ART, MONEY AND SOCIETY: PRIVATE FUNDING, PUBLIC BENEFIT AND CREATIVE SOCIAL ENTERPRISE

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Executive Summary

This research examines new models of the interrelationship of art, money and society in relation to the increasing importance of the creative sector to the overall economy both locally and internationally as well as a growing role for the private sector in funding of the arts in Australia.

The project involves a three-fold methodology, including: 1. A literature review in the history and contemporary features of the relationship between art, money and society; 2. A roundtable with industry stakeholders to gather the contemporary, working situation within which art initiatives were being financially supported with social goals as one of their end points; 3. Case studies of the creative social enterprise model, including The Social Studio in Australia, and a number of international examples. The findings are summarised as follows:

The literature review demonstrates that the arts, in particular visual art practices, have an enormous contribution to make to society at an economic level. However, the literature also establishes that art contributes to society in non-economic terms, particularly at the level of social equity and social critique.

The roundtable discussion shows that art has clearly identifiable social benefits, and, as a corollary, should be supported financially both for those benefits but also for its own sake. Important factors in creating these benefits include innovative partnerships with both private and public organizations, close involvement with local communities, and a supportive approach to risk-taking through considered management.

The Social Studio case study presents a model of creative enterprise based on the nexus between contemporary art and design to create larger social impact; both for participants involved and to influence perceptions in the wider community. International creative social enterprises demonstrate clear social

benefits including education, employment and community engagement. It is clear that the effective development of such projects requires funding and investment, and that projects that address local needs, use readily available materials and engage with a local market are more sustainable.

In conclusion, the growth of private sector support for the arts in general and the visual arts in particular is a trend that seems likely to continue. While there is a well-established critique of the collapse of artistic creativity into an industry model, there is also evidence to suggest that social benefits can be achieved in certain partnerships involving enterprises, artists and communities, particularly if these partnerships are handled carefully and sensitively.

1. Introduction

As the creative sector of the economy has grown in significance in recent years, the three domains of art, money and society have become increasingly interdependent. There have been crossovers between these domains throughout history, in phenomena like art philanthropy, the art market, and community art projects. Moreover, as a recent exhibition about the Medici family titled "Money and Beauty: Bankers Botticelli and the Bonfire of the Vanities" demonstrated, the modern banking system developed alongside the Renaissance, the most important artistic flowering in the history of the Western world.[1] What is significant about more recent developments in this space, however, is that initiatives linking art to social outcomes have given private enterprise a newly important role in this connection. Some examples are the development of the "creative industries" model; the rise of public/private partnerships in the arts; creative social enterprises like The Social Studio, a Melbourne-based organisation in which the business of fashion is a vehicle for social change; and the emergence of artists who are strongly business-minded or even take business as their prime mode of operation. This study aims to examine some of the benefits and pitfalls of these developments.

The growth of private sector support for the arts, which in Australia has almost doubled in 10 years, as well as the expanding role of commercial initiatives and social enterprises in the arts, has several benefits in an art world where government funding was once more dominant.[2] Although the photographer Annie Leibovitz recently claimed "Creativity needs to be taken care of... like a big baby that needs to be nourished," there are drawbacks to overreliance on government subsidy, including inflexibility and unresponsiveness to new media and trends, and a culture of dependence that works against creativity.[3] In spite of Malcolm

Turnbull's recent statement that arts organisations entirely funded by government are "disconnected from creativity and the public," there are publicly significant aspects of art and creativity that may not be easily or readily supported by private or commercial initiatives, including, but not limited to socio-political critiques, ephemeral, non-collectible culture, and addressing social disadvantage.[4]

The "Creative Industries" model currently influencing public policy towards the arts argues that a great deal of modern economic activity has much in common with the activity of artists – the radical, creative destruction that characterizes both entrepreneurial activity and avant-garde practices.[5] The benefits of this model are in harnessing universal qualities of human creativity in spurring economic growth; among some of the downsides are the instrumentalisation of artistic activity – seeing it chiefly as an economic rather than aesthetic or social good – and the often insecure, risky and exploitative employment profile of the typical creative industries worker who belongs to a segment of the workforce sometimes described as the "precariat." In other words, the creative economy model, which shuns traditional ideas of collective labour protections, may have a huge social downside, and could lead to a breakdown of social cohesion and community.[6]

In another parallel development, the increasing profile and importance of senior business figures in the boards of major cultural institutions has brought a much-needed economic rationality and market responsiveness to the decision-making process of such bodies. At the same time, it has the potential to "industrialize" a sector that is better understood, in Ben Eltham's word, as "a set of social relations" rather than as an industry exchanging goods and services.[7]

The insistence on subjecting artistic and creative activities to profit-making, market-based thinking has the advantage of democratizing culture and removing it from the elite preserve of the wealthy and privileged. However, it also

has drawbacks. As Michael Sandel has argued in *What Money Can't Buy*, when activities not otherwise connected to exchanges of money are given a price, the perceived, intrinsic value of the activity dwindles.[8] A concrete example of this is found in publicly-funded German theatres, where it has been shown that for actors the introduction of economic considerations to their work strongly diminished their artistic motivation.[9]

There is a need to further consider what some of the pitfalls and success stories of these models of the interplay between art, money and society might be. In response to this need, the present study examines how private enterprise or business involvement in the arts might further or impede progress toward certain desired social and/or artistic outcomes. Furthermore, it considers whether the goals of each of the three domains of art, money and society can be achieved simultaneously or whether success in one is necessarily at the cost of failure in another. Some of the other questions we hope to answer in this study are: How important is the public-private balance? What factors predict success or failure in the relationship between art, money and society? How does the increasing role of the private sector in this field have an impact on social goals? What new initiatives seem to hold the promise of improvement in these areas? What are some of the common pitfalls and obstacles to the successful bringing together of creative work, money, and social goals?

The conceptual map of the territory covered by this study is represented in the diagram shown in Figure 1. This project considers the new, private funding initiatives affecting the arts industries in recent times within a broader context, both historically and in the contemporary moment, as part of a broader system populated by both private and public players from an economic perspective.
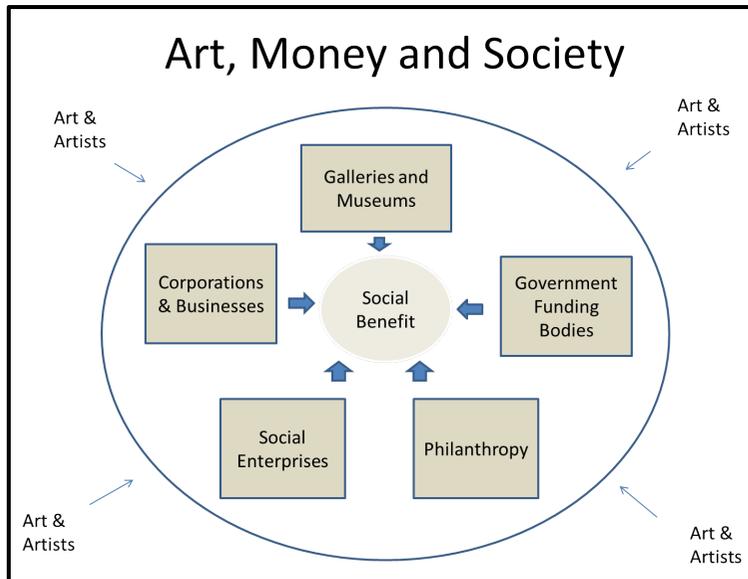
Figure 1: Conceptual Diagram of Art, Money and Society Interrelations.

Art and artists located outside the circle in the above diagram drive the content of the artistic creativity which is the subject of the study. Their work and products are supported by and filtered through the various organizations, including government departments, private businesses and social enterprises, which provide money and other resources for those activities, and which in turn have an impact on art's contribution at a social level.

This study focuses on examples of particular private initiatives and their impact on art's social benefit, contextualizing these activities in the broader picture of economic support for art represented by this diagram. The methodology adopted in the study was to combine a literature review, industry roundtable seeking the views of stakeholders in the field, with a set of case studies on a particular model for how art, money and society might be brought together: the creative social enterprise. The sequence of chapters in this report is organised to reflect this three-part structure and the document ends with the conclusions that can be drawn from the findings of the research undertaken during the project.

2. Literature Review

This literature review, which covers a broad range of research in the fields of art, public policy, economics and sociology, investigates contemporary thinking about the relationship between art, money and society. The chapter is structured as follows: Part 1 "The Role of Art and Money in Society" examines the significance of cultural activity in economic terms, the respective roles of private and public funding of the arts, what role money and art play in contributing to social problems and benefits, and the potential of a relatively new, social enterprise model for the creative sector. Part 2 "Artistic and Critical Strategies" looks at the relationship between art, money and society from an artistic point of view of art and surveys artists, art movements, art institutions and art critics and their responses to some of the economic dimensions of artistic practice.

2.1: The Role of Art and Money in Society

2.1.1: Value of the Culture Industry and Arts Funding in Australia

One way to understand how art contributes to society is to measure its impact in economic terms. According to the most recent report on the arts and culture industry by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), the value of cultural production is $47.6 billion annually, of which $22.4 billion represents profit. To put this into context, the value of Australian production for cultural industries was approximately the same as that of coal mining ($27 billion) and telecommunication services ($18.5 billion). Of the total value of the cultural industries, the visual arts represents approximately 10% of total output ($5 billion). It is difficult, however, to precisely measure the scale and volume of visual arts

organizations and producers due to the fragmented, individuated and informal nature of the industry. The ABS states:

> As art and craft producers generally work independently and are often not part of any formal network, developing a list of organisations (including people working for themselves) who are representative of the industry is problematic. Consequently, the ABS has not undertaken surveys of art and craft producers in the past.[10]

This makes it difficult to document conditions of employment and production in this industry. Nevertheless, what we can glean from these statistics is that cultural industries, and the visual arts component of those industries, is a significant economic activity within Australian society as it is in many other countries throughout the world. But how is this economic activity supported financially?

According to the 2011 ABS report on Arts and Culture, government funding for arts and culture is over $6.5 billion dollars across Federal, State and local government. In comparison to this funding amount, the support for the arts and culture provided by private sources is relatively small. As the Australia Business Arts Foundation (ABAF) has found in its most recent annual survey of private sector support for the arts, arts and cultural organisations received $221 million from the private sector in 2009-10, including cash, in-kind sponsorship, corporate donations and donations from foundations, trusts and individuals. In spite of the small size of this funding amount in relation to government funding, this figure represents an increase of 98% since 2001: in other words private sponsorship for the arts has nearly doubled in the last decade, a trend which is expected to continue.

Over that ten-year period the following breakdown can be observed: Income from sponsorships has increased by 52%, the value of donations has increased by 161%, and the proportion of income from private sector support has increased from 6.7% in 2001-02 to 10.6% in 2009-10. This trend is attributed to the increased marketing and branding benefits associated with arts sponsorship. In a separate ABAF report on business and arts partnerships, it was found that:

> Many companies viewed partnerships with arts organisations as a way to deliver on their corporate objectives and priorities. 'Brand positioning and alignment', 'social responsibility' and 'employee engagement' emerged as the key areas where arts partnerships align with the corporate priorities of companies that sponsor the arts ('arts supporters').[11]

These partnerships seem to be particularly prevalent in the visual arts. According to the 2011 economic survey, visual arts support accounted for the largest share of private sector support (40% of total share of sponsorship, with the remaining 60% spread across music, dance, theatre, opera, film, television, radio, cultural organisations, literature and print media and museums). While art galleries were more likely to be supported through philanthropic donations (75% of private sector support), arts festivals and visual arts practice were primarily supported through sponsorships (85% private sector support).[12]

What this information tells us is that an increasing component of arts funding, a significant component of economic activity in this country, is coming from private sources. What implications might this have for the relationship between art, money and society? To answer this question we need to examine more closely the question of what is meant by society and how art has been thought to contribute to it in ways other than the purely economic.

2.1.2: Art and Society

At its core, society is about human relations and the inclusion of people within a community. The Oxford English Dictionary defines "society" in three different senses; all of which relate to the connection and association of people with people.[13] What role does art play in promoting a healthy, functional and productive society? This question can be broken down into a number of components; does art connect people, does art mediate human experience in society, does it enhance human-to-human communication, and does it promote social inclusion? Inversely, we might also ask how art as a social system hinders the connection of people in a society; where it facilitates social exclusion, for example, or where modes of communication become alienating. Another question arises in thinking of the relationship between art and society; should art have a social function at all? Art may also be understood as an individualistic pursuit, one that encourages personal reflection, critical thought and a separation from the social. This is an increasingly important issue in the context of a rapidly growing private sector, which is creating greater confusion around the lines between public policy and entrepreneurship.

This issue of the collective/individual nature of art is a fundamental crux for the debate around the creative and culture industries. On the one hand, the explosion of entrepreneurship in the creative arts has led to an increase in opportunity, a democratization of art and the popular embrace of artistic production. On the other hand, it has led to a privatization and individualization of art production, with an increase in self-employment leading to unregulated working conditions, and commercial interests impacting on the types of artistic works being produced and disseminated. The uncertain boundary between entrepreneurship and exploitation in the arts provides ground for heated debate. In *Critique of Creativity,* Gerald Raunig argues that the supposed creative freedom provided by an increasingly privatized arts industry is akin to ideological

enslavement. He writes, "In the context of the creative industry it would thus be more apt to speak of a 'massive self-deception' as an aspect of self-precarization."[14]

Equally, there is criticism about the influence of government policy on creative freedom and innovation in the arts. Public policy makers have a tendency to be risk-averse in funding decisions, which is counter-intuitive to contemporary arts practice, stimulated by innovation and risk.[15] It has been argued that too-easy access to grant funding can limit the entrepreneurial potential of artists to generate their own projects and develop unusual approaches to displaying and sharing their work. Don Thompson raises this in his discussion of European artists who have access to significant government funding. He writes, "This implies that some government grants to artists might have the perverse effect of limiting creativity rather than promoting it."[16]

Over-funding of the arts is hardly an issue in Australia, however, where arts institutions and individual artists are adapting to a public sphere increasingly defined by competition. As David Throsby observes in *The Economics of Cultural Policy*, "Enterprises such as performing companies and public art galleries are facing greater competition for earned revenue, and sources of unearned revenue, such as donations and sponsorship, are harder to come by than they have been in the past."[17] This increasing competition for both public and private funding is having a profound impact on the types of art being produced and exhibited. Annette Van den Bosch raises this in *Art and Business,* where she argues that not only does competition undermine cooperative relationships between art institutions, but the result is boring exhibitions. She writes, "Along these lines, the research suggests that art is shaped by mundane organisational processes."[18]

It's not surprising, in this context, that artists have been venturing out on their own to find revenue and alternative opportunities for the exhibition and

distribution of their work. This is by no means a recent development, and has been occurring gradually over the last several decades, partly in line with the increasing privatization of the public sphere in the wake of global capitalism's growth and expansion. In *Arts and Creative Industries*, a report commissioned by the Australia Council in 2011, the researchers observe that in this gradual shift toward privatization and individualism in arts production stemming from 1960s ideologies about creative freedom, "Independent cultural producers were acting in ways akin to small business entrepreneurs; they were self-employed and looked to take advantage of niche, emerging, fleeting markets."[19] The problem with this increased individualism, as evidenced in the same report, is a simultaneous exploitation of artists for commercial interests, and a deferral of responsibility for problems in the arts away from social policy makers and onto individuals.[20]

There is no doubt that free market ideology dominates many aspects of contemporary society across the globe, including government policy, the non-profit sector and commercial enterprises.[21] One of the results of this shift from public to private is that non-profit organisations are increasingly taking on the responsibilities of government in addressing cultural issues, the distribution of wealth, the promotion of community and the development of local culture. As Burton Weisbrod argues in *The Future of the Nonprofit Sector*, "The growth of nonprofit sectors throughout the world is thrusting nonprofits into the central debate over the organization of society."[22] However in the case of arts institutions, many nonprofits are competing for funding and resources, and as a result, are adopting commercial fundraising strategies. This has been evidenced in the explosion of the "social enterprise" sector; a hybrid of nonprofit and for-profit organisational models that aim to generate income to support socially motivated projects.[23]

It is possible to draw a direct correlation between this rise of social and cultural entrepreneurship and a growth in social disadvantage. Throsby, for example, observes "a profound impact on the public sphere – the arena within which policy is made – shifting the locus of power from public to private agents and diminishing the public sector's capacity to address serious issues to do with disadvantage, inequality, denial of rights, and so on."[24] The creative industries are an obvious manifestation of this privatization of what once was public, and also indicate a shift in the way we understand the commercial marketplace. While there is much uncertainty and ambiguity about exactly what constitutes the "creative industries", there is no doubt that they involve the production, distribution and sale of artistic and creative work across fields of design, media and visual art production. They represent an evolutionary development of the "culture industry" of the 1960s as theorized by Theodor Adorno and the Frankfurt school and defined by the rise of mass media and homogenisation of popular visual culture.[25] What we now see is that all aspects of art, both small and large scale, "high" and "low", popular and elite are of interest to business. As David Cropley writes in *The Dark Side of Creativity*, "creativity and the process of exploiting creativity – innovation – are essential ingredients of competitive business."[26] Cropley suggests that not only is creativity exploited in the creative industries, but it can be harnessed for highly detrimental purposes in society including, at its worst, strategies for warfare. He writes, "Thus creativity has two basic sides – the bright and the dark."[27]

In order to properly consider how creativity can contribute positively to society, or how art might enhance the connections between people in a given community, we need to consider what is involved in the development of a "good society." In *What Constitutes a Good Society*, Bent Greve suggests that throughout history a well-functioning society has been understood in terms of efficiency

(organization and management of flows of people and systems of production, consumption, health and education for example) and equality (making sure all people in a given society have access to food, health, education etc.). These two things – efficiency and equality – have often been at odds, indicative of a more fundamental conflict between the individual and collective. He argues, "The conflict might, therefore, not only be the traditional one between equality and efficiency; the dividing line could be viewed in connection with and contrast to individualism versus collectivism."[28] This is echoed by sociologists Donelson Forsyth and Crystal Hoyt, who suggest "Many problems in modern life can be traced, at least in part, to the basic issue of the tension between the individual and their greater good."[29] For Greve, a good society is marked by social inclusion; by how well it "takes care" of people at risk of marginalisation.[30] Art certainly has a role to play here; both in promoting social inclusion *and* in mediating the relationship between the individual and collective in society.

Within the discipline of sociology art has been a troublesome subject, partly attributable to ongoing debates about the autonomy of art, whether art should be considered for its inherent, particular aesthetic properties (formalism), or be considered in the context of its production and reception (sociology). Sociologists have approached art tentatively, not wanting to encroach on the territory of art critics and art historians. Similarly, art historians have been tentative in approaching art from a sociological point of view, not wanting to run the risk of destroying the sensorial, imaginative and visceral qualities that distinguish art and give it meaning in the first place. While political and philosophical critique has had a huge influence on art criticism from the 1960s onwards, in response to the perceived failings of the project of modernity, the rise of postmodernism brought with it critical impasses; most notably a predicament where the supposed end of art history and the failure of oppositional critique

resulted in an embrace of sensation and affirmation and the a-political, which was prevalent in art of the 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century.

Pierre Bourdieu's argument that modern art was innately elitist and upper-class encouraged many artists and critics to reject the traditional institutions of art. Bourdieu argued that "it can be seen that museums betray, in the smallest details of their morphology and their organization, their true function which is to strengthen the feeling of belonging in some and the feeling of exclusion in others."[31] In response to such an attack on the role of art in society, contemporary art historians such as Joanna Drucker now reject oppositional criticism altogether. In *Sweet Dreams*, Johanna Drucker suggests that "criticism's prescriptive effect paralyzes the inventive impulse of making" and instead advocates for artistic "complicity" as a way of reviving art in the contemporary economic sphere.[32] In *Social Theories of Art*, Ian Heywood also cautions against political and oppositional art criticism, suggesting, "Art needs a history and a theory that is capable of being supportive and complementary to practice."[33] Supportive and complementary criticism, however, runs the risk of affirming the status quo and ignoring the influence of social systems on arts practice. At worst, it presents a cynical celebration of commercialized art. This is evident in the approach of Drucker, who writes, "In an already fully corrupted world, one in which consumerism holds sway, commercial images provide a standard for production."[34]

Eleanor Heartney warns against this disavowal of sociology and political critique in the arts. In *Defending Complexity*, she writes "The idea has taken hold that politics is like a virus, sucking all the aesthetic sophistication and formal intelligence out of an artwork, and leaving behind only an empty husk of tired propaganda."[35] As a result, she observes an increasing rejection of both political art and social critique in contemporary arts practice. Instead of destroying the

potential of art, she suggests that political and social contextualization can enhance our appreciation and understanding of both art and ourselves:

> But I don't believe that the value of art is diminished when critics return it to the complicated economic, political, social and psychic systems that brought it forth. On the contrary, art's complicity in our messy realities is the real reason that it holds our interest and has something important to tell us about who we are. Because no other participant in the art system is interested in these questions, it is the critic's fate to take them on.[36]

Along similar lines, Boris Groys advocates for the political qualities of art, arguing that all modern art is political in its very nature. Each new artwork, he suggests, offers up a challenge to the existing canon of art, presenting a provocation and testing the boundaries of the art system – this is the inherent and dynamic nature of art from modernity onwards. By constantly shifting its internal balance of power, art counteracts the homogenisation of popular culture and ensures a constant differentiation. From this perspective Groys defends the museum, criticised by Bourdieu as the pinnacle of cultural elitism, and instead suggests it is the perfect site to promote social equality. He sees modern art as an antidote to commercial culture, and suggests that the popular rejection of oppositional art amounts to a celebration of commercialism. He writes: "So the call to break loose from the museum amounts de facto to a call to package and commercialise art by accommodating it to the aesthetic norms generated by today's mass media."[37]

This conflict in sociological approaches to art points to an important quality of art in modernity; it tends to be problematic, paradoxical, and self-conscious in a way that unsettles a harmonious view of social life in contemporary society.

