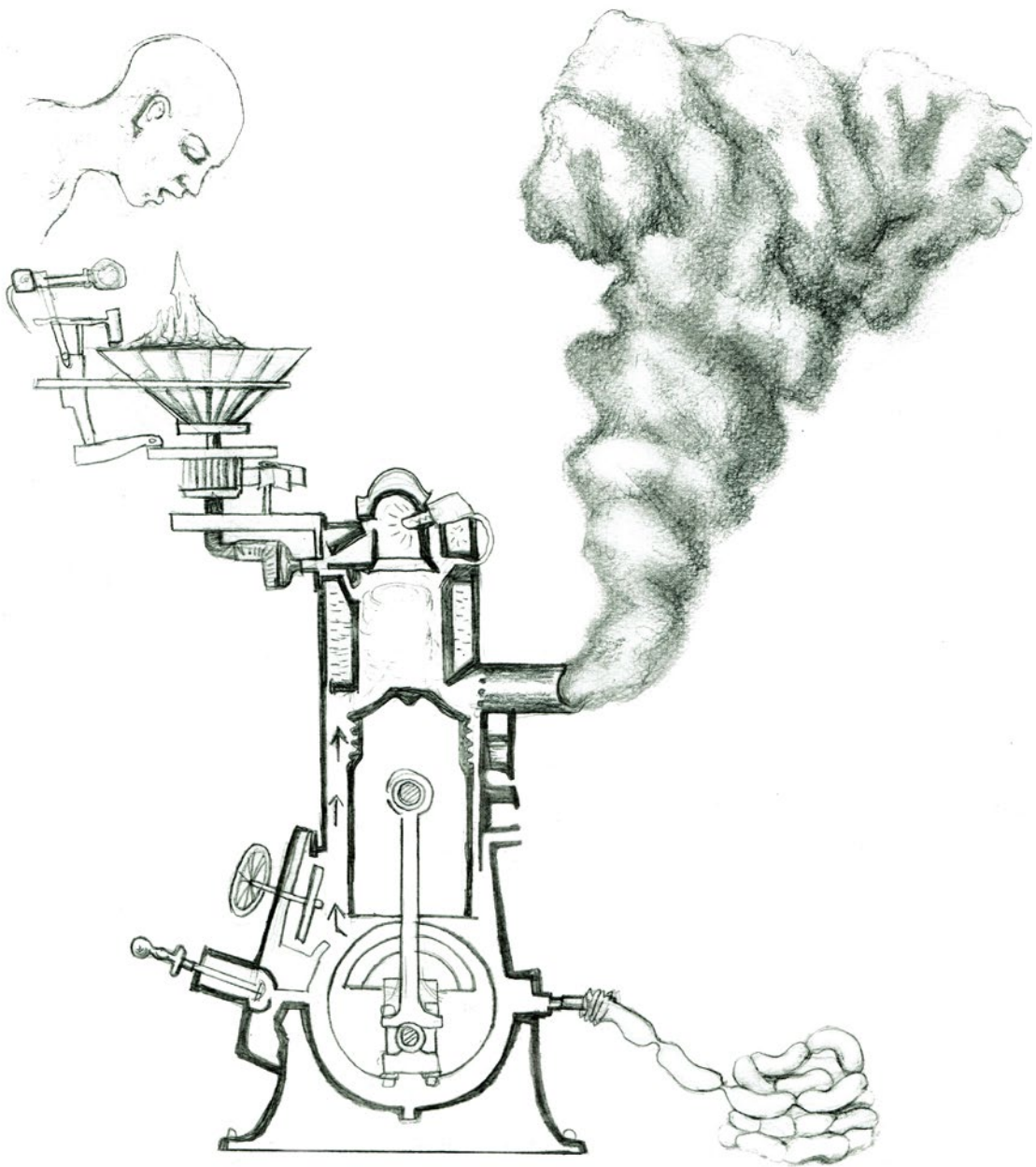


PERSISTENT ENCOUNTER

What is the relationship between social capital and
Creative People and Places?

Karen Smith



CREATIVE
AND PEOPLE
PLACES

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ABSTRACT

Drawing on a range of discussions this think piece explores the language, relationship and potential impact of Creative People and Places (CPP) in achieving and measuring developed social capital and social change. Written for an audience of those working directly in and with the CPP network, this think piece is also for the broader cultural sector and those interested in the notion of social capital.

Inequality has had a significant impact on the ability of people to influence what art is funded, where art takes place and what that art might look, sound or feel like. This think piece argues that Creative People and Places through its practice is having positive impact on social capital. However, CPP must now seriously consider what political and social influence it has on social change and arts practice for the long term, and whether social capital is an appropriate term to use to measure that influence. Social capital may be an awkward fit to some CPP places vision.

As human beings, the effects of inequality extend to major swathes of the population. CPP's sustained, committed arts-based relationships with people and places, builds expertise, trust and reciprocity. The relationships generate impact in a myriad of some well documented and some yet to be imagined ways. Building persistent connection can take immense amounts of time.

Measuring social capital is challenging. It is called 'capital' and yet is intangible. Any action arising from social capital cannot be assumed to be either positive or negative. This think piece suggests that with 21 different projects, CPP places have evolved separate identities. Consequently, the picture shifts dependent on which lens or lenses are used to visualise and explore 'social capital'. The term itself remains practically and politically unresolved, and its usage needs clarity for each CPP place's individual circumstances.

Most CPP places did not set out to build social capital as an aim, and it most often forms an intangible and incidental effect of the work taking place. Social capital is not 'given' by any funded scheme and is built by the connections and collaborations of everyone willing to share their time, skills, connections and passions. For CPP places, the deliberate investment, time and resources has begun to make a difference which is not insignificant yet is currently fragile. Building social capital can take many years, and the longer term impact is unknown.

There are complex connections between discourse, power, dominance and social inequality. How these connections interweave with CPP places will impact on how social capital is perceived and how it could be measured. Inequality has deep and powerful effects on people's wellbeing. Ownership of art is contested, conflicted, and messy. CPP places' facilitative role in managing and building something creative and often beautiful out of the mess together is creating potential to consider how art could develop in a far more expansive terrain.

To achieve a positive development of social capital, and a fairer and more sustainable future for the arts, it is also argued that wider systemic change and institutional shifts of perspective and practice still need to take place.


Arts Council England initiated [Creative People and Places](#) (CPP) and funded a first round in 2013. The Arts Council's awareness of 'invisible' places, where *'we were not bringing the local community with us'* drove the instigation. The Arts Council observed that CPP was driven: *'by empowerment...the public as artists and as producers. Not just as participants in artistic projects, but also participants in decision making processes.'* In setting up CPP, the Arts Council deviated from normal funding procedures and requested mandatory consortium working, to trial a way of working which better represented 'the public' that appeared to be excluded. Each applicant consortium was interviewed to ascertain the authenticity of the proposed partnership. The intention was to build on people's everyday definition of culture and in doing so, potentially gain new understandings of art.

'Creative People and Places' is shortened to CPP throughout. A singular CPP place is written as 'CPP place'. When quoting CPP individuals, teams and participants' responses, individual's names are generally not used. The role of the person or team interviewed where appropriate is noted. Terms that might not be obvious are explained below:

Critical friend: Each CPP place has a critical friend paid on a freelance approximately one day a month basis. Arts Council England developed the critical friend role to support and advise CPP places on the monitoring, data collection and evaluation each CPP is contractually expected to undertake. As the roles have evolved the expectations of the critical friends have changed, some, for example, now offer support to the CPP team or support critical thinking around the planning and quality of delivery. Some CPP places have more than one critical friend.

Consortium: As described above, consortium working to apply for CPP was mandatory, all consortia had to demonstrate a multi-agency approach. [Tom Fleming and Catherine Bunting's report](#) for CPP explores the models, strengths and challenges of consortium working. The Arts Council was keen to encourage long-term collaborations between local communities, arts and cultural organisations and other partners, and specified that applications to the fund could only be made by *'an organisation which will lead a consortium...representing the public, artists and arts organisations, presenting and promoting the arts in new and inspiring ways'*.

More Than 100 Stories: This think piece uses four pieces of work from [More Than 100 Stories](#), a digital collection of texts, images, sounds and animations responding to the stories, achievements and learning of the Creative People and Places programme 2013-2016. Created by writer Sarah Butler and artist Nicole Mollett and commissioned by CPP network, the collection is built around ten key themes: confidence, decision-making, failure, language, local, partnership, people, taste, time and trust.



PART ONE:
CONTEXT



PART ONE: CONTEXT

Part One gives a context to social capital and CPP by exploring a broader range of research around the concept of social capital, the language used, and the measurement of social capital. Part Two explores CPP's impact on social capital through the places' creative practices. Part Three concludes and summarises thinking on social capital and CPP.

This document is written with a trust, confidence and respect in the care and expertise of all the connecting people who make up the resources that are collectively called CPP. Thank you to all the people who took the time to discuss their work.

Social capital

At the table

Each person who pulls up a chair empties their bag onto the table top. It does not matter what falls out – egos and insecurities, diaries and budgets, passion and promises – what matters is how much of it there is: schedules spilling onto the floor; reputations clinging on by their fingertips; hierarchies squashed beneath unmanageable targets. Space must be made, in amongst it all, to start something new.

More Than 100 Stories. Sarah Butler

Imagine a space that you have entered. Maybe it's a room, maybe it's a bandstand, maybe it's a field, maybe it's a library, a launderette, a pub, a place for shared eating. Who is with you in that space? Which people are held in your head and who is physically around you? What connects you to them? What connects them to you? Who else is in there that you know? Who don't you know? Might you know them? How might that happen? Who do you encounter? What do these connections look like and what do you do with them?

Social capital includes all the complexities, subtleties and nuances of being human. We are social beings and as Roland Barthes asserted, we are storying beings. What connections do we make with each other? How are those connections made? How do we value those connections and how do we make use of them? What acts do we choose to make and what acts are thrust upon us, for example, by awe, inspiration, necessity or survival? How do we narrate our actions? How do we negotiate for what we might want or need and how do we navigate through each moment as human beings with other human being's actions? What do creative processes add to this mix? These are all questions related to social capital, how we are open (or closed) to connecting with each other.

A critical friend observed: *'You can walk into one room and feel rich in social capital, and walk into another, and feel entirely without.'* There are people, for many complex reasons (for example the psychological impact of poverty; the impact of severe ill health on a member of their family or themselves; fear of difference) whose social capital in some areas may be minimal. An individual may feel alienated, or may be fearful, may feel threatened or insecure, and may feel despair and hopelessness which affects their feelings about others and their own control on life. However, those same people and other individuals may be extremely resourceful and skilful and may be abundant in social capital. This may go unrecognised.

Connected to CPP are the challenges of poverty; social deprivation; inequalities such as an unequal labour market; fixed ideologies; the division between wealth and poverty; and finding ways to close those divisions, and generate understanding, generosity and empathy with each other. Creative People and Places must consider those challenges; they are at each table and within every place. Any piece on social capital would be irrelevant if it did not acknowledge the factors of poverty and deprivation, wealth, class, and fear of difference. How does CPP tell a story of connection?

When space becomes place

Doreen Massey writing in *A Global Sense of Place*, (1994) argued that places, just like people, have multiple identities. Places can be created by different people and communities, and it is through social practice, particularly social interaction, that place is produced within space. Places are processional, they are not frozen moments, and are not clearly defined through borders. Tim Cresswell (2004) argued that space becomes place when meaning is attached.

Place is not limited to geography. We can connect globally, and yet the local becomes even more significant to enable human connection to find meaning and capacity to flourish in connectedness and have encounters and interactions with each other. CPP places demonstrate a sound deference to the local, and the hyper-local. For example, CPP teams discuss working ‘street by street’ and many CPPs have evidenced local people’s allegiance to specific wards or areas of a place. Other CPPs have described themselves as ‘unplacey’, i.e. Market Place could be perceived as such, described as *‘having two boroughs, four market towns, in different counties which don’t touch, with another borough in the middle’*.

Social capital is challenging to clearly define. As place is created, so too is social capital. Social capital is processional and relational, it reiterates second by second, minute by minute, day by day. In the time it took to write this work, many people in many places have used their connections to make an act; good, bad, indifferent. Perhaps for the good of many, for the good of themselves, for abstract good, or for all those reasons. They may also have used their capital to do something that could be considered damaging.

It could be argued that at essence Creative People and Places has an unintentional impact of benefiting the growth of individual and community social capital via:

Place: created through the production of creative social practices and interaction.

People: social storying beings, who to thrive need points of connection with each other (with people who are different to themselves as well as those who are similar). Creating small, iterative qualitative changes in the way social relationships are woven. This could lead to progress towards social change, and therefore shift people’s notion of how they ‘are’ in relation to each other, to place, the public sphere, to public institutions and so on.

Creative: artistic practices can create collective ‘open space’ encounters. Encounters that produce connections to transgress ideologies and boundaries; and transform or abandon preconceptions. Encounters created persistently enough, do link people and a sense of place. Art can be a door-opener, a joy-maker, a lose yourself for a minute, or more, an eye-opener.

Background to this research

Commissioned by the CPP network, the brief for this research sought a think piece to explore and better understand how CPP work in the different areas is impacting or has the potential to impact on social capital. The brief was written in response to a recommendation in *Faster but Slower* by Mark Robinson commissioned by the CPP network.

The specific questions proposed for the brief were:

- What impact is CPP having on social capital in its places, or on the social energy within communities?
- What are the effects on arts engagement of increased or diminished social capital, and what is the reciprocal relationship between these?
- How is CPP bridging different groups or bonding similar people together?
- What are the implications if so?
- Given the time limited nature of CPP, what are the risks or opportunities of this way of working with communities?
- In the context of social capital what have been the surprises or challenges within the CPP areas and different approaches used?
- How does the impact on social capital affect the potential legacy of CPP?
- What is the learning we can share with the wider sector?

The research brief allowed for some of the 21 CPP places to be researched. Ultimately almost all (19) CPP places were interviewed or took part in the research via facilitation. There were 21 semi-structured interviews lasting between 50 minutes and one and a half hours each, conducted via phone or Skype. Additionally, two interviews with Arts Council England staff took place. Further conversational interviews were held with artists, freelance workers and people representing academic institutions outside of CPP. Observation at several CPP events was also used.

A facilitated session with places took place on 29 September 2017 at the CPP peer learning event at Watermans at CPP Hounslow.

CPP working definition of social capital for this research

'There is no one single analysis of the social capital of people in a room. It is a whole set of overlapping things. It is a web and networks. If you visualised all those dotted lines and connections, you would see an overflowing web of connections.' – critical friend

There is not a finite research perspective definition of social capital. Social capital is an immense subject embracing the whole cultural sector and far wider. Practitioners and scholars define social capital in many ways.

In CPP's commissioned work *Faster but Slower* (p.19), Mark Robinson describes social capital as 'the bridges, bonds and networks in and between communities'. Building on this description, for this research, **social capital** was discussed and understood as:

A connecting web or webs by which people create bridges, networks, and communities with each other. **The 'social' bit.**

Through that connection, (which in CPP is through 'deliberate investment' via Arts Council England funding), comes possibilities to 'act' e.g. learn; build trust, exchange and develop knowledge; and /or meet other needs that are considered beneficial to a person as an individual, potentially beneficial to others, or are mutually beneficial for the good of community wellbeing. **The 'capital' bit.**

The above description takes understanding of the term in a positive light. However, underlying this is the acknowledgement that as Dasgupta (2005) said: *'There is nothing good or bad about interpersonal networks; other things being equal, it is the use to which a network is put by members, that determines its quality.'*

Within this research, it is understood that it is the action that is taken via being in a network or connection(s) that creates capital. Additionally, as the research evolved, the economic resonance of the term 'capital' was discussed. It was observed that capital is expected to have longevity; generate 'return'; and is about enhancing or adding to, not 'maintaining'. The capital element of the term was observed to suggest renewability, for long-term gain rather than short-term survival. Consequently, the usage of the term already becomes challenging in the context of CPP because the social capital of people in CPP places may be spent on surviving rather than, for example, being utilised to play, grow, make, create or find new opportunities.

Using the term ‘social capital’ within CPP

If social capital is used as a term by CPP places, up to now, it has been written about within an assumed positive manner, and the different types of capital and the plethora of approaches and political implications have gone largely unrecognised.

Social capital was discussed as a useful term and seen as *‘a handy way of describing something that is undoubtedly happening.’* Other words with suggested similar meanings were: ‘cultural citizens’, ‘cultural leadership’ ‘community cohesion’. One interviewee said: *‘the term isn’t a problem, it’s how it’s used afterwards.’*

CPP places were asked what they thought social capital meant in the context of CPP. The question yielded many answers and two are included below:

‘An energy and resource generated by people coming together and exchanging their skills knowledge and resources towards a shared goal and positive impact... A ‘switched on’ network of people we work with able to be proactive in taking action that impacts positively for the society/community we are working in or concerned with; a set of nodes or interconnections that is greater than the sum of its parts...’

