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HERAVALUE

“Measuring the societal impacts of universities’ research into arts and the humanities”

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Note: This is a public version of the (confidential) final report submitted to the HERA secretariat at the conclusion of the project.

1 Summary of CRP objectives

This CRP, entitled “Measuring the societal impacts of universities’ research into arts and the humanities” (Acronym: HERAVALUE) has five main objectives:

1. To develop a conceptual framework explaining how a range of societal stakeholders concerned with innovation actively construct the value placed upon A&HR.
2. To systematically uncover the implicit valuations made by key decision-makers underpinning the widespread failure to agree a common approach to valuing A&HR.
3. To map key stakeholder groups’ interactions within wider innovation and political systems which frame how A&HR’s value is socially constructed.
4. To reflect upon alternative methodologies for valuing A&HR, transcending directly quantifiable outputs and economic impacts, reflecting these implicit valuations.
5. To disseminate HERAVALUE’s findings to contribute to designing better policies, instruments and indicators for A&HR valorisation, better contributing to debates concerning A&HR’s wider value in the context of a global economic downturn.

1.1 Description of Work Performed

HERAVALUE’s starting point was increasing policy-makers’ interest in developing metrics to measure the ‘public value’ of arts and humanities research (AHR). Despite efforts in a range of national settings, as well as at the European level, these debates had failed to produce unanimity on how to measure arts and humanities research, and instead sparked often intensive and even vicious debates about the effects, merits and appropriateness of measuring public value in AHR. But this impasse was itself a problem for AHR, because the failure to generate answers was leading to arts and humanities becoming seen as ‘less useful’ than science, technology, engineering and medical (STEM) disciplines. As funding for research came under increasing pressure in the late 2000s with the fiscal consequences of the global banking crisis, this failure was almost bewildering – despite the urgency of finding suitable measures, little progress was made in agreeing high level indicators comparable to those available for the STEM subjects.

Although the genesis of the project predated the full fiscal crisis and the consequent funding threats to AHR, HERAVALUE started from this conundrum of why, despite its urgency, a wide range of national debates had failed to agree appropriate measures for the value of arts and humanities research. We consider value as being something socially defined rather than can be captured in an objective set of measures. Social definition takes place between actors in discursive processes embedded within wider power and political systems. HERAVALUE explored how different actors

within these systems constructed, circulated and contested meanings, to break the contemporaneous definitional impasse by creating a conceptually coherent understanding of public value that encompassed the manifold ways that different societal stakeholders in AHR made, narrated, circulated, and changed their definitions.

The project classified stakeholders or actors into three main groupings, each embedded in their own wider power and political systems. Firstly were academics and universities, who were involved in management practices, making sense of public value in terms of research efforts embedded within university institutional structures such as departments and faculties, and their own efforts to achieve research excellence and wider ranking recognition. Secondly were policy makers, who were involved in governance practices: their interest in public value was in terms of the overall effects of public expenditure, ensuring that the considerable sums spent on arts and humanities research were publically accountable and where appropriate supported wider public policy efforts such as economic competitiveness, social cohesion and cultural development. Thirdly were civil society partners with an interest in research specific to their own domains, covering both discipline-specific organisations such as academies and learned societies, as well as wider cultural institutions concerned with the stewardship and vitality of a wider ecosystem of cultural/ artistic activities in their own contexts, and viewed arts and humanities research as providing inputs to that system.

The project was divided into three work packages, each starting from that single actor group, and which followed the debate concerning AHR's public value as mediated through that specific context:

- **WP1 - Universities and Management:** this followed the way that universities and scholars, seeing public value as being related to excellence but also in terms of the social compact between universities and society, sought to embed definitions of public value in wider policy discourses that were useful their own aims (stable, excellent research configurations).
- **WP2 – Policy makers and governance:** this followed the way that policy-makers sought to define the public value of AHR, in part relating to improving the public returns on investment in AHR, in the context of wider debates about prioritising resources for research investments and providing accountability for public resources.
- **WP3 Disciplinary representatives and civil society:** this followed the way that civil society sought to pin down the value of arts and humanities research, both at the macro-level of the media and commodifying AHR value for sale, but also in terms of the way that AHR was valued and by civil society actors in their own commercial, educational, managerial, cultural, artistic and voluntary missions.

The project used a matrix structure –the networks were primarily national, although all three actors were embedded within much wider epistemic communities and policy networks that influenced those debates. Nevertheless, the intimacy of the relationship between national cultural-artistic corpus and arts and humanities research activities and facilities meant that these three actors and three networks had a degree of cohesion at the level of the wider national system which warranted national-level case studies. Therefore, each WP drew on research undertaken in three countries distinguished by a vigorous and researchable public debate about the meaning and value of A&HR:

- **Norway:** arts and humanities research (focused in a very limited number of universities) was regarded as being very important nationally but at the same time requiring change and different social value given the desire to modernise the governance of the national research and innovation system whilst providing for stewardship of the science base.
- **The Netherlands:** there had been a thirty year societal debate on the public value of arts and humanities research related to ongoing perceptions of a crisis in the humanities, needing the promotion of both excellence and relevance, restructuring the research effort to concentrate on areas where the Netherlands could be world-leading.
- **Ireland:** following a ten-year growth period for the humanities, culminating in the creation of a dedicated research council, reflecting deep-seated appreciation for the valued of culture, then the need to consolidating that whilst coming to terms with Irish fiscal

problems and prioritising science research in a limited number of areas with immediate financial returns.

For each country, an in depth case study was carried out following a common methodology developed between the work packages, allowing thematic comparison, but also the development of deep knowledge about the context specificities. These case studies were developed on the basis of modern historical documentary analysis (post 1960), policy interviews, mapping of debates and circulation of concepts, and interviews with stakeholders across the three systemic areas (c. 50 per case study). These were written up into national case study reports, which consisted of a mix of country specific information and analysis, as well as specific chapters corresponding to each of the three themes.

The choice for an explicitly national case study approach created the additional challenge of ensuring that these three national case studies added up to give clear thematic messages. Considerable effort was placed into ensuring that there was an effective integration of the three work-packages, and that the research project developed common messages on the basis of the common conceptual framework. Integration across the work-packages was built into the projects from the outset, creating arenas allowing a confrontation between national and thematic discussions, confrontations then captured and fed back into the overall project development. Key to this was creating a dialogue within an international community interested in understanding the public value of A&HR.

- **Co-development of a single project methodology:** a project methodology workshop was held in March 2011 (Berlin) where the three partners validated the common social constructivist methodology, and co-developed a single method fiche and approach for completion by each of the teams in their national context on behalf of all three work packages.
- **National/ project stakeholder events:** in each of the three study countries, one-day stakeholder workshops were held (Jan 11, Dublin; Apr 12, Netherlands; May 12, Norway), bringing together AHR stakeholders in the national systems to discuss the international (interim) findings in their national context, creating a single dialogue and AHR valuation community between the diverse national communities.
- **Final co-creation event:** following the completion of the project final reports, an international stakeholder event was held (Dublin, Oct 12) where project findings were presented by WP leaders, discussed in panels involving national (Irish, Dutch, Norwegian) and other stakeholders (including UK, Spanish, US), and with participations from 8 countries.
- **Publication & dissemination programme:** the project is currently finalising conference papers and presentations for a special issue (*Arts & Humanities in Higher Education*) and a volume in the Palgrave Pivot series with specifically thematic focuses (as well as a special issue of Research Evaluation with national focuses).