For Niklas Luhmann, art is important for the very fact that it irritates rational modes of knowledge. In *Art as a Social System* he writes, "Art tests arrangements that are at once fictional and real in order to show society, from a point within society that things could be done differently, which does not mean that anything goes."[38] From this perspective, art has a capacity to incite social change, and this in itself causes discomfort for those who are not comfortable with risk and uncertainty.

What is obvious is that the relationship between sociology and art is a complex one that speaks of conflict between individual freedom and social systems.[39] Moreover, art mediates between individual autonomy and shared experience – it is a mode of communication that facilitates connections between people, which is at the core of the very concept of "society". At the same time as facilitating connection between people, the economic systems of the art world have a huge impact on how art is experienced and received, on whether it promotes social inclusion or inadvertently facilitates social exclusion.

While it is commonly accepted that art, design and media have enormous commercial potential, there is nevertheless a perception that what are called the "creative industries" are not driven by the profit motives of the business world. It's worth considering, in this context, the claim that "at the turn of the twenty-first century, more than half of economic growth is accounted for by creative products."[40] No wonder that the boundaries between commercial enterprise, artistic freedom and philanthropic support for the arts have become so compromised.

The positive side of this economic growth in the creative industries is the potential to stimulate artistic production. Money provides artists with the time and resources to produce work, scope to produce larger scale, more complex and dynamic works, and it enables the presentation of artworks to broader audiences in

the community. With greater amounts of money being invested in the creative industries, there is a greater diversity and dynamism of art production and reception. This translates to great social and public benefits. As Don Thompson writes, "the arts offer economic externalities – benefits that accrue to the public at large, not just to people who own art."[41]

On the flipside, money has the potential to influence and limit the creative and artistic freedom of artists and art institutions; impacted upon by the needs and requirements of funders, sponsors and investors. In the context of art museums, Victoria Alexander suggests that funding interests tend to determine the scope and type of exhibitions being staged. In her study of the impact of funding on the curatorial practices of major art museums and galleries in Australia, she writes, "It is clear that funders prefer to sponsor certain types of exhibitions, those that help funders meet the goals behind their philanthropy. In the aggregate, corporations fund more popular and accessible, but less scholarly, exhibitions, compared to exhibitions that museums underwrite with internal funds."[42] At the same time that money stimulates the growth of creative industries, there is an inverse relationship whereby creative production is expected to result in measurable economic returns. This puts pressure on artists and art institutions to produce work that is popular, easy to consume and favourable to the underlying marketing and branding strategies of those who invest money, philanthropic or corporate. Where sponsorship of the arts used to be measured in terms of cultural capital and social return, it is now expected to translate back into business dollars.[43]

This economic motivation is anathema to a history of modern avant-garde art and thought, which often sought to undermine, challenge and provoke society in order to inspire creative freedom and individual agency.

Austin Harrington is impassioned when talking about the rise of commercialism in the arts against the backdrop of modernism:

> Art is not business, and art cannot be reconciled with business. From a normative point of view, we may suggest that there can be no such thing as 'cultural capital.' To speak with the Frankfurt School, the enterprise culture's attempt to reconcile culture and capital is reification. The enterprise culture pretends to a false transcendence of the antinomy of instrumental and expressive action. It pretends to resolve work into play, calculation into creativity, economy into generosity.[44]

There is no point lamenting the rise of the creative industries, however, especially when they are contributing to significant growth in the arts. Yet there is value in considering the impact of this enterprise culture on artistic freedom. For Heartney, commercialism in the arts presents an insidious and subtle evacuation of political critique – not through overt opposition of political ideas, but simply through their absence in mainstream discourse and prevailing tastes. She argues, "In this environment, the threat to free and open exchange of ideas seems to lie less in an overt suppression of dissident opinion than in the inability of such ideas to find a niche in the commercial marketplace."[45]

Public policy has a significant role to play in sorting through this problematic of artistic freedom versus economic growth. The Australia Council's 2011 *Arts and Creative Industries* report is quite overt in promoting the use of the free market to encourage artistic production. The researchers suggest, "Public policy can and should use the market as a way to distribute cultural goods and services."[46] Moreover, they advocate for the use of various commercial finance options for public art funds including loans, corporate investment and even stock

market trading.[47] While all of this has the potential to provide more innovative and sustainable financial models for artists and institutions, many of which have experienced limitations and difficulties in the traditional "charity" model of art funding, there is enormous room for exploitation and rampant commercialism in such an unregulated free-market approach. There is also the potential loss of the very qualities that give art meaning in society; expression of individual autonomy, reflection of social, aesthetic and sensorial experiences, and differentiation from popular culture. As Throsby argues, "In the field of cultural policy this will require constant vigilance to ensure the right balance is struck between fostering the economic potential of the cultural industries in all their various guises, promoting beneficial social change, and ensuring the long-term health and vitality of the art and culture that is the cornerstone of civilization."[48]

Art has become so central to civilization because it offers ways of thinking "other". For Luhmann, art is unique for the way it communicates our search for meaning in life without dictating an answer. He writes, "What is at stake in art is not a problem to be solved once and for all but a provocation – the provocation of a search for meaning that is constrained by the work of art without necessarily being determined in its results."[49] In terms of contributing to the development of a "good society," art has the potential to do so by representing human experiences that are not present in mass media and popular culture, thereby promoting social inclusion; and also by mediating the experience of the individual with that of the collective. It makes us think and encourages us to think differently, which has the potential to incite social change.

The very problematic of art in society represents its unique value in undermining conventions and encouraging new ways of thinking. In the words of Theodor Adorno, "the task of art today is to bring chaos into the order."[50] The challenge is to find a way in which the increasingly business-oriented model of

funding for creative industries can ensure that art's important role of questioning society's status quo is not diminished. One model available in the contemporary context is the creative social enterprise.

2.1.3 The Social Enterprise Model and the Creative Sector

Social enterprises are organizations led by an economic, social, cultural or environmental mission consistent with a public or community benefit, that trade to fulfil their mission, derive a substantial portion of their income from trade, and reinvest the majority of their profit / surplus in the fulfilment of their mission. There are more than 20,000 such social enterprises in Australia. The majority of these enterprises derive 85% of their income from revenue, they operate in every industry, and the sector has been in existence for more than a decade.[51]

Current government policy is informed by the hypothesis that social enterprise has the potential to rectify existing social and economic problems. This is demonstrated by a Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations report about the Social Enterprise Development and Investment Fund where the government supported innovative approaches to achieving social change including finding the means to provide capital for social enterprises.[52] Although there are currently very few social enterprises in the creative or visual arts sector currently in Australia, the social enterprise model offers the potential to bring together artistic, financial and societal goals in innovative ways. The innovative character of the social enterprise model can be seen in its distinction from traditional social welfare services, which rely on the definitions of "disadvantage" and "marginalisation" in order to justify their funding needs. This justification, with its focus on its clients' shortcomings, can perpetuate the very conditions that services are trying to change, act as a brand of disadvantage rather than advantage,

and in this sense do disservice to the people they represent. In social enterprises by contrast, a new model of social service delivery is created where the focus can shift from servicing problems to creating "advantage". For these and many other reasons the social enterprise sector is considered to be highly innovative. As a recent study commissioned by the Queensland University of Technology argued, such enterprises are "engaged in social and business innovation."[53]

This sense of innovation has much to offer in addressing systemic disadvantage and entrenched social problems. Social enterprise differs from mainstream business in its deployment of community engagement strategies, maintaining strong stakeholder engagement and providing a supportive and safe setting to facilitate engagement with the wider community. This is particularly useful in supporting a return to education and work for those who have experienced social isolation and disengagement from education. Such enterprises capitalize on the commercial marketplace as a ground for generating income for social purposes, at the same time as addressing significant social problems. As Wolfgang Bielefeld argues, "If researchers and practitioners can discover how nonprofits can promote and harness innovation and creativity, and bring these more effectively to bear on social problems, then nonprofits, their constituencies, and society will benefit greatly.[54] This is all the more true for those social enterprises that incorporate artistic production into their business model, such as Melbourne-based The Social Studio (the subject of Chapter 4 below), where the creative activity associated with art making has the potential to create a larger social impact. This impact can flow both to participants who benefit from the experiences of fulfilment or satisfaction inherent to involvement in creative activities, and to the wider community through art's capacity to communicate messages about marginalised groups of people via the reception and consumption of the enterprise's artistic products.

2.2: Artistic and Critical Strategies

This section of the literature review examines the various responses on the part of artists and art theorists to the problem of how art, society and money interact.[55] Since the mid-nineteenth century, avant-garde art movements have often made direct links between art, money and society. From Charles Baudelaire's advocacy of artists such as Constantin Guys who focused on the fashions and customs of the new, moneyed classes in nineteenth-century Paris, to the Italian Futurist's aggressive marketing strategies and self-promotional rhetoric in the early 20th century, to the contemporary context in which artists such as Damien Hirst have made their own strategies for career advancement and economic success the subject of their art, we have seen an intensification of the relationship between art, money in society. The primary definition and purpose of the art object within society now seems to be that it is a commodity bought and sold in a market. Reflecting on this situation for the kind of avant-garde or modernist art that has often been described as a form of opposition to capitalist economies and the society they propagate, James Meyer has argued in a roundtable published in 2008 by *Artforum* on art and its markets, that "The history of modernism is in part a history of the marketing of the new."[56]

Among the many critical responses to this aspect of modern art has been to see art not as autonomous from its social and commercial context, as in the traditional romantic model of the free creative spirit, but rather as a kind of "social enterprise". Theodor Adorno's *Culture Industry* was a pioneering text in understanding the links between art, money and society under the conditions of modern consumerism. Partly a manifesto for the critical potential of art, and partly a prophecy of doom for the end of creative freedom, Adorno understood that in a consumer culture, art had to renegotiate its position. As Donald Kuspit explains,

"Art is for Adorno the social enterprise where the thought of freedom is strongest, and therefore the enterprise in which society endangers its own authority, is at odds with itself… It is simultaneously an instrument of social conformity and of individual rebellion, of social coercion and self-consciousness".[57] Whether maintaining a critical or complicit position in relation to society, or a combination of both, art has enormous potential to unleash new ways of thinking, new models of community engagement, new understandings of society, and new relationships to commodity culture. Indeed, for every artist who seemed to warmly embrace the blurring of the lines between art, money and society, there have been those who sought to resist that easy slippage as the following survey of artists and critics will demonstrate.

Although it is not possible here to undertake a comprehensive survey of artistic responses to the relationship between art money and society, in what follows some major moments in this relationship are sketched out in order to give a sense of the historical developments that have led to the contemporary situation and to understand the various strategies and tactics that are possible from an aesthetic point of view.

2.2.1: The 19th century: Art, Design and the Growth of Private Enterprise.

Since the 19th century, artists and art writers have frequently concerned themselves with the proper relationship between art, money and society. In certain intellectual circles in the Victorian era in 19th century Britain the view was that art was a place where the forces of industrialisation and commercialization germane to modern capitalist society, with all their deleterious effects, could be halted in favour of a more aesthetically enriched culture, with attendant social benefits. Theorists such as John Ruskin and William Morris argued for a more humane society in which

the arts would take a key role, limiting the alienating effects of industrialisation and commercialisation.

Ruskin argued that the spirit of competition inherent to capitalism worked against integrity and beauty in architecture. As a counter to the modern capitalistic system in which artisans, artists and architects were competing with each other he proposed a collective ethos, reaching back to the Gothic past, in which collaboration between aesthetic workers replaced the economic imperative. Ruskin's ideas were very influential on thinkers like W.G. Collingwood, who argued in 1900 that the state should "undertake education and be responsible for the employment of the artist" hoping to substitute "a spirit of cooperation for that of competition."[58]

William Morris, whose thinking was also heavily indebted to Ruskin's, railed against the commercialism of his era as part of a radical aesthetic program to resist the penetration of commoditisation into every sphere of modern life and turn contemporary capitalist society on its head. Like Ruskin, Morris proposed a return to a medieval guild based system that preserved the dignity of work and of the aesthetic objects that were its outcome. In his words, real art must be "made by the people and for the people, as a happiness for the maker and the user."[59] At a broader level he proposed a new socialist society built on such principles made of "culturally sophisticated communes, democratically controlled by the artist-workers who will constitute their free citizenry"[60] A broad set of initiatives related to these ideas, but at the level of consumption rather than production, also saw an effort in later years to provide broader accessibility of art for working class people—a push which resulted in the establishment of Mechanics' Institutes and such organisations as the Workers' Education Association.[61] In his designs Morris put great emphasis on handmade artefacts, which for all their beauty and evident integrity at an aesthetic level would nevertheless be prohibitively expensive to

produce for a mass market, due to his rejection of the machine made, thus generating the central conundrum of the arts and crafts movement: their work was only accessible to the wealthy.[62] Arts and Crafts designers were stuck with either producing for an elite market or accepting the reality of an industrialised capitalist market.[63]

In France during the same period several significant developments took place in the relation between art, money and society. One of the great rule-breakers artistically and politically was the painter Gustave Courbet, whose realist style, which incorporated gritty depictions of the working classes and thereby addressed a completely different social strata than artists normally concerned themselves with, went together with a socialist political sensibility. In his attempts to get outside the constraints of the official exhibiting system organised by the government of the day in 1855 he mounted his own exhibition space, called the "Pavilion of Realism", right outside the official exhibition venue. This development was quite new as very few artists before this time had so definitively rejected the official organs of exhibition. Courbet, in order to oppose the government, had to set himself up as a kind of private enterprise, with an advertising hoarding, an admission fee and other trappings of capitalist endeavour. So he may have been a socialist but he was also a businessman. For all his commonality with William Morris, Courbet embraced an entrepreneurial model of capitalist self-promotion in order to make his works and his ideas known and appeal to a public outside of the public sector. As we know from various statements the artist made during his lifetime, Courbet was aware of some peculiar aspects of the market. Noting that the notoriety attached to his oppositional political stance at the time of the 1871 commune had led to a massive increase in the prices paid for his work, he also argued that collectors and the public were ardently focused on the question of what his painting were worth in dollar terms.

As Isabelle Grew has argued, such statements can be taken as evidence that "in the nineteenth century, high market value was already capable of consolidating an impression of artistic importance."[64]

In his 1863 essay "The Painter of Modern Life" on the artist Constantin Guys, Charles Baudelaire explicitly connected modernity to "the ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent."[65] Through depicting and responding to the passing quality of newness in modernity, including the changing fashions and customs of wealthy bourgeois society, Baudelaire's ideal modern artist combatted the academic obsession with the past as ultimate authority. At the same time, for Baudelaire newness also resisted the levelling effects of commoditisation. As Walter Benjamin explained, in Baudelaire's thinking newness "represents that absolute which is no longer accessible to any interpretation or comparison" which meant that the "inestimable value of novelty" was an antidote to the degradation suffered by those things which, as commodities, have a price on their head. As Benjamin pointed out, however, what Baudelaire was unable to see was that newness is not only "art's last line of resistance" but also "the commodity's most advanced line of attack." [66] Modern art's obsession with newness and ephemerality was not something which inherently opposed the world of commerce but rather was shared by and had its origins in commodity culture.

The French Impressionists aggressively seized the new modernity and the capitalist society that went with it. This was true not only for their subject matter -- the cityscape, cafes, fashion, new industries of tourism, particularly landscape tourism -- and style but also in the way they organized themselves. In 1873, they wanted to exhibit outside the official salon system and so formed a kind of corporation, or Joint Stock Company, called the "Société Anonyme des artistes peintres, sculpteur, graveurs."

As Richard Brettell has argued,

> They decided they wanted to be independent professionals, rather than
> government sanctioned artists… They paid dues so they had money to rent
> the space and handle the printing costs… on the chance that the money
> could be paid back through the exhibition as a capitalist enterprise.[67]

This is a crucial aspect of Impressionism – it was a model of free enterprise, an
expression of modern bourgeois individualism. Impressionism, which recorded the
exhilarating visual spectacle of modernity, and urban and suburban pleasures, gave
pleasure and identity chiefly to the middle classes who were its main purchasers
and the social segment to which the work was addressed. Although some
Impressionist painters documented the tensions of modern, capitalist society, and
the price paid for the rise of new middle classes, Impressionism's earlier
registering of deep transformations in French society ends in a quiet acquiescence
in a kind of art for art's sake.[68]

Another important factor to consider when we look at the 19th century was
the role of the art dealer and commercial gallery. The commercial art gallery only
came into existence in the mid-19th century, before which time collectors
purchased mostly from artists, academies and auctions. As Pamela Fletcher has
argued, the new figures and organisations in the art world, dealers and commercial
galleries who adopted modern retail practices, including fixed prices and prompt
payment, worked in an artist's favour in granting easier access to regular
purchasers and payments, but they also came with strings attached. In the 1860s
English dealers such as Ernest Gambart were starting to instruct their artists about
what kind of pictures would sell and which not.[69] Moreover, dealers such as
Durand-Ruel began to profit from the increasing tendency toward the solo
exhibition of artists, partly encouraged by the efforts of Courbet and Edouard

Manet to set up their own individual pavilions.[70] By promoting the work of individual artists and then purchasing their work so as to establish a monopoly over their trade, such dealers were able to make handsome profits.[71] Thus began an influence which would be increasingly telling in the history of the relationship between art, money and society.

2.2.2: Early 20th-century: Avant-Garde Art between Opposition and Accommodation

In 1909 the Italian Futurist Marinetti, continuing a theme in modern art first discussed by Baudelaire, called for the destruction of libraries and museums and for an art that would dispense with the past and heedlessly pursue the ever-changing spectacle of modernity.[72] As Marinetti and Sant' Elia explained in 1914, "the fundamental characteristics of Futurist architecture will be its impermanence and transience. Things will endure less than us. Every generation must build its own city. This constant renewal of the architectonic environment will contribute to the victory of Futurism."[73] The futurists proposed a world in which continual obsolescence and renewal were the norm so that they could more effectively dominate the market. As Claudia Salaris has argued, "Marinetti possessed… gifts that he utilized in a self-conscious effort to promote Futurism in much the way that one would promote an industrial product that is to be introduced into the market and publicized."[74] Among the strategies the Futurist leader adopted was to saturate the market, giving away mountains of free copies of publications, touring endlessly, giving public presentations, and deliberately fomenting public disputes in order to attract the attention of the media and the public.

These approaches to publicity were inimical to the cloistered ideal of the art for art's sake model of the symbolist movement which the futurists had

superseded. They would have their apotheosis in the work of Fortunato Depero who dedicated a great deal of his career in the 1920s and 30s to producing commercial art, even arguing that all art historically was essentially a form of advertising, thus turning the high / low and elite / popular dichotomies inside out.[75] At the same time, the futurists became embroiled in a series of popular social movements of a nationalistic and right wing tenor which led directly into the upheavals of the post-war period that culminated in the rise of Benito Mussolini's fascist party. The futurists ended up more or less producing an official state art; a kind of advertising for totalitarianism.

Elsewhere in Europe and America a more clearly ironic attitude to the rise of capitalism and the commoditisation of culture arose among artists such as the Dadaists. By far the most shocking and profound contribution of the Dadaists in this realm was made by the work of Marcel Duchamp, who, in a series of Readymade sculptures such as *Fountain* -- a store-bought urinal displayed on its side, signed R. Mutt, and entered for an exhibition in 1917 – challenged several preconceptions about the nature of art. These included the relative roles of skill and accident in the work of art; the role of the exhibiting gallery [whether public or private] in ratifying and therefore defining what can be accepted and discussed as a work of art; and the aesthetic status of the unique artistic work in comparison to the mass produced object.[76] As Dawn Ades has argued, among the many things the readymade achieved was to respond to the phenomenon of window shopping, wherein consumers of the new, burgeoning range of manufactured goods experienced the commodity object at an aesthetic level, with or without an attached financial transaction. In so doing Duchamp's readymade "highlights the traditional hypocrisy of pretending that there is a contradiction between 'Art' and 'Commodity' and that aesthetic and commodity values are totally opposed to one another."[77] In a later series of works, Duchamp further exploited the ambiguities

between art and commerce, such as his *Tzank Cheque* 1919, a fake cheque which, signed by the artist, had a potential value determined both by its imagined status as a promissory note and its more viable status, given Duchamp's increasing fame, as an art work which could be exchanged for financial return. In yet other related projects Duchamp issued virtually unmarketable products including "Beautiful Breath" perfume and a series of optical illusions on mechanically rotating disks, as well as issuing handmade bonds in a company solely occupied in casino gambling.[78]

In other contexts neighbouring Europe, such as in postrevolutionary Russia, the Bolsheviks led by Vladimir Lenin seized power in October 1917 by overthrowing the parliament after which time Russia was administered by the Soviet or worker's council. This led to the complete reorganization of society, the abolition of private enterprise, and centralized government. These political developments had a significant impact on art, in that the revolutionary government – which had nationalised important private art collections – became the principal art patron. Constructivist artists like Alexander Rodchenko dedicated themselves from 1921 to producing a new, abstract art for this new society. Constructivist art would eschew what Rodchenko and others saw as the bourgeois arbitrariness of traditional aesthetic production, as well as its traditional autonomy from the broader social sphere, and embody principles of efficiency, collective production, and utility. In such ideas were founded some of the principles of modern design, which drew upon the egalitarian dimension of William Morris' thinking but without the natural motifs and tendency to the handmade, and which culminated in the Bauhaus ideal of integrating art, craft and modern industrial production.

