

Sustainable Development and Cultural Capital

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Abstract

It has become common for countries to create a framework of sustainable development indicators (SDI) to measure progress in raising the social, economic and environmental well-being of their regional and national communities. Standard practice is to focus on changes in stock measures of physical capital, financial capital, human capital, natural capital and social capital. An unusual feature of New Zealand's approach is that it pays explicit attention to cultural well-being alongside social, economic and environmental well-being. This practice raises important issues about how measures related to cultural well-being can be incorporated into a national SDI framework. The research for this report explored whether cultural capital is best conceptualised as a component of social capital, or whether it warrants treatment as a separate category. In arguing for the latter the report proposes that cultural capital be defined as a community's embodied cultural skills and values, in all their community-defined forms, inherited from the community's previous generation, undergoing adaptation and extension by current members of the community, and desired by the community to be passed on to its next generation.

Keywords

Bourdieu, cultural capital, indicators, indigenous, sustainable development, well-being.

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1 Introduction

A key idea in our modern age is the expectation that a well-governed country will ‘develop’ over time. This idea initially focused on economic growth as the main indicator of development, typically measured by annual percentage increases in a country’s per capita real gross domestic product. In 1987 the Brundtland Report famously recognised the importance of *sustainable* development that ‘meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ (WCED, 1987, par. 27). More recently other non-economic dimensions have been recognised. The European Union’s sustainable development strategy adopted in 2006, for example, publishes indicators related to ten themes: socio-economic development; sustainable consumption and production; social inclusion; demographic changes; public health; climate change and energy; sustainable transport; natural resources; global partnership; and good governance (European Communities, 2007).

Policy frameworks in New Zealand have followed this multi-dimensional approach. The Resource Management Act 1991, for example, defines sustainable resource management as enabling ‘people and communities to provide for their social, economic and cultural wellbeing and for their health and safety while (a) sustaining the potential of natural and physical resources (excluding minerals) to meet the reasonably foreseeable needs of future generations; and (b) safeguarding the life-supporting capacity of air, water, soil, and ecosystems; and (c) avoiding, remedying, or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the environment’ (Section 5, Part 2). Similarly, the Local Government Act 2002 defines two purposes of local government, the second of which is ‘to promote the social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of communities, in the present and for the future’ (Section 10).

An unusual feature compared to other countries is that New Zealand pays explicit attention to *cultural well-being* alongside social, economic and environmental well-being. This practice reflects New Zealand’s experience in grappling with present-day policy implications of its bicultural foundations in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi (Dalziel, Matunga and Saunders, 2006), but also raises some important issues – with no international precedents that might provide guidance – about how measures related to cultural well-being can be incorporated into a national framework of sustainable development indicators (SDI). The purpose of this report is to explore these issues.

The subject is timely, since Statistics New Zealand has recently engaged in designing a framework for measuring indicators of sustainable development (Statistics New Zealand, 2008, 2009a, 2009b). This project followed the capital-based approach commended by the joint OECD, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe and Eurostat Working Group on Statistics for Sustainable Development (WGSSD, 2008), guided in particular by the capital-based MONET framework developed by the Swiss Federal Statistics Office (SFSO, 2004).

The capital approach is based on the idea that sustainable development is indicated by changes over time in a country’s stock of assets, comprised of five items: **financial capital** like stocks, bonds and currency deposits; **produced capital** like machinery, buildings, telecommunications and other types of infrastructure; **natural capital** in the form of natural resources, land and ecosystems providing services like waste absorption; **human capital** in the form of an educated and healthy workforce; and, finally, **social capital** in the form of functioning social networks and institutions’ (WGSSD, 2008, p. 48). A question raised by New Zealand’s practice, and a major focus of this report, is whether recognition of cultural well-being means that this list should be expanded to include a sixth form of capital – ‘cultural capital’.

There is a strong practical reason for asking this question. An ongoing debate in the sustainable development literature concerns the extent to which different types of capital can be substituted for each other in raising human well-being. This debate is often framed in terms of produced capital and natural capital: can an increase in produced capital compensate a society whose natural capital is deteriorating? Statistics New Zealand (2009b, p. 135) comments on this debate as follows:

A key point in this debate is that some forms of capital are considered 'critical' – they are not substitutable as they provide a stream of benefits that are essential and for which no known substitute exists. This relates to the fact that Earth has a finite carrying capacity, and we must live within these limits.

An example of a critical natural asset is a reasonably stable climate. If the climate is destabilised, the basis for our civilisation in the long term may be threatened in a fundamental sense, almost irrespective of our material wealth (WGSSD, 2008).

Critical capital is generally associated with forms of natural capital. However, it can be argued that there is a critical level of social capital that is essential in order to maintain development in the long term.

If this is true for social capital, then the argument may also apply to 'cultural capital'. Communities may require critical levels of cultural capital to maintain their well-being, both in the present and for future generations. If this is the case, then a sustainable development indicators framework that does not address cultural capital may lead policy makers to overlook a critical component of community well-being.

The SDI measurement framework adopted by Statistics New Zealand (2009b) is based on three target dimensions – social cohesion, environmental responsibility and economic efficiency – that cut across the different types of capital. Culture and identity is currently included as part of the social cohesion target dimension. This enhances the international comparability of New Zealand's SDI framework, but this report considers whether cultural capital is indeed best conceptualised as a component of social capital, or whether it warrants treatment as a separate category.

The report begins in chapter 2 with an overview of why a country's stock of capital in its various forms is a useful indicator of sustainable development. This chapter focuses on the five forms cited above from the WGSSD (2008) report. Chapters 3 and 4 then review the international and New Zealand literatures on cultural well-being and cultural capital. Chapters 5 and 6 draw on those literatures to offer a definition of cultural vitality and how it could be incorporated into New Zealand's sustainable development indicators framework. Chapter 6 is a brief conclusion.

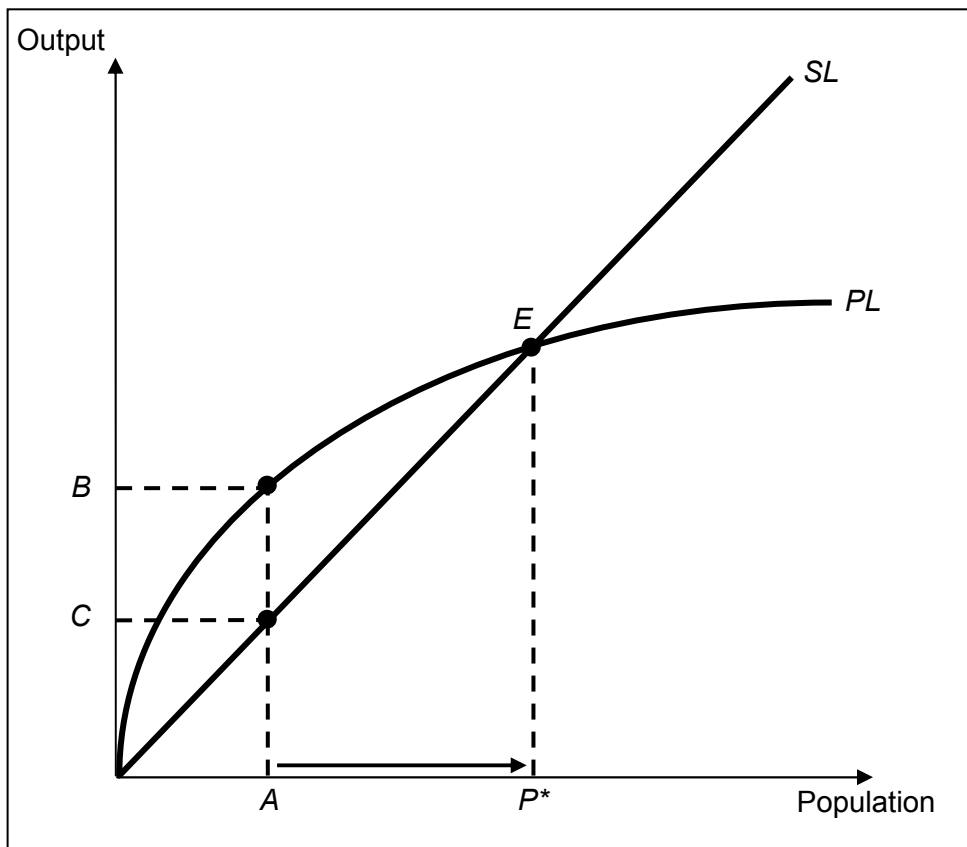
The report does not attempt to explore the extent to which cultural capital is complementary or substitutable for other forms of capital in a sustainable development framework; nor does it address the vexed questions of how to measure cultural capital for each community or how to aggregate the measures for wider society made up of diverse communities. These issues will require more research than has been possible for this project. Nevertheless, the report does conclude that the concept of cultural capital is an essential component of human well-being. Consequently, the cultural capital of communities should not be overlooked when designing indicators of sustainable development.

2 Capital and Sustainable Development

Prior to the industrial revolution beginning in the late eighteenth century, there was virtually no change in the economic well-being of the vast majority of the human race. Thomas Malthus (1766-1834) provided an explanation of why humans remained at a subsistence standard of living for so long, based on three observations. First, as a country's population increased, the amount of output needed to feed, clothe and shelter the population would increase at the same rate. Second, as population increased, the country could increase its level of output, but at a diminishing rate because the amount of available land is fixed. Third, if a country in a given year produced more output than was needed for subsistence, the population would tend to increase; if the country produced less than subsistence, the population would tend to decline.

The Malthus model can be illustrated in a diagram (see, for example, Taylor and Dalziel, 2002, chapter 9), as shown in Figure 1 below. The diagram has two axes. The horizontal axis measures the country's population and the vertical axis measures quantity of output. Two lines are graphed in the diagram, representing the first and second observation made by Malthus. The straight line labelled *SL* represents the first observation. As population increases along the horizontal axis, it shows on the vertical axis the amount of output needed to feed, clothe and shelter that population. It is a straight line because each extra person requires as much food, clothing and shelter as any other person in the population. The curved line, *PL*, represents the second observation; as population increases, output also increases, but at a diminishing rate (hence the curve). The lines intersect at point *E*, at which the output produced exactly equals the amount needed for the subsistence of the equilibrium population, labelled P^* on the horizontal axis.

Figure 1
The Malthus Model

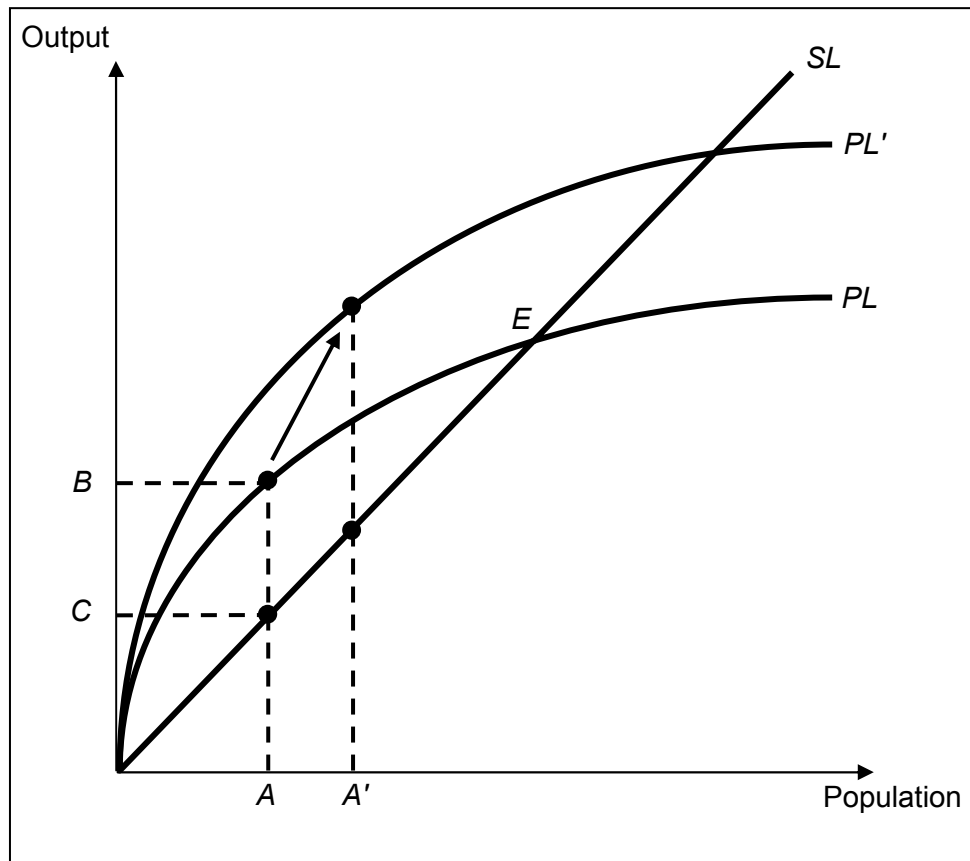


To see how the underlying economic forces operate, suppose that for some reason (perhaps a bountiful harvest due to unusually supportive weather) the existing population experiences a year in which output is well above that needed for subsistence. This is shown in Figure 1 as point *A* on the horizontal axis, with point *B* on the vertical axis representing the quantity of output produced and point *C* representing the smaller quantity needed to sustain that population. Malthus's third observation was that under these circumstances the population would increase (as infants were more likely to survive and the elderly were less likely to die). This is represented by a movement along the horizontal axis to the right, which would continue until equilibrium is restored at a subsistence standard of living at P^* .

