

CREATIVITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Silvia Sacchetti

Roger Sugden

INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICY, UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

AND

DARE (DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITIES IN ACADEMIC RESEARCH ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT)

This pamphlet introduces a personal perspective on creativity and economic development. It has two objectives: first, to present some of the ideas that underlie the decision to organise and develop the *International Festival of Creativity and Economic Development* being held in Gambettola, Italy, in May 2007; second, to stimulate discussion before, during and after the *Festival*.

April 2007

Author contact addresses:

Institute for Economic Development Policy, Birmingham Business School,
University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT, UK

S.Sacchetti@bham.ac.uk

R.Sugden@bham.ac.uk

Introduction

Across Italy, throughout Europe and indeed in every corner of the world, be it in so-called 'developed' or 'less developed' countries, it is desirable to stimulate people's creativity. Achieve this and new possibilities for economic development will be identified.

One reason for this view might be argued to be the 'competitive' advantage that creativity can offer in the 'global economy'. Not least, **creative activities are seen as a source of market success, hence wealth**. A second reason is that our current, global economy leaves the vast majority powerless and constrained, but the **stimulation of people's creativity and critical thinking offers the intertwined prospects of emancipation and new economic opportunities**.

The inferno of the living is not something that will be; if there is one, it is what is already here, the inferno where we live every day, that we form by being together. There are two ways to escape suffering it. The first is easy for many: accept the inferno and become such a part of it that you can no longer see it. The second is risky and demands constant vigilance and apprehension; seek and learn to recognize who and what, in the midst of the inferno, are not inferno, then make them endure, give them space

Italo Calvino (1972), p. 164

We see people as typically excluded from the processes that determine the fundamental economic, political and social circumstances of their everyday lives. Some protest and lobby in attempts to alter their ineffectiveness. Many pursue their thoughts as best they can under the constraints that they face. Yet reality pushes vast numbers into living with despair, sometimes shown, often hidden, and many are numbed into acceptance for the sake of sanity. Whilst each person has an explosive potential for creativity and critical thinking, everyday reality keeps this suppressed, perhaps permitting its emergence in the quiet of a home or similarly controlled environment, but usually without the possibility for widespread public expression. The prospect of each person developing and enhancing their creativity and critical thinking so that they shape their lives together is an anathema to current reality.

However, empowering people and unleashing their creative capacities could lead to currently unimagined opportunities. We therefore **advocate public initiatives to stimulate and nurture people's imagination**, providing **forums for expression and interaction** so as to change their reality: so that together people may **shape and seize opportunities for thought and analysis**; so that they may **respectfully share opinions and arguments**, thereby **increasing the diversity of ideas and perspectives**; so that, as a consequence, **people may find mutually beneficial, respectful and exciting ways forward**.

Globalisation

People are aware and indeed are being constantly told that they live in a world of 'globalisation'. This globalisation is said to entail a breakdown of territorial constraints, yet **economists and politicians frequently stress that territories are in competition with each other to achieve market success**; this is what is typically meant when people are told of the necessity for territories to be 'competitive' in the global economy.

The precise criteria for that success have varied over time. A decade ago it was expressed in terms of a territory's ability to produce and successfully sell goods and services in 'free' international markets, and to simultaneously increase the real income of its people over the long run. More recently attention turned to the 'knowledge economy': the focus of competitiveness became the inter-related aims of productivity, innovation and high-value, again in so-called 'free' markets.¹

An aspect of this recent concern is a focus on **innovation, which can be argued to depend (in part) on people's creative potential**. For that reason alone, stimulating creativity can be argued to be significant for economic development. Moreover, in the last few years there has been increasing stress on the potential of 'creative industries' as a source of market generated wealth. The idea is that **visual and performing arts, indeed cultural activities more generally, are associated with the production of goods and services that can be traded on markets to desirable economic effect**.²

Economists have studied a number of industrial sectors for their special and distinctive features ... Indeed, few sectors have escaped notice that display some distinctive form of competitive behaviour or pose distinctive problems for public policy. One has been largely missed, however – the 'creative' industries supplying goods and services that we broadly associate with cultural, artistic, or simply entertainment value. They include book and magazine publishing, the visual arts (painting, sculpture), the performing arts (theatre, opera, concerts, dance), sound recordings, cinema and TV films, even fashion, toys and games

Richard E Caves (2000), p. 1

However, whilst we would accept that there are circumstances in which people might be persuaded by such arguments, our especial concern is with the potential for economic empowerment and freedom, the emancipation of people from their current exclusion.

