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Toward a Conceptual Framework of Arts Justice – A Normative Turn in the Sociology of Arts Inequalities

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ABSTRACT

This paper introduces a theoretical framework for studying justice in the field of one of the most common leisure activities – arts and cultural engagement – which we term "arts justice." We consider three forms of arts engagement: consumption, creation, and education. We develop the notion of arts justice as an expression of social justice, characterized by the unique ways art is embedded in social life. The proposed framework builds upon two theories of justice. Sen and Nussbaum's capabilities approach highlights the observable and hidden dimensions of arts engagement, focusing on people's actions and the conditions that facilitate or restrict them. Fraser's perspectival dualism approach complements the capabilities approach by differentiating between distributive and recognitive levels of justice related to arts engagement. Combining both approaches, we construct a holistic model of justice for the domains of art and culture and demonstrate its application in the context of leisure arts consumption.

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Introduction

This paper presents a theoretical framework for studying justice with regard to engagement with culture and art, which we term *arts justice*. Arts justice is an expression of social justice, with its idiosyncratic characteristics emanating from how art is embedded in cultural dimensions of leisure activity and social life (Stewart, 2014). We rely on two well-known and established currents in the study of social justice—Sen and Nussbaum's capabilities approach and Fraser's perspectival dualism approach—to suggest a framework of justice in the domains of culture and art. Such a framework makes a theoretical contribution to the literature on arts inequalities and has implications for cultural policy as well.

Engagement with art activities, objects, and experiences is a common and widespread leisure activity. Research has established that engaging with the arts, culture, and sports occupies a significant portion of many individuals' leisure time (Wheatley & Bickerton, 2024). Today, engaging in art-related activities is one of the most popular ways to spend leisure time (Stevenson, 2006). Watching films, attending music concerts, and reading books are essential parts of people's leisure activities that bring enjoyment and

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meaning to their lives. Moreover, they have overarching implications for people's well-being, sense of identity, and other positive outcomes.

However, there is a major caveat to the widespread engagement in the arts: it is very unevenly distributed. In addition, given that arts engagement is one of the main ways of acquiring cultural capital, the inability to do so also reproduces and exacerbates existing social inequalities. Thus, determining how to alleviate some of the inequality in the engagement in the arts would help alleviate inequalities in leisure activity in general.

We use the terms "art" and "culture" to signify the activities, products, and experiences that are the core part of what is known as the "cultural industries" (Throsby, 2008). Examples include film, literature, and the performing arts that are produced and consumed in various social contexts (Becker, 1982). Art is created, experienced, and learned in rich social surroundings that make arts engagement a public issue (Tepper & Ivey, 2012). Guaranteeing the availability of arts products and events, fostering artistic creativity, supervising the training of artists, and publicly disseminating art have often been the responsibility of public institutions and, more recently, the state. Additionally, the international declarations about human rights and those of children mention art and cultural engagement as fundamental human rights (Veal, 2023). Therefore, it is not unexpected that issues connecting art and justice have been the focal point of debates in several contexts (Banks, 2017; Ross, 1998). However, except for some notable exceptions, a holistic theory of arts justice has not yet been fully developed.

Arts justice is also a concern because the ability to access leisure arts activities is not distributed evenly in society (Rigolon et al., 2022). Thus, opportunities to consume art and culture, the availability of the material resources required for consuming art, and the possession of adequate cultural capital to engage with the arts meaningfully depend on a complex set of determinants (Feder, 2023). For example, the uneven spatial distribution of access to cultural consumption results in discrepancies in participation levels in the cultural sphere (Novak-Leonard & Brown, 2011). This uneven distribution is generally referred to as *artistic* or *cultural inequality* and has far-reaching implications for people's quality of life and well-being (Henley, 2016). Arts production, too, tends to cluster geographically in urban centers, thus exacerbating the inequalities related to the consumers and producers of art (Borowiecki, 2013; Hellmanzik, 2010). Consequently, people with a lower socioeconomic status, members of ethnic minorities, or residents in geographically peripheral areas are underrepresented in cultural occupations (Brook et al., 2020; Menger, 2006).[1]

The inequalities revealed in such studies have led to a growing concern about the future of artistic occupations and societal conditions that affect quality of life. Consequently, the emergence of arts justice as a guiding concept was inevitable.

Discussions on justice in the arts have presented varied perspectives, such as fair treatment for art and artists, and cultural rights (Banks, 2017; Clammer, 2019). However, despite these discussions, most research on arts justice lacks a solid theoretical framework for defining justice and does not provide normative approaches to assess justice in art. This study aims to advance and develop the concept of justice in art and leisure, presenting a model for the conceptualization of arts justice and its measurement. Following the principles set by Sen and Nussbaum's capabilities approach and Fraser's

perspectival dualism approach, we outline an arts justice framework. We suggest evaluating arts justice by looking at how distributional and recognitive components of cultural capabilities and functioning are distributed throughout the population. Consequently, our framework is based on four criteria that consider various aspects of the likelihood of being able to create, consume, and participate in the arts and cultural activities.