Consider now an alternative scenario. Again let the country find itself with the population at point *A* generating an economic surplus equal to the distance *CB*. Instead of allowing that surplus to increase population, suppose at least some of the surplus is saved and used to invest in *produced capital* (or *physical capital*, as it will be termed in this report) such as factories, machinery, transport infrastructure and the like.

The result is shown in Figure 2 below. The new physical capital means that the same population is able to produce more output than previously. The entire *PL* line shifts upwards, drawn as *PL'* in the diagram. Even allowing for some population growth (from *A* to *A'* on the horizontal axis), the surplus can grow over time as the increasing stock of physical capital raises the output produced by each worker. The growing surplus means investment in physical capital can be maintained at the same time as the population's living standards increase above subsistence, and the first step towards sustainable development has taken place.

Figure 2
Investment in Physical Capital



A feature of capitalist economies is that an item of physical capital can be operated and managed by one group of people, and yet be owned by another group of people (who might live in another country). This is made possible by *financial capital*, which is created when savers make loans to borrowers. The debt thus created is an asset to the lender (positive financial capital) and a liability to the borrower (negative financial capital).

By definition, the amount lent matches the amount borrowed, and so the net value of the world's financial capital is zero. Nevertheless, there can be significant differences among different countries, and among different groups within a country. New Zealand, for example, funds a significant amount of its domestic investment in physical capital by borrowing overseas. Thus New Zealand's net financial capital is negative, which for some purposes should be recognised to offset the country's measured stock of physical capital.

Not only does the stock of physical capital increase over time, but also its quality improves as a result of incorporating new technologies created through research and development. The last thirty years, for example, has witnessed enormous changes in production made possible by major advances in information and communications technology (ICT). In terms of Figure 2 above, such advances shift the *PL* line upwards at a very fast rate, creating opportunities for the sustainable development of higher living standards.

The new technologies also require new skills in workers and consumers, typically gained through formal education. In the early 1960s, Theodore Shultz (1961) and Gary Becker (1962, 1964) suggested that acquiring skills through education has similarities to a decision to invest in physical capital. Education involves some sacrifice (especially the wages foregone as a result of staying in education rather than immediately entering the workforce), but produces an asset that provides benefits to the individual over a long period of time (particularly the economic benefit of higher income than would have been earned without the education). Shultz and Becker called this asset *human capital*, and their insight has led to a very large literature on this topic (see Krueger and Lindahl, 2001, and Harmon, Oosterbeek and Walker, 2003, for recent reviews).

Economists have suggested a method of estimating the aggregate private value of a country's human capital. The method involves using a comprehensive dataset of market incomes, qualifications and age to estimate the net present value of the higher expected lifetime incomes created by education beyond the school-leaving age. Le, Gibson and Oxley (2003), for example, used census data to estimate that the value of human capital in New Zealand in 2001 was \$842.9 billion; an increase of 51.2 per cent on their estimate of the value twenty years earlier.

A feature of human capital is that it generates economic benefits for other people and not just for the individual who chooses to invest in higher education (Sianesi and Van Reenen, 2003, is a good review of this feature). In the language of economists, education is said to produce 'positive externalities' for other individuals working or living in the same firm, industry, city, region or economy, so that people who live in communities with higher levels of education are more productive and earn higher incomes than would be possible in a less educated community. These positive externalities are the economic justification for public subsidies to students while they study.

Another input into economic production is the environment. The literature generally recognises four distinct elements (Cochrane, 2006, p. 319):

Natural capital, sometimes called ecological capital, performs four distinct functions. It provides a resource for production—the raw materials that become timber, fuel or food. As a source of raw materials, natural capital can be renewable or non-renewable and the harvesting of these stocks is the basis of much economic activity. Secondly, it acts as a sink for waste products, both from the process of production and the products themselves. Thirdly, it provides a range of life support functions, or environmental services, such as flood or erosion control and climate stability. Fourth, it contributes to human welfare directly through amenity services such as attractive landscapes.

As this quote indicates, the environment can be considered as a form of *natural capital*. Like physical capital, its value can be run down through over-use or maintained through investment (Berkes and Folke, 1992; Common and Perrings, 1992; Costanza and Daly, 1992; Jansson et al, 1994). This interpretation has generated controversy, since some economists beginning with Solow (1974) suggest that it is appropriate for a community to reduce its stock of natural capital as long as it is building up physical and human capital to compensate. This is known as the weak sustainability principle. Others have argued that there are limits to which other forms of capital can substitute for the environmental services provided by nature, and so communities should seek to conserve or enhance its stock of natural capital. This is the strong sustainability principle (see especially Daly, 1996, pp.76-80). In New Zealand, the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment has indicated support for strong rather than weak sustainability (PCE, 2002, p. 38).

More recently, sociologists beginning with James Coleman (1986, 1990) have argued for the importance *social capital* in promoting sustainable development (see also Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti, 1993, Fukuyama, 1995, Putnam, 1995, Woolcock, 1998, OECD, 2001, and WGSSD, 2008). Social capital is generally understood to be comprised of two elements. The first is the diverse networks and organisations that make up civil society. These range in scale from high level public institutions of good government to neighbourhood groups centred on local schools, sporting clubs, music societies, volunteer organisations and the like. They also contribute to the maintenance of the second element of social capital: the community's shared norms and values. Some of these norms may be codified and enforced by an institution (the ethical requirements of people engaged in medicine, for example), or may be informal social expectations about good behaviour, particularly between people who do not know each other (a first meeting between business people will begin with a handshake and exchange of business cards, for example).

The Working Group on Statistics for Sustainable Development (WGSSD, 2008, par. 387, p. 90) has commented that social capital networks come in three types across two social planes:

Networks come in three types (bonding, bridging and linking) and they can be seen to function across two social planes (horizontal and vertical). Bonding networks connect similar and equal individuals, groups or institutions (horizontal plane). Bridging networks connect dissimilar people at the same level (horizontal plane). Linking networks connect individuals, groups and institutions to authority (vertical plane).

The WGSSD (2008, par. 388, p. 90) focuses on bridging and linking networks, arguing that the ability of a society to work together and a stable political, legal and cultural framework are important areas within a sustainable development context. This is because social capital contributes to sustainable development by facilitating connections between people, by making it easier for people to access required information, and by encouraging trust and understanding among individuals, all of which reduces the difficulty and costs of doing business.

A feature of social capital is that, unlike physical capital, its value tends to increase the more it is used. Like physical capital, however, social capital can depreciate through neglect; indeed, this was a major focus of Robert Putnam's research summarised in his influential book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (Putnam, 2000).

Thus, physical capital, finance capital, human capital, natural capital and social capital play important roles in sustainable development. Chapter 5 of this report will consider whether there is a supplementary role for 'cultural capital', but first chapter 3 considers what is meant by 'cultural well-being' in the context of sustainable development and chapter 4 surveys previous explorations of 'cultural capital' in the international and New Zealand literature.

3 Cultural Well-Being

As noted at the beginning of this report, research on the development of nations initially focused on economic growth. There remains a tendency for researchers on any form of capital investment (physical, financial, human, natural and social) to concentrate on its contribution to economic well-being. This was reflected in the examples of the previous chapter, but it is clear that communities are also motivated to invest in some items or features of capital for non-economic reasons.

Consider, for example, indigenous Māori communities in New Zealand. Each community typically maintains a *whare nui* (meeting house) whose name, architecture, carving and weaving are all designed to reflect the community's identity and history. This *physical capital* provides a place for the community to gather for a wide range of purposes, from welcoming visitors, to crying for and farewelling a person who has died. Within each community are people formally recognised for their skills in oratory, singing, carving or weaving, and the community may have institutions to ensure this *human capital* is passed on to the next generation. Each community has a strong relationship to its environment, reflected in the community's status as *tangata whenua* (people of the land) with a duty to exercise *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship) with respect to the local natural resources under its care. This *natural capital* includes the way in which local geographical features have been named and woven into narratives about the community's origins and history. Finally, there are networks within each community based on shared interests, and each community is connected to larger tribal and pan-tribal networks that are carefully reinforced through oratory, gift exchanges and joint ventures. In many communities, this *social capital* was weakened during the middle of the twentieth century as a result of large migrations of Māori to the cities, but has been greatly strengthened by deliberate private and public investment in the last two to three decades.

Consider now Christchurch, which is the third largest city in New Zealand (population of 348,435 in 2006). The Christchurch City Council was responsible for building and now maintains *physical capital* such as the Christchurch Town Hall, the Christchurch Art Gallery and the QEII Sports Stadium, whose architecture and interiors are intended to make strong statements about the values of the city's people. Diverse religious buildings in prominent locations, including the Cathedral in the Square, reflect the spiritual traditions of different communities. Large numbers of teachers in the city help young and older citizens obtain *human capital* qualifications in art, crafts, cuisine, dance, literature, music, sports and the theatre. The city has long been known as 'the garden city', and its citizens have been vociferous at different times in protecting the city's *natural capital* such as the inner-city Hagley Park (from plans for a road to ease traffic congestion) and the Travis Wetland in the eastern suburbs (from plans for housing subdivision). Christchurch City Libraries maintain a Community Information Directory of clubs, organisations, services, courses and programmes in the greater Christchurch area (CINCH). At the beginning of 2008, this database of *social capital* included the contact details of 5991 organisations.

These examples in the previous paragraphs illustrate that communities express culture in the way they create and maintain their physical, human, natural and social capitals. It is part of what the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* terms 'the cultural life of the community': 'Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits' (United Nations, 1948, Article 27). These ideas are further expanded in the *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, unanimously adopted by the 31st Session of the General Conference of UNESCO on 2 November 2001. The preamble reaffirms that 'culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art

and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs'. Article 1 describes cultural diversity as 'the common heritage of humanity':

Culture takes diverse forms across time and space. This diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind. As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations.

Article 3 connects cultural diversity to development: 'Cultural diversity widens the range of options open to everyone; it is one of the roots of development, understood not simply in terms of economic growth, but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence.' Article 5 reaffirms cultural rights: 'All persons have therefore the right to express themselves and to create and disseminate their work in the language of their choice, and particularly in their mother tongue; all persons are entitled to quality education and training that fully respect their cultural identity; and all persons have the right to participate in the cultural life of their choice and conduct their own cultural practices, subject to respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.' Article 7 links culture to creativity across generations:

Creation draws on the roots of cultural tradition, but flourishes in contact with other cultures. For this reason, heritage in all its forms must be preserved, enhanced and handed on to future generations as a record of human experience and aspirations, so as to foster creativity in all its diversity and to inspire genuine dialogue among cultures.

Within New Zealand, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage has been working 'to raise awareness of the scope of, and the potential for, the promotion of cultural well-being in local, regional and national contexts' following the reform of the Local Government Act 2002 (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2005a, p. 1). This includes hosting a website of resources on the topic (www.mch.govt.nz/projects/culture/well-being.html). The Ministry emphasises that councils must consult with local communities to determine what is meant by cultural well-being in their own context, but reports that for its purposes it has adopted the following definition (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2005b, p. 2):

The vitality that communities and individuals enjoy through:

- participation in recreation, creative and cultural activities
- the freedom to retain, interpret and express their arts, history, heritage and traditions.

