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**Cultural Participation, Social Capital and Civil Renewal in the United Kingdom:  
Statistical Evidence from National and International Survey Data**

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**CULTURAL PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE UNITED KINGDOM:  
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**Abstract**

Although much recent policy discussion on civil renewal and social capital has touched on the relationship between these and cultural participation, this has not been explored in depth. This paper begins to redress this through some initial mapping based on analysis of raw data from existing studies and discussion of the results. We first provide measures of both the extent of cultural participation and the level of social capital in Britain, using individual survey information from a variety of different data sources. Secondly, we compare the level of social capital and cultural participation in Britain with the rest of the EU. Thirdly, we statistically examine linkages between different types of cultural participation and individual measures of social capital. Lastly, we examine the statistical association between levels of cultural participation and of social capital both for individuals and nationally. While making causal inferences from this type of analysis is not recommended, the results provide valuable benchmarking information and will be useful as a background to future research. The results demonstrate substantial correlations between measures of social capital and measures of cultural participation, both at the national level and, within Britain, at the individual level. Further research should examine the use of more detailed statistical methods and programme evaluation techniques to ascertain whether the correlations we observe reflect a causative effect of cultural participation on social capital.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Building social capital and promoting civil renewal have become increasingly important policy objectives throughout the world, and have received increased attention from the UK government in recent years.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, a large literature has emerged on the social value of cultural and sporting activities and the role of cultural activity in civil renewal.<sup>2</sup> The Civil Renewal Unit describes civil renewal as “both a political philosophy and a practical approach to improving quality of life.” It involves local people in identifying and solving the problems that affect their communities, and has three essential ingredients:

- Active citizens who contribute to the common good
- Strengthened communities in which people work together to find solutions to problems
- Partnership in meeting public needs, with government and agencies giving appropriate support and encouraging people to take part in democracy and influence decisions about their communities

The typical civil renewal initiative involves at its heart the people who are most affected by an issue in their community. It is about ‘doing’ rather than ‘being done to’.<sup>3</sup> To achieve civil renewal a community needs a certain level of skills and capacity. *Building Civil Renewal*<sup>4</sup> defines these skills as Community Capacity: the capacity of people in communities to participate in actions based on community interests. It divides these actions into three types of activity:

1. Action to build social capital
2. Delivering services
3. Involvement in governance

So, it is argued that social capital is a key element in achieving civil renewal and therefore creating empowered communities. This paper attempts to quantify one facet of this relationship; the link between cultural participation and social capital.<sup>5</sup>

Social capital is a contested concept and there are several definitions, reflecting different theoretical traditions and orientations. However for the purpose of this paper we shall be using Robert Putnam’s definition:

*“Social capital refers to features of social organisation such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit”* (Putnam 1995:67).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In their review of the government strategy on civil renewal, the Home Office Civil Renewal Unit note that “Arts and sport activity, museums and galleries, and the historic environment have a strong roles to play in communities, by bringing people together” and continue: “DCMS will investigate with other Departments the contribution of culture and sport to developing capacity in communities and civil renewal more widely.” (page 39).

<sup>2</sup> The literature on the link between social capital and the cultural sector was reviewed extensively by Daly, (2004) and this paper should be consulted as the background to our statistical analysis. Sturgis and Jackson (2003) provide a thorough analysis of cultural participation based on the 2000 Time Use Survey.

<sup>3</sup> Civil renewal unit website, Home Office, <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/inside/org/dob/direct/cru.html>

<sup>4</sup> Home Office, (2003a) *Building Civil Renewal: A review of government support for community capacity building and proposals for change. A consultation paper from the Civil Renewal Unit.* London, Home Office

<sup>5</sup> Lowndes (2005), in more detail, draws out the distinctions between social capital and civil renewal, and their links to cultural participation.

<sup>6</sup> Both cited in Daly (2004).

As well as debate about definitions, there is also some disagreement about how social capital should be measured. This is reviewed extensively by Daly, (2004). In this paper we take a broad view of what may be considered indicators of social capital, using measures that derive from a variety of theoretical perspectives. These measures include civil engagement, interpersonal trust, trust in civil institutions, civil mindedness, informal sociability and levels of volunteering. We also look at subjective well-being. Although this is not technically a measure of social capital as it refers to an individual rather than to the networks within a community, it is nevertheless a useful measure, that may pick up non-market aspects of quality of life that are similar to the concepts underlying social capital.

This paper also takes a broad view of what constitutes cultural participation:

- Reading (Books and Press)
- Visiting museums, libraries, archives and the historic environment (heritage)
- Performance (includes theatre, dance)
- Visual Arts (includes galleries, architecture, design and crafts)<sup>7</sup>

We also looked briefly at film, TV, radio, new media and music to examine Putnam's hypotheses that increased television viewing in particular can lead to reduced social engagement.

The first aim of this paper is to quantify social capital in the UK and to compare the UK with the rest of Europe. Secondly, we quantify the extent of cultural participation in Britain and compare these levels with those in other European countries. Such a benchmarking exercise is important to ascertain whether Britain has higher or lower levels of cultural participation and social capital than other countries and to isolate specific areas where it is markedly lower. Thirdly we examine socio-demographic patterns both of individual measures of social capital in the UK, and also of individual measures of cultural participation. This analysis provides a comprehensive benchmark of levels of both social capital and of cultural participation.

The final aim of this report is to examine the existing statistical data to ascertain whether there are patterns that would support or negate a link between different types of cultural participation and other measures of social capital. We use two methods to establish this; firstly we examine whether cultural participation and social capital are linked at the level of the individual, secondly we examine whether there are national correlations between measures of cultural participation and measures of social capital. It must be said at the outset that utilising survey data to ascertain a *causative* relationship between cultural participation and other types of social capital in one direction or the other is beyond the limits of the existing data. We can, however, firstly make definitive correlative statements and secondly analyse tendencies in the relationships and deviations from these tendencies. While this does not permit us to answer the question of whether increasing cultural participation will have an effect on social capital and civil renewal, it does describe the existing situation and allows for the generation of reasonable hypotheses. It should also facilitate discussion as to the type of evidence that would need to be collected to

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<sup>7</sup> This definition is quite close to the definition used by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport but it does not include sport, which is explored in a separate paper or tourism or gambling as participation in tourism activities tends to be transitory and so not lend itself to the development of networks and bonds through social participation and there is concern that the potential negative outcomes of gambling and betting activities may negate any positive social capital generated.

support claims about the interactions between cultural participation, social capital and civil life.

The next section of this paper therefore describes measures of the quality of civil life and the extent of social capital in Britain and compares this to other EU countries. Section 3 examines the extent of cultural participation in Britain. Section 4 examines correlations between national levels of civil participation and national levels of social capital across Europe, as well as correlations between individual measures of wellbeing and social capital and cultural participation within Britain. Section 5 examines in detail the individual determinants of levels of cultural participation. Finally section 6 draws conclusions and suggests areas for future research. Appendix 2 outlines the main data sources used in this paper.

## 2. MEASURES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

### 2.1 Trust in Democratic Institutions in the UK and Europe

Our first major measure of the quality of civil life we analyse is the degree of trust in democratic institutions across the EU. As Figure 1 demonstrates, UK citizens have less trust in all the six civil institutions listed than the average European citizen. The largest gap between the levels of trust placed in an institution by UK citizens and by EU citizens is for the European Parliament, this being trusted least by British citizens. The smallest gap occurs for the police and legal system.

While trust is lower in Britain than the EU average, the order of magnitude is small. It should also be noted that while trust in civil institutions is a suggestive measure it is also a complex one. Some researchers have argued that lack of trust in these types of institutions may in fact signify an informed and attentive citizenry making logical assessments in response to events, for instance political scandals or discovery of police bias or brutality (ippr, 2005). Nevertheless it is certainly true that a functioning democracy requires a basic level of trust in most of these institutions and the figures are therefore still worth noting.

**Figure 1: Trust in institutions among European citizens (European Social Survey 2002)**

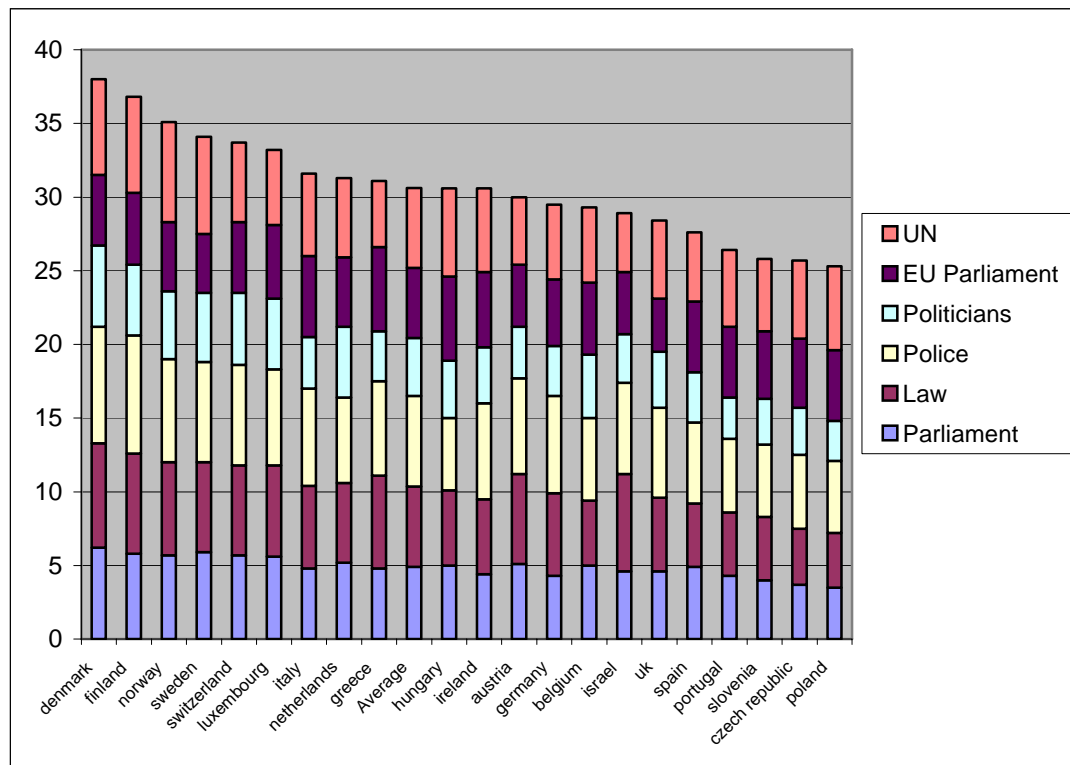


Table 1 displays the results of questions taken from the UK Home Office Citizenship Survey 2001. This supports the picture of significant degrees of trust in the police and the legal system, with the public showing less trust for national politicians and parliament, suggesting that some areas of British life are healthier than others.

**Table 1: Trust in civil institutions (UK Home Office Survey 2001).**

	A lot (%)	A fair amount (%)	Not very much (%)	Not at all (%)	Don't Know (%)
The police	24.9	49.6	16.7	6.1	2.5
The courts (Magistrates Courts and Crown Court)	15.6	46.1	18.3	6.4	13.5
Your employer	37.2	42.1	13.2	5.0	2.3
Politicians	2.3	21.8	40.3	29.2	6.1
Parliament	5.2	31.7	35.0	20.4	7.6
The Welsh Assembly	2.3	27.0	27.0	24.0	19.5
The Greater London Assembly	5.4	28.3	22.0	13.2	31.0
Your local council	6.7	42.1	28.4	14.0	8.7

## 2.2 Engagement with democratic institutions in the UK and Europe

There is widespread concern about the health of the political culture in Britain, and many of the figures seem to suggest that this concern is justified. Four out of ten voters stayed at home in the last two general elections (Rogers, 2005), and low turnouts have also been the norm in recent elections to the European parliament, in local government elections and elections to the Scottish, Welsh and London assemblies (Whiteley, 2003). Research into levels of identification with political parties has also suggested that the electorate has moved from committed partisanship to semi-detached preferences.

There have been several theories put forward to explain this. One suggestion is that parties are no longer committed to definite and distinct principles and the electorate feel that there is a lack of real choice. Another is that in an increasingly globalised world the nation state is no longer where the reigns of power lie, or that a new less reverential and more critical generation has emerged who are less likely to take things on trust and less likely to defer to their leaders (Whiteley, 2003). There is also the argument put forward by Putnam that individuals live increasingly atomised lives, out of touch with society and collective activities (Putnam, 2000).