In the first section of the paper, we define the concept of arts engagement and outline the scope of the term "arts justice" that we develop here. Next, we review previous attempts to establish frameworks that deal with issues of justice in the domains of leisure, art, and culture. The next two sections review the capabilities and the perspectival dualism approaches to social justice and their relevance to arts justice. Then, we present our arts justice framework based on these theories and illustrate its application to the consumption of art as a leisure activity. We conclude with some final remarks about the potential applications of our framework of arts justice to the research on leisure, arts inequalities, and cultural policy.

What is art in the context of arts justice?

To clarify which activities belong to the realm of artistic products and activities, we refer to Throsby's concentric circles model (2008). Throsby positions the core creative arts—literature, music, the performing arts, and the visual arts—at the center of the model. On the next level are the core cultural industries—film, museums, galleries, libraries, and photography. More peripheral components of the model, such as television and radio, and fashion, may also be relevant to issues of arts justice. However, this paper focuses on the core creative arts in order to propose a basic approach to arts justice.

Questions of cultural inequality often focus on elite art forms, cultural products and activities, while disregarding others. The idea that some individuals have a "cultural deficit" and are not engaging with and consuming art was criticized as being too limited in its notion of cultural engagement and too focused on "high art." We maintain that a theory of arts justice should be applicable to a wide spectrum of cultural activities. Likewise, in the context of arts justice, the creation of art should not be restricted to formal, professional activities. It should also include nonprofessional creative activities. The framework of arts justice presented in this paper does not presuppose that one type of art is superior to another. Instead, it recognizes the spectrum of existing artistic expressions and examines culture that is both state-supported and commercial, elitist or popular, formal or dilettante. We aim to construct this general framework in a way that transcends divisions between high and low culture and can be applied to everyday culture engagement as well.

In recent years, digital platforms have come to play an increasing role in the dissemination of creative works and audience engagement (Mihelj et al., 2019). We consider physical (in-person) and digital (virtual) modes of art production and consumption. Inequalities are also created and reproduced in the online consumption and production of art (Arditi, 2020; Feder, 2023). Therefore, arts justice is relevant to both modes—in-person and virtual.

Arts consumption, production, and education

Arts engagement can take different forms. In any of the categories mentioned above, we distinguish between three types of arts engagement—consumption, production, and education (Zitcer et al., 2016) and consider them in exploring the concept of arts justice.

Consumption is defined as participation as an audience in cultural activities. Examples include visiting a museum, listening to music, watching a theater performance, reading a book, and other cultural leisure activities. In recent years, some have criticized the idea of passive attendance and replaced it with the notions of participation and engagement (Tepper & Ivey, 2012). Others opposed the notion that art should be reduced merely to a consumer good, as implied by the term "consumption." However, we use "arts consumption" here as it is used widely in the academic literature to differentiate it from other types of leisure activities (Katz-Gerro, 2004). Prior research has documented numerous inequalities in arts consumption along axes such as locality (Widdop & Cutts, 2012), level of education (Kraaykamp & Van Eijck, 2010), economic status (Novak-Leonard & Brown, 2011), ethnicity (DiMaggio & Useem, 1978), and gender (Katz-Gerro & Meier Jæger, 2015).

By *production* we refer to creative activities that involve creating, performing, disseminating, and preserving the cultural and artistic products, activities, or experiences that people engage with. Often, arts production activities involve multiple agents (Becker, 1982), leading to the notion of cultural or creative industries. The literature has identified the numerous inequalities that characterize the cultural industries and other related fields (Brook et al., 2020). Remedying these inequalities is often framed as a matter of social justice (Heidelberg, 2019).

Finally, art *education* refers to learning about art objects and activities (e.g. music classes at school), and training to take part in cultural production (e.g. learning to play an instrument). Inequalities in arts education can have enduring effects on personal well-being. Art education has various positive effects including educational attainment (Martin et al., 2013), earnings (Reeves & De Vries, 2019), and social and cognitive skills (Winner et al., 2013). Specifically, exposure to art at an early age significantly influences art consumption in adulthood (Dumais, 2019).

Arts justice and leisure justice

Justice and leisure

While the study of inequalities in leisure activities has a long history, framing these inequalities as a matter of justice has gained significant traction in the past 20 years (Veal, 2023). For example, between 2000 and 2009 the journal *Leisure Sciences* published only two papers with the word "justice" in their title. However, that number increased to eight papers in 2010–2019 (six of them in a special issue devoted to this subject), and seven papers just between 2020 and 2023. These numbers reflect the growing awareness of and relevance accorded to issues of fairness, equity, and the normative dimensions of leisure in the social sciences and leisure studies.

These papers draw their intellectual foundation from the extensive literature on justice and apply it to the content world of leisure research, leading to the emergence

of the concept of "leisure justice." Although broad social justice concepts can serve as guiding principles for a notion of leisure justice, applying a "one size fits all" conceptualization of justice to the diverse components of the leisure world can be more detrimental than beneficial. Just as the notion of "leisure justice" is a refinement and application of the concept of social justice to the leisure studies world, further refinement is needed for the distinct and idiosyncratic components of leisure behaviors. This is where our concept of "arts justice" stems from. However, arts justice is not a standalone theory. It contributes to the development of a more nuanced and robust general theory of social justice in leisure.