Exclusion

What we see as especially significant is that (the current form of) globalisation is characterised by the concentration of influence and power, to the detriment of public interests. For example, an especially dominant influence in today's world is the activities of large transnational corporations, firms that produce and sell in many countries; such organisations are hierarchical, the power to determine their strategic direction being concentrated amongst certain people in certain parts of the organisation.³ Moreover, this concentration of power in the corporation is reflected in a concentration of power in the world economy.⁴

One would expect to find the highest offices of the [transnational] corporations concentrated in the world's major cities ... These ... will be ... major centres of high-level strategic planning. Lesser cities throughout the world will deal with the day-to-day operations of specific local problems. These in turn will be arranged in a hierarchical fashion: the larger and more important ones will contain regional corporate headquarters, while the smaller ones will be confined to lower level activities. Since business is usually the core of the city, geographical specialisation will come to reflect the hierarchy of corporate decision making, and the occupational distribution of labour in a city or region will depend upon its function in the international economic system. The 'best' and most highly paid administrators, doctors, lawyers, scientists, educators, government officials, actors, servants and hairdressers, will tend to concentrate in or near the major centres

Stephen Hymer (1972), p. 50

Indirect, extensive, enduring and serious consequences of conjoint and interacting behaviour call a public into existence having a common interest in controlling ... consequences. But the machine age has so enormously expanded, multiplied, intensified and complicated the scope of the indirect consequences ... that the resultant public cannot identify and distinguish itself

John Dewey (1927), p. 314

More generally, we would argue that **the aims of globalisation – in other words, the aims of economic development and of competitiveness – are determined by processes in which almost all people have no influence.** Insofar as the aims are chosen, the choice process is exclusive; by design of the current economic system in most territories, the aims of economic activity have not been chosen by all interested parties.⁵

THE AIMS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Consider the area in and around Gambettola, in the Emilia Romagna region of northern Italy. What does the term 'economic development' mean for that territory?

We would argue that there are many people with an interest in development, and many who might contribute to the determination of development aims. These would include those who currently live in a territory, as well as those who might live there in the future, not least potential immigrants. Moreover, the development in and around Gambettola impacts on, and is impacted by, development elsewhere – in other parts of Italy, Europe and indeed the world. People in those other places have interests that are relevant. In addition, people in those other places might have experiences which they could exchange with those of people in and around Gambettola, so that together they might all find more desirable development aims.

- Who, in today's reality, determines the aims of economic activity in the territory in and around Gambettola? Do all people impacted by that development have a significant influence – non-residents, residents, unborn ...?
- Do some people have significantly more of an influence than others? What about the crucial decisions made in the firms impacting on economic development in the territory? Who makes those, and which people participate in that process? Do many people in and around Gambettola have any voice? Even in firms whose headquarters are based in Gambettola?
- Is there opportunity for people in the territory to interact with others from elsewhere in choosing development aims? What about interaction with people in the close by provincial town of Cesena; in the further away but regionally important Bologna; in the city of Milan or in the Italian capital of Rome? Insofar as there is such interaction, is it with exclusive interests in other places, or with a wide set of people?
- Similarly, what about interaction with people outside of Italy; perhaps within international institutions such as the European Commission, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund?

IN THE AREA WHERE YOU LIVE, WHO DETERMINES THE AIMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT? IS IT AN EXCLUSIVE PROCESS? WHAT ABOUT THE PATHS FOR PURSUING THOSE AIMS: ARE THEY EXCLUSIVELY DETERMINED?

Similarly to the determination of the aims of economic activity, we would also argue that **the processes for choosing the rules for pursuing the aims of economic activity are exclusively determined**; it seems to us that almost all people with an interest in a territory's development, including those living in a territory, have little or no influence.