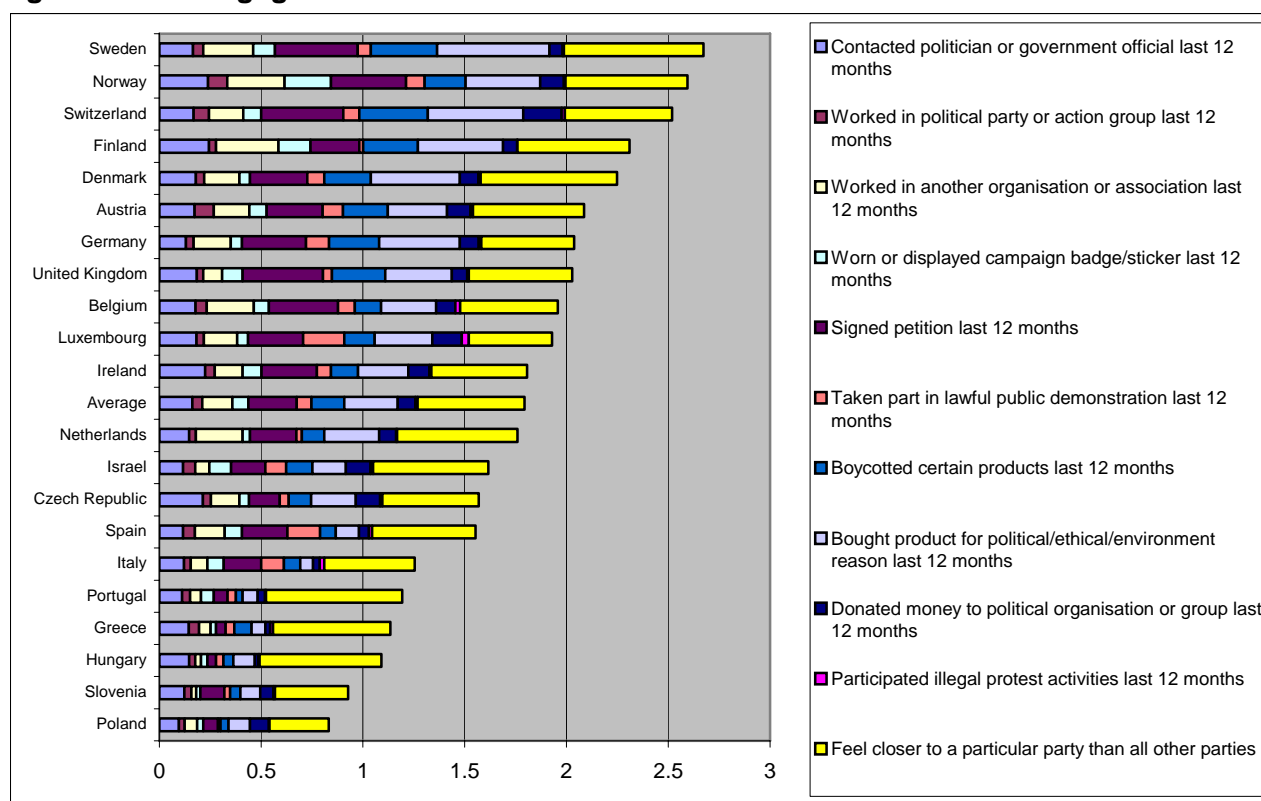
However if we examine citizens' attitudes to democratic and political involvement these appear to have altered less than we might imagine. Table 2 displays UK citizens' willingness to engage in various forms of civil acts over the course of twenty years. As can be seen, on these measures, there is very little evidence of a decline in popular attitudes to civil engagement. Of course this may be hiding an increase in numbers who say they would participate but who do not rather than a stable level of people who actually participate, but the findings are backed up by other studies. As Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley (2003) point out, by concentrating attention on one political activity, voting in elections, there is a tendency for observers to treat political participation as an either/or activity. In fact it is much more complex and subtle. They argue that people's participation in conventional political activities, such as voting, contacting a politician and attending a political meeting has declined whereas participation in consumption and contact politics, boycotting goods and contacting the media, have grown. Table 2 would seem to support that.

**Table 2: Willingness to engage in democratic activities over time (BSAS)**

	2002	1994	1984
	%	%	%
Would contact my M.P.	50.3	56.6	56.6
Would speak to influential person	18.6	14.5	14.5
Would contact government department	15.6	13.5	13.5
Would contact radio, TV or newspaper	25.7	20.1	20.1
Would sign a petition	62.4	65.6	65.6
Would raise issue in organisation	10.4	6.9	6.9
Would go on protest or demonstration	17.1	15.7	15.7
Would form a group like-minded people?	7.7	9.7	9.7

Figure 2 displays the probabilities of different forms of political engagement across the EU countries. The UK comes above average for political activity, although the figures are likely to have been affected by the proximity to the general election, which would have heightened civil participation across the domains surveyed such as petition signing. However this is less likely to have impacted upon activities like the purchase of products for ethical reasons or the boycott of certain products that are more prevalent in Britain than among the average EU citizen.

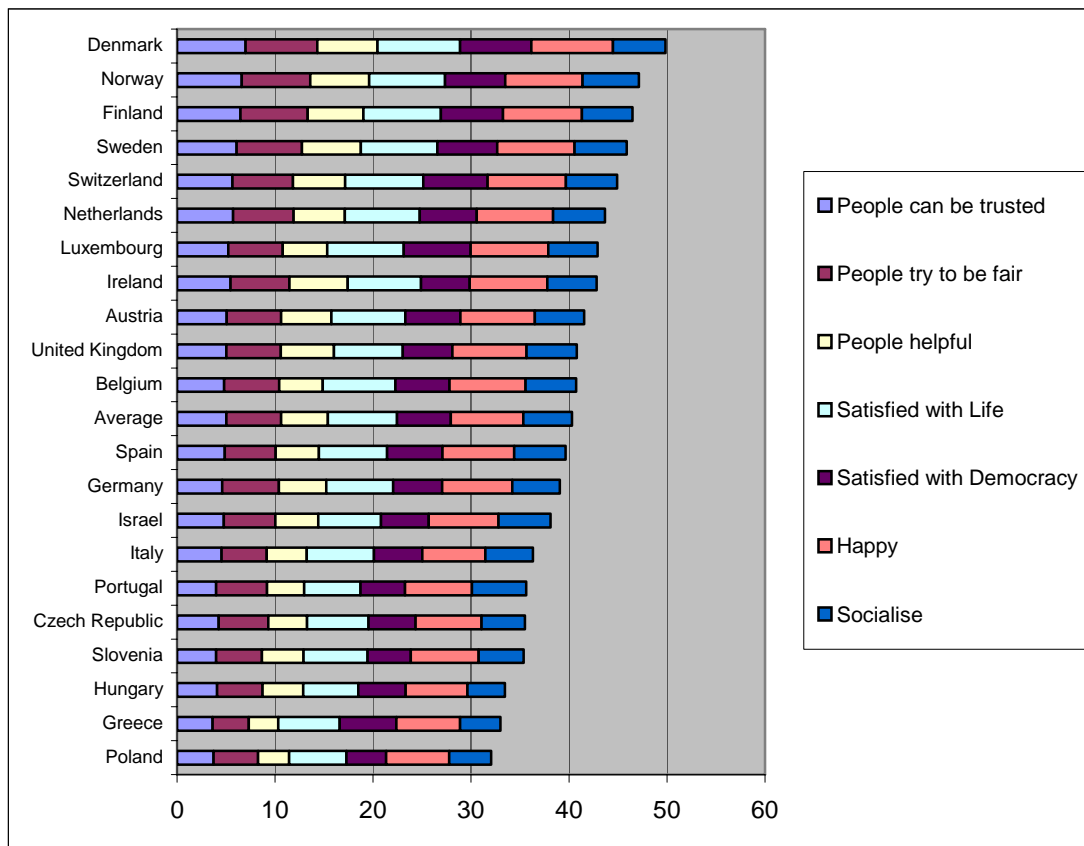
**Figure 2: Civil engagement across countries**



### 2.3 Social trust and individual well-being in the UK and Europe

The degree of trust placed in other people is central to several theories of the processes of social capital. Putnam identifies a basic level of trust in others as essential to a functioning society, and the likelihood of trusting others is linked to levels of fear, security and cohesiveness within communities. Figure 3 displays the results of a number of measures of interpersonal trust across the EU. The UK is very close to the European average on most of these. The main differences are in measures of sociability, happiness and likelihood of believing that people are helpful, where the UK scores slightly above average, and satisfaction with democracy, where it comes in slightly below average. However British levels of trust are still substantially behind the levels of the Scandinavian countries, which dominate the top positions, and in particular Denmark which scores highest in all but two categories.

**Figure 3: Individual trust and well-being (European Social Survey 2002)**



Unlike in the US however, where Putnam discovered generational differences in social trust, there does not seem to have been a significant decline in social trust over time, as Table 3 demonstrates:

**Table 3: Changes in trust over time**

	1959	1981	1990	1997	1998a	1998b	2000
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Most people can be trusted	54	44	44	42	30	44	45
You can't be too careful in dealing with people	n.a.	56	56	57	70	54	54
Base		1190	1440	1355	1073	2071	2293

*Table from Johnston and Jowell, 2001*

Data: 1981, 1990, 1998a: World Values Surveys, Great Britain. 1997, 1998b, 2000: British social Attitudes Surveys

## 2.4 Social Participation

As with social trust, the patterns of social participation in the UK also seem to differ quite considerably from Putnam's findings in the US. Putnam found an across the board decline in associational membership. However, research by Peter Hall (2002), who conducted one of the most well known assessments of social capital in the UK, suggests that average membership levels among most kinds of organisations "seem to have risen enough to keep pace with population growth and rising levels of educational attainment through the post-war period." He tentatively concludes that Britain does not have the same problems of generational decline as the United States and that the indicators point to a robust – even growing – formal involvement as well as patterns of increasing sociability. He suggests three possible causes for this pattern of continued vibrancy of civic life in Britain: significantly expanded access to higher education, a less rigidly stratified class structure, and government action supporting community involvement.

Other commentators have also pointed to differences between the UK and the US. Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley (2003) argue that "the evidence from the Citizen Audit suggests that a significant proportion of people give their time to associational life" and Johnston and Jowell (2001) found that although smaller proportions of the British population are members of social and civic organisations than is the case in the US there has been "little variation in membership and participation patterns over the years and ... nothing approaching the prolonged (and in some cases, drastic) fall-off in memberships reported in the US by Putnam."

**Table 4: Membership in community associations**

	1994	1998	2000
	%	%	%
Neighbourhood Watch scheme	13	14	11
Any other local community or voluntary group	7	6	6
Tenants' or residents' association	4	5	5
Political party	3	3	3
Parent-Teacher Association	3	3	2
Local conservation or environmental group	2	2	2
Voluntary group helping sick, elderly or children	n.a.	2	2
Board of school governors	1	1	1
Neighbourhood council	1	1	1
Parish or town council	1	1	1
Any of these groups	17	26	25
None of these groups	83	74	75
Base	2302	3144	2293

*Table from Johnston and Jowell (2001) p.177*

## 2.5 Summary of Social Capital in the UK and Europe

In summary then the UK generally sits around the European average on measures of trust, although it does slightly better on measures of trust in others and social connectivity, and slightly worse on trust in some of our political institutions. Social participation appears to have remained relatively stable over the past twenty years. Participation in democratic institutions and processes has changed, with a rise in consumption and contact politics and a fall in more traditional forms of participation, and social participation seems to have remained fairly constant.

The picture that emerges does not seem to indicate a crisis. However there is certainly considerable room for improvement and Britain is a long way from the levels of the Scandinavian countries that dominate the top positions. There is also concern that although the UK has not seen a dramatic decline in trust and participation, both are concentrated in the more affluent and educated sections of society (Aldridge et al 2002, Grenier and Wright 2001, Hall 2002, Johnston and Jowell 2001, Pattie etc 2003). Grenier and Wright in particular argue that the withering of many active working class institutions over the past twenty years, as well as the tendency for "multi-membership" which concentrates membership among those who are already most engaged - primarily the ABC1 group - are seriously impeding efforts to increase and broaden social capital, widening the gap between the haves and the have-nots. In the next section we will explore the particular patterns of participation in culture, investigating not just how many people participate but also who participates to see how culture compares with the broader patterns.<sup>8</sup>

**Box 1: The role of television:**

There have been strong arguments that increased television viewing has been one of the central causes of the decline in social capital in the developed world. Putnam (2000) in particular expressed concern about the negative influence of television consumption on social capital, suggesting that increased television viewing was one of the possible causes of the decline in associational life. Although our evidence is limited to European comparisons the results show no substantial differences in social capital between countries with high and low levels of television viewing. However, in Britain there is a statistically significant and negative correlation between social trust and other measures of social capital and television viewing at the individual level. The results are more positive for other types of reading and viewing. Newspaper readership, in particular current affairs readership and the use of the radio for current affairs as well as Internet usage all have positive associations with social capital both at the national level across Europe and at the individual level with the UK.