‘A network of people with an informed ability to be part of a process of commissioning arts and cultural activities, making choices and decisions, influencing (what happens and how it is resourced) and challenging (how where when what happens).’

As the research progressed, CPP places discussed the different types of social capital in terms of ‘bridging’, ‘bonding’ and ‘linking’. These terms are expanded on in the section below.

Perspectives on social capital

There are many perspectives on social capital, and if the action arising from enhanced social capital is assumed to be a positive one, then commentators taking this position suggest that social capital enables better wellbeing in all forms (health, education, employment, lower crime rates) and so forth, leading to societal change. Most commentators on social capital suggest that measuring it is challenging and complex. The actions of those utilising their social capital can be considered ambivalent.

The table below summarises four perspectives for understanding social capital in the context of this think piece. The Appendix gives further detail of the perspectives that are cited. The Appendix additionally documents some recent reports investigating relevant areas of the arts and social capital.

Forms of social capital	Bonding	Bridging	Linking
Robert Putnam	Value assigned to social networks between homogeneous (same) groups of people e.g. criminal gangs	Social networks between socially heterogeneous (different) groups of people. e.g. choirs and bowling clubs	
Daniel Aldrich	Relationships a person has with friends and family, making it also the strongest form of social capital	Relationship between friends of friends, making its strength secondary to bonding capital	Relationship between a person and a government official or other elected leader
Office National Statistics. Have developed measurements within their ONS Measuring National Well-being programme .	Closer connections between people. characterised by strong bonds, e.g. among family members /members of the same ethnic group. good for 'getting by' in life.	More distant connections between people. characterised by weaker more cross-cutting ties, e.g. with business associates, acquaintances, friends from different ethnic groups, friends of friends, etc; good for 'getting ahead' in life.	Connections with people in positions of power. Characterised by relations between those within a hierarchy where there are differing levels of power; good for accessing support from formal institutions.
Curtis Ogden Interaction institute for Social Change	in-group relationship building (i.e. "birds of a feather flock together")	Widens social capital by increasing the 'radius of trust.' Can support the creation of more inclusive structures, with implications for long-term resilience and more equitable development.' Building bridges between 'us' and 'them'. allows diverse groups to share and exchange information.	

It could be argued that of the three types of social capital discussed above, **linking** social capital is the capital that creates most social change, and the potential to close the gap between the inequalities described earlier, such as wealth and poverty, and lack of empathy and understanding with each other. The Office of National Statistics suggests linking is different because it is about relations between people who are not on an equal footing.

Other perspectives on social capital suggest that it is elusive and indivisible from political models; and may always have bias. Whilst the perspectives in the above table are simplified for the benefit of this document, only Putnam has a negative implication for social capital in the ‘bonding’ description.

Jane Franklin writes in her editorial to *Politics, Trust and Networks: Social Capital in Critical Perspective*, (2004):

‘a common sense understanding of trust as social capital can hide a confusion of moral and economic assumptions; ...social networks can be shaped just as much by conflicting as by reciprocal social relations. Working with ‘social capital’ in research and policy development therefore, calls for a critical methodology, precise definition of terms and a broader understanding of social change.’

Social capital can also be understood to be about social relationships and status; feeling the belonging of being part of a group or groups; about solidarity – for the good of the community and not necessarily the individual; and about sharing and building trust. Chrissie Tiller’s work for CPP, *Power Up*, provided a thought-provoking and comprehensive repository of writing with a rich seam of ‘social capital’ running throughout. *Power Up* demonstrated multiple evidence on the interconnectedness of class, inequality, societal change and building of capitals. Tiller observes that commentators consider class still to be: *‘the most powerful indicator of cultural ‘consumption’ in contemporary Britain.’* (p.30). Tiller quotes Yosso’s alternative model of ‘community cultural wealth,’ with six forms of capital she believes can be held by communities potentially perceived within a deficit model. These forms of capital are similar to the iterations proposed by The Interaction Institute for Social Change and are detailed in the Appendix.

Whether we are discussing social capital or cultural capital or another type of ‘capital’ the points made in *Power Up* do not lose any of their importance. **Relationships matter, class matters, inequality matters.** Social capital is a relational issue for CPP. In *Power Up* (p.12) Tiller reemphasizes the National Council for Voluntary Organisation’s *Understanding Participation* report conclusion that inequality in participation is a result of:

“the uneven distribution of power, social capital and other resources. Such persistent and structural socio-economic inequalities,” ... will never be removed without, “profound political and societal changes.”

In early December 2017, the board of the Government’s Social Mobility Commission resigned in protest at the lack of progress towards a ‘fairer Britain’. Alan Milburn who headed the commission said in his resignation letter that the Government:

‘does not seem to have the necessary bandwidth to ensure that the rhetoric of healing social division is matched with the reality...Whole communities and parts of Britain are being left behind economically and hollowed out socially. The growing sense that we have become an us and them society is deeply corrosive of our cohesion as a nation.’

For CPP places, the possibility of societal change is discussed as an intrinsic part of the development, for example a director said: *‘CPP from the beginning aspired to be not just a fantastic set of projects but midwifing a new landscape and new ecology.’* However, as demonstrated in the section above, social change, social mobility and social capital are inseparable from the reality of political and societal unfairness.

Measuring social capital

In the editorial to *Politics, Trust and Networks: Social Capital in Critical Perspective*, (2004) Jane Franklin writes:

‘Briefly, “social capital” is a concept that refers to the ways that people create social networks and social relationships, and to the trust and norms of engagement that ease these interactions. As forms of social capital, networks and trust are seen to generate social solidarity and inclusion. They knit communities together, laying down the negotiated basis of social life, where people support and do things for each other, and which in turn, provide the grounding for general economic productivity and growth. While it is a concept that refers to the social sphere, social capital is framed in economic terms. As ‘capital’, it has exchange value, and can be accumulated and owned by individuals and communities, yet it is intangible, and has an ethereal quality since it flows in and between people and is only evident in its effect.’

The language of social capital is not generally used ‘on the ground’ and appears little in the working literature for CPP. The metrics by which social capital might be measured are

not straightforward and are considered diverse and immensely challenging. It is a difficult ask, particularly given the levels of partnership, trust and co-production taking place to take a baseline 'social capital' measurement.

As CPP places have incrementally established, each place did not necessarily establish social capital as something to measure. In each place social capital would need to be considered individually, as each place (or places within place) are different. Measurements regarding 'wellbeing', 'energy' and a myriad of connected benefits are being examined as possible evaluation frameworks in some CPP places. CPP must ensure that it is working with appropriate language; considers the intangible nature of social capital; and understands that social capital is not and never could be 'owned' by CPP. A CPP place director said:

'How can you possibly say what definitively CPP has done for an area? I can feel a change and hope, and feel more happening, and see people more inspired and creative. But we are nowhere near done. We can start to see potential and start to imagine things differently...We can do so much at a local level, but there needs to be a shift at the higher political level...It is a case for support for 'normal' people. That's all it is.'

Social capital is considered an intangible asset and has been discussed by many (as Franklin describes above) to therefore not really be 'capital' at all. Societal change and democracy become areas of strong interest. In political science terms, social capital is perceived as essential to democracy. People need to be able to trust each other in order to collaborate and need to be able to tolerate each other when they disagree. These things take trust and time to develop. Social capital is generally measured as something that an individual holds but in order to demonstrate social capital, people are connected to each other, and this is one of the paradoxes inherent in measuring social capital. Three comments from interviewees follow:

'How do you go about translating the extremely fluid, the holistic, the organic, the changing, the polyphonic, the multi-dimensional? It's an alive and valuable project which gets translated into a dry message. And it is very difficult to keep it breathing and keep the voices of individuals and groups alive in the transference process and taking the data forward. If CPP do it, it sounds soft and woolly. None of us have devised a way to show the transforming potential.'

'Success manifests in more complex ways than evaluation forms let us report. We are not quite telling the full picture.'

'If you join the dots between two moments in life, how do you know when something can accrue meaning for you? It is about tracing a complex set of relationships around your project. Interaction and social interaction all culminate and mean something.'

As an example, one CPP place have a deliberate dashboard system approach to measuring handover to partners. For example, regarding marketing, asking questions such as, did the CPP place design it and deliver it? Was it done together? Did the CPP place hand over? This could be considered as one way to measure whether certain skills are being 'banked' and 'owned'.

If CPP is considering telling the stories of connection, social capital may be more evident by taking a long-term view. A CPP director said:

'All of this amounts to something...Every experience is something to accrue and to be deployed consciously or otherwise, maybe a lot later. It might be deployed in five minutes or it might take 50 years...these are process-driven pieces of work. You could trace that within every project and individual if we are ever privy to tracing those experiences, quite often they are very personal. We know anecdotally these things exist, but I wouldn't want to lay claim to that happening, but there has definitely been an impact on how people are in the town.'

The lack of wider systemic change to support the building of social capital has heightened the need to create a longevity of practice which was careful, considered and did not claim too much too soon. A CPP director described social capital as *'the stuff that falls between the cracks. The thing that exists between the spaces. The potentiality that reveals itself. Solidarity. If you trace back, you would not necessarily know it's there, but you would know the results of the intervention.'*

The language of social capital

Social capital is not a neutral term and it can hold potentially negative connotations, which are briefly explored here. Alongside articulating the positive investment of Arts Council England funding into CPP, there is potential for a correlating deliberate claiming of effect. Or a mis-appropriation of credit for what was already there. The practice, advocacy and documentation of CPP places has turned around the originating 'deficit-model' language (e.g. 'cold spots' of development and 'invisible places') into narratives which are more asset-based. It remains a challenge to reach for language which is 'asset-focused'.

Any position of privilege means there may be blind spots to people who are not in a position of privilege, and vice-versa. Ways of describing, appropriating and articulating people can become part of keeping an unfair status quo in place. The below quotation from a director demonstrates some of the complexity around discussing social capital, and discussing socially engaged relational work:

'the easiest part in some ways is getting people in the room. The hard part is dispelling the limiting beliefs that surround them in a whole host of very depressing or very violent ways. How much visibility someone is allowed to have, or categorising someone as 'uninspirational', or asking someone if they are now less likely to go to prison because of a project or whatever, they are all examples of limiting belief. Civil society creates this widespread 'othering' that happens as a community.'

Where CPP does add to social capital, part of that work has been to make visible what already existed, and to build on those foundations. For some CPP places it remains critical to value the existing capital and breadth of skills and be able to express that in the language used. CPP place staff variously described in positive framing, the places they work as being full of people with a wealth of skills. Home Slough observe, for example: *'85 different languages are spoken here'*. Other CPP places discussed individual's social skills and the social capital inherent in being resilient in the face of huge challenges such as hunger and poverty.

The language used to describe 'capital' is not always appropriate and faces complex considerations. A director said:

'It is unbearable to think about young people as being experts in poverty and hunger and malnutrition. It's unbearable to think about that as a knowledge base. The resilience of people and their skills sets are amazing. The circumstances that people are being challenged to live in are exceptionally hard. To categorize them as vulnerable feels like cheek...the sense that it might be a level playing field is nonsense. We have to be truthful and sometimes the language is not problematising the things that are the problem.'

People's lives are not a commodity, and the term social capital in CPP comes with 'danger warnings' especially if it is seeking to commodify people. A critical friend said: *'the social capital discussion moves into Big Society language very strongly and really quickly.'* The language of 'Big Society' invites and motivates people to engage in welfare provision whilst simultaneously breaking down the welfare state. Claire Bishop argues (2012, p.14) that *'the neoliberal idea of community does not seek to build social relations, but rather to erode them'*. Another critical friend observed that the solidarity and the good part of what is implied by social capital is easily stolen.

Activism and social change can be perceived to be transformed into 'yet another form of social capital'. Miwon Kwon in *One Place After Another* (2004, p.1) writes '*van-guardist, socially conscious, and politically committed art practices always become domesticated by their assimilation into the dominant culture.*' Scholars J.K Gibson-Graham amongst others have observed that '*governmental support has enabled "academic economists" to reduce society to a series of "capital" labels such as "social capital," "human capital," "information capital".*' In *Power Up*, 'cultural capital' is used far more abundantly than 'social capital'. In discussions for this research, the terms were interchanged frequently.

One critic of CPP, the academic Stephen Pritchard, discusses 'community art washing':

'Artists become Social Capital Artists: the harvesters and monetisers of the intangible elements of people's lives and the bonds and ties that once held vulnerable communities together. Once their social capital has been sifted, it is used as corporate PR and case studies for arts funders and the state; used as evidence of community engagement and consultation by local councils and property developers alike, validating the displacement of the very people who, by taking part in these 'creative engagement processes', gave their social capital away for free.'

These comments made as part of [Pritchard's wider blog](#), do, as artist and activist Steve Pool (The Poly-technic) observes: '*ring true but it does not constitute the whole truth.*' Pool writes:

'I think there is a potential to ignore much of the value of the rich seam of politically motivated community arts that does not involve big business or the conventional art world. It flows through our communities like an underground river vanishing and reappearing within the fabric of society. It is one of the few things that is truly local, truly owned by communities and not driven by capital - we ignore it at our peril.'

Challenging the accusation of 'art washing', one director said:

'I think the opposite, I think it's highly disruptive. As an organisation, where does our role begin and end? This is the question around art and activism. I give my job title at meetings, but I also remind people that I'm a citizen as well...It's a question for the sector: In the public funding sphere, what are your roles and responsibilities as a citizen as well as seeing it from a position of privilege? We often 'chicken out' of the citizen part. Is it enough for art to hold up a mirror, or should it have a more active role?'

A freelance producer observed that whilst the danger of commodification is always

present, CPP projects can genuinely enhance not ‘harvest’ social capital. They said:

‘There is an assumption that working class communities and deprived communities don’t have a culture. People will always surprise you with what they do know and what they are engaged with. CPP projects can bring that out of people.’

Pritchard, Pool and CPP commentators are all drawing on challenges of communal practice and who ‘owns’ it. Pool’s comment suggests that a genuine community-owned practice would not be driven by capital at all, and here is a paradox of considering ways to discuss models of practice such as CPP. Bringing in a term such as ‘social capital’ is not straightforward.

Audience Agency metrics continue to be one of the major ways CPP evaluates, reflects and plans. Audience Agency are a valued partner, their profiling taxonomy details demographics, socio-economic status, consumer behaviour and lifestyle preferences, and is used by many CPP places to generate understanding about the ‘audience’ for their work. Some CPP places do not plan projects utilising Audience Agency information, other CPP places are actively using audience metrics to plan their artistic vision and targets.

For some CPP places the rich experiences that their programmes have achieved in deepening people’s understanding and connection to each other (regardless of difference) and to where they live, do not fit so well to the concept of people as ‘audience’. Social capital goes beyond audience, ticket sales, and ‘engagement’. All partners continue to be aware of the need to be sensitive and considerate when describing people. The profiling language can be at odds with a sense of building a ‘positive’ framing of social capital where people are already, and can become, more than audience to arts activity. CPP activity is attempting to create ‘handover’ to communities within place and to sustain community’s own arts activity, not as audience for the arts activity of others.

Potentially this is one of the knottiest issues for CPP if social capital becomes something that is considered important to measure and develop. Profiling can provide useful information but drivers around audience do not necessarily correlate well with community driven or social change agendas. A freelance producer said: *‘With the audience development and engagement arenas, people want to engage more people, but they don’t want to start where the people are.’* A CPP director said:


‘The idea of audience as a shoal of fish that moves and follows doesn’t ring true to me. We have strong audience figures and participation figures, but that has not been created through audience-focused programming or audience segmentation. If we were commissioning work based on audience segmentation, we would have to be careful of limiting beliefs.’

Another CPP director commented:

*'it's about saying the audience are as interesting in their own right as the work...
If you want to engage the people that you really want to engage, you have to start
with their stuff, and you really have to want to do it. So, if they want to do it in a
bingo hall, then that's where you start.'*

If CPP and partners wish to consider social capital in a more measured approach than finding the means to discuss impact intelligently with integrity and without brushing the difficult, and challenging aspects of this work under the carpet, remain crucial. Thinking, writing and speaking in ways that counteract negative stereotyping, deficit-models and limiting beliefs necessitate a care with language which considers who and what may be being limited by the frameworks placed on it, and necessitates further thinking on how and what would be measures of success for social capital.

Part Two explores possible impact on social capital through the creative work of each CPP place. Part Two also explores the provocations that have been raised during the discussions and facilitation that have taken place over the last three months.