Furthermore, the consequences of this reality are severe, to say the least. They include the inevitability that, **within and across nations, there must be pockets of development and pockets of underdevelopment; similarly, areas of wealth and areas of poverty.**⁶ There are both efficiency and distribution effects, there **certainly being circumstances in which exclusive interests gain at the expense of others.**⁷

*A dollar head shouts 'Buy',
A pound head shouts 'Sell',
A shopkeeper's shouting 'Capitalism will eat itself',
A prophet's asking 'When?'*

*A caring father on the futures market has just condemned
A family on the West Coast of Africa to five years hard labour.
A speculator called that a result.*

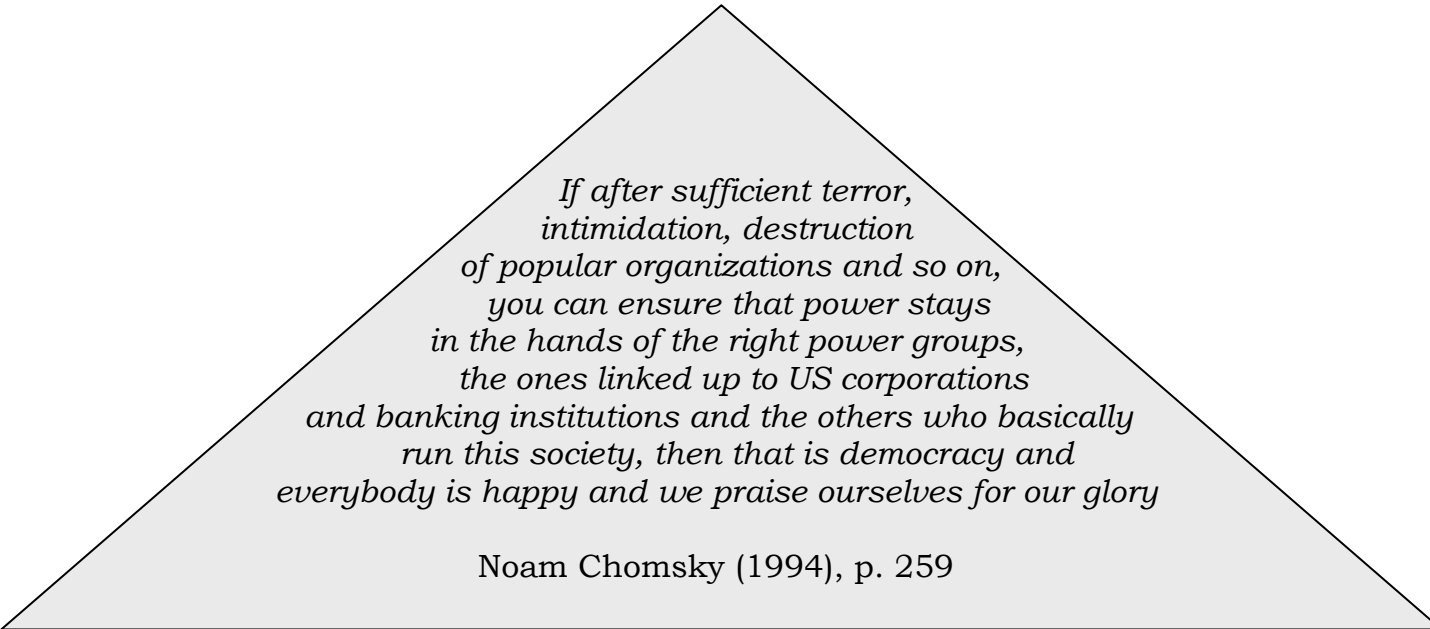
Now here's a New World order ... Large burger and fries please.

Benjamin Zephaniah (2001), p. 52

Loss of creativity, decline of democracy

We see the modern world as characterised by exclusion, and see this **exclusion reflected in a widespread loss of creativity and critical thinking with respect to what is happening in society**, evidenced by trends in political and economic inactivity.⁸ There is **a popular perception of ‘not counting’, of not being able to participate, legitimised by the fraudulent rhetoric of the kind of democracy prevalent nowadays**. We are constantly told we are free, living in a democratic society, assertions that divert people’s gaze from the real exclusion.

We see the decay in creativity and critical thinking as, in a sense, **the decline of democracy**. People’s exclusion leads to their not exploring, enhancing and exercising their capacity for creativity and critical thinking. A vicious circle is initiated: people lose interest in participating in a process where aims have already been determined; they thereby renounce use of their imagination and possibly their pursuit of different ideas and worlds; their capacities for creativity and critical thinking are truncated, making it all the more difficult for them to participate in the decision-making that is so influential on their everyday economic and social reality.