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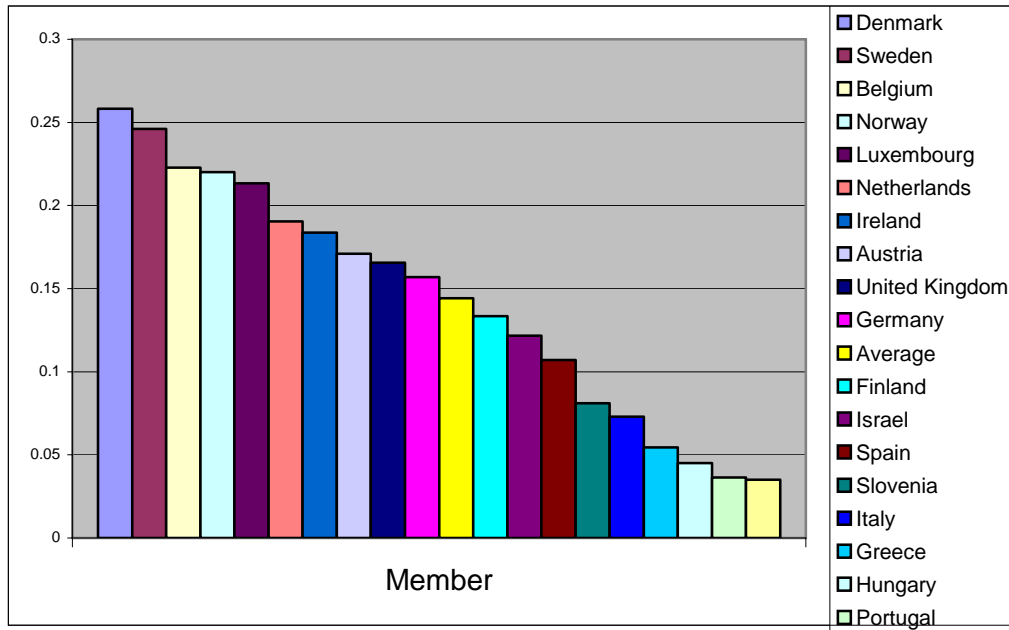
<sup>8</sup> Doubts about the inter-cultural comparison of the types of scale utilised in this paper have surfaced in recent years. King et al (2004) suggest the use of a technique known as "anchoring vignettes" to account for cross-country difference in response styles.

### 3. MEASURES OF CULTURAL PARTICIPATION

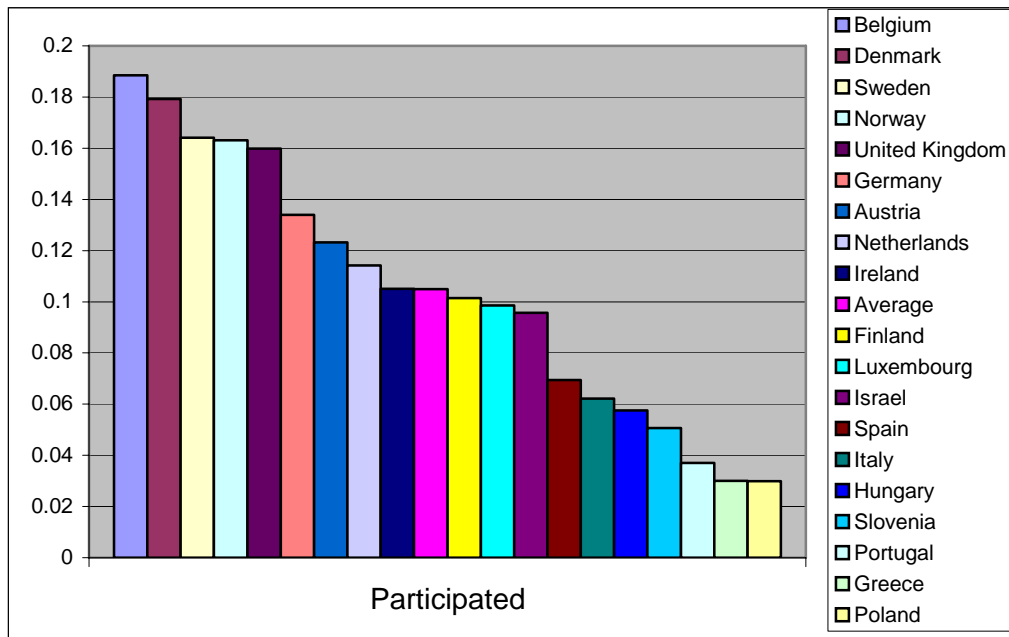
#### Patterns of cultural participation

Our next step was to find out whether the general picture of social participation also held true for cultural participation. Figures 5, 6 and 7 show the level of engagement with cultural organisations across Europe. As can be seen, British citizens engage with these clubs to a greater extent than the average EU citizen, but Scandinavian countries in general display substantially higher levels of associational involvement.

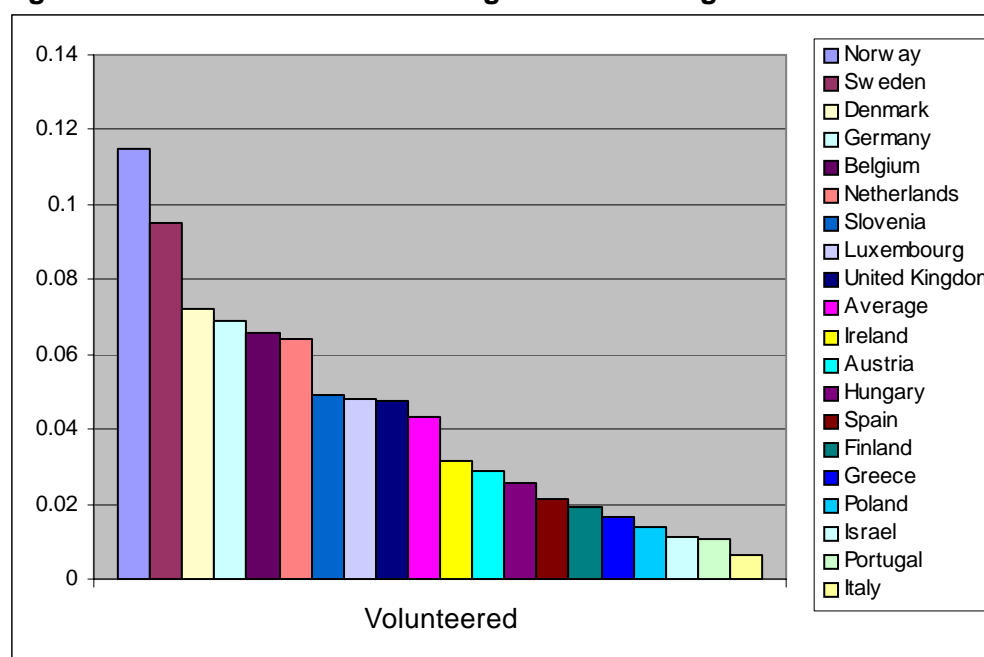
**Figure 4: Likelihood of membership of cultural organisations across Europe**



**Figure 5: Likelihood of participation in cultural organisations across Europe**



**Figure 6: Likelihood of volunteering for cultural organisations across Europe**



We then looked at this engagement in more detail, breaking down the different types of activity within the umbrella of 'culture'. Table 5 displays the percentage of UK adults who had engaged in a variety of cultural and social activities in the past four weeks, taken from the Time Usage Survey conducted in 2000. The most prevalent forms of activity were predominantly social, with eating out and shopping coming in at 78 per cent and 60 per cent respectively, but cultural activities are also popular. Library attendance is particularly prevalent with 32 per cent having visited in the past four weeks. The cinema was also high at 18.9 per cent. Visits to historic houses or castles (13.4 per cent) and museums and galleries (12 per cent) were also quite prominent, although more traditional performance art forms remain a minority pursuit with just 3.5 per cent going to a concert or performance of classical music of any kind, 1.3 per cent going to see the ballet or to modern/contemporary dance, and just 0.7 per cent going to the opera.

**Table 5: Percentage of respondents who had engaged in one of the following cultural activities over the past four weeks and average number of times in which they engaged in this activity (Time Usage Survey, 2000)**

	%	NO
EAT OR DRINK OUT AT A CAFE/PUB	78.8	5.2
A SHOPPING CENTRE OR MALL (NOT as part of regular food/ hhld shopping)?	60.2	3.5
ANY OTHER OUTDOOR TRIPS	39.8	3.7
A LIBRARY	32.3	3.4
SOME OTHER PLACE OF ENTERTAINMENT	22.0	3.4
THE CINEMA	18.9	1.5
A SPORTS EVENT AS A SPECTATOR	15.7	2.3
A HISTORIC HOUSE, CASTLE	13.4	1.7
A CARBOOT SALE, ANTIQUES FAIR OR SIMILAR	13.2	1.7
A MUSEUM OR AN ART GALLERY	12.0	1.5
A THEME PARK, FAIRGROUND, FAIR OR CARNIVAL	10.2	1.5
A PLAY, MUSICAL OR PANTOMIME	9.4	1.2

ANY OTHER GIG OR OTHER LIVE MUSIC	8.7	1.9
A ZOO, WILDLIFE RESERVE, AQUARIUM, FARMPARK	7.1	1.4
A CONCERT OR PERFORMANCE OF CLASSICAL MUSIC OF ANY KIND	3.5	1.2
THE BALLET OR TO MODERN/CONTEMPARY DANCE	1.2	1.5
THE OPERA	0.7	1.3

Table 6 displays the percentage of citizens who had engaged in an array of cultural activities over the course of a year, along with the number of times they engaged in the activity. Once again, the results point to the importance of Films, Libraries, Theatre, Museums, Musicals and Carnivals in British Cultural Life, with over one in five people engaging in each of these activities.

**Table 6: Frequency of attendance of cultural events (ONS, MORI Omnibus 2001)**

	At least once		Never		Once		Twice		3-5 times		6-10 times		11-20 times		> 20 times		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
FILM	51.9	48.1	7.5	9.7	16.4	10.9	5.4	2.0									
LIBRARY	44.3	55.7	2.3	4.9	7.9	7.8	10.9	10.4									
MUSEUM	34.7	65.3	8.6	9.4	9.8	4.5	1.8	0.7									
PLAY	26.5	73.5	9.8	7.2	6.7	2.1	0.6	0.1									
MUSICAL	23.7	76.3	11.5	6.3	4.8	0.9	0.2	0.0									
CARNIVAL	22.2	77.8	16.0	4.4	1.5	0.2	0.1	0.0									
ART EXHIBITION	18.8	81.2	6.8	4.5	4.5	1.9	0.8	0.3									
CRAFT EXHIBITION	17.4	82.6	6.6	5.2	4.2	1.0	0.3	0.1									
ROCK/POP CONCERT	17.2	82.8	8.8	4.1	2.9	0.9	0.3	0.2									
CLASSICAL CONCERT	10.5	89.5	4.6	2.8	1.9	0.8	0.3	0.1									
CULTURAL FESTIVAL	9.8	90.2	6.3	2.0	1.2	0.2	0.1	0.0									
OTHER CONCERT	8.8	91.2	4.4	1.9	1.5	0.5	0.3	0.3									
BOOK EVENT	8.1	91.9	3.5	2.2	1.5	0.5	0.3	0.1									
OTHER DANCE	7.0	93.0	3.2	1.2	1.1	0.6	0.3	0.5									
VIDEO EVENT	6.0	94.0	3.4	1.5	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.0									
OPERA	6.0	94.0	3.6	1.3	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.0									
JAZZ CONCERT	5.5	94.5	2.7	1.1	1.0	0.4	0.1	0.2									
CONTEMPORARY DANCE	2.6	97.4	1.7	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0									
FOLK/C&W CONCERT	2.5	97.5	1.3	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1									
BALLET	1.7	98.3	1.1	0.3	0.2	0.0	-	-									
AFRICAN DANCE	0.4	99.6	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	-	-									
SOUTH ASIAN DANCE	0.3	99.7	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	-									

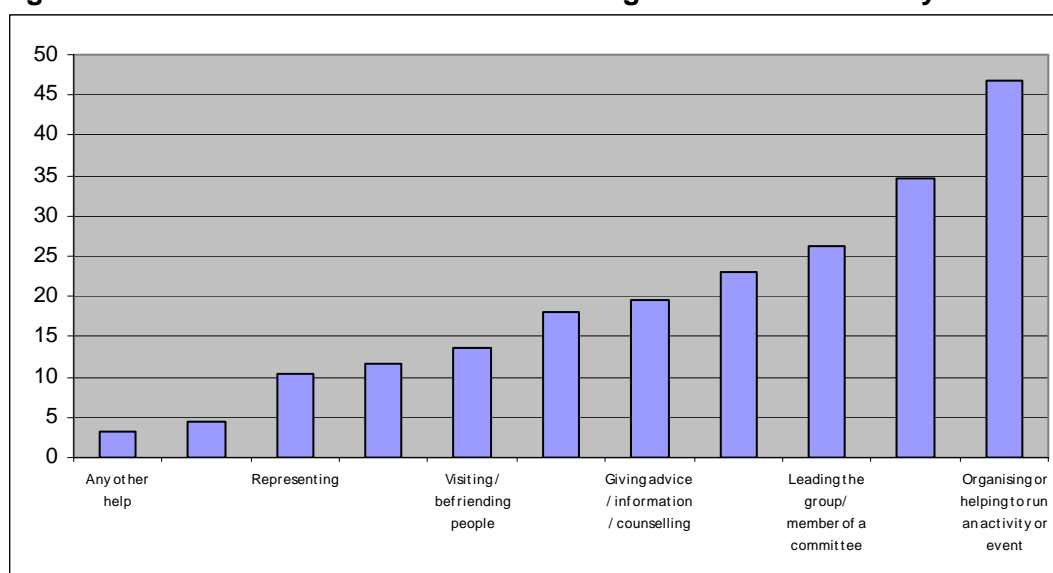
Table 7 examines participation rather than attendance. This distinction is important because different types of engagement have different effects. Social capital is more likely to be expressed in and generated by activities that involved people participating together rather than spectators listening or viewing alone – although more solo pursuits can also bring other types of benefit. The most common activity – reading fiction - was one that is more likely to be done alone. Approximately 58 per cent of British adults had read fiction in the past year, and just over one in three read fiction at least once a week. Some of the other categories, like ‘textile/wood/other crafts’ or ‘Paint/draw/make prints/sculpture’ could be done alone or in a group and unfortunately the data does not tell us. What is particularly significant though for the generation of civil renewal is that 3.4 per cent of people have at some point helped to run an arts event, playing an active role in running community activities.