1.2 Summary of the main results achieved

We have three areas where we have made a demonstrable contribution to the academic state-of-the-art regarding the public value of arts and humanities research, and these academic contributions provide a means to address policy-makers' interests in better measures of A&HR's public value. These three areas are:

- We have taken an apparently straightforward research question to which no simple answers have been found, and been able to demonstrate that answers cannot be found because there is a **multi-scalar slipperiness** in the concepts used to develop definitions of arts and humanities research's public value.
- We have explored three national research policy systems that have sought to define measures of A&HR's public value, and by interpreting them as an attempt to resolve these slippery concepts, contributed the idea of '**public signalling behaviours**' to debates about the value of culture in society.

- We have used our empirical studies to derive a multi-scalar theory of the public value of research, which reframes the public value of all research (not just A&HR) in terms of its **contribution to societal capacities** (rather than its economic equilibrium benefits).

More details on these main results are provided in the three sections below.

1.2.1 Multi-scalar slipperiness

The first area where we made a contribution regarded the understanding of why there was no agreement possible concerning the public value of arts and humanities research. Our original hypothesis was that agreement would be found where there was a compatibility between the different purposes and meanings of value constructed by actors in their own networks. We discovered the problem that each of the actors had their own 'policy concept' of research's public value, a definition related to their own interests. The idea of policy concept differs from that of a theoretical concept in that it is neither rigorous nor coherent but provides stability for decision-making within a single sphere. When different policy concepts come into conflict, it is not possible to resolve them using rational thought, because they are incoherent bundles of facts, concepts, beliefs, assumptions and value judgements that have an instrumental rather than intellectual purpose.

Debates concerning policy concepts cannot be analysed on the basis of the relative rational merits of the cases presented, but need to be understood in terms of the underlying purposes of the decision-making process. It is both true that policy-makers need simple metrics to judge between disciplines, and that simple metrics cannot capture the public value that arts and humanities research delivers. This is not logically reconcilable. What looks like an argument or debate we reframe as an intellectual dissonance, and to resolve that dissonance conceptually it is necessary to look to how this dissonance is resolved in practice in policy terms. This reframing contributes to an emerging literature within cultural policy studies reflecting the need for hybrid policy concepts that bridge across stakeholders needs rather than dividing the debate into irreconcilable polar opposites such as excellent vs. relevant research or intrinsic vs extrinsic public value.

1.2.2 Public signalling behaviours

The second area where we made a contribution was in terms of bringing the idea of 'publics' to the fore as active agents in these discursive processes. Our methodology was explicitly elite in its starting point, studying a set of elite decision-making and governance processes in different spheres of national research systems. These elite processes reified publics in ways that fitted with their policy concepts: academics and universities regarded publics as their ultimate funders to whom they must be in some way accountable, policy-makers regarded publics as rational tax-payers seeking to maximise economic efficiency, and civil society groups regarded publics as being specific constellations of themselves and their own customers and users. But in reality, these 'publics' were highly simplified abstractions which did not bear any resemblance to the real interests of particular groups external to the debates.

But in following these elite, discursive processes, it was possible to trace the ways that these decision-making processes encountered 'publics' in a variety of different guises and the ways in which that these publics signalled their interest in and valuing of that arts and humanities research. The most valid of these for policy communities was in audiences whose interest was reducible to an economic value, using direct visitor expenditure for cultural facilities, or the opportunity cost of leisure time for media (TV, radio, newspaper, website). There are a wide range of aggregation actors by which actors come together to collectively signal their interest in arts and humanities research, and whilst the individual level of interest may be low (an individual watching TV for ten minutes), when aggregated against the full public, this starts to signal a substantial public interest in that arts and humanities research that is not immediately reducible to purely economic values.

1.2.3 Contribution to societal capacity

Our third area of contribution was in identifying the social benefits of arts and humanities research in terms of an innovation discourse, and critically creating a linkage between individual research projects and wider societal change. Part of the A&HR cultural cringe – their apparent lower utility than STEM subjects – is that they are not seen as fuelling innovation as a driver of wider societal change. On the basis of our findings on the importance of the publics and public signalling behaviours, we developed a multi-scale model drawing of how individual transactions (i.e. research projects) created activities that upscaled and created new innovative capacities for societal action not previously present, involving:

- individual transactions between scholars/ research with ‘aggregation actors’ (e.g. the media), who embedded the ideas in artefacts and services
- the intermingling of publics with those actors through mass behaviour transactions (e.g. audiences watching TV programmes)
- the circulation of those ideas in society by influencing and shaping public discourses, behaviours, and institutions (those TV programmes shaping public understanding of an issue).

On the basis of this model, we were able to offer a new definition of the public value of AHR, which brings multiple, messy complex publics back into the notion of public value, at the same time stressing the (indirect) links between research and new societal capacities. We defined public value as:

**the circulation of research in networks to users with identifiable interactions
creating things that make a good society as public benefits from private
assets**

The value of this approach is in developing an alternative perspective on measuring the public value, by emphasising the different stages of the process, from the individual knowledge co-creation/ transfer, to the circulation of that knowledge in consumer networks, to its embedding and institutionalisation at the level of society. This model is directly comparable with the multi-scalar model for how STEM research creates benefits (knowledge transfer leads to new firms and products, they create jobs and spending, and spending leads to economic growth). It also provides a theoretical basis for measuring A&HR impact as the flow level through each of these three upscaling processes.

1.3 Potential impact and use of the results

The multi-scalar model of the public value of A&HR (research, transferred to users, embedded in networks, institutionalised in society) does not just provide a means of measuring public value through identifying three key processes. This model also has a knowledge architecture, establishing that the public value of arts and humanities research needs to be understood at four different scales each with their own very different ways of conceptualising research.

- Individual, there is an active debate within cultural studies regarding the duties of A&H scholars to society and the ways in which research can produce benefits.
- Transfer activity, there is likewise a strong community theorising ways of evaluating the societal impact of A&HR.
- Circulation of knowledge in networks, there is a strong public policy literature concerned with understanding how essentially private benefits create “ public’ benefits and how political institutions negotiate defining who privately benefits from public expenditure decisions.
- Society, there are a series of debates about cultural policy and philosophy, concerned with notions of a good society, how people value culture and cultural political economy.

These debates have currently remained very separate, associated with very different sets of actors in the wider A&H science network. This has reinforced the intellectual dissonance of the idea of public value of humanities research, and only by unifying these different intellectual areas is it possible to properly understand and define the public value of arts and humanities research, and hence to develop better conceptual frameworks and operationalisations in particular contexts for its measurement. A recent chapter by Parker in Belfiore & Upchurch (2013) specifically refers to the HERAVALUE finding of an incoherent, fragmented and unresolvable public debate about A&HR value¹.

The HERAVALUE Framework was explicitly adopted by the ALIGN consortium (Assessing Multi-level Impact Generation) in their February 2013 proposal for the FPVII Call “SSH.2013.8.1 Evaluation, monitoring and comparison of the impacts of EU funded Social Sciences and Humanities research in Europe”.