*If after sufficient terror,
intimidation, destruction
of popular organizations and so on,
you can ensure that power stays
in the hands of the right power groups,
the ones linked up to US corporations
and banking institutions and the others who basically
run this society, then that is democracy and
everybody is happy and we praise ourselves for our glory*

Noam Chomsky (1994), p. 259



Elena Consorti, *Democracy*

A new, inclusive democracy

People living in poverty have the least access to power to shape policies – to shape their future. But they have the right to a voice. They must not be made to sit in silence as ‘development’ happens around them, at their expense. True development is impossible without the participation of those concerned

Nelson Mandela (2006), p.1

The identification of objectives is the most fundamental of strategic decisions in economic activity, and it is neither for those unaffected by the activity to determine those objectives, nor for those affected to be excluded from the decision-making. Rather, the choice needs to be made by a democratic process encompassing all interested parties, otherwise exclusive interests would make the decision following their own preferences and despite the wishes of others. Furthermore, we cannot predict exactly what the democratic outcome would be without the democratic process actually taking place

J Robert Branston, Keith Cowling and Roger Sugden (2005), p. 197

In contrast to the current reality, it has been argued that **the aims of economic development for a particular territory might be determined through an inclusive process**, more specifically: a particular form of democracy that incorporates the views of all people impacted by a locality's economic activity.⁹ Indeed, it has been suggested that **only such a process can serve public interests**. Likewise the processes for pursuing economic development: *only* processes that engage all interested parties in appropriate democratic interaction can serve the public interest.¹⁰

Many people – the excluded – have had little or no opportunity even to think about the strategy for their economic development, let alone to use their imagination in contributing to its determination. Theirs is therefore an untapped and unused potential ... Although it is not certain exactly what options the unleashing of peoples' imagination might deliver for economic development processes, it is clear that the welfare concerns from retaining the constraints again include both distributional and efficiency effects. For example, to remain deliberately blind to those as yet uncovered options is seemingly destined to disallow opportunities for ... efficient improvements, at least on some occasions.

Roger Sugden and James R Wilson (2005), pp. 19-20

There are many, varied approaches to 'democracy', and in popular characterisations there is a particular tendency to focus on voting. However, we follow the seminal work of John Dewey in rejecting that concern.

The ballot is, as often said, a substitute for bullets. But what is more significant is that counting of heads compels prior recourse to methods of discussion, consultation and persuasion, while the essence of appeal to force is to cut short resort to such methods. Majority rule, just as majority rule, is as foolish as its critics charge it with being ... It is true that all valuable as well as new ideas begin with minorities, perhaps with a minority of one

John Dewey (1927), p. 364

For us, to be concerned with democracy is to enquire into **how people relate to each other when they undertake or contemplate economic activities**. Democracy is *one* way for people to interact but there are others, which rely on different values, mechanisms and processes – such as conflict, free market competition, anonymous interaction through the internet. To choose democracy is to reject such values, mechanisms and processes.

More particularly, we emphasise **the centrality to democracy of deliberation; of discussion, communication and informed interaction based on rational arguments that flourish around matters of shared concern**. This is not to deny that democracy might appropriately entail voting procedures, but it is to argue that voting needs to be consequent upon deliberative processes in which all interested parties engage with each other in informed, rational debate. Further, such deliberation must be rooted in **shared values, notably: the rejection and absence of controlling influences; each person's positive freedom of action and expression; sympathy and mutual respect amongst people and publics; inclusion of publics affected by acts; equal and informed participation; the significance of learning; reciprocity; the desire to reach a consensus**.¹¹

The essential need ... is the improvement of the methods and conditions of debate

John Dewey (1927), p. 365

That expansion and reinforcement of personal understanding and judgement by the cumulative and transmitted intellectual wealth of the community which may render nugatory the indictment of democracy drawn on the basis of the ignorance, bias and levity of the masses, can be fulfilled only in the relations of personal intercourse in the local community ... There is no limit to the liberal expansion and confirmation of limited personal intellectual endowment which may proceed from the flow of social intelligence when that circulates by word of mouth from one to another in the communications of the local community

John Dewey (1927), p. 365

In every passion of which the mind of man is susceptible, the emotions of the bystander always correspond to what, by bringing the case home to himself, he imagines should be the sentiments of the sufferer...Sympathy...may...be made use to denote our fellow-feeling with any passion whatever

Adam Smith (1759), p. 5

Our emphasis is on relations that are *not* mere instruments: democracy entails people engaging with each other not because that engagement yields satisfaction or utility, which indeed it might, but because such **engagement is part of the essence of those people; it is part of what they perceive themselves to be, of what defines them as those people.**

We would also stress that whilst deliberative democracy entails ‘participation’, that does not mean participation of any form. Participation need not ensure deliberation and it can be unequal, yet deliberative democracy requires that people have equal access to the deliberative process. This access must also be informed, implying the significance of learning.