**Table 7: Frequency of engaging in personal cultural acts (MORI Omnibus)**

	Once or more %	Min once a week %	Min once a month %
READ FICTION/PLAY/NOVEL?	58.4	34.7	10.9
DO TEXTILE/WOOD/OTHER CRAFTS?	20.5	7.8	4.1
PAINT/DRAW/MAKE PRINTS/SCULPTURE?	13.4	4.9	3.3
PLAY MUSICAL INSTRUMENT FOR PLEASURE?	8.5	5.4	1.5
READ POETRY?	8.2	2.3	2.4
DO BALLET/OTHER DANCE?	8.2	2.4	1.8
TAKE PHOTOS/FILMS AS ART?	7.1	1.4	2.1
WRITE STORIES/PLAYS POETRY?	5.6	1.1	1.1
SING/OPERA/PLAY TO AUDIENCE?'	5.1	1.7	0.9
CREATE ANIMATIONS?	3.8	1.2	0.9
HELP RUN ARTS EVENTS?	3.4	0.5	0.5
PERFORM A PLAY?	1.9	0.4	0.3
WRITE MUSIC?	1.5	0.5	0.4

This kind of community leadership is very important if communities are to begin to take control of their own circumstances. ESS 2002 data shows that 5% of people in the UK volunteered in the cultural sector in that year. The Home Office Citizenship survey found that 7.6 per cent people provided unpaid help in the 'Hobbies/recreation/arts/social clubs' category. This is a more general category and therefore returns a slightly higher figure but suggests that the estimate is roughly on target. Figure 7 displays the 2001 Home Office Citizenship Survey figures for volunteering in cultural organisations. It shows that organising events, raising money and leading groups and committees are the most common ways in which people volunteer in this sector. All of these are activities that are likely to help build civil renewal.

**Figure 7: Most common forms of volunteering: Home Office Survey 2001\***



(Base: Those Who Volunteered for a /Hobby/Recreation/Arts/Social Club)

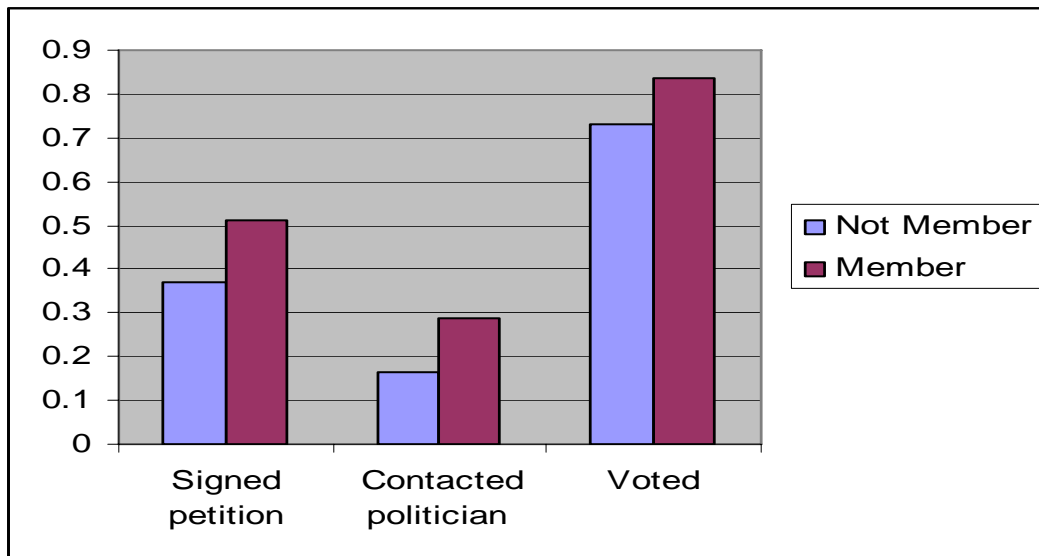
\*Sums to greater than 100 per cent as multiple activities possible.

#### 4. CULTURAL PARTICIPATION AND LEVELS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL: WHAT ARE THE LINKS?

##### 4.1 Cultural participation and civil acts

Our next step was to explore whether there were links between participation in or membership of cultural groups and other measures of social capital. We first looked at whether participating in cultural groups increases the likelihood of participating in other forms of civil behaviours such as voting. Figure 8 displays the percentage of members of cultural groups who participated in three representative civil acts over the course of the previous twelve months (data from 2002 European Social Survey) and demonstrates that those who are members of cultural groups are more likely to engage in civil behaviours.

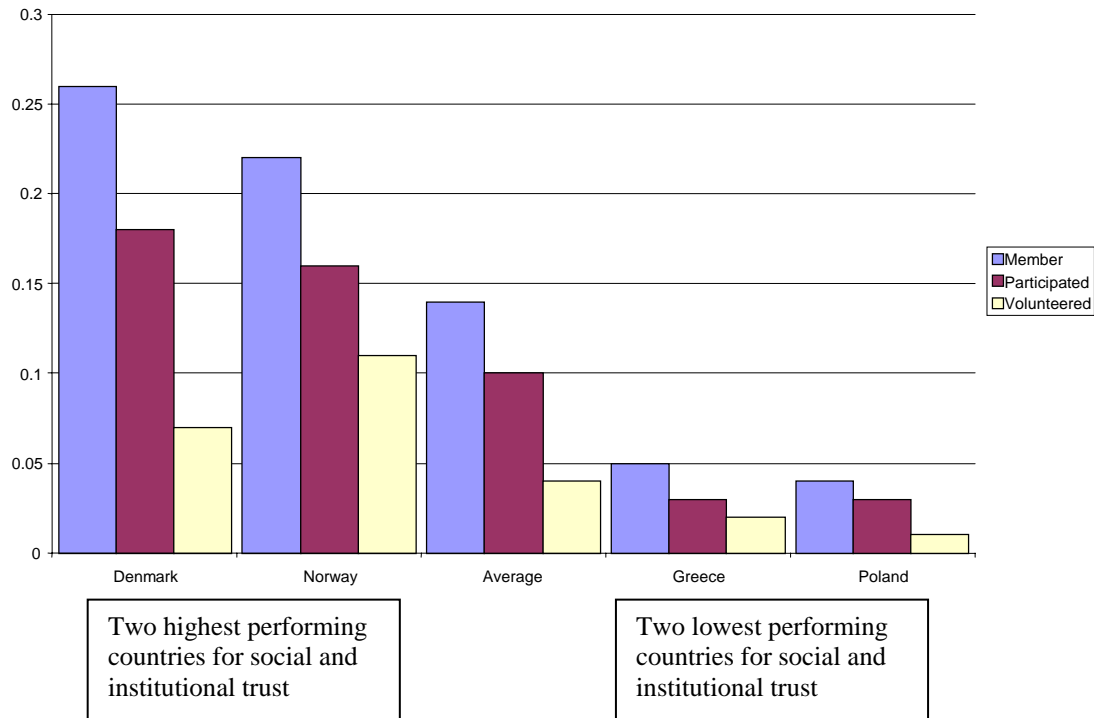
**Figure 8: Civil acts by cultural members**



##### 4.2 National Correlations between Social Capital and Cultural Participation

We then attempted to identify whether countries with higher levels of cultural participation also had higher levels of other measures of social capital. Figure 9 uses the data from the 2002 ESS, taking the two countries that performed best in measures of social and institutional trust in that survey, the average, and the two worst performers and comparing their levels of cultural engagement. This showed that there are strong national correlations between cultural participation and levels of social and institutional trust.

Figure 9. Cultural engagement across countries



To explore this phenomenon in more detail we calculated average levels of social capital and of cultural participation using data from the 2002 European Social Survey. We also calculated levels of participation in other areas for comparison, including television watching, newspaper reading, radio listening and Internet usage. We then calculated correlations between each of these measures.<sup>9</sup> The coefficient is measured as a number between  $-1$  and  $1$ . The closer to  $1$  the result is the closer the association between the two variables. However it important to note that while a positive result illustrates a link it can not tell us about causation. This could run in either direction, or there could be a third factor that causes both measures.

Nevertheless the results, as set out in Table 8, are certainly suggestive. Most striking is the correlation between the prevalence of membership in cultural groups in a country and levels of interpersonal trust, with correlations of between  $0.7 - 0.8$ . Considering that the maximum correlation possible is  $1$  this is a significant result. There are also substantial correlations between levels of cultural membership and measures of trust in civil institutions of between  $0.5$  and  $0.6$  and measures of life satisfaction of between  $0.6$  and  $0.8$ . Again it is important to stress that these findings do not mean that high levels of cultural participation lead to high levels of trust or life satisfaction, or vice versa. We can't tell in what direction the causation lies, or whether there are other factors at work that have an impact on both these factors. Nevertheless it certainly indicates that cultural participation does not have a negative impact on social capital and suggests a potentially interesting relationship that warrants further investigation.

<sup>9</sup> In this case, we employ the Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient that describes the degree of linear association between two variables. In the case of the Spearman coefficient, the observed coefficient tells us the degree of linear association in terms of ranks. In other words, if we observe a coefficient of  $+1$  between any two variables it means that the ordering of the observations is the same on both variables. The primary advantage of using non-parametric correlations is that the results are not sensitive to outlier observations as may be the case with a parametric approach.

Another interesting finding is that associational memberships tend to be complements and not substitutes. In other words, countries with high levels of membership of cultural groups tend also to have high levels of sports club membership and social club membership. Furthermore, we found similar correlations between measures of social trust and interpersonal trust and associational membership of sports and social clubs. This suggests that the findings may relate more to the participation in group activity per se than to participation in the cultural sector in particular.

**Table 8: Spearman rank correlations between national cultural participation and national measures of social capital**

	TV	TV news	Radio	Radio News	Newspaper	Newspaper News	Internet	Member Cultural Club	Participate Cultural Club
Trust people	-0.2	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.7**	0.5**	0.9**	0.8**	0.7**
People fair	-0.2	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.7**	0.5**	0.9**	0.8**	0.7**
People help	-0.1	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.8**	0.4**	0.9**	0.8**	0.7**
Trust Parliament	-0.3	0.2	-0.2	0.1	0.4**	0.4	0.8**	0.5**	0.6**
Trust legal	-0.2	0.3	-0.2	0.1	0.4	0.5**	0.6**	0.4	0.3
Trust police	-0.2	0.3	-0.1	0.0	0.5**	0.5**	0.7**	0.6**	0.4
Trust politic	-0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.5**	0.3	0.8**	0.6**	0.6**
Satisfied life	-0.2	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.6**	0.4	0.9**	0.8**	0.6**
Social friends	-0.3	0.6**	-0.2	0.3	0.2	0.6**	0.7**	0.4	0.5**
Unsafe	0.6**	-0.1	0.0	-0.1	-0.4	-0.4	-0.7**	-0.5**	-0.5**
Unhealthy	0.1	-0.3	-0.1	-0.1	-0.5**	-0.6**	-0.6**	-0.7**	-0.5**
Education <sup>10</sup>	0.2	0.5**	0.6**	0.6**	0.6**	0.4**	0.6**	0.8**	0.6**

\*\* Correlation significant at the .01 level.

### 4.3 Individual Correlations between Social Capital and Cultural Participation.

In this section we examine the correlations between measures of social capital and measures of cultural participation at the individual level, using the same variables that we used for the cross-national correlation work in the previous section. The results of this analysis are displayed in Table 9. Once again, there are substantial correlations between measures of social capital and subjective wellbeing - and these correlations are statistically significant.

It should be noted that correlations tend to be less strong when we are analysing the behaviour of individuals than when the analysis is at a more aggregate level (for instance cross national comparisons, where the measure used is the average level of participation/trust etc in each country). While cross-country correlations are frequently close to 1 on important variables, much lower correlations are generally observed among individual categories. This reflects the fact that there is a lot more variation in individual variables than in national averages of individual variables.

<sup>10</sup> "Trust People" is the mean score on a 1-10 scale asking respondents how much people can be trusted. "People Fair" is the same asking respondents whether they thought people were generally fair. "People Help" is the same with "generally helpful". The "Trust" variables ask respondents on a 1-10 scale to rate the institution mentioned in terms of how much trust they have in them, "Satisfied life" is the mean score on a 1-10 scale asking respondents how satisfied they are with their life in general. "Social Friends" is the mean score on a 1-7 scale asking respondents how often they socialise with friends, "Unsafe" is the mean score on a 1-4 scale asking respondent how unsafe they feel after dark and "Unhealthy" is the mean score on a 1-4 scale asking respondents how unhealthy they feel.

The results demonstrate that individuals who are involved in cultural organisations are more likely to have higher levels of trust and belief in others, and more likely to trust parliament and the legal system, although not the police or politicians. They are also more likely to be more satisfied with life, although this applies only to those who actively participate in cultural organisations as opposed to those who are just members. Both passive and active members are also less likely to report poor health or to feel unsafe.<sup>11</sup> We examine these findings in more detail in Section 5. Many of the other factors examined also show similar correlations, including Internet use. Unlike participation in cultural organisations however internet use does not show correlations with perceptions that people are fair or helpful or with life satisfaction.