Ambiguity and lack of specificity can hinder attempts to address social justice in the domain of leisure. In response to calls for incorporating justice research in leisure studies (Henderson, 2014; Parry et al., 2013), we move beyond these general appeals and propose a tangible model that incorporates social justice perspectives in the specific domain of arts engagement.

Our work is motivated by scholarship emphasizing the importance of integrating a social justice perspective to address inequities and injustices in leisure. This call has been articulated through various critical and transformative frameworks that seek to redefine the role of leisure research in promoting social change and equity. An early call for this paradigm shift was made by Allison (2000), who underscored the need to connect leisure research with broader social justice issues such as gender, race/ethnicity, social class, disability, age, and sexual orientation. Allison critiqued the traditional paradigm in leisure research, which often focused narrowly on the individual level, neglecting the institutional conditions and systemic barriers that perpetuate exclusion and marginalization. She advocated a deeper exploration of how leisure scholars can address various forms of exploitation and powerlessness to foster a more inclusive and equitable society.

More recently, Parry et al. (2013) argued that critical theories can provide an effective framework for pursuing social justice in leisure research. They emphasized the need for an emancipatory vision that directly engages with the power differentials and structural inequalities underpinning leisure experiences. Similar to their argument, we posit that a normative framework that not only points to cultural injustices but also proposes the positive principle of arts justice is essential to initiate tangible changes in the art world that lead to its more equitable organization and operation. We maintain that a theory of justice must explain what is wrong in situations that are intuitively perceived as arts injustices, such as marginalization and discrimination. We acknowledge that people suffer from these injustices and seek to analyze them in terms of an arts justice theory. These questions highlight the complexities that a paradigm of arts justice poses, particularly in determining criteria for its evaluation (Israel & Frenkel, 2018).

Henderson (2014) advanced this discourse by introducing the concept of leisure justice, which links social and environmental justice within the context of leisure. Henderson defined leisure justice as the right to leisure for all individuals, which entails equitable access to leisure opportunities. She also argued that leisure justice should be an imperative for research and practice. We embrace Parry et al.'s and Henderson's call to influence policy and impact social change. Our concept of "arts justice" facilitates the development of an arts justice metric that aligns with the professional terminology used by policymakers and leisure practitioners.

Stewart (2014) outlined three interrelated criteria for leisure justice research: (1) identification of a value orientation and vision for social justice, (2) development of a social or cultural framework to enhance social justice, and (3) connection to social and political action to drive communities toward more equitable relations. He also presented three approaches that leisure justice research could pursue: descriptive approaches that focus on revealing differences and inequalities in leisure experiences, explanatory approaches that aim to understand the reasons behind these inequalities, and transformative approaches that are explicitly directed at changing the conditions of participants and their communities.

While a comprehensive theory of leisure justice remains elusive, we aim to advance this endeavor by laying a foundation for a theoretical framework for arts justice, explicitly focusing on arts consumption as a key aspect of leisure behavior. In the spirit of Stewart's (2014) call, we identify a value orientation and vision for social justice in the liberal approach to justice as expressed in the works of Sen, Nussbaum, and Fraser. In broad strokes, the liberal view sees leisure activity and arts and cultural engagement as basic entitlements and as part and parcel of human freedoms and self-fulfillment (Veal, 2023). Then, as Stewart suggests, we apply these approaches to art and culture in great detail and develop a descriptive and explanatory framework, which, in turn, may be used to direct or motivate social and political action toward arts justice.

Recent contributions to the study of leisure justice have approached it from different aspects. Our liberal value orientation toward arts justice is shared by Veal's (2023) contention that integrating both concepts of social justice and human rights can enhance the understanding and analysis of leisure issues. As we argue in this paper, rights are an essential component of arts justice. However, they alone do not guarantee the realization of arts consumption and the achievement of arts justice, because other barriers may stand in the way (Allison, 2000). The role of arts engagement as a leisure activity in relation to social justice is exemplified in Yuen and Fortune (2020) study of a Canadian community arts project for women who have been convicted. Although the study focuses on how arts engagement is used to promote social justice, it shows how the ability to participate in art creation as a leisure activity is in itself a matter of arts justice. Another line of research into leisure justice builds on approaches from the environmental justice literature (e.g. Cantillon et al., 2020; Rigolon et al., 2022). Given that our theory stems from a social justice perspective, we will not review this literature here.

Justice and the arts

The term "arts justice" is rarely used in academic literature, as are other seemingly synonymous notions such as "artistic justice," "cultural justice," and "creative justice." Even when these terms appear, they are usually not developed independently but serve as auxiliary concepts to emphasize issues of fair treatment and inclusion. In this section, we review notable examples of studies that have addressed these notions in more detail.

Andrew Ross (1998) book, *Real Love—In Pursuit of Cultural Justice,* uses the concept of cultural justice quite loosely, oscillating between the wider, anthropological, and

narrower, esthetic, registers of the word culture, and between "doing justice to culture, pursuing justice through cultural means, and seeking justice for cultural claims" (p. 2). Ross' treatment of cultural justice centers on recognition of cultural differences that guide redistribution policies and the protection of minority rights. However, Ross does not provide a clear formulation of what cultural justice is.