PART TWO:
IMPACT

PART TWO: IMPACT

Impact of CPP on social capital

As CPP places began, building on or developing new social capital was implicitly part of the vision and mission, but not explicitly. A CPP director said: *'In terms of all CPP projects and their starting hypothesis and core aims, part of those were to build capacity in the local community. We didn't describe that as social capital, but...it was very much embedded as an idea.'* bait in the first round of CPP had 'social energy' in its vision statement:

'To create a long term increase in levels of arts engagement, driven by the creativity and ambition of people living in South East Northumberland, having a demonstrable effect on the well-being of local people and levels of social energy and activism within communities and the means to sustain those changes in the future.'

CPP places provided an immense amount of material on the impact they considered they were having on social capital. This is discerned from all levels of CPP including: evaluation reports, discussion on-the-ground, participant stories. The material is lengthy and is not presented in detail here, however, each CPP, on their own place-specific websites, has a wealth of information on their projects, initiatives, thinking, development and evaluation. CPP's overall website also provides detail. Woven into this section are brief and selective descriptions of projects.

Social capital applies to *all* areas of CPP. Both CPP consortia and CPP peer learning networks are good examples of CPP building social capital. The initial emergence of CPP place consortiums bridged and linked diverse people and organisations together.

CPP's peer learning network has built individual's social capital, particularly bonding CPP place staff together, and bridging and linking people in many ways.

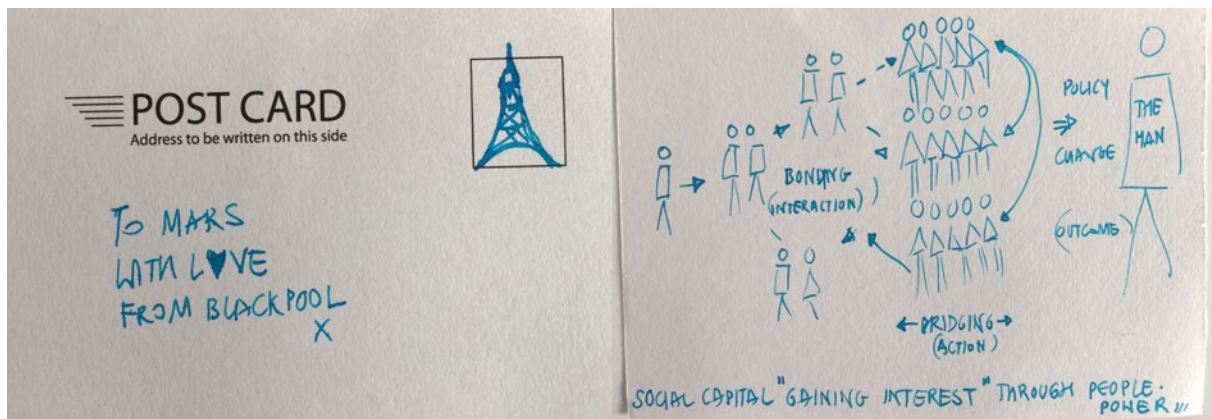
Whilst one CPP person did disagree, all others interviewed or facilitated agreed that it is important to understand that CPP places cannot **give** social capital, CPP works within already existing and experiential understandings of place and within the complexities of people's lives. The unstated aim for CPP places is to work together to **build** social capital **with** each other. One critical friend observed: *'I think social capital is part of being human...'* Another person external to CPP was concerned that it might be possible for funders and stakeholders, particularly Arts Council England to begin to suggest that CPP **gives** social capital **to** the people.

A consortium partner observed that they were able to work with their CPP place and connect arts practice because they had extensive developed connections into the complex social fabric of the CPP place, they said:

'Welfare rights. Universal credit. The Government's stance on austerity. We are in an area of high deprivation and we need to utilise capital by using community networks and other networks to get on in an area. Meetings are going on all over here right at this minute: People are heading in to open up their community centres, there are Zumba classes and mother and toddler groups, this is all existing social capital... We are adding to social capital by using the arts...We had the networks that could be utilised...without question there was the existing social capital that we built on...we already had the links in.'

CPP places *are* different. They are bonded together for reasons of funding, peer learning, and increasingly learning and advocacy outside of CPP. Each place has similarities and differences in:

- What existing networks and connections were and are in place.
- How communities were and are working. Did they have a DIY ethos, were they 'done to', or a mix of both?
- Was there already a culture of coming together and supporting each other? In pockets or as a whole?
- Levels of wealth and deprivation, class, labour markets, geography, etc.
- Connections to London or other perceived 'centres'.
- Other infrastructural possibilities, e.g. abundance or not of funded cultural organisations, or structural capabilities.
- Difference in CPP place models: Audience focused programming for some CPP places, others work on a model of co-production and social engagement.



During the facilitation at Hounslow, participants were invited to consider social capital and CPP in the context that they were a visiting Martian, on a research visit and sending field notes or postcards home. The field notes (postcards) were to be considered crucial to develop a CPP programme back home on Mars. The subject of the field note: the one critical and essential thing that CPP needs to understand about social capital for the future. Some of the postcard responses are detailed below, and one response is reproduced above:

- *The job of achieving social capital is never 'done', it must be supported to grow, change and evolve.*
- *It's more valuable than real money. Its value increases when spent with others. Sometimes it can lead to a lottery scale windfall.*
- *Social capital can't be created in a vacuum, it needs people to generate it, to share it, but not to own it.*
- *The true value of humans is their relationships to each other and their ability to share their knowledge, skills, time and interests. That's why there are so bloody many of them on planet earth.*
- *Social capital needs to be understood within the full context surrounding each (and every?!) individual, group, street, estate and town that CPP works in.*
- *CPP needs to know how people connect with each other, for what reasons and where. They (we) can then disrupt, expand and rethink these patterns of behaviour through creativity / interventions.*
- *About social capital: understand and trust its potential and powers. Allow it rather than control it.*

- *It could be 100 people singing together or two neighbours talking for the first time. It all counts, and it will all grow if you allow it.*
- *Share power. Move between 'expert' and 'learner'. Sharing power can lead to independent action and unexpected outcomes, which in turn may be influencing power (ful people). Save your actions for later, pop your 'social capital' in the piggy bank and choose who and where and when to spend it. No matter what, be passionately curious!*
- *To create the right conditions for social capital you need to actively listen to the wants, desires and dreams of people and walk together on the roads that you can!*
- *This CPP activity is often beautiful and provocative and mystifying. The towns and villages and cities where they happen need Capital investment that will help people to thrive and grow all lifelong. Not only survive in the next crisis.*
- *CPP is trying to do new things, so it needs to unlock, value and grow new forms of social capital.*

How is bonding, bridging and linking taking place?

Even within one CPP place, what types of social capital take place, and in what areas, is dependent on geographies and demographics. Some of the CPP places are comprised of towns made up of estates, others have different structures. Some places, Corby and Slough, for example, are expanding with new housing being built and new people moving in from London bringing their diverse social capital with them.

Every CPP place has a varied and broad approach and response to supporting people to connect. How sustaining and nurturing those connections become, for early connections, have been dependent on how 'available', accessible and durational CPP resources are. Once connections have been sparked, CPP can support the nurturing and developing of them, but is not necessarily in control of them, and had no desire to be. Of the three types of social capital identified in part one: Bonding; Bridging; Linking, all three are evident across CPP places.

Many CPP places perceived one, two or all three types of social capital to be happening, dependent on the collaboration, intervention, activity, project and place. bait for example observed:

'So far, I think our work has been weighted slightly more towards bonding similar people together. There have been examples of bridging (e.g. Corners, Common Ground) and it would be great to think that more of this will happen over the next few years (e.g. our current inter-generational project).'

bait described increased social capital leading to increased engagement via a web of social connections and more and more people acting as 'gate-openers and advocates', and in an audience development function. New participants and audiences are reached because the web of social connections (e.g. a men's group, or bringing several separate brass bands together) amplifies the message, creating a powerful potential for engagement. Brass bands are a competitive field, as bait observed:

'After the project, they were describing a real equilibrium between cooperation (working on a project together for the first time, rather than competition). It had changed the dynamic somehow of that and created an increase of social energy within that field.'

East Durham Creates' experience was different. Initially the consortium attempted to 'bridge' people together via a London-based arts producing agency. It was observed that this brought diverse people together who were looking through very different lenses. Whilst the intention was positive, in practice, a chasm of approaches was felt to have been created leading to some consortia partners perceiving that arts funding 'can be wasteful'. The consortium reflected on and reframed the arts practices utilising their learning. They observed:

'we had to be realistic and relevant for the long term, not just for the privileged few and that required a shift in mindset...we had to move into a shared vision where everyone was using their expertise.'

The CPP place considers now that they are often bonding similar people together, and observed:

'That is also by us using our intelligence and insight into different audiences and target groups, the people who we know who face certain challenges in the area, we're now finding the similarities.'

Here, rather than working with bonding first, and bridging and linking later, East Durham Creates attempted to bridge first, and subsequently redeveloped their approach to concentrate on bonding.

Cultural Spring, as an example, perceived that they were initially bonding rather than bridging, but after several years were now starting to see an emergence of bridging together distinct groups via relationships with Sangini, a women's health organisation who have created extended community reach, and also starting to develop work for example, with the clinical commissioning group.

Examples of social capital benefiting both individuals and a community or communities are evident in CPP's 'People Places Portraits'. Photographer Stephen King and writer Sarah Butler have made 21 individual portraits of one person from each CPP place. The narratives demonstrate increased social capital. People describe becoming part of an artist group; or part of communities of practice; or about a door opening that leads onto other openings. Other stories demonstrate creating connection and confidence and bridging with different people. The anecdotal evidence for building of networks, and particularly of connecting and creating bridging social capital are rich and deep. The two examples below demonstrate funding success for a group project and an individual project respectively:

'Transported has helped transform that entire area...through being involved, I've learnt to believe in myself; that I can do arts-based projects in the area. I'd never done anything like that before...It's given me the confidence to get involved... We worked with Transported to put an Arts Council bid in as a community group, independently, to do a project...We were lucky to get £15,000 for the project, with a lot of support from Transported in writing the bid.'
(Jody Raggo – Transported. 'People Places Portraits')

'Through doing the training programme and learning about funding applications, I got an Arts Council grant to put on my own poetry night. I got that because I applied for the small commissions through Peterborough Presents first, which meant I could pilot it before going for an Arts Council grant.'
(Charley Genever - Peterborough Presents. 'People Places Portraits')

All CPP places report more DIY or evolving DIY ethos in their places. People are, for example, constituting and setting themselves up as Community Interest Companies with support from CPP places. However, in terms of social capital and longevity, the potential is unknown. As one interviewee commented: *'If they manage to sustain, that is another matter. Arts funding applications are going in, they are attracting funding from elsewhere independent of us. Who knows how long that will last?'*

CPP places acknowledge that what people choose to do with their social capital is not in the control of CPP, and CPP can only support building on existing social capital, creating

additional social capital and supporting the building of resilience in people. There is a feral quality to connecting. It does not necessarily stay in a geography, is not limited to funding boundaries, and is not limited to CPP projects. For example, CPP places variously instigated networking projects, which in the language of social capital create ‘bridging’ connections. From those initial new connections, other actions in the form of projects and developments, were described as arising ‘spontaneously’. One CPP director described:

‘several people in the network bonded and went off and worked together, which was nothing to do with us, they were ‘over there’ doing their thing...You know the social capital is there, because it has appeared between the people in the network and they have choices with what they can do with it. They have done things that they felt confident to do through the social network they have acquired...’

It was also suggested by CPP places that they have created new networks and connections that were not in existence before their intervention. Simultaneously however, CPP places acknowledge that whilst for some people CPP work is transformative, CPP places are not impacting on everyone in a local area, and not everyone may want to be part of CPP. An interviewee said: *‘There is no obligation to get involved in social capital and contribute to it. You have your own which is valuable to you but that’s no reason why you should have to get involved with CPP.’*

CPP places observed that with the mix of people that they have worked with so far, some have:

- » gained funding to do their own projects
- » bonded with each other and have created other projects without CPP involvement
- » been employed by the CPP place
- » developed their interests outwards from a local community to a wider sense of community

One CPP place suggested that projects create a ‘cluster’ of social capital, which builds around a community of enquiry or interest via a theme or topic. They did not perceive a generic audience for the projects; rather that people are involved based on proposition or enquiry. For example, they observed: *‘one of our [project] members will now go to the [traditional classical music venue] on a Friday night. That’s not something I feel we’ve been able to track or that we are interested in tracking.’*

Social capital may be created through the development of many complex and interwoven activities, for example:

- supporting an initial connection (through volunteering; recruitment; events etc.)
- community panels
- resourcing and supporting deeper connections following initial connections
- partnering existing connections and resourcing them, bonding people further
- creating new events, projects, developments, that bridge and link people
- developing confidence via places to be, events to be at and people to connect to
- people and communities connecting locally, regionally, nationally, and with an international connection and reach

Social capital may be created at many different 'levels' in the hierarchy of particularly public sector and voluntary sector support. For example, one CPP place solely discussed social capital in the context of developing social capital within the structures of power (e.g. with local authority stakeholders). **Please see the section below on structural capability.**

35 local authorities are covered via CPP places. Only one (Hounslow) voted to remain in Europe. Brexit votes in these areas were suggested by one interviewee to be an excellent example of people bonding not bridging. Interestingly this again suggests that using social capital terms are not neutral, and whilst in some cases, creating 'bonded' social capital can very much develop a sense of community or communities, and a sense of togetherness, it can also create a sense of 'them' and 'us' and of division and fixed ideology. Simultaneously creating encounters that persistently bridge, bond and link people may well be a huge challenge yet may also be the solution to division caused by intolerance of difference.

Challenges of bonding, bridging and linking social capital

The desire for funders to have target-orientated ambitions for projects are not particularly conducive to building social capital. Some CPP places are challenging the structures that 'traditionally' might have 'held' projects, i.e. the setting of goals and outcomes first. Artistic practices, working for example, with a flexible (or none at all) artist's brief, and accepting that the way forward is co-produced and supported by a collective, collaboration or community of people, with no set outcome, is a challenging way to operate. CPP place approaches are often a far more developmental way to work and allow for deeper involvement and evolvment. The rules, agendas and boundaries of other partners can also take over leadership, and CPP place teams compensate by vast amounts of multi-way communication, at every step.

A critical friend discussed the challenges in developing further social capital through bonding:

‘CPP has to be very careful not to pile up stereotypes or reinforce divisions and narrow the horizons for groups...We need to avoid giving people what they think they want and assisting that, if that is excluding to some people and doesn’t grow the capacity of people to be connected.’

In terms of bridging they observed: *‘We have a real responsibility and duty of care for people ...so we are not just bringing people together and bugging off. We have to be committed to a long-term relationship until it is time to step out.’*

Another CPP place observed that community associates faced challenges when programming work and then representing their decisions back into their communities. The decisions were still perceived to be taken by the funders and not by the people and therefore whilst community associates were developing social capital, the attempt to further connect people and ‘bridge’ communities was not working yet.

Some CPP places observed that lack of infrastructure can prohibit developing bridging social capital. Public transport, for example, across a CPP place does not necessarily work well. Others suggested that it was harder to get people bonding rather than bridging: *‘Bonding is a deeper thing and, in some ways, is the secret to longevity, once bonded you can’t peel it apart easily’.*

Diversity

As social capital embraces ‘everyone and then some’, a section entitled ‘diversity’ was hopefully avoidable. However, some CPP places working in places of great diversity, particularly around areas of faith and cultural practice, face a real challenge in ‘bridging’ or ‘linking’ people together. Whilst the place as a whole would be described as diverse, there is little bridging or linking taking place. A director said:

‘The whole area of diversity is huge in terms of social capital. We are missing a real trick not for our communities to be aware of each other’s cultural capital and to value that and benefit from it...In our area, it’s so complex. It’s not diverse. People live in mono-cultural communities... Our original business plan lumped everyone into ‘South Asian descent’ which is a very broad brush and says nothing. We have Indian, Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Afghani people, and religious sectarianism, people are living in very segregated neighbourhoods.’

CPP is in danger of brushing over these fundamental challenges to living together as human beings, and bridging and linking social capital is at the heart of creating tolerance of differences. Another director considered that this was not the role of CPP: *‘It is not*

Confidence

necessarily our job to climb over that wall.' In that CPP place's opinion the huge challenges of bridging religious cultural divides, were not necessarily felt to be the CPP place's responsibility.

Generating possibilities for being open to difference, to enabling encounter and therefore conversations and connections to happen is inhibited by many challenges. CPP place activities persistently enable encounter and consequently allow an 'opening up' to each other. Bridging and linking social capital describes the behaviours where being open to difference can happen. Being part of a culture of encounter regularly can accelerate change in the way people learn and think, in order to be able to trust and find ways to connect and overcome difference. BBC Radio 4's recent 'A Culture of Encounter' programme with Douglas Alexander (November 2017) discussed creating behaviour that moves people out of their comfort zone 'to meet people you wouldn't always meet.'