**Table 9: Correlations between cultural participation and measures of individual social capital and well-being: UK**

	TV	TV news	Radio	Radio News	Newspaper	Newspaper News	Internet	Member Cultural Club	Participate Cultural Club
Trusted	-0.02	<b>0.04</b>	<b>0.05**</b>	<b>0.10**</b>	<b>0.07**</b>	<b>0.11**</b>	<b>0.09**</b>	<b>0.10**</b>	<b>0.13**</b>
People Fair	<b>-0.05**</b>	0.01	0.03	<b>0.08**</b>	<b>0.08**</b>	<b>0.10**</b>	0.03	<b>0.09**</b>	<b>0.11**</b>
People helpful	0.00	0.03	0.02	<b>0.04</b>	0.03	<b>0.04</b>	<b>-0.05**</b>	<b>0.07**</b>	<b>0.10**</b>
Trust in parliament	<b>-0.06**</b>	<b>0.04**</b>	0.02	<b>0.06**</b>	0.01	<b>0.07**</b>	<b>0.10**</b>	<b>0.05**</b>	<b>0.06**</b>
Trust in the legal system	<b>-0.04**</b>	0.02	0.00	<b>0.08**</b>	-0.01	<b>0.06**</b>	<b>0.14**</b>	<b>0.07**</b>	<b>0.05**</b>
Trust in the police	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.03	0.03	<b>0.06**</b>	<b>0.05**</b>	0.03	0.02
Trust in politicians	<b>-0.04</b>	<b>0.04</b>	0.00	<b>0.08**</b>	0.01	<b>0.07**</b>	<b>0.08**</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>0.03</b>
Satisfied with life	-0.02	0.01	-0.03	0.01	0.03	<b>0.05</b>	0.02	<b>0.04</b>	<b>0.06**</b>
How often meet with friends	-0.01	-0.01	0.02	<b>-0.05**</b>	<b>0.06**</b>	0.04	0.01	<b>0.08**</b>	<b>0.06**</b>
Unsafe	<b>0.10**</b>	-0.01	<b>-0.07**</b>	<b>-0.11**</b>	-0.02	<b>-0.07**</b>	<b>-0.19**</b>	<b>-0.12**</b>	<b>-0.13**</b>
Unhealthy	<b>0.13**</b>	<b>0.09**</b>	<b>-0.06**</b>	-0.02	0.03	-0.01	<b>-0.20**</b>	<b>-0.07**</b>	<b>-0.07**</b>
Education	<b>-0.25**</b>	<b>-0.06**</b>	-0.02	<b>0.08**</b>	-0.02	<b>0.14**</b>	<b>0.44**</b>	<b>0.14**</b>	<b>0.18**</b>

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Bold implies Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

#### 4.4 Isolating the impact of culture

The correlations in the previous section did not incorporate regional and other socio-economic factors. Therefore while the results are interesting they do not tell us whether cultural membership has an **independent** effect on social capital or whether there is a third factor which makes people more likely both to participate in cultural activities and to have higher levels of trust. This section attempts to answer that question by examining the socio-demographic determinants of the quality of civil life in Britain, using the British round of the 2002 European Social Survey, and looking at the impact of these on cultural participation.

Once again, the empirical strategy is to reduce the number of dependent variables to a manageable level via scale construction. In this case, instead of performing a factor analysis we construct summative ratings scale (i.e. adding up individual items to create one catch-all item) based on the individual social and personal trust variables on a measure of 0-10. We then employ these as dependent variables in a regression analysis. The first scale we construct is labelled, *Trust in Civil Institutions* which is constructed by adding the scores for each respondent on the four variables, Trust in

<sup>11</sup> As in the cross national data, there is a high degree of correlation between those who are members of sports clubs, those who are members of social clubs and those who are members of cultural clubs. Put simply, people who are involved in one sort of association are more likely to be involved in other sorts.

Police, Trust in Legal System, Trust in Politicians, Trust in Parliament.<sup>12</sup> The second scale we construct is labelled, *Trust in People*. Once again, this is constructed by adding the scores of three individual items, Perception that people can be trusted, Perception that people are fair and Perception that people are helpful.<sup>13</sup> The third and final scale that we construct is a measure of well-being which combines subjective life satisfaction, subjective happiness, subjective health, and subjective safety.<sup>14</sup> We employ Ordinary Least Squares regression to examine how individual measures of subjective well-being, social trust, civil trust and other measures of social capital are related to: (i) Parental Education (ii) Gender (iii) Years of full time education (iv) Total income before tax (v) Ethnicity (vi) Whether the respondent was involved with a cultural group (viii) Age. The results are displayed in 3.

The results chime with a number of things that have been found in other studies. People become slightly less happy as they age but well-being rises again once retirement draws near. Individual income has a positive effect on well-being. Being a self-identified member of a group that is being discriminated against has a pronounced negative effect on well-being.

We then analysed the impact of cultural participation on these scales. We do not find a statistically significant effect on wellbeing of membership/participation once we control for these other factors. However, there is a statistically significant effect on both trust in civil institutions and trust in people from being involved in a cultural group, indicating that those who are involved in such groups, even accounting for other factors like education, income etc, tend to have more favourable impressions of their fellow citizens and the state of the nation. These findings indicate therefore that cultural membership does have an independent effect on social capital, and on levels of trust in particular.

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<sup>12</sup> The degree of inter-item correlation between these measures is quite high, and the calculated Cronbach Alpha coefficient is over .8, which indicates that summing these measures to form a scale is a reasonable empirical strategy.

<sup>13</sup> Once again, the Cronbach Alpha coefficient of 0.73 would indicate that combining these three scales in to one summative scale is a reliable empirical strategy.

<sup>14</sup> In this case, the Cronbach Alpha coefficient is lower (0.56) reflecting less inter-item correlation between the four items than in the previous scales. This implies that analysing these separately would also yield useful information. Nevertheless, the scale still acts as a very good measure of subjective well-being, combining a number of different facets of conscience experience.

## 5. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DETERMINANTS OF CULTURAL PARTICIPATION.

### 5.1 The socio-demographic profile of cultural participation

The above analysis tells us that cultural participation has an effect on social capital that is independent of other socio-demographic factors. What it does not tell us however is who benefits from this. For instance, if participation in cultural activities is dominated by one particular social group then its beneficial impacts on social capital will disproportionately benefit that group. There are certainly some indicators that this may be the case. Grenier and Wright (2001), among others, have argued that although Britain has not suffered the same decline in associational membership that has been catalogued by Putnam in the US, the patterns of associational membership and its attendant benefits are concentrated predominantly in the more privileged sections of society and do not on the whole benefit those most in need of them. To assess whether this pattern was common to all types of associational membership we looked at the data from the 2002 ESS. As figures 11 to 14 demonstrate wealth and education make people more likely to be members of all types of groups bar social clubs, including cultural organisations, and men are more likely to be members of cultural organisations than women. Interestingly though members of a minority or ethnic group are more likely than their white British counterparts to be members of a cultural organisation.