This Ministry draws attention to five components of this vitality (idem):

- It's about Arts, Creative and Cultural Activities.
- It's about Languages, Film and Broadcasting.
- It's about History and Heritage.
- It's about Sport and Recreation.
- It's about a Sense of Place.

Comparing this list with the UNESCO (2001) definition, another component could be spirituality, perhaps included with a sense of place (Eames, 2009). Another possible addition is that the Ministry recognises the retention of arts, history, heritage and traditions from previous generations, but does not equally emphasise the importance of the current generation enhancing and passing on cultural heritage in all its forms to future generations.

A relevant contribution from New Zealand to international understandings of cultural well-being has emerged from indigenous reflections on the need for 'cultural safety' in medical healthcare, especially nursing and midwifery. The recognised leader in this field was the late Irihapeti Ramsden, who adopted and promoted the term 'cultural safety' following a suggestion by a participant at a national hui convened by Ramsden in 1988 (Ramsden, 2005, pp. 15-17).

Ramsden (1990, p. 1) makes the point that 'people are still prepared to die in order to maintain their cultural, religious and territorial integrity' so that cultural safety is, like other aspects of healthcare, a matter of life and death. This is recognised in the international theory of transcultural nursing (see Leininger, 1991, for example), but the particular insight of the New Zealand approach is the norm that culturally safe service should be defined by those who receive the service (Papps, 2005, pp. 22-24). This has resulted in the following guidelines being adopted by the Nursing Council of New Zealand (2002, p. 7):

Cultural safety is the effective nursing or midwifery practice of a person or family from another culture, and is determined by that person or family. Culture includes but is not restricted to age or generation; gender; sexual orientation; occupation and socioeconomic status; ethnic origin or migrant experience; religious or spiritual belief; and disability.

The nurse or midwife delivering the nursing or midwifery service will have undertaken a process of reflection on his or her own cultural identity and will recognise the impact that his or her personal culture has on his or her professional practice. Unsafe cultural practice comprises any action which diminishes, demeans or disempowers the cultural identity and wellbeing of an individual.

Drawing on the sources discussed in this chapter, cultural well-being requires that members of a community can participate in their community's cultural life and express themselves creatively in their freely chosen cultural activities, subject to respect for fundamental human rights and for cultural diversity in the wider society. Cultural life and cultural activities include: the Arts (in the widest sense of this term); languages, film and broadcasting; history, heritage and traditions; sport and recreation; and spirituality and a sense of place. The received culture is expressed and enhanced by each generation, perhaps in dialogue with other cultural traditions in the wider community, as it is passed on to the next generation. Culture takes diverse forms across time and space and so the final arbiters of cultural well-being are the members of the community itself; the wider community should not condone actions which diminish, demean or disempowers the cultural identities or well-being of any of its citizens (again subject to respect for fundamental human rights).

Given the importance of cultural life to the well-being of a society's communities, it is reasonable to enquire whether each community can be said to have 'cultural capital' that lies at the foundation of its cultural life. Important strands in the international literature argue there is indeed such a concept, which is the subject of the next chapter, Chapter 4. The diverse approaches in the international literature to defining cultural capital could create difficulties in creating statistical indicators to reflect its contribution to sustainable development. Fortunately, an integrated capital-based framework of sustainable development indicators means that the definition of cultural capital can be simplified to avoid overlaps with other forms of capital. This is explained in Chapter 5.

4 Cultural Capital

It is universally agreed that the term 'cultural capital' entered the lexicon of researchers after Pierre Bourdieu wrote about the concept in a German publication in 1983, translated and republished in English three years later. Since then different writers have emphasised different aspect of cultural capital, so that it is possible to recognise three interwoven strands, all of which are incorporated into current work to create a cultural identity domain plan for New Zealand (SCBU, 2008, p. 20):

This domain plan defines cultural capital in the following terms:

- Cultural capital accrues from the strength and quality of networks connecting members of ethnic, religious/faith and minority groups together (e.g. in extended family structures). This includes beliefs and practices etc. that are passed down through generations.
- Cultural capital is the set of values, norms, traditions and behaviour which individual group members and groups as a whole can develop into assets or resources to leverage economic, political and social gains. For example, through being converted into other forms of capital or leading to infrastructure that promotes social cohesion through cultural production and consumption, such as festivals, ethnic market places etc.
- Cultural norms, values etc. are a continuing/durable source of cultural capital stocks.

The first strand treats cultural capital as a distinctive form of social capital available to members of minority cultural groups. In New Zealand, for example, Robinson and Williams (2001, p. 55) write that the distinction between cultural and social capital disappears in the Māori context. They go on to explain (idem): 'Cultural capital is an important aspect of social capital and social capital is an expression of cultural capital in practice. Social capital is based on and grows from the norms, values, networks and ways of operating that are the core of cultural capital.'

The strength of this strand is that it emphasises the strong connections between different types of capital (in this case, the cultural capital and the social capital of the indigenous people of New Zealand) to produce well-being. It therefore helps to break down any idea that economic and human capital are related only to economic well-being, that environmental capital is related only to environmental well-being, that social capital is related only to social well-being, or that cultural capital is related only to cultural well-being. A community's well-being across all four dimensions requires that its capital stocks be integrated to reinforce their respective contributions.

Figure 3 illustrates the integrated approach using 'the well-being fabric' of Dalziel *et al.* (2006). In this framework, improved economic well-being, for example, does not require just investment in greater economic and human capital, but also investment in environmental capital, social capital and cultural capital. Similarly, cultural well-being cannot be maintained if a community is starved of economic and human capital, or alienated from its environmental capital, or suffers a breakdown in its social capital (as attested by historical examples of communities devastated by war, natural disaster or colonisation).

Alongside these strengths, this first strand has a weakness that should also be recognised. It is well expressed by the observation in New Zealand's draft cultural identity domain plan that although 'cultural capital is not limited to the culture of minority groups [it may] be more easily understood and distinguished from social capital where it is not associated with groups who identify as the predominant group by virtue of forming the majority population or having greater access to economic or political power' (SCBU, 2008, p. 20). If the predominant cultural group does not recognise the role that its cultural capital plays in its own well-being (because cultural capital is discussed only as an aspect of the social capital of minority cultural groups), then the result can be unintended but harmful 'institutional racism' (which occurs when a country's major social institutions reflect the norms and values of the predominant culture only; see, for example, Rangihau, 1986).

Figure 3
The Well-Being Fabric

	Economic Well-being	Environmental Well-being	Social Well-being	Cultural Well-being
Economic & Human Capital	AA	AB	AC	AD
Environmental Capital	BA	BB	BC	BD
Social Capital	CA	CB	CC	CD
Cultural Capital	DA	DB	DC	DD

Source: Adapted from Table 2 in Dalziel, Matunga and Saunders (2006, p. 277).

Further, as described in the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001, Article 2), 'in our increasingly diverse societies, it is essential to ensure harmonious interaction among people and groups with plural, varied and dynamic cultural identities as well as their willingness to live together'. This process of harmonious interaction is not possible if the dominant group does not recognise and reflect on the cultural foundations of its own identity formation as an essential step towards cultural exchange with other groups in its midst.

The second strand in definitions of cultural capital focuses on the potential created by culture for generating economic wealth, especially when seeking to persuade public authorities to invest resources in the culture-based activities. In New Zealand, this strand is exemplified by the work of Anne de Bruin (1997a, 1997b, 1998, 1999) and Penny Eames (2006a, 2006b). The latter explains its method and justification as follows (Eames, 2006a, p. 31):

In this book, we take the definition further and recognise the increasing use of the phrase *cultural capital* to mean the wealth created through celebrating and investing in cultural histories, values, ideologies, rituals, and programmes. Cultural capital can be "spent" in economic, social and environmental markets to enhance social and economic capital.

We devoted space to the concept of *cultural capital* here, because we need to emphasise (particularly when dealing with local authorities) that there is a monetary outcome connected to culture and the arts as we are describing them. Hopefully this promotion of culture as an asset will encourage investment of time and resources towards the objective of cultural well-being.

Anne de Bruin's research explored the role of cultural capital in creating employment opportunities among the Samoan community in South Auckland (see also the summary of de Bruin's work in Johnson, 2006, pp. 300-301). Drawing on aspects of Samoan culture, and including abilities, talents, styles, language, values, motifs, creative labour and images of their people, the community has created commercial products that include public art, new urban designs, a music recording company and an arts festival.

This strand can be explained using the well-being fabric in Figure 3 above. It calls on policy makers (for example, in local government) to invest in economic, human, environmental and social capital to improve a community's cultural well-being (cells AD, BD and CD). Cultural well-being strengthens the community's cultural capital, which in turn will contribute to economic, environmental and social well-being (cells DA, DB and DC).

There is strong support internationally for this strand. Returning again to the *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, Article 9 makes the following comment about a State's cultural policies and their relation to what are termed the cultural industries: 'While ensuring the free circulation of ideas and works, cultural policies must create conditions conducive to the production and dissemination of diversified cultural goods and services through cultural industries that have the means to assert themselves at the local and global level.'

In New Zealand, the Labour-led governments of 1999-2008 selected 'the creative industries' as one of three sectors chosen for special attention under its economic transformation policies (see Dalziel, Maclean and Saunders, 2009, for a review). The motivation for this selection was explained by New Zealand Trade and Enterprise on its creative industries webpage (www.nzte.govt.nz/section/11756.aspx):

The creative industries sector is identified within the Growth and Innovation Framework as one of the keys to New Zealand's economic transformation. The sector was chosen both because of its potential for growth and its ability to enable innovation and improved productivity across other sectors within the economy. The creative industries sector currently contributes about \$2.86 billion (3.1% total GDP), but the sector is growing at a faster rate than the economy as a whole, at a rate of 9%.

Creative industries is a diverse sector, which includes screen production, television, music, design, fashion, textiles and digital content. New Zealand has already established competitive advantage in some niches within the sector, notably, screen production and post production, and has a growing reputation across a number of other areas including fashion and design.

In addition to our world class capability, the creative industries can leverage New Zealand's unique culture and as a knowledge based sector, it has the potential to generate wealth on a sustained basis and reposition New Zealand as a nation of new ideas and new thinking.

There is considerable merit in this second strand, although it risks giving the concept 'cultural capital' no particular significance beyond being an alternative term for 'cultural well-being' or indeed simply 'culture'. A third strand of the literature seeks to go further by analysing whether members of a community can be said to possess a stock of cultural capital in a similar way in which they possess a stock of physical capital. There is general agreement that the first person to suggest that this is the case was Pierre Bourdieu.

Bourdieu explained that the 'cultural capital' concept presented itself to him while he was undertaking research on why children from different social classes obtain systematically different scholastic achievements. Bourdieu considered the human capital theory of Becker (1964), with its emphasis on different abilities and different investments in education, to be inadequate: 'From the very beginning, a definition of human capital, despite its humanistic connotations, does not move beyond economism and ignores, inter alia, the fact that the scholastic yield from education action *depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family*' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17, emphasis added).

Like human capital, cultural capital in its fundamental state is embodied in individuals who must invest time and effort in accumulating it. This process potentially begins in infancy, but depends critically on the cultural and economic capital already possessed by the parents (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 25):

More precisely, it is because the cultural capital that is effectively transmitted within the family itself depends not only on the quantity of cultural capital, itself accumulated by spending time, that the domestic group possess, but also on the usable time (particularly in the form of the mother's free time) available to it (by virtue of its economic capital, which enables it to purchase the time of others) to ensure the transmission of this capital and to delay entry into the labor market through prolonged schooling, a credit which pays off, if at all, only in the very long term.

Thus, human capital acquired through participation in formal education is for Bourdieu a particular form of cultural capital, which he termed 'institutionalised cultural capital' because

of the roles played by the associated system of academic qualifications. Bourdieu also recognised that not all cultural capital is embodied in people: it can also be objectified in material objects and media, such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments and the like. Even so, an individual must have embodied cultural capital to appreciate items of 'objectified cultural capital'.