CPP place ways of working can catalyse the moving out of 'comfort zones', but it is time-consuming work which needs continued commitment and persistence. It also requires everyone working within, with and alongside CPP to hold their values and beliefs lightly; be prepared to debate challenging issues; to be challenged; and to adapt or appropriately change practice because of valid challenges.

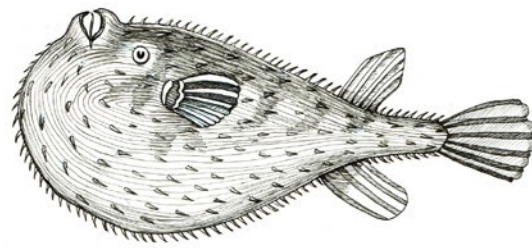


Fig 1. Uplift in personality.



Fig 2. Motivation to start own projects.

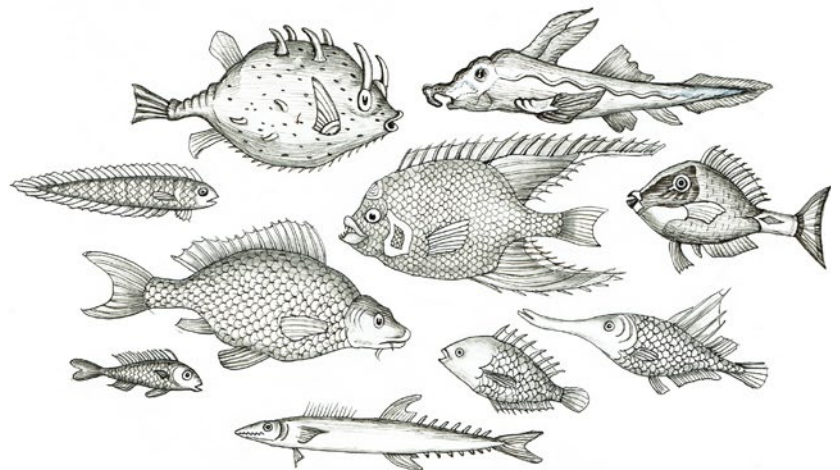


Fig 3. Builds friendships

More Than 100 Stories: Confidence.
Illustration: Nicole Mollett

Creating encounters and collectives of people

CPP places have many descriptions for the approaches that they have used when bringing together a collective of people, and the teams of people created. Encounter has been invited in many ways, from one-off groupings of people, to long-standing decision making and commissioning panels where people create bridging social capital with each other, and in some cases also demonstrate bonding and linking. For CPP places initially, 'go and sees', for example, created bonding, bridging and linking amongst people who would not necessarily have met one another. As a consortium partner described it: *'lots of people coming together on a bus, that's a natural mixing of people.'* Those bus trips might include participants from various existing projects and initiatives, creative producers, Arts Council England officers, staff from consortia partners, etc.

Creating 'spectacle' by collaborative working was also discussed as a way of building both bridging social capital (via decision making and encountering different opinions) and bonding (sharing the spectacle or the event). 'People Places Portraits' evidences the impact of the approaches. Karen Johnson from Right Up Our Street said: *'Normally I'd be quite shy and introverted, but I was socialising with new people which I hadn't done before.'*

Michelle Gerencser from Cultural Spring said:

'The first major production Cultural Spring did was called Rush, which focused on working class struggles... I've got a lovely group of friends from it. We support each other. We go and see things together...It's been like a rollercoaster three years and where it's taken us is just amazing...I've ended up having a try with musical theatre; with acting; I've done TV extra work. I took part in another Cultural Spring project... It's completely opened my eyes to culture and the arts. I go and see a lot more. It's just a huge part of my life now.'

CPP places discussed ways of finding 'traction' or 'breakthrough'. This was observed to often be with a particular individual (paid or unpaid) or with a certain demographic (bonded social capital), for example, a group of mums on an estate who *'are the ones who do make the connection with others'*. Membership of East Durham Trust, (the lead consortium partner for East Durham Creates), for example, is approximately 320 'frontline community groups' ranging from larger scale working men clubs and institutions through to small community groups, for example, 'mums and toddlers' groups, and food banks. These connections are incredibly important. Some CPP places described abundant social capital in their places, and a richness and reciprocity in waiting, via consortia links or via

individual people and 'up for it' communities. Others places did not describe rich social capital.

Individuals able to 'shortcut' linking social capital for CPP places were both paid and unpaid workers. For example, local artists employed by CPP places have been able to 'open doors' or been trusted more readily; they already have local social capital. bait's Arts for Wellbeing Manager was well connected in the health and community sector prior to her role and the post was funded by Northumberland County Council Public Health. One of her roles was to deliver 12 weekly sessions in different community centres. Two new voluntary groups have formed who have been supported to establish and constitute as community groups, and have been successful in obtaining Arts Council Grants for the Arts funding to run as projects. A freelance producer contracted by a CPP place to deliver sustained work, observed that they have: *'bridges, bonds and linkages all over the place.'*

Many collective teams of volunteers emerged via CPP places advertising for, and recruiting 'active citizens'; asking people to nominate or volunteer themselves. Others had, and have, art and /or artists as the focus, for example, Super Slow Way's work with artist Stephen Turner on the Egg (further details below).

Strategic Officer networks, local authority groupings, and other collectives are also taking place, where the agenda and format is not of CPP place's making, but CPP places support linking and bridging social capital.

Examples of the titles of coalescing groups created by CPP places are detailed in the below table. Many more examples could have been given, a more detailed description of Creative Scene's Scene Makers follows the table:

CPP Place	Title of collective / team usually unpaid	Brief Description
Made in Corby	Community Panel	Decision making panel in decisions about art and all that surrounds it. Are present 'every step of the way' at events. Also work on budgeting and marketing.
Creative Scene	Scene Makers	Originally 20 people. Now more of a movement of 'arts adventurers'. www.makingascene.net
Peterborough Presents	Community Bridge Builders	Recruiting representatives from different communities.
Cultural Spring	Community Champions Forum	Core of 30+ people. Decision making. bait and Cultural Spring Community Champions have linked together.
Home Slough	Community Connectors	Approximately 45 people. Decision making.
Ideas Test	Community Catalysts	Nominated collective of people representing all areas of geography, 'not homogenous'. Also work with smaller 'interest' groups, e.g. young people, older people.
Right Up Our Street	Community Associates	Meet monthly, represent each of the communities within the CPP. Funded to 'go and see'. Take decisions and programme work.
East Durham Creates	Creative Communities Leaders. Strikes of Brilliance	People in varied communities. Strikes of Brilliance focuses on skills development and talent development programming.
Heart of Glass	Army of Beauty. Council of Wisdom	Examples of artist Mark Storor's collective titles for people working together on arts interventions.
Creative Black Country	Desi pubs	Coalescence around the themes of migration, survival, love and food. www.creativeblackcountry.co.uk/projects/desi-pubs

Creative Scene: Scene Makers

Scene Makers were described as bridging difference. They have different motivations, and with Creative Scene have been working at producer and at decision making level:

'Our Scene Makers are volunteers, members of the community from all walks of life (solicitor, café owner, business person, home maker, student). They started as a small group of interested individuals with a clear stake in the project; they have influenced

and brought in others to what we now define as a movement of Arts Adventurers; a whole pool of people who bring different interest knowledge and expertise. They have built a network and added to it; sharing expertise and resources, volunteering on each other's events, loading equipment, coming together to share conversations and ask questions...They demonstrate a movement, a momentum. Most people in this group did not know each other two and a half years ago. Through the arts they have developed something extraordinary, a scene as well as a network.'

Art as a 'third' space or neutral space

Stephen Turner's Exbury Egg was in residence for a year as part of Super Slow Way. The Egg was described as creating a space of possibility. UCLAN, the evaluators for Super Slow Way and Heart of Glass, describe the neutral space as a '*third space*'. Creating a potential for a 'third space' of possibility. For people to come together for example, and recognise each other as Neighbours, Collective and Community. The Egg was perceived to hold that third space, which became a space of curiosity, and experimentation, and a meeting place which enabled rethinking about what it would mean to reclaim that area. Super Slow Way described:

'Craning The Egg in, in a cold February, lots of people were about, we had leafleted a week before saying "The egg man is coming". There was real excitement. That space had been locked off for ten years. It is a beautiful green space in a neighbourhood where there are few green spaces...Being among people to hear their reactions...the magic it unlocked...The relationships it created.

A neighbourhood coalesced around that project and individuals grew and identified each other as a community when they previously had not. Commonalities were made visible by creating a safe space to test out people's confidence and open up to each other in all sorts of other ways socially and artistically. Focused on that spot...It became their village hall, their village green.'

The artist Stephen Turner leaving Burnley after this long residency was described as a challenge and huge responsibility: '*you grow dependence on a person providing something new...full of hope and possibility...just in a year, it awakens everything, we need at least five years to embed and where a community can begin to take control.*' Heritage Lottery funding has been sourced for further development of the space.

At Super Slow Way's 2017 launch of *The Circle and the Square* (artist: Suzanne Lacy) there was both the sense of a space for new conversations, and a sense of the conversation continuing into new possibilities. The Circle and the Square bridges connections across

different communities and cultures, linking across, as well as bridging and bonding people together. Two volunteers said: *'we've met loads of people through this'*. Another person said it had changed their thoughts about where they lived and the people they live alongside. Bringing in an international artist created a different form of neutrality.

Transported's 'On Your Doorstep' initiative invited residents to nominate areas that would benefit from artistic intervention. In Boston, one of the neighbourhood action groups nominated a space nicknamed B&M Green, (because of nearness to the B&M shop). Working with a landscape artist and visual artist, the space was developed, and the positive impact on the space, gained an honourable mention from 'In Bloom' judges of the horticultural society, and attention from the Borough Council, which led to a second commission. The neighbourhood action group made an Arts Council Grants for the Arts application to employ an artist. As Transported observed, this:

'raised the status of the neighbourhood action group. Suddenly they were the catalyst for the investment that Transported could bring ...instead of being at the bottom of the pile, they were at the top, selecting artists, determining artists for new projects.'

Creating a third space for cultural and political partners, to go beyond old settled conceptions of institutional roles was also considered part of building structural social capital, to create public, private cultural sector encounter. It was commented:

'The issue is whether a CPP place can gain enough credibility and elbow room to broker that kind of space...It's a tricky thing to do and CPP will have to build up an awful lot of credibility. CPP leaders [need] that experience... to know how to operate in that terrain.'

UCLAN as CPP place evaluators have observed:

'Art is particularly uniquely able to generate a third space, which is an open space of encounter, where these relationships which otherwise tend to be settled and rather segregated and dispersed can coalesce. It's the ground on which people can transgress their boundaries and abandon their preconceptions about one another and what their proper roles are in order to find a new ground. It involves a change in mindset, it's a mental space as well as a cultural space. It involves the ability to work with creative illusion for want of a better phrase, to think about how things could be different, and yes, artists are uniquely well placed to do that.'

For CPP places, art or creativity is the core catalyst, even if the language of art is not used. Made in Corby discussed the ‘utterly butterfly ukulele project’ working in diverse institutions and with community groups; over 800 ukuleles were made in two weeks, culminating in a coalescence of all those involved to play a song together. As Made in Corby observe:

‘Bringing communities together, a lot of things would do that but... there is something unique about the arts...The social aims of our community partners when we run projects are very rarely arts focused. To the community we could be a sports development organisation and a lot of the community outcomes could be the same. But the special thing about this is creating that sense of awe and wonder that the arts bring. That magical bit. Sometimes people that haven’t been involved in the arts are scared about how to create that magical bit. Putting on an installation or performance that makes people go “ah look at that” there’s something a bit different there. The nervousness around some of our groups is choosing the right artist. That’s the key important thing to get right.’

All the discourse does not mean that art cannot be ‘for art’s sake’. Elements of the CPP places’ programmes, and the artistic visions of each place do create work that believes in art in its own right. In the need for the beautiful, the distracting, and the opportunity to make, or have an engagement in, and ownership of, something, precisely because it is alluring, gorgeous, pretty. At the ‘[WithForAbout](#)’ conference organised in 2017 by Heart of Glass in St Helens, Mark Storor beautifully covered himself with shimmer, and lightly speckled his fellow discussants by throwing a box containing glitter mixed with jigsaw pieces into the air. He did this as he was presenting about working without maps, observing the need and ability to work within a certainty of unknowingness.

Shared venues

Venues that could be used for a common purpose were also discussed by CPP places. Some of these may not be ‘venues’ in any traditional sense at all. They may be specific outside spaces, as described above, which are transformed into places via the meaning-making activities of each CPP place. One person described this as ‘*bridging the assets*’. Each CPP place gave examples of these common purpose spaces, and a few examples follow:

CPP Place	Shared 'open' venues
LeftCoast	Blackpool Beach; Laundrette on Mereside Estate; The Hairdressers; Art B and B
bait	Children's Centres; Recovery Centres; Woodhorn Museum (e.g. neutral space for Brass Marras project)
Revoluton	Luton Town Centre
Heart of Glass	St Helens Town Centre and rethinking, repurposing and recreating the centre
Super Slow Way	The Exbury Egg (Finsley Gate Wharf, Burnley)
Creative Black Country	Desi Pubs
Market Place	Newmarket (e.g. for the Kite Festival)

Many CPP places described a lack of cultural venues in their geography. The original perception of a lack of Arts Council England National Portfolio Organisations (NPOs) or exhibiting/producing / performing venues as a deficit has flipped to become an asset for some CPP places: *'Anywhere where groups and people are meeting is an asset.'* Often the dearth of 'professionally equipped' or 'high cultural status' venues has become a positive force and a strength as CPP places become creative by default in how they work in partnership with venues and utilise space. Working with non-arts partners was described as 'incredibly powerful.'

Considered, imaginative approaches to the production of art is evident across England within the 21 CPP places. There is now a developed understanding of working within the complexity of a local and hyper-local context. Collaborative working is taking place in the model of National Theatre Wales or National Theatre Scotland, that is, without a dedicated production venue, instead utilising the wealth and challenges that come from finding alternative and often non-arts specific places to work with and within. This both extends as well as embeds arts practice outside of a traditional 'black box / white box' model. In addition to town centres becoming 'the venue', many other possibilities are being explored. Many CPP places connect with a largely non-arts infrastructure.

CPP places utilise partner venues which may be businesses (factories, trading estate, library, pub); outdoors both owned and public (park, square, shopping centre spaces); and community venues (libraries, parks, youth centres etc). State supported venues such as youth centres, libraries, community centres, are declining which means that the partnership opportunities to create and build on social capital are harder, despite the optimism described above, the cuts to provision across the third sector has created

deepening issues. A CPP programme manager said:

'Community engagement all existed somewhere else. There is a sustained lack of investment in state provisions (such as youth clubs etc)...It is not about poverty of money necessarily, it's about poverty of mind and soul.'

Existing cultural venues are also being collaborated with. bait, for example are close in location to Newcastle Gateshead, and have worked with Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art, Sage Gateshead, New Writing North, Northern Print, and Live Theatre.

Many outdoor arts events have been developed or extended via CPP place. The lack of 'target' audience, openness, accessibility of outdoor arts in addition to CPP places not having a traditional production infrastructure has created this possibility. The Arts Council has anecdotal information but no firm evidence that outdoor arts has been able to develop because of CPP. This may be an area that is followed up further if appropriate.

Visibility

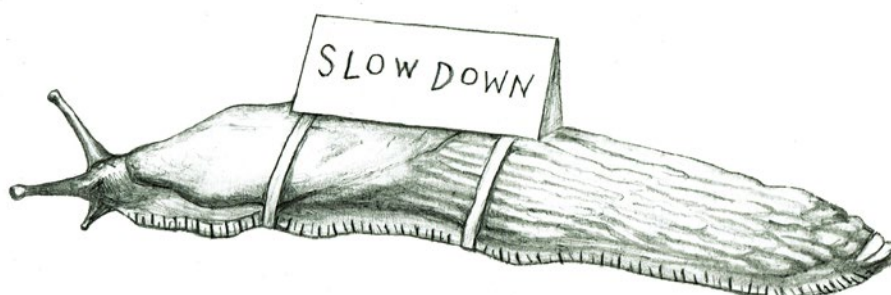
Ideas Test had one year of not being funded following an unsuccessful second-phase application to the Arts Council. Success came a year later after reapplication. It was observed that this created difficulty, but also unexpectedly gave the CPP place an anchor or 'ground' via a need to move into an empty shop on the high street to save funds. Much less 'offsite' work was achieved in the unfunded year, with a focus on creating a hub within the high street. The learning in that year created change in how the team was structured and in how the team now plans delivery. The impact of the shop front is a change in how people relate to the CPP place and it can be socially 'owned' differently:

'Everyone on the high street can walk in through the door, that gives us a different relationship to people...We are recognised as part of the community in the way that the doctor's surgery and the nursery up the road are. We are part of the landscape and more visible.'