Figure 11. Effect of income on associational membership

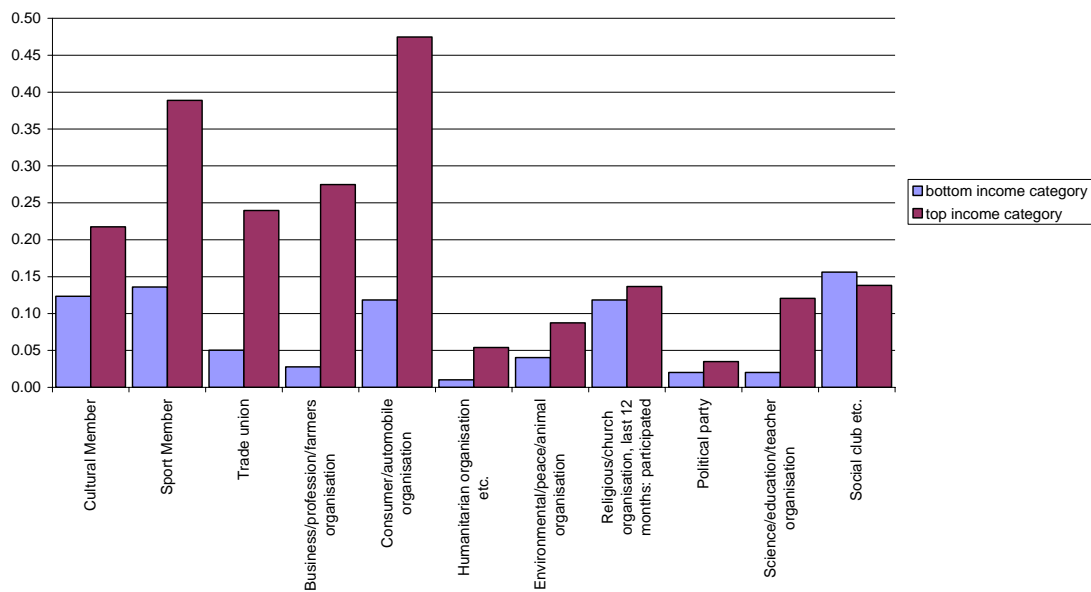


Figure 12. Effect of education on associational membership

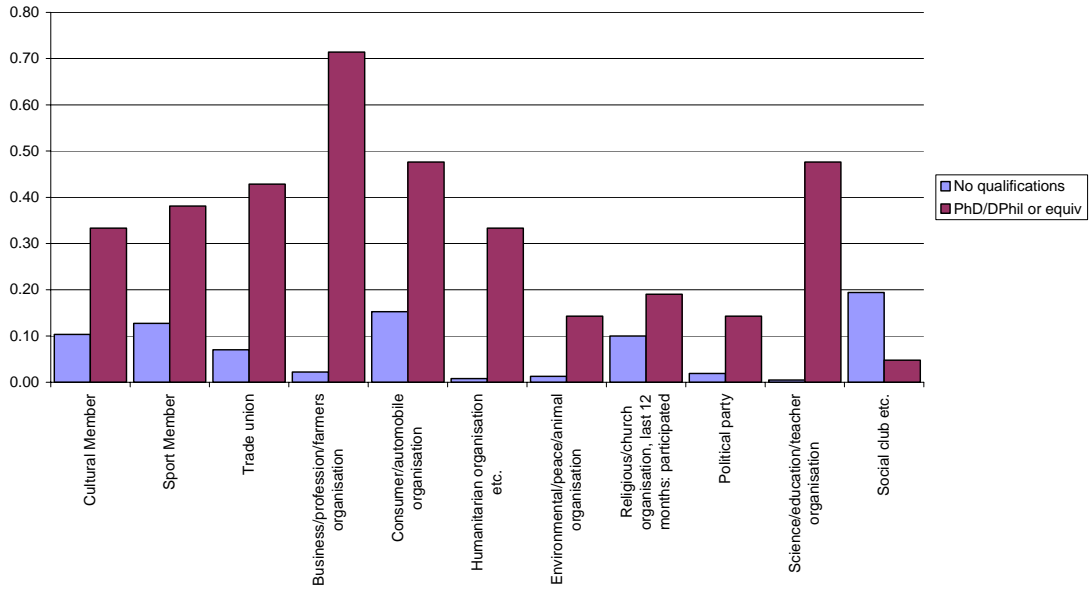


Figure 13. Effect of gender on associational membership

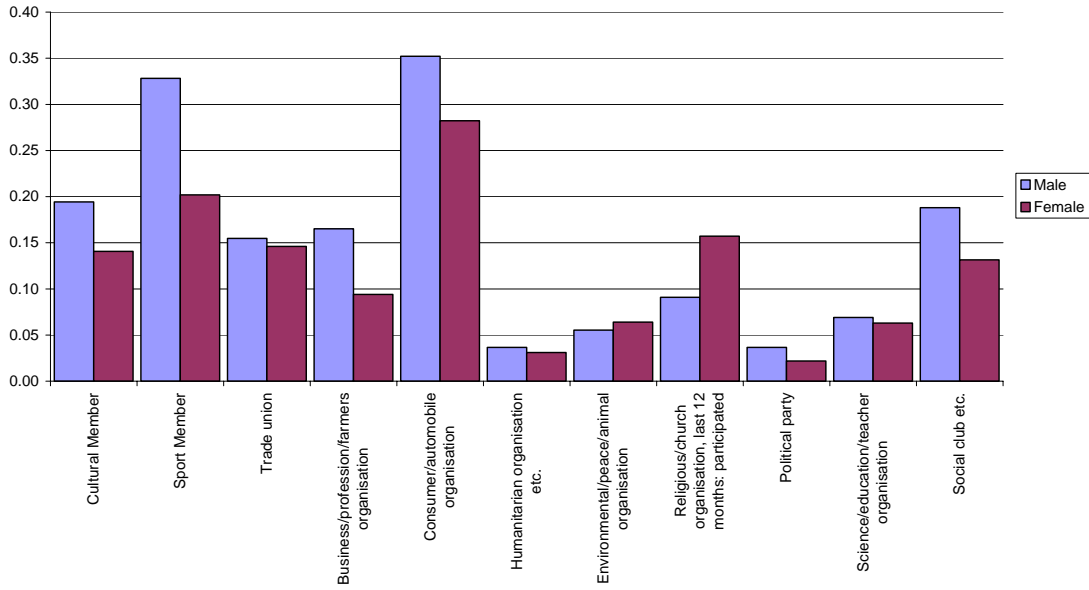
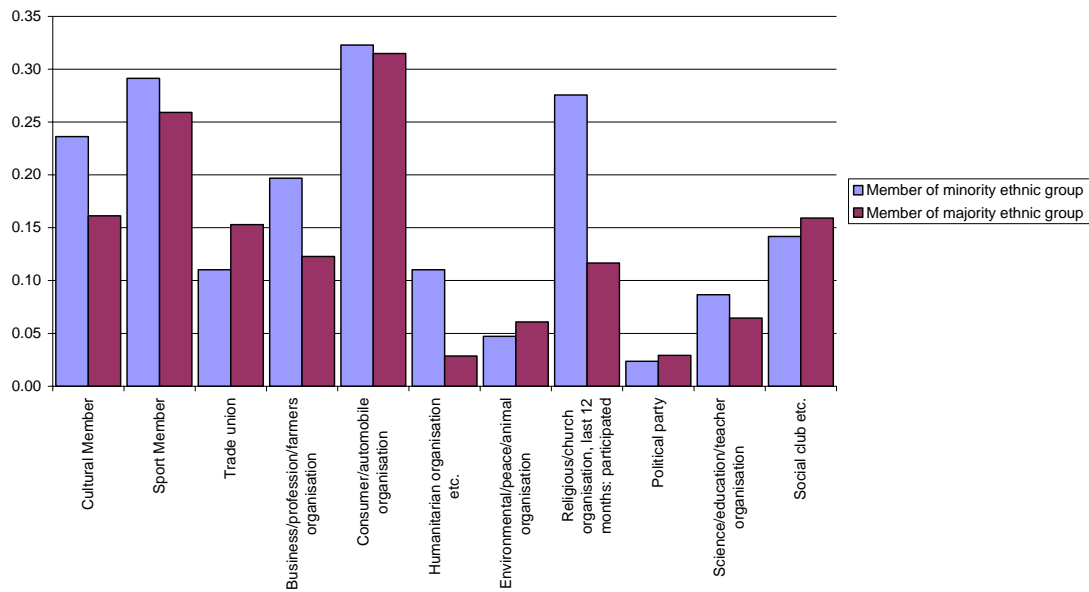


Figure 14. Effect of ethnicity on associational membership



It would appear then from this data that cultural organisations have a similar participation profile to many other types of organisations. This may suggest that whether somebody becomes a member of a group or organisation may have more to do with factors that incline people towards membership generally rather than towards an activity in particular. However this does not mean that cultural organisations and activities do not have the potential to promote civil activity. The differing levels of participation between the groups are significantly lower for cultural membership than for most other types of activity, indicating that despite the disparities cultural groups are still among the most egalitarian forms of membership organisations, along with social clubs. It is also certainly the case that participation in general, and membership of cultural organisations in particular, appear to offer an environment where members are more civil minded. Promoting membership of these groups may therefore be a useful mechanism for putting the disillusioned or inactive in touch with others who are still active civil participants.

## 5.2 Individual determinants of cultural participation in Britain: breakdown by activity

Our next step was to try and dig a little deeper beneath the broad umbrella of “cultural organisation” and try to establish whether there are different socio-demographic profiles for different types of cultural activity. It may be that although the overall profile of cultural participation tends to be wealthy and well educated, this may differ for different types of cultural activity. If some types of activity are significantly more egalitarian than others these would be more likely to create bridging as well as bonding social capital, and so be more effective in promoting civil renewal. Table 10 uses data from the 2001 MORI Omnibus Survey and displays the number of times that adults from different socio-economic groups attended cultural events in the last 12 months. As can be seen, having a college degree makes one substantially more likely to participate in almost all forms of cultural activity. The effect of education is substantially higher than the effect of income, suggesting taste and exposure is more important than resources. The opera, classical concerts, ballet etc. are almost exclusively attended by those with a college degree, whereas craft fairs, films, cultural festivals and libraries are more evenly attended by those with university education and those without. The picture for ethnicity though is more mixed with black and ethnic minority groups more likely than white groups to attend many

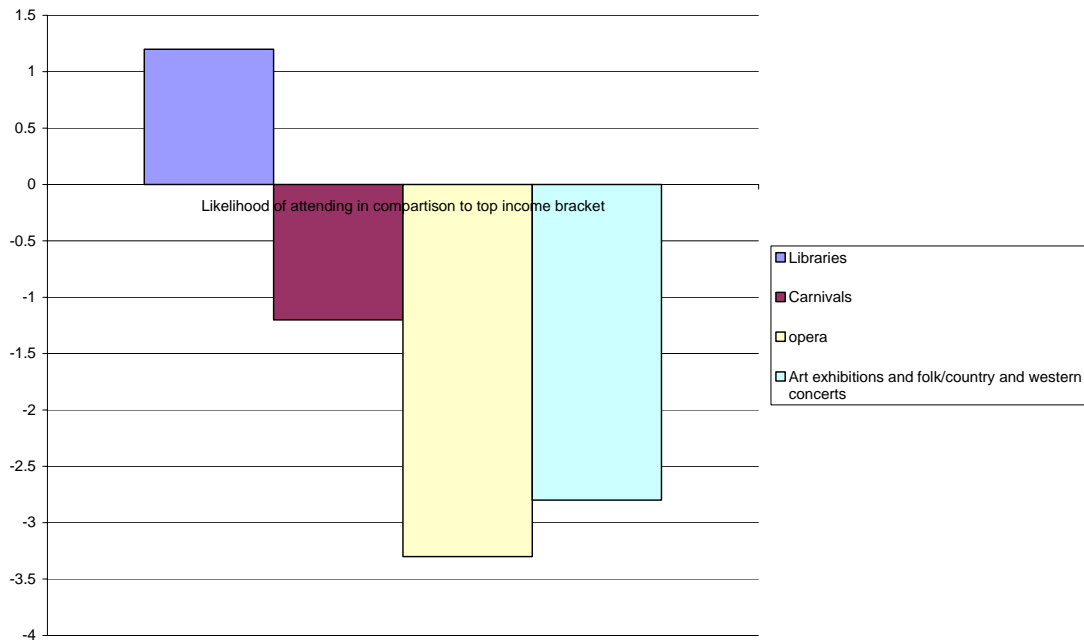
cultural events. Figures 15-17 present this data in a slightly different way, taking the two most frequently and least frequently used activities by certain groups and looking at the differences in how likely different socio-demographic groups are to attend them. The picture is quite mixed, although libraries tend to perform well. However what it does show is that different types of activity appeal to different groups, and although overall the more wealthy and educated are more likely to participate in culture, this is truer of some activities than others, suggesting that there may be benefits, if we want to extend the reach of cultural participation, in targeting funding at particular types of activity.

**Table 10: Average number of times attended various events over the past twelve months by socio-economic groups**

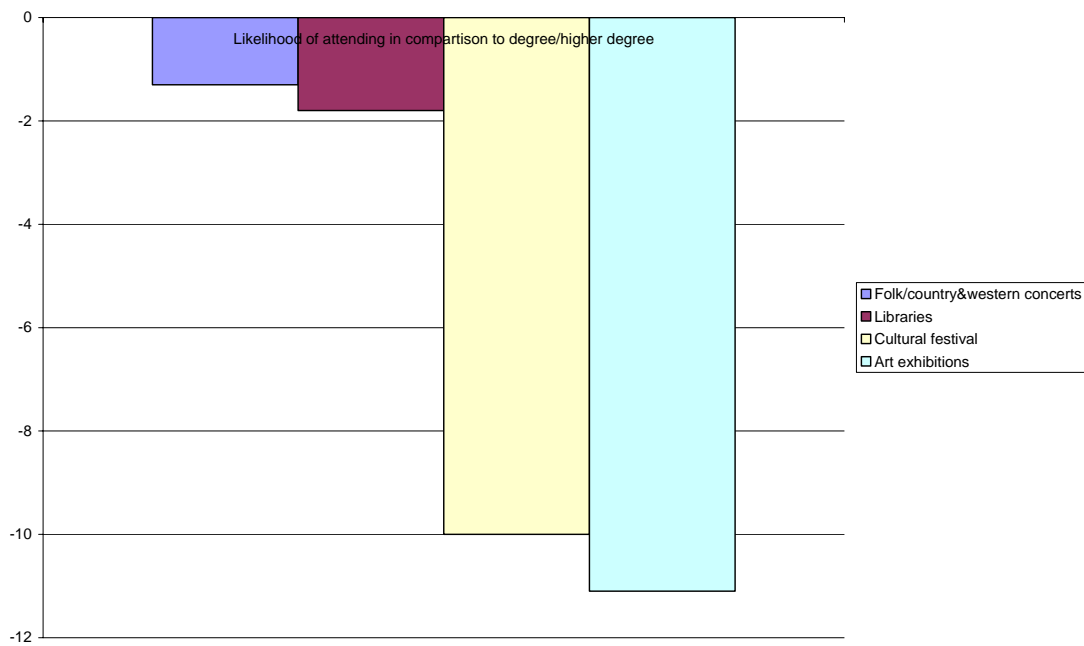
	Cultural festival	Musical	Play	Opera	Classical concert	Jazz concert	Rock/pop concert	Folk/ C&W concert	Ballet
<b>White British</b>									
No	0.61	0.54	0.75	0.16	0.30	0.33	0.41	0.15	0.04
Yes	0.13	0.51	0.75	0.12	0.32	0.19	0.48	0.10	0.03
<b>Income Group</b>									
<£6,200	0.13	0.38	0.54	0.07	0.23	0.12	0.36	0.04	0.02
£6,200 - £15,000	0.17	0.45	0.63	0.08	0.21	0.19	0.37	0.15	0.03
£15,000+	0.24	0.71	1.08	0.23	0.50	0.32	0.80	0.10	0.04
<b>College Degree</b>									
No	0.13	0.48	0.60	0.09	0.21	0.16	0.44	0.10	0.02
Yes	0.50	0.69	1.66	0.35	0.94	0.49	0.71	0.13	0.08
<b>Gender</b>									
Male	0.19	0.51	0.60	0.11	0.31	0.28	0.64	0.14	0.01
Female	0.18	0.51	0.86	0.14	0.32	0.14	0.35	0.08	0.04
<b>Age Category</b>									
18-30	0.26	0.47	0.54	0.07	0.13	0.17	0.86	0.07	0.03
31-50	0.20	0.44	0.71	0.09	0.22	0.17	0.70	0.12	0.03
51-65	0.16	0.67	1.07	0.18	0.48	0.31	0.32	0.11	0.04
65+	0.12	0.49	0.64	0.17	0.45	0.19	0.01	0.12	0.02
<b>Region</b>									
London	0.34	0.51	0.88	0.18	0.38	0.21	0.50	0.11	0.04
Other	0.16	0.51	0.73	0.12	0.31	0.20	0.47	0.11	0.03
Total	0.18	0.51	0.75	0.13	0.32	0.21	0.47	0.11	0.03
	<b>Film</b>	<b>Library</b>	<b>Museum</b>	<b>Art exhibition</b>	<b>Craft exhibition</b>	<b>Video event</b>	<b>Book event</b>	<b>Carnival</b>	
<b>White British</b>									
No	4.51	6.96	2.25	1.13	0.54	0.34	0.42	0.39	
Yes	2.96	6.77	1.35	0.63	0.46	0.13	0.24	0.32	
<b>Income Group</b>									
<£6,200	2.61	8.29	0.96	0.38	0.34	0.10	0.19	0.29	
£6,200 - £15,000	2.80	6.72	1.22	0.59	0.47	0.15	0.17	0.36	
£15,000+	4.41	5.40	2.22	1.08	0.58	0.23	0.35	0.35	
<b>College Degree</b>									
No	2.75	6.40	1.04	0.43	0.42	0.10	0.17	0.31	
Yes	5.46	9.17	3.93	2.21	0.73	0.48	0.75	0.41	
<b>Gender</b>									
Male	3.23	5.40	1.54	0.70	0.41	0.23	0.25	0.33	
Female	3.07	7.86	1.38	0.67	0.51	0.10	0.27	0.33	

Age Category									
18-30	6.96	5.97	1.40	0.61	0.25	0.35	0.23	0.43	
31-50	3.55	6.40	1.49	0.67	0.47	0.20	0.26	0.41	
51-65	2.00	6.31	1.74	0.93	0.68	0.08	0.31	0.28	
65+	0.76	8.40	1.24	0.57	0.45	0.02	0.22	0.18	
Region									
London	4.72	7.73	2.37	1.23	0.39	0.31	0.26	0.32	
Other	2.91	6.65	1.32	0.61	0.48	0.13	0.26	0.33	
Total	3.06	6.81	1.47	0.69	0.47	0.15	0.26	0.33	