In line with his ideals Rodchenko also produced advertising for the products of soviet society including cookies, candy and baby pacifiers. As Angela Volker has pointed out, here "the artists saw a fulfilment of their desire to exert

influence on a grand scale, for they were now publicizing the new political and artistic ideas as the same time as the product." In this sense the artist could serve the revolution by helping the new planned economy to sell products. Few of the constructivists would continue working in this vein as the Soviet Union in its totalitarian phase lost its tolerance for innovative art. As Volker points out, in more recent times the ideals of constructivism have been continued yet travestied through an aetheticisation of society in the form of mass advertising and consumerism which is completely at odds with the ideals of efficiency and utility artists like Rodchenko originally favoured.[79]

Among the European Surrealists beginning in the 1920s a fascination with the world of commerce made itself felt. Reacting to the reestablishment of bourgeois order in Europe in the aftermath of WWI and the Russian and German revolutions of 1917 – 1919, the surrealists attacked the settled society of their contemporary milieu with an aesthetic program that sought to undermine the status quo through the weapon of Freudian psychoanalysis. The leader of the surrealists, André Breton, praised the irrational thought processes associated with dream states as a salutary antidote to a world dominated by logic and reason and argued for the liberation of subconscious drives, in a romantic privileging of the individual imagination. However, for all this emphasis on the individual, one of the primary motifs of the surrealist movement, the manikin or dummy, was an image of human identity as a thing, as can be seen in Eugene Atget's photographs of store window dummies reproduced in the pages of *La Revolution Surrealiste*.

This widespread interest among the surrealists in the manikin was a response to "the shocks of industrial capitalism" whereby human beings are commoditised and mechanized. Karl Marx argued that under capitalism, relations between people become like relations between things and one contemporary manifestation of this was the reduction of the modern factory worker to a kind of

automaton. Another was the domination of commodity culture, with its logic of infinite exchangeability, which not only rendered products equivalent through money but also people (as consumers) equivalent to things (what is consumed). Like other avant-garde artists, such as Duchamp, the surrealists were exploring the deathly eroticism within consumer culture. In the 1930s and 40s, however, they would come in for criticism from modernist critics for dallying too much with consumer culture. Artists such as Dali, who worked closely with Hollywood, were described as kitsch for producing "commercial propaganda" and possessing a "sense of chic" commensurate with the role of a "court jester to bourgeois society."[80]

Accompanying these developments in the economy of the arts was the was a gradual growth in the art market, and a proliferation of dealers, both larger, such Durand-Ruel and Bertheim June, and smaller, such as Berthe Will and Ambroise Vollard, particularly in Paris.[81] Another figure, André Level, from 1904 organised an investment group of collectors known as the Peau d'Ours who purchased from dealers and artists. After several years of purchasing, in 1914 they sold their collection, which included Matisse and Picasso, making a considerable profit, and voluntarily donated 20% of their profit to the artists.[82] At this sale it was therefore discovered that "the avant-garde art of the past… was highly profitable as an investment."[83]

Another important development in this period was the phenomenon of collectors becoming dealers, as well as critics and artists becoming collectors and dealers in their own right. André Breton, who attacked speculation on art in his writings, operated or advised commercial investments in art of his own or others. Marcel Duchamp also worked as an art dealer on and off in the 1920s. As Christopher Green has commented, in the case of Breton's own collection as installed in his house in Paris, "It provided an alternative space for an alternative

life lived against the middle-class grain, and yet this was a life funded at crucial moments by profit in a buoyant art market."[84] Clearly the art market remained important for even the most radical and innovative art practices.

2.2.3: Post-war Art: Gestures to Pop

Many art critics with an eye for the social impact of the arts have fought strenuously to maintain the boundaries between high art and commodity culture. Most famously, Clement Greenberg, in his article "Avant-Garde and Kitsch" of 1939, argued that Pablo Picasso's modernist paintings demand a self-reflective, mental activity on the part of the viewer that is anathema to the easily digestible, ersatz art – Hollywood film, pulp fiction and pop music – produced by industrialized mass culture. Nevertheless, in the same article he argued that

> No culture can develop without a social basis, without a source of stable income. And in the case of the avant-garde, this was provided by an elite among the ruling class of that society from which it assumed itself to be cut off, but to which it has always remained attached by an umbilical cord of gold... And now this elite is rapidly shrinking.[85]

In other words, for Greenberg it was not the avant-garde's connection to an economic base which was at issue, but rather through what means, and how it would be maintained in the face of a diminishing wealthy class to pay for it. In 1939 Greenberg still believed that the most appropriate base would be a socialist one. What such statements failed to take into account, and could not foresee, was the massive commercialisation of the avant-garde which would take place almost immediately after WWII.

The contemporary art world on both sides of the Atlantic during the 1950s was dominated by the rise of Abstract Expressionism, the movement known in Europe as Informal art. This gestural painting movement had sought a completely novel and abstract artistic language to lend freedom and bodily immediacy to artistic creation and thereby defeat the world of industry, commoditisation and administration. However, it had fallen prey to the forces of the commodity, as artists, dealers, collectors and journalists turned the novel expressive gesture into a recognizable art brand that could be purchased to decorate corporate lobbies, form the backdrop for haute couture fashion photograph and adorn the covers of chic magazines. Jackson Pollock, who became a kind of media superstar almost in spite of himself, thus paved the way for a new relationship with the market forces that had been conditioning the art world in previous decades.

There were several responses to this co-optation of the avant-garde artist. Some artists sought mediums and approaches that excluded them from the commodity system in ever more radical ways. Artists in the minimalist, earth art, and performance genres of the 1960s and 1970 created art works that were site-specific, outside the gallery system or connected to the physical presence of the body and its ephemeral appearance in time and space in an attempt to circumvent the institutional, discursive and marketing dimensions of the modern art market, all with limited success, as galleries expanded their operations to incorporate such works and traded in artefacts related to the ephemeral or larger scale aspects of their work. Another approach artists took was to directly invite an explicit entanglement in the broader commodity system which underpinned their production, a path followed by some neo-dada and pop artists of the post-war period.

The use of mass cultural detritus, mechanical or chance operations, and readymade strategies were exemplary of dada and constructivist attacks on the

institution of art and its autonomy from the broader social context through breaking down the distinction between the aesthetic work and its social substrate. When these techniques were taken up again in the work of neo-dada and pop artists, including Robert Rauschenberg, Andy Warhol and Daniel Spoerri, one response on the part of historians and critics, such as Peter Bürger, was to describe these latter artists as a "neo-avant-garde": a collapse back into the art institution and its economic underpinning in the commodity culture. As Hal Foster argues, many of these artists, particularly the "proto-pop and *nouveau realiste* reception of the readymade did tend to render it aesthetic, to recoup it as an art-commodity."[86] However, there is currently a very lively debate about these figures' exploration of avant-garde's entanglement in commodity. One approach to understanding the commodity status of innovative visual art in the first half of the 1960s lies in an observation made by the literary historian Merrill Cole who points out that there are two types of novelty. One type, associated most closely with the commodity system, "consolidates the ego's petty securities and its sense that the world is as it should be."[87] Another type of newness, that associated with certain forms of modernism, achieves two things: it "shatters the rigidities and complacencies of the ego" and holds out the "painful promise of what the world and the self could become."[88] These comments apply to work of many artists in this period but to give a concrete example here the following discussion focuses solely on the work of Claes Oldenburg.

Claes Oldenburg's work directly after WWII sought to "restore the excitement and meaning of simple experience," by transcending arts "use as a commercial counter," and his 1959 installation of trash, *The Street* engaged with the dejecta of society, exemplified disorder and decay.[89] As trash lacks value and has outlived its usefulness, it cannot be readily appropriated or recycled by society for any purpose and thereby defeated the enervating process of commoditisation.[90]

However, by the 1960s there was a system in place whereby such works could be accepted into the system of capitalist exchange. As Oldenburg observed, "the whole thing had become totally commercial... People were arriving in Cadillacs."[91] Oldenburg sought to resolve this dilemma by engaging directly with the realm of commodities in his next work, *The Store* (1961). This was an installation in a disused store-front on the Lower East Side of New York City. Visitors to the shop were invited to purchase a series of plaster and muslin objects painted in brightly-coloured enamel paint which formed replicas of merchandise such as food and garments. In the case of his depictions of edible items, by wilfully savouring the way food is presented in shop displays and advertisements – its glossy texture, its fluidity – Oldenburg emphasized the visceral quality of his work by evoking the bodily processes of ingestion and digestion. Oldenburg, who was concerned with the somatic dimension of the human body, was depicting commodities from an earlier historical period belonging to the childhood experience of the viewer. The gaudy colours and glistening surfaces of Oldenburg's painted plaster merchandise look back onto a past of the commodity when the fulfilment and participation embodied in child's fantasy of fulfilment rummaging in the five and dime store or drooling over lollies at the local milk bar was still a living possibility. However, the suggestions of degradation and decay bring about an awareness that any shiny new commodities will also fail to satisfy and are destined to become the useless garbage of tomorrow. Oldenburg tackled the commoditisation of his own art by provoking reflection upon the perishable nature of the commodity form *per se*.

2.2.4: The 1970s and 1980s: Late Modern and Postmodern Art

By the 1970s and 80s many critics were aware that the entanglement of art and money in modern society had reached a particularly intense point. The position

reached by the contemporary artist was described in this period by Jameson as follows:

> What has happened is that aesthetic production today has become integrated into commodity production generally: the frantic economic urgency of producing fresh waves of ever more novel-seeming goods (from clothing to airplanes), at ever greater rates of turnover, now assigns an increasingly essential structural function and position to aesthetic innovation and experimentation.[92]

For many critics the most evident sign of this in art was the work of artists such as Julian Schnabel and David Salle of the 1980s in the USA, whose figurative paintings combined a recycling of historical artistic styles with a brash and regurgitated version of modernist expressive brushstrokes. Such works were defended in certain circles as a welcome return to the traditional function of art to represent identity, history and society at large. However, in many respects they represented a cynical appeal to an art market desperate for attractive and relatively understandable narratives painted in a style that gratified a complacent belief in the sanctity of the romantic-era inspired genius artist. In Hal Foster's words, such work "sought a reconciliation with the public (which is also to say the marketplace)… this reconciliation tended to be both elitist in its historical allusions and manipulative in its consumerist clichés."[93]

To some extent this reconciliation with the market had its predecessors even in the 1960s and 1970s generation of conceptual artists, who with their uncompromisingly anti-aesthetic works composed of bland documents, photographs and routine operations, nevertheless have been viewed as an advance arm of the global industries of commodity production and marketing. As

Alexander Alberro explains, conceptual art's insistence on art as idea facilitated conceptual art's emergence as the ultimate commodity through the power of dematerialisation, which resulted in an increased emphasis on art as brand in the same sense that a commodity is a brand. By shifting from the material to the immaterial, conceptual artists mimicked consumer culture in which marketing, advertising, and branding is the very thing sold rather than any material product. The situation which the conceptual artists helped to propel us into therefore was one in which the artist doesn't have to make anything at all other than market their ideas.[94]

There were however, as in the immediate post-war period, several alternatives to this collapse into pure marketability. One was presented by Hans Haacke, who, beginning in the 1970s, started drawing attention to the intertwining of art, money and society by mounting or proposing to mount exhibitions which targeted the financial and economic underpinnings of society and culture. In *Shapolsky et al Manhattan Real Estate Holdings…* of 1970 he proposed an installation at the Guggenheim museum which documented the properties in Manhattan rented out to poor, minority-group families owned by wealthy families and conglomerates. These pieces which "linked the workings of corporate capital, elite family interests and malpractice with the slum reality of deprived ethnic groups" were rejected by the museum as overly political, and as a potential threat to the economic sponsorship of the gallery itself by wealthy American families and individuals.[95] In the 1980s Haacke shifted to a more explicit exposure of the financial structures supporting art and the museum industry, targeting specific collectors, museums and institutions with displays revealing their economic basis, including details of industry sponsorship, provenance of works in the collection, and other details revealing the entanglement of art, money and society. In all of his installations Haacke provokes thought on the part of the audience about their

relationship to financial power structures that is often obscured by the aesthetic pleasure of encounters with works. Another, similar alternative was offered in the work of Stephen Willats, whose work *Learning to Live Within a Confined Space* (1978) addressed the interface between cultural and social relations in the daily lives of a public housing project, and included a set of photographs, charts and diagrams recording the everyday lives of residents.[96] Another important development completely distinguished from these initiatives was the contemporary rise of the community art movement, an outgrowth of the counter-culture movement of the late 1960s and which, in the words of Alison Jeffers, "was committed to the notion of providing the opportunities and the means to make the creation of art available to everyone regardless of age, education, race, income or social class."[97]

Another important aspect of art in the 1970s and 1980s, a period which has come to be known as post-modernism, was a deliberate but not always cynical intensification of the artist's interest in mass marketing, advertising and commodity production more generally. These artists were continuing a tradition which went back at least as far as the late 19th century to the work of the impressionists. As Thomas Crow argued in his 1981 essay "Modernism and Mass Culture" with respect to this artistic lineage, mass culture has provided modernism with material for resisting capitalist culture and should not solely be viewed as what must be expunged from radical art practice.[98] However, the impact and meaning of the works of individual artists has to be studied carefully as while each one mimics the processes, looks, placement and techniques of the culture industry at large, there is a range of meaning from mere affirmation to critical interrogation in such works, and the final reckoning about the significance of such works at a social level is a subject of debate. Many of these artists, rather than resisting the commoditisation of everyday life, seem to wilfully propel the realm of art, with its

traditional values of artisanal, handmade production, profound experience and unique individuality, into the realm of the commodity spectacle described by Guy Debord and Jean Baudrillard. As Debord argued in the 1960s, "all that was once directly lived as become mere representation." Describing this situation as "spectacle," he argues that "reality unfolds in a new generality as a pseudo-world apart, solely as an object of contemplation."[99] For Baudrillard this was a new "hyperreality" or "simulacrum" in which images, fetishes and signs take the place of actual, physical experience.[100]

Jeff Koons, by appropriating products and advertisements already available in the culture, comes closest to being a kind of aesthetic advertiser. Borrowing not only from modern marketing but also from the Duchampian readymade – the latter of which he treats as a kind of a product to be imitated and disseminated – he dissolves the already porous boundary between art and merchandise. In *New Shelton Wet/Dry Triple Decker* (1981), a plexiglass case containing three vacuum cleaners, Koons imitates the technologies of both merchandise and artistic display announcing that the two have merged fully in the modern museum and gallery marketplace.[101] As David Joselit has argued, in such works, in which "products are glamorized", both a literal and cultural vacuum is evoked and this voiding of meaning in contemporary culture is fetishised like a modern totem.[102] In other works reliant on the Pop art tradition Koons monumentalizes some of the most ludicrously tawdry aspects of mass culture, as in his 1980s polychrome sculpture of Michael Jackson which fundamentally disturbs the fine art / low art division. Where Koon's corrodes most effectively and disturbingly the distinction between art and merchandise is in his self-promotional strategies, wherein his own empty media celebrity itself became the concept and the work being consumed.[103]

Another contemporary American artist working on the porous boundary between art and commerce is Barbara Kruger. She borrows the stark graphics, bold

messages and punchy designs of billboards, mimicking the look of advertising art to the degree that it's difficult to distinguish whether her work is art in the traditional sense or not. With her ambivalent, sometimes humorous messages – such as "I shop therefore I am" – Kruger presents the viewer with visual and textual conundrums that strike to the heart of the rhetorical strategies used by the culture industry to interpolate and manipulate individuals into the broader capitalist, patriarchal system. With her origin in the commercial magazine industry where she learned and borrowed a series of graphic design techniques, and by relying on older, outmoded images and forms of address, Kruger's work "unnerves by assertively exposing the powerful subtleties of socialization."[104] Jenny Holzer, who works exclusively with words rather than images, takes a comparable approach in her *Truisms* series, where slogans such as "Money Creates Taste" alongside other statements, not all of them critical of capitalism, were broadcast through various media, including large electronic digital screens in prominent urban sites such as New York's Times Square. Completely integrated with the spectacular mass media, these ambivalent messages works work like stealth bombs that question the reigning ideology of consumerism.

2.2.5: Contemporary Art: 21st Century Art, the Market and Society

At the turn of the 21st century, and up to the present day, the relationship between art, money and society has been increasingly conditioned by new and advanced forms of capitalism which characterise our current moment. The ever-escalating commoditization of art in the capitalist economy means that all objects are "enchanted" through the process of commodity exchange. Publicity, sponsorship and celebrity are prominent features of the current art market. Concluding a process that began earlier in the 20th century, artists themselves are bankable

commodities and they talk, act and work under the assumption that they themselves are brands that can be bought and sold. Even a position that asserts the distinction between art and commerce, in this sense, can ultimately serve commercial interests, by asserting a special quality that exceeds the current condition of the market, thus making the product more desirable while at the same time disguising the connections between art and the commercial world.

The virtual disappearance of the distinction between art and commerce is perhaps nowhere more visible that in Takashi Murukami's celebration of the reified commodity. The sculpture *Hiropon* (1997) depicts an adolescent body precariously balanced on one pointed foot, her tiny frame completely dwarfed by two bulbous breasts that explode from a tiny bikini. Only her elaborate blue hair competes with the presence of the breasts, from which milk spouts. The milk forms a complete circle around her, doubling as a skipping rope. Despite its outlandish design, *Hiropon* was not created as a critique of the objectification of the female body in erotic manga *otaku* comic culture, from which the character is drawn. Instead, it directly appeals to the market. Murakami admits, "Because making a life-size figure is really no different than making a sex doll (a Dutch wife) in the context of the *anime* figure, it's safe to say it ours was a fairly shameless plan from the start."[105]

This desire to conform, rather than challenge, the *otaku* market was made even more transparent when Murakami decided to remodel *Hiropon* as a new character, *Miss Ko2*, to be more in line with the sexual fetishism of the popular genre. Indeed, when Murakami approached a leading contemporary *otaku* designer about using one of his computer-game characters as the model for *Miss Ko2*, Murakami received a sceptical response. The designer, who is known simply as "Bome," replied, "This game is an utterly artless pandering to stereotypical *otaku* fetishism. Nor is it original – rather it was created with a complete understanding

of the tastes of the entire *otaku* market for uniform fetishism."[106] To which Murakami said, "That's what I want."[107] Placing examples of social fetish in the context of an art gallery might arguably open them to some form of critical reflection. Yet when the art gallery is simultaneously configured as a commercial space, for example when Murakami uses it as a means to promote and sell a variety of merchandise, then the space for critical reflection gives way to general consumption. The problems associated with this critical ambivalence become more apparent in the context of Murakami's subsequent forays into overt commercial production.

A certain sense of political optimism has been prevalent in artistic practices of the late 1990s and early twenty first century that focus on human agency and the realisation of utopian social visions. This has translated into a focus on the relations between people, as evident in the popular embrace of Nicholas Bourriaud's text *Relational Aesthetics*. Bourriaud advocates artwork that enables human interaction and engagement.[108] Building upon the ideals of the historical avant-garde, he suggests that by turning art toward a humanistic use-value, contemporary artists can actualise their utopian ambitions. He writes, "the role of artworks is no longer to form imaginary and utopian realties, but to actually be ways of living and models of action within the existing real".[109] Bourriaud's theory finds form in artistic practices that configure art spaces as a means for social enfranchisement, for example in the work of Rirkrit Tirvanija, well known for configuring the space of the gallery as a communal kitchen.

While certainly more hopeful than postmodernism's cynical approach to consumer agency, Bourriaud's analysis falls prey, however, to a set of dilemmas regarding function and autonomy. Artworks that rely on a harmonious engagement with and between viewers tend to eliminate the critical space needed to consider and reflect upon the work. This forms the basis of Claire Bishop's critique of

relational aesthetics, where she argues that artistic enfranchisement results in the loss of democratic debate. Bishop writes, "a democratic society is one in which relations of conflict are sustained, not erased".[110] In this sense relational aesthetics falls prey to some of the same problems faced by the institutionalisation of community arts programs. As Rachel Fensham once argued in relation to such programs, "As a political agenda, community can assist the potential for sharing and acknowledging differences between subjects but, on the other hand, it refuses to address the misunderstandings, conflicts and incomplete resolutions of social subjects which are the likely conditions of that difference."[111] To return to Bishop, she argues that artwork should maintain a tension between engaging with culture and reflecting upon it. Importantly, Bourriaud's idealistic position overlooks the ways in which the relations between people are also subject to late capitalism's design.

Artists have been exploring these issues through design, combining relational aesthetics with the creation of products. Lucy Orta, for example, designs clothing that attempts to solve social problems. Her Refuge Wear series of clothing, developed in the 1990s, consisted of clothing that converted into tent-like temporary shelter. In addition, the works could be connected together, relational-aesthetics-style, to encourage human interaction, in the form of Collective Dwelling (1998/1999). For such artists, design holds the promise of liberating consumers from the fetishised realms of consumer culture, focusing on addressing fundamental human needs such as shelter. While still conforming to systems of "value" and production, such projects at least acknowledge the political and conceptual foundations of design. This is an important and often overlooked point. Similarly, Andrea Zittel's work is relevant in this regard because it does not reside simply within a gallery, but instead operates as a commercial design studio, albeit a slightly dysfunctional one. Zittel's repeated attempts to find freedom and

autonomy through commercial design continuously fail. This flawed design process makes the consumer aware of the restraints and limitations imposed by design. Zittel's products lead consumers to consider the personal, subjective and psychological mechanisms of capitalist production, creating a critical space in the field of design that revives the potential of art as critique. Design is used to implicate consumers as both producers of culture and participants in cultural production.