2 CRP objectives

There are huge pressures in the context of the knowledge economy for research, researchers and research institutions to create societal added value, and also, equally importantly, to visibly demonstrate that added value. This is clearly a problem for Arts & Humanities Research (A&HR) – and those that study it. Despite agreement that A&HR contributes to society, the value of A&HR concerns more than economic value and numbers of graduates, encompassing democratic strength, happiness and well-being, self-expression and cultural struggle. Attempts to enumerate and capture that value in anything more than the broadest terms have failed, with the result that whilst physical, biological and social sciences can demonstrate substantial societal added value, A&HR seems unsubstantial, and worse, a poor return on public investment in the A&HR base.

The concept underlying this Collaborative Research Project (CRP) is to investigate the dynamics of how arts & humanities research (A&HR)’s value is negotiated by key societal actors in national and European innovation systems. We distinguish between actors, who implicitly value arts and humanities research, and artefacts which express explicit valuations. The failure to enumerate A&HR’s value is – we contend – a hidden failure to achieve consensus between actors, resulting from differences in the ways which actors implicitly value A&HR. As a result of this, the artefacts by which actors try to express that value will never satisfy all key stakeholders.

HERAVALUE makes those implicit values more transparent, and builds three ‘scientific conversations’ reflecting on how actors value A&HR, and express that value in terms of higher education policies, funding models and management techniques. The project concept is to take three differing starting points, universities, policy-makers and societal stakeholders, and follow their valuations into artefacts and integrating these projects into a coherent CRP explaining how society values A&HR. Alongside this theoretical question, we also contribute to contemporary policy debates around innovation, science investment, the Lisbon agenda and research valorisation, identifying performance measures and instruments to better capture the wider benefits of universities’ A&HR.

2.1 Objectives

This CRP, entitled “Measuring the societal impacts of universities’ research into arts and the humanities” (Acronym: HERAVALUE) has five main objectives:

¹ Parker, J. (2013) “Speaking out in a digital world: humanities values, humanities processes”. In E. Belfiore & A. Upchurch (eds) *Humanities in the 21st century*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

1. To develop a conceptual framework explaining how a range of societal stakeholders concerned with innovation actively construct the value placed upon A&HR.
2. To systematically uncover the implicit valuations made by key decision-makers underpinning the widespread failure to agree a common approach to valuing A&HR.
3. To map key stakeholder groups' interactions within wider innovation and political systems which frame how A&HR's value is socially constructed.
4. To reflect upon alternative methodologies for valuing A&HR, transcending directly quantifiable outputs and economic impacts, reflecting these implicit valuations.
5. To disseminate HERAVALUE's findings to contribute to designing better policies, instruments and indicators for A&HR valorisation, better contributing to debates concerning A&HR's wider value in the context of a global economic downturn.

2.2 Research Questions

To address these five objectives, HERAVALUE will ask five questions:

1. How is arts & humanities research valued by key stakeholders?
2. Why the failure to agree on how arts & humanities research should be valued?
3. What other interactions, networks and governance systems have shaped the context by which arts & humanities research is valued?
4. What methodologies are suitable for addressing the conceptual and policy impasses which have so far hindered reasonable attempts to value A&HR?
5. What kinds of performance measures effectively encapsulate the benefits of universities' humanities work for a range of societal stakeholders?

3 Achievements of the CRP

Progress beyond the state-of-the-art

Summary

The main contribution made by HERAVALUE was to open up a dominant discourse in the field of science and research policy, and expose some of the contradictions emerging from the discourse, and thereby contributing to re-situating arts and humanities research within current research and science policy debates. There is a problem within research and science policy, in seeking to develop measures for the value of research, that the idea of utility is a stable concept. People believe it is a stable concept because that has all kinds of useful practical consequences, for example it would make it possible to develop simple measures of that value. And for arts and humanities research, the problem is that there are no proxies that can be adopted that finesse the issue, such as financial value, because they are such poor substitutes for 'what matters' about that research.

What HERAVALUE has been able to empirically demonstrate and to theorise was that the concept of research utility is not a stable theoretical concept but rather a discourse that is performed (performatively constructed) by policy actors in different arenas. These arenas are often public,

such as in the media, and this creates a superficial impression that these are contributions to a public debate. But when those ‘performances’ are brought together it creates confrontations and disagreements that can be misunderstood as policy discussions. These ‘performances of research utility’ cannot be resolved logically and that creates a self-perpetuating perception that arts and humanities research is systematically less useful than sciences research, when the reality is that ‘hard sciences’ have not yet reached the stage where they are thinking about what it is about their research that is really important to society.

The progress that we have made in this project has been to take an apparently straightforward research question, to which there is no straightforward answer, and nevertheless, by following the tensions in the system by which national policy networks attempt to determine the value of arts and humanities research (A&HR), provide insights into that value. Our progress has come in three main areas:

- We have taken an apparently straightforward research question to which no simple answers have been found, and been able to demonstrate that answers cannot be found because there is a **multi-scalar slipperiness** in the concepts used to develop definitions of arts and humanities research’s public value.
- We have explored three national research policy systems that have sought to define measures of A&HR’s public value, and by interpreting them as an attempt to resolve these slippery concepts, contributed the idea of **‘public signalling behaviours’** to debates about the value of culture in society.
- We have used our empirical studies to derive a multi-scalar theory of the public value of research, which reframes the public value of all research (not just A&HR) in terms of its **contribution to societal capacities** (rather than its economic equilibrium benefits).

More details is provided on our progress in each of these three areas below.

Reformulation and reframing of research assumptions

Part of the innovative contribution of HERAVALUE was that the project started within the discourse of singular research utility, but encountered, followed, analysed and critiqued its assumptions in order to explain and interpret the contradictions that were encountered. Our original project method was to explore a constructive process where we assumed that a formative debate led to a stable agreement on the value of humanities research. From our starting point, our assumption seemed reasonable– that there would be a formative debate that had led to agreement about what mattered about humanities research. But the over the course of the project’s first year, not only were we not able to find consensus, but we were able to establish that there was so much disagreement within public discourse without any kind of resolution that this appeared to be a permanent, stable situation.

Central to this disagreement was a fundamental dissonance between two ‘voices’ in these debates which were both true, and yet contradictory and irresolvable. The first was that there was a widespread acceptance that humanities research was useful – this had been taken to its logical conclusion in the UK, where at least two key publications, *The public value of humanities* and *Hidden Connections: Knowledge exchange between the arts and humanities and the private, public and third sectors* provided a robust evidence base for two things. Firstly, individual research projects created outputs that were clearly valuable – for example informed a TV programme that attracted an audience of a million viewers, something indicating that the audience clearly value that research. Secondly, arts and humanities researchers were active in the kinds of behaviour that created outputs that the publics valued, albeit in many kinds of arena.

The second voice in this debate often heard from policy-makers, that research had to be accountable to society for its behaviour, certainty in times of economic crisis more than normally,

but also as a more general point of principle. This meant that all researchers needed to be able to demonstrate the value of their research to publics, in turn requiring indicators and measures comparable between disciplines, which could highlight which disciplines and researchers were performing well. Attempts to avoid measurement and comparison were invoked by those who did not want to be held to account to publics: an unwillingness to be held publically accountable is suggestive of public value not being a serious consideration for researchers. So if arts and humanities research was to seriously make a contribution, then there needed to be transparent and comparable indicators for research's public value.