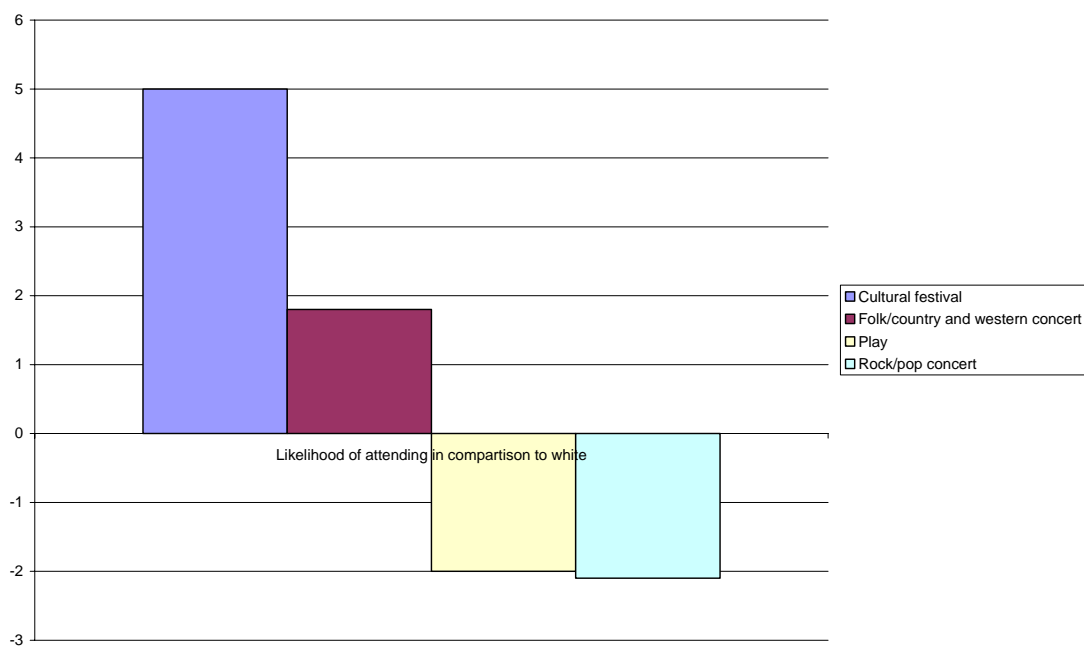
**Figure 15: Likelihood of attending different cultural event – lowest income bracket**



**Figure 16: Likelihood of attending different cultural event – no formal education**



**Figure 17: Likelihood of attending different cultural events – ethnic minority**



### 5.3 Controlling for other factors

The above analysis does not control for different factors. For example, although men may be more likely to participate in some activities rather than others, it may not be the case that this is due to them being men per se. Rather, it could be the case that men are more likely to have a college degree and that people with college degrees in general are more likely to engage in the activity. We therefore attempted to ascertain whether the observed differences in cultural activity are due to the factor itself or can be explained by other factors. To do this, we employ an OLS multiple regression analysis with robust standard errors. This analysis analyses the determinants of a given variable,  $y$ , in terms of a number of explanatory variables ( $x$  variables) and

allows us to separate the impact of different factors, holding all the others constant<sup>15</sup>. The variables we used to explain cultural participation were: (i) Number of dependent children (ii) Gender (iii) Age when left full time education (iv) Ethnicity<sup>16</sup> (v) Region and (vi) Age. The results of estimating these equations are displayed in Appendix 3.<sup>17</sup> We estimate the demographic determinants of cultural attendance across seventeen different forms of cultural activity. The results again point to the importance of education, as well as regional location, in determining participation in different forms of cultural participation. The number of years spent in formal school has a statistically significant effect on participating in many of the cultural activities examined. In the case of Film and Library attendance, the effect of education is particularly pronounced. With the exception of rock concerts, “White British” respondents are proportionately less likely to attend all of the other cultural activities outlined.<sup>18</sup> In the case of historic houses and castles we utilised the Time Usage Survey. Education, being White and having access to a car were three very significant factors in determining visits to Castles and Historic Houses.

Of course, there are many other factors at work here. Individual taste and preference, availability of leisure time and ease of access all have an impact on the likelihood of an individual accessing these activities. However demographics obviously play a key role. Education is understandably highly significant, but the results for ethnicity are surprising. Although being white is a significant indicator in the profile of visitors to traditional heritage sites, it is much more mixed for other cultural activities. Of course heritage is not confined to grand country houses and castles and much of the sector are focusing heavily on expanding the definition of heritage to reflect the breadth of our diverse history. Unfortunately this is difficult to measure as the survey data tends only to ask about visits to historic houses and castles, but it would be interesting to see how far, if at all, the picture changed if we were able to account for this in future research.

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<sup>15</sup> The coefficients on the x variables represent the slope of x with regard to y and tell us by how much y changes if x changes, holding the other x variables constant.

<sup>16</sup> Due mainly to sample size restrictions, we do not examine the effect of being in each ethnic group on cultural participation. Instead we examine the category “White British” as opposed to the rest.

<sup>17</sup> An alternative empirical strategy would have been to conduct a Principal Components Analysis to identify different factors that group together individual items. Sturgis and Jackson (2003) conduct latent class analysis on the Time Use Survey 2000 data to identify different cultural groups such as “Cultural Slouches”, “Cultural Consumers”, “High Culture Vultures”, “Heritage Seekers” and “Family Day Trippers”. They then demonstrate the distribution of these groups across different socio-demographic classes.

<sup>18</sup> The models do not explain a large percentage of the variance. This is partly due to measurement issues with the independent variables such as how to measure education etc, and also due to the “count nature” of the data. A more developed model could in principle be constructed to account for a number of these factors but is beyond the remit of this paper.

## 6. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

### 6.1 Summary of findings

This paper has benchmarked levels of cultural participation in the UK with the experience in other EU countries, and has explored the links between cultural participation and other measures of social capital. Our report is based primarily on correlational survey-based evidence and throughout the report we have consistently stressed the limitations of this approach while also detailing the facts that the data portrays. The conclusions of the paper can be summarised as follows:

1. Levels of social capital, including trust in institutions, social trust, associational membership and political participation in the UK do not seem to have declined over time and are all around the EU average, although substantially lower than measured levels in Scandinavian countries.

2. The UK comes slightly above the European average for levels of cultural participation, although not by very much. The most popular cultural events are visiting libraries and cinemas, then historic houses/castles and museums/galleries. Libraries were also the most likely to attract more disadvantaged groups.

3. A significant minority also volunteer in the cultural sector, helping to organise and run events, raising or handling money and sitting on committees among other things. These skills are not only of benefit to the cultural sector but also provide valuable transferable skills which can be used to help achieve civil renewal in other spheres too.

4. There are very strong correlations between a nation's level of cultural membership and the levels of social trust. There are also quite strong correlations with trust in democratic institutions and life satisfaction. This indicates that those countries with higher levels of membership in cultural groups among their citizens will also have higher levels of social trust.

5. Individuals who are involved in cultural organisations, both as members and as participants, are more likely to vote, contact a politician and sign a petition. Membership of and participation in cultural organisations also display strong correlations with higher levels of social trust and trust in parliament and the legal system (although not the police or politicians). There are also strong negative correlations with self-reported poor health or feeling unsafe and participants (although not members) showed strong correlations with life satisfaction. The impact on social and political trust remains statistically significant even after controlling for other factors, including gender, education, income, age and ethnicity.

6. However the wealthy and educated are still much more likely to be members of cultural organisations, and although the extent to which this is likely varies according to the type of cultural activity, education in particular is a pronounced and persistent factor across all types of activity we analysed, even when controlling for other factors. In general men are also more likely to attend than women, although this varies quite considerably for different types of activity. The picture for ethnicity is much more mixed. Members of minority/ethnic groups are more likely to be members of cultural organisations than their white British counterparts, and this persists across a large number of different types of cultural activity.

## **6.2 Implications and discussion**

More detailed study would be necessary to ascertain cause and effect relationships. However, people who are involved in cultural activities are more likely to participate in other ways, and participation in cultural activities is very strongly correlated with both social and political trust, even when controlling for other factors. This suggests that there is a prima facie case that the cultural sector has an important role to play in improving the relationship between citizens and the state as well as in building stronger communities, with greater levels of social trust and more involved citizens.

A significant hurdle that proponents of cultural activities need to overcome is that the potential benefits of cultural participation are being unevenly distributed because of the socio-demographic profile of membership and participation in the cultural sector. The results for ethnicity are interesting, demonstrating that those from minority ethnic groups attend cultural events to a greater degree than those from the majority (white British) ethnic group. They also attend a wider array of different types of cultural events and have higher levels of associational membership than White British adults. However income and education have a pronounced impact on the likelihood of participation, with the least well off and educated also being the least likely to participate in the cultural sector and so being the least likely to gain those benefits. This is of course a long-standing problem, but one to which the findings of this paper lend an increased sense of urgency.

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## APPENDIX 1: Need for Future Evaluative Research

This paper has been an initial attempt to open up the area of quantitative evaluation of the links between cultural participation, civil renewal and social capital. The results point to a need for future research. Firstly, the existing data can be used to develop more detailed models of the links between different individual cultural and political behaviours. The existing archived data, such as the data utilised in this paper offer an under-utilised research tool for researchers in the area. Furthermore, studies with larger sample sizes and more detailed measures will allow greater precision in the quantification of different factors affecting cultural activity. However, it is clear that cross-sectional survey analysis alone is an incomplete methodology for examining the linkages involved. The correlations are striking yet one cannot make causative inferences on the relationship between cultural participation and civil renewal without more targeted programmatic data. One promising field of research is the examination of child developmental data-sets which track individuals from early life on to adulthood and will allow research in to the effects of exposure to art and culture and later civil attitudes and engagement. Also, the increased awareness of the need for evaluating government interventions will aid in the process of examining causative as opposed to correlative tendencies in the relationships between society and culture. Instrumental variable analysis may also aid in the process of identifying causal effects of cultural participation on social capital. Essentially, we need to find proxies for levels of cultural availability that are not direct factors generating social capital. For example, if we could demonstrate that a random change in the level of cultural availability had an effect on social capital, then this would strengthen the case. At present, we are unsure whether observed relationships between social capital and cultural participation are not due to other factors that may be generating both.

Finally it may also be interesting to further develop the research measuring the impact of culture on wellbeing. One of the most prominent approaches to valuing public goods in recent years has been to assess how their provision impacts on well-being as measured by subjective well-being questions in surveys. This can then be compared to the effect of income to derive a monetary measure of the value of the provision of the public good (Layard 2005). This paper found little evidence that cultural participation increased wellbeing, once we controlled for other factors. However a 1-10 happiness scale is a very crude measure. A more interesting approach for future research would be to develop measures of well-being that capture more of the subtleties and complexities of the benefits provided by cultural participation. The most effective way of doing this may be to ask individuals directly what benefits they glean from cultural participation as in the recent literature on Contingent Valuation Methodology (e.g. Noonan 2002, 2003).

## APPENDIX 2: DATA SOURCES

There is often a significant lag between the implementation of a large-scale survey and the release of the raw data to general researchers. For this reason, much of the data analysed in this paper dates to the period 2000-2002. We focus on the analysis of the following five major pieces of data.

### 1. European Social Survey 2002

The European Social Survey was inaugurated in 2002, and data will be available from the second round in 2005. The ESS was conducted in 21 countries<sup>19</sup> and contains several measures of civil engagement, political trust, civil mindedness and subjective measures of safety and wellbeing. We focus on a number of measures in this section of the paper:

Civil Mindedness: Respondents were asked about the perceived importance of a number of different attributes in terms of good citizenship. Specifically, respondents were asked how important it is to:

- Support People who are worse off
- Vote in Elections
- Always obey laws and elections
- Form independent opinions
- Be active in voluntary organisations
- Be active in Politics

Trust in Civil Institutions: Respondents were also asked the degree to which they trusted national and international civil and political institutions. Specifically, respondents were asked to rate on a scale of 1-10 how much they trusted the following institutions:

- Country's Parliament
- Legal System
- Police
- Politicians
- European Parliament
- United Nations

Trust in other people/Subjective Well-being: I use this grouping as a catch-all for, roughly speaking individual levels of inter-personal trust and well-being. Respondents were asked questions assessing the following:

- Whether they trusted people
- Whether they thought that people were fair
- Whether they thought that people were helpful
- Their Satisfaction with life
- Their Satisfaction with democracy
- Their level of happiness
- How often they met with friends
- Their Subjective feeling of safety
- Their Subjective Health

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<sup>19</sup> The data used in this paper does not include data from France, which was added to the core data set at a later date.