Bourdieu's proposal to treat human capital as a subset of cultural capital is not generally accepted, but his insight that children arrive at school with different amounts and types of cultural capital, transmitted by their family, remains important in the field of sociology of education. The power of the concept is reflected in its extension to other fields. Cultural capital has been used, for example, to explore the process of regeneration of inner-city neighbourhoods and deprived urban areas (Ley, 2003; Bridge, 2006; Card and Mudd, 2006), to analyse the experience of migrants (Waters, 2005; Kelly and Lusia, 2006; Perreira, Harris and Lee, 2006), and to understand dispositions towards philanthropy (Ulibarri, 2000; Bryant, Jeon-Slaughter, Kang and Tax, 2003; Parboteeah, Cullen and Lim, 2004) and the environment (Berkes and Folke, 1992; Cochrane, 2006). It has been used by some (for example, Darby, 1996) and rejected by others (for example, Johnson, Bienenstock and Stoloff, 2005) as an explanation for rising inner-city poverty in the United States. Hörschelmann and Schäfer (2007) use the concept to analyse how young people in East Germany are affected by unequal access to global cultural influences. Snowball and Willis (2006) use it to consider impacts of changes in South African arts policy after the end of the apartheid regime.

Economists have not been quick to adopt cultural capital as a concept, with the notable exception of David Throsby (1994, 1995, 1999, 2001). In his presidential address to the Tenth International Conference on Cultural Economics, Throsby (1999) explicitly argued that economists need to define cultural capital to sit alongside physical, financial, human and environmental capital. He repeated from an earlier article his suggestion that culture has two constructions (Throsby, 1995, p. 202):

The first is a specific interpretation of culture as a set of activities, including all those activities undertaken within ... the so-called "cultural industries" The second interpretation of culture is what might be termed an anthropological or sociological view, where culture is seen as a set of attitudes, practices and beliefs that are fundamental to the functioning of different societies. Culture in this sense is expressed in a particular society's values and customs, which evolve over time as they are transmitted from one generation to another.

Like Bourdieu, Throsby pays attention to the fact that cultural capital is transmitted across generations. He argues that any cultural item carries with it a concomitant notion of 'cultural value' (see also Hutter and Throsby, 2008). Cultural value is not measured in terms of money (and so is not to be confused with 'economic value'), but Throsby (1999, p. 6) suggests 'there may be sufficient consensus in particular cases to be able to speak of "society's" cultural valuation of items of cultural significance for the purposes, for example, of ranking them according to a collective judgement'. If so, cultural capital can be defined as 'the stock of cultural value embodied in an asset' (*idem*). This cultural capital includes tangible items (buildings, structures, sites and locations endowed with cultural significance and artworks and artefacts existing as private goods, such as paintings and sculptures) and intangible items (the set of ideas, practices, beliefs, traditions and values which serve to identify and bind together a given group of people, together with the stock of artworks existing in the public domain such as literature and music).

Throsby recognises that more work is needed to clarify this concept of cultural capital, especially with respect to the relationship between cultural value and economic value. Cultural capital has an unusual feature: unlike other forms of capital, its cultural and economic value may *rise* over time. As Throsby (2001, p. 161) comments, 'the valuation of such items of cultural capital is a matter extending beyond the present generation, and raises the ethical responsibility on those of us alive today to care for these capital assets and to pass them in good order to our heirs and successors'. More forcefully, Throsby

(1999, p. 9) warns: 'Neglect of cultural capital by allowing heritage to deteriorate, by failing to sustain the cultural values that provide people with a sense of identity, and by not undertaking the investment needed to maintain and increase our stock of intangible cultural capital, will likewise cause cultural systems to break down, with consequent loss of welfare and economic output.'

A more technical economic model by Sao-Wen Cheng (2006) focuses on non-embodied forms of cultural capital; that is, on items of cultural significance such as historical sites, heritage buildings, paintings, sculpture, literature and music. Cultural capital is defined to be the stock of these cultural goods, which provides cultural services for consumption (such as visits to museums, attendance at concerts or reading books). The model assumes that 'the continuous consumption of cultural services over time leads to an accumulation of cultural atmosphere, which is an intangible and depreciable asset; and the continuous creation of new cultural goods leads to an increase of the stock of cultural capital' (Cheng, 2006, p. 265). Both the cultural capital and the cultural atmosphere are assumed to provide value to all members of the community. Cheng uses the model to suggest that without public support in the form of taxes and subsidies, then (from a standard economic efficiency point of view) market incentives result in too few cultural goods being produced and consumed.

Cheng (2006) finishes by commenting that the empirical relevance of the model depends heavily on the measurability of 'cultural capital' and 'cultural atmosphere', which presents demanding challenges for future research. The difficulty of measuring cultural capital, whether in its embodied form or as tangible or intangible cultural goods, is a recurring theme in the economics literature.

Arjo Klamer (2002) is another economist who argues for going beyond economic values when measuring cultural capital (see also Klamer, 1996). He is particularly critical of approaches that focus only on the contribution of cultural capital to economic well-being (Klamer, 2002, p. 462):

Implied is the suggestion that additions to social and cultural capital serve the purpose of increasing flows of economic income. Yet, often the opposite may apply: people invest in their cultural capital in defiance and even denial of economic returns. People spend time on and with the arts and do not even want to know what the economic consequences of their choices are. Economic calculations interfere in friendship and may actually destroy it. The maximization of economic returns may therefore actually end up damaging the capitals that really matter to us.

Klamer (2002, p. 467) defines cultural capital simply as the capacity to inspire and be inspired: 'Cultural capital enables us to award meanings to so-called symbolic goods and to lift us up from the drudgery of daily life. It enables intellectuals to have those energizing sparks of insight and, if I understand the theologians well, enable us to experience the grace of God. Immeasurable as it is, cultural capital appears to generate the most important values of all, the values that can give meaning to our life.' He concedes that there are shortcomings in this definition, including problems with making it more concrete, but argues that immeasurability does not signify irrelevance.

Some authors recognise that cultural capital has a potentially 'dark side'. Dasgupta (2005, Section X), uses this term in his survey of social capital (including 'inherited social capital' that is close to the concept of cultural capital used in this chapter) and discusses three issues under the headings of exclusivity, inequalities and exploitation. He notes, for example, that 'among contemporary societies, there are many where women remain socially inferior beings, prevented from inheriting assets, obtaining education and entering choice occupations, all of which excludes them from credit, saving and insurance markets' (Dasgupta, 2005, p. 18) before using a game-theoretic analysis to suggest how this might be sustained as a result of social norms that sufficiently punish a player for non-conformity.

5 Cultural Capital and Sustainable Development

New Zealand's national sustainable development indicators framework integrates different types of capital and so cultural capital in the context of sustainable development needs to be carefully defined to avoid overlaps with physical, human or social capital. Consider, for example, the three components originally proposed by Bourdieu (1986): objectified cultural capital; institutionalised cultural capital; and embodied cultural capital.

Objectified cultural capital is made up of material objects such as historical sites, heritage buildings, artefacts, writings, paintings and the like. In an integrated capital-based approach, these material objects can be included under the heading of physical capital. There are economic techniques for valuing such objects and their aggregate values are reported in the balance sheets of cultural institutions such as museums and art galleries (see, for example, Hutter and Throsby, 2008, and Peacock and Rizzo, 2008).

Institutionalised cultural capital refers to acquired skills that are recognised in the country's system of academic qualifications. It is standard practice to include these skills under the heading of human capital, using qualifications as a proxy for the skills. It is also standard to measure the qualifications directly, or to use estimates of the extra earnings made possible by those qualifications (Le, Gibson and Oxley, 2003, is a New Zealand example), to provide an indicator of changes in human capital.

This leaves embodied cultural capital, which Bourdieu considered to be the fundamental form of cultural capital because the appreciation of objectified cultural capital and the acquisition of institutionalised cultural capital both rely on it. It is not easy to measure because it is embodied in individuals, and so is not directly tradable in markets. Nor are there obvious proxies for providing an estimate of its quantity that might be equivalent to the way in which academic qualifications indicate embodied human capital.

Thus, this report suggests that the definition of cultural capital in the context of an integrated capital-based SDI framework should focus on embodied cultural capital. It is different from human capital because it does not involve formal qualifications, but the question remains how embodied cultural capital should be distinguished from social capital. To answer this question, it is useful to recall the emphasis placed in the international literature on the fact that cultural capital is transmitted from generation to generation.

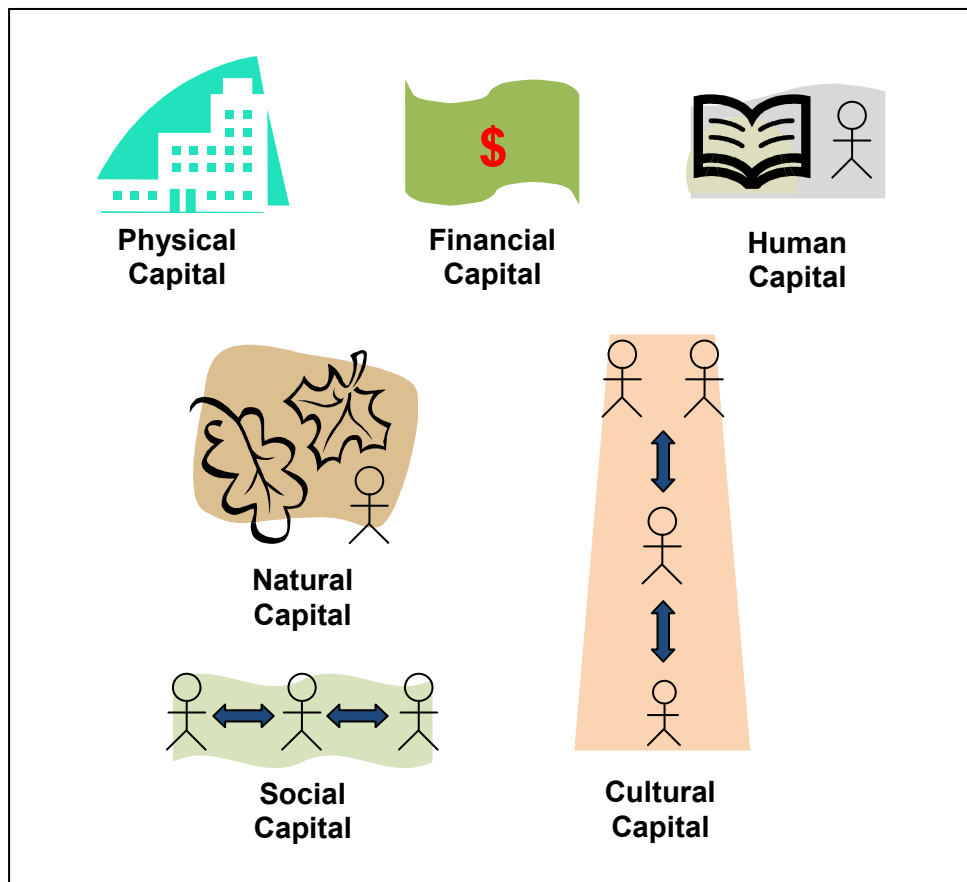
Recall that social capital is the networks that exist within a generation and the norms and values that bind the current community together (within wider society made up of several communities). In contrast, cultural capital results from the connections *between generations* of the community through which the current generation receives cultural heritage from the previous generation, adapts and extends it, and seeks to pass it on, transformed, to the next generation. This leads to the following proposed definition.

Cultural capital is a community's embodied cultural skills and values, in all their community-defined forms, inherited from the community's previous generation, undergoing adaptation and extension by current members of the community, and desired by the community to be passed on to its next generation.

This approach to defining cultural capital is illustrated in Figure 4, which sets out with symbols the six types of capital discussed in this report.

The definition makes no attempt to determine the content of the embodied cultural skills and values. This follows the norm proposed by the cultural safety literature in New Zealand that this content should be defined by each community in the wider society. It will almost certainly include, for example, each community's language and is very likely to include other items grouped under the Ministry for Culture and Heritage's list of factors related to cultural well-being (reproduced in chapter 3 of this report), perhaps extended to include spirituality.

Figure 4
Six Types of Capital



In contrast, the definition insists that the cultural skills and values are being adapted and extended by current members of the community. This is necessary to allow the freedom, creativity, inspiration or vitality that is recognised as an essential aspect of cultural well-being. Without this ability for transformation, the community's stock of cultural skills and values can stifle human development.

The final component of the definition draws on the international literature emphasising the cross-generational transmission of culture. Māori communities in New Zealand know this aspect well, for example, and have invested large amounts of economic resources and volunteered time in providing Māori children with opportunities to learn in their indigenous language (the kohanga reo movement of early child education, followed by kura kaupapa primary and secondary schools).