Contemporary art's seemingly heedless collapse into a commodity production, without any kind of resistance or irritant as a counterpoint to the existing conditions under which all art must operate, has its parallel in certain kinds of critical writing. Critics and historians like Dave Hickey have launched an all-out attack on the critical theory tradition which has accompanied the reception of modern art, accusing academics who insist on the power of negation once asserted by the avant-garde of weighting the experience of contemporary art with an unnecessary difficulty and also with a depressing narrative of opposition to what is. As an alternative Hickey proposes an aesthetic and a reception which is attuned to the democratic character of the attractive and the beautiful, of a taste which does not automatically see involvement with the commodity market as a form of compromise. Although there is some truth to Hickey's point of view, and in many respects his emphasis on postivity has its salutary aspects, his enthusiastic embrace of the market and what it desires, as Julian Stallabrass has argued, boils down to a notion that "'democracy' is embodied in market mechanisms," a claim which does not hold water when one considers the considerable barriers to entry into – and the manipulated character of – the art market.[112]

Indeed, the contemporary art market is characterised by an unusual level of manipulation by collectors, dealers and artists, including price fixing, artificial limitations on supply, severe restrictions on information about the market, as well

as historical events including large amounts of money laundering through art which took place in Japan in the 1980s which heavily distorts the prices paid.[113] In the words of New York art critic Carlo McCormick, "The influence of collectors is probably at an all-time high […] Art is highly professionalised and market-determined at every level."[114]

In 2007, a skull encrusted with diamonds created by Damien Hirst and title *For the Love of God* was put on the market by the artist for a price of 100 million dollars. This artist, whose reputation and fame seems to know no bounds, is an exemplary case for a study of the contemporary conditions of art and its relation to money and society. Hirst's face appears in magazines and popular media as a kind of constant, generating fascination and sensation in a way that the publicists who wrote copy about and took photographs of Jackson Pollock in the 1950s could only dream about. Hirst's consolidation as the absolute epitome of what high art represents in the 21st century, demonstrated by his inclusion in important private and public art exhibitions and collections, his omnipresence in the media, not to mention his unprecedented move of selling his work directly through the secondary auction market rather than to collectors or through a dealer, means that the very significance of his work, regardless almost of its medium, theme, scale or content is purely financial. Hirst's understanding of this situation is evidenced by *For the Love of God* (2007), a work which has significance solely on the basis of its price tag, as the meanings that might be associated with it pale into insignificance – and are in any case extremely shallow, even kitsch, in and of themselves – in comparison to the price for which it is offered. It makes no sense really to see this as a comment on the situation of contemporary art as it is merely a reflection of what actually exists, proposes no alternative and offers no critique.

A different approach to the contemporary problem presented by Damien Hirst can be observed in the work of Harrell Fletcher, who, through his active

engagement in the community sector and the "non-art" world, attempts to overcome the problematic of a commercialized art system. He produces experiences, events and communities as a way to sidestep the commodification of the artwork-as-object. Among these are the following, taken from the artist's website, some realized and others unrealized:

> - Retrospective of a well know artist, but done all as Xeroxes that get posted in one neighbourhood somewhere.
> - Attach piece of art to appliances and furniture so that when someone buys the piece of art they also get something functional with it.
> - For sale in a gallery undeveloped rolls of film that I shoot. Each roll would be of a different subject. The person who uses the roll can print the picture however they want to.
> - For sale in a gallery as service: that I will come to the buyers house and make a sculpture for them out of stuff I find around their house.
> - I use the production budget to do a repair to some local person's house or to buy them a new appliance or to make some playground equipment. I then shoot a roll of 35mm film of the people using the house or appliance or playground equipment and show all of the snapshots in the gallery, just tacked to the wall.
> - We offer free daycare for babies in the gallery for a day. I take a roll of pictures of the babies in the gallery; the pictures are displayed as described above.[115]

His 2010 project at the National Gallery of Victoria brought together community projects around Melbourne into the space of the museum. Titled *The sound we make together (Melbourne),* the project invited participants from Arts Project

Australia, CERES, Crooked Rib Art, Footscray Community Arts Centre, Grainger Museum, Hell Gallery, Herb Patten, RISE and Jeff Sparrow, and encouraged them to express something of local Melbourne life and culture. Fletcher also invited participants to select works from the NGV Collection. *The sound we make together (Melbourne)* resulted in three outcomes: an installation of NGV art works selected by the participants; performances inside the gallery which were also filmed and played in the gallery space, documentation and ephemera relating to the project as a whole and each participant.

While such a project may seem to conform to Bourriaud's idea of relational aesthetics – the aestheticisation of human relations – it actually had more commonalities with what Bishop refers to as relational antagonism; creating conflict between different systems of cultural knowledge in order to make viewers aware of social disparities. For example, the project brought political activists RISE into a major cultural institution such as the NGV. Moreover, it allowed participants considered "marginal" to the art world to have aesthetic choice about works from the NGV collection. There remains a productive tension in the work, something that doesn't quite reconcile, which allows critical possibility in an artistic strategy that could otherwise promote an unrealistic sense of social cohesion. The idea of relational antagonism is relevant in the context of art as a social enterprise. How can artists use strategies from the business sector and also maintain space for critique? Are there ways that social enterprise can similarly antagonise mainstream systems, and provoke social impact and outcomes for emerging artists? One example is The Social Studio, an enterprise started as a response to the idea of social antagonism, and inspired by histories of modernist artists who believed that art and design could be employed to create meaningful social change.

The Social Studio uses design to develop work and life skills in a highly motivating context, encouraging those involved to engage productively in the arts and share their cultural knowledge with a new audience. The Social Studio does not fit into a traditional understanding of the art world, however it incubates the creative and artistic talents of new and emerging migrant communities, who have often experienced art as a part of daily life as opposed to a system of cultural consumption.

As will be demonstrated in the case study which follows this literature review, The Social Studio presents a social critique through the interaction of art, design and business that aims to challenge social perceptions, to offer new ways of understanding art in a social context, to produce an engaged visual culture that respects cultural difference, and to prioritise social impact over financial profits. It retains a level of autonomy by sourcing income directly from the market, alongside funding for educational and social projects. There is nevertheless a complex problematic at the core of the enterprise which relates to the simultaneous mix of commercial business strategies with human and social relations. This is a problematic that all enterprises, profit and nonprofit, face in an increasingly privatized economic sphere. Such problems have the potential to signal the starting point, not the demise, of new models of community development in the arts.

2.3: Conclusion

In summary, in the first section of this literature review, which was a brief survey of selected literature across the fields of public policy, sociology, economics and art theory, it was shown that the arts in general and visual art in particular have an enormous contribution to make to society at an economic level. However, the literature in these fields also demonstrates that there are other kinds of

contributions to be made by art at the level of social equity and social critique which individuals and organisations providing financial support for the arts may want to consider as significant factors, so significant in fact that to do without them is to eradicate most of what is socially beneficial in art. This is an important consideration in a climate which has seen rapid growth in private funding of the arts, given that private enterprise often values art in strongly economic terms rather than pursuing social goals such as equity and critique.

In the second section of the literature review, it was demonstrated through a survey of artistic and critical responses to the relationship between art, money and society that artists, art movements and critics have adopted two opposed strategies or understandings of how art might relate to a society increasingly dominated by economic and commercial factors. On the one hand, artists and thinkers such as William Morris, the Minimalists and Hans Haacke measured their success in the degree to which they could question and resist art's subsumption within a commodity model of artistic production and reception, seeking avenues for using art as a means to totally resist and critique the economic imperatives of contemporary society. Other artists and thinkers have argued for seeing art in favourable terms as a mere component of a broader culture industry, erasing almost to the point of invisibility the distinction between the mass produced consumer good and the art work, visible in the work of artists such as Takashi Murakami, Jeff Koons, in artistic groups like the Italian Futurists, and in the thinking of critics like Dave Hickey. However, for the most part the position of artists and thinkers in relation to the nexus between art, money and society has been to see the relation as complex and as neither totally in one or the other camp. A degree of more or less open complicity with the economic bases of artistic production and reception has often, and necessarily, gone hand in hand with critique, both of art's status as a commodity but also of its relationship to the status

quo of existing society with its injustices and inequalities, of which art itself as an institution and a consumable good are an essential part.

Of particular interest to the contemporary situation of an increasing importance of private funding for the artists both in Australia and around the world are more recent strategies that look upon the interrelation between society and community creativity and the mainstream activities of both increasingly privately-funded art museums on the one hand and the broader world of private enterprise on the other. The work of artists such as Harrel Fletcher and of creative social enterprises such as The Social Studio provide examples of innovative responses to the entanglement of art, money and society in the degree to which they seek to draw community cultural production and reception into the more institutionalised and commercialised world of the culture industries while at the same time retaining a strong sense of autonomy, critique and concern for equality associated with some of the often-vaunted social benefits of the arts as articulated in countless sociological theories of art.

3. Roundtable

The Art, Money and Society Roundtable was held on June 7, 2012 at the University of Melbourne and involved stakeholders from the art industry including academics, administrators, artists, curators and representatives from significant private and public funding bodies. Present at the discussion were: Sylvia Admans, RE Ross Trust; Stephen Armstrong, Myer Fund; Mick Douglas, ex-Live House, Carlton; Farah Farouque, The Social Studio; Grace McQuilten, The Social Studio; Ryan Johnston, Shepparton Art Museum; Susan Lowish, University of Melbourne; Keely Macarow, RMIT; Hannah Matthews, Freelance Curator; Frank Panucci, Australia Council; Maryann Talia Pau, artist; Stuart Purves, Director, Australian Galleries; Anthony White, University of Melbourne.

Prior to attending, participants were invited to prepare responses to the following questions:

- In your experience and research where has the relationship between art money and society been productive? What factors seem to you to predict success or failure? How important is the public private balance? How does the increasing role of the private sector in this field have an impact on social goals?

- Looking ahead, what new initiatives seem to hold the promise of improvement in these areas?

- What are some of the common pitfalls and obstacles to the successful bringing together of creative work, money, and social goals?

The discussion that took place in the roundtable formed around the following five themes:

- The Relationship Between Art, Money and Social Benefit;
- Partnerships and Community: Working Together;
- Risky Business: Managing Upsides and Downsides
- The Profiles of Artists, Arts Organisations and Projects and Social Benefit
- The Role of Business, the Private Sector and the Market

The comments are summarized below in accordance with the above listed themes and don't appear in the order in which they were discussed during the roundtable. Statements are attributed to groups of people as indicated by acronyms in square brackets rather than to individual roundtable members. The groups to which the various individuals' statements are assigned are as follows: Academics [AC]; Arts Organisations and Artists [AA]; Funding Bodies [FB]; Museums and Galleries [MG].

3.1 The Relationship Between Art, Money and Social Benefit.

Members of the roundtable argued that there were definite social benefits to be gained from art. However, they also felt that there might be limits to this benefit. Others argued that there was not necessarily a clear division between the realm of art and the realm of the social.

A number of members spoke about the importance of the cultural realm to society in general. As one member argued, "You cannot have a balanced society without culture… we still have to develop this to where it is on the streets" [MG]. Another member argued that art making can be indicative of social health, because

art "requires time, reflection, tradition, vision and dexterity. It requires a degree of health; it requires a safe space" [FB]. Another member stressed that art is not something that comes after material comforts are satisfied, that it is "integrated with daily life and part of community and part of living" [AA]. Although for one member it was important to stress that art is not necessarily going to "solve everything" [AC], another argued that it is possible to address a range of different social, education, and employment problems through art [AA]. Other members spoke about the way in which art initiatives in regional and remote areas have important social as well as commercial benefits [MG] [FB].

Another member spoke about how for artists in a local community art group, there were benefits for individual makers in "having a purpose and feeling like you are needed," leading to a sense of happiness, an important outcome for art makers. In addition the earning of income is important because, beyond its material reward, it is a way in which individual artists' work and particularly community elders' work is acknowledged [AA].

Other members maintained that the intrinsic benefits of the arts and their social value are "inextricably tied" due to the relationship between the artist and the participant [FB]. One argued that "social justice is an inherent part of any artistic practice" [FB].

In summary, most members agreed that there were social benefits to be gained from the arts and that such benefits were not just a by-product of art making and viewing but that the very act of art making and experiencing was connected to such benefits.

3.2: Partnerships and Community: Working Together

There were several factors, members felt, that contributed to success or failure in the nexus between art, money and society. Of particular importance were the quality and nature of the partnerships involved and of the relationship to the community.

<u>Partnerships</u>

One member [FB] spoke about a number of various successful initiatives connecting commerce, culture and community, which involved artists working in communities with private and government organisations toward achieving collective social outcomes. One of these partnerships was a joint project called *C3 West* which involved the Museum of Contemporary Art, the Penrith Lewers Trust and the Casula Powerhouse, and the Penrith Panthers. Another successful project, which brought philanthropic and commercial partners into play, was a project in the Western Desert that uses arts to improve renal health outcomes for local indigenous communities, and in particular early diagnosis. Another member [FB] cited a foundation established for rural and regional renewal based in Bendigo, which produced meaningful and productive initiatives for small communities with important commercial and social returns. Yet another member [FB] spoke about a residency program run by IASKA in Western Australia involving partnerships with local city councils that activated relationships with writers and artists and people working on community projects. According to one of these members, one of the lessons from these projects is that it was important to negotiate "agreed outcomes" with business and the community as well as "jointly come up with an answer" to questions or problems. Another member stressed that a tacit underlying trust is needed for good partnerships [AA].

One member [FB] argued that "the hard part is actually bringing the partners together at the start, coming to an agreement and maintaining those relationships through a project" and the goal is to get to a point where the partners can together support something where the final outcome isn't necessarily known in advance.

As one roundtable member argued, in making funding decisions involving partnerships, it is often presumed that the relationship between the partners underpinning the project is a healthy one, but this is not always known with certainty. Even within institutions, there may be partnerships that need to be examined carefully. For example, a pilot project may be successful, but the relationship between the pilot project and the institution may not be growing, and so "suddenly the project becomes not viable, even though everything about it was fantastic." As the same roundtable member continued, a single individual promoting a particular project might move on, and this needs to be known in funding decisions. [FB]. From the point of view of the partner organisations themselves, another member argued, one consideration is that when a small organisation partners with a large organisation the former may become beholden to the latter and it may be therefore harder to be creative in decision making. In such partnerships, too, yet another member argued if one person in that organisation leaves, the whole organisation can be at risk [AA]. As a member for the Funding Bodies group commented, dependency is not a form of partnership [FB].

For one member problems can arise when there is a failure to reflect on negotiations between those who have power and those who don't, or to take into consideration "what the forces are that might be at play… that might override any of the benefits that are supposedly being negotiated" such as market forces, which might work against equality in a partnership [AA].

<u>The Community</u>

All of the members agreed that closeness to a community and a locality, and participation from that community, was an essential element of projects that were successful at bringing art, money and society together in productive ways. This may be the reason, as one member noted, that in recent times applications to one local funding body had seen a shift towards community art and participatory practices [MG].

For one roundtable member, describing a project they were involved in, "community ownership and the local nature of the project is what has made it sustainable because people believe in it and they feel like they own it" [AA]. Another member related an anecdote whereby their community art initiative was described as successful because of the degree to which the organisers had left their egos behind and thought about the group and the community all together [AA]. Yet another member argued that many problems in art projects with projected social benefit can be avoided by adequate community consultation [AA].

One member [AA] spoke about a community art initiative where some residents removed their support as they didn't feel listened to. The example was a private public partnership seeding creative enterprise initiatives in a housing estate undergoing redevelopment. In that case the consultative process was supposedly inclusive, but residents resigned from committees because they felt that their "voices were not actually being heard and would not have any impact upon the consideration of opportunities." Another member agreed that "community consultation" can often be just "ticking a box" implying that it is a form of lip service to inclusiveness. [FB].

One member noted that some proposals for funding want to drop very famous artists into the community and then disappear, leaving no lasting impact,

which is not very beneficial [MG]. Yet another member spoke about how, in the case of Indigenous Australian art, although the art has emerged through a very social aspect of communities, "you have older artists who are the established money-makers and then you have younger generations who are not that engaged with their art centre" so that the art can be very disconnected from younger people [AC].

Several members shared their ideas of what factors contributed to unsuccessful projects. One member argued that social engagement projects can have unintended consequences, and cited the case of an urban renewal project in Spain to foster cultural tourism. Residents were pushed out of the area as a result of this project, and one day graffiti was discovered which said "Tourists are terrorists." Another member agreed that it was important to recognise that these initiatives can fail quite significantly. The example was given of a local development authority that wanted to involve artists in regenerating an urban area in an unconsidered and unsustainable way, so that "trees were cut down in the middle of the night and huge expo-sized screens would pop up," thereby enraging residents [MG]. The lesson from this is to be on the lookout for potential negatives regarding community responses.

Another member, quoting Slavoj Žižek, noted that there is a problem in funding artistic enterprises that make claim to social benefit in that sometimes only people who position themselves as victims are seen as worthy of funding. That point of view subscribes to the idea that "as long as we have deserving poor who deserve charity and we treat them as victims then it is okay, but as soon as they are not prepared to play the victim and want to be an active participant in finding a way forward, then we may not be so sympathetic to them" so that those with ideas about how to rectify their own disadvantage are seen as unsuitable for support. It is important to consider, the same member argued, whether creative social

enterprises are about helping the deserving poor "as long as they stay deserving poor" or about helping people to become "protagonists in society." As a corollary, the promotion of individual activity rather than passiveness should be seen as an important impact of any project [FB].

In summary, regarding the role of partnerships and community in the success of funded artistic initiatives with social benefit, most members agreed that the most important factors for success are the quality of the partnerships and of the relationship to the communities involved.

3.3: Risky Business: Managing Upsides and Downsides

Most members of the roundtable stressed that funded arts organisations need to take risks to have social and other benefits.

Many members spoke of the high incidence of failure in the arts and in business more broadly. One member noted that 8 out 10 proposals to the Australia Council are unsuccessful [FB]. Another member agreed that there is a high failure rate in the arts as in commercial enterprise [AA]. Another quoted a prominent businessman in the USA who said that 85% of his decisions were unsuccessful [MG].

Many members also thought that risk was important, not necessarily something to be avoided. One argued that "we will not have any innovation if there aren't those risks" and that risk yielded riches beyond monetary ones [AC]. Yet another member stressed that the arts are a speculative enterprise, that this is important to recognise and that failure is a legitimate outcome, because even if the goals are not being realised, individuals still get paid. The same member noted that any project of value has to be "revealing the unknown" [FB]. Another member praised fellowships that fund a person for a longer period of time which implies a bigger risk in terms of outcome [MG].

Within arts organisations, one member argued, there can be a daily tension between risk takers and more cautious people. Younger people are often able to take more risks and to push the envelope [AA]. Another member noted that on the boards of organisations one finds that there is often a division in this respect between the creative industry members and the business/legal members [MH]. Yet another member suggested that "personal risk plays a major part, too, because board members have a liability for the organisation" against which they protect themselves by avoiding risks [AA]. Several members pointed out that in spite of the benefits of risk-taking, it has to be thought through and considered [MG]. Failure was seen as a good thing potentially unless "it actually does harm" [MG]. Indeed, the one question one member asks when working with community organisations is whether a project will do any harm [FB].

A number of members discussed the best way of measuring and evaluating performance as a key strategy for managing risk. One member was concerned that it was important to construct funding models that meet accountability standards without being too prescriptive as the risk is that people tell the funder "what they think you want to hear" rather than talking about their work [FB]. More than one member noted that in some prominent arts initiatives funded by major funding bodies there was no acquittal process, a deliberate strategy directed toward "capacity building" [FB]. One member argued that although it was important that there be flexibility in how funding is acquitted individuals involved in projects be responsive and continually monitor their activities [MG].

In conclusion, although risk was seen as an inevitable and even desirable element of successful funded artistic initiatives, some organisations were better at taking risks than others, there were potential downsides to risks, and such risks had to be within limits. Additionally, the management of risk through acquittal processes had to be carefully designed to support the activity concerned.

3.4: The Profiles of Artists, Arts Organisations and Projects and Social Benefit

Another topic that arose frequently during the roundtable concerned the relationship between an organisation's or project's profile, such as its age, size, duration and location and its success in bringing about social benefit.

Regarding the size of the organisation, one member noted that as objects produced by community arts organisations often relate principally to the local community of producers, such organisations have to decide sometimes whether to become bigger and sell to broader markets, or whether to keep it small and serve a local community [AA]. Indeed, as closeness to a community is central, for one member this consideration was seen as a stumbling block for growth: "if an organisation gets so big that people do not know each other, how do you make sure that you are maintaining the culture of the place, the values and principles?" [AA]. One member argued that it is possible to decide to remain small [FB], another member noted that as organisations grow, individuals can start up smaller ones which take over some of the functions of the bigger one [MG]. In the case of touring art, which is one way to enhance the reach of an organisation's initiatives, one member noted that the intellectual property of the organisation can be toured rather than the work itself, reducing the carbon footprint [FB].