HERAVALUE's first contribution to the scientific state-of-the-art was in conceptualising the policy debate in terms of a circular dissonance. Despite there being a logical resolution between the two positions (indicators based on real research projects), tens of attempts to develop these indicators had failed to develop indicator that could carry legitimacy with both the researchers and 'accountability principles' (policy-makers concerned with ensuring governance arrangements providing accountability in public expenditure). What we did in the first stage of the project was identify on the basis of these debates was that the idea of humanities' research value was being used to communicate a range of very different notions. These could be understood as a set of polar opposite claims, firstly between those that argue that arts and humanities research is itself an achievement, part of a civilised society, and those that claim that humanities' value only comes through its societal contributions. There are those that argue that science must progress through following the excellent research questions, and those who see that in times of crisis, research questions must be set with some reference to the eventual contributions that research will make. Finally, there are those that argue that attempt to count arts and humanities research's contributions will always make it seem less valuable than science and technology as against those that argue that arts and humanities research must account to society for the funds it receives.

We therefore hypothesised that there was a structural dissonance that prevented logical resolution of these positions, and that attempts to answer and resolve these tensions from a mono-conceptual position would fail. To further nuance this, we drew on research in territorial development relating to 'policy concepts' – policy concepts are 'ideas' which emerge in policy where different actors have very different interests in the same field, and use it in very different ways (Böhme & Gloersen, 2011). This means that concepts circulate which are theoretically 'slippery' – they cannot be resolved by recourse to logic, but ultimately require choices to be made in implementation. The effect of making a choice is however to exclude the other potential uses of that concept and thereby limit the concept of value.

This provides a means for explaining our initial finding, the deep-seated contradiction between the different perspectives of value, and to provide the context for the remainder of the project, which was to attempt to find ways to resolve these dilemmas, that is to say the fact that different actors use different policy concepts of measuring research value that are not necessarily logically compatible. In response to this we both framed the question of the public value of (arts and humanities) research as an unstable concept, requiring further solution, as well as creating the basis for a detailed empirical study of the legitimacy processes of public value. We therefore framed our research questions and empirical studies in phase 2 in terms of following the distinctive processes by which communities made claims about the public value of humanities research, how they mobilised legitimacy for those claims, and their purposes in making these claims.

An innovative approach to studying research policy and public value

The second contribution that HERAVALUE made to the state-of-the-art was in taking forward debates about contributions and public values. The finally-developed methodology involved exploring the process of how groups made claims about the public value of their research and attempted to legitimate their position by references in different ways to the public. This

methodology was used as the basis for an extensive, exploratory study of the circulation of concepts of public value of arts and humanities research in three national contexts (Norway, the Netherlands and Ireland). Each of these national studies involved substantial numbers of interviews with stakeholders in these discussions, researchers and direct users (firms, culture providers, government clients), as well as academic leaders and university managers, policy stakeholders (ministries, advisory bodies, formal Commissions, research and funding councils) and societal representatives (arts councils, museum networks, print and broadcast media). These also used extensive documentary analysis to chart the formal and informal ways that ideas of public value were debated and mobilised – but also constructed and framed through the media reporting of both humanities research as well as these public debates. The national reports provided an opportunity for all three IPs to benefit from a deep contextualisation of the frames within which the actors relevant to each IP operated, and form the main first-line set of outputs from the project.

In the context of the contemporary discourse, this notion of ‘the public’ has been lost or at least reduced to a very simplistic ‘public’ with two main characteristics. The first is that the public has a utility set that can be reduced to a set of rational choices expressed in economic valuations and that measuring those economic values in some ways is an adequate way to understand public value. The second is that the public’s interest in the policy process is to ensure that taxes are spent as efficiently as possible, and that they agree that efficiency demands transparency and comparability demonstrated through the use of measurement and indicator technologies. Taken together, the ‘public’ is seen as having an interest in only that kind of research which produces a direct ‘economic’ return to public investments.

The contemporary debate has adopted this reductionist agenda in an unselfconscious way, making these positions unchallengeable, and framing those that attempt to challenge them seen as unwilling to be held publically accountable, and therefore working against creating public value from research. The policy prescriptions for this are to encourage or even require researchers to focus on creating economic value, and rewarding that activity as measured through a particular set of indicators, including numbers of spin-off companies, patents and licenses. The effect in aggregate is to create a ‘common sense’ position where public value of humanities research has to be measured, and those measures need to produce direct economic value. Our contribution to this has been firstly to demonstrate how this position has emerged through a series of logical elisions as debates have moved across a range of public policy arenas. Nowhere in research policy communities do academics argue that the public value of arts and humanities research *should* be measured in terms of these narrow indicators, but only at the higher discursive level of science policy in general, where actors talk about creating value from research being best illustrated by economic value measures.

Our contribution to this debate has been to reinsert the notions of ‘public’ into public value: we have managed to identify how these supposed measures of public value are in fact notions of elite value – they have value to a particular group, politicians involved in science policy, who are talking about a single dimension of the public interest, namely public accountability, and assuming that it is only direct expenditure on research outputs that equates to public utility. In our research, we focused on this issue of signalling behaviours by publics, and argued that market transactions are just one way that ‘publics’ signal that they value something – and we identified in all three countries market transactions related to arts and humanities research, including purchasing books, newspapers and magazines carrying arts and humanities research, paying for entry to events showcasing research content, and spending leisure time ‘consuming’ that research through TV and radio programmes.

Our research contributes to an on-going debate about how to capture the ‘public value’ of humanities research. O’Brien (2010) talked of shift from looking at economic impact to economic value, using pricing mechanisms as a way of allowing comparison between different kinds of outputs and outcomes. Our research contributes to a continuing evolution in this shift from ‘economic value’ to ‘public value’ without relying on a pricing mechanism. The key issue here is

allowing the comparison of very different kinds of signalling behaviours which are not optimally captured through the use of prices – even shadow prices. Shadow prices can be calculated, based on notion values for leisure time and the amount of leisure time ‘users’ spend consuming those research outputs – if 340,000 people watch a Dutch TV show about linguistics that lasts 25 minutes, the value of that can be calculated at just over €700,000. But time (which you can at least price) is not the only kind of signalling made, and the challenge for future research is to identify more systematically the full range of activities by which publics signal their preference or value for arts and humanities research. Only once that full range of signalling behaviours is understood can a wider and more systematic notion of ‘public value’ be advanced. This notion of signalling behaviours helps clearly contribute to current debates (e.g. Belfiore & Upchurch, 2013) on the ‘public value’ of arts and culture more generally beyond a purely economic frame.

A contribution to debates about public value – a multi-scalar approach to research’s public value

The final contribution that we made was in taking this notion of signalling value, and exploring the ways that public signalling featured in debates about the public value of research. In each of the national case studies, we studied the debates relating to the value of arts and humanities research, and in particular in the different ways in which versions of the public were mobilised, enrolled, and ultimately transformed through these discussions. In all cases, we encountered a core group of stakeholders who were wrestling with a variant of the same problem, which was a shared belief that arts and humanities research was useful, and the need to find measures which conveyed that utility to actors outside that core community of practice. In two of the three countries, there was an additional problem that government fiscal crises had created a policy environment where particular kinds of messages could not easily be heard. Research community stakeholders therefore faced the challenge of finding compelling messages which met a very high standard, that showed that humanities research was a priority for government spending at a time of austerity.