The definition affirms the difficulty of measuring a community's stock of cultural capital directly; there are no statistics available for directly recording embodied cultural skills and values. Nevertheless, the definition suggests two sites where it might be possible to design measures that will indicate its contribution to sustainable development: at points where a community's cultural capital is being adapted and extended by the current generation; and at points where the transformed cultural capital is being transmitted to the community's next generation. These ideas are taken up in the next two chapters that propose possible measures for incorporating cultural vitality into New Zealand's national SDI framework.

6 Cultural Vitality

Statistics New Zealand's draft framework for measuring sustainable development cautions against using a pure capital-based approach, which can artificially divide into separate categories what is in reality a complex system of interdependencies between society, the economy and the environment. The framework therefore adopts three target dimensions to describe what a sustainable development path for New Zealand might look like. These target dimensions are (Statistics New Zealand, 2008, p. 8):

Social cohesion refers to how well people can meet their needs in society and levels of unity and harmony within society. The levels of unity and harmony within society will be influenced by the perceptions of fairness and this has implications for the ability of a society to work together to achieve long-term goals.

Environmental responsibility acknowledges the importance of living within the limits of the Earth's resources, critical levels of natural capital, and preserving biodiversity to ensure the maintenance of options for current and future generations.

Economic efficiency refers to the need for an economy to provide for the material needs of people, utilising resources in a way that balances the needs of the current generation with maintaining options for future generations.

The draft framework follows international practice in including culture as an element within the social cohesion dimension. This chapter explores instead how culture might be treated separately, with its own target dimension and associated principles linking it to sustainable development.

Recall the Ministry of Culture and Heritage's definition of cultural well-being (cited on page 11 above), which begins, 'The vitality that communities and individuals enjoy...'. Following the lead provided by that definition, an appropriate target dimension to stand alongside social cohesion, environmental responsibility and economic efficiency is *cultural vitality*, which might be summarised as follows:

Cultural vitality refers to the way in which communities are able to participate in recreation, creative and other cultural activities, to express and extend the cultural practices and values inherited from previous generations, and to pass on their transformed culture to the next generation.

If this is accepted, the next step is to identify enduring principles that link the target dimension to sustainable development. As explained by Statistics New Zealand (2008, pp. 8-9), the purpose of principles is to define in more concrete terms what is meant by the target dimension, so that following the principles will promote sustainable development. The table in Figure 5 offers four sets of principles for the target dimension of cultural vitality.

The first set of principles concerns the expression and transformation of culture by the current generation.

Principle 1a ensures citizens are free to participate in cultural activities and express their cultural values. This principle comes from the statement in Article 5 of the *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (hereafter, the *UUDCD*) that 'all persons have the right to participate in the cultural life of their choice and conduct their own cultural practices, subject to respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms'. The right to participate freely in the cultural life of the community is also enshrined in Article 27 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

Principle 1b maintains viable cultural industries that foster creativity in all its diversity. This reflects Articles 7, 8, 9 and 10 of the *UUDCD*, and is the key mechanism for ensuring cultural capital is transformed by the current generation of authors, artists and other culture leaders.

Figure 5
Defining Cultural Vitality Principles

Cultural Vitality Principles	Description of Each Principle
1. Expression and Transformation	
1a. Participation and expression	Ensuring citizens are free to participate in cultural activities and express cultural values.
1b. Viable cultural industries	Maintaining viable cultural industries that foster creativity in all its diversity.
1c. Cross-cultural dialogue	Allowing citizens to access cultural goods and services outside their own heritage.
2. Transmission across Generations	
2a. Learning cultural values	Ensuring young people can learn the cultural practices and values of their parents' generation.
2b. Learning citizenship	Ensuring young people can learn their historical heritage as New Zealand citizens.
2c. Cultural education	Providing education and training that fully respect the cultural identities of students.
3. Indigenous Culture	
3a. Māori heritage	Valuing Māori heritage as an essential element of national and global human cultures.
3b. Te Reo Māori	Protecting and promoting the use of te reo Māori in New Zealand.
3c. Tino rangatiratanga	Protecting the exercise of tino rangatiratanga by Māori over Māori cultural taonga.
4. Cultural Unity and Diversity	
4a. National identity	Promoting a strong sense of New Zealand identity, based on the nation's distinct heritage and cultures.
4b. Cultural diversity	Ensuring that cultural diversity within New Zealand is respected and valued.
4c. Public cultural expression	Providing public spaces for citizens to express their communal cultural practices.

Note: The principles are drawn primarily from the *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, 2001, from *The New Zealand Curriculum*, 2007, from Clause 2 of The Treaty of Waitangi, 1840, and from the Ministry of Social Development's (2008) *Social Report*.

Principle 1c allows citizens to access cultural goods and services outside their own heritage, including overseas cultures. Its purpose is to allow genuine dialogue among cultures in accordance with Article 7 of the *UUDCD*, which further comments that 'creation draws on the roots of cultural tradition, but flourishes in contact with other cultures'.

The second set of principles concerns the transmission of culture across generations, particularly from current members of the community to the next generation as they grow up.

Principle 2a ensures young people can learn the cultural practices and values of their parents' generation. Article 7 of the *UUDCD* states that 'heritage in all its forms must be preserved, enhanced and handed on to future generations as a record of human experience and aspirations, so as to foster creativity in all its diversity and to inspire genuine dialogue among cultures'. *The New Zealand Curriculum* adopts the principle that it 'reflects New Zealand's cultural diversity and values the histories and traditions of all its people'. The Ministry of Social Development's (2008) *Social Report* adopts as a desired outcome that 'everybody is able to pass their cultural traditions on to future generations' (p. 78).

Principle 2b ensures young people can learn their historical heritage as New Zealand citizens. *The New Zealand Curriculum* expresses the value that 'through their learning experiences, students will learn about: their own values and those of others; different kinds of values, such as moral, social, cultural, aesthetic, and economic values; the values on which New Zealand's cultural and institutional traditions are based; [and] the values of other groups and cultures'.

Principle 2c provides education and training that fully respect the cultural identities of students. This is consistent with Article 5 of the *UUDCD*, which states that 'all persons are entitled to quality education and training that fully respect their cultural identity'. Similarly, *The New Zealand Curriculum* accepts the principle that 'the curriculum is non-sexist, non-racist, and non-discriminatory; it ensures that students' identities, languages, abilities, and talents are recognised and affirmed and that their learning needs are addressed'.

The third set of principles concerns the indigenous culture of New Zealand.

Principle 3a values Māori heritage as an essential element of national and global human cultures. Article 4 of the *UUDCD* requires a particular commitment to the human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous peoples, and *The New Zealand Curriculum* 'acknowledges the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and the bicultural foundations of Aotearoa New Zealand'.

Principle 3b protects and promotes the use of te reo Māori in New Zealand. The Māori Language Act 1987 recognises Māori as an official language of New Zealand, following a forceful report by the Waitangi Tribunal (1986). *The New Zealand Curriculum* adopts as a principle that 'all students have the opportunity to acquire knowledge of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga'. It further notes (p. 12) that 'by learning te reo and becoming increasingly familiar with tikanga, Maori students strengthen their identities, while non-Maori journey towards shared cultural understandings'. This is consistent with Article 5 of the *UUDCD*, which states that 'all persons have therefore the right to express themselves and to create and disseminate their work in the language of their choice, and particularly in their mother tongue'.

Principle 3c protects the exercise of tino rangatiratanga by Māori over Māori cultural taonga. This principle comes directly from Clause 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi (www.nzhistory.net.nz/category/tid/133). In the Māori text, this states that: Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki ngā Rangatira ki ngā hapū – ki ngā tāngata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o o rātou wenua o rātou kāinga me o rātou taonga katoa. This has been translated by Sir Hugh Kawharu as follows: The Queen of England agrees to protect the chiefs, the subtribes and all the people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures.

The fourth set of principles concerns cultural unity and diversity.

Principle 4a promotes a strong sense of New Zealand identity, based on the nation's distinct heritage and cultures. This reflects an approach taken in the Ministry of Social Development's (2008) *Social Report*. Under the heading 'cultural identity', it states its desired outcome that 'New Zealanders share a strong national identity, have a sense of belonging and value cultural diversity' (p. 78). The report recognises on the same page that defining a national identity is not easy, since 'New Zealand is a diverse nation, made up of many cultural groups, with many different customs and traditions'.

Principle 4b ensures that cultural diversity within New Zealand is respected and valued. Article 2 of the *UUDCD* states that 'in our increasingly diverse societies, it is essential to ensure harmonious interaction among people and groups with plural, varied and dynamic cultural identities as well as their willingness to live together'. Article 3 adds that 'cultural diversity widens the range of options open to everyone; it is one of the roots of development, understood not simply in terms of economic growth, but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence.' Article 4 simply states that 'the defence of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative, inseparable from respect for human dignity'.

Consistent with these clauses in the *UUDCD*, *The New Zealand Curriculum* adopts the value that 'through their learning experiences, students will develop their ability to: express their own values; explore, with empathy, the values of others; critically analyse values and actions based on them; discuss disagreements that arise from differences in values and negotiate solutions; [and] make ethical decisions and act on them'.

Principle 4c provides public spaces for citizens to express their communal cultural practices. This principle is based on actual practice in New Zealand, rather than the specific documents listed in this chapter. Local authorities, operating under a statutory requirement to promote the cultural well-being of communities, are heavily involved at different levels in the funding or organisation of public parks, sports grounds, recreational facilities, art galleries, museums, heritage buildings, concert venues, community halls, churches, marae, festivals, markets, one-off events and other public places for cultural activities. The provision of these public spaces contributes, of course, to individuals being able to exercise their right (expressed in Article 5 of the *UUDCD*) to participate in the cultural life of their choice.

Even if these principles are acceptable, it is still not easy to construct statistics to act as comprehensive indicators for changes in a nation's cultural vitality. This is because of the enormous diversity in values and activities covered by the term 'culture'. Consider, for example, the list used by the Nursing Council of New Zealand (2002, p. 7) in its work on cultural safety: 'Culture includes but is not restricted to age or generation; gender; sexual orientation; occupation and socioeconomic status; ethnic origin or migrant experience; religious or spiritual belief; and disability'. Whether cultural vitality is classified by activity or cultural group, it is difficult to define simple indicators that can capture such diversity. Chapter 7 discusses how this issue might be approached in the New Zealand context.

7 Sustainable Development Indicators for Cultural Vitality

The previous chapter identified four sets of principles linking cultural vitality to sustainable development. This chapter discusses how indicators might be constructed for each set.

Expression and Transformation

The first set of principles concerns the expression and transformation of culture by the current generation. A wide range of cultural activities need to be considered under this heading, including the following broad aspects:

- Arts and Creative Activities.
- Languages, Film and Broadcasting.
- History and Heritage.
- Sport and Recreation.
- Spirituality and Sense of Place.

The first three aspects are universally accepted as part of culture, and do not need further justification. The fourth aspect, Sport and Recreation, is included in the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2005b) list reported in Chapter 3 above, but is not included in the report by Statistics New Zealand and the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2006) that brought together key indicators for the cultural sector. Nor is Sport and Recreation included in the more recent report on employment in the cultural sector by the Ministry of Culture and Heritage (2009). This is consistent with definitions adopted by the Cultural Statistics Programme since 1993, but this report argues that culture in New Zealand is broader than the cultural sector defined in that programme, and includes sport and recreation.

Consider, for example, the Speech from the Throne that opened Parliament after the 1999 general election, in which the Governor General made the following comment (Hardie Boyes, 1999, emphasis added):

New Zealand's natural heritage is part of our national identity. The image that foreigners have of us is often one of soaring mountains, deep fiords, thermal activity, braided rivers and all that we are so familiar with. But a nation is not just a physical environment. It is also a culture, the identity that makes each of us a New Zealander wherever we are. *Much of that identity has been bound up with our sporting prowess.*

It is not simply the high level of support New Zealanders give to their national sporting representatives, but also the fact that so many New Zealanders are involved in sport and outdoor recreation. The 2007/08 Active New Zealand Survey, for example, reported that the level of adult participation in one or more sport or recreation activities was 96 per cent over 12 months and 79 per cent during any week (SPARC, 2008, p. 3).

The above quotation from the Governor General reflects a New Zealand sense of place, which is another component in the Ministry for Culture and Heritage's (2005b) list. In this chapter, that component has been extended to include spirituality, following its inclusion in the definition of culture in the *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*. As discussed below, the Statistics New Zealand and the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2006) report includes religious organisations in its definition of the cultural sector.