Often [reasonable people] ...will not reach agreement...and they need to have procedures for reaching decisions and registering dissent in the absence of agreement. Reasonable people understand that dissent often produces insight, and that decisions and agreements should in principle be open to new challenge. While actually reaching consensus is ...not a requirement of deliberative reason, participants in discussion must be aiming to reach agreement to enter the discussion at all

Iris Marion Young (2002), p. 24

Creativity and critical thinking

We have suggested that the typical reality facing most people at the current time is one of exclusion. There is a refusal to enable and encourage those people to explore, enhance and exercise their capacity for creativity and critical thinking; for **analysing and exploring actual and potential situations, for imagining and possibly pursuing different ideas, different possibilities and different worlds.**

In contrast, the deliberative democracy that we have highlighted as a basis for economic development is founded on people's inclusion and engagement, their opting for relations that stress positive freedom and mutual respect. Embracing the **deliberative development** perspective would yield significantly different outcomes to the current realities facing most people.

It requires that **people recover an interest in each other's ideas and perspectives, even if they would not share or support those ideas and perspectives.** People need to clarify why they disagree. Their reasons must be buttressed by coherent arguments. From this basis they can start – with respect – to discuss and talk with others, mutually influencing ideas by increasing – through discussion – the diversity of perspectives, needs, and objectives. In short, there is a necessity for all people to engage with each other in the imaginative and creative pursuit of economic activities.

The discussion of any subject is a right that you have brought into the world with your heart and tongue. Resign your heart's blood before you part with this inestimable privilege of man

Percy Bysshe Shelley (1812)

Correspondingly, we identify **a policy requirement: the necessity to stimulate and nurture each person's imagination and creativity, so that together people can shape and seize opportunities for critical thinking; for talking and discussing with each other; for respectfully sharing opinions and arguments, thereby increasing the diversity of ideas and perspectives; for finding mutually respectful and beneficial ways forward in economic activities.**

We would emphasise that **information and knowledge are crucial resources** for effective deliberation. Providing people with valuable insights on alternative possibilities is part of deliberative democracy, as is the opportunity to explore those insights. Equality of access to deliberation has a precondition in the ability of people to access knowledge and build up their own understanding of issues that might be of concern. Viewed from another dimension, **access to knowledge processes can emancipate**, where here emancipation refers to the capability to discuss, to create and to exert critical thinking on relevant issues with respect to one's interests and aims.

Moreover, such creativity and critical thinking may impact on, and be spurred by, people's perceptions of involvement; **a virtuous upward spiral is likely to emerge as processes implying creativity and critical thinking improve people's interest in what they are doing, which in turn stimulates their imagination and analytical powers.**

Furthermore, it is important to appreciate that the **education system, scientific research, as well as broadcasting media play a role in stimulating and enabling participation in knowledge processes.** Accordingly our arguments have significant implications for public policy on education, including on universities and on broadcasting media.¹²

Artistic activities: the crucible for deliberative development

Historically there has been a strong bias concentrating economic analysis on particular production technologies, with a consequent stress on certain types of product and process innovation. Correspondingly, for many years (and albeit with notable exceptions, not least Adam Smith) artistic activities were ignored in economic debate. Nevertheless, and as we observed earlier, recently the issue of 'creative industries' has become very topical; this has been largely because of their potential for contributing to wealth creation in a competitive environment. However, what we would especially highlight is **the impact and value of visual and performing arts, poetry ... as an essential viaticum for the stimulation and expression of people's creativity and critical thinking.**

Adam Smith, the master builder of models in both economics and ethics, was ... as thoroughly comfortable drawing his lessons from Hamlet as from Hume. Like the creator of a patchwork quilt, he dabbles in dramas, dabs in novels, dusts in some poetry and bellows opera. It is not simply that Smith likes and employs the arts. Rather ... Smith finds the arts essential for the task at hand – understanding and moulding human conscience

Jonathan B Wight
(2006), p. 156

Poetry is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge

William Wordsworth (1802)

Our concern is not essentially with a competition amongst peoples to produce outcomes that can be transacted.¹³ Rather, it is with **a process of cooperation, mutual learning, engagement and fulfilment, all according to the values of deliberative democracy.**

Art is a revolt against fate

André Malraux (1951)

Poetry is a way of taking life by the throat

Robert Frost (1960)

The truest expression of a people is in its dances and its music. Bodies never lie