Being visible and available sends an important message to connect with others. Some CPP places are experimenting with open-door policies or ensuring higher visibility and accessibility in a way which takes up time in a random and unpredictable way. One CPP place is currently discussing 'one day a week; one of us working, for example, out of the library, so we are more accessible.' Heart of Glass operate an open door policy which has had implications on working practices. Questions such as: 'What is valued and prioritised?' 'What does an open door policy convey as being most important?' are critical questions to ask when working with values of being 'amongst' not 'separate'. Creating the

conditions to listen. This includes the enduring phenomenon of large amounts of tea and cake being consumed, and a commitment to spending copious amounts of time listening, discussing and being available. This is 'being available' in an entirely uneconomic way.

Time. Social capital building for the long term



More Than 100 Stories: Slow Down.
Illustration: Nicole Mollett

Time is important to people, who can walk into a CPP place office and spend time with a person who is genuinely with them. This is a critical priority and cannot be valued from a purely economic perspective, or in audience figures. Time spent with people coming through the door is not time that 'should' be spent on other things, it is time constantly learning, accessing people and allowing a free-flow of discussion. Patience and vision are necessary. How people are met and engaged does matter.

Power Up and *Faster but Slower* both explore 'time'. Sustained work which can do more than connect people in one-off ways, is work that has had time to build, embed and empower. It would be wrong for CPP to suggest that even in the most durational of the CPP places, that four to five years is enough time to significantly impact on social capital in a way that can be sustained without intervention. Social capital builds organically. As a CPP place consortium partner observed: *'No-one manufactured it. Social capital comes through need and we are respected over time.'* Arts Council England has acknowledged that it will take at least a decade to learn what might work in each place, and that longitudinal impact will need to be considered.

CPP place workers have needed to take time to understand the complexities of the places they are working within. Gentler, gradual and many different approaches are needed. All interviewees discussed the importance of taking time. Three examples follow from CPP place directors:

'We need different approaches, and we need to keep a human face here. People need to know, trust and respect you. They need to feel able and then they will invest their time...For us it will take at least another 3 years.'

'We didn't have a clear sense of what communities would be. It is a big ask of communities and it slowed down the project and what we were trying to do. They were not ready to make decisions, they were used to working in a different way and being "done to". We set timescales and expectations. In our second phase we will make more decisions certainly from the artistic vision side, phase one took ages. It's a gentler slower burn than we expected.'

'Longer time is necessary for things to emerge. We have to trust. It is no coincidence that we have developed twelve year and four year artist commitments. Spend more time, invest more time, create longer sets of deeper relationships. Then it's obvious that something of value will emerge, and we'll be the richer for it.'

Many suggested that the impact was slower than anticipated and harder to sustain than expected. The expectations written in initial business plans were not reached, and in many cases, these had to be substantially rewritten based on the learning that took place.

A CPP director described the investment of time needed over several years, to broker initial connections, and then support the web of connections, gradually at the right pace, and to step back when *'bonds are strong enough to be self-sustaining to support networks.'* However, *creating strong enough bonds to be self-sustaining in time* was a challenge. bait, for example, in their fourth year of delivery, have a worker who continues to support groups. This is not necessarily weekly support, but as bait explain:

'we can't just let go, it would peter out. We still need to be there to support the framework, and meetings; see how projects are going. It's having someone to talk through ideas with, continuing to help connect to other groups and support the 'glue' that bonds the invisible networks. For example, the brass bands were well established previously but it still needs someone to broker, facilitate and reconvene at points.'

Even in sustained durational projects, working super-locally, there is risk that as CPP place workers step back, the projects dwindle and fail. A director questioned: *'At what time do you need to step in and fix a thread, fix a connection? It is not that the whole web is broken, but one of the connecting threads might need nurturing'*.

Many CPP places agreed that stepping in after handing over the reins of a project is often necessary, perhaps not stepping back in completely, but most CPP places felt that they were yet to create many entirely self-sufficient projects. Some do not feel that self-sustaining projects will ever be possible. CPP places perceived a continuing need for *'mostly advice and reassurance.'* In one example, the director observed:

'It is about bits of support we can offer. Marketing is particularly important, for example, the power of a share on Facebook, and through our website. It is as much about that as it is about the reassurance. Perhaps we do less stepping in, but we do give a lot of advice. That's a lot of coffee and cake.'

One CPP place ran a small funding programme for the first three years. Community groups applied to the programme to run arts events. In the second phase this has been superseded by a support programme to provide and develop capacity, for example on risk assessments, programming, marketing and so on. Other CPP places suggested that whilst they nurtured independence, when people face *'something challenging, difficult or new, they will inevitably come back.'* Whilst networks had been nurtured to 'do', it was argued that local panels need support and learning to enable them to work well. A director noted: *'No-one tells someone how to go and sit at a table, we have not always acquired the skills. We take it for granted that everyone has developed skills somehow, and sometimes they haven't.'*

Learning

The original brief included the question: 'What is the learning we can share with the wider sector?' Following discussion, the question was extended to include: 'What can the cultural sector learn from the voluntary sector (and others) on social capital?'

CPP places had varied opinions about learning, and the above question is huge, bringing in the wider arts sector, fields of socially engaged practice, community development, the wider 'third' sector and many other related fields of expertise. Learning comes from the work. For each CPP place it is subjective and comes from interpretation, from peer learning and many other angles. Not every CPP place is creating new work, however the work is created, the work that happens, in its entirety, is the learning. Each CPP place has responded to the circumstance of place.

As a whole, consortia partnerships have offered up huge mutual learning opportunities. This was often described as happening in subtle ways, with a constant sharing. All the

conversations taking place create shifts. Ideas Test, for example, have two Council for Voluntary Sector organisations as part of their consortium. Made in Corby's lead accountable body is Groundwork Northamptonshire who facilitate many community decision making projects. Those kind of partnerships mean: *'that the arts does not have to reinvent the wheel. There are community engagement practitioners, people running foodbanks etc, they all know these things, because they are the things.'* However, for most if not all CPP places, there are strains on delivering without infrastructure being in place. Housing Associations through to Youth Services were described as 'fighting for survival', in addition to being 'the experts in dealing with those challenges.'

Discussing when projects or approaches did not work, CPP places observed how much communication is necessary, a constant 'going backwards and forwards', constant adaptations, flexibility and change. With that comes a need for trust and *'talking about how we communicate. Constantly modelling behaviour and carrying on reinforcing that message of what we do and how we do it, and the why behind it.'*

Conditions suggested by CPP places that support social capital to build, and actions to attempt to mitigate historical inequity and 'being done to' were as follows:

- Time
- Trust
- Embracing chaos of commitment
- Mutual respect
- Openness and shared commitment
- Development of schemes to enhance young people's retention and particularly artist retention in a place. Also encouragement for artists to relocate.
- Certain training for artists regarding this way of working
- Training on roles, conditions and expertise
- Funders and partners resist instrumentalism
- Ensure that people are aware of where work is continuing to happen
- Trying to make it clear it is not about finishing and disappearing
- Ensure realistic and useful development, that makes the most of what the areas have already got, tapping into what exists.
- Regularity of events. Familiarity. Staying in touch. Keeping connected is important to build confidence.
- Developing resilience, persistence, expertise in everyone connected to CPP.
- Allow failure and trial. Even if it feels like an intractable problem, it is not necessarily. Keep trying, allowing it to develop what it needs to, where it is.

Many of these points above are recurring themes not solely related to social capital, but to CPP learning as a whole, and were also drawn out in *Faster but Slower*.

Resourcing and sharing learning

Many directors questioned where the ‘traditional’ National Portfolio Organisation (NPO) structure fits with CPP in Arts Council planning. CPP is about building sustainable networks that do not rely on physical spaces or traditional venues for work to take place. There are of course many other non-CPP arts organisations who would also argue that they work on a similar model.

Arts Council England hosted a round table with a group of NPOs and CPP to explore learning, and a second round table took place in spring 2018 between CPP, other policy makers, funders and the Arts Council. Other initiatives are being discussed. The thinking practices generated by CPP place leaders and teams could be shared, discussed and owned more widely. What would happen if all community, participatory and socially engaged arts practice NPOs (and more) were at the CPP peer learning table? Would it be too unwieldy? Is that an appropriate direction to take? It was reiterated that learning needs to be well resourced. Peer learning within CPP is relatively well resourced. NPOs and other organisation’s learning may not be as well resourced. One director observed: *‘We don’t want to set up division between CPP practice and everyone else.’* The CPP Network hosted a conference: People Place Power in 2016 in Doncaster, and will host a further [conference](#) in June 2018 in Wolverhampton.

Many socially engaged arts organisations are in the portfolio of Arts Council England, and others achieve funding through alternative sources, such as, Paul Hamlyn Foundation, Wellcome Trust, Gulbenkian, etc. Additionally, there is much unfunded arts activity which may still be expert. The arts may be the key driver, or part of the focus, and all of these may be working within the context of social capital. Values and ethos may be similar. None of these are necessarily connected into CPP nor benefiting from the peer learning or networking of CPP. How can mutual learning take place? One CPP director said:

‘the answer to that question is they don’t learn from each other, except through the circulation of personnel. Because there is no formal way of gathering and disseminating this knowledge. I still think that the problem is only, at best, half recognised.’

There is a risk of closing off CPP developing practice in a silo. However, as observed above, the Arts Council are taking a lead in exploring how mutual learning can take place, and this is a question of continuing relevance.

Peer learning and professional development

Each CPP places development has intertwined the attributes of individual places, consortium aspirations and pressures, partners' experiences, and the people who volunteer, or are employed and contracted to deliver the programmes of work collectively devised. Each CPP place has learnt *individually* but is supported as a cohort of 21 places, with advocacy and communication and a strong and active peer learning network supported by a national peer learning manager. This builds social capital.

There is a palpable generosity and willingness to share resources in CPP; time, skills, connections, money, emotional strength, experience etc. Generosity begets generosity. Peer learning at its best is a generous system. There is a trust, commitment and experiential learning taking place which drives generosity and drives the ability for social capital to function at this level.

Alongside CPP's national peer learning, there are professional development networks and talent development initiatives taking place and being developed across many of the CPP places. Heart of Glass for example, have for the last two years run a practice-led, artist-led 'conference' entitled [WithForAbout](#). In some cases (such as Heart Of Glass, LeftCoast, Super Slow Way and Creative Scene who together lead an artist development project called The Faculty) several CPP places are working together to develop artist leadership, producer leadership and various other networked developments. These are all building social capital.

A few CPP places can now start to evidence people who have gone onto further or higher education or have started to work with CPP places as artists or alongside artists to deliver sessions. For example, a ceramic artist working with Cultural Spring has created employment opportunities and trained up two people. These are also examples of social capital.

Leadership

Via working with CPP, arts professionals are enhancing their own social capital. Some will work with CPP for a relatively short duration and take their potentially enhanced social capital (and CPP way of working) elsewhere. Personally motivated, ambitious, aspirational individuals could be hailed as a success for CPP. Especially if individuals move onto other leadership positions in the arts and take their developed 'CPP' approach with them. They

could be perceived as building social capital within the arts sector infrastructure via the development of support and learning within the circle of CPP.

Different leadership styles are being developed, and there is a powerful collaboration, trust and building of expertise taking place across some of the CPP places for the network. Directors of CPP places have a mutual exchange network if they wish to use it. There are many such networks in the arts and CPP teams may also be learning from other networks such as a network of European partners producing work. Several CPP leaders are alumni of the Clore Leadership Programme.

As observed in part one, the positives of social capital depend on how it is viewed, and social capital is not necessarily about common good. Support for people to 'climb ladders' 'get on in life' and also talent development are standard ways of thinking about building social capital. Any support to build a group of people, learning and sharing together (for example, the ambitions of cultural leadership programmes) often enable people to actively make use of their enhanced cultural and social standing. CPP has strongly impacted on social capital in this area.

Social capital is complex. An 'old boys network' for example, is often perceived negatively, as an unfairly privileged clique which is generally not accessible without private funding. However, how individuals may use that network for their own advancement could be accurately described as social capital in action, standing for a certain type of status and connection.

Artists as long-term residents and leaders

Artists and arts professionals with strong expertise and the ability to work in place for committed long-term durations are needed for the work to be persistent and create the trust and recurring encounters which enables social capital to be built for the long-term.

LeftCoast and Heart of Glass are both working on principles of long-term engagement and artists as resident leaders. Heart of Glass have a 12 year commitment with Mark Storor and a four year commitment with Heather and Ivan Morrison. Creating residencies in places of interest across the wider borough, these collaborations have a wide range of partners, and a longer duration.

LeftCoast have recently asked for proposals from artists for 'real estate'; a long term (one to three years) live/work socially engaged artist residency on a local housing estate, with the artist as live-in tenant. The brief is aimed at artists: *'interested in relocating to Blackpool/ Fleetwood for a long term...We see the artists as taking on part of the identity*

of the estate wardens that used to live on social housing estates. We want the artists not just to work with community but be part of the community.' The aim is to be embedded within the social fabric of the communities in that location.

Transported described an artist who decided to relocate his ensemble to Boston in order to pursue the potential of a project with Transported. The artist felt he needed to live in Boston to embed his practice in that location. His action may signal a change in Boston; with more artists returning or relocating in order to respond to the challenges and opportunities being created with the CPP place. It was observed:

'In order for your arts to have authenticity, the longer you spend in a place the better those outcomes will be. What the artist is saying is that it's part of his process. To author the type of experience he wants to offer.'

To develop and sustain CPP, existing resources, existing social capital and expertise has been drawn on. Several interviewees observed it was important to recognise the underlying circumstances that exist singularly in a place, but not to CPP as a whole, for CPP to fully understand contributing factors to developing social capital. For example, East Durham Creates and Transported have built on longstanding models of partnership and individual expertise and knowledge of a place. These two differing models are not necessarily replicable or available to everyone. Transported has the expertise of Arts NK artistic direction, with 25 year's longevity 'borrowed' and embedded into the CPP model. East Durham Creates have East Durham Trust who can shortcut connections into their vast membership. As one critical friend observed: *'You can buy in a really good director, but to have a person in a place that is going to carry on is really valuable. I'm not sure CPP can make that happen.'*

Skills development and support

CPP is a cultural employer; developing the skills within a cultural workforce and brokering partnerships. Social capital for those working within CPP is as necessary as it is for anyone and is being built from several angles. There is a huge amount of experiential learning 'on the ground' taking place with regular sharing through peer learning. The in-depth embedded prolonged practice (*into a place*) was commented on as a new way of working. It is debateable whether the way of working is new. What is unusual about CPP is the longevity, embeddedness and persistence of the work. This is needed to create real long-term change.

Also evident is the effect of austerity and continued public sector cuts. Working in the way that CPP works, there is an inherent difficulty which some CPP places did not discuss,

but many did. Some interviewees were keen to reiterate the pressures, both on artists and the organisations themselves, and of the broad and complex skills required to build social capital.

CPP places support artists who can themselves be struggling with their roles. As one interviewee said:

‘They are artists. They’re not mental health workers, or social workers or probation officers or police persons, they are artists. They plunge into these incredibly challenging situations and behind them they have an organisation that hasn’t itself digested the question of what the skill set is and what kind of support is necessary. So, in a sense they are not building up their own capital.’

One arts organisation working with a CPP place have engaged a psycho-therapeutically trained professional because of the ‘disturbing nature’ of the work they were doing. This was described as needing *‘more than just a listening ear...Most people expect to get the support they need from a producer or an organisation...Most of those people: producers and organisations, are probably brilliant at certain types of support, but are not equipped to help you if you feel scared and threatened and are losing your bearings in a situation which exceeds your capacity...’*

Many people who are working with CPP places either as full time staff or as freelance artists, project managers, associates, are highly sensitive to the situations they are in and think considerately. When exploring social capital, the need to constantly question what the roles are within this work, and to ensure enough support is in place was often identified. There is a duty of care inherent in the work and a tremendous amount of care needed, which is evident in conversations with all CPP places. One CPP director suggested always having a philosopher in the room, to constantly query by: *‘holding up a mirror to ourselves, no one is infallible.’* The director also observed:

‘how do we create a level of enquiry? Into your intentions and what you’re doing? I am nervous about the evangelical enquiry of the arts. It separates me and makes me feel and act at a distance or point of removal from the people I’m working with...This is about the potential to make meaning together.’