The first three aspects of culture in the above list of bullet points can be approached through work already being undertaken by government agencies that have statutory responsibilities in the relevant areas. Creative New Zealand, for example, is an agency for the development of New Zealand Arts set up under the Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa Act 1994 (www.creativenz.govt.nz/). In 2005, it commissioned research on New

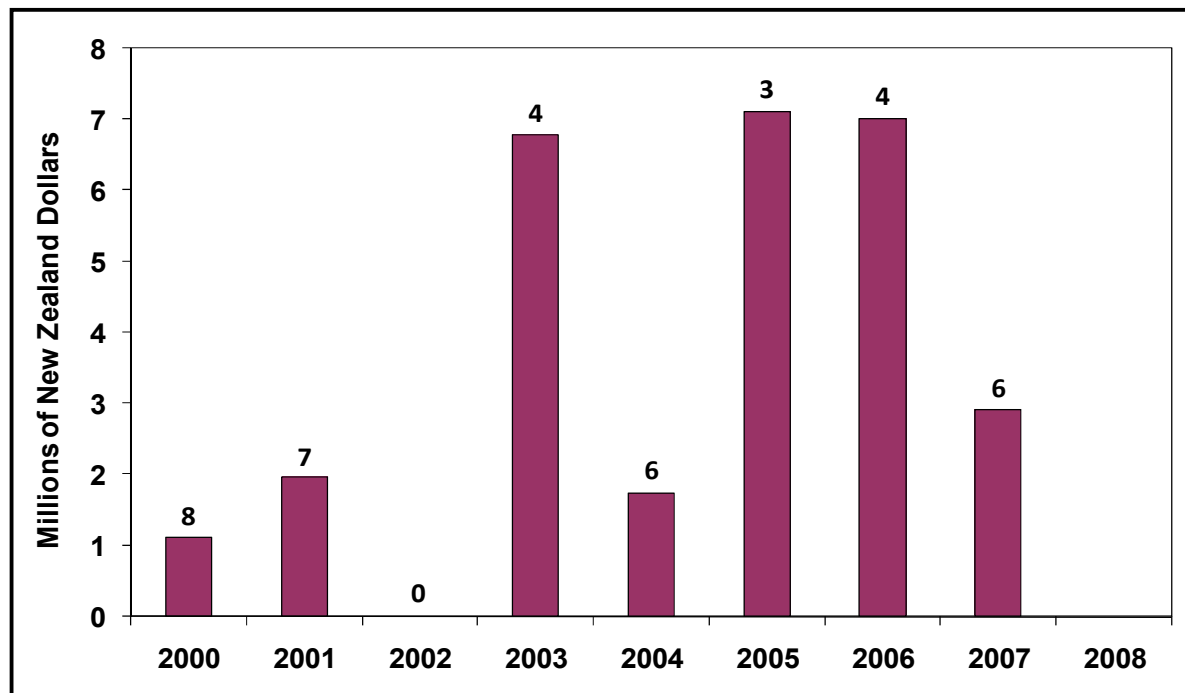
Zealanders' attitudes to the arts, covering five categories of artistic and creative activities (Creative New Zealand, 2006, p. 7):

- **visual arts:** painting, photography, sculpture, web-based/digital art, ceramic-making, filmmaking
- **performing arts – theatre, dance, music:** ballet or contemporary dance performances, theatre, concerts, singing or musical performances or events, circuses
- **literature:** writing workshops or a literary event; writing poetry, fiction or non-fiction
- **Māori arts:** art or craft, workshops including carving, weaving or singing, kapa haka or other Māori dance or music activities
- **Pacific arts:** weaving and other Pacific handicrafts, workshops, carving, traditional dance, choir or other musical activities.

It defined two levels of involvement: *attendance* at an arts event; and *participation* in the making or presentation of art. The research found that 84 per cent of New Zealanders aged 15 and over had attended at least one arts event in the previous year, and 50 per cent had actively participated in the arts. Nearly one-third (32 per cent) of New Zealanders aged 15 and over reported that they attend arts events at least once a month.

The New Zealand Film Commission (<http://www.nzfilm.co.nz/>) has statutory responsibilities to encourage, participate and assist in the making, promotion, distribution and exhibition of films made in New Zealand by New Zealanders on New Zealand subjects. It publishes statistics on gross box office returns in New Zealand for New Zealand films by date of release. This is shown in Figure 6, with the number at the top of each bar recording the number of New Zealand films released in New Zealand that year.

Figure 6
Number of New Zealand Film Releases and Gross Box Office Returns in New Zealand, 2000-2007



Source: New Zealand Film Commission (2008).

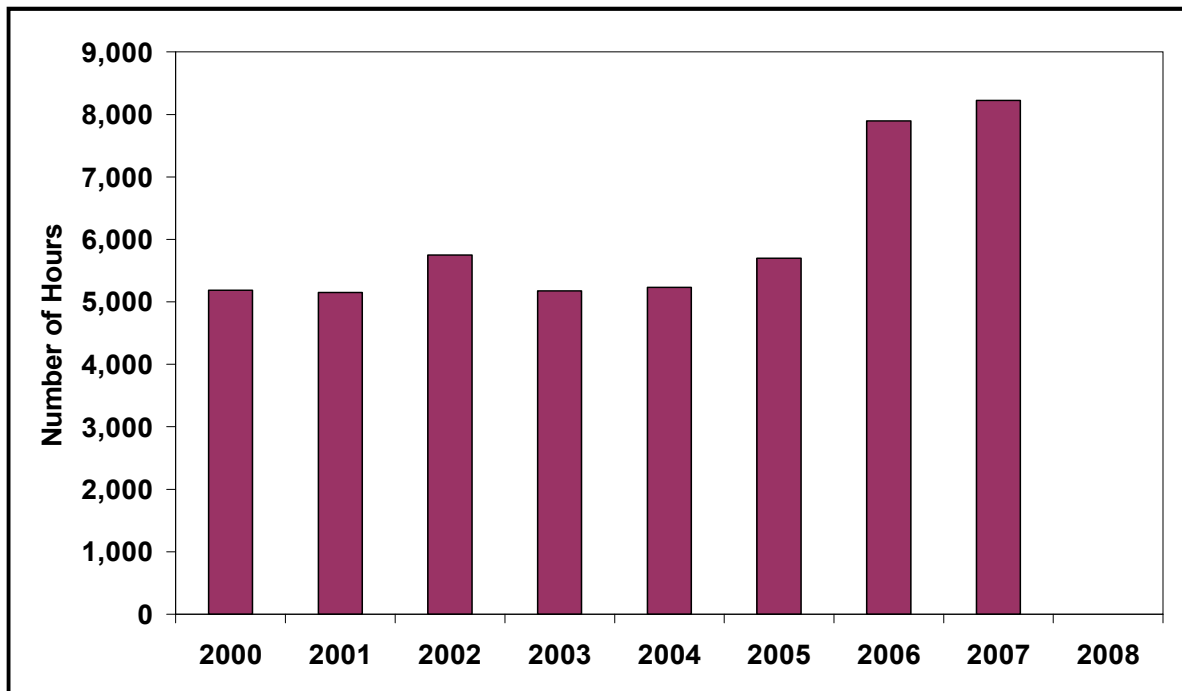
Note: The bars show gross box office returns in New Zealand, and the number at the top of each bar is the number of New Zealand releases in New Zealand that year.

New Zealand On Air is a Crown entity responsible for promoting and fostering the development of New Zealand's culture on the airwaves by funding locally-made television programmes, public radio networks and access radio, and for promoting New Zealand music by funding music videos and radio shows (www.nzonair.govt.nz/). Since its establishment in 1989, it has undertaken an annual analysis of local content on New Zealand free-to-air television channels. The Ministry of Social Development (2008, p. 80) has made the following comments about the role of television in New Zealand.

Television is the dominant cultural medium for most New Zealanders. The 1998/1999 Time Use Survey indicated that New Zealanders spend almost two hours a day watching television or videos. Ninety-eight percent of New Zealand households have at least one television set. For many people, television is a major source of news, information and entertainment and strongly influences their sense of local and national identity.

Consequently, television is a significant place where New Zealand cultural capital can be adapted and extended. NZ On Air (2008) reports data on the number of hours of free-to-air television programmes containing local content screened for the first time, depicted in Figure 7. It shows the number of first-run hours to have been steady at around 5,000 per annum between 2000 and 2005, but increasing in the following two years as a result of two new channels entering the database.

Figure 7
Number of Television First-Run Local Content Hours, 2000-2007



Source: NZ On Air (2008, Figure 7, p. 14).

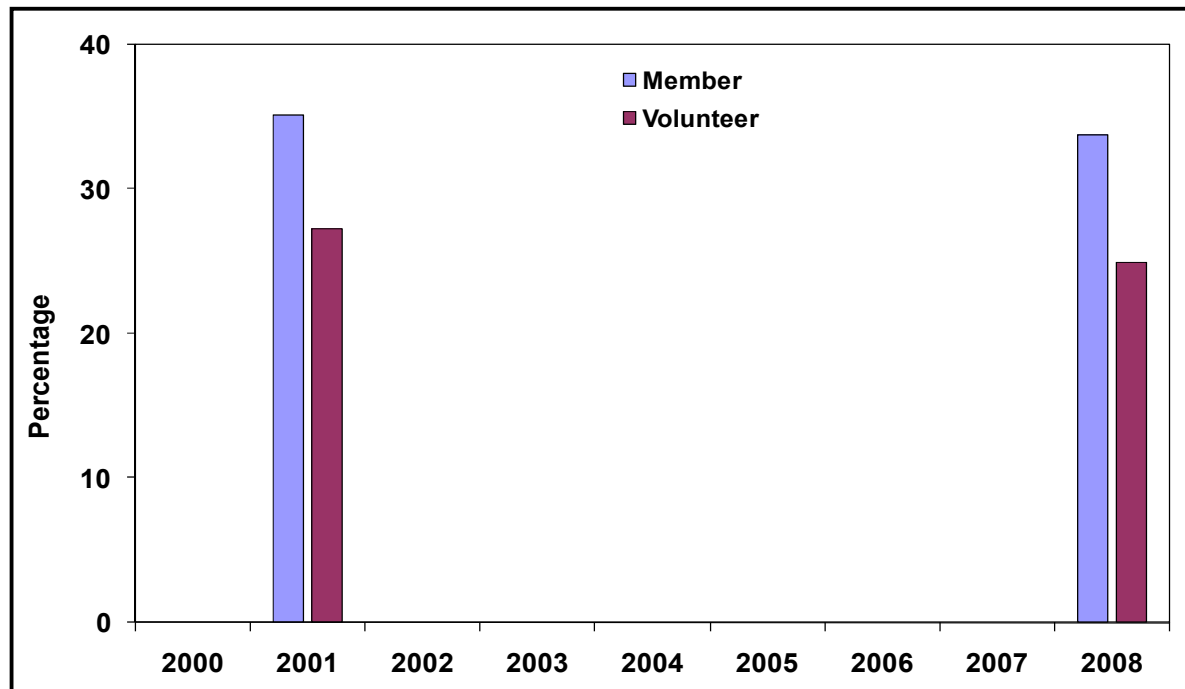
Note: Data are for 24 hours, 2000-2002, and for 6am to midnight, 2003-2007. The large increase in 2006 and 2007 reflects the entry into the database of Prime TV (from 2005), C4 (from 2006) and Māori Television (from 2006). Coverage now includes TV One, TV2, TV3, C4, Prime TV and Māori Television.

It should be noted that the Ministry of Social Development (2008) uses the same source to define an indicator based on the number of hours of local content screened on New Zealand television channels during prime-time as a proportion of the total prime-time schedule. In contrast, the data in Figure 7 require the local content to be new, and show the number of hours rather than the proportion of total screen-time. Both features reflect this section's focus on indicators related to the transformation of cultural capital.

Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC) was established by the government in 2002 to promote, encourage and support physical recreation and sport in New Zealand (see www.sparc.org.nz). It commissioned a survey in 2007/2008 that involved face-to-face interviews with 4,443 New Zealand adults aged 16 and over to collect data about their physical activity, including sport and recreation (SPARC, 2008). The survey found that: over one-third (36.9 per cent) of all adults participated in at least one organised competition or event over 12 months; a similar proportion (34.9 per cent) were members of clubs or centres in any month; and 25.3 per cent of the adult population held a volunteer role for a sport or recreation activity sometime over 12 months.

