest. In: Art as a public issue: how art and its institutions reinvent the public dimension [Online]*. Open (14), Rotterdam: NAi Publishers. Available at http://classic.skor.nl/article-3631-nl.html?lang=en [Accessed November 2011].

Mouffe, Chantal (2002). For an Agonistic Public Sphere. In: Enwezor, Okwui, Basualdo, Carlos, Meta Bauer, Ute, Ghez, Susanne, Maharaj, Sarat, Nash, Mark and Zaya, Octavio (eds.) 2002. *Democracy Unrealized, Documenta11_Platform 1*. Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz.

-- (2005a). Which Public Space for Critical Artistic Practices. In: Steiner, Shepherd and Joyce, Trevor (eds.) 2005. *Cork Caucus: On Art, Possibility and Democracy*. Cork/Frankfurt: National Sculpture Factory/Revolver.

-- (2005b). Discussion, moderated by Ashley Hunt and Simon Sheikh. In: Steiner, Shepherd and Joyce, Trevor (eds.) 2005. *Cork Caucus: On Art, Possibility and Democracy*. Cork/Frankfurt: National Sculpture Factory/Revolver.

-- (2007). Artistic Activism and Agonistic Spaces [Online]. In: *Art and Research*. Vol 1. No. 2 Summer, 2007. Available at http://www.artandresearch.org.uk/v1n2/mouffe.html [Accessed October 2011].

-- (2008). *Critique as Counter-Hegemonic Intervention [Online]*. Eipcp. Available at http://translate.eipcp.net/transversal/0808/mouffe/en [Accessed November 2011].

Negri, Antonio (2009), *Insurgencies: Constituent Power and the Modern State*. Maurizia Boscagli (trans). Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press.

Saramango, José (2007). *Seeing*. London: Vintage Books

Virno, Paolo (2004). *A Grammar of the Multitude*. Los Angeles: Semiotext.

Žižek, Slavoj (2009). *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections*. London: Profile Books.