Banks (2017) notion of "creative justice" is a pertinent contribution to the study of justice concepts in the context of cultural work. Banks outlines three normative theoretical concepts of "creative justice": (1) *objective respect,* referring to the need to acknowledge the importance of cultural objects and practices; (2) *parity of participation,* referring to the social facilitation of free and equal interaction between all members of society, which requires improvements in "economic distribution, cultural recognition and political participation;" and (3) *reduction of harms,* referring to the ability to develop human capacities, which depends on preventing work conditions that might impede the achievement of this potential. Banks' view of arts justice through the perspective of "creative justice" draws on important theories of social justice, combining them with an analysis of cultural employment in the UK. Although he focuses on creative workers and employment arrangements, he highlights several aspects that are applicable to an analysis of arts justice in general, such as the distribution of economic resources, the recognition of cultural diversity, and the political implications of cultural engagement. Clammer (2019) presents a concept of cultural justice built around the notion of cultural rights including the right to experience beauty, which he terms "visual justice." He places cultural justice in the general context of "holistic development" and sees it as situated in relation to a particular culture and its history.

Two other research subfields closely align with the subject of arts justice. First, the "cultural democracy" perspective looks at the art world through the theoretical prism of democratic values such as public participation, equality, and rights (Evrard, 1997; Hadley & Belfiore, 2018). Recently, the idea of cultural democratization was specifically linked to the capabilities approach (Gross & Wilson, 2020). Second, the literature on access, diversity, equity, and inclusion in the art world has been growing recently both in the academic and practical fields (Cuyler, 2020). By presenting these concepts as normative principles that promote social justice in artistic engagement, this body of literature aligns closely with the concept of arts justice. While we lack the space to explore these approaches in detail in this paper, we recognize their relevance to arts justice and draw valuable insights from them.

The lack of a theoretical framework of arts justice seems to be a gap in the literature. It underscores the need for a metric of justice to explore social phenomena related to culture and art. Creating such a metric that can be used to measure or analyze arts justice qualitatively or quantitatively can help develop policies that promote sustainability and equality. The next two sections review two theories of justice that are relevant to cultural consumption, production, and education – Sen's capabilities approach and Fraser's perspectival dualism. We use these theories to build a constructive theory of arts justice.

The capabilities approach

The capabilities approach is a normative theoretical framework for understanding and evaluating human development and well-being. It was developed by Amartya Sen

(1980) and later by Martha Nussbaum (1987). The capabilities approach calls for measures of human development and justice that are expressed by the freedom and potential that people have rather than by economic indicators. Sen emphasizes the importance of empowering individuals to achieve the goals they value and to "lead the lives they have reason to value" (Nussbaum & Sen, 1993). Therefore, central to this approach is the concept of capabilities and functionings. Capabilities represent the range of things that people are able to do and achieve, while functionings refer to the actual activities they do and the outcomes they actually achieve.

Sen (1995) claims that the capabilities approach in itself is not a theory of justice but rather suggests a way to conduct inter-personal comparisons that underlie any concept of justice. Unlike Sen, Nussbaum's subsequent development tried to establish a concrete list of basic capabilities that are fundamental to human well-being and should be guaranteed to all. Nussbaum (2000) distinguishes between three types of capabilities: (1) basic, meaning those that people are born with, (2) internal, meaning those that people develop as they mature, whether intentionally or not; and (3) combined, meaning those that require both an internal capability and adequate external conditions. She claims that people have the right to demand these capabilities from the government (Nussbaum, 2007). They are not only entitlements that should be protected, but also that need to be developed.

The capabilities approach looks at a wide range of capabilities and functionings, and pays special attention to the different ways and contexts in which functionings happen (Robeyns, 2005). Sen (1999) makes a distinction between several *conversion factors* by which capabilities are turned into functionings. These conversion factors include personal factors that are physical, psychological, or cognitive characteristics such as being able-bodied or possessing reading skills; social characteristics, such as social norms or governmental policies; and environmental characteristics, which include climate, geographical location, provision of public goods, and infrastructure facilities (Nambiar, 2013).

Through the lens of capabilities and functionings we can find a way to evaluate inequality and create normative claims for justice with regard to arts engagement. One of the capabilities listed in Nussbaum's basic set of human capabilities is the capability of "senses, imagination and thought," which includes "being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth" (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 76). Even without classifying arts engagement as a basic capability, the capabilities approach can be useful as a theoretical framework for evaluating well-being, policy efficiency, and inequalities and as the basis for a theory and metric of arts justice. Thus, for example, we can look at a cultural policy through its impact on people's capabilities and functions (Robeyns, 2005).

The capabilities approach and arts consumption, production, and education

The capabilities approach is relevant to arts consumption, production, and education in a number of ways. Access to arts consumption is a capability, in that it enables individuals to participate in and engage with cultural and artistic activities, which can be an important source of well-being and personal fulfillment. Expanding access to

arts consumption, particularly for disadvantaged groups, can promote greater equality and well-being (Feder, 2023; Zitcer et al., 2016).