The SPARC (2008) report was able to make some comparisons with a similar survey conducted by the Hillary Commission in 2000/01. These comparisons showed small declines in the proportion of adults who were members of clubs or centres in any month and who held a volunteer role for a sport or recreation activity sometime over 12 months. This is shown in Figure 8.

Figure 8
Percentage of New Zealand Adults who are Sport or Recreation Club Members or Volunteers, 2000/01-2007/08



Source: SPARC (2008, p. 20).

Note: The 2000/01 data come from the 'New Zealand Sport and Physical Activity Survey' conducted by Hillary Commission. The 2007/08 data have been adjusted to fit 2000/01 definitions.

It is more difficult to find current sources for statistical indicators related to spirituality and sense of place. The separation of state and religion means that there is no Crown entity with responsibilities to encourage activity in this aspect of New Zealand culture, and indeed there is a body of opinion that rejects any place for religious values or practices in public culture. Spirituality and sense of place is, of course, a much broader category than religion, so how might it be measured?

Census data provide information about religion affiliation (in the 2006 Census, 55.6 per cent of those answering the religious affiliation question affiliated with a Christian religion, compared to 60.6 per cent in the 2001 Census), but this is a very blunt instrument for measuring *participation* in cultural activities reflecting the individual's spirituality or sense of place.

If it was possible to follow the example of the Creative New Zealand (2006) survey of the Arts and the SPARC (2008) survey of sport and recreation, a survey on spirituality and sense of place might aim to report on what percentage of New Zealand adults are active members of organisations that seek to foster spirituality (including, but not limited to, religious organisations) or sense of place (such as tramping clubs or environmental protection groups), and what percentage of New Zealand adults participate regularly in events that focus on spirituality or sense of place. The last point, for example, might include a question on whether the respondent had spent a period of at least five continuous days during summer (December to February) on holiday at a New Zealand place away from his or her normal place of residence.

Principle 1.2 concerns cultural industries. Figure 9 presents an analysis by the Ministry of Culture and Heritage (2009) of Census employment data. It defines nine cultural industries: heritage; library services; literature; performing arts; visual arts; film and video; broadcasting; community and government activities; and other cultural industries. Aggregate employment in these industries rose by 14 per cent between 1996 and 2001 (compared to 6 per cent for total New Zealand employment), and by 18 per cent between 2001 and 2006 (compared to 15 per cent for all employment).

Figure 9 includes employment data on categories such as religion organisations and secular community activities, but does not include data on employment in recreation and sport. Given the comprehensiveness of Census data, this gap should not be difficult to remedy.

Principle 1c is about allowing citizens to access cultural goods and services outside their own heritage. It may be possible to obtain data on the number of cultural events within New Zealand each year that involve artists who are employed in the cultural sector of another country.

Transmission across Generations

The second set of principles concerns the transmission of culture across generations, particularly from current members of the community to the next generation as they grow up. All three principles in this set are meant to be consistent with principles and values in *The New Zealand Curriculum*, which suggests that there could be a joint project between the Ministry of Education and Statistics New Zealand to agree on indicators to measure aggregate performance against the principles.

The New Zealand Secondary Schools Sports Council (2008), for example, publishes a statistical series on the proportion of secondary school students who represent their school in organised sport. That series is shown in Figure 10. As the Council notes in their accompanying report, 'it is disappointing that the participation rates of students continues slowly to decline' (p. 1). This illustrates the potential for a well-chosen indicator to reveal an issue that may require a policy response to protect and enhance cultural vitality.

Figure 9
Paid Employment in New Zealand Cultural Industries, 1996, 2001 and 2006

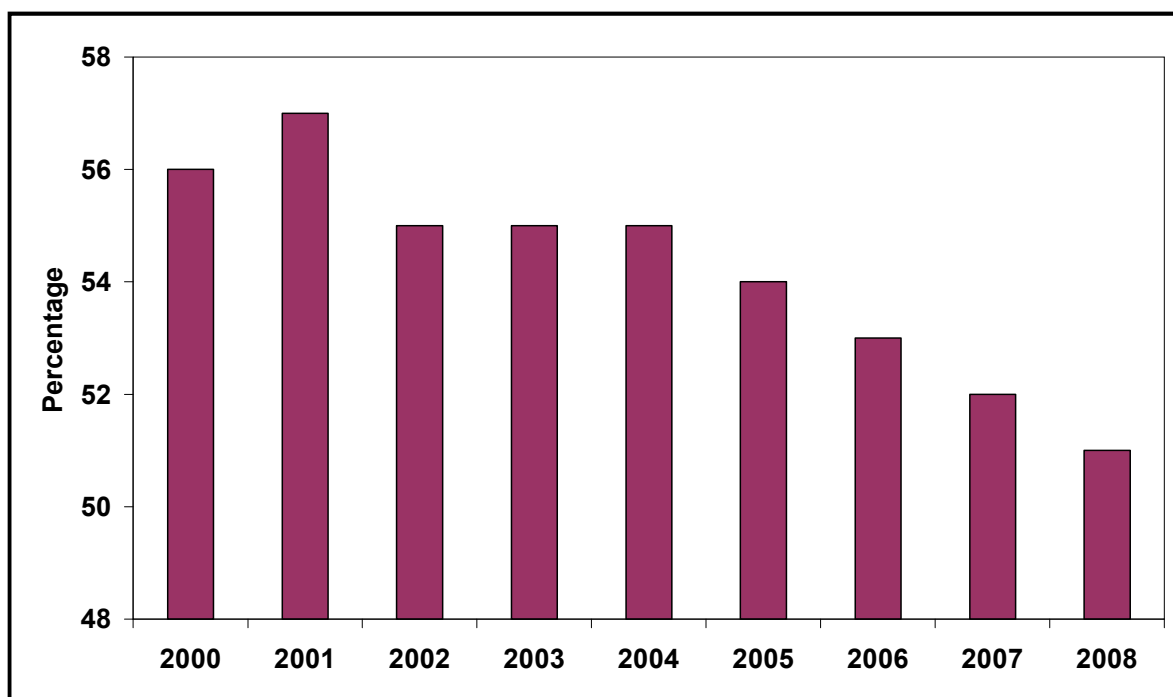
Framework category	Sub-category	Organisation type (ANZSIC classification)	Number employed			Percentage change		
			1996	2001	2006	1996-2001	2001-2006	
HERITAGE	Museum services	Museums	1,302	1,650	2,238	27	36	
LIBRARY SERVICES	Library services	Libraries	3,021	3,144	3,912	4	24	
LITERATURE	Literature	Newspaper printing or publishing	8,280	7,599	6,672	-8	-12	
		Other periodical publishing	1,839	1,941	2,316	6	19	
		Book and other publishing	1,512	1,677	1,776	11	6	
		Book and magazine wholesaling	1,242	1,122	981	-10	-13	
		Newspaper, book and stationery retailing	6,045	6,489	6,810	7	5	
		<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>18,918</i>	<i>18,828</i>	<i>18,555</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>-7</i>	
PERFORMING ARTS	Performing arts	Music and theatre productions	891	918	1,290	3	41	
		Music	Recorded music retailing	651	651	654	0	0
			Sound recording studios	153	198	285	29	44
	Services to the performing arts	Performing arts venues	606	789	726	30	-8	
		Services to the arts not elsewhere classified	390	564	657	45	16	
		<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>996</i>	<i>1,353</i>	<i>1,383</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>2</i>	
VISUAL ARTS	Visual arts	Photographic studios	1,356	1,401	1,620	3	16	
		Design	Architectural services	3,996	4,932	7,074	23	43
	Advertising services		4,413	4,587	5,568	4	21	
	Commercial art and display services		3,735	4,743	5,355	27	13	
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>12,144</i>	<i>14,262</i>	<i>17,997</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>26</i>		
FILM AND VIDEO	Film and video	Film and video production	1,677	3,567	4,485	113	26	
		Film and video distribution	609	246	291	-60	18	
		Motion picture exhibition	891	1,104	1,296	24	17	
		Video hire outlets	1,257	1,980	2,412	58	22	
		<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>4,434</i>	<i>6,897</i>	<i>8,484</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>23</i>	
BROADCASTING	Radio services	Radio services	2,184	2,184	2,358	0	8	
	Television services	Television services	2,445	2,493	2,721	2	9	
COMMUNITY AND GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES	Religious activities	Religious organisations	4,812	4,956	6,726	3	36	
	Secular community activities	Interest groups not elsewhere classified	6,837	8,877	9,996	30	13	
	Cultural education and training	Preschool education	6,684	8,604	11,496	29	34	
OTHER		Creative arts	2,307	2,442	3,369	6	38	
TOTAL CULTURAL INDUSTRIES			68,135	78,858	93,084	14	18	

Source: Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2009, Table 6, p. 14).

Note: Columns may not total exactly due to random rounding.

The data in Figure 10 reflect just one component of culture, and focuses only on secondary school students. It would be useful, and might be possible, to have similar indicators for student participation at both primary and secondary school age bands in organised cultural activities other than sport (such as taking part in performing arts or cultural festivals).

Figure 10
Students Representing their Secondary School in Sport, 2000-2008



Source: New Zealand Secondary Schools Sports Council (2008, Table 1, p. 1).

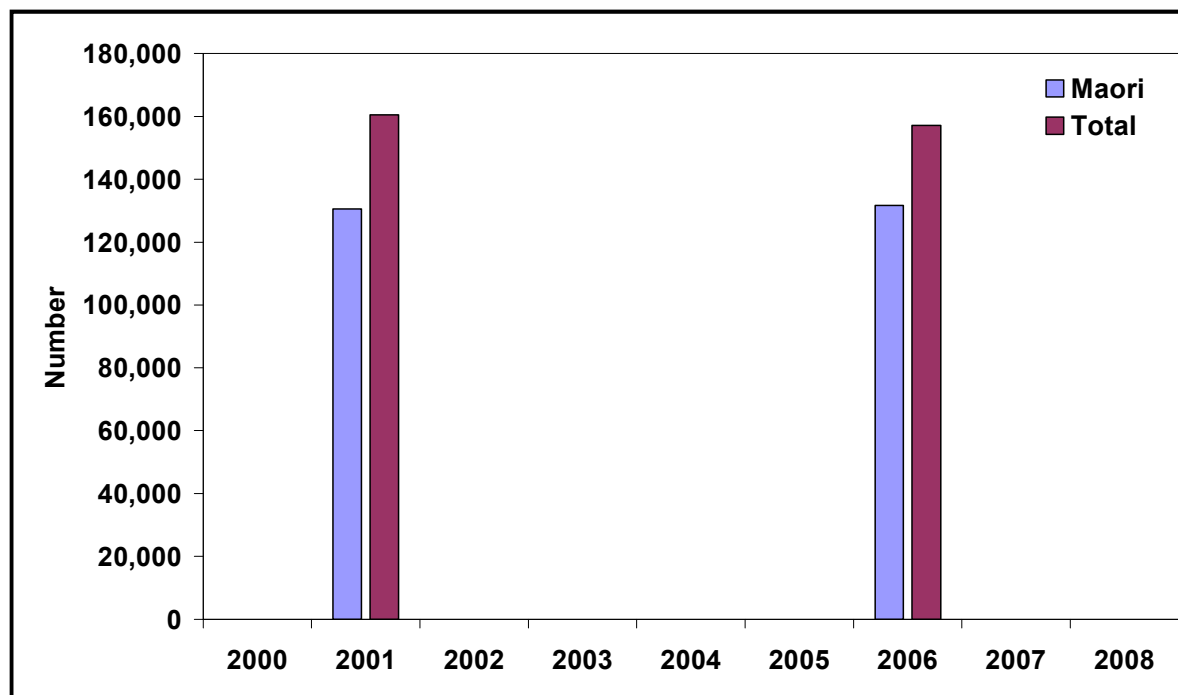
Note: These figures refer to the number of students who represented their school in sport. Thus a student who represents the school in more than one sport is only counted once.