There was some discussion about the relative merits of newer and older organisations. One member asserted that essentially the rules are the same for new and old businesses, that older individuals and organisations can be innovative, that it is important to achieve a "balance between what is bright and young and what is old and wise" [MG]. Another member agreed, and asked whether only "the bright young things" are the ones innovating, as ongoing entities continually reinvent themselves. Nevertheless, the same member queried whether it was possible to be

a maverick if you are an existing concern, as the board might hold such an organisation back [FB].

One member expressed the view about the relative merits of long and short term projects, commenting that short term projects might drain capability, and longer term projects might have more impact due to their assistance with capacity building. "Tend your garden" might be one of the purposes of a grant, rather than seeking a short-term outcome [FB].

One member believed that in smaller, rural communities as opposed to metropolitan ones there can often be a sense of social cohesion that is very advantageous to projects with a social goal [FB]. Another member argued that the outcomes of regional projects can make their way into metropolitan centres, into museums where they become part of a geographically broader and longer-term archive [MG].

In summary, the members felt that while the profile of an arts organisation was not necessarily the determining factor in its success in delivering social benefits, there was a general sense that smaller, newer and regional organisations funded for longer periods of time were better at delivering results that had particular relevance to specific local communities.

3.5: The Role of Business, the Private Sector and the Market

The comments about the role of business, private industry and the market were divided into comments on about the usefulness of considering arts organisations themselves as businesses and issues arising from private funding of the arts. There were many different views put forward about both of these.

Arts Organisations as Businesses

One member argued that not all artists are interested to sell things and that their organisation has "decided that shouldn't be a requirement of being involved" in their art projects, as sometimes it's about allowing participants "to learn, to study, to be creative and to develop their own pathways." That same member reported that sometimes their organisation pulls back from the commercial side because it can reduce social benefit [AA].

Another member noted that in one local community arts organisation, some artists wanted to pump out stuff to sell and make money, while others were frightened by that or more interested in taking time to work on things regardless of money. The same member noted that in some cultures gift and exchange is a way to think about how art works function in an economy of sorts, rather than through being exchanged for money [AA].

Yet another member asserted that whereas some artists will need continual support, one definition of "impact on the social" might be "that you have prepared them enough… to go out and be something" beyond the funded organisation thereby providing pathways to independence [MG].

One member of the roundtable spoke about the fact that in indigenous communities, art centres are good at making money for the work of older people but that they are not well geared for passing on this resource to a younger generation as they don't serve younger people who are not as interested in art in that traditional sense [AC]. Another member argued that the private enterprise model for such arts centres isn't really working to the extent that they don't readily pass on the legacy of the art and culture to more recent generations, as this activity doesn't make money [AC].

<u>Private Funding of the Arts</u>

One member was sceptical about the way in which art is used as a "band aid or fake moustache" to make a private corporation or project "look better than it is." The same member cited the example of an independent art organisation being housed in a larger corporation's building where they were treated like squatters. The member concluded that corporations are never altruistic, they want something calculated out of their engagement and that this can be difficult to manage for arts organisations [MG]. Nevertheless, another member noted that sometimes private sponsors "have had such enthusiasm for the relationship that they have pushed the art further" [FB].

Another argued that it was important, in discussing the idea of private funding of the arts, to realise that some private organisations deal with the art world by establishing foundations, or philanthropic organisations, rather than functioning as businesses in the normal sense, and so the category of private is not a neat one [FB]. Indeed, as that member explained, in projects seeking a relationship with private organisations, there is a distinction between initiatives that focus on the traditional model of sponsorship or co-branding, which is very commercially driven, as opposed to "direct engagement of those corporate businesses… in a project, where you have to negotiate the outcomes with them." In the latter models, the corporate workforce are engaged as participants in the projects.

A member noted that a commercial gallery can find it difficult to get public funding for its own initiatives, and cited the case of a private organisation that had to sell its initiative to enable it to get funding for that project [MG].

In summary, the members of the roundtable thought that there were specific limitations to the model of arts organisations as businesses in the conventional sense, and that the relationship to private funding organisations and corporations required careful consideration, having regard for what type of partnership is engaged.

3.6: Conclusions

Although it was sometimes difficult to come up with a consensus view on many issues discussed by the roundtable, it is possible to draw out a provisional series of principles which were established during the dialogue.

- Art has clearly identifiable social benefits, and, as a corollary, should be supported financially both for those benefits but also for its own sake;
- Arts initiatives which are successful at creating social benefits often involve innovative partnerships with both private and public organisations and tend to closely involve communities they intend to have impact upon;
- Arts projects which produce social benefit necessarily involve risk and it is therefore important to support risk-taking through a considered management of the organisations that house them;
- Arts organisations which are smaller, staffed and governed by creative individuals and are locally based may be more effective at producing social benefits of relevance to particular communities;
- Arts organisations with social goals should not be considered businesses. However, private funding of the arts can contribute to the social benefits of art, particularly when private organisations and arts organisations collaborate both in devising goals and producing outcomes.

Although more than one member of the roundtable discussion argued that it wasn't possible to take an idea from one example of an arts organisations activities and expand it or transpose it to another context [AA] another argued that principles and values can be drawn out of individual initiatives and extended to other contexts [FB]. The conclusions reached here need to be seen, therefore, as guiding principles rather than fixed, prescriptive rules.

4. The Social Studio Case Study

The Social Studio is a creative enterprise that supports young people from refugee backgrounds to gain qualifications and employment through the vehicle of a contemporary fashion and design business. The Studio prioritises sustainability by using reclaimed fabrics, and privileges the artistic talents of new and emerging migrant communities. This kind of design recalls the practices of early modernist artists including the Bauhaus and Constructivists, who saw a revolutionary potential in the fusion of art and design. This idealism is incongruous in the contemporary fashion market, where millions of products compete for our attention and the constant cycles of seasonal trends overwhelm design values. However The Social Studio's focus on sustainability, ethical production and community development has been well received in the commercial marketplace and the wider community, tapping into changes in the market since the global financial crisis of 2008. As a result, there is now growing interest among other community groups to develop enterprises based on The Social Studio model.

The purpose of this case study is to examine the strategies used by The Social Studio and to share this knowledge with other community groups who are interested in developing creative projects that address social disadvantage through employment and education. The information included in this case study was gathered through a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, including:

- organisational documentation from 2009 – 2012, including annual reports, strategic plans, independently conducted evaluations and audited financial statements, database records of student attendance, completion and retention rates, marketing materials, website and external media coverage
- interviews with key staff, board members, students and volunteers; and

- review of literature relating to social enterprise and refugee settlement in Australia.

The focus of this research was The Social Studio's approach to in-house education and employment, its operating values and principles, and the question of how The Social Studio balances the relationship between people and business.

4.1: Overview

When The Social Studio was in its early stages of development, people often commented that it was strange to create a social business in the fashion industry. However, strangeness and creativity are close friends, and the combination can be extremely productive. In a study on creativity called "The Unleashed Mind" from last year, Shelley Carson talks of the links between supposed "oddness" and creativity, writing:

> Many highly creative people display personal behavior that sometimes strikes others as odd. Albert Einstein picked up cigarette butts off the street to get tobacco for his pipe; […] the composer Robert Schumann believed that his musical compositions were dictated to him by Beethoven and other deceased luminaries from their tombs; and Charles Dickens is said to have fended off imaginary urchins with his umbrella as he walked the streets of London. […] In fact, creativity and eccentricity often go hand in hand, and researchers now believe that both traits may be a result of how the brain filters incoming information. Even in the business world, there is a growing appreciation of the link between creative thinking and unconventional behavior, with increased acceptance of the latter.[116]

While there is a tendency to avoid risk in an increasingly corporatized social sector, risk goes hand in hand with human society and natural principles in nature. Sometimes things that appear to be erratic, messy, chaotic, disorganized and problematic actually contain an inherent logic and order that aligns with the systems and processes of nature. As scientist Benoit Mandelbrot famously declared, "Clouds are not spheres, mountains are not cones, coastlines are not circles, and bark is not smooth, nor does lightning travel in a straight line." The commercial marketplace is driven by market predictions, refined product development, presumed consumer desire and mediated experience in highly articulated spaces. Yet unexpected developments, events and changes constantly interrupt these systems, confusing the expectations of market planners and economists. This was most evident in the GFC of 2008, which demonstrated the failings of venture capitalism and a profit-oriented business focus. In particular this manifested in high levels of unemployment, economic instability and social disadvantage.

The Social Studio began in early 2009, in direct response to these issues, and also in response to significant barriers facing new and emerging migrant and refugee communities in Melbourne; including disproportionately high levels of unemployment, disengagement from education and social isolation. Employment and educational opportunities are therefore a primary focus of the enterprise, which in turn aims to facilitate social inclusion and to publicly promote the capacity and skills of new and emerging migrant communities. The model is unique in Australia, and offers potential strategies for other community groups to develop capacity through creatively engaged enterprise. A blend of creativity, unconventional thinking about business, and a willing to embrace risk underpin the story of The Social Studio's development.

There are a number of distinguishing features about the enterprise. The most obvious is its focus on creativity through fashion and design, and its flexible training delivery where students access TAFE training all of which occurs on-site at The Social Studio. A number of programs are attached to the enterprise to ensure students can access support for issues that impact on their ability to participate, including driving tuition, financial counselling, legal advice, referrals for housing, medical needs and counselling. This links back to its foundations as a not-for-profit incorporated association, focused on providing assistance to people experiencing extreme disadvantage. The stated objectives of The Social Studio, as outlined in its constitution, include:

- relief of poverty through employment, training and education for refugees, asylum seekers and ex-detainees
- a safe space to meet and interact for "at risk", homeless and unemployed refugees, asylum seekers and ex-detainees
- guidance in accessing settlement support services
- training in the fields of design, manufacturing, retail, hospitality and business
- pathways to further education, employment and career advancement
- artistic and creative development, and
- an opportunity to share cultural strengths and existing skills and talents with the wider Australian community.

These goals are addressed through the operation of a fashion label, school, retail shop, digital printing studio and cafe. The Social Studio is not a singular or simple model; rather, it recognizes the complex nature of the social disadvantage faced by refugee communities and responds with a hybrid model of social support.

The primary focus of The Social Studio is young people aged 15-25 who have dropped out of mainstream schooling and lack access to mainstream employment opportunities, however the Studio also works with mature-age students who face similar barriers to education and employment. The majority of current staff and students are originally from Africa, particularly Horn of Africa nations, however there are a growing number of people from Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Iraq and Burma studying and working at The Studio. This demographic reflects the population of inner city Melbourne and Australia's humanitarian aid policy over the last 5-10 years.

The enterprise offers educational and employment opportunities that take into account an individual's life circumstances which may include, for example, the need for housing, financial support, counselling, assistance with transportation and the opportunity to develop a social network. By engaging in fun activities that relate to cultural backgrounds, existing skills and interests, students and staff develop confidence, and along with this can improve foundational language, numeracy and literacy skills. Activities are relevant to work in the fashion and hospitality industries, in order to maximize opportunities for participants to transition into further employment. In broad terms the Studio offers three types of participation: study (formal TAFE level training in fashion, retail and hospitality), employment (manufacturing, retail and hospitality), and general (includes social sewing, workshops, job training & work experience). The Social Studio is abundant with creativity, learning, and entrepreneurship. The model celebrates diversity and provides opportunities for young people to develop and express their talents through creative endeavour. Based on data from the last two year's evaluations, more than half of the general participants who engage in the Studio continue into formal study or employment at The Studio, and 45% transition into either further education or employment. Retention rates for education programs

within The Social Studio are over 90%. There is a very small percentage of general participants, around 5%, that discontinue, which is quite a low number considering that most general participants make no initial commitment to participate. The employment transition rate for general participants is particularly noteworthy. Most importantly, The Social Studio provides a safe, fun and supportive environment for the development of new creative products. In an independent evaluation from 2011, the culture of the environment was described in relation to the viewpoints of staff and students:

> This evaluation created opportunities for Studio staff and students to describe The Studio, what it means to them, what they see its identity to be. They described it is a place to *grow personally*, a place to *move forward in life,* to engage a process that is deeply individual but also closely connected to the *development of the communities* from which they come; The Studio was described further as a place of *belonging*, but also a *business* and a *centre of learning*; a place of *developmental pathways* for people to move towards *independence*; somewhere that is *unique, supportive, friendly* and *helpful*; a place for *learning skills*, but of equal or even greater importance, somewhere to *design* and *create fashion*; and that it is a place for *young people* who come from *many different cultures*. How these perspectives reflect the goals and values The Studio communicates externally is indicative of how the message and the lived experience of those attending The Studio match up.

One of the key aspects of the Studio is that creative activity is linked with "real" world outcomes; for example employment, educational qualifications and public engagement.

4.2: Education

Providing a safe space for community engagement, developing confidence and building social networks have been proven to be important building blocks on which to develop education and employment interventions for refugee communities.[117] A combination of disrupted educational experiences, past trauma, separation from family and limited English language skills on arrival for refugee youth has very serious implications for success in mainstream education. The Social Studio's training approach responds with the following strategies:

- flexibility in training delivery;
- providing an inclusive and supportive learning environment that builds self-esteem and confidence;
- delivering programs that are relevant to students' lives and career goals.

A vocational training focus links curriculum to workplace activities so students understand the full spectrum of working in their chosen industry. For example, training in fashion includes design, pattern-making, sampling and production of clothing for the enterprise along with developing range-plans, costings and quality control processes. As a result, training is relevant to potential employers, as students gain work experience relevant to industry. The Studio also offers training for interested students in specific skills for partner employers that are looking for skilled staff.

There is always at least one teacher working and supervising activities in the Studio. Curriculum includes both practical activities and theory, with more emphasis on practice in order to engage students who may have limited experience in a formal classroom setting. This is important in building student's confidence, engaging students who are anxious about "formal" study and building incidental

language and numeracy skills. Teaching staff have been employed in partnership with the relevant training provider (RMIT for fashion, AMES for retail and William Angliss for hospitality). Currently students have access to the following nationally recognized qualifications:

- Certificate III Clothing Production (RMIT)
- Certificate IV Textile Design (RMIT)
- Certificate II in Kitchen Operations (William Angliss)
- Certificate II in Retail (AMES)

Students are referred to the Studio through a mixture of channels including direct referral from refugee settlement services, counsellors, social works and teachers, along with "word of mouth" and recommendations from friends and family.

4.3: Employment

There are four core aspects to the "business" of the Social Studio, all of which aim to generate employment opportunities both within the enterprise and through partnerships in industry:

- Fashion label; design + manufacture
- Retail; shop, online shop + wholesale
- The Cutting Table café including catering and private functions
- The Printing Studio; digital fabric printing for the fashion industry

Employment is a key focus for The Social Studio, responding to documented levels of unemployment faced by refugee communities.[118] The Social Studio provides employment to approximately 35+ people over the course of each year,

however at any given time there is likely to be approximately 20 people on staff. Of these, 85% are representative of representative of new and emerging refugee communities.

Jobs are offered in a combination of full time, part time and casual positions across the organisation to allow flexibility in rostering that accommodates various childcare needs, study requirements and other family and community commitments.

Employment pathways have been facilitated for staff and students through partnerships with local business including clothing manufacture, retail and hospitality. Most people stay engaged with programs for one to two years before transitioning into further education and employment, however some find employment or other education opportunities sooner than this.

4.4: General participation

In addition to employment and educational programs, many people access The Social Studio in a casual capacity in order to be creative and build skills and English literacy, create networks and socialize, participate in events through dance, music and modelling, access referrals for social services and fell part of the community.

The Social Studio is often described as an incubator because people develop pathways and involvement at the Studio according to their interests and personal circumstances. For example, one fashion graduate transitioned into an office administration role after studying accounting. There is no prescribed pathway for students, and instead each student identifies personal goals that the organisation supports them to pursue.

4.5: Values & workplace culture

The Social Studio has a highly "consultative" model of operation, as evident for example in weekly coordination, student and staff meetings which aim to facilitate shared decision-making and ownership from all those involved in the enterprise.

The staffing model is "bottom heavy" and "top light", a conscious decision to enable as many entry-level employment opportunities for refugee community members. This approach has the benefit of ensuring that as many jobs as possible are created for refugee community members, in line with the overall objectives of the organisation. The drawback of this approach is that management staff experience larger workloads and business development can be neglected in the interests of day-to-day operations.

Staff are professionally developed through support from The Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture (Foundation House), with training, supervision and mentoring that addresses the specific experiences of working in refugee communities. These steps have been taken to ensure all people accessing the space feel safe and supported. The Social Studio has an emphasis on people over commercial operations and this informs the way it measures and evaluates success. The organisation measure social benefit through an evaluative framework that includes the following:

- ongoing internal monitoring, data collection and review processes
- independent evaluation including qualitative interviews and feedback from stakeholders, and
- collaboration with industry research projects.

To measure its people-oriented goals, the organisation conducts interviews with students and staff every six months, to address individual progress, any significant

changes people may have experienced, and how the Studio has helped / could further help in achieving long-term outcomes for individuals.

There is no formalised "end point" for participation at the Studio. This reflects an organisational emphasis on providing meaningful and long-term support as opposed to short-term program delivery. This is important and differs from many other settlement support programs offered in Australia, which are often project-based and time relative. The Studio is also realistic about the fact that some students and staff will not be able to transition into a mainstream workplace/classroom due to major health and psychological barriers, and therefore offers ongoing participation for such individuals.

In addition to daily operations, The Social Studio has a broader focus on influencing public perception and opportunities for refugee communities beyond the immediate scope of the enterprise operations. This involves, for example, formal submissions to government inquiries, advocacy at relevant community forums and meetings, and staging public events that celebrate the talents of new and emerging migrant communities to the broader public. This also occurs through a strategic approach to media coverage with a view to communicating positive messages about the achievements of migrant community members and their capacities. Increased public awareness aims to address systemic settlement issues and discrimination and their impact on access to employment and education.

4.6: Financial model

The Social Studio has a diverse revenue base and currently generates 60% of its total income from sales across the café, retail shop, manufacturing, wholesale and digital printing operations. Educational and social support programs are supported by philanthropic grants. This ratio of funding to trading revenue is reflective of the enterprise model; which consists of both educational/social support programs and

enterprise/employment opportunities. Over the first three years of operation, income from sales overall at The Social Studio have grown significantly each year, and the Studio expects to see continued growth over the next five years, which would ultimately reduce the need for philanthropic funding to support the educational and social support programs.

Some of the key characteristics of The Social Studio's positioning in the market include a professional design profile and commercial appeal. This has been developed with collaboration from local designers, architects and industry professionals who have helped the Studio identify points of different and business strengths. The enterprise was timely in tapping into big changes in the market where consumers are looking for more ethical and sustainable choices.

4.7: Public recognition

- Inclusion in L'Oreal Melbourne Fashion Festival – Penthouse Mouse Showcase 2012
- Sustainable Design Award, Fashion Group International Awards 2011
- Small Business of the Year Award, Victorian Training Awards 2010
- Commended in the City of Yarra Sustainability Awards 2010
- Finalist in the Melbourne Awards 2010
- Inclusion in the major runway of Melbourne Spring Fashion Week 2011
- Public profile: The Social Studio mailing list has 450+ subscribers, the website averages 750+ hits per week, the Facebook page has 2500+ fans and fashion events receive good media publicity, e.g. *The Age*, The 7.30 Report, Industry magazines, etc.

4.8: Discussion and Conclusion

In the Social Studio a fashion label and café become the vehicle for creating tangible social outcomes for people who have experienced being a refugee prior to settling in Australia. The entrepreneurial aspect of the organisation is not simply a means to raise funds. The "business" actively facilitates social impact by generating employment and providing an engaging setting for education. Through successful positioning in the mainstream market, the enterprise also demonstrates to the wider public that refugee community members can make a substantial contribution to the community, and that ethical and sustainable production can be productive and viable.

Through active participation in the enterprise, staff and students have the opportunity to contribute to its development and character, which builds a sense of community ownership. This changes the dynamic of traditional social service delivery; moving away from a model where individuals are "being helped" to a context where individuals actively contribute to their own personal and professional development.

Nevertheless, the business aspects of the organisation also have potential to create stress for those involved, including staff and students, by increasing pressure to meet deadlines, maintain quality and productivity standards and work toward achieving sales targets. To prevent the impact these pressures may have on morale, the Studio prioritises people, community and social impact over commercial success. This involves a certain "critical distance" from traditional approaches to small business and a willingness to change the conventions of business. For example, the Studio works within the fashion industry at the same time as encouraging the industry to change – these changes include a focus on ethical and sustainable practices, drawing inspiration from craft and traditional design, and inviting active participation in the management and direction of the

business from community members who experience marginalization in the conventional art and business world.

One of the most interesting aspects of social enterprise is this potential to offer a dynamic form of social critique, at the same time as positively contributing to social and community development. Since its start-up, The Social Studio has shown a willingness to take on risk, both in management and at the Board level. At the same time, the enterprise has realistic goals and operates with a "slow" approach to business growth. Areas of future development include expanding manufacturing and clothing production and thereby employment opportunities within the Studio, along with increasing the scope and range of educational qualifications and pathways on offer. In terms of the application of The Social Studio's model in other contexts, a number of possibilities emerge.

There are many opportunities for larger businesses and arts organisations to create targeted employment and work experience opportunities for marginalized community members, with and without support from appropriate service providers. There is an increasing consumer demand for Australian-made produce, which indicates an opportunity to develop enterprise models that involve local manufacturing and create jobs for particular communities facing social disadvantage. The "creative economy" is seeing a growth in new businesses that focus on design, art, media and other forms of cultural production. This means there is scope for new social enterprises to emerge that focus on creative activity – indicating a shift from the traditional community enterprise model that often has often focused on manual labour and provision of civic services. Creative enterprises have the benefit of engaging participants through artistic activity that can also facilitate training and educational outcomes. This is of particular value for individuals experiencing lack of confidence with formal education.