A freelance artist discussed their work with a CPP place as *‘working from love, working from care. It is emotionally exhausting work and it is putting your reputation, experience and care on the line.’* Another freelance producer discussed the levels of care that need to be noticed in order to genuinely collaborate with people to build social capital, and also expressed belief that the CPP place they were working with was highly aware and supportive of the challenges:

'There is the macro-vision of being out there, taking into consideration the funders aims and objectives; my own view and interpretation of that; the artistic objectives and the contribution to the dialogue and users. Then also I am making micro-decisions every single day: how much should I do this? How much can I change? I am constantly collaborating...[the CPP] are incredibly supportive of the creative decisions I've made and in recognising and valuing compromises and evaluations and support for the community to make proper partnerships.'

Recruitment of artists and producers as well as other expert professionals was observed by some to be a difficulty. The skills and capacities needed include relational expertise and finding people able to work 'in such tough environments'. It was observed that people grow relationships with artists on projects. One CPP place had observed that they had been surprised to find that where the focus on 'the art' or 'the product' had been stronger than the focus on developing relationships and trust, the social capital had broken down. Another CPP director discussed the challenge of supporting artists:

'It has taken a hell of a lot of our work just supporting the artist in these situations. It wasn't something I'd factored in, in terms of how much support everyone needs. We have had a fantastic team throughout.'

There are many skills considered important for working within the models of CPP. CPP place teams discussed skills and competencies needed and these included:

Resilience: In staff teams as well as in communities. CPP was considered to need leaders and resilient facilitators. One person commented: *'If people can see leader resilience in other people that 'can do' ness can be very infectious.'*

Curiosity: It was observed by CPP teams that: *'Our best artists are not about producing a finished piece but identifying that from the moment they walk in the door, they engage with you as the commissioner, the people they are co-commissioning with. They are passionately and genuinely curious.'*

People who want to work with people: It was observed that working with artists and organisations who 'really want to work with people' and support the creating of momentum around projects was a critical part to building social capital.

Development skills: Well-resourced community infrastructure is now historical. Those who trained and evolved their practices in a time of greater funding support potentially have a gap in their skills. As discussed in this report, there is a dearth of structural support, and development skills were considered critical.

Being Explicit: About the challenges, and about the length of time the work takes to have impact.

One interviewee discussed the ‘enormous personal cost’ of the work and called for ‘very serious work...to define what it takes to work in this sector and preparing people better to do it.’

Social status and social capital

The social capital of CPP workers has already been discussed. One CPP director was curious to explore anxiety that may exist in some arts professionals regarding their own social status. How the artists and ‘quality’ of art chosen to be developed in CPP places might reflect on an arts professional’s social capital, and how those choices might appear when CPP places present themselves in the arts world. They asked:

‘Where is the power to consume and create art?... It is very easy for all of us to fall back into what we’re used to... It is interesting when people take on their own stuff, and what that means for how everyone else relates to it. ...That might make us a little uncomfortable, because we’re worried about our own social capital in the art world.’

A freelance producer echoed the same awareness by asking for a shift in perspective from arts professionals working in an ‘arts world context’ and with people:

‘From an art world perspective, these projects may not seem exciting, but it’s a leap for you to do a project with a brass band or a choir if you’re from a certain place. That’s a massive leap. The CPP lesson, is that you have to fully understand that by shifting perspective. Art and cultural production have to shift perspective. We can’t view it from a cultural perspective, we have to shift to the participant point of view in order to understand the value and the meaning. Structural change and transformation is about realising you’re not the “Big I Am”. It’s about points of view.’

One consortium partner questioned whether the director positions of CPP places would work better with people from a non-arts background, with the reasoning: ‘if the directors had to educate themselves in terms of arts from the position of a community development background, like I did, then lots of potential positives would come from that.’

Reciprocity

‘What are the effects on arts engagement of increased or diminished social capital, and what is the reciprocal relationship between these?’ formed one of the questions for this research brief. The question created divergent responses. Some suggested that the question implies that CPP is problematising the community as an audience not engaged in the arts and suggested considering the question the other way around: That people are ‘unengaged’ because potentially what is on offer is not ‘open’, or that art leaders are custodians of a mono cultural experience. As already suggested, increased social capital in terms of savvy to deal with deprivation is an example of how confusion can quickly surround the term. Further understanding what the arts sector means by engagement and a recognition from all partners of their position and power within the system is still needed, rather than confusing engagement with the complexities of social capital research. As a critical friend pointed out:

‘If we acknowledge that we live in a hetero-normal, white supremacist, misogynist etc. etc place, then the question is why hasn’t the support, the infrastructure, the investment within these systems allowed for, or been made to allow for, the possibility that there are, and have been, highly creative communities that do not fit into and engage with the norm?’

However, in simple terms as a CPP director pointed out:

‘The arts has energised individuals and groups. It’s a kind of super social capacity and it has a context and a mission to work within, and a resource and enabler in the CPP project...If it is increased then the arts become much more part of the norm and then there is an expectation that it can and should happen here and people will fight for it and their entitlement.’

For a consortium partner, the use of art has brought a new angle to their work and allowed further reciprocity with the groups they work with. They noted however:

‘if poverty deprives people, they become hard to reach, that creates deprivation or lack of engagement. People that are easy to reach are generally engaged anyway... People become visible if they are taking part and engaging and doing positive stuff. The two things are going hand in hand.’

The recurring theme of longevity, longitudinal thinking and time was again reiterated in answer to the question of reciprocity; that retaining social capital and being able to use

that capital in meaningful and sustained arts action needs long-term resources. A critical friend observed:

'If you do some work then go away again and you're not there anymore, the connection has gone...a potential is there for a group to carry on, but if you think about how much work you need to practically get them to keep meeting, really how much can you leave behind? The whole point of CPP is that we can stay, there is commitment from the team, and resources in the longer-term. That's when you get the retained social capital that initially goes between the project and the people. It genuinely has to go between, it can't go one-way.'

It was also pointed out by one director that people do not necessarily want to use their social capital in reciprocity with CPP:

'They want to do their own thing, which is fine. I don't need them to be with us, it's a result if they've gone off to do their own thing. Independence is very important to some groups and it's very much part of their social capital within their group... So, they come and go where they feel the right thing is happening. Their bonding is stronger than the linkage with others.'

People were observed to also be engaged in the arts for very personal and individual reasons.

Reciprocity changes with geography, with that processional development of space to place. For some areas in places, a relationship has been built from scratch, and in others, there has been the ability to build on a relationship with what another arts organisation or artists, or community, or individual, or sector support have established, and CPP have been able to scale that development up. As one CPP director said *'the scale of people coming together has its own impact and power. A room of 600 people feels very different to a room with ten.'*

Working collaboratively and creatively with one another on an arts project or event is about doing more than just art. The collaboration spotlights skills and what it means to apply them, whilst considering other people's points of view. Collaboration becomes about open debate and about learning to work with people, and people who one may not have encountered before.

Much of the surrounding documentation on CPP discusses transformative power; active and engaged citizens; the enablement to express one's voice; tell one's story; articulate issues and concerns. CPP places have noticed that reciprocity can stall if progression or

extension of influence does not continue.

CPP places discuss working with the 'hyper-local' and hyper-local communities work within a constantly iterating process of struggle for unity, social commitment and transformative alternatives. CPP works alongside, on top of, and in the gap of where these joint projects and groups operate. The declining state-funded structural capabilities of places have affected CPP place work as a director said:

'The structures we thought would work, e.g. artists would always be hosted in a neighbourhood with community services, the youth centre, police etc, that hasn't happened so much. We had to put in more support than we expected. Over the past three years, those services have got more and more beleaguered and less able to provide those services themselves. Therefore, we have had to provide those, and it has impacted on our budget.'

People socialise and organise themselves into joint projects and groups. Outside of initial arts or creative organisation or funder intervention. Neighbourhood committees, estate-residents, walking groups, co-housing projects, community gardens, community supported growing initiatives, food banks, cooperatives, political groups, activists and many other manifestations of mutual help, support and empowerment are evident. These micro-practices of social commitment have continued to develop against a background of austerity. People meet in laundrettes, allotments, hairdressers, parks, libraries, pubs, and other places of convergence. Simultaneously there is an ask that individuals take responsibility whilst governmental support is withdrawn from institutional 'gatekeepers' or those traditionally supporting or partnering voluntary-run groups. These individual groups constitute small communities of unity. The community practices demonstrated have within them people learning skills or bringing with them skills such as decision-making, democratic procedures, non-hierarchical ways of organising, and ideally, a conceptual openness.

The writer Terry Eagleton said: *'The rich have mobility, the poor have locality. The rich are global, and the poor are local'*. One of the toughest asks is to see communities as identified as being part of all of us, all the time, connected by being human. There is no 'us' and 'them'. Looking through the lens of 'social capital' tends to create the division of seeing 'community' as subject and object.

The potential disrupting force of increased social capital

A number of CPP places gave examples of where building additional social capital created disruption in the hierarchy or in the comfortable order of 'things'. Stories were shared of individuals or groups who had grown, in confidence, skills, and 'status', and had changed via their engagement and learning with CPP and the wider partners and stakeholders. The impact on development was observed. Rightly or wrongly there are a myriad of delicately nuanced social relations which can be easily upset when existing embedded power is challenged. One person was described as *'accidentally gaining a lot of social capital early on and becoming very challenging without considering others'*. Other individuals or groups who might have been happy with the status quo may be resistant to another new form of social power and how that power is being used. Being consistently mindful of position and power was discussed. A director gave an example of how it was fantastic to see people getting *'so confident in making decisions'* but that could cause arguments if a mistake was made on who has decision making power. They observed:

'We ended up in a massive argument about who was providing the portaloos for an event. We hired some, and that created an argument because they [community group] hadn't been consulted. We thought they wouldn't want to talk about loos. It is a fine balance between building confidence to ask for stuff, make decisions, creating events on their own or with less help.'

How to manage the change is a skill, and it is a skill that is about constantly managing many agendas and mutually sharing, and how CPP manages transfers of power. When one person or group of people override other people or group's needs and wants, is that a good thing for building social capital? It is relational. A director said: *'People we are working with are passionately involved with what they're doing, as are we. Only when you open yourself up to each other do you develop the relationship.'* A critical friend observed that in order to manage challenging community meetings: *'I am very aware that the way I work and get [named individual] to shut up is by utilising my social capital.'*

Another CPP place described a community activist group on an estate they have been working with. The group are now *'courted by absolutely anyone and everyone'*. The group has created a different powerful clique which may have disenfranchised another group or groups of people. Most CPP places felt success was seeing that power transfer, but then how one spends their social capital, or how one is asked to spend capital, is critical.

Also highlighted by several CPP places, were examples where existing social capital is not

used by individuals to widen or enhance community networks and further build capital. Two examples are detailed below. One, of an amateur dramatics group in a CPP place and two, an artists' forum in another CPP place:

The amateur dramatics group in a place were described as:

'Well meaning. Passionate about what they do, but not really engaging with the community around them. Quite the opposite. They are about self-preservation and not moving into a developmental agenda which is outside of their own particular issues.'

The CPP place had attempted to involve and work with the group. Ultimately with finite time and resources, the CPP place stopped trying to engage with the group who were not going to engage with other people around them. As with many of these examples, that was considered to be the group's choice. This is a case where 'bonding' social capital within a group is stronger than any persistent strategy to attempt to encourage a bonded group to link or bridge with others who may have different ideas.

In the second example, the artists' forum, a connection with the CPP place did not work. It was suggested that perhaps this was because some elements of the group were bonded and had power through that which they may not wish to lose by bridging or linking with others, and saw the CPP place more as a funder than a potential collaborator. The CPP director said:

'Partly, as is often the way, there's one or two powerful individuals who set the tone. They [the artists forum] wanted money from us, but didn't want a relationship, there was no reciprocity. We tried really hard to find a way to make it work...'

The director observed that at some point the forum may have been the only hub for artists to meet locally. Since the inception of the CPP place, several artists from the forum connected with the CPP and developed exhibitions, or accessed resources, and some moved away from the forum. The director observed that the individual artists by connecting with CPP built up their own social capital and confidence and therefore became less reliant on the artist forum as a network.

In this second example, the director organised a meeting between the CPP place and the artists' forum, chaired by a third party. Described as '*acrimonious and horrible*' the meeting ultimately did not resolve the challenges. This story highlights the potential unease created in working within CPP models, how CPP coming in can create a different disruptive force, and how a 'bonded' community can tussle with attempts to 'bridge' and

'link' people. As the CPP place observed: 'A lot of [the artists' forum] were saying "we speak for the community" but living in the community doesn't mean you stand for all of them or know what they all want.'

CPP places are creating change and change potentially upsets the stability of funding for institutions. The institutional funding model rivets traditions in place. Is the sector prepared for change? And is the sector or even CPP places prepared for disruption that can't be planned for, if investment practices become truly changed? The results of CPP if social capital is built to any great extent, may surprise and disrupt and may not be what anyone was expecting. Two CPP directors asked, 'are we ready?'

The complexities surrounding social capital if we really think about it, are messy. There is a shadow side to the real life examples of bridging, bonding and linking. The facilitative role played by artists and producers in being able to manage and build something creative and often beautiful out of the mess together, is hugely complex. Ownership of art is contested, conflicted, and messy, and CPP is creating the potential to think about how art could develop in a far more expansive terrain. A director said: 'confront the barriers. They are bloody high. Chew and chip away on them.' When people accrue social capital and disrupt the status quo, new possibilities emerge. Another director said 'even for CPP, the fear is that we are not ready for what we need to hear. We have to allow for ourselves to be challenged, surprised, shocked, and interrogated.'

Structural capability and social capital

As commented by one interviewee: 'Social capital is about the infrastructure, it develops infrastructurally and then cuts across the artists, the participants, the communities, the full gamut. It is about structure.' 'Linking' as well as bridging and bonding social capital can happen at a strategic level, at an agency and structural level. Many CPP places work with several local authorities, with private and public institutions and organisations (including factories, trusts etc.) all with different strategies. In addition to working within the cultural sector with cultural sector stakeholders. Each CPP place is working with different agendas. Some CPP places are engaging local authorities and powerful stakeholders with a vision to become key influencers within the public realm and social sector. To build respect within stakeholders for CPP practice is challenging and can take sustained approaches and immense amounts of time. Some CPP places face more challenging sets of circumstances than others. One CPP place said:

'Our programmes are about identifying where art can deliver purpose to the communities we're working with. Those communities are divided between:

- *The resident and community groups that we work with*
- *The businesses and local authorities that we work with*

And in each of them we are saying there are individual and social benefits to people's lives as well as improvements to communities...trying to identify the social capital of our projects is absolutely crucial for us understanding what the legacy may be and where we therefore can tailor projects to maximise social capital.'

Significant mutual learning was considered to have taken place with local authorities in many of the CPP places. Several directors described trust and respect being developed following persistent, respectful, consistent presentations to Chief Executive departments and how that has built learning on how to work together. For example a CPP place's programme can act as a unifying force and a way to focus on joint working. A CPP director said: *'One of our greatest achievements is our great relationship now with local authorities and they see what we are doing'*.

CPP developments were observed to be creating a shift in everyday social relations and how people see themselves as connected to one other. Some local authorities recognise how culture can change by the connecting and building actions while at the same time retaining their brief to be a policy driver in the area. For other CPP places, there is still difficulty in trying to 'change local authorities approach to community engagement'. Cultivating an attitude of 'institutional readiness' was discussed by a freelance producer. They observed that:

'the people we are working with generally don't have power. Artists have a little bit, but not much. Institutions do have a lot of power. CPP forces you to share power out.'

It was observed by one director that *'the community isn't the issue, it's the structure that surrounds it. There is a leadership vacuum or failure. Gatekeepers can subconsciously and unintentionally keep and hold onto power and make it difficult, or create a failing structure.'* Change takes time, and often the agendas for CPP and those for the local authority are different, for example, a 'new architecture for a new care system' is actually a cost saving exercise and as one director said: *'the possibility for change is questioned from the beginning.'*

Even within CPP places where strategic working and understanding is strong, there is a continuous fight to push models of production that are not about a new capital building, and that play strongly to the status quo. As one CPP director observed:

'Even the Arts Council talk about "centres" of excellence. It's all about the building and the capital. This is the Artwash debate, roll the artists in, then gentrification occurs, then get the 'real' business in. It is a tried and tested formula...It is a wave we have to ride here all the time within the local authority: The place making agenda. The local authority here would have us presiding over a regional arts centre with a nice wine bar in a heartbeat.'

It was suggested that building social capital, developing 'institutional readiness' and conceptual openness needs to happen within all the following areas:

- The connecting and building action in everyday social relations
- The cultural partnerships
- Key public institutions

The risks and opportunities of working with communities in a time-limited funding cycle

The research brief asked the question: 'Given the time-limited nature of CPP, what are the risks or opportunities of this way of working with communities?' The varied answers to this question are summarised below and are considered particularly in the light of how they impact on social capital.