Involvement in Civil Organisations/Friends Involvement in Civil Organisation: Respondents were asked whether they were actively involved in a wide variety of civil organisations. Furthermore, they were also asked whether they had close friends who were involved in the same categories of civil organisations. The following categories were used:

- Sports/Outdoor Club
- Cultural/Hobby Activity Organisation
- Trade Union
- Business/Profession/Farmers Organisation
- Consumer/Automobile Organisation
- Humanitarian Organisation
- Environmental/Peace/Animal Organisation
- Religious/Church/Organisation
- Political Party
- Science/Education/Teacher Organisation
- Social Club
- Other Voluntary Organisation

## **2. British Social Attitude Survey 1984-2002**

The British Social Attitudes Survey has been conducted almost every year since 1983. This allows us to use historical and contemporary data to give an overview of trends in civil participation in Britain over a 20-year period. It should be noted however that the BSAS has evolved over time and that each survey has unique aspects with some questions being added in later editions and some dropped. Having said that, the quality of the data in terms of the rigour in the collection process and the sample size ensures that we can give good estimates of the trends in levels of civil engagement. Given the focus of this paper, however, on cultural participation we make limited use of the BSAS, which contains detailed items on internet usage but is not particularly detailed on other forms of cultural participation. In terms of assessing the quality, the BSAS contains several items. One set of measures that we track through time is whether respondents would be willing to engage in the following activities:

- Contact MP
- Speak to an influential person
- Contact a government department
- Contact radio, TV or newspaper
- Sign a petition
- Raise an issue in organisation
- Go on a protest or demonstration

## **3. Home Office Citizenship Survey 2001**

This paper utilises raw data from the 2001 Home Office Citizenship survey released in 2003. The survey was carried out on a nationally representative sample of 10,000 adults aged 16 and over as well as a boost sample of 5,000 minority ethnic adults aged 16 and over. The survey consists of seven modules. We are primarily interested here in the second module, which assessed:

“Perceptions of neighbourhood; contact with neighbours and friends; participation in civil affairs; membership of groups; unpaid help given to groups (formal volunteering); unpaid help given as an individual (informal volunteering); barriers and incentives to giving time voluntarily; giving and receiving voluntary help.” (taken from Smith and Wands, 2003).

In this paper, we examine the following measures

- Trust in police
- Trust in magistrates
- Trust in employer
- Trust in politicians
- Trust in parliament
- Trust in the Welsh Assembly
- Trust in the Greater London Assembly
- Trust in local Council

#### **4. Time Usage Survey 2000**

While once again, the individual raw data is somewhat dated at this stage, the time usage data is particularly useful and detailed and allows us to at least give an accurate benchmark of cultural participation at a point in time. We do not focus on the detailed sporting questions, which are outside the scope of this paper. In terms of cultural participation, the survey assessed whether the respondents had engaged in the following activities over the past four weeks, and if so the frequency of engagement:

- Eat or drink at a café
- Any other outdoor trip
- A shopping centre or a mall
- A library
- Some other place of entertainment
- A sport event as a spectator
- Any other gig
- A historic house, castle
- A car-boot sale, antiques fair
- The Cinema
- The ballet or to modern dance
- A museum or an art gallery
- A theme park, fairground
- A zoo, wildlife reserve
- The opera
- The Millennium Dome
- A play, musical or pantomime
- A Concert or Performance
- Any other special Millennium Event

#### **5. MORI/ONS Omnibus Study 2001**

This is a particularly useful data set in that it was specifically designed to give a comprehensive profile of the patterns of participation across the different cultural activities. A nationally representative sample of over 6,000 adults was surveyed on their participation in arts and cultural events from July to November 2001. Respondents were first asked a number of questions assessing their attendance at the following events:

- Film
- Library
- Museum

- Play
- Musical
- Carnival
- Art Exhibition
- Craft Exhibition
- Rock/Pop Concert
- Classical Concert
- Cultural Festival
- Other Concert
- Book Event
- Other Dance
- Video Event
- Opera
- Jazz Concert
- Contemporary Dance
- Folk/Country and Western Concert
- Ballet
- African Dance
- South Asian Dance

Respondents were also asked a series of questions assessing the frequency with which they engaged in the following activities:

- Read fiction/play/novel
- Do textile/wood/other crafts
- Paint/draw/make prints/sculpture
- Play musical instruments
- Read Poetry
- Do Ballet/Other Dance
- Take Photos/Films as Art
- Write stories/plays/poetry
- Sing/opera/play to audience
- Create animations
- Help run arts events
- Perform a play
- Write Music

### APPENDIX 3

**Table A1: Ordinary least squares analysis of determinants of civil trust, interpersonal trust and subjective well-being**

	Civil Trust			Personal Trust			Well-being		
	B	t	sig	B	t	sig	B	t	sig
(Constant)	15.9	7.3	0.0	9.4	6.4	0.0	17.8	15.3	0.0
Age	-0.2	-3.7	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.7	-0.1	-1.6	0.1
Age Squared	0.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.2	0.0	2.3	0.0
Years of full-time education completed	0.1	1.6	0.1	0.1	3.4	0.0	0.0	-0.9	0.3
Gender	-0.6	-1.6	0.1	-0.2	-0.9	0.4	-0.4	-1.8	0.1
Cultural/hobby activity organisation	0.7	1.6	0.1	0.9	2.9	0.0	0.2	0.8	0.4
Sports/outdoor activity club	1.0	2.3	0.0	0.3	1.1	0.3	0.7	3.2	0.0
Member of a group discriminated against	-3.3	-6.0	0.0	-1.4	-3.9	0.0	-1.5	-5.1	0.0
Household's total net income, all sources	0.2	2.7	0.0	0.1	1.0	0.3	0.4	8.5	0.0
Mother's highest level of education	0.3	1.4	0.2	0.5	3.2	0.0	0.1	1.1	0.3
Father's highest level of education	0.3	1.2	0.2	-0.1	-0.5	0.6	-0.1	-0.7	0.5
R-Squared	0.054			0.068			0.085		

## APPENDIX 4: Statistical Models of Cultural Participation

**Table A2a: Demographic determinants of cultural participation**

	Film		Library		Museum		Art	
	B	t	B	T	B	t	B	t
(Constant)	<b>9.24***</b>	<b>20.77</b>	-1.77	-1.74	<b>2.54**</b>	<b>8.23</b>	<b>1.27</b>	<b>5.73</b>
Number of dependent children in the household	<b>-0.76***</b>	<b>-9.24</b>	<b>0.84***</b>	<b>4.45</b>	<b>-0.15**</b>	<b>-2.54</b>	<b>-0.18***</b>	<b>-4.29</b>
Female	-0.02	-0.15	<b>2.40***</b>	<b>7.10</b>	-0.11	-1.06	0.01	0.13
Age of Respondent	<b>-0.11***</b>	<b>-24.31</b>	<b>0.08***</b>	<b>7.36</b>	0.00	0.61	0.00	0.26
Age left FULL TIME education?	<b>0.05***</b>	<b>10.24</b>	<b>0.07***</b>	<b>6.03</b>	<b>0.02***</b>	<b>4.65</b>	<b>0.01***</b>	<b>3.95</b>
White British	-0.38	-1.53	0.23	0.41	<b>-0.60***</b>	<b>-3.53</b>	<b>-0.33**</b>	<b>-2.70</b>
North	<b>-1.16***</b>	<b>-4.48</b>	<b>-1.68**</b>	<b>-2.85</b>	<b>-0.79***</b>	<b>-4.42</b>	<b>-0.51***</b>	<b>-3.96</b>
Midlands	<b>-1.10***</b>	<b>-4.29</b>	<b>-1.14**</b>	<b>-1.95</b>	<b>-0.97***</b>	<b>-5.46</b>	<b>-0.59***</b>	<b>-4.66</b>
South west	<b>-0.89**</b>	<b>-2.86</b>	-1.12	-1.56	<b>-0.80**</b>	<b>-3.69</b>	<b>-0.45**</b>	<b>-2.92</b>
South east	-0.49	-1.74	-0.84	-1.29	<b>-0.69**</b>	<b>-3.51</b>	<b>-0.36**</b>	<b>-2.52</b>
R-Squared	0.14		0.02		0.01		0.02	

**Table A2b: Demographic determinants of cultural participation**

	Craft		Video		Book Event		Carnival	
	B	t	B	T	B	t	B	t
(Constant)	0.17	1.21	0.85	8.20	0.16	1.16	<b>0.57***</b>	<b>8.55</b>
Number of dependent children in the household	<b>-0.05**</b>	<b>-1.96</b>	<b>-0.03*</b>	<b>-1.79</b>	-0.01	-0.30	<b>0.04***</b>	<b>3.59</b>
Female	<b>0.11**</b>	<b>2.46</b>	<b>-0.12***</b>	<b>-3.42</b>	0.03	0.67	0.00	-0.20
Age of Respondent	<b>0.00**</b>	<b>2.20</b>	<b>-0.01***</b>	<b>-5.58</b>	0.00	0.88	<b>0.00***</b>	<b>-7.02</b>
Age left FULL TIME education?	0.00	1.01	0.00	0.59	<b>0.00**</b>	<b>2.85</b>	0.00	-1.07
White British	<b>-0.17**</b>	<b>-2.17</b>	<b>-0.13**</b>	<b>-2.25</b>	<b>-0.17**</b>	<b>-2.24</b>	-0.04	-1.12
North	<b>0.15*</b>	<b>1.85</b>	-0.10	-1.59	0.04	0.48	-0.01	-0.21
Midlands	0.08	1.02	<b>-0.13**</b>	<b>-2.20</b>	0.11	1.44	-0.02	-0.46
South west	<b>0.24**</b>	<b>2.47</b>	<b>-0.15**</b>	<b>-2.13</b>	0.03	0.34	<b>0.20***</b>	<b>4.20</b>
South east	0.08	0.87	-0.07	-1.02	0.01	0.15	<b>0.10**</b>	<b>2.40</b>
R-squared	0.02		0.01		0.001		0.02	

**Table A2c: Demographic determinants of cultural participation**

	Cultural Festival		Musical		Play		Opera	
	B	t	B	T	B	t	B	t
(Constant)	<b>0.50***</b>	<b>6.74</b>	<b>0.27**</b>	<b>2.31</b>	0.05	0.33	0.02	0.30
Number of dependent children in the household	0.01	0.98	<b>-0.04*</b>	<b>-1.81</b>	<b>-0.12***</b>	<b>-4.07</b>	<b>-0.03**</b>	<b>-2.51</b>
Female	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.23	<b>0.29***</b>	<b>5.60</b>	0.04	1.77
Age of Respondent	0.00	0.04	0.00	1.94	0.00	1.83	<b>0.00***</b>	<b>3.70</b>
Age left FULL TIME education?	0.00	5.59	<b>0.01***</b>	<b>5.08</b>	<b>0.01***</b>	<b>6.76</b>	<b>0.00**</b>	<b>2.52</b>
White British	<b>-0.45***</b>	<b>-11.02</b>	-0.01	-0.21	0.05	0.61	-0.04	-1.14
North	-0.02	-0.45	-0.04	-0.62	<b>-0.29***</b>	<b>-3.17</b>	<b>-0.08**</b>	<b>-2.22</b>
Midlands	-0.05	-1.20	0.03	0.38	-0.09	-0.99	<b>-0.09**</b>	<b>-2.60</b>
South west	-0.02	-0.33	-0.01	-0.16	-0.09	-0.83	-0.05	-1.24
South east	-0.01	-0.14	<b>0.15**</b>	<b>2.06</b>	0.00	-0.02	0.03	0.85
R-Squared	0.03		0.01		0.02		0.01	

**Table A2d: Demographic determinants of cultural participation**

	Classical		Jazz		Rock		Folk		Ballet	
	B	t	B	T	B	t	B	t	B	t
(Constant)	-0.06	-0.49	<b>0.50</b>	<b>3.13</b>	<b>1.89</b>	<b>10.61</b>	0.14	1.24	0.01	0.67
Number of dependent children in the household	<b>-0.07**</b>	<b>-2.85</b>	<b>-0.07**</b>	<b>-2.23</b>	<b>-0.17***</b>	<b>-5.10</b>	0.01	0.61	0.00	-1.03
Female	0.02	0.54	<b>-0.12**</b>	<b>-2.36</b>	<b>-0.26***</b>	<b>-4.45</b>	-0.07	-1.75	<b>0.02***</b>	<b>3.58</b>
Age of Respondent	<b>0.01***</b>	<b>5.26</b>	0.00	0.23	<b>-0.02***</b>	<b>-11.89</b>	0.00	1.11	0.00	-0.44
Age left FULL TIME education?	<b>0.01***</b>	<b>3.80</b>	0.00	0.89	0.00	-0.38	0.00	1.22	0.00	0.87
White British	0.01	0.10	<b>-0.17*</b>	<b>-1.98</b>	<b>0.19*</b>	<b>1.94</b>	-0.06	-0.89	-0.01	-0.86
North	<b>-0.19**</b>	<b>-2.51</b>	0.00	-0.03	-0.01	-0.13	0.04	0.58	<b>-0.02*</b>	<b>-1.63</b>
Midlands	-0.07	-0.92	0.01	0.09	-0.03	-0.31	0.00	0.00	-0.01	-1.14
South west	0.00	0.04	<b>0.28**</b>	<b>2.53</b>	0.01	0.08	0.09	1.09	<b>-0.03*</b>	<b>-1.86</b>
South east	-0.01	-0.08	0.05	0.51	0.18	1.60	-0.04	-0.50	0.00	-0.11
R-Squared	0.01		0.01		0.03		0.01		0.01	

**Table 16e Determinants of visiting a historic house or castle (time usage survey)**

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
White	0.52***	0.17	10.08	1.00	0.00	0.59
Age	0.00	0.00	1.79	1.00	0.18	1.00
Female	0.01	0.06	0.01	1.00	0.90	1.01
Year of Education	0.06***	0.02	11.01	1.00	0.00	0.94
Car Available	0.71***	0.08	71.17	1.00	0.00	2.04
Constant	1.81***	0.24	56.47	1.00	0.00	6.10

\*\*\* Means significant at the .01 level

\*\* Mean significant at the .05 level

\*Means significant at the .10 level