Our research followed our original plan to trace these policy discussions, and as previously noted, we found that they were riven by definitional differences which prevented their ready resolution through logical processes. But in the course of following these policy discussions, what we also encountered were a series of examples where excellent research outputs were translated and transformed by a series of actors, creating clear public benefits, where there were signalling behaviours that demonstrated that publics valued that research. On the basis of a comparative set of examples of research producing societal impact, we were able to improve the conceptualisation the idea of public value of arts and humanities research in a way that progressed beyond the limitations of the ‘policy concept’. The one advantage of an economic method of valuation is that it is able to claim that it conveys aggregate public benefit, in tracing the ways that individual economic transactions ripple out through the market to have an overall effect on economic activity levels. A pharmaceutical patent may be licensed by a company that creates a product that generates sales – at every stage of this process there is an economic exchange that creates this activity, which can be summed to demonstrate the economic ‘impact’ of the research. Private benefits are ‘upscaled’ to create collective goods that offer a public benefit, and the case studies suggest that these public benefits can also emerge for humanities research, although there is a question how to understand these benefits

Our case studies provided us with the means to better conceptualise a more general process for how arts and humanities research, and indeed research more generally, creates societal benefits beyond the level of the immediate consumer. The ‘economic’ model has an implicit multi-level distinction between the micro-level individual economic transaction, the meso-scale of the impacts in the various supply networks (e.g. company employees who spend their wages in the economy) and the macro-scale (how all these expenditure activities ripple out to the economy). The research was able to create a comparable conceptual framework for societal benefits more generally, applicable to all forms of research. There was a tendency to focus on the micro-level of the

transaction by which individual users experienced that research, such as through the readers of a newspaper article, and not to consider these wider network and equilibrium effects. The real value of the humanities research is not that a newspaper reader is entertained for ten minutes, but that there are societal improvements. These may be measurable in terms of economic preference in pricing, but also may be extended to cover other kinds of societal development, what Corea (2007) refers to as “a shift away from conditions of life perceived as unsatisfactory towards those that are significantly preferable” (p. 50).

Our research was able to construct a multi-level model for research impact on the basis of the various case studies of impact encountered. The conceptualisation involved drawing on four bodies of theory relating to the different scales of activity, and the processes by which the public value of that research is determined at those various scales. Of the four scales, there is already a well understood technology transfer/ knowledge exchange set of theories for how research passes to users, with work from ERIC and Siampi mapping what Spaapen *et al.* (2011) call ‘productive interactions’ between researchers and users (*cf.* Molas Gallert & Tang, 2011). This is the level at which the most obvious element of the knowledge exchange takes place, between the researcher and the user, but there are three other levels that influence the process, and three other areas of literature currently have their own debates concerning the public contributions which arts and humanities research can make

There is the **individual** level of understanding the relationship between scientific excellence and societal relevance, and in particular how outcomes can be ascribed to particular projects as they can for example to scientific publications, and the extent to which scientist behaviour influences these outcomes (Hughes *et al.*, 2009; Castro-Martinez *et al.*, 2011). There is the **network** level understanding how concepts and findings from research circulate in wider communities separate from the researchers themselves; at this scale, essentially private benefits become collective benefits as they create capacity for wider actions, and the challenge is in preventing market failures whilst delivering accountability (Bozeman, 2005; Schumann 2009). The final level is the **societal** level where there is considerable debate about the role of culture in contributing to a good society, stressing that part of this capacity comes from having a frame of understanding capable of looking beyond narrowly defined economic values and encompassing the other things societies can agree matter (Bennet & Belfiore, 2008; O’Brien, 2011; Sandel, 2012).

These different scales have very different dynamics and loci, and the involvement of the researcher in those processes varies greatly between the scales. In the economic case, the dynamics and relationships between the elements are well-understood within policy spheres, whilst the macro-benefits of societal knowledge are much harder to describe. However, the research found good examples where humanities research created societal capacities beyond the market; a good example was the case of Norway, where humanities research and scholars played an important role in the national coming to terms with the Utøya terrorist attacks.

Table 1 The multi-scalar model of research creating public value

Process scale	Knowledge process	Conceptual framework for understanding 'value'	Value determination process
Individual	Co-creation of new knowledge	The societal analogue for scientific excellence, directly related to individual research projects – measures of 'goodness'	Are researchers making their findings as accessible as possible?
Micro	Knowledge exploitation/ transfer	Users taking knowledge and research from researchers and embedding it in their own products, processes and techniques.	Is there evidence that users are engaging/ exploiting findings?
Meso	Embodiment in network behavior	Maximising incentives for creating public benefits from private activities, via autonomy and accountability	Are the findings disseminating and exploited via networks?
Macro	Becomes knowledge commons	Creating and empowering societal capacities to live a 'good life', particularly outside direct economic sphere	Are networks changing in ways that promote a 'better' society?

Taking a multi-scalar approach to this issue of the public value of humanities helps to provide an insight into the problematic of the 'policy concept' of public value. Disagreements emerge between different scales of argument – one argument made is that measures are necessary to provide accountability, whilst researchers themselves feel uncomfortable with the idea of utility being imposed on them. But the former is a meso-scale requirement whilst the latter is a micro-scale requirement, and there is indeed no evidence that would justify imposing a requirement on *all* researchers to be more engaged as a prerequisite for maximising the public spill-over benefits from arts and humanities research. Our scalar framework therefore provides a means to disentangling the complex debate over the public value of arts and humanities research, and contributing to its resolution by ensuring that there is a scalar consistency in this debate.

Relevance to the Call:

HERAVALUE has been directly concerned with the element of the call concerning the instrumentalisation of arts and humanities research, and in particular, that instrumentalisation when placed at the service of the economy. The object of study has been the wider political and policy system which regulates science activities in A&HR, arts and humanities research but at the same time renders its context-specific choices into seemingly common-self prescriptions and timeless truths. HERAVALUE has helped to place this instrumentalisation into perspective, by highlighting the different levels of regulation and policy intervention, and the involvement of different communities in those levels. There is a need to ensure that assumptions that are made at one scale are not unproblematically transferred to other levels as assumptions. In our own conceptual framework, instrumentalisation arises when assumptions from higher scales are imposed on the individual scale (e.g. the meso-scale assumptions about what the public value or public accountability). This creates a contradiction with the individual scale, and therefore prevents the emergence of stable constructs that meet both needs of publics but which also hold confidence in the scholarly community.

The other element of the relevance of our findings have been in terms of the issue of the combination of knowledge and creativity in ways that drive innovation processes. Our research has traced through a concrete series of examples the ways in which humanities research becomes codified and embedded in intermediate artefacts that create new forms of societal capacity – i.e. social innovation. Our multi-scalar framework for research impact therefore provides a means of conceptualising that process in a way that avoids a pseudo-linearity which has the potential to drive instrumentalism (i.e. an elision between the objective "good research can have societal

value” to the normative “all research must produce societal value”. Arts and humanities research is transformed between these scales, and in the transformative upscaling, its character but also its changing relationship to the originating scholars changes.