Indigenous Culture

The third set of principles concerns the indigenous culture of New Zealand. As is already happening, the first of the principles is met by ensuring that the surveys on cultural activities include Māori values and practices, and by providing information on Māori participation in cultural organisations and events. The Creative New Zealand (2006, p. 40) survey of the Arts, for example, reported that 30 per cent of the New Zealand European adult population and 64 per cent of the Māori adult population had been to a cultural performance, festival, exhibition or celebration by Māori people or groups in the previous 12 months. The Active New Zealand Survey of 2007/08 reported that compared with the total population, participation in an organised competition or event was higher among Māori adults, and that a higher percentage of Māori were members of clubs or centres (SPARC, 2008, p. 12 and p. 13).

Principle 3b protects and promotes the use of te reo Māori in New Zealand. There is already general acceptance of indicators based on the ability of New Zealanders (and of Māori New Zealanders) to use the Māori language. These indicators are available from a question asked in the five-yearly Census, and is depicted in Figure 11. It shows that the number of Māori residents who can converse in te reo Māori increased from 130,485 to 131,613 between 2001 and 2006, but the total number of residents with this ability dropped from 160,527 to 157,110.

Figure 11
Residents Able to Converse in Te Reo Māori, 2001 and 2006



Source: Statistics New Zealand *Census 2001* and *Census 2006*.

Principle 3c protects the exercise of tino rangatiratanga by Māori over Māori cultural taonga. Wai 262 is a long-standing case filed in 1991 before the Waitangi Tribunal. The Ministry of Economic Development (2007) has identified four categories of claims in the case:

- Mātauranga Māori (traditional knowledge) – concerning the retention and protection of knowledge concerning ngā toi Māori (arts), whakairo (carving), history, oral tradition, waiata, te reo Māori, and rongoā Māori (Māori medicine and healing). The claimants' concern is about the protection and retention of such knowledge. They note that traditional knowledge systems are being increasingly targeted internationally.
- Māori cultural property (tangible manifestation of mātauranga Māori) – as affected by the failure of legislation and policies to protect existing Māori collective ownership of cultural taonga and to protect against exploitation and misappropriation of cultural taonga, for example traditional artefacts, carvings, mokomokai (preserved heads).
- Māori intellectual and cultural property rights – as affected by New Zealand's intellectual property legislation, international obligations and proposed law reforms. Issues include the patenting of life form inventions, the inappropriate registration of trade marks based on Māori text and imagery, and the unsuitable nature of intellectual property rights for the protection of both Māori traditional knowledge and cultural property.
- Environmental, resource and conservation management – including concerns about bio-prospecting and access to indigenous flora and fauna, biotechnological developments involving indigenous genetic material, ownership claims to resources and species, and iwi-Māori participation in decision making on these matters.

It is a testimony to the complexity of the issues being considered that the Waitangi Tribunal has yet to report back seventeen years after the claim was filed. Once it does, it may allow identifications of statistical indicators based on principle 3c.

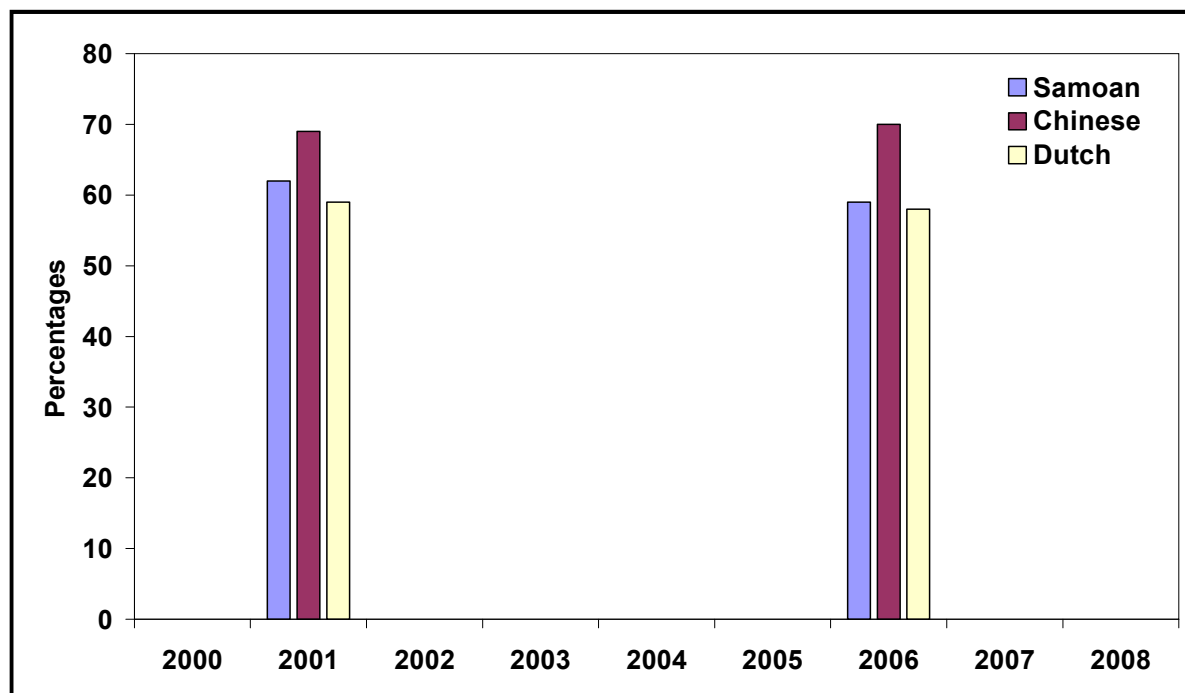
Cultural Unity and Diversity

The fourth set of principles concerns cultural unity and diversity. The draft *Framework for Measuring Sustainable Development* has similar principles on historic heritage, cultural identity and cultural diversity (Statistics New Zealand, 2008, p. 16). Consequently, some work has already been done to identify suitable indicators for this category, including the following items (Statistics New Zealand, 2009a, pp. 9-10):

- Historic places – the proportion of those sites either registered with the Historic Places Trust or listed as places with heritage value in district plans, which have been destroyed during the period, expressed as a ratio to the proportion lost in a base year.
- Local content on New Zealand television – the proportion of local content on primetime television.
- Perception of the ability to express characteristics and attributes of one’s identity and culture.
- Attitudes towards diversity – People’s attitudes towards ethnic and religious groups in New Zealand.
- Experience of Discrimination.

An indicator that is not included in this list, but which is used in the Ministry of Social Development’s *Social Report*, is language retention by minority ethnic groups other than Māori. Formally, it is defined as the proportion of people who can speak the “first language” (excluding English) of their ethnic group, for ethnic groups (other than Māori) with an established resident population in New Zealand, as recorded in the 2006 Census. This statistic might be interpreted as an indicator for the extent to which New Zealanders respect and value cultural diversity.

Figure 12
Language Retention, 2001 and 2006



Source: Statistics New Zealand *Census 2001* and *Census 2006*.

Note: These figures show the proportion of people who can speak the “first language” (excluding English) of their ethnic group, for ethnic groups other than Māori with an established resident population in New Zealand.

Figure 12 depicts this indicator for three ethnic groups drawn from the broad categories of Pacific, Asian and European. There was a small increase in the proportion of Chinese residents who could converse in their first language, a small decrease in the proportion of Dutch residents, and a larger decrease in the proportion of Samoan residents.

Principle 4c provides public spaces for citizens to express their communal cultural practices. Local authorities might gather information relevant to this principle as part of their statutory requirement to promote the cultural well-being of their communities. This would involve a stock-take by each local authority of the public parks, sports grounds, recreational facilities, art galleries, museums, heritage buildings, concert venues, community halls, churches, marae, festivals, markets, one-off events and other public places for cultural activities in their district or city. It would also be valuable to have statistics on the number of events and the number of participants that use these public places.

8 Conclusion

This report began with the international literature's recognition of five types of capital as important for sustainable development: physical capital (sometimes alternatively called produced or human-made capital), financial capital, human capital, environmental capital and social capital. After a review of that international literature in chapter 2, the report has explored whether a sixth type of capital – cultural capital – is also important for sustainable development, either as a special form of social capital or as a separate category worthy of attention in its own right.

Chapter 3 observed that communities express cultural values in the way they create and maintain their physical, human, natural and social capitals. It linked this observation to articles in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and in the *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* that affirm the right of everyone to participate in the cultural life of their community. The chapter also drew on indigenous reflections within New Zealand about cultural safety in medical healthcare to accept that the final arbiters of cultural well-being are the members of the community itself. These observations about the importance of cultural well-being suggest that an understanding of cultural capital is important for understanding and measuring sustainable development.

Consequently, chapter 4 reviewed the international literature on cultural capital, recognising three interwoven strands in previous research. The first strand treats cultural capital as a distinctive form of social capital available to members of minority cultural groups. The second strand, with important contributions by two New Zealand authors (Anne de Bruin and Penny Eames), focuses on the potential of cultural capital for generating economic wealth. The third strand, beginning with the work of Pierre Bourdieu goes further by arguing that members of a community can be said to possess a stock of cultural capital in a similar way in which they possess a stock of physical capital.

The remainder of chapter 4 analysed this third strand further, drawing in particular on the work of three economists: David Throsby, Arjo Klamer and Sao-Wen Cheng. All three authors emphasise the difficulty of measuring this concept, but the first two in particular are blunt in their warnings about the adverse consequences for communities that fail to maintain, transform and pass on to the next generation their inherited cultural capital. As Klamer summarised, immeasurability does not signify irrelevance. A fourth economist, Partha Dasgupta, has highlighted the potential for a dark side to social capital (including what has been termed here as cultural capital). Social norms passed down from generation to generation may, if backed by sufficiently high penalties for non-conformist behaviour, sustain exploitation of one group by another (women by men, to cite Dasgupta's example).

Chapter 5 of the report argued there is indeed a case for treating cultural capital as a sixth form of capital that promotes sustainable development. Figure 4 distinguished between social capital (defined as networks that exist *within a generation* and the norms and values that bind the *current community* together) and cultural capital (defined as connections *between generations* of the community). This leads to the following proposed definition:

Cultural capital is a community's embodied cultural skills and values, in all their community-defined forms, inherited from the community's previous generation, undergoing adaptation and extension by current members of the community, and desired by the community to be passed on to its next generation.

Translating this into a capital-based sustainable development indicator framework, Chapter 6 proposed four target dimensions: social cohesion, environmental responsibility, economic efficiency and **cultural vitality**. Figure 5 then summarised four sets of principles linking cultural vitality to sustainable development. These are:

Expression and Transformation

- Participation and expression
- Viable cultural industries
- Cross-cultural dialogue

Transmission across Generations

- Learning cultural values
- Learning citizenship
- Cultural education

Indigenous Culture

- Maori heritage
- Te Reo Maori
- Tino rangatiratanga

Cultural Unity and Diversity

- National identity
- Cultural diversity
- Public cultural expression

The principles are drawn primarily from the *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, 2001, from *The New Zealand Curriculum*, 2007, from Clause 2 of The Treaty of Waitangi, 1840, and from the Ministry of Social Development's (2008) *Social Report*. Even if they are accepted, however, it is not easy to construct statistics that could act as comprehensive indicators for positive or negative changes in the nation's cultural vitality, because of the enormous diversity in activities and values captured by that term. Chapter 7 therefore discussed how indicators might be chosen or constructed for each of the four sets of principles identified in Chapter 6.

The discussion in Chapter 6 was necessarily exploratory. Considerable more research is required to understand how different aspects of cultural capital reinforce or substitute for each other, or indeed with other forms of capital. There is also much work to be done in understanding how cross-cultural dialogue and cultural diversity can be promoted in practice, given the antagonism and hostility that often accompanies any form of cultural adaptation and extension.

Nevertheless, the authors agree with the sources cited in this report that the concept of cultural capital is an essential component of understanding a community's sustainable development. Cultural capital is essential for a community's cultural well-being, but also affects other aspects of development. As David Robinson and Tuwhakairiora Williams have commented in a Māori context, 'social capital is based on and grows from the norms, values, networks and ways of operating that are the core of cultural capital'. As the work of Anne de Bruin and Penny Eames in New Zealand communities demonstrates, cultural capital can be drawn upon to create economic wealth. Complex connections between cultural capital and environmental well-being have been recognised, especially when rising populations put pressure on natural resources (such as fishing stocks) important for the expression of traditional cultural values.

Consequently, the next step is to put this report into the public domain, to invite discussion on the approach it has taken and the conclusions it has reached. The authors' hope is that this discussion will assist future work to enhance New Zealand's national framework of sustainable development indicators.

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