One of the biggest challenges for The Social Studio is to maintain a productive balance between business interests and social support for staff and students.[119] This is a challenge that is negotiated in the enterprise on a daily and weekly basis and is at the forefront of weekly coordination, staff and student meetings. External support has been regularly solicited to support this process including management staff supervision, facilitated meetings, strategic problem solving and conflict resolution from senior managers at Foundation House and the Neighbourhood Justice Centre.

When balancing social and economic goals, it needs to be accepted that financial self-sustainability takes significant time to develop in the context of social enterprise. Managing commercial expenses including inner-city rent, business insurances, advertising and promotional costs are ongoing challenges that are necessary in order for enterprises to engage with the marketplace. Fundamental to the accessibility and commercial viability of The Social Studio, for example, is an inner-city location close to public transport and positioned in an area of busy retail trade. Realistic goals need to be set so that financial goals don't compromise the delivery of social support and education within a social enterprise setting.

In the context of these complexities, The Social Studio has navigated the difficult stages of start-up, development and consolidation. In order to achieve its objectives, the enterprise has maintained a deep connection with its local Melbourne context, and has strong involvement at all levels from members of the local refugee community. From this perspective The Social Studio management have made the decision not to franchise or replicate the model in other geographic areas, instead preferring to incubate local community projects that support microfinance opportunities for participants at the Studio. The medium-term focus of The Social Studio is to build employment opportunities through manufacturing, retail and sales internally, and to continually develop and improve individual

social outcomes for staff and students. However The Social Studio is interested in supporting other communities wishing to establish creative social enterprises. If the approach of The Social Studio is to be taken up by other communities, then the starting point for each project would be a framework of values and operating principles that reflect:

- community participation and ownership
- flexible and supportive training and employment options
- prioritising people over commercial aspects of enterprise
- utilising creativity and design to engage participants
- ethical decision making processes
- positioning the enterprise within the wider marketplace

This framework replaces the idea of a transferrable business "model."

In conclusion, The Social Studio has pioneered a model of creative enterprise based on the nexus between contemporary art and design. It aims to engage disenfranchised community members through an active contribution to the enterprise, and to use the creative process as a means to create larger social impact; both for participants and to influence perceptions in the wider community. It is not a simple model of social support, but rather a complex and nuanced project that works closely with the complexities that inform the lives of Melbourne's new migrant and refugee communities. The Social Studio embraces risk and has an unconventional approach to business in order to maximize social outcomes, and in this sense has many affinities with artistic movements from modernity that saw a revolutionary potential in the fusion of art and design, along with community arts projects that aim to create social benefit through arts practice, and individual artists whose work engages with social critique.

5. International Case Studies

5.1: Introduction

This chapter surveys creative social enterprises outside of Australia.[120] The purpose of the research was to gain an understanding of different organisational models, including the ratio of income generated from business and external funding, how these various models sustain their work over time, and how various financial imperatives impact on the social outcomes achieved for disadvantaged communities. The research encompassed a range of small and large social enterprises that aim to create meaningful social change in their local communities in both developed and developing economies including Cambodia, Uganda, Kenya, Ghana, the UK and USA, that share an interest in creating social benefit through creativity and entrepreneurship.

Art, design and craft enterprises are an accessible, organic and popular model for community development. They create social benefits including employment and educational outcomes, skill development and active community development in a wide range of contexts, using existing skills within local communities. This research demonstrates that creative social enterprises around the world are particularly effective in creating the following benefits to their communities:

- hope, confidence and a positive contribution to the community
- creative expression and cultural pride
- vocational training for people with low levels of education
- employment and pathways to further employment for people who face significant barriers to mainstream employment

The organisations studied in this chapter show great adaptability and flexibility in developing their models and a preparedness to allow for change according to changes in the economic and social climate. The most effective models are those that produce creative items using readily available materials and sell to a *local market*. A "slow" approach to business development, goal-setting, social impact and design seems to be valuable for creative social enterprises, which often have to work through teething issues and complexities in their first stages of start-up and development. Enterprises that involve staff, students and community members in management and vision-setting have much greater staff retention and social outcomes. Many social enterprises can benefit from professional development for their staff through internships and exchanges. Such professional development would enable talented staff to gain experience in other social and economic contexts and facilitate skills-sharing between enterprises.

The purpose of this research was to seek out creative projects that have innovative approaches to community development that share similarities with the unique social enterprise model of The Social Studio in Melbourne, a creative enterprise that supports young people from refugee backgrounds to gain qualifications and employment in the fashion, retail and hospitality industries. The model is unique in Australia, and offers potential strategies for other community groups to develop capacity through creatively engaged enterprise.

There is much interest in the potential for creative enterprises to address employment and educational needs for disadvantaged communities, and The Social Studio has been mentoring a number of projects in various stages of development in Melbourne, Sydney, Canberra and overseas. This indicates the opportunity for growth in this field, and the purpose of this research is to facilitate greater support for the development of new models of creative social enterprise. In order to achieve this, there is a need to gain knowledge about successful projects

internationally. Currently there are no equivalent enterprises in Australia. Meanwhile, the social enterprise sector is blossoming and there are many new social enterprises starting up. However without the knowledge and experience of more established organisations, many new ventures will struggle with operational issues that could otherwise be avoided.

This research was focused on learning about different social enterprise approaches to community development including strategies around education and employment, operating values and principles, financial models and approaches to achieving social impact. A key consideration of the research was the question of how to balance business and social interests in such enterprises. The programme included a variety of social businesses that use creativity to create employment and educational opportunities for their communities. In order to obtain relevant and useful information across the various projects, organisations and businesses included in this research, key staff in each organisation were asked to identify:

- strategies for success
- approaches to balancing the interests of people with business; and
- areas that need further resourcing.

This was the starting point for gaining a deeper understanding of their work, operational models and approach to community development.

5.2 Brief Description of Creative Social Enterprises Examined

5.2.1 Cambodia

Friends International, Phnom Penh
Disa Einarsdottir, Income Generation Projects Coordinator & Gustav Auer, Hospitality /Business Coordinator
Friends (Mith Samlanh) is a local organization working with Cambodian street children, their families and the community to develop creative projects that effectively support the children to become in independent and productive members of the community. From its brightly painted centre behind Friends the Restaurant, Mith Samlanh offers food, shelter, medical care, training and educational facilities for over hundreds of children each day. They have a number of income-generating social enterprise projects including fashion, craft, design and hospitality.

Keo'Kjay, Phnom Penh
Rachel Faller, Creative Director
KeoK'jay (meaning bright green or fresh, in Khmer) is a fair trade social enterprise that produces and retails a fashion label in order to create jobs for and empower women with HIV in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

Nyemo, Phnom Penh
Nhep Rotha, Executive Director
NYEMO is a local non-profit organization that provide vocational training, health programs and employment with a focus on the reintegration of vulnerable women with children and women living with HIV/AIDS.

Pour un Sourire d'Enfant (Smile of the Children), Phnom Penh

Pin Sarapich, Program Director

PSE believe that in order to get children out of poverty, education is a priority. They enable 4000 children to go to school and support 1500 youth to pursue vocational training. PSE has developed several different professional training schemes answering to the needs of employers. They offer 19 different training schemes in 8 schools.

5.2.2: Uganda

Sseko Designs, Kampala

Julie Beckstrom, Manager

Sseko Designs provides employment to young women in Kampala who are pursing education. They provide work during the 9 month gap between high school and university so that students can earn and save enough money to pay for college tuition. At the end of each term, Sseko Designs grants university scholarships that match up to 100% of the savings each woman has made during her employment.

Mango Tree Enterprises, Kampala

Guustaaf van de Mheen, Executive Director

Mango Tree offers creative design services to develop locally relevant teaching resources. Their client base is primarily NGOs and government organizations. Services include; strategic design, graphic design, illustration, curriculum development, situational analysis, writing & editing, translation, product testing and training of trainers. Their mission is "to empower Africa with the best educational tools possible."

Roses of Mbuya, Kampala

Richard Kilonzo, Youth Programs

Rose of Mbuya started in 2003, and is a fashion based social enterprise teaching tailoring and providing employment to HIV women accessing services at the local NGO Reach Out. Their aim is "to be a creative, profitable, well-known source of beautiful artifacts, ornaments, and apparels, to generate income for Reach Out and its community."

Women of Kireka, Kampala

Hadijah Nankanja, Business Manager

Women of Kireka is a women's cooperative group based in Kireka, Wakiso District in Kampala, Uganda that produces jewellery and accessories using recycled materials. By providing business skills training, added capital and a resilient peer group, Women of Kireka has been helping members gain economic independence and life skills.

5.2.3: Ghana

Dzidefo Women's Cooperative, Kpando

Mama Esi, Head of the Women's Cooperative

The Dzidefo Women's Cooperative is a small textile cooperative that was established in January 2008. The cooperative operates out of the Ryvanz-Mia Orphanage and includes ten women from the Volta Region of Ghana who make toddler clothing, home accessories (such as laundry bags and cushion covers), and school uniforms for children in need.

Osei-Duro, Accra

Molly Keogh and Maryann Mathias, Founders

Osei-Duro is a fashion business that operates from the US and produces their clothing range in Ghana using local producers, with a focus on sustainability and international development.

5.2.4: United Kingdom

Mayamiko Trust, London

Paola Masperi, Chairperson and Lauren Solomon, Business Manager

Mayamiko is a UK based charity working in Malawi, Africa to develop communities through skills training and employment in clothing production for international designers. They started in 2008 with a focus on HIV affected women. They produce a small range of children's wear and they manufacture for overseas designers, as well as providing training in clothing production.

GoodOne, London UK

Nin Castle, Founder / Creative Director

GoodOne is an award winning independent fashion label that emphasises design and collaboration with larger fashion brands. They believe that an intelligent approach to design should address the environmental impact of the fashion industry and specialise in "up-cycling"; combining new fabrics with reclaimed textiles.

Who Made Your Pants, Southampton, UK

Becky John, Founder

Who Made Your Pants? is a lingerie brand based in Southampton, UK. They are a women's cooperative who create products using reclaimed fabrics and in the process create jobs for women, particularly those from migrant communities, who've experienced social disadvantage. Their profits go back into the business to support training and staff.

Ethical Fashion Forum

Georgie Wells, Fellowship Coordinator

The Ethical Fashion Forum is an industry body focused on promoting sustainable fashion, both in the UK and overseas. EFF aims to make it easy for fashion professionals to integrate sustainability into their business. Membership of the EFF delivers support for fashion businesses towards sustainability.

5.2.5: United States of America

Reciprocity Foundation, New York

Taz Tagore and Adam Bucko, Co-founders

Reciprocity Foundation work with young people aged 15-23 years who identify as: youth of colour and youth who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT). Their programs operate through youth homeless shelters and foster care agencies and their main success has been in engaging youth through media and arts projects, which is integrated with counselling and holistic health services to develop skills for managing stress.

Women's World Banking, New York

Jane Sloane, Vice President of Development

Women's World Banking is a microfinance network of 39 financial organizations from 27 countries with an explicit focus on women. These finance institutions provide small loans to women to start their businesses. Women's World Banking also advocates for the rights of women to start their own businesses and have equal access to finance around the world.

No Longer Empty

Naomi Hersson-Ringskog, Executive Director

No Longer Empty's core mission is to widen the public engagement for contemporary art, to promote the work of socially-conscious artists, and to demonstrate the capacity of art to revitalize communities. They present site specific, public art exhibitions in the heart of communities, with the goal to positively impact on these communities by creating a welcoming and accessible cultural hub. No Longer Empty aims to use the vitality of the contemporary art world to build community.

5.3. Analysis of International Creative Social Enterprises

5.3.1: Cambodia

In Cambodia several projects that use craft and design to generate income for
disadvantaged communities and also to support the operational costs of local NGO
were examined. There was a clear divide among these organisations between those
that aligned themselves with the idea of "charity," and those that aligned
themselves with the idea of "business." This was an ongoing theme among the
many enterprises that were visited in other parts of the world, with an approximate
split of half identifying more with their social mission, and half identifying more
with the idea of good business.

In Cambodia, all the projects shared a similar mission; to create income
streams for families, particularly women, that would help support the costs of
sending children to school. One of the most successful, and well established
projects in Cambodia is Mith Samlanh, known as "Friends' in English, which has
been operating for 18 years and now has operations in Vietnam and Laos. Friends
is a secular organisation that begin by working with street children in Phnom Penh.
As they describe, "From its brightly painted center behind Friends the Restaurant,
Mith Samlanh offers food, shelter, medical care, training and educational facilities
for over 1,800 homeless, vulnerable or abandoned children each day." Two
different project managers were interviewed during the visit; Disa Einarsdottir
who looks after the craft and design projects, and Gustav Auer who coordinates
their hospitality programs and who has been involved with the organization since
its inception.

The big success story of Friends has been its hospitality training program
which is based in the successful Friends restaurants in Phnom Penh and Siem

Riep. This program provides training to 125 trainees per year in Cambodia, and in Laos they have an additional 25 trainees. One of the strengths of the program's sustainability and viability has been its education focus; trainees are not employed to work in the restaurants – instead, they learn vocational skills while on-the-job and then are supported to obtain employment in the field. The growth in tourism in Cambodia has helped with a huge increase in employment opportunities in restaurants and hotels. This aspect of the Friends model is self-sustaining and doesn't rely on funding or grants. As a result, they are looking to expand and replicate the model through a new project called the TREE Alliance, which aims to mentor new projects overseas.

The craft and design aspect of the organization is more recent and is still in development. They currently have 200 women in Cambodia, Thailand and Laos who produce accessories and jewellery from recycled materials, most working from home. This is beneficial as it means they can balance work with raising children, they don't have to worry about transportation issues and they can source materials locally by up-cycling food packaging and newspapers. Each producer is paid a monthly stipend to supply products, and in return for this they sign a contract that ensures they will send their children to school. The ethos is to support the families of children considered "at risk" of homelessness, in order to support their education.

It was clear that demand for employment far outweighs the capacity of the organisation, and this puts a lot of pressure on staff to be increasing revenue streams and sales of products. While the tourist market is growing in Cambodia, competition at local markets is fierce and there is not an established local market for fashion and design products. They trailed a stand-alone retail shop in another location in Phnom Penh, however it wasn't viable and as a result they had to close it down. Currently they sell through markets and at their headquarters which has a

retail shop attached. They are now wanting to expand sales and looking at further options for widening distribution including the potential of online sales. This would ideally need resourcing in terms of extra marketing and sales staff, a theme that came up consistently in discussions with other social enterprises.

KeoK'jay, by contrast, is a social enterprise in Phnom Penh that aligns itself with the idea of "good business" and focuses on creating meaningful employment for locals in clothing manufacturing, through the sale of clothing from their fashion label. They focus less on addressing social issues in the community, and more on quality of design and production. They are selling products in Cambodia and also in the US. This business focus has developed as a result of disillusionment with the traditional NGO approach to social enterprise, which they believe suffers from a number of problems including; lack of financial viability, design that is influenced by tourist market instead of responding to Cambodian talent and is not "fashion-forward", lack of investment in quality design making products un-marketable, and a lack of innovation.

In Cambodia a large source of employment is in garment manufacturing. For the most part, factories are employing people in poor conditions with unethical practices and low wages. This means there is great opportunity for social businesses to invest in competing with garment manufacturing, to create real jobs and real change for the local economy. They also see opportunity in incubating local design talent by teaching fashion at universities in Phnom Penh, which is currently not on offer.

KeoK'jay is certainly one of the only local enterprises with a focus on larger scale manufacturing, as opposed to small-scale craft and design produce. Rather than subcontracting work to home-workers, Keo'Kjay creates jobs and provides ongoing employment to approximately 16 workers in a central workshop. The workshop is a place where people can socialize and work together and build

confidence. They believe that the expectation for disadvantaged community members in Cambodia to run their own businesses is unrealistic. This raises an important concern about the interest in microfinance as a tool for community development; is it encouraging unsustainable small business?

KeoK'jay sells clothing through two shops in Cambodia which generate 80% of the income of the business. They also export accessories and this provides the remainder of their income. They believe their strength lies in their business model – because they don't rely on funding, they have to work harder to develop the business, innovate and grow. While they currently focus on producing two collections per year, they are looking to redevelop the business to expand their manufacturing base to start producing for international designers.

At the other end of the business/charity spectrum was Nyemo, a hybrid social enterprise that includes two restaurants, three shops and a small boutique hotel providing tourist accommodation. They have a similar model to Friends, however their focus is on the reintegration of vulnerable women with children (mostly those living in slum areas) and women living with HIV/AIDS. Their interest was not in developing the business in order to create social impact, but rather generating "gap funding" for their social programs. They are realistic and don't expect to achieve self-sufficiency for their work, and instead seek funding from a mix of donors.

They have a general support program which offers access to social support and education on health including domestic violence, HIV, health care and social services. They work with approximately 40-50 women a month, however there is a high transition rate, and this is reflective of the population they work with. They also have a six-month vocational training program that includes sewing, jewellery-making and cooking. Nyemo doesn't offer direct employment, however they do subcontract the production of craft items, jewellery and clothing; which is similar

to the Friends model. They act as a job service agency and assist people to find employment. Of those that commit to the vocational training program, Nyemo quotes an 80% success rate in placing trainees into employment.

An important aspect of their organisational model is its local focus; they are Cambodian-led, registered and managed. Success in product sales has greatest through export, rather than selling to the local market. They also produce specific items for clients. Local competition has been an issue, particularly with other NGOs producing similar design objects and craft items for sale – this was a widespread issue in Cambodia.

A rather different approach to vocational training and community development was evident at Smile of the Children (PSE), a remarkable project that does not identify itself as a social enterprise. Nevertheless it shares many similarities with Friends and Nyemo, providing vocational training and employment opportunities to youth and their families as a means to support the needs of children in school. The primary focus of PSE is education for disadvantaged children living in a particular slum on the outskirts of Phnom Penh. Their site encompasses a school offering education to primary and secondary level students, along with a medical centre and vocational training centre. The programs are supported with dedicated social workers and all children receive free food as part of their involvement. There are more than 1000 students involved in the programs.

In addition to direct service provision, they also work in the wider community to encourage students to integrate into the Cambodian education system. Students who have never studied are placed into a 2-year accelerated course to assist their transition into school. Examples of other community projects include a housing development to support the needs of children who are homeless,

a specialized program for disabled children, and scholarships for students who are enrolled in public schools.

Of particular interest was the extensive vocational programs that were fun and creative and included a hairdressing salon, beauty studio, sewing workshop, cafe, and other industrial trades. Their main site includes a training restaurant that serves lunch to the public. PSE was proud of their community development focus and were very wary of combining "business" with training. They were concerned that the financial imperatives of running a business could impact negatively on the quality of training and social programs, and this is why they don't align themselves with the idea of social enterprise. Revenue from the training restaurant and other vocational programs only contributes a small part of the organisation's total budget – the rest is supported through philanthropy.

In spite of this, they are developing more employment streams within the organisation including clothing production, in order to help generate income for families with children in school. For example, they subcontract work to women who have trained at the centre and now work from home. They provide local employment to 500 people across teaching, social work, admin and other operational positions.

5.3.2: Uganda

The next part of the research was carried out in Africa. There are a number of creative "hubs" in Africa where social enterprise is blooming; of particular interest for this research were a number of fashion and design based projects in Kenya, Uganda and Ghana who have established networks and profiles both locally and internationally.[121] Kampala was a bustling urban centre, with a constant stream of traffic, people, and activity day and night. In spite of recent and rapid

development, poverty and crime rates are very high and health is a major area of concern for local residents, with Malaria and HIV two of the predominant epidemics impacting on wellbeing of the communities.

Sseko Designs and Mango Tree Enterprises were two, very different, expatriate-led organizations working to create employment for local Ugandans through for-profit social business models. Sseko Designs is a sandal production company that sells to a predominately US and international market. They currently employ 35 staff in production, and half of these employees are young women working to support their school and University fees. For these girls, 50% of their salary each month goes into a savings account that is not accessible until tuition is due, and at the end of the nine-month program, Sseko matches a proportion of the savings each woman has made. The other half of their employees work for Sseko exclusively, and this ensures they have relevant skills for maintaining production quality and speed.

The initial business model had a transient workforce of students only, making production efficiency and quality problematic. Over time they adjusted this model to respond to the business needs. They identified a number of issues in the early stages including budgeting, business systems and quality issues that led to them adopting a more business-oriented structure. For example, they no longer provide staff loans or allowances. While these changes created some difficulties for long-term staff, overall they feel it has been positive. Sales have grown significantly over the last year and currently Sseko is so busy they can barely meet demand in US. They produce 130 pairs of sandals per day and 2000 per month. They are producing for 125 retailers in the US and worldwide. This growth occurred through an aggressive sales plan where the business owners travelled throughout the US to find stockists.

Current challenges relate to the lack of infrastructure in East Africa. They need more support and networks in business locally. For example, they find it difficult to locate good suppliers and technicians, and would like to build up partnerships in the industry to support this knowledge gap. Their advice for other social businesses is to focus on business structure in order to manage staff efficiently. They also emphasised the need to seek advice and listen to people.