The public policy corollary of this is that policy should focus on the various elements of the upscaling process, and not just the first step from the scholar to the direct user. As important to producing social innovation – creating these new societal capacities – is the way that individual users circulate knowledge in wider networks, and how these network become institutionalised into organisations and cultures. Effective public policy measures supporting social innovation, and leveraging the benefits of arts and humanities research into social innovation – needs to develop good understanding of these processes as well as identifying policy measures that can support these upscaling processes, from the user to the network and from the network to the institutional. This helps to set out a future research agenda for understanding the contributions of arts and humanities research to social innovation processes, which avoids the pitfall of assuming an individual, single-scale relationship between the researcher and the social innovation.

Achievements of the Individual Projects

Achievements of IP 1: Universities and Management

This IP was primarily concerned with the way the issue of the public value of arts and humanities research was dealt with inside the university sector, and in particular, the way that public value was managed alongside the notion of scientific excellence. The starting point for this IP was the widely stated position that there was a trade-off or incompatibility between these two, and that the pursuit of scientific excellence would necessarily come at the expense of societal value. The idea of an 'ivory tower' was mobilised repeatedly within policy communities to describe supposed undesirable behaviours of arts and humanities scholars privileging their own internal disciplinary discussions over creating knowledge that had a more wider societal use. This IP focused on how in all three of the national discussions, there was a duality in the discussions, between the fear of the ivory tower academic, and an acknowledgement that some humanities researchers were undertaking work with extremely high-level impact and societal value.

IP1 operated – as did all 3 IPs – on the basis of three national exploratory case studies: each case study including a specific element relating to universities and their management, and involved interviewed with academics, academic leaders (including Deans), university management, university sectoral interest groups (e.g. Rectors' conferences); the national case study approach allowed a triangulation of these views against those of other key stakeholders in the national policy framework, including research and education Ministries, research and funding councils, parliamentary Commissions and Inquiries, advisory bodies, and user representative groups. Each of the national reports had a chapter specific to IP1, and these formed the basis for the synthetic analysis which has come out of IP1.

The first finding from IP1 was that there was in practice not a simple divide made within arts and humanities academics between scientific excellence and societal value, and that one came at the exclusion of the other. The starting point for that was that all the arts and humanities research had an inherent materiality to it which created dependences on 'real' phenomena; these real phenomena in turn had their own stakeholders who represented a user community, and critically, who influenced in various ways the ways that the academic field set their research questions. This was most obvious in the creative and performing arts, or humanities working with corpuses produced by third parties. But it was possible to trace, for even the most theoretical and notionally detached scholars the ways that societal referents shaped their scholarly loci: an example might be the theoretical philosopher who was influenced by applied philosophers dealing with questions about the ways that society could purposively shape science and technology advances towards the 'good society'.

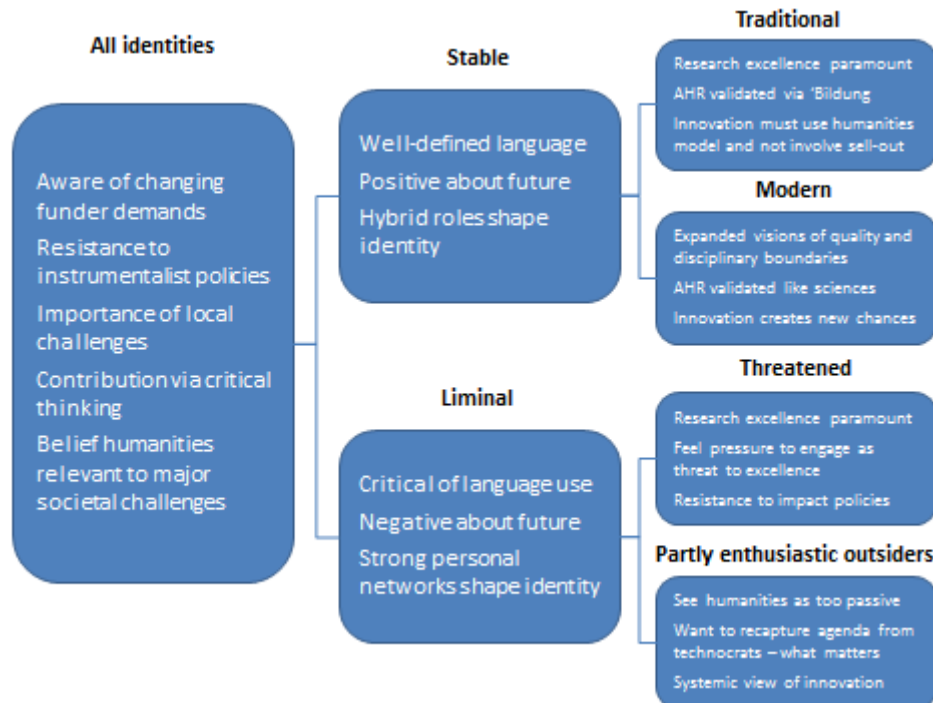
The second finding from IP1 was the finding (or a restatement) that there was not a linear pathway by which arts and humanities research created societal benefits. An important element of the arts and humanities research project was the circulation of knowledge in communities, and cross-fertilisation and flow of knowledge between these communities, linked by critical hinge actors. Scholars themselves were hinge actors, when involved in their disciplinary discussions as well as public engagement activities (and like Hughes *et al.*, we found a high prevalence of humanities scholars in public engagement and outreach activities. But there were other knowledge actors – including from IPs 2 and 3, government and societal actors, who engaged with scholars in knowledge-creating communities, creating and circulating new concepts and artefacts that embodied and codified that research – but at the same time transforming it and detaching it from its distinctive scholarly form. Over time, these circulation processes extended and upscaled – through for example government policies, the media or the creation of new cultural 'heroes' – creating new societal capacities and values: the problem was that this circulation-transformation process served to hide the academic contribution, and created an attributional problem for those that would count it (*cf.* IP2).

The third finding was that there were a variety of tensions or pressures which academics experienced which influenced their participation in these knowledge circulation networks and which influenced their perceptions of societal value. Some of these were technological, and in particular the emergence of new

digital humanities technologies which were changing the nature of research, as well as the relationship to societal stakeholders as well as utility. There were also organisational pressures within universities, as university managers sought to meet outside stakeholder expectations for efficiency and critical mass, with public value being something university managers used in their external accountability negotiations. Within universities, tensions emerged where there were strong pressures on academics to undertake one particular element of the knowledge circulation activities – namely publication – and ‘success’ was measured in ways that did not necessarily correspond with their own norms and habits in knowledge circulation. There was also a cultural issue of a pessimism noted within the sector in comparison to other ‘more useful’ disciplines: those that were engaged with users were able to articulate much more clearly that use-in-practice, but there was a fear that ‘use-in-measurement’ would work to the disadvantage of arts and humanities research.