The capabilities approach recognizes the importance of holistic well-being, which includes not only economic and material measures, but also social, cultural, and personal dimensions (Robeyns, 2005). Engagement with the arts can contribute to well-being by providing opportunities for personal expression and creativity, cultural learning and understanding, and social connection and participation. If people lack the resources or opportunities to attend concerts, visit museums, or engage with other forms of art physically or virtually, their capability to consume art is limited. On the other hand, if they have access to a wide range of arts activities, they are able to fully exercise their capability to consume art and to derive the personal benefits of such engagement (Zitcer et al., 2016).

The capabilities approach can also be applied to arts creation and arts education. In the context of arts creation, the capabilities approach highlights the importance of developing the skills and resources necessary for the creation and dissemination of art. Examples include access to training in artistic techniques, as well as the development of the necessary infrastructure for doing so, such as studios, galleries, and performance spaces (García, 2004). With regard to arts education, the capabilities approach recognizes the importance of developing the skills and knowledge necessary for individuals to engage with and appreciate art as consumers or amateur creators. This process can involve providing access to arts education and training, as well as promoting the development of creative skills that promote understanding of art (Dumais, 2019).

The capabilities approach and arts justice

The capabilities approach paradigm can be used in the context of arts justice based on the contention that arts consumption, creation, and education are three kinds of functionings that are part of people's well-being. There is abundant evidence of the positive effects of arts engagement on people's health (Staricoff, 2004) and educational achievement (Hetland & Winner, 2001). The UN Declaration of Human Rights states that, "Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, [and] to enjoy the arts…" (UN Assembly, 1948, Article 27/1). Such functionings require a specific set of necessary capabilities. Thus, arts justice is measured by the level of functioning related to arts consumption, creation, and education and the level of available capabilities that serve as the prerequisites for these functionings.

Academic research has primarily explored the link between the capabilities approach and art through studies focusing on justice in cultural policy and urban cultural development. Zitcer et al. (2016) use the capabilities approach to explore a cultural development project in West Philadelphia neighborhoods. Their study deals with the question of arts engagement as a capability. They acknowledge that arts engagement is not explicitly listed in Nussbaum's list of capabilities. However, they maintain that the existing literature shows that it supports and links with other capabilities such as the development of sense, imagination, and thought. They found that the neighborhoods' residents almost unanimously considered the arts to be an important and beneficial part of their lives. In accordance with the capabilities approach logic, the residents saw arts engagement as a means to improve their lives, especially for children.

These findings led the researchers to suggest that arts consumption, creation, and education are indeed capabilities that should be considered when addressing questions of community development and justice.

We are not dealing with the question of whether arts consumption, creation, and education are indeed relevant capacities. We take the empirical fact that they exist in every society and are often supported by public resources as a starting point. Hence, without having to take a position on the importance of arts engagement, we apply the notions of capabilities and functionings to understand, assess, and compare levels of justice related to arts engagement.

Gross and Wilson (2020) assert that although the existing applications of the capabilities approach in the field of cultural policy are limited, it can be very useful in analyzing cultural ecosystems. In their attempt to suggest an alternative value system to guide cultural policy in the UK, they focus on the development of arts related opportunities. They regard arts engagement as an ecosystem encompassing citizens, arts organizations, non-arts organizations, and public authorities. Gross and Wilson maintain that the capabilities approach can provide a normative and conceptual framework for studying the resources and conditions that enable or constrain arts related opportunities and engagement (p. 337). They suggest the possibility of operationalizing the capabilities approach by developing arts-related capabilities indices and applying them to the study of cultural ecosystems.

We build on Gross and Wilson's idea of looking at art scenes as intricate systems and their call for developing the capabilities approach to arts engagement. Thus, we aim to identify the levels of functionings and capabilities within arts engagement—consumption, creation, and education. To do so, we will try to pinpoint the functionings that for an individual form the capabilities that provide "the substantive freedom to achieve alternative functioning combinations" (Sen, 1999, p. 75). By specifying the main types of functionings and capabilities, the study's framework will provide the basis for comparing individuals and their respective levels of functionings and capabilities, thus creating a model for normatively assessing levels of arts justice.

When looking at arts consumption, we can identify the functioning dimension in the act of attending, watching, or otherwise engaging with existing art objects or events. In arts creation, functioning corresponds to the act of participating in the creation of an artistic artifact or performance. Likewise, the functioning aspect of arts education involves a learning process or activity related to one of the artistic fields.

Turning to the capabilities dimension, we are looking for" the capabilities of people, that is, the extent of their opportunity set and of their freedom to choose among this set" (Stiglitz et al., 2009, p.15). Without attempting to present a complete list of these capabilities at this stage, it is instructive to outline their main characteristics. Arts related capabilities could be intangible, such as cultural rights, or physical, such as owning a musical instrument, or access to a built venue for listening to a music concert. These capabilities could be linked to personal resources—embodied resources, such as personal conversion factors, or to other personal resources, such as income. Capabilities can also be determined by external elements, such as social conversion factors (e.g., policies) or environmental conversion factors (e.g. cultural infrastructure). In order to be better equipped with theoretical tools to distinguish between types of

arts related capabilities and functionings and their relation to concepts of justice, we turn to Nancy Fraser's perspectival dualism approach.