Arts Council England as CPP's instigator and main funder understood the need for a ten year view and a ten year vision was requested from applicants. However, the funding was locked into a shorter (three or four year) cycle.

CPP had three original funding cycles described as Round 1, Round 2 and Round 3. Many Round 1 and Round 2 CPP places are now in their second phase of funding and are funded to 2020 and beyond. CPP places have not had equity in funding and have different match funding requirements. Those CPP places who are now in their second phases of funding generally have less funding now for developments than they were awarded in phase one. Later emerging Round 3 CPP places may also have been awarded relatively less funding than Round 1 CPP places.

Some CPP places have, through their situations and expertise, managed to create buffers, for example, through other funding schemes and earned income. Some have been able to draw in partnership funding from a diversity of sources including European funding, and other Arts Council England schemes. For other CPP places, their consortium partners'

boundaries mean that it has not been possible to draw in major partnership income in the short term, and may remain challenging for the future.

The implications of the time-limited way of resourcing the CPP model are explored below in terms of risks and opportunities for CPP. **The impact on developing social capital in a time limited way is generally perceived as negative.** It has already been established that it takes considerable time to build additional social capital through the arts in areas which have generally been unequally addressed by the arts funding system. It may not be that those areas are low in social capital per se, or that arts practice is not taking place, but practice may not be recognised by funders or the capital of existing practice in those places may not have been made visible.

Risks for CPP of the time-limited funding cycle

The biggest risk for many of the CPP places, was raising expectation and then disappointing people who had 'got on board' and creating an atmosphere of 'less likely to try again'. With a subsequent loss of trust, and loss of the ability to embed and sustain work and retain capacity. CPP places expressed concerns such as: *'the trust developed will just go, and we will have lost capacity to pick it up.'*

Many CPP directors described the level of resistance that had been experienced in places, because of a sense from communities of the effect of 'being done to' previously and a lack of appetite for more of the same, for example, one director said: *'If at the end of this, we are not funded, we're making a worse situation. We become another thing that didn't stick around.'* Another director likened the time limited funding cycle to: *'falling off a cliff...leaving the place high and dry is the risk.'* Another director described the cycle as fragile.

Measures to mitigate the impact of previous short-termism in places varied from CPP place to CPP place, and not every place suggests that all their places felt or feel 'done to'. However, this statement by a director was one of the most reiterated observations: *'Brief engagement will not work. It constantly needs to be disrupted, otherwise it slips back to the status quo. It needs someone to keep at it.'*

There were some negative comments on early CPP places development, for example, an interviewee described a 'scatter gun and see what sticks' approach. The fear is that this approach accrues very little in three years. One director argued that in three years *'the only social capital accrued is the arts professionals in that system, they move onto another job, utilising what they have achieved.'* Other CPP places happily described their process in this way early on, then following learning, being able to change approaches for the

second phase of funding application. Those CPP places who adapted this approach at first, did change significantly in their further funding applications.

Opportunities for CPP of the time limited funding cycle

'The opportunity is that CPP leaves a legacy of stronger networks and connections that can sustain the arts independently of CPP'. CPP director

For some CPP places the three or four year cycle offered opportunities, and the opportunities are often intertwined with the risks described above. The re-application process enabled a point of reflection, a *'gear shift to consider what is really important'*, and a change of focus. Many CPP places have been able to redress their original consortium visions and missions into cycle two of funding and have learnt 'hugely' from their initial thinking. East Durham Creates, for example, in applying for their second phase of funding were able to, in agreement with Beamish their original lead, shift to East Durham Trust as their second cycle lead. They hope this will create a genuine legacy of arts being built into a trust which was well established, had strong social capital and connections, but had not previously written arts into its constitution.

Many CPP places considered the first three years as a 'prove ourselves and develop a track record' phase, for example a director said: *'we did a lot of R&D in phase one, to look at what people wanted. The next phase is, now how do you really embed?'*. The re-application process was perceived by some as creating a positive sense of urgency.

How does the impact on social capital affect the potential legacy of CPP?

The integrity of Arts Council England's work with CPP was appreciated. CPP places valued the experimentation and boldness of the Arts Council in exploring new models of working and sticking with them. The action research nature and flexibility of CPP funding was welcomed. The emphasis on experiment, trail, and risking unusual ways of working was considered by many to allow a critical reflection cycle, bringing different people, groups, councils, agencies and stakeholders together. As this piece was being written, the Arts Council is building its next ten year strategy. CPP offers a different funding possibility and has complex social and philosophical considerations.

Time has been a significant issue running through the debate around how to develop social capital for a positive good. It is also an issue for funders. The demands on investment remain. In funding terms, evidence on CPP started to trickle in over a year after funding began and for the Arts Council this was challenging. It is argued that ideally it could be ten years before realistic evidence on positive social investment and social capital could really be expected to emerge, if it was chosen to be focused on. Despite CPP earning positive currency within the Arts Council, it remains challenging to articulate for programmes that deviate widely and have a longitudinal experimental nature.

CPP places are demonstrating diverse models to create legacy. Some are working on an audience development model, others are leaning more towards cultural democracy. Some are writing a place for the CPP way of working into existing community structures to create sustainability (for example East Durham Creates and East Durham Trust), and working on linking and synergy, others are creating new structures. One consortium partner said:

‘Surely the only way to get longevity is to go through a community structure that is already resilient and has longevity in place. Thinking beyond 2024, if we just impose and deliver without using the existing networks and the existing capital that are here, it will go as quick as it came.’

CPP places are having conversations within their consortiums, asking questions such as ‘What do we become? Do we embed into an Arts Council England National Portfolio Organisation (NPO)? Do we become an individual agency? How do we hand over completely and make ourselves redundant?’

Some CPP places were keen on good practice ‘toolkits’ for learning, e.g. involving people in the commissioning process. Others warned against formulaic learning and were wary of CPP being able to expand and share its learning into the wider sector. Challenges were observed in maintaining balance between being ‘amongst’ people rather than solely about audience.

It was observed that the cultural part of CPP maybe new in its approach to longer-term thinking, but that *‘vast swathes of the wider voluntary sector have been doing it for donkey’s years’*. The possibility of further shared discussions to develop a national approach to thinking about how to develop and embed relationship between communities and the arts were welcomed. As a director described the work:

‘it isn’t just an arts project, it’s about changing the minds of everyone to put their weight behind what’s happening...To put together a learning and collaborating

programme with everyone from CEOs, senior officers, portfolio holders, people who will deliver, and the artists etc. who all need to acquire skills to make that happen.'

Some CPP places had reasons to be ambitious beyond their funding. In some areas it was felt change had taken place, and in others, handing over or building capacity had a long way to go, involving areas of social capital such as developing skills. Most CPP places are working on a complex model which variously includes socially engaged arts practices, participation, co-commissioning, co-production and eventually a vision to hand-over to residents who have become or are becoming experts in place-embedded activity.

Potential legacy was suggested to exist within:

- Developing sustained practice
- Understanding the complexity of the practices
- Institutional shifts and development of structural capability
- Influencing and sharing the engagement practices of the broader arts sector and in learning from the broader voluntary sector
- Specific legacy for particular places – how to support community activity and infrastructure
- Creating a virtuous circle of healthy society: healthy arts sector

Partnerships are critical to each place and, for some CPP places (e.g. Heart of Glass, LeftCoast, Transported, Super Slow Way), long-term partnership with artists as leaders remains a defining value. Some CPP places have noted more success in building structural capability and capital with local authorities and with powerful public and private stakeholders than other CPP places. It is a continuous negotiation. CPP was discussed as a 'unifying force', as a way to focus on joint working.

The action research principles and fluidity of CPP remains a strength. It was suggested that CPP had created a sense of a collaborative **movement**. A movement of people, which is hugely varied. Not a method or a school of practice, but a movement nurtured through peer networks, as a model of practice for other areas where people are trying to make a shift in perception and practice.

Questions remaining unanswered over legacy include: How tenable is the existing CPP model for the future? What business models to sustain arts practice are needed? Can the Arts Council ever create the type of social change discussed here, as a deliberate investor? How does CPP work with the Arts Council and what does that mean for the future of CPP thinking about the 'power' held and how work is funded? If CPP practices were to be adopted in the 'mainstream', what needs to shift in the way the arts funding system thinks and programmes?

The resources needed for CPP programmes are heavy, and not 'economical'. The resources support the nature of consortium working, which the Arts Council already understand, is, or can be, a slow process. The deliberate investment is both a strength and a weakness as the people and places involved are not reducible to the politics and ethos of one funder.



PART THREE:
CONCLUSION



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Arts investment in the form of CPP generates connection and impacts on social capital in the following ways:

Through one-off events, spectacles and happenings

People meet each other and encounter the possibility of deeper connection but may not act on it. Can it be said that something has built capital if it is a one-off event?

Through persistent encounter

By creating many different points of entry into art practices, people encountering difference (linking and bridging social capital) becomes more likely. People persist in encountering each other, through coming together many times via an ongoing project and potentially build trust, tolerance, common purpose (and bonding capital).

Through embedding possibility by developing and extending local and ongoing activities

People expand the potential of connection and have access to back up and support where needed.

This think piece is not an evaluation or thorough collection of evidence of the impact of CPP on social capital, or the impact of social capital or lack of it on CPP places. Some CPP places are perceiving change in bridging social capital and some have perceived more bonding and less bridging social capital taking place. With 21 different projects, there is a difference in development. The picture shifts dependent on which lens or lenses are used to visualise and explore 'social capital'.

There is little doubt that CPP is impacting positively on social capital in its places in **the short term**.

The sense of 'impact' via social energy being built within communities and within parts of places is palpable from participants, CPP staff and the wider

partnerships. It seems too soon to say whether CPP has supported social capital in the long term. A minimum of ten years longevity of CPP social capital research could build evidential possibility. However, it would be foolish to suggest that social capital was not abundant in some places before CPP deliberate investment, and this has not been made visible. In some places, it maybe that social capital was weaker or not prevalent.

There are immense amounts of existing social capital research and some excellent academic enquiries into the nature of 'social capital'. Some include art and creativity. Existing literature reviews and analysis of social capital are readily available. The concept of social capital invites brow furrowing. How to measure social capital is likely to remain practically and politically unresolved. Deprivation, hunger, poverty are not audience issues, they are hugely critical and challenging 'being human' issues. It has been articulated many times during this research, that there is an unfairness abundant in the areas that CPP is working in.

Throughout CPP there is a desire to carefully and sensitively be aware of how people are described, evaluated, articulated. It feels there are traps everywhere, for example, of falling into the language of 'us' and of 'them', or (wrongly) assuming that poverty asserts low social capital. We are human beings, and social capital is about what it is to be human. Within this work it is assumed that a starting point for every human being is to respect and treat with grace every other single human being. CPP's document Power Up has already pointed out the complexities at play in powerful invested situations. The ways in which social groups are described and evaluated has an impact on their ability to exercise cultural and political autonomy. Communities and social groups, with CPP, operate on a 'micro-context', but also are linked into and referenced in economic, political, social, cultural and technological 'macro-contexts'. There are complex connections between discourse, power, dominance and social inequality. How CPP interlinks with these connections impacts on how social capital is perceived and how it could be measured.

As observed, most CPP places did not set out to build social capital as an aim, and therefore it most often forms an intangible and incidental effect of the work taking place. CPP places have evolved separate identities. The usage of social capital to support thinking needs clarity on what social capital means for each CPP place's individual circumstances.

Social capital is intertwined with politics and social change and an unfair society. Policy-focused interest around social capital tends to focus on better wellbeing in order to generate better wealth in order to create more economically self-subsistent individuals. The various perspectives on social capital identified at the beginning of this research

demonstrate the many types of capital that can be linked to the social. For CPP what might be measured if 'social capital' impact is considered useful to measure? Would CPP measures include increased caring, kindness and empathy and a sense of increased belonging, and / or would it focus on economic wealth, employment and material success? As scholars have identified, social capital is not a neutral term, and caution is urged around its usage, particularly around using it as a term which assumes a positive action and outcome if it is built.

What does 'success' look like? The measurements and questions for the type of social capital that might lead to those successful outcomes, may be different questions to those questions that ask about health, or friendships or quality of life and all of these areas are connected. SROI (Social Return On Investment) models which also measure alternative forms of value to finance may be considered more appropriate to measure CPP success.

In wider documentation (for example, the 2017 Gulbenkian Civic Role of the Arts Report), the 21 CPP places are assumed to have a holistic approach, and there is a certain 'glossing over' of the difficulties inherent in the fight for sustaining, creating, or supporting, thriving communities of interest. In places where the culture has been described as short-termism, or 'being done to' the impact has transferred into approaches and attitudes towards CPP. The receptive or less than receptive response of communities is directly linked to the ability to generate a good willing response to using arts.

Many people in CPP places have demonstrated enthusiasm and energy for CPP with a positive receptivity and 'can do' attitude, and the beginnings of 'taking on' the potential future of arts work in their places. However, many of the places in which CPP is working have been seriously under-resourced in the recent past. All places are continually mindful of the perceptual disparities that successful arts funding could create, and the consequence that people will continue to question arts funding for CPP.

The practice of building social capital through arts work is intensive. Working within community contexts and multiple partners is emotionally rigorous work and asks much of the people that make the work happen: in their time and their practice, and in continuing development of expertise, knowledge, sensitivity and many other competencies needed to tackle the challenges of working with each other consistently, rigorously, robustly, and above all, imaginatively. In the end this can be joyous, but it is sheer bloody arduous work and requires resilience. Austerity has added to the hurdles faced and has drastically changed the ability to work with people on the ground and utilise their expertise and engagement in local infrastructure. There has been a significant loss of people working as community 'outposts' or gate-openers. Most CPP places interviewed suggested that in the end, it is the doing and constant persistence to create and sustain encounter, that creates potential social change.

Social capital is not 'given' by any funded scheme. It is built by the connections and collaborations of everyone willing to share their time, skills, connections, emotional strengths, and so on. For CPP places, the deliberate investment, time and resources has begun to make difference which is not insignificant but is currently fragile. The funding did not dictate what CPP can be and is becoming. What CPP can be and is becoming is driven by each and every person connected in to the work taking place.

CPP, through investment, has the resource to support and / or instigate the creation of activities, events, and 'pieces of magic' which will support, nurture and hopefully sustain developed, connected and potentially imaginative forms and iterations of social capital. But, CPP **doing to**, makes CPP like any existing arts organisation that works on a hierarchical model, it must be CPP **working with** if CPP is going to genuinely fulfil the claims that are starting to be made for it.

CPP workers have suggested that social capital grows organically and iteratively. If weak or underdeveloped it can disappear very quickly when other factors that coaxed it into being, or enabled it to develop, are withdrawn. These factors are particularly:

- resources of people who can embed and continue to build connection forming durational practices
- sustained relationships leading to trust
- expertise in the practice and working in challenging conditions and contexts
- expertise in cooperation, building encounters with difference, skills of negotiation, compromise, collaboration, persistence and commitment
- generosity and kindness
- a shared ethos of caring and of being a positive force for social change
- the factor of money, funding, paying for the resources that can keep iterative building happening
- remembering privilege, constant checking that CPP has not accidentally fallen back into framing people through deficit and 'us' and 'them'
- to take time, to value expertise

The most critical points regarding social capital are:

- building it takes time, years and years of time
- measuring it is challenging and could also take years and years of time
- it is not straightforward and has political resonances which may be an awkward fit with evolving CPP visions and other socially engaged practices
- it is inextricably intertwined with persistent socio-economic national inequality
- it can be used in whatever way an individual sees fit and in itself is neither positive or negative

For further thinking:

Measuring social capital impact

- If CPP or other projects use social capital as a measure of impact or success, what types of social capital might be focused on, and what would 'success' and positive impact look like or feel like?
- Where might people be in 10 and 20 years' time and how might this be measured?
- What do people choose to do with their social capital? What have the bridges and bonds and linkages built and in what ways?
- What is the effect in 30 years or longer?

Support and care

- Do CPP places manage themselves in a way which supports change around challenges in society or is it CPP place's role to try and change society itself?
- If CPP is taking on a societal change role, how does it care for the health and creativity of its workers, partners and people in places whilst working with such strong challenges? Does this need further discussion and better understanding and articulation?

Social change

- Disruption is a part of the continuous production of new work. If that means changing the system and therefore having an open mind to changing the way one thinks and works, is everyone prepared and do people really want the status quo to change?
- What is it that we have yet to imagine?

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APPENDIX

Additional information. Perspectives on social capital

Office for National Statistics

The ONS has developed social capital measurements within their [ONS Measuring National Well-being programme](#). The measures use a [framework](#) covering what ONS consider to be the four key aspects of social capital: personal relationships; social network support; civic engagement and trust; and co-operative norms.