A key finding to emerge from this IP was a map of a more complex set of academic identities around engagement than more commonly supposed. All academics had identities that were shaped by their relationship to two archetypes of knowledge circulation communities, scholarly and user. The biggest distinction in identity was between those that were secure in both these communities, who had stable identities, and those who were outside one of these communities, who had ‘liminal’ or edge identities. For those with stable identities, who were positive about user involvement, some had more traditional identities, where scholarly output was important, but user knowledge communities still provided important knowledge inputs to them; for others where users were a more central part of the knowledge creation process, there was a more modern identity. Of the liminal identities, who tended to be more negative of the idea of utility, there were those researchers who were unstable in their own research communities, who experienced discussions of ‘utility’ as a threat to excellence, but in many cases these scholars did not understand use through engagement with users. And there was a group of users engaging with humanities researchers who saw their potential but felt that the scholarly dimension undermined utility. At the same time, all these identities had commonalities – they believed humanities needed to be useful, particularly to important societal challenges, but rejected instrumentalist policies that encouraged compliance behaviour. These identities are summarised in the diagram below.

Figure 1 The division of scholarly identities and attitudes to societal utility



Source: Benneworth et al. (forthcoming)

The contribution of IP1 to the JRP came through its mapping and analysis of the individual scale of ‘useful knowledge creation’ – highlighting that academic research is situated within multiple communities, and that usefulness arises when circulating knowledge from the academic community is transmitted into circulation in the user community. This provides the basis for the dynamics of first scale of the scalar model of societally useful knowledge – the individual/ micro-scale. A critical element of this is the cross-network nature of this particular scale – so activities are shaped by pressures in the various networks within which academics sit – their disciplinary networks, their institutional (university) affiliations, and users with whom they co-create knowledge (in varying degrees). This is helpful in understanding where first order measures of that public value might be developed: at the level of the research project this relates to the use of co-creation methodologies, and the valency of research findings to be taken up within other networks.

A final element of IP1 was that funding was won from the Spanish Scientific Research Council for a phd student to work with the IP1 team in analysing a Spanish database of CSIC researcher engagement activity to see if arts and humanities researchers differed in their activities from STEM subjects. This led to a paper presented to the EU-Spri student conference, which won the Best Paper in Conference award, and has been accepted subject to minor revision for *Science and Public Policy*.

IP1 has been active in participating in the four scientific roundtables organised by the project within other conferences, as well as the final project conference. Ideas around scaling valency have formed the basis for blog posts, videos on the Youtube channel, a number of external seminar presentations. The dissemination route for IP1 has been in producing a special issue of the journal *Arts & Humanities in Higher Education*. This special issue is scheduled to appear subject to manuscripts completing the review process successfully, in 2014. The theme for this special issue is “The public value of arts and humanities research in Europe”, and includes contributions from the final project conference (October 2012), both from the project team as well as other participants.

Achievements of IP 2: Policy-makers and Governance

This IP has been concerned with policy-makers and governance, in terms of how they plan for research and assess its outputs. It sought to address three inter-related research questions:

- What is the contribution that arts and humanities research makes to society and the economy?
- What are the best ways to measure and assess the societal impact and benefits of arts and humanities research?
- Given the depth and extent of the global economic crisis, are there special attributes that arts and humanities research can contribute to society and the economy? How can this best be measured and assessed? What are the implications for research policy?

Over the duration of the project, the policy environment has shifted considerably across Europe, although the effect has been different in the three target countries of this project. Ireland has experienced the most significant economic downfall, while the Netherlands much less so – and Norway not at all. This has coloured the way in which the policymakers have responded to the need to invest in R&D and the types of issues that they have focused on. Nevertheless, it is clear that what matters most is the way in which research – regardless of discipline – contributes to society and the economy. This has posed the most challenges for the arts and humanities because of the nature of research practice, but governments and research funding agencies across the EU are increasingly making decisions about the level of financial support based upon its impact and benefit to society and the economy. It is probably the interpretation and balance between society and economy that poses some of the tensions and difficulties.

1. CONTRIBUTION

Throughout this study and across all countries it was noticeable that policy makers and research agencies strongly believe that the arts and humanities have and do make a substantial contribution to society and the economy. The contribution is evident in the social and cultural dimension/cultural identity, interpretation of history and society, understanding of contemporary phenomenon, and for long-term developments in society – the knowledge society vs. knowledge economy debate. Another strong line of discussion focused on the contribution to/on teaching, the training of scholars, and development of the disciplines through doctoral training. At a broader level it is not always clear if the contribution is understood as arts practice, e.g. creating artifacts, performing or exhibiting or as research, e.g. producing new knowledge and insights.

Debate about the value of arts and humanities research takes places in different ways and at different levels: between elites who are active within the narrow debate and public actors experience and use the outputs of research. In Norway and the Netherlands, the debate has been more public – with correspondence in the national media. In contrast, discussion in Ireland has been dominated by science and technology paradigm, and the arts and humanities have discussed issues within the academy. There have also been different definitions of what constitutes the arts, and what constitutes the humanities, with a degree of cross-over; occasionally they were simply combined into one amalgam which includes the social science, thus in effect making AHSS analogous to STEM. This has unwittingly led to the marginalization of the arts as an academic discipline or led to it being

subsumed within the humanities; indeed there was a concern amongst some scholars that the academy itself had contributed to the marginalization of the creative arts by its traditionalism and elitism. In Ireland, this has led the arts being effectively left out of research funding.

2. MEASURING AND ASSESSING SOCIETAL IMPACT AND BENEFITS

Regardless of national differences, in today's world, the ability of university-based research to contribute to economic recovery is paramount in most policymakers' minds. There is common pressure for transparency and accountability and a requirement to demonstrate relevance, impact and benefit as a way of proving value-for-money and confidence to the investor (taxpayer). This is usually measured by research income and bibliometrics, but nowadays also includes patents, licenses and start-up companies – and jobs. This approach is best amplified by Ireland's new two-tier assessment process: 1) relevance and fit with national priorities, 2) excellence. While scientists may have their own grumbles with this methodology, it presents real challenges for arts and humanities research. As a consequence there is an under-appreciation of the importance of arts and humanities research. Policymakers are aware of flaws within the system but want an alternative cost which is effective and efficient, and internationally comparable.

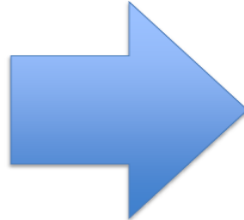
3. RESEARCH POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The immediate challenge is developing a deeper understanding and appreciation of the contribution of all disciplines to society and the economy. How can impact and benefit be appropriately valued, assessed, and rewarded, on the basis that impact and benefit occurs over time, and is not easily demonstrated. Rather than seeing the contribution as a linear or single input-output model to calculate benefit, the effects of A&H research are much more dispersed and interactive. Economists often use the concept of "equilibrium effect" to illustrate the total net effect created by the employment of workers, payment of suppliers who purchase other supplies, the employees who spend their income on goods and services, and so on. The main point is that research creates value by causing "ripples" that are played out throughout society. Broad agreement that A&H research does make a contribution is only the first step; the subsequent questions are more difficult. *How much* support there should be is 8% of national R&D spend (as in Ireland) sufficient?

Measuring the quantity and impact of research through peer-reviewed journal articles and citation impact factors is only the tip-of-the-iceberg – and misses the real story of valorization. Figure 1 below illustrates that what is measured (above the red line) is only the tip-of-the-iceberg – but this is usually neglected by the dominant assessment models.