Perspectival dualism – recognitive and distributive justice

Fraser's perspectival dualism justice theory and its focus on distributive and recognitive justice provides another way for understanding and addressing social justice and inequality issues (Fraser & Honneth, 2003). Fraser distinguishes between distributive justice, which refers to the equitable distribution of resources and benefits within a society, and recognitive justice, which refers to the recognition, validation, and representation of social identities and cultural groups. Whereas the capabilities approach helps us ground our framework of arts justice by identifying two different modes of people's being and doing—capabilities and functionings—Fraser's perspectival dualism approach helps us distinguish between two layers of claims for justice—the distributional and the recognitive—which she considers relevant for any aspect of social justice (Fraser & Honneth, 2003).

Fraser claims that the social justice discourse is incorrectly divided between claims for redistribution and recognition, which are cast as contradictory and mutually exclusive. However, in her view, this contradiction is false. Redistribution and recognition should be considered synchronous and complementary dimensions that highlight different aspects of justice claims. Both have distinct "emancipatory aspects" that should be integrated into a holistic framework of justice. Following Fraser, we treat the distributional and recognitive aspects as two complementary dimensions that should be considered when studying arts justice.

Fraser sees redistribution and recognition as two normative paradigms encompassing a set of claims that political and social agents make. The distributive paradigm is focused on socioeconomic injustices stemming from society's economic structure. Distributive injustices are linked to classes or class-like collectives, in a Weberian sense, that are defined by economic parameters. The remedy for distributive injustice is some kind of economic restructuring, which can come in the form of the actual redistribution of resources or a change in the public or bureaucratic procedures to promote the democratization of resource allocations.

In contrast, recognition is focused on cultural injustices that are manifested in a symbolic level of representation or interpretation. Such injustices include situations where cultural practices are suppressed by the requirement to conform to foreign ways of cultural expression, or cultural non-recognition, where the authorities marginalize or ignore specific cultural practices. Accordingly, recognitive injustices are related to status groups whose cultural patterns are devalued. The solution to these kinds of injustices is giving adequate place to these cultural patterns, for example, by increasing the value of underrepresented groups' artistic products or supporting cultural diversity.

The perspectival dualism approach and arts consumption, production, and education

Fraser's distinction between distributive and recognitive aspects is applicable to issues of access and representation in the context of arts engagement. For example, questions

of distributive justice include issues such as the allocation of public funding for arts organizations and arts education programs (Feder & Katz-Gerro, 2015). Questions of recognitive justice include issues such as the representation of diverse identities and perspectives in the art world, and the validation of social identities within the community of art creators (Du Gay et al., 2013; Dymond, 2019).

We can outline the distributional and recognitive aspects that are linked to arts consumption, production, and education. Distributional aspects of arts consumption are linked to levels of consumption, the variety of art activities, and the distribution of resources that affect the availability of artistic products and the opportunity to consume them. Recognitive aspects of consumption are linked to the identity of the consumers and the cultural identities reflected in the content of the art products. By cultural identities we mean the identities that are being represented, valued, and voiced in art products or events and the cultural traditions or groups with which they are associated. Examples include the traditional music of an ethnic group or a book written in its language.

In the domain of arts production, the distributional dimension refers to the resources that are available or made available to those who create artistic content, products, or events. Another distributional aspect pertains to the resources that affect the dissemination and preservation of existing artistic artifacts or events. On the other side, the recognitive aspects of arts creation refer to the cultural identities of the creators and the content created. Similarly, the distributional aspects of arts education are linked to the availability of and participation in educational activities related to arts appreciation or creation. Its recognitive aspects are those linked to the cultural identity of the art being learned.

The perspectival dualism approach and arts justice

Due to its special emphasis on the cultural and recognitive aspects of justice, Fraser's theory is particularly relevant to engagement with the arts. However, the perspectival dualism approach received limited attention in the literature discussing justice in culture and art.

While references to Fraser's theory can be found in works that relate to justice in the arts, it often lacks full development. Fraser's ideas have been applied in other art-related theoretical contexts, such as resistance to the censorship of art (Majewska, 2019) and participation in cultural policy-making (Milz, 2007). Typically, Fraser's theory is referenced to highlight the relationship between cultural aspects and justice. However, it usually invokes only the recognitive dimension without any particular application to questions of arts justice (e.g. Cantillon et al., 2020). Such an approach does not adequately address Fraser's contention that recognition and redistribution are generally interconnected.

In sum, studying the field of art, where cultural differences are fundamental and abundant, requires us to look for these two forms of justice when we assess capabilities and functionings. In the following section, we juxtapose the capabilities approach and the perspectival dualism approach and outline a theory of arts justice that draws from the combination of both approaches.

A model of arts justice

In the previous two sections we described the capabilities and the perspectival dualism approaches, demonstrating their relevance to arts consumption, creation, and education. These two theories are complementary. The capabilities approach highlights the types of human factors that apply to arts engagement, whether actual or potential. Fraser's theory points to the socioeconomic and cultural dimensions in which claims about arts justice can be expressed and analyzed.