Mango Tree had a similar journey to Sseko, with a gradual transition from a more socially focus organisation to a more efficient and successful business model. Mango Tree began twelve years ago as a nonprofit initiative to support development in Uganda. Mango Tree offers creative design services to develop locally relevant teaching resources. Their client base is primarily NGOs and government organizations. Services include; strategic design, graphic design, illustration, curriculum development, situational analysis, writing & editing, translation, product testing and training of trainers. Their mission is "to empower Africa with the best educational tools possible."

In 2004, Mango Tree became an employee-owned, private limited company with a vision to grow and expand. They currently have 35 staff and have experienced growth of 100% over the last four years. At the moment, their income covers their running costs, without much of a margin. To address this, they plan to grow a further 30% through marketing and exporting their services to other African nations. They are self-funded apart from one amount of philanthropic funding that covers the salary of the Executive Director, Guustaaf van de Mheen. This is an investment in their growth, as Guustaaf has ambitious plans to develop the efficiency and potential of the business. Growth will occur through a collaborative approach to development – working with partnering NGOs and government. They see opportunities in the African economy, and plan draw on the strengths of their in-house consultative skills.

Gustaaf attributes the business success of Mango Tree to some key strategies around recruitment, staffing and service delivery. They aim to recruit the best and most professional staff possible and make them accountable. As a result, staff are loyal and believe in the business. They have shifted from focusing on the community need toward more of a client focus, which reflects a philosophy that running a great business is the best way to achieve social benefits for staff and the broader community. They describe this as focusing on people "who can help" rather than those "who need help". They suggest social businesses work from the point of view of the demand for their products and services, building up a good business and then focusing on social impact as a result of business success.

An interesting aspect of the Mango Tree enterprise is their focus on creativity and design in the context of consultancy. The value of their product lies in the creativity, ideas and knowledge of staff, rather than raw materials. In terms of employment, they have an equal mix of local Ugandan staff and European expatriates. Because they are primarily self-funded and business-focused, they don't worry about evaluating impact and prefer instead to focus on sales and business. Volunteer resourcing is not a priority as this takes away from their core work.

In terms of what support they need for their next stage of development, they are interested in professional development for their staff, particularly Ugandan professionals. They recommend internships for talented staff to gain experience in overseas organisations and businesses, and skills sharing between social businesses. This was an idea that emerged a number of times with other projects that were visited. Mango Tree are at a point where they don't need much in terms of internal resourcing, however they are interested in developing their networks; for example high profile corporate ambassadors, networking with venture capitalists, promotion of the business to NGOs and government.

As a counterpoint to visiting Sseko, and Mango Tree, both of which identify with the idea of "good business," and both of which have an expatriate-led management structure, the investigation moved to a couple of more grass-roots and locally managed enterprises. It was interesting to note that locally-led enterprises in Kampala had more of a social and community development focus. This was evident in the work of two design co-operatives, Roses of Mbuya and Women of Kireka**.**

Roses of Mbuya started in 2003. It is a fashion-based social enterprise teaching tailoring and providing employment in clothing manufacture. The initiative is part of the local NGO Reach Out, who provide HIV/AIDS care in impoverished areas of Kampala, Uganda. Reach Out is 98% donor funded. The aim of Roses is "to be a creative, profitable, well-known source of beautiful artifacts, ornaments, and apparels, to generate income for Reach Out and its community."

They currently have a team of 15 older women working in manufacturing, who are HIV affected. The women receive a stipend and piece-rates as an incentive to increase production and quality. Profits from the business are used to support school fees for HIV affected children, particularly those orphaned because of HIV. At the moment the Roses enterprise supports 64 children in school.

They have a fashion design label and home-wares range, however the majority of their work comes from orders of school uniforms and industrial work clothes. Like their NGO counterparts in Cambodia, Roses find the balance between business and supporting people difficult, particularly when it comes to managing quality and consistency in production. Due to their support of vulnerable older women, they have found it hard to initiate change and implement new business ideas - change is difficult to negotiate with their staff, who prefer stability

and continuity. Roses is interested in developing the business through marketing and in particular increasing sales on the international market.

Women of Kireka had many similarities to Roses of Mbuya, however it not connected with a local NGO. Instead it is an independent women's cooperative group based in Kireka, Wakiso District (a slum area). This means that it has a much more grass-roots approach, and is flexible and adaptive in its model. At the moment, the Women of Kireka produce jewellery and accessories using recycled materials, which have a lot of stylistic affinities with the craft and design products of Nyemo and Friends International in Cambodia. They support this design and production with business skills training, which is part of a broader goal to help women gain economic independence and life skills.

The organisation started as a non-profit cooperative with the assistance of an expatriate community development worker. In 2009 they worked with Project Diaspora to re-develop the model and in 2011 the business was handed over to the women and is now a Ugandan-run, for-profit business. Currently there are 14 women involved. They sell their products online and overseas, and locally at markets. They have the capacity to produce a high volume of products however the demand is currently low. In addition to design and craft products, they are incubating other business ideas including a restaurant to service workers at the local quarry and a mushroom farming concept.

At the time of the research undertaken here, the women were working from one member's home, and it was clear that the peer support and social aspect of their project gave them a lot of hope and confidence for the future; in the face of extreme poverty, disease and hardship they gather together to design and create a variety of products, along with developing proactive business concepts. Even with low returns and slow development, the enterprise is providing clear social benefits to those involved. At the moment the women are at somewhat of a "cross-roads,"

hoping to adjust the model to see them operating as more of an incubator for small business. Their organisational growth depends on access to finance so they can pursue and implement some ambitious and entrepreneurial ideas.

5.3.3: Ghana

From Uganda the next region investigated in the research was West Africa, inn another hub of creative design and social enterprise; Ghana. An initial part of the research carried out in the capital city, Accra, involved visiting design and craft markets and social enterprises in the city including Global Mamas, an established fashion business selling women's, men's and children's wear using locally designed fabrics. It was clear that the tourist market is more established in Ghana, which has experienced a greater degree of stability and development over the last several decades compared to Uganda.

The main purpose of the trip to Ghana was to visit a sewing cooperative called Dzifedo who have manufactured for a number of well-known international designers including US fashion label Osei-Duro, who were also interviewed. The co-operative was established in January 2008 by a local Ghanaian woman, known as "Mama Esi", and operates from an orphanage also established by Mama Esi called Ryvanz-Mia Orphanage.

The business was developed with support from a volunteer-organisation called Village Volunteers who have facilitated skilled volunteer exchanges to help develop skills and also provide international links for manufacturing and sales. The orphanage and sewing studio is located in the town Kpando, which is about four hours out of Accra. This means that sale and distribution of products has been difficult, particularly as transportation by road is difficult.

Dzidefo includes ten women from the Volta Region of Ghana who manufacture garments for international designers and also produce and sell a small range of children's clothing, home-wares and school uniforms. There are currently nine women working in the cooperative. They use locally designed and printed Ghanaian cotton, employing traditional design techniques include batik-dyeing and woodblock prints. The raw cotton is quite expensive, and this has an impact on the business model. They prefer to make smaller products that use less fabric, which also reduces labour time. Children's wear and bags have been the best products for them from this point of view.

It is a big challenge for Dzidefo to compete on the local market, as many of the local products are imported from overseas at very cheap prices, or donated/on-sold at very cheap prices. Access to the tourist market is nearly impossible due to the distance from Kpando to the capital city, Accra. Postage is extremely expensive and this limits the capacity for the group to sell direct to overseas clients. This means they rely on overseas volunteers to provide contract work for them, and to visit and take products for sale overseas. With assistance in marketing and sales, and distribution (both locally and internationally), they would be able to develop the business significantly in order to sell their products in tourist markets and retail shops in Accra, reducing their reliance on volunteers and international clients. The quality of their products, and in particular the vibrancy of their fabric prints, sets a great foundation for their potential to develop and widen their market.

One of Dzidefo's previous manufacturing clients was fashion label Osei-Duro, which was established by US designers Maryanne Mathias and Molly Keogh. Osei-Duro works across the US and also Ghana, and is similar to Sseko Design in Uganda in its hybrid or cross-continental approach to social business. The relationship between Dzidefo and Osei-Duro was short-lived, however, due to issues with distance, meeting deadlines and also quality control. Despite these

challenges, Osei-Duro continue to work with cottage industries in Accra, including individual makers and textile artisans.

Their business aims to support international development in Ghana at the same time as operating successfully in the fashion market. Like Sseko, they have adjusted their model over time to prioritise the health of the business first, and then build in social and community development projects as a result of business success – this may include in the future, for example, scholarships and training programs. As a for-profit model, they don't feel a need to evaluate their impact and instead focus on running an effective business. They work with approximately 20 makers in Ghana, which is providing a meaningful source of income to the local community, and indirectly creates benefits for other local producers and artisans who supply to their makers. They have developed the model organically, with slow and steady growth over the last couple of years, which they attribute to an increase in design, quality and profile.

This "slow design" approach seems to be useful in the context of social enterprise, which often has to work through teething issues and complexities in the first stages of start-up and development. Another of their key strengths is the integration of Ghanaian aesthetics in their design, which draws upon the talents of local artisans who have skills in textile design, embroidery, crochet and other finishing techniques. Osei-Duro are now at a point of financial sustainability, and are developing their studio space, production capacity and marketing plans for continued growth. There is no doubt that their success relates to their positioning and networks in the US market, where the designers are based. It is much harder for locals to develop and implement business ideas that target an international market.

These hybrid models – those that work across developed and developing nations – seem to be effective in producing affordable products for an international

market and building a viable business model. However due to their reliance on an international (and predominantly Western) audience, they do not necessary engage and empower local communities to run their own enterprises in the same way as smaller, more grass-roots projects. The price-points and design of many fashion products are not suitable for local markets, and this leads to a dependence on international business managers / salespeople / designers to facilitate sales. As many such individuals work from overseas, this can be hard to maintain over time and raises questions of sustainability. There is no doubt, however, that these enterprises create meaningful employment outcomes through their work, and raise the profile of the craft, design and skills of artisans and local makers.

Projects that focus on developing products for a local market, by contrast, may be more sustainable in creating community development outcomes. This was evident for example in the manufacturing work of Roses of Mbuya and some of the new business concepts of the Women of Kireka (including mushroom farming and restaurants for workers in remote locations). Such projects, however, require initial finance. The advantage of design, art and craft based business models is that they are based on existing skills, creativity and resources and therefore require less investment to start and sustain their work. In this sense, probably the most effective models in a developing-world context are creative products that use cheaper/ recycled materials and sell to *locals*; this was evident in the children's wear of Dzidefo and the fashion items of Roses of Mbuya.

5.3.4: United Kingdom

The next part of the research involved the United Kingdom, an investigation of another cross-continental fashion business, Mayamiko, along with two models of UK-based social enterprise, Who Made Your Pants and Good One, businesses that aim to address local or UK-based social problems including unemployment and

environmental sustainability. The Ethical Fashion Forum also gave great insight into developments in the European market for social and ethical design businesses.

Mayamiko Trust is a UK based charity that has established a fashion business in Malawi, Africa, to develop communities through skills training and employment in clothing production. They started in 2008 with a focus on HIV affected women. Their initial aim was to source local cotton in order to design and manufacture 100% Malawian products, similar to Dzidefo. However they quickly realized that this was logistically impossible due to a lack of local infrastructure for the harvesting and manufacturing of cotton fabric. They also hoped to be able to sell locally, however there is virtually no purchasing power in Malawi, resulting in a reliance on UK and European clients for manufacturing and sales.

Over the last two years they have responded to these issues by shifting their focus to tourism and export. They produce a small range of children's wear (10% of their output) which supplements the majority of their work which involves manufacturing for overseas designers (90% of their output). Mayamiko started with a non-profit model, however they decided to separate the fashion enterprise from the charity early on in their development as a way to manage the risks of the business more carefully. Community development is nonetheless an important priority for them, and this is evident for example in their emphasis on vocational training. Mayamiko currently provide the equivalent of TAFE Level 1 training in production to approximately 10 students per year, who also have the opportunity to work in the enterprise.

Future growth for Mayamiko will happen slowly and in accordance with the development of local infrastructure in Malawi, including improvements in electricity supply, affordability of petrol and access to equipment and materials. Their immediate priorities include developing the quality of their production so that clients seek them out as a reliable business. They are wary of being perceived

as a "charity" from a fashion market point of view, and this was a concern that was echoed by a number of the fashion projects, including KeoK'jay in Cambodia and Osei-Duro in Ghana. Like other hybrid models, they have developed policies and procedures to manage staff expectations, productivity, client timelines, and quality control.

After examining a great variety of projects focusing on social enterprise in the developing world, the attention of the research turned to social enterprises with a focus on social engagement in an urban, developed context – with an eye to discovering some strategies that could be beneficial for the Australian social enterprise context, and which might likewise benefit projects in developing countries that empower local communities to be self-sufficient.

GoodOne is a successful fashion label in the UK that uses up-cycled fabric remnants, along with new fabrics, to create popular collections that can be produced for a mass market. The business started in 2006 with a sustainable ethos, using only recycled garments as source material for new designs. The model quickly changed, however, in response to practical issues. The use of entirely post-consumer fabric made it difficult to scale their production to meet consumer demand. As a result, they decided to work with a mix of recycled and new fabrics to enable better design and to facilitate greater production quantities. This coincided with sponsorship by a big-brand online retailer Aesthetica, which led to fast growth in their business.

In terms of their "social business" ethos, they prioritise quality design at the expense of a purist approach to environmental sustainability. They believe this pragmatism will ultimately create a greater social return – because if they work on a larger scale they will ultimately support recycling of larger volumes of fashion waste, and they will have a greater influence on the "high street" fashion market. Influencing other large fashion businesses to be sustainable is an important part of

their mission. So far the strategy has resulted in business success. They have collaborated with large companies including Tesco and Top Shop to produce small collections featuring recycled fabrics. These collections have included, for example, the design of 10 pieces to be manufactured in units of 5000. They believe that such collaboration has a greater impact than selling smaller quantities of clothing in individual boutiques.

Partly in response to these ideas, GoodOne has adapted its model to incorporate consultancy, strategic advice and contract-based design rather than working to the fashion industry's standard of seasonal collections. Their ethos around sustainability also includes an interest in the idea of "slow fashion", which involves creating long-lasting and trans-seasonal products, rather than producing a constant stream of new, trend-based and quickly dated fashion items (the standard modus operandi of the fashion industry).

The expense of producing in the UK has become an increasing issue – which relates to competition with other brands who produce cheaply off-shore. This is an endemic issue in clothing manufacture in the UK, Europe, the US and Australia, leading to a massive decline in manufacturing and rising unemployment in the textile industry in these countries. GoodOne have responded by developing a new business in Eastern Europe, where manufacturing costs are lower, to support their growing production. The business concept emerged out of an exchange program that brought a seamstress from Bulgaria to work with them for one year, who now has the skills to help them establish a new facility. Nin Castle, the creative director and founder, expressed much frustration with the fashion industry and this helps to explain her focus on large-scale impact. She is also interested in public education programs to raise awareness about environmental sustainability in the wider community.

These frustrations with the fashion industry are the motivation behind the social enterprise Who Made Your Pants?, a fun and clever lingerie brand based in Southampton which has been operating since 2010. Who Made Your Pants? sell thousands of units per year through online and direct-to-customer sales, creating employment and training opportunities for local migrant women in the Southampton area. The business model is a cooperative with limited membership and they have an exclusive focus on supporting women.

With a fantastic marketing and branding strategy, the business has been very successful and after two years is close to being financially self-sustaining, although they still operate close to their margins. The concepts of ethical production and environmental sustainability, along with a local focus, have been an integral part of their brand messaging. They position themselves as a "good business" rather than a charity, and in this sense align with KeoK'Jay, Sseko and Osei-Duro in pitching to a fashion and design audience. Their approach also has many similarities to Mango Tree, with an emphasis on professionalism in their business structure and high expectations of employees in the workplace. And like Mango Tree, they believe that if businesses operate in a responsible and sustainable manner, they will create meaningful social outcomes for their communities, regardless of their claims to be "social" or otherwise.

5.3.5: United States of America

The last part of the research involved enterprises in the USA, with a focus on arts organizations operating in socially and economically disadvantaged areas of New York. A number of organizations working in community development were examined, including, for example, No Longer Empty, a project that introduces temporary exhibitions and workshops to disadvantaged areas in the Bronx and Brooklyn in order to stimulate development, and Flux Factory, an arts incubator

located in Queens that provides artist residencies and generates employment through workshops.

Of particular interest was the investigation of Reciprocity Foundation, who had started as a social enterprise and nonprofit organization in 2004 before making the decision to wind-up the social enterprise in 2010. This decision reflected a disillusionment with the impact of "enterprise" on their youth programs, and the research aimed to learn from their experiences. While there is much excitement about the potential of social enterprise to successfully address community needs such as employment and vocational training, there are an equal number of instances of social enterprises that fail due to financial pressures and inadequate resourcing.

Reciprocity Foundation work with young people aged 15-23 years who identify as either youth of colour, or lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT). They focus on those who are at high risk of dropping out of school, have difficulty obtaining employment, and have dependency on the human service system. Their programs operate through youth homeless shelters and foster care agencies and their main success has been in engaging youth through media and arts projects, which they combine with counselling and holistic health services to manage stress.

When they first started the idea was for the social enterprise to provide income for their youth programs and employment for youth through art, design and media projects. Products included, for example, screen-printed tote bags, t-shirts, merchandise and fashion items. The difficulties of running the business, however, started to impact negatively on their ability to resource their youth support programs, working against the original premise of the enterprise. As a result they decided to reposition their organizational focus as a charity and let go of the enterprise branch of their work. They have no regrets about their restructure,

and in fact their youth programs have grown from strength to strength since they have had time and resources to focus on program delivery. As a result they warn non-profits to think carefully before establishing social enterprises unless they have significant internal resourcing to support the business development.

This is particularly problematic for charities that start social enterprises as a means to generate income; the premise that social enterprises will create income is questionable, as social enterprises often need financial support for several years before becoming sustainable, let alone providing profits to support other aspects of the organisation's work. If the enterprise delivers social benefits through its operations; for example employment and vocational training, then this should be the primary objective, rather than generating income for other projects.

The final part of the research included a meeting with Women's World Banking, a microfinance network of 39 financial organizations from 27 countries with an explicit focus on women. The focus of their work was to encourage finance institutions to provide small loans to women to start their businesses. In this way, they advocate for the rights of women to start their own businesses and have equal access to finance around the world. They show great belief in the potential of small business and social enterprise to create meaningful social change in communities, however they are realistic that many barriers need to be addressed on local levels in order to make such initiatives possible.

5.4. Conclusion

Art, design and craft enterprises provide accessible, organic and popular vehicles to create employment and educational outcomes in a wide range of contexts. They are particularly useful in the context of social enterprise because they require minimal technology, can capitalize on existing skills and have the capacity to start

small and develop slowly. Creative social enterprises around the world are particularly effective in creating the following benefits to their communities:

- hope, confidence and a positive contribution to the community
- creative expression and cultural pride
- education and vocational training
- employment and pathways to further employment

Co-operatives are a popular business model for locally owned projects, whereas for-profit models are favoured by larger-scale and internationally focused enterprises. Approximately half of the enterprises examined align themselves with the idea of "charity," with a primary focus on achieving social benefits, and the other half prefer to associate with idea of "good business," from which social benefits follow.

In both cases, managing the balance between developing business and supporting people is highly complex for social enterprises. Those that create the greatest social impact for disadvantaged communities inevitably have issues in managing quality and consistency in production, whereas those that create the most financially sustainable models tend to have a reduced focus on addressing social disadvantage.

It was interesting to note that the enterprises with more of a business focus were not interested in measuring or evaluating their social impact, and similarly did not feel that volunteer resourcing was useful or effective. There was a strong interest among many enterprises for professional development for their staff through placements and exchanges in other enterprises and businesses. This would enable talented staff to gain experience in other contexts and would also facilitate skills sharing between enterprises.

Across the board, creative social enterprises have shown great adaptability and flexibility in developing their models. This involves an embrace of calculated risk and a continuing preparedness to allow for change, including growth, restructure and downsizing according to changes in the economic and social climate. There is a strong need for extra marketing and sales resources for many of the projects that were visited; particularly to assist with mid-term development and the pursuit of self-sufficiency.

Focusing on quality of products and services is extremely important. This can easily be overlooked because of a focus on community need and social problems rather than client demand. Social enterprises aiming to sell to a "fashion" market do not benefit from marketing themselves as "charities"; however craft and design products, home-wares and manufacturing models benefit from marketing their social purpose. Aggressive sales and marketing plans based on the "social mission" in these cases are effective.

Selling to a local market is much more sustainable and effective for social enterprises than pitching to an international market, particularly in the initial years of development. Integrating the talents and skills of local communities is a great strategy for building pride and ownership in social enterprise; and also makes for faster and easier product development as skills are pre-existing and staff need less training.

Non-profit organizations that are interested in social enterprise need to think carefully about how the enterprise will support their mission and community goals; it is highly unlikely that a new venture will generate income to support their existing work, however it can certainly create meaningful employment, educational and community development outcomes.

Projects that focus on education rather than employment, for example those that provide vocational training and help people find jobs, have a more difficult

time maintaining productivity and quality control in their business operations. In this sense an educational focus is better suited to a non-profit model that has less imperative to maintain speed and efficiency in production. Such models, particularly those that address extreme disadvantage, require funding to support their work and to account for the impact of prioritizing people over productivity and business efficiency.