Agnes de Mille (1975)

To me, photography is the simultaneous recognition, in a fraction of a second, of the significance of an event as well as of a precise organisation of forms which give that event its proper expression

Henri Cartier-Bresson (1952)

Science and art have in common intense seeing, the wide-eyed observing that generates empirical information

Edward Rolf Tufte (2006), p. 9

Changes in societal structure and in art would possess more credibility if they had their origins in the soul and spirit

Marc Chagall

The job of the artist is always to deepen the mystery

Francis Bacon

[From www.artquotes.net, accessed 9th March 2007]

Moreover, in scrutinising the influence of artistic activities, including visual and performing arts, poetry, we are **not seeking to reduce art to an instrument of economic development and public policy**.¹⁴ On the contrary, we see neither art nor artists as an *ex ante* instrument for achieving any particular goals.

We would argue that the stimulation and fulfilment of people's creativity and critical thinking in the economic sphere is linked in a holistic sense to the freedom of artists to express themselves in whatever directions they see fit. In part this is because only in an environment – an atmosphere - of such freedom can people be emancipated to realise the full potential of their creativity and critical thinking in the economic sphere. In part it is because artistic expression can directly inspire, stimulate and catalyse activity in other areas.

The latter recognises that artistic activities can have *ex post* consequences, but it does not argue that they should be pursued as *ex ante* functional to those consequences. In particular, we do not advocate planning of artistic activities so that they impact on people's creativity and critical thinking in the economy. Indeed, there is a sense in which any attempt to plan *ex ante* functional consequences might limit the achievements of artistic activities, and in the extreme it might be argued that any constraint of artistic freedom runs the risk of constraining imagination and analytical powers more generally, including in the economy.¹⁵

Dance is the hidden language of the soul

Martha Graham

I am absorbed in the magic of movement and light. Movement never lies. It is the magic of what I call the outer space of the imagination. There is a great deal of outer space, distant from our daily lives, where I feel our imagination wanders sometimes. It will find a planet or it will not find a planet, and that is what a dancer does

Martha Graham

[From www.womenhistory.about.com, accessed 9th March 2007]

Accordingly, we would conclude by stressing that **there is a sense in which people's openness and access to, and participation in, artistic activities is the starting-point, the crucible for evolving deliberative development, economic development based upon deliberative democracy.**¹⁶

ENDNOTES

¹ For the case of Britain, for example, see UK Government White Paper (1994, 1998). According to the latter (p. 6), the “aim is for British business to close the performance gap with its competitors, in terms both of productivity and of its ability to produce innovative new products and create high-value services.” It must do this in the context of a knowledge driven, global market economy in which “capital is mobile, technology spreads quickly and goods can be made in low cost countries and shipped to developed markets.” More generally on competitiveness, see the discussion in Branston, Rubini *et al* (2006).

² See, for example, the discussion in Florida (2002).

³ For a discussion of concentrated strategic decision-making power and the modern corporation, see Cowling and Sugden (1998a).

⁴ This implication is in line with the analysis in Hymer (1972).

⁵ The criteria for economic development are discussed in some depth by Sugden and Wilson (2002).

⁶ Again, this implication is in line with the analysis in Hymer (1972).

⁷ For further discussion of the implications of such concentration of power see, amongst others: Cowling and Sugden (1998b) on international trade; Cowling and Sugden (1999) on the wealth of localities; Cowling and Tomlinson (2000) on Japan; Sacchetti and Sugden (2003) on different types of network; Sugden (2004) on the activities of universities; Branston *et al*, 2006, *op cit*, on the health sector.

⁸ Following Sugden and Wilson (2005), who discuss what is meant by the term ‘globalisation’ and the prospects of its taking different forms, we also identify exclusion through its reflection in the frustrations and actions of the so-called anti-globalisation movement, made up of diverse people and groups, most of whom are probably not against globalisation in the sense of using new technologies and opportunities to decrease the territorial barriers between people, but who are against the outcomes of current forms of globalisation, and against the ways in which those outcomes are being pursued.

⁹ This perspective is detailed in Sugden and Wilson (2002).

¹⁰ Similarly for competitiveness, it has been argued that it is essentially a measure of relative performance. Recognising this, market competition amongst territories is not a necessary focus. Rather, competitiveness refers to the relative success of a territory as compared to others in attaining particular aims, and *one* possibility is to define those aims democratically. Then, to be competitive is to satisfy democratically determined aims effectively as compared to other localities. This might incorporate success in international markets, generating real income, productivity or innovation – *if* these are the democratically determined concerns – but it goes further, allowing the richness of complex aspirations to flourish. For a discussion of the democratic approach to competitiveness, and an introduction to concerns with public interests, see Branston *et al*, 2006, *op cit*, and references therein.