ONS observe that: *'There are a number of different aspects to social capital and measuring the level of social capital in communities can be complex.'*

ONS describe different types of social capital in relation to different types of networks, and give the following examples:

***'bonding social capital'** – describes closer connections between people and is characterised by strong bonds, for example, among family members or among members of the same ethnic group; it is good for 'getting by' in life*

***'bridging social capital'** – describes more distant connections between people and is characterised by weaker, but more cross-cutting ties, for example, with business associates, acquaintances, friends from different ethnic groups, friends of friends, etc; it is good for 'getting ahead' in life*

***'linking social capital'** – describes connections with people in positions of power and is characterised by relations between those within a hierarchy where there are differing levels of power; it is good for accessing support from formal institutions. It is different from bonding and bridging in that it is concerned with relations between people who are not on an equal footing. An example would be a social services agency dealing with an individual, for example, job searching at the Benefits Agency'*

The ONS suggests that social capital matters because:

'Research has shown that higher levels of social capital are associated with better health, higher educational achievement, better employment outcomes, and lower crime rates...In other words, those with extensive networks are more likely to be 'housed, healthy, hired and happy...All of these areas are of concern to both policy-makers and community members alike.'

Robert Putnam and Daniel Aldrich

In *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, (2000) Harvard political scientist Robert D. Putnam brought social capital into the context of popular culture. He explored two forms of social capital: bridging and bonding. Another political scientist: Daniel P. Aldrich, described three forms: bonding, bridging, and linking, these are similar to the ONS descriptions above and are paraphrased in the table below:

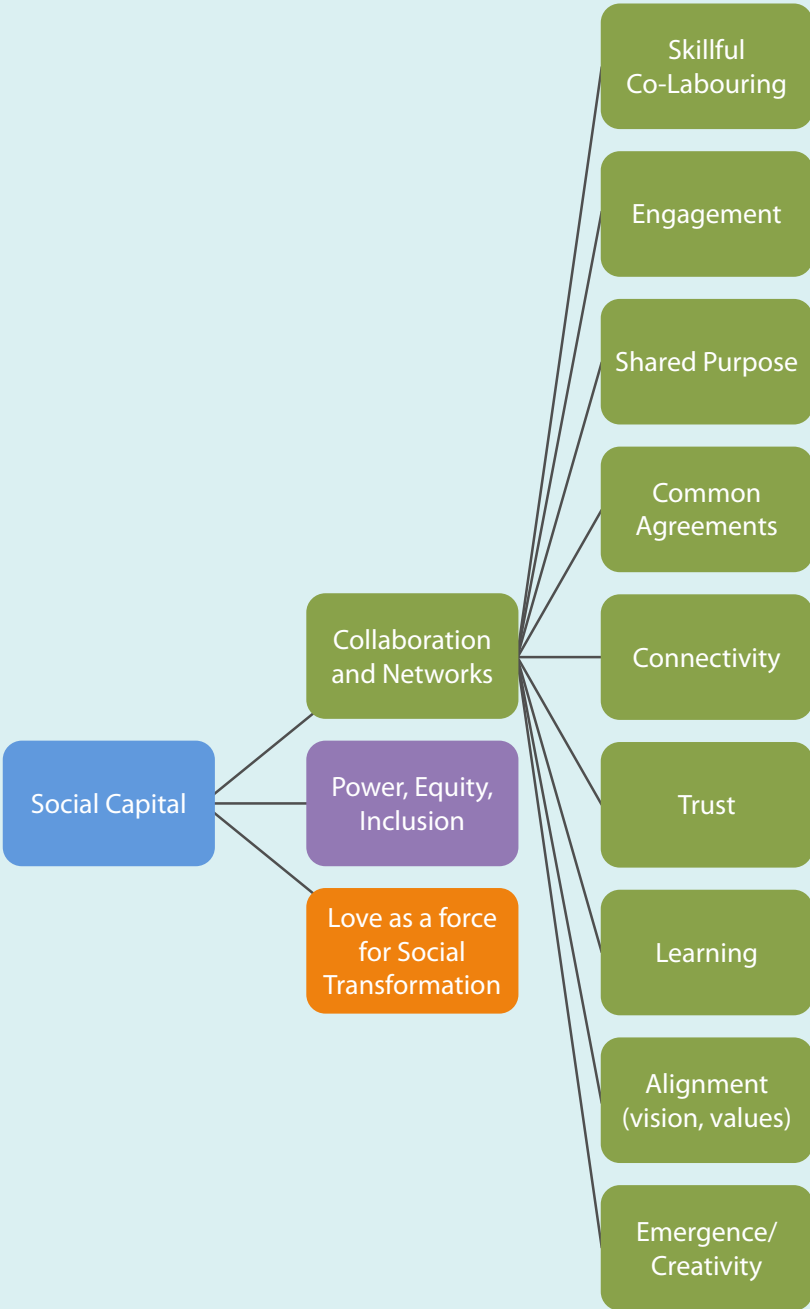
Forms of social capital	Bonding	Bridging	Linking
Robert Putnam	Value assigned to social networks between homogeneous (same) groups of people e.g. criminal gangs	Social networks between socially heterogeneous (different) groups of people. e.g. choirs and bowling clubs	
Daniel Aldrich	Relationships a person has with friends and family, making it also the strongest form of social capital	Relationship between friends of friends, making its strength secondary to bonding capital	Relationship between a person and a government official or other elected leader
Office National Statistics	Closer connections between people. characterised by strong bonds, e.g. among family members /members of the same ethnic group. good for 'getting by' in life.	More distant connections between people. characterised by weaker more cross-cutting ties, e.g. with business associates, acquaintances, friends from different ethnic groups, friends of friends, etc; good for 'getting ahead' in life.	Connections with people in positions of power. Characterised by relations between those within a hierarchy where there are differing levels of power; good for accessing support from formal institutions.
Curtis Ogden Interaction institute for Social Change	in-group relationship building (i.e. "birds of a feather flock together")	Widens social capital by increasing the 'radius of trust.' Can support the creation of more inclusive structures, with implications for long-term resilience and more equitable development.' Building bridges between 'us' and 'them'.	

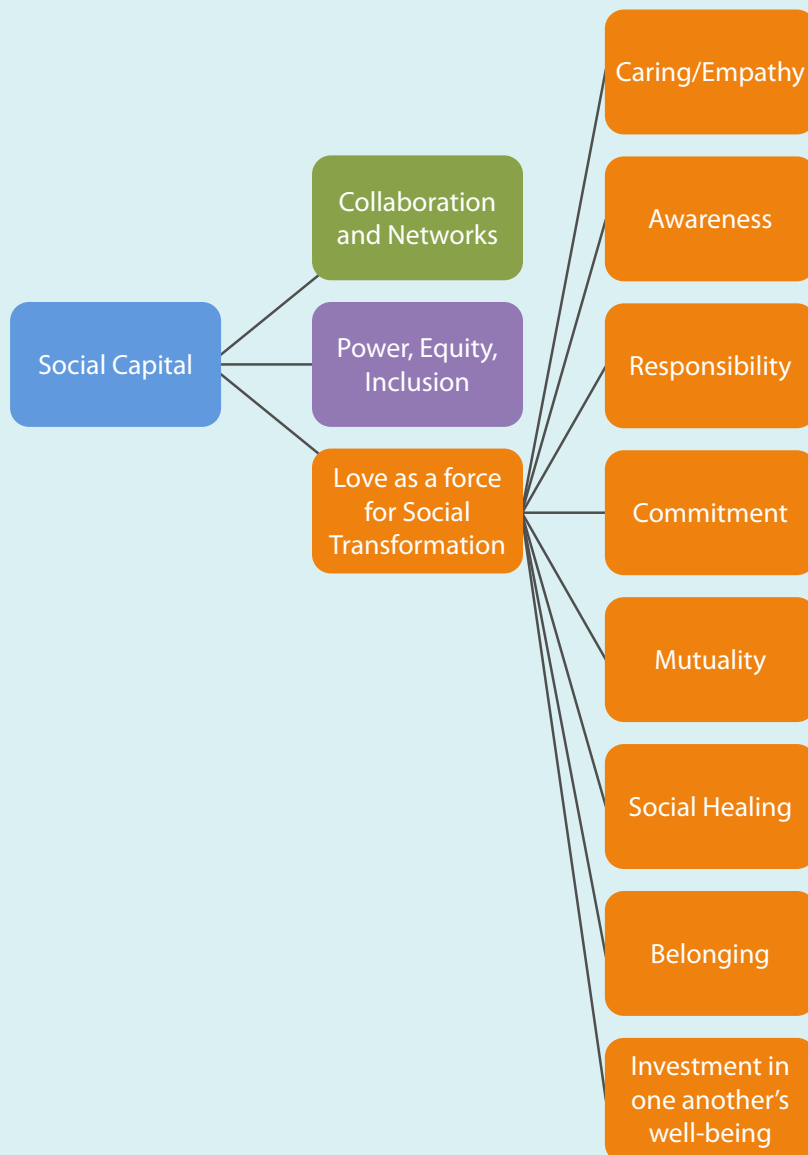
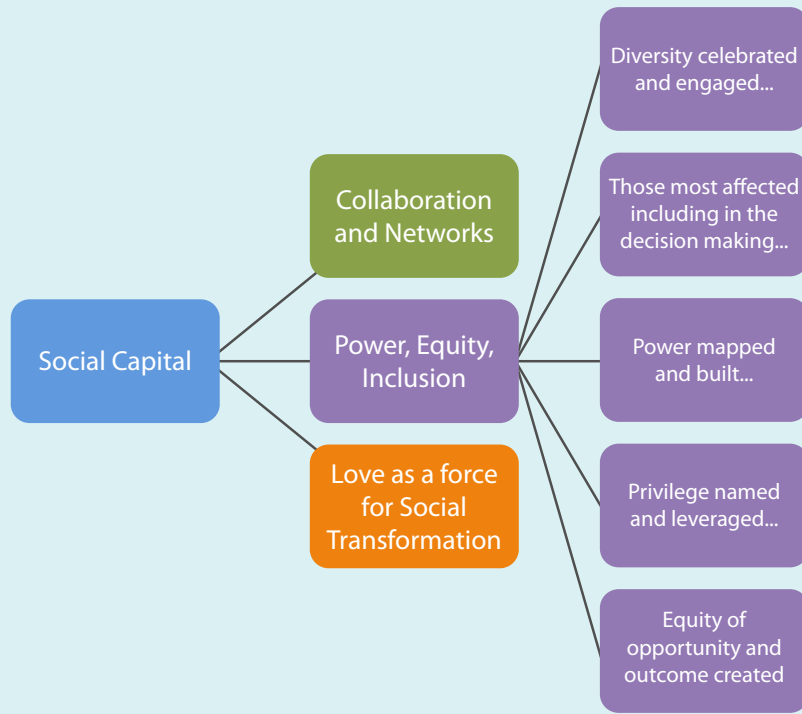
Linking social capital, it could be argued is the capital that creates social change, social impact and the potential to close the gap between the great divisions described earlier, of wealth and poverty, and lack of empathy and understanding with each other. ONS suggests linking is different because it is about relations between people who are not on an equal footing.

Interaction Institute for Social Change

In social justice, social development and change thinking, the benefits of bridging social capital are, as Curtis Ogden from the Interaction Institute for Social Change blogs: *'making it possible for diverse groups to share and exchange information, creating new forms of access, as well as leveraging new ideas and spurring innovation between groups representing different interests and/or backgrounds.'* Ogden's descriptions are included in the table above.

The institute has created three diagrams for understanding social capital:





Families and Social Capital ESRC Research Group

Jane Franklin observes that social capital is ethereal, intangible. In her editorial to Politics, Trust and Networks: *Social Capital in Critical Perspective*, (2004) she writes:

'social capital resonates, and has emerged in parallel with, current political paradigms and so cannot be presumed to be neutral; ... a common sense understanding of trust as social capital can hide a confusion of moral and economic assumptions; ...social networks can be shaped just as much by conflicting as by reciprocal social relations. Working with 'social capital' in research and policy development therefore, calls for a critical methodology, precise definition of terms and a broader understanding of social change.'

Social Capital Researchers

The Social Capital of Social Capital Researchers (2011) an academic paper, observed that research of social capital spans many areas of interest, for example: sociology, economics, management, political science and health sciences. The paper found *'there is still not a consensus on the definition and measurement of social capital'*. The research observed that there were: *'at least four sources of social capital'*:

1. *Social relations of an individual therefore supporting possible increased social 'status'...*
2. *Identification as part of a group, or groups, consequently enabling potential 'positive outcomes' by generating a 'sense of belonging...*
3. *Solidarity. For the good of community wellbeing rather than necessarily individual self-interest...*
4. *Enforceable trust. Enhanced information exchange, social norms and monitoring capacity in social networks.*

The paper gives much detail on different scholarly understandings of social capital and is worth pursuing if further definition is required.

Recent reports investigating relevant areas of the arts and social capital

The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation – Inquiry into the Civic Role of Arts Organisations

This 2017 report firmly places an understanding of social capital in a positive light. Social capital is identified as one of the nine *‘characteristics and operating principles that tend to be shared by arts organisations who have a strong civic role.’* Social capital is described as being built: *‘Often significant volunteering opportunities are provided. Sometimes these organisations focus on encouraging kindness, empathy and understanding of others.’* CPP is used as an exemplar case study, with no separation into the 21 particular CPP places (p.62). Derby Museums form another case study (p.74-75). Tony Butler, Executive Director of Derby Museums Trust is quoted as saying:

‘I explicitly started talking about the museum as a social enterprise that happened to be a museum: the creation of social capital, or bridging social capital, was the purpose...understanding that we don’t have the answers to everything, but that research and care of our cultural heritage is better when it’s done with the community, because we draw on all the social capital in the community to increase the cultural capital. The result is a “fluidity” between institution and people...’

Butler also adds: *‘no amount of social capital will pay the electricity bills’.*

Kings College London – Towards Cultural Democracy

This report uses ‘social’ but not ‘capital’ and discusses ‘cultural capability’. The report explores the constraining and enabling factors affecting social freedom. *‘It is this substantive social freedom to co-create versions of culture that we call cultural capability.’* (p5)

One of KCL’s six key findings was:

‘People have greater or lesser freedom to co-create versions of culture and, in so doing, pursue cultural creativity. We call this substantive freedom cultural capability, and our research shows it to be a socially emergent power that people exercise individually, but which is dependent on their environments.’

The report found that people are often both participant and organiser. (p36)

Community Wellbeing Evidence Programme

Professor Rhiannon Corcoran, Academic Lead of the Community Wellbeing Evidence Programme at the University of Liverpool [wrote in a blog](#) in August 2017:

‘We see people-power-place in action when our neighbourhoods, villages, towns or cities become a focus of common interest. When people make their place a community of interest. When communities of place become communities of interest we begin to develop a set of in-common aims, objectives and intentions. Dreams and aspirations for neighbourhoods are discussed and opportunities to make it happen are pursued, in common. When things begin to change physically, behaviour change follows and, importantly, neighbourhood we-ness builds to oversee a reinvention of place and community.’

CPP research relevant to social capital

CPP Evaluation in Participatory Settings

This document identifies Social Return On Investment (SROI), social value and levels of social energy and activism as valuable evaluation methods. The word ‘social’ is used extensively, but ‘capital’ is not. Skills, everyday wellbeing, social opportunities and a sense of ‘belonging’ are discussed.

Power Up

Chrissie Tiller’s work for CPP, *Power Up*, provides a thought-provoking and comprehensive repository of writing which has a rich seam of ‘social capital’ running throughout. The phrase ‘cultural capital’ is more abundant than ‘social capital’. In some discussions for this research, the terms were exchanged and interchanged frequently.

Power Up provides multiple evidence and discussion on the interconnectedness of class, inequality, societal change and building of capitals. Tiller discusses sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, Professor Tara J Yosso and Mike Savage’s theories on capital alongside Lynsey Hanley’s keynote speech for CPP’s conference in 2016. Bourdieu’s original work on ‘capitals’ demonstrated ‘the enduring correlation between economic capital, cultural capital and social capital’. Tiller observes that Mike Savage and others, *‘have pointed out... that what hasn’t changed...is that class is still the most powerful indicator of cultural ‘consumption’ in contemporary Britain...A connection that continues to uphold the values of the dominant culture as well as its political, social and cultural hierarchies.’* (p.30):

Tiller quotes Yosso’s alternative model, of ‘community cultural wealth,’ which ‘makes the case for turning Bourdieu’s analysis on its head’. Yosso’s model has six forms of capital she believes can be held by communities potentially perceived within a deficit model: Aspirational, Linguistic, Familial, Social, Navigational and Resistant capital (resilience). All these being ways, she suggests, of identifying the, *‘cultural knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed by marginalised groups that often go unrecognised and unacknowledged.’* These forms of capital are similar to the iterations proposed by The Interaction Institute for Social Change detailed above.

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