A "slow" approach to business development, goal-setting, social impact and design seems to be valuable for creative social enterprises, which often have to work through teething issues and complexities in their first stages of start-up and development. Social enterprises are most effective at creating benefits for their communities when they prioritise people and have ethical decision-making processes in place. This includes actively involving staff, students and community members in the management of the enterprise.

In terms of application to the Australian context, this research provides useful knowledge for the social enterprise community. Creative social enterprises have great potential to create meaningful social benefits including education, employment and community engagement, particularly for disadvantaged communities who face barriers to employment and lack prior education. It was clear that the effective development of such projects require funding and investment, particularly where their focus is on education. Social enterprises in their early stages of development can greatly benefit from professional development opportunities such as internships and exchanges for key staff to learn from other organisations. Focusing on projects that address local needs, use readily available materials and engage with a local market will enable more sustainable models of social enterprise. This also helps to empower communities to manage, implement and lead projects that facilitate pride, engagement and sustainable community development.

6. Conclusions

This project set out to understand the relationship between art, money and society at the broad level but also to investigate some new initiatives in the nexus between these three realms, focusing particularly on the emergence of the creative social enterprise. Although the project spent significant time and resources on investigating the social enterprise model, as the research has shown, there are many other types of initiatives that show promise as innovative solutions to some of the problems faced by individuals and organisations who see a social role for funding, and particularly private funding, of the visual arts. In focusing on the social enterprise model the project has aimed to establish what some of the benefits and pitfalls are of this particular model for the creative sector in the contemporary climate.

The methodology of the project was three-fold. A literature review in the history and contemporary features of the relationship between art, money and society was undertaken to discover what previously published research in this field had established. This was followed by a roundtable with industry stakeholders to gather the contemporary, working situation within which art initiatives were being financially supported with social goals as one of their end points. The third component of the methodology was the case studies, both of an Australian example and of several international examples of creative social enterprise, to investigate how this model for the nexus between art, money and society was being played out at a global level. The context of this research is a perceived and increasing importance of the creative sector to the overall economy both locally and internationally as well as a growing role for the private sector in funding of the arts. The questions asked at the outset of the project were as follows: How important is the public private balance? What factors predict success or failure in

the relationship between art money and society? How does the increasing role of the private sector in this field have an impact on social goals? What new initiatives seem to hold the promise of improvement in these areas? What are some of the common pitfalls and obstacles to the successful bringing together of creative work, money, and social goals? Following is a discussion of the answers to some of these initial questions and to others that were asked as the research progressed.

As the research established, the growth of private sector support for the arts in general and the visual arts in particular is a trend which seems likely to continue. It has often been assumed that private sector support is inimical to the provision of social benefit through the arts due to the business model of enterprise, with its focus on profit-making, competition, productivity through lower wage costs, and the emphasis on producing readily exchangeable non-unique goods which can be produced in mass quantities. Certainly in recent years there has developed a well-established critique of the collapse of artistic creativity into an industry model within which some of the traditional goals of more radical artistic practice, including efforts to promote social critique and to work towards social egalitarianism, have been thwarted.

At the same time there is evidence to suggest that in certain partnerships involving enterprises, businesses and corporations – when the private sector is brought together with government funding bodies, community organisations, artists and audiences – that social benefits can flow, particularly if these partnerships are handled carefully and sensitively. Such partnerships work best when, rather than framing the connection between artistic work and the private sector as an instrumental relationship in which one side gets access to money and the other gets access to cultural capital, they involve a deeper engagement that involves reciprocal understanding, a negotiation that brings about an alignment of

goals, and collaboration that begins with the early stages of project scoping and is sustained through to the final project outcome.

Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that such social benefits as the provision of hope and confidence to individuals, as well as opportunities for creative expression and cultural pride that dovetails with meaningful educational and vocational outcomes, can be furnished by involvement in creative social enterprises both in Australia and around the world. Models of creative social enterprise that focus on design, art, media and other forms of cultural production therefore show great potential to engage communities through dynamic activities that build on existing talents. Those that have demonstrated the greatest social benefit, measured in terms of increased social connection, the creation of meaningful opportunities for education and employment, and increased capacity within a community, have facilitated strong community participation and ownership, maintained flexible and supportive operations, prioritised people over commercial returns, celebrated the existing talents of participants and engaged productively in the wider marketplace. This involves embracing risk and breaking with the conventions of business and traditional art practice, however in many ways such an approach continues a spirit of risk-taking, social critique and innovation that has shaped the work of artists and designers since the advent of modernity, through the twentieth century, and continues in contemporary arts practice today.

Notes

[1] "Money and Beauty: Bankers, Botticelli and the Bonfire of the Vanities," (exhibition website)
http://www.palazzostrozzi.org/SezioneDenaro.jsp?idSezione=1214 Viewed 6 June, 2012.

[2] Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet: Office for the Arts, "Review of Private Sector Support for the Arts in Australia: Discussion Paper", 2012, p. 3.

[3] Tim Lewis, "Annie Leibovitz: Creativity is like a big baby that needs to be nourished" *The Guardian* 3 June, 2012 http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2012/jun/03/annie-leibovitz-charleston-pilgrimage Viewed 6 June, 2012; Justin O'Connor with Stuart Cunningham and Luke Jaaniste, "Arts and creative industries A historical overview; and An Australian conversation," Australia Council for the Arts, 2009, p. 19.

[4] Malcolm Turnbull, *Q & A*, ABC. Broadcast Monday 9 July, 2012, "Artistic Politics." http://www.abc.net.au/tv/qanda/txt/s3537320.htm Viewed Wednesday, 25 July 2012.

[5] O'Connor et al., "Arts and creative industries," op cit., p. 73; James Meyer and Tim Griffin, eds, "Art and Its Markets, A Roundtable Discussion with A. Weiwei, A. Cappellazzo, T. Crow, D. De Salvo, I. Graw, D. Joannou, R. Pincus-Witten, J. Meyer and T. Griffin," in *ArtForum International*, April 2008, vol. XLVI, no. 8, pp. 293-303.

[6] Angela McRobbie, "Re-thinking Creative Economy as Radical Social Enterprise," 2010, http://www.angelamcrobbie.com/2010/11/art-and-labour/ viewed 13 September 2012; Gerald Raunig, "Creative Industries as Mass Deception" in Gerald Raunig, Gene Ray & Ulf Wuggenig, eds, *Critique of Creativity: Precarity, Subjectivity and Resistance in the 'Creative Industries'* London: MayFly Books, 2011, pp. 191- 203; Clay Lucas, "A Precarious Life", *The Sydney Morning Herald*, March 28, 2012. http://www.smh.com.au/business/a-precarious-life-20120327-1vwhy.html Viewed 7 June, 2012.

[7] Ben Eltham, *Crikey*, 11 April 2011 http://www.crikey.com.au/2011/11/04/money-and-art-should-businesspeople-run-the-creative-space/?wpmp_switcher=mobile; Viewed 13 September 2012

[8] John Lanchester, "What Money Can't Buy by Michael Sandel – Review" in *The Guardian*, 17 May, 2012, http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2012/may/17/what-money-cant-buy-michael-sandel-review
Viewed 7 June 2012.

[9] Doris Ruth Eikhof and Axel Huanschild, "For Art's Sake! Artistic and Economic Logics in Creative Production," *Journal of Organisational Behaviour*, 28 (2007), pp. 523 – 538, p. 533.

[10] Australian Bureau of Statistics,. "Arts and Culture in Australia: A Statistical Overview," Canberra, 2011.

[11] Australia Business Art Foundation and Australia Council for the Arts "Arts and Business: Partnerships That Work: Research Report" Sydney, 2010.

[12] Australia Business Art Foundation and Australia Council for the Arts, "AbaF Survey of Private Sector Support: Measuring Private Sector Support for the Arts in 2009-10," 2011.

[13] The definition of "society" in the Oxford English Dictionary includes; I. Senses relating to connection, participation, or partnership. II. Senses relating to the state or condition of living or associating with others. III. A community, association, or group. Oxford University Press. "The Oxford English Dictionary Online." Oxford University Press, http://www.oed.com.ezp.lib.unimelb.edu.au/ Viewed 13 September 2012.

[14] Raunig, "Creative Industries as Mass Deception", op. cit., 2011. Creative industries has taken over from the culture industry and has been seen as a positive answer because it promotes creative freedom of work / projects through individualised labour. This is a problem because it leads to self-exploitation and ideological "enslavement", where creative workers are willingly subjecting themselves to exploitation. As Raunig writes (p. 202), "the actors in creative industries interpret the appeal as meaning that they have at least chosen self-precarization themselves."

[15] See Michael Heazle, *Uncertainty in Policy Making Values and Evidence in Complex Decisions*, London: Earthscan, 2010.

[16] Don Thompson, *The $12 million Stuffed Shark: The Curious Economics of Contemporary Art and Auction Houses*, London: Aurum, 2008, p. 199.

[17] David Throsby, *The Economics of Cultural Policy*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 4.

[18] Victoria Alexander, "Monet for Money? Museum exhibitions and the role of corporate sponsorship", in Rosanne Martorella, ed., *Art and Business: An International Perspective on Sponsorship*,. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1996, p. 187.

[19] O' Connor et al, *Arts and Creative Industries*, op. cit., p. 68.

[20] O' Connor et al, *Arts and Creative Industries*, op. cit., p. 75

[21] Burton Weisbrod comments, "Competition for resources is driving all organizations – nonprofit, for-profit and government – to search for new markets, and a market that is new to one type of organization is quite likely to be occupied already by another." See Burton Weisbrod, "The Future of the Nonprofit Sector: Its Entwining with Private Enterprise and Government." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, vol.16, no. 4 (1997), p. 552.

[22] Weisbrod, "The Future of the Nonprofit Sector," op. cit., p. 552

[23] Paul DiMaggio argues, "Many legally nonprofit enterprises operate in a manner calculated to optimize revenues or are at least pressed to do so by significant parts of their business environments." See Paul J. DiMaggio, ed., *Nonprofit Enterprise in the Arts: Studies in Mission and Constraint*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986, p.12.

[24] Throsby, *The Economics of Cultural Policy*, op. cit., p. 233.

[25] See Theodor Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, London: Routledge, 1991.

[26] David Cropley, ed., *The Dark Side of Creativity*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 363.

[27] Cropley, *The Dark Side of Creativity*, op. cit., p. 372.

[28] Bent Greve, ed., *What Constitutes a Good Society?* Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000, p. 9

[29] Donelson R Forsyth and Crystal L. Hoyt, eds, *For the Greater Good of All: Perspectives on Individualism, Society, and Leadership*., New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p. 1.

[30] Greve argues, "The good society does not, therefore, need to have or develop along specific ideological lines, but can be achieved within several understandings of societal development as long as it cares about and takes care also of those persons who are to a lesser degree integrated than others." See *What Constitutes a Good Society*, op. cit., p. 10

[31] Pierre Bourdieu, "A sociological theory of art perception," in, Jeremy Tanner, ed., *The Sociology of Art: A Reader*. New York: Routledge, 2003, p. 176.

[32] Joanna Drucker, *Sweet Dreams: Contemporary Art and Complicity*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2005, p. xv.

[33] Ian Heywood, *Social Theories of Art: A Critique*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1997, p. 195.

[34] Drucker, *Sweet Dreams*, op. cit., p. 5

[35] Eleanor Heartney, *Defending Complexity: Art, Politics and the New World Order*, Lenox, Mass.: Hard Press Editions, 2006, p. 7.

[36] Heartney, *Defending Complexity*, op. cit., p. 5.

[37] Boris Groys, *Art Power*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2008, p. 20.

[38] Niklas Luhmann, *Art as a Social System, Meridian, Crossing Aesthetics*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000, p. 323. Cropley also discusses the way creativity relates to social upheaval, writing "creativity involves essentially destructive processes such as questioning received wisdom or rejecting what already exists." See Cropley, ed., *The Dark Side of Creativity*, op. cit., p. 362.

[39] Jeremy Tanner suggests that both sociology and art are interested in individual autonomy in relation to the collective, and this is precisely what brings them into relation. The relationship between sociology and art is "to trace systematically the interconnections between particular forms of artistic volition and collective patterns of experience rooted in social structures and processes of group life." See Tanner, ed., *The Sociology of Art*, op. cit., p. 12.

[40] Cropley, ed., *The Dark Side of Creativity*, op. cit., p. 363.

[41] Thompson, *The $12 Million Stuffed Shark,* op. cit., p. 197.

[42] Alexander, "Monet for Money?" in *Art and Business*, op. cit., p. 220

[43] As Austin Harrington writes, "the new commercial elites have a greater interest in the short-term reconvertibility of cultural capital back into economic capital." See *Art and Social Theory: Sociological Arguments in Aesthetics*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2004, pp. 202-3

[44] Harrington, *Art and social theory*, op. cit., p. 205.

[45] Heartney, *Defending complexity*, op. cit., p. ii.

[46] O'Connor et al, "Arts and Creative Industries", p. 67. Further, they write, "There is no reason why these art practitioners should not be encouraged to find new markets and new kinds of income, within reasonable limits", p. 98.

[47] O'Connor et. al., "Arts and Creative Industries," p. 98.

[48] Throsby, *The Economics of Cultural Policy*, op. cit., p. 236. This precaution was echoed by Paul DiMaggio in the 1980s, who warned, "If nonprofit cultural organizations are to continue to provide alternatives to mass media in the face of economic constraint, cultural policy makers must nurture fiscal environments that enable such organizations to pursue missions that are distinctive in substance as well as in rhetoric." See DiMaggio, *Nonprofit enterprise in the arts*, op. cit., 1986, p. 12.

[49] Luhmann, Art as a social system, op. cit., p. 24.

[50] Donald B Kuspitt, "Critical notes on Adorno's sociology of music and art," The Journal of Aesthetics and Criticism 33, no. 3, 1975, p. 329.

[51] Jo Barraket, Nick Collyer, Matt O'Connor and Heather Anderson, "FASES: Finding Australia's Social Enterprise Sector," Australian Centre for Philanthropy and Nonprofit Studies, Queensland University of Technology, 2010.

[52] Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations, National Consultation on the Social Enterprise Development and Investment Funds, 28 October – 3 December 2010.

[53] See Jo Barraket et al., "FASES: Finding Australia's Social Enterprise Sector," 2010, p. 35.

[54] Wolfgang Bielefeld, "Issues in Social Enterprise and Social Entrepreneurship" *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, vol 15, no 1, 2009, p 84.

[55] Sections of this part of the literature review draw on material previously published by the authors. These include: Anthony White, "Wastage of Effect: Newness, Expendability and Memory in 1960s Art," *Reading Room* 3 (2009): pp. 120 – 136; Anthony White, *Lucio Fontana: Between Utopia and Kitsch*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. (2011); Grace McQuilten, *Art in Consumer Culture: Mis-Design*, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011.

[56] James Meyer et. al., "Art and its Markets" p. 293.

[57] Donald B Kuspitt, "Critical notes on Adorno's sociology of music and art", *The Journal of Aesthetics and Criticism*, vol. 33, no. 3, 1975, p. 328.

[58] Christopher Crouch, *Modernism in Art, Design and Culture*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999, p. 31.

[59] Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979, p. 23.

[60] See Gary Zabel, "Introduction: The Radical Aesthetics of William Morris," in Gary Zabel, ed., *Art and Society: Lectures and Essays by William Morris*, Boston: George's Hill, 1993, p. 12..

[61] Kirby, Sandy (1991) "An Historical Perspective on the Community Arts Movement" in Vivienne Binns, ed., *Community and the Arts: History, Theory and Practice,* Pluto Press, Sydney, 1991, pp 19-30, quoted in Martin Mulligan and Pia Smith, *Art, Governance and the Turn to Community*, Melbourne: Globalism Research Centre, 2010, p. 40.

[62] Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design*, op. cit., p. 24

[63] Crouch, *Modernism in Art, Design and Culture*, pp. 29 – 45, esp. pp. 33, 35.

[64] Isabelle Graw, *High Price: Art Between the Market and Celebrity Culture*, Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2009, p. 35.

[65] Charles Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life" (1863), in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, London: Phaidon Press, 1995, p. 12.

[66] Walter Benjamin, "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century" (1939), in *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge, M.A., Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 22.

[67] Richard Brettell, "From Manet to Van Gogh: A History of Impressionism" http://teachingcompany.12.forumer.com/viewtopic.php?t=1668, viewed 9/7/2012.

[68] Paul Wood *The Challenge of the Avant-Garde*, Open University, p. 121.

[69] Pamela M. Fletcher, "Mapping the Emergence of the Modern Art Gallery" *Campus News* (Bowdoin) August 22, 2005 http://www.bowdoin.edu/news/archives/summerresearch/002387.shtml Viewed 9 July 9, 2012.

[70] Pamela M. Fletcher, "Creating the French Gallery: Ernest Gambart and the Rise of the Commercial Art Gallery in Mid-Victorian London" *19th Century Art Worldwide* vol. 6, no. 1 (2007) http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/spring07/143-creating-the-french-gallery-ernest-gambart-and-the-rise-of-the-commercial-art-gallery-in-mid-victorian-london Viewed 9 July 9, 2012.

[71] Nigel Blake and Francis Frascina, *Modernity and Modernism: French Painting in the 19th Century*, p. 110

[72] F. T. Marinetti, "The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism" (1909), in Umbro Apollonio, ed., *Futurist Manifestos* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973), 23.

[73] F. T. Marinetti and Antonio Sant'Elia, "Manifesto of Futurist Architecture," in Apollonio, 172.

[74] Claudia Salaris, "Marketing Modernism: Marinetti as Publisher," *Modernism/Modernity* 1, no. 3 (1994), 110:

[75] Fortunato Depero, Futurism and Advertising, La Jolla, Calif. : Parentheses Writing, 1990, n. p.

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[77] Dawn Ades et al., *Marcel Duchamp*, op. cit., p. 160.

[78] Dawn Ades et al., *Marcel Duchamp*, op. cit., pp.166, 170.

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[80] Ernst, "Di un surrealismo commerciale." *Vita Giovanile* 7, no. 15 (1938): n.p.; Clement Greenberg, *The Collected Essays and Criticism*, vol. 1, ed. John O'Brian (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986, 225–26; Paul Wood, The Challenge of the Avant-Garde, p. 248.

[81] Christopher Green, *Art in France 1900 - 1940*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000, p. 53.

[82] Green, *Art in France*, op cit., p. 54.

[83] Yve-Alain Bois, "Painting: The Task of Mourning," in *Endgame: Reference and Simulation in Recent Painting and Sculpture*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986, p. 37.

[84] Christopher Green, *Art in France*, op. cit., p. 59.

[85] Clement Greenberg "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," in *Partisan Review*, 6:5 (1939) 34–49, reprinted in *The Collected Essays and Criticism, Volume 1: Perceptions and Judgments* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 5–22.

[86] Hal Foster, *The Return of the Real: Art and Theory at the End of the Century*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1996, p. 11.

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[95] Paul Wood et al., *Modernism in Dispute: Art Since the Forties*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993, p. 122.

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[112] Julian Stallabrass, *Contemporary Art*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 114 – 115.

[113] Stallabrass, *Contemporary Art*, op cit., pp. 70 – 75.

[114] Carlo McCormick, quoted in Ed Helmore "LA aesthetes fight pop-art billionaire: Trustees of Museum of Contemporary Arts split by row over dumbing down of shows" *The Observer*, Sunday 22 July 2012 http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/jul/22/la-row-museum-of-contemporary-arts#start-of-comments viewed Wednesday, 25 July 2012.

[115] Harrell Fletcher, cited in http://www.harrellfletcher.com/, 2008. Viewed 12th May 2012.

[116] Shelley Carson, "The Unleashed Mind" Publisher: *Scientific American Mind,* May/June 2011, pp: 22-29

[117] Numerous studies over the last five years have examined links between unemployment, educational difficulties and the impact on the health and wellbeing of recently arrived Australians. These include "The Education Needs of Young Refugees in Victoria", published by the Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture in 2007 which specially

advocated for social enterprise as an effective model for addressing these barriers; a 2010 study by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission titled "In our own words, African Australians: A review of social inclusion issues", which focused specifically on barriers faced by refugee youth in mainstream schooling; and the publication "The role of multicultural organisations in Australia: Creating learning spaces for refugees", published by the National Centre for Vocational Education Research in 2008 which advocated for more flexible and supportive approaches to teaching refugee students.

[118] Unemployment rates are between 35- 50% for refugee communities, as opposed to 6% for Australian born workers. (*Centre for Social and Community Research, Murdoch University)* Work experience, good references and confidence go a long way to increasing employability. Specific programs that focus on industry needs and train staff to areas of skills shortage are particularly beneficial. In 2012 the Refugee Council of Australia has recommended the need for specialized employment programs for job seekers with refugee backgrounds in the community, stating "that resources be targeted at specialist employment services that can address the specific needs of refugees."

[119] A similar finding was reached in an important study by Jonathan Coburn and Rick Rijsdijk, "Evaluating the Success Factors for Establishing a Thriving Social Enterprise in Scotland" Edinburgh: Scottish Government Social Research 2010, p. 70, where the authors conclude that "success for social enterprises is about achieving a balance. It is about balancing the inherent trade-offs between social and commercial goals, i.e. doing good in a financially viable way."

[120] Grace McQuilten received a 2011 Jack Brockhoff Churchill Fellowship which enabled the travel conducted for this research.

[121] The original planned was to spend time in Nairobi, Kenya, however due to a terrorist threat and attack during the weeks of the travel prior to this, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade issued a warning for Australians to reconsider travel to Nairobi. As a result, there was only a brief stop-over in Nairobi before continuing to Kampala, Uganda.