• **Journal articles**

- Book chapters
- Computer software and databases
- Conference publications
- Editing of major works
- Legal cases, maps
- Major art works
- Major works in production or exhibition and/or award-winning design
- Patents or plant breeding rights
- Policy documents or brief
- Research or technical reports
- Technical drawings, designs or working models
- Translations
- Visual recordings



• **Peer Esteem**

- Impact on Teaching
- Improved Productivity, Reduced Costs
- Improvements on environment and lifestyle
- Improving people's health and quality of life
- Increased employment
- Informed public debate
- New approaches to social issues
- New curriculum
- Patents, Licenses
- Policy change
- Social innovation
- Stakeholder esteem
- Stimulating creativity

The project identifies examples of “good practice” which specifically include methodologies more appropriate for arts and humanities research, e.g. case studies, self-evaluation and end-user esteem indicators. The proposal by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW), *Quality Indicators for Research in the Humanities*, represents an important step forward albeit it does not incorporate the creative arts nor does it consider the impact of research on teaching; there is limited involvement of external stakeholders. But it's still early days. Measuring the value of arts and humanities research is contested territory.

Achievements of IP 3: Disciplinary representatives and civil society

This IP has been primarily concerned with the societal level and in particular with the question of external valorisation and the context within which this takes place. The main data source has been interviews with a range of groups representing civil society in the three countries. Interviewees have come from private industry, the cultural sector, public agencies, non-profit foundations, industry associations and the media. In addition our analyses have been based on secondary data sources such as external funding of AHR.

The main message from all countries is that arts and humanities are generally very highly valued by all external stakeholder groups representing civil society. This value was not questioned, contextualised or relativized, and most interviewees upheld that AHR's importance does not rest on the direct relevance or instrumental usefulness. Signs and examples of value were abundant: high student numbers, great public interest in history, literature, language, art, architecture and more, growth of cultural industries, new media and technologies. Underneath this general agreement on value our analysis points at several nuances and moderating remarks:

- First, many of the external stakeholders did not distinguish clearly between arts and humanities as disciplines or repositories of knowledge and as research activities. For some, AHR is concretely linked to the need for certain types of knowledge and competences that hard science disciplines cannot offer, such as in-depth understanding of culture, language and history – but not to research per se. A few interviewees did not really distinguish clearly between humanities and social science either, as long as the interaction or channel of communication provided them with a knowledge or evidence base that they found useful for various purposes.
- Second, the clearest awareness of arts and humanities as scientific disciplines and research units were, not unsurprisingly, found in the cultural sector/industries. Here a significant share of civil society representatives have a humanities background themselves, some even with a PhD degree working in industry, the media or other sectors.
- Third, there seems to be a dynamic to the examples and stakeholder groups that are enrolled when discussing value. The strong historical linkage between the humanities and teacher training seems to have been reduced, and examples related to immigration, terrorism and globalisation have joined traditional examples related to particularly strong aspects of national culture and genres of arts.

The heterogeneity of civil society stakeholders (in one report we distinguish between civil society as research subjects, cultural experiencers, media consumers, Habermasian democrats, direct users and citizen service users) implies that there are multiple ways in which they link up with AHR. Some have a direct need for arts and humanities research to make market risk assessments, to understand particular phenomena better, to build international and professional networks, and to legitimize certain courses of action. In the cultural industries AHR may be direct content providers, e.g. for radio and television programmes, for newspapers and printed and online media, for museums and exhibitions, and for non-profit organisations. But many stakeholders also pinpointed the indirect societal contribution of AHR: related more abstractly to knowledge and evidence bases, to values such as “bildung” and freedom of expression, and to societal functions such as democratic debate, critical perspectives, context provision and interpretative power. In the various HeraValue publications we have conceptualised these in various ways, for example as direct and indirect contributions in innovation systems, or with the metaphors “pipeline” and “ecology”.

There are fundamental differences in how the pipeline and ecology knowledge exchange processes are organised, but also large variation between the civil society stakeholders that use AHR directly. Here are some examples that we found:



- Traditional commissioning of research, e.g. from industry, ministries and public agencies. Some of these are long-term in nature, others based on more immediate needs (e.g. a large company considering entering a foreign market).
- Research collaboration, most often supported by research council funding, and with both academic AH researchers and external organisation personnel engaged in research efforts.
- Wider financial support for research and dissemination, where we e.g. found guest professorships, student research grants, support for digitalisation and public availability of knowledge bases, and more.
- Support for direct dissemination such as external seminar and lecture series, specific printed media series, TV and radio programmes and so on.
- Joint membership in boards, committees, reference groups and other arenas. This seemed fairly common.

One particular aspect that we found intriguing is the increasing involvement of various sorts of intermediaries in the knowledge transfer process. Although there are few signs of technology transfer offices, we see similar organisations supporting broader forms of knowledge transfer, interest organisations surrounding specific causes, archives, museums, events and stakeholder groups; new types of programmes and funding mechanisms, and much more. There are many helpers, but the resulting “innovation system” or ecology is still quite fragmented with lots of independent actors and weak forms of accountability. There may be many good reasons why such a system emerges and can work well, but it creates significant problems of measurement and valorisation.

The multitude of linkages corresponds well to what has been found in investigations of channels of interaction between universities and society in natural science and engineering. Another aspect of AHR that conforms to findings from other disciplines is the interactive and frequently personal nature of contacts. Most relations do not involve simple transfer of academic knowledge, but a wider process of interaction and iteration that can often last for a very long time. This does not mean that all AHR is directly discussed with a wider public or with societal participants, but just as there are direct and indirect ways in which arts and humanities research makes an imprint in society, there are similarly complex ways in which society effects researchers and their interests and perspectives. The personal aspect was not least mentioned by media interviewees, highlighting how their use of AHR often relies on a very small set of academic gatekeepers. Just as studies of academic patenting has shown that only a small proportion of scientists patent at all, and only a fraction of those patents generate any economic value, visible AHR value demonstrating processes seem just as skewed.

Thus our IP on civil society rejects the view that arts and humanities research is fundamentally different from other fields of research when it comes to societal linkages and engagement in innovation. The heterogeneity of linkages and the heterogeneity between AH disciplines, institutions and individuals (who still seem quite free to choose between distinct styles of societal engagement) corresponds well to what has been found in other fields. There are some differences, of course, the main ones are that some channels of interaction are rarely seen in AHR, such as patenting and licensing, and other channels are probably more common than in most other fields. The best example of the latter is probably the contact with the media; and the person-based and weakly institutionalised interaction may also be a more prevalent trait of AHR.

Does this mean that AHR never was significantly different in the way it comes into use than much other research, or that a process of convergence has taken place? We have no definite answer to this question, but our data may indicate that policy mechanisms can be seen as drivers of convergence. The many initiatives and intermediaries often seem based on an “assisted linear model” of knowledge transfer that is also clearly seen in many of the attempts to generate value from life science, natural science and engineering disciplines. This process probably has both advantages and disadvantages. It allows AHR to benefit from a general policy interest in issues like innovation, research for societal challenges and the “knowledge triangle”. Some activities may

even become more easily measurable. But there are at least two central problems. First, from a societal perspective heterogeneity in the research community is beneficial, and convergence might contribute to reducing this heterogeneity (both in terms of perspectives, values and interaction mechanisms). Second, much research has shown that an assisted linear model has many weaknesses even when applied to the hard sciences, and there are few reasons to believe it will work any better in AHR. Our study of civil society does not strongly support the idea that what is needed the most is more actors that try to push academics into more direct forms of interaction.

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