ECONOMICS AND THE ARTS

ABDUL KHAKEE

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FOREWORD

In 1990, the Sixth International Conference on Cultural Economics will be held at the University of Umeå, between June 11 and June 13. The Conference is being jointly organized by CERUM and The Association for Cultural Economics, with support from the Swedish National Council for Cultural Affairs and the Ministry of Education.*

The Conference has two major aims: (i) to get together an international community of researchers in cultural economics to exchange ideas and discuss results of recently completed or ongoing research in the field, and (ii) to create a platform for Swedish and other Nordic researchers to increase their share of research in cultural economics.

The current paper by Abdul Khakee, Deputy Director of the Conference, describes the development and the nature of cultural economics, a field which deals primarily with (1) economic analyses of demand and supply characteristics of various arts industries and of associations with other industries and the economy; (2) analyses of the case for public support, and the efficiency of various levels and types of support, and (3) analyses of resource allocation decisions in arts administration. The proceedings of the five previous conferences are also presented. In this way this paper provides an overall background to the Umeå congregation in June 1990.

Umeå, August 1989

Börje Johansson

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ECONOMICS AND THE ARTS

The economics of culture is a relatively new subject. In fact many economists date the birth of the subject to 1966 when Baumol and Bowen published their seminal work 'Performing Arts. The Economic Dilemma'. Prior to this date, few economists had paid any specific attention to cultural issues.

Contemporary Ideas about Cultural Economics

Baumol and Bowen's book provides the first most thorough analysis of the financial plight of the performing arts in North America and Britain. With the help of a detailed analysis of the economic state and technology of the performing arts, Baumol and Bowen show that the performing arts together with a variety of public services experience and would continue to experience a pattern of rising costs that would steadily and cumulatively outstrip the rate of inflation characterizing the remainder of the economy. Their main thesis is that the root of the cost pressure which beset the arts is the nature of their technology. The technology of live performance leaves little room for labour-saving innovations, since the end product is the labour of the performer. The authors also show that with cost increases and recession in the economy, the income gap for the performing arts has continued and will continue to widen.

On these premises of the vulnerability of performing arts, Baumol and Bowen discuss the arguments for public intervention. They present following arguments for the public support of the arts:

(1) It would provide opportunity for attendance for the members of the community denied the opportunity to learn to appreciate arts.
(2) It facilitates the education of minors in whom the taste of the arts is instilled by early experiences.

(3) Arts can be characterized as "mixed goods" where part of the cost can be realized by sale to the public but the services are not wholly amenable to ordinary commercial standards of valuation.

Baumol and Bowen identify four types of benefits which the arts confer on the community as a whole besides the direct benefits on those who attend a performance:

(1) Prestige conferred on a nation.

(2) The advantage that the availability of cultural activity confers on business in its vicinity and on national scale, on tourism.

(3) Social contribution to future generations specially since arts traditions once destroyed would require a lot of resources to be revived.

(4) Educational benefits where teaching of arts makes for a finer civilization.

Baumol and Bowen do not contend by stating a rationale for public intervention. They look at alternative methods to reduce the income gap of performing arts. Private contributions to the arts from rich individuals, foundations and private enterprises cannot make for more than a small measure of the economic support needed by the arts. Regulations of ticket prices has limited importance in this context. Besides the disinclination to raise prices on moral grounds, demand for tickets is not altogether unresponsive to price changes. There are two other factors limiting price rises, namely the competitive pressures on performing arts as exemplified by the reduced cost of phonograph records and television receivers and the fact that supplementary attendance outlays - transportation, restaurant and baby sitter - continue to rise and constitute half the cost of going to a performance. Baumol and Bowen thereby contend that the income gap
problem is serious enough for the performing arts to require sources of finances other than box office sales and private donations.

Dominance of the Welfare Theoretic Public Support Arguments

The welfare theoretic public support arguments as put forward by Baumol and Bowen were restated even more firmly by Peacock three years later in his often-cited paper, 'Welfare Economics and Public Subsidies to the Arts'. While accepting the doctrine of consumer sovereignty's operational significance in policy matters, Peacock is quite concerned with the slender basis of externalities' arguments which have dominated economic discussion in devising government expenditure policies which conform to Paretian welfare postulates. He makes a case for expanding the range of choice alternatives to the consumers of the arts by influencing their preference functions through education on cultural matters, whereas Paretian analysis assumes that preferences remain fixed.

No other economist has emphasized education as a way of cultivating a taste for the arts as Scitovsky has done. He contends that none of the standard arguments in favour of government financing is really applicable to the arts. They are not a collective good which could be more cheaply or efficiently provided by government; their subsidizing is not a suitable means for mitigating income inequalities nor can it be justified on grounds of protecting the interest of future generations. The only valid argument for government aid to the arts is a means of educating the public's taste, and that the public would benefit from a more educated taste.