In this section, we present a framework of arts justice that considers these approaches in tandem. Our framework is based on a juxtaposition of Sen's and Fraser's theories of social justice that forms a quadripolar model of arts justice. Thus, we identify the distributional and recognitive components of both capabilities and functionings with regard to arts engagement, and present four criteria for arts justice.

To outline the different aspects of arts justice, we distinguish between capabilities and functionings across the three modes of arts engagement: consumption, production, and education. Then, we further differentiate between the distributive and recognitive elements of these capabilities and functionings. Figure 1 depicts the structure of the theory in its application to arts consumption, production, and education. We will describe how this framework can be applied to the field of arts consumption. Due to the importance of arts consumption as a leisure activity and our lack of space in this paper, we will reserve the detailed exploration of arts justice in the other two areas for a subsequent paper.

In the case of arts consumption, we can distinguish between consumption capabilities that include engaging with arts as audiences, spectators, and consumers, and those that are internal or combined, in Nussbaum's terminology, that are prerequisites to arts consumption. Combining these capabilities with the distinction between recognitive and distributional aspects results in four components of arts justice.

Recognitive consumption capabilities are defined as the intangible entitlements related to artistic consumption, which we refer to as the right to consume art. This right is selectively granted or denied to specific social or cultural groups. One example is the direct denial of arts consumption rights to people of color during the Jim Crow period in the US. The denial of this right can also be indirect, such as limitations on free movement that restrict access to the arts (Murray, 1997). Therefore, we refer to recognitive consumption capabilities as "rights."

	Capabilities			**Functionings**		
Distributive	Distributive components of arts			Distributive components of arts		
	Consumption	Creation	Education	Consumption	Creation	Education
	Capabilities			Functionings		
Recognitive	Recognitive components of arts			Recognitive components of arts		
	Consumption	Creation	Education	Consumption	Creation	Education
	Capabilities			Functionings		

Figure 1. The juxtaposition of the capabilities approach and the perspectival dualism approach for assessing arts justice.

Distributive consumption capabilities refer to the tangible capabilities associated with the allocation of public or private resources. An example of such capabilities is the availability of a cultural infrastructure, such as buildings and organizations that produce or host art activities. Many art organizations and cultural buildings are supported by public funding, making their availability a matter of distributive justice (Rosenstein, 2018). Other distributive capabilities such as individuals' income level and the cost of art activities are privately determined. Nevertheless, to the extent that public policy affects income levels and the price of artistic experiences, these factors can also be considered a matter of distributive justice (Prieto-Rodríguez & Fernández-Blanco, 2006). We will refer to distributive consumption capabilities more generally as "availability." In sum, availability means having access to the tangible resources required for arts consumption.

Unlike capabilities, consumption functionings involve a concrete action, such as attending a performance or visiting a museum. Hence, **distributive consumption functionings** refer to the quantity and variety of arts consumption activities in which individuals participate. These instances of interaction with arts objects and experiences are dependent on preexisting capabilities, but are not guaranteed by them. We call this dimension of arts justice an "encounter" to denote the act of coming into contact with an artistic creation.

Finally, **recognitive consumption functionings** refer to an intangible dimension of arts consumption that involves decoding, understanding, and enjoying the artistic material in a way that enhances one's well-being. This level of functioning is connected to cultural capabilities in a bi-directional way. On one hand, it relies on the acquisition and development of cultural competencies that allow individuals to meaningfully engage with the content of specific arts activities. Conversely, it also involves adjusting the existing artistic offerings to the levels and types of cultural competencies of distinct cultural and social groups. Thus, recognitive consumption functionings entail acknowledging, respecting, and legitimizing culturally diverse groups. We call this dimension of arts justice "connection" to denote the meaningful engagement with the arts activity or event.

The four dimensions of arts justice with regard to arts consumption – *rights*, *availability*, *encounter,* and *connection* – are sequential. While each dimension can be independently operationalized and measured, there is a logical order between them. As depicted in Figure 2, each higher-order element is contingent on the existence of the previous components. Thus, each link in the chain becomes relevant only after the previous link has been activated. For example, the *availability* of arts consumption

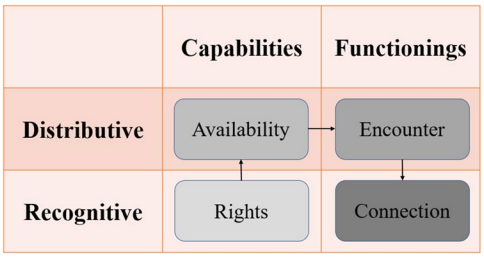

Figure 2. Our framework of arts justice for cultural consumption.

is dependent on having basic arts related *rights*. Similarly, an *encounter* with art becomes relevant only when there is the *availability* that enables it to happen.

The pinnacle of the arts consumption process is the *connection* component that denotes meaningful engagement with art, which cannot be achieved without the preceding steps. Any process that does not culminate in a *connection* is not a full realization of arts consumption and arts justice. Consequently, a comprehensive model of arts justice must account for and establish a normative demand for each element within the arts justice framework.