¹¹ These arguments are pursued in detail in Sacchetti and Sugden (2007). Compare our approach to deliberative democracy with that in, for example, Adaman and Devine (2001); there are clear overlaps, but also differences. They

focus on “negotiated coordination” (p. 230), which might be argued to have unfortunate connotations of formality and indeed of a deliberative process characterised by opposing sides. Moreover, in contrast to us they seem to underemphasise the values that provide the essential foundations for deliberative relations, hence economic activity; it is certainly the case that, in general, ‘negotiation’ can be consistent with the pursuit of narrow self interest, at the expense of publics and through imposition on those publics. There is perhaps also a sense in which they appear to be more concerned with the organisation and structure of an economy, rather than with the emancipation of people and publics (who may then use their imagination and analytical powers to choose a particular organisation and structure).

¹² On universities see Sugden, 2004, *op cit*; and on broadcasting media, see Branston and Wilson (2006).

¹³ Accordingly our emphasis contrasts with that of Caves (2000). Whereas he focuses on transactions, we are concerned with each person’s creativity, whether or not this can be displayed and realised through goods and services.

¹⁴ Compare what Sir John Tulsa (managing director of London’s Barbican Centre) sees as the approach of Tony Blair’s UK government: “what they have insisted is that the arts must fulfil a social, political, environmental, educational or economic purpose – in other words they must be an ‘instrument’ for ‘delivering’ other government policies. The impact on some museums and galleries, according to one observer, is that ‘scholarship, collection and curating are out of the window – the new breed of manager/directors is interested only in cramming into their buildings as many schoolchildren as possible” (Tulsa, 2007).

¹⁵ Having recognised this, however, we would not suggest that it is necessarily desirable to free artistic activities from all and any ethical constraints. In particular, it might be argued that human and other species have inalienable rights.

¹⁶ Artistic activities are the starting-point because they are fundamental to the fostering of people’s capabilities for creativity and critical thinking, which we see as in turn crucial for people’s capabilities to engage in, and contribute to, effective democratic deliberation based upon the key values we have highlighted. This focus is quite different to that in Adaman and Devine (2001). They argue that people would be provided with “the capabilities necessary for effective participation in deliberative decision making” (p. 236) through their experiencing, throughout their lives, different activities; they would seek to ensure that, over time, people move between periods spent in different activities, skilled, unskilled, creative, governing A difficulty that we have with this approach is that it might deny different attitudes amongst people – some may prefer not to engage in certain activities, for example governing. There might also be a difficulty because people who have not experienced all activities seem not, according to Adaman and Devine, ready to deliberate.

REFERENCES

- Adaman, Fikret and Pat Devine, 2001, "Participatory Planning as a Deliberative Democratic process: A response to Hodgson's Critique", *Economy and Society*, 30 (2), pp. 229-239.
- Branston, J Robert, Keith Cowling and Roger Sugden, 2005, "Corporate Governance and the Public Interest", *International Review of Applied Economics*, 20 (2), pp. 189-212.
- Branston, J Robert, Laretta Rubini, Roger Sugden and James R Wilson, 2006, "The Healthy Development of Economies: A Strategic Framework for Competitiveness in the Health Industry", *Review of Social Economy*, LXIV (3), pp. 301-329.
- Branston, J Robert and James R Wilson, 2006, "Transmitting Democracy: A Strategic Failure Analysis of Broadcasting and the BBC", *University of Bath School of Management Working Paper Series*, no. 2006.11, University of Bath (UK).
- Calvino, Italo, 1972, *Le Città Invisibili*, Einaudi: Torino; page numbers in the text refer to the republication in 1993, Oscar Mondadori: Milan
- Cartier-Bresson, Henri, 1952, *The Decisive Moment*, as quoted in: Elizabeth Knowles (editor), 1999, *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, p.193.
- Caves, Richard E, 2000, *Creative Industries, Contracts between Art and Commerce*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass..
- Chomsky, Noam, 1994, "Prospects for Democracy"; talk given at MIT, Cambridge, Mass., reproduced in: C P Otero (editor), 2003, *Chomsky on Democracy and Education*, RoutledgeFalmer: London.
- Cowling, Keith and Roger Sugden, 1998a, "The Essence of the Modern Corporation: Markets, Strategic Decision-Making and the Theory of the Firm", *The Manchester School*, 66 (1), pp. 59-86.
- Cowling, Keith and Roger Sugden, 1998b, "Strategic Trade Policy Reconsidered: National Rivalry vs Free Trade vs International Cooperation", *Kyklos*, 51, pp. 339-357.
- Cowling, Keith and Roger Sugden, 1999, "The Wealth of Localities, Regions and Nations; Developing Multinational Economies", *New Political Economy*, 4 (3), pp. 361-378.
- Cowling, Keith and Philip R Tomlinson, 2000, "The Japanese Crisis – A Case of Strategic Failure", *The Economic Journal* 110 (464), pp. F358-F381.