Scitovsky substantiates this argument by extending the conventional theory of consumer behaviour to include three categories of human satisfaction: personal comfort (biological needs and desires), social comforts (job titles, civic activities, etc.) and stimulation (all sources of interest, entertainment and excitement). Scitovsky argues that there is nothing in economic theory that tells us that a competitive market will bring about on optimal level of expenditure in the
formation of tastes and that the decision to encourage the formation of certain tastes and to discourage others must be a collective decision on public education and if this is 'cultural paternalism', so be it.

1970's witnessed a tremendous increase in the number of works in the field of cultural economics. This was partly due to the general recognition of the increasing economic pressures on the arts and partly from subtle changes in some economists' thoughts about the relative contribution of the arts to well-being in affluent societies. It was during this period that an important thing happened, which has played an important role in the promotion of cultural economics, namely the foundation of the Association for Cultural Economics (ACE) in 1973 and the subsequent publication of a biannual Journal of Cultural Economics (from 1976).

A majority of the works in cultural economics as represented by articles in the Journal of Cultural Economics largely follow the lead of Baumol and Bowen and can be very roughly divided into three areas: (1) Economic analysis of demand and supply characteristics of various arts industries and of associations with other industries and the economy. (2) Analysis of the case for public support, the efficiency of various levels and types of support. (3) Analysis of resource allocation decisions in arts administration.

If one would characterize the economic contribution toward understanding of cultural issues during this period, one would say that it had a strong welfare theoretic bias.

Growing Dissatisfaction with the Normative Approach

By the end of 1970's there was an increasing amount of criticism about the cultural economists' overwhelming concern about the normative rationale for public subsidies. This criticism showed a large number of contradictions and problems in justifying the normative
arguments for the public support, pointing out the lack of quantitative analysis which made it impossible to answer questions about how much public subsidy and to which types of artistic institutions. It also questioned some of Baumol-Bowen hypotheses about the income-gap. Netzer's book, 'The Subsidized Muse', analysing the public support for the arts in the United States and the Proceedings of the First International Conference in Cultural Economics held in Edinburgh in 1979 contain some important contributions about the growing dissatisfaction with the normative theoretic approach.\(^8\)

Except for a few artistic goods (such as broadcasting and large works of arts: murals and monumental sculptures), a majority of the artistic goods do not meet the criteria of public goods. Neither the 'exclusion principle' nor the 'joint provision criteria' can be applied to most forms of arts. Some economists proposed another type of failure in the market of arts - information failure instead of proposing the public goods characteristics.\(^9\) Appreciation of a work of arts require contextual information. Since the market for these works suffer from information failure some agency intervention is required to correct the deficiency in the output of 'fine' artworks.

A strong case had been made of public support for arts as merit goods. Economists, however, have never been entirely happy with the notion of merit goods, finding it difficult to work out why merit goods should exist in a world where consumer sovereignty is supposed to operate. Even if merit goods argument is used as a sort of rationale of last resort, it is inadequate guide for public policy, it tells us nothing except that more of what is good is better!\(^10\)

Income argument was also questioned since a large number of audiences surveys show that these are made up largely of well-to-do persons. Moreover, much of the public money spent on the objective of wider availability brings the arts to audiences that are by no means poor. Discussion about this had led a number of economists to suggest that a greater effort should be devoted toward the direct subsidy of
audiences rather than institutions and/or directing a large part of any increase in funds for the arts through the education system.\textsuperscript{11}

Blaug summed up this dissatisfaction with the normative approach in a postscript to the Edinburgh Conference in the following words:

"... it is difficult to see (or, rather, it is all too easy to see) why economists insist on analyzing the arguments for public subsidies of the arts in what is, after all, the framework of standard welfare economics. Surely, the school of public choice and the works of Downs and Niskanen on the economics of bureaucracy have taught us by now that there is a vast difference between a positive prescription of what governments actually do and a normative prescription of what they should do. I believe that we have thrashed the normative horse to death - and even here it must be said that there is more to the rationale of government action than the self-denying ordinance of Pareto and that it is time to turn to the problem of monitoring the achievements or failures of governments in pursuing certain avowed policies in the arts".\textsuperscript{12}

At the same time, Baumol and Bowen's seminal study which had inspired so much of the consequent research in cultural economics, was subjected to increasing criticism. Baumol and Bowen's earnings gap hypothesis was questioned on several points. Empirical evidence put forward showed that productivity in the arts is not completely stagnant, partly because of new technology and partly because of the more efficient use of existing technology. Furthermore, income gap is not only a result of productivity gap but also due to other reasons like organization, art forms, etc. Baumol and Bowen had ignored the possibility of cost reductions through organizational and other reforms. Their model provided no a priori insight into how arts organizations are likely to choose among alternative expenditure patterns and how trade-offs will be made between promoting quality and distribution of arts services widely. In short, even if the arts like many other services have earnings gap problem, reasonable changes in the conduct of the subsidized arts organizations would reduce the need of public support.\textsuperscript{13}
New Approaches in Cultural Economics

Cultural economics in the 1980's exhibit at least three new approaches: (1) positive public choice approach, (2) normative public choice approach with special emphasis on the empirical extension of the demand revelation approach, and (3) institutionalist revival with an emphasis on the complex interplay between culture and socio-economic development.