The components of the framework are not binary in nature. They do not simply exist or not, or are strictly just or unjust, but can take on varying levels along an imaginary continuum. Higher levels of more fundamental dimensions may enable higher levels of more advanced dimensions of arts justice but do not guarantee them. For instance, increased *availability* (e.g. a wide range of arts offerings) might result in more *encounters* (e.g. attending numerous performances), but not necessarily, as the *encounter* dimension is also independently determined by other factors (e.g. ticket prices).

Conclusion

This paper presents a theoretical framework of arts justice that pertains to the fields of arts consumption, creation, and education. It combines Sen and Nussbaum's capabilities approach and Fraser's perspectival dualism approach to justice. Our framework uses the capabilities approach to focus on the observable functionings and the covert capabilities dimensions of arts engagement and distinguish between the actual and potential levels of arts engagement. The perspectival dualism approach allows us to examine both the tangible distributive dimension that underpins arts justice and the intangible level of cultural recognition relevant to the content of art products or events. Accordingly, our framework considers the distributional and recognitive aspects of capabilities and functionings related to arts consumption, creation, and education, a combination that makes sense especially in the artistic and cultural sphere.

We apply this framework in the area of leisure arts consumption. The first dimension of our framework is the recognitive dimension of capabilities, which consists of an array of *rights* that enable arts consumption. Arts consumption *rights* enable the second dimension of arts justice – the distributive aspect of arts related capabilities that we term *availability*. This includes the actual opportunity to come in contact with the consumption of art experiences. Consequently, we use the term *encounter* to refer to the actual engagement with arts experiences, which forms the third level of the framework and represents the distributive aspects of arts related functionings. The final level of the arts justice framework is *connection* – the recognitive aspect of arts related functionings, which in the case of arts consumption pertains to the meaningful engagement with the artistic content consumed.

The suggested theoretical framework contributes to the literature on social justice in leisure arts activities and cultural inequalities. It builds on well-established theoretical approaches to social justice and adapts them to the case of arts engagement. As such, it represents a novel development of a comprehensive normative framework that can be used to evaluate justice and inequality in arts and culture. We add to the existing

literature both in terms of the theoretical foundations that underlie the framework and the scope of arts related activities—consumption, creation, and education—that the framework aims to cover. Furthermore, the framework can provide a basis for determining a metric for examining and assessing arts justice that can be used in future empirical studies.

With our arts justice framework, we bridge the gap between theory and future empirical efforts to research human well-being that emerges from the world of art and culture as a leisure activity. It does, however, require the development of plausible operational formulations from which concrete metrics might be established. Using the *encounter* dimension as an example, could setting a minimum level of art encounters per person be a policy goal in achieving arts justice? Should the accumulation of such experiences be a policy aim? Answering these questions is challenging. Similarly, maximizing the *connection* dimension among underserved populations may be a policy target for reducing inequality. Nevertheless, the definition and assessment of what constitutes a "good" or "bad" connection are sometimes contentious or dominated by privileged elites. How can we guarantee that everyone has equal opportunities to form meaningful connections with artistic experiences?

Operationalizing the framework in empirical research of arts-related inequalities can take two forms. First, the framework can generate research questions derived from its conceptual structure. For example, looking at the distributive dimension of consumption capabilities—availability—can direct us to look at how the availability of artistic offerings is distributed in relation to the characteristics of the population it is intended to cater to. Similarly, focusing on the recognitive aspect of art creations may prompt questions about differences in gender segregation in cultural occupations between cultural hubs and peripheral areas. Second, the framework can also serve as a lens through which to interpret and frame existing studies of arts-related inequalities.

Critical approaches to cultural consumption and production, such as Adorno and Horkheimer's Cultural Industry thesis (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002), critique the modern commercial art world. They view it as a potential field for ideological indoctrination and a tool that deceptively encourages conformity to mass culture, thereby suppressing freedom and keeping the masses subservient to the economic system. According to this criticism, increasing access to arts engagement would result only in solidifying current exploitative economic and social power structures. However, as Adorno and Horkheimer describe this situation, it is not the expression of the consumers' free choice of art activities and experience because "the cultural industry… deal[s] with consumers' needs, producing them, controling them, disciplining them, and even withdrawing amusement" (p. 144). Such a cultural supply system fails with regard to the recognitive dimension that we present in our arts justice framework. Art supply that does not recognize the preferences and needs of potential art consumers cannot lead to arts justice situations. Moreover, Adorno (1997) himself contends that autonomous art that does not serve exploitative social forces can have an emancipatory power that would lead people to break the chains of their mental and economic enslavement.

The question of what should be done to remedy arts related injustices, as defined by this theoretical framework, is beyond the scope of this paper and is deeply embedded in normative judgments that could be addressed in actual policy. Nevertheless,

the proposed theory can serve as the basis for evaluating the inequality and justice of cultural ecosystems at the national or local levels. Such an evaluation can be used to study, plan, and evaluate arts policies. Future studies can operationalize the different dimensions of arts justice in the fields of consumption, creation, and education and construct research tools that will enable empirical measurement of the dimensions of arts justice in specific case studies.

Note

1. See (UNESCO, 2009).

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