- de Mille, Agnes, 1975, *New York Times Magazine*, as quoted in: Elizabeth Knowles (editor), 1999, *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 11th May, p.257
- Dewey, John, 1927, *The Public and its Problems*, in: J A Boydston, 1988, *John Dewey. The Later Works Volume 2: 1925-1927*, Carbondale and Edwardsville; Southern Illinois University Press.
- Florida, Richard, 2002, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Basic Books: New York.
- Frost, Robert, 1960, in Elizabeth S Sergeant, *Robert Frost*, as quoted in: Elizabeth Knowles (editor), 1999, *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 11th May, p. 327.
- Hymer, Stephen H, 1972, "The Multinational Corporation and the Law of Uneven Development", in: J N Bhagwati (editor), *Economics and World Order: From the 1970s to the 1990s*, Macmillan: London; page numbers in the text refer to the reproduction in Hugo Radice (editor), 1975, *International Firms and Modern Imperialism*, Penguin: London.
- Malraux, André, 1951) *Les Voix du Silence*, as quoted in: Elizabeth Knowles (editor), 1999, *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, p.493
- Mandela, Nelson, 2006, Speech on Receiving the Ambassador of Conscience Award, available from (accessed on 13th March 2007): www.artforamnesty.org/aoc/downloads/NelsonMandela_AOC2006.pdf.
- Sacchetti, Silvia and Roger Sugden, 2003, "The Governance of Networks and Economic Power: The Nature and Impact of Subcontracting Networks", *Journal of Economic Surveys*, 17 (5), pp. 669-691.
- Sacchetti, Silvia and Roger Sugden, 2007, "Mental Proximity in the Organisation of Industry", mimeo, *Institute for Economic Development Policy*, University of Birmingham (UK); a much earlier version is available as "Mental Proximity: Identifying Networks of Mutual Dependence", 2005, in: Theresia Theurl and Eric Christian Meyer, editors, *Strategies for Cooperation*, Aachen, Shaker Verlag.
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 1812, "An Address to the Irish People", as quoted in: Elizabeth Knowles (editor), 1999, *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, p. 714.
- Smith, Adam, 1759, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*: page numbers in the text refer to the Italian edition published in 2000 by Prometheus Books: New York.
- Sugden, Roger, 2004, "A Small Firm Approach to the Internationalisation of Universities: A Multinational Perspective", *Higher Education Quarterly*, 58 (2/3), pp. 114-135.

- Sugden, Roger and James R Wilson, 2002, "Economic Development in the Shadow of the Consensus: A Strategic Decision-Making Approach", *Contributions to Political Economy*, 21, pp. 111-134.
- Sugden, Roger and James R Wilson, 2005, "Economic Globalisation: Dialectics, Conceptualisation and Choice", *Contributions to Political Economy*, 24, pp. 1-20.
- Tufte, Edward Rolf, 2006, *Beautiful Evidence*, Graphics Press LLC: Cheshire, Connecticut.
- Tulsa, Sir John, 2007, "Blair's Lips May Say 'Culture' ... But his Heart is not in Art", *The Observer Review*, 11th March 2007, p. 11.
- UK Government White Paper, 1994, *Competitiveness: Helping Business to Win*, HMSO: London.
- UK Government White Paper, 1998, *Our Competitive Future: Building the Knowledge Driven Economy*, HMSO: London.
- Wordsworth, William, 1802, *Lyrical Ballads*, as quoted in: Elizabeth Knowles (editor), 1999, *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, p. 832.
- Young, Iris Marion, 2002, *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Zephaniah, Benjamin, 2001, "Going Cheap", in: *Too Strong Too Black*, Bloodaxe Books: Northumberland.