As far as the positive public choice is concerned, several empirical studies have been carried out to explain public outlays on the arts not only in terms of such factors as urbanization, population size and density and other socioeconomic variables but also price variable (by specifying a demand equation for cultural activities) and on the assumption that the demand for arts is directly dependent on the income, tax share and other characteristics of the median voter. These studies show that in densely populated areas, public outlays have more to do with gains to the median voter group rather than with the desire to capture public goods characteristics not available through the market demand.

Another type of positive public choice studies of arts outlays are based on the assumption that the non-exclusion principle and/or the jointness of supply property are not applicable to the arts which can often be characterized as quasi- or local public goods. In such cases, individuals can express their preferences via entry or exist decisions. Employing Tiebout's 'voting-with-the-feet' model, people can reveal their preferences for different cultural activities by moving into a community providing the most desirable proportion of these goods. So far no practical ways of testing the Tiebout hypothesis for arts activities have been developed.

The normative public choice approach emphasizes the problem of not being able to gauge the collective demand for the arts sufficiently. In prolongation of this field of study are the issues of determining the proportion of the output of the arts industry which can be regarded as a public good and the 'productivity' of the public support in generating that output.
Most of the methods to estimate public goods demand relationship have been hypothetical and rely on laboratory testing. In his 'interval method' Bohm employs the simultaneous demand revelation among two samples, one is placed in a position that would give incentives to under-estimate individual willingness-to-pay whereas the other is subjected to a situation that would give incentives to over-estimate individual willingness-to-pay. Thus incentive structure is created for under- and overstatement respectively of the value of the public good in question. If the average willingness-to-pay for the two samples coincides, there is no distorted representation of preferences. If the average diverges, than the true response lies between the boundaries so established. The narrower the interval, the more precise is the information.  

Application of the interval method shows that a majority of the people so surveyed (1) take pride in their country's artistic achievement, (2) believe that the arts should be conserved and that school children be educated in the arts, and (3) indicate that benefits go beyond the actual arts participants. In one such study, the willingness-to-pay was for in excess of the current level of public expenditure on the arts.  

The problems of cultural growth have interested a large number of institutional economists who regard culture and economy as interdependent and more or less simultaneous determinants of each other. The institutionalists are also interested in cultural problems because of the apparent difficulties in applying conventional economic analysis to the arts.  

The two major interests in institutional cultural economics are (1) creativity in the arts and its relationship with economic processes, and (2) interrelationship between artistic circumstances and societal dynamics.  

Accordingly to the institutional economists, culture acts as an important process of transmitting information to individuals and creating new information. Since the society becomes all the more
Information-intensive, the importance of culture in the long-term determination of economic conditions and processes has grown. Institutional economists maintain that there is a potential involving the type of creativity associated with the arts which has long been acknowledged but has not been explicitly taken into account. Institutionalists in this context strongly advocate subsidization of the arts on educational grounds and question both the market and the voter census as the arbiter of what is socially desirable.

The preceding brief review shows that in a short spell of time, economists have begun to provide a systematic view of the market for arts and thereby direct the public debate on issues of considerable importance such as government intervention in arts markets and development of cultural policy. There remain many exciting and important areas for both theoretical and empirical research, for example, the interrelationship between the arts industry and other sectors of the economy, arts and information technology, the economics of the popular arts and at a more general level the dimensions of cultural policy and its interface with economic policy.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


3 Ibid, pages 369-386.


11 Some economists went so far as to contend that the only valid argument for public support to cultural institutions is where the later provide a focus for economic and social development of both the nation and the local community. See specially Vaughan, op.cit., reference 18.

Criticism of Bumol and Bowen's earning gap hypothesis has made in several articles in Journal of Cultural Economics. See, for example, S. Schwarz, "A New Look at the Earnings Gap in the Arts". Journal of Cultural Economics, 1982, Vol. 6, pages 1-10.

These three approaches were emphasized in a number of contributions at the Second (1982), the Third (1984) and the Fourth (1986) International Conference on Cultural Economics.


Boulding is one of the more important exponents of the institutionalists' viewpoints. See, for example, K.E. Boulding, Ecodynamics: A New Theory of Societal Evolution. Sage, Beverly Hills, 1978.
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