The Economics of Cultural Policy

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14 *Cultural statistics*

> Culture is smitten with counting and measuring; it feels out of place and uncomfortable with the innumerable; its efforts tend, on the contrary, to limit the numbers in all domains; it tries to count on its fingers.
>
> (Jean Dubuffet, *Asphyxiating Culture*, 1986[1])

1 Introduction

Sound policy-making in any area of public administration needs to be based on comprehensive and reliable data. This is especially true in the cultural policy arena, where the intricate structure and diverse operations of the cultural sector make data demands particularly complex. Statistics covering the volume and value of cultural output, levels of employment, cultural consumption and participation, public and private funding, and so on, are required for purposes such as:

- describing the size of the cultural sector, its place in the economy and society, and the nature and extent of its functioning;
- underpinning evidence-based policy formation, which depends both on raw data and on relevant analysis of those data;
- monitoring and evaluation of the success or otherwise of cultural policies and programmes while they are being implemented or after they have been completed; and
- comparing various items of data using intra- or internationally comparable statistics to assist, for example, in the benchmarking of performance standards.

Cultural statistics that are useful for these purposes can be derived from three sources. Firstly, official government statistical agencies that routinely gather and publish data on the economy and society are a major source of information about the arts and culture. The data they provide may occur as a subset of more general statistical collections, such as censuses, national accounts or workforce surveys, or

they may be put together specifically for the arts and culture sector, perhaps by specialised units devoted to cultural statistics. Secondly, a number of independent bodies collect data of various kinds that may be relevant for policy purposes; for example, cultural observatories, university research institutes and private consultants carry out surveys, whilst industry bodies and NGOs gather data from their members. Thirdly, a number of international organisations publish data of relevance to the arts and culture, most notably the UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS), which has a primary responsibility to collate and publish cultural statistics from the member states of its parent body.

The range of data types covered by the overarching term 'cultural statistics' is very wide. This chapter discusses these various data types, paying particular attention to matters of definition and classification. The chapter also considers some special-purpose statistics that are designed for particular policy purposes, including cultural indicators, measures of diversity and creativity, and efforts to construct satellite accounts for culture. In many areas where national-level statistics are collected, international comparisons are hindered by a lack of comparability in the classification systems used in different countries. Cultural statistics are no exception, and so the chapter concludes by discussing the internationally coordinated effort to put together a new basis for classifying cultural statistics, which provides a common framework that national statistical agencies can refer to in setting up or revising their own classification systems.

2 Types of cultural statistics

Cultural industries

Statistical compilations for the cultural industries face two problems. The first is the definitional problem, discussed in earlier chapters, which raises questions such as: Are they 'creative' or 'cultural' industries? Which industries are included? What product classifications are used?, and so on. Most countries base their industrial and product classifications on international standards such as the ISIC (International Standard Industrial Classification) and the CPC (Central Product Classification). These systems are related in turn to national or regional classifications such as the NACE (the Classification of Economic Activities in the European Community), the NAICS (the

North American Industrial Classification System), and the ANZSIC (the Australia and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification). The specific industries regarded as either cultural or creative that are identified within national systems vary between countries, depending on the definition of the cultural or creative industries that is applied. Because of this it can readily be seen that international comparisons of, for example, the cultural industries' contribution to GDP can be problematical.

The second problem to be dealt with in specifying statistics for the cultural industries is to define the data series of interest for policy or other purposes. Conventional economic data that are routinely collected for all industries include gross value of production, contribution to GDP or GNP, value added, fixed capital formation, wholesale and retail prices, and so on, as well as trade and employment statistics (to be considered further below). Again, data on these variables for the cultural industries can be extracted from the economy-wide statistics by imposing whatever cultural industry classification scheme is in use.

International trade in cultural goods and services

Statistics on cultural trade have to rely on a workable *product* classification system rather than on industrial or other classifications, since the concern is with the actual movement of identifiable goods and services across national borders. Data on flows of goods are generally compiled using the so-called Harmonised System, which provides a standard description and coding system for physical commodities. Data on the flows of services are generally classified using the EBOPS (Extended Balance of Payments Services Classification). But neither of these classification systems displays *cultural* goods or services as separate categories. Hence compilation of statistics on cultural trade has to rely on extracting the relevant numbers according to the particular definitions of cultural goods and services in use, as was also the case with the industry data discussed above.[2]

The audio-visual industries give rise to a particular difficulty in measuring cultural trade. Previously, international transactions relating to films or music, for example, could be readily observed, since they involved the export and import of physical commodities – reels of film, cassette tapes, compact discs, etc. With the advent of the

internet, however, trade in audio-visual product now increasingly takes place on the World Wide Web – the material is transmitted in electronic form and so also is payment for rights, royalties, etc. Systematic tracking of these flows by statistical agencies is generally not possible, so estimates of the volume and value of such trade have to be assembled from other sources, for example from data provided by collecting societies that are responsible for the collection and distribution of copyright revenues. These data vary in their quality and coverage. Thus, compiling a fully comprehensive and accurate statistical picture of cultural trade in all its various forms is well nigh impossible.

Cultural employment

Once again, issues of definition are raised when labour force statistics for the cultural sector are being derived. Questions arise such as: What is a cultural occupation? and How is the creative workforce to be delineated? The answers to these questions are not as straightforward as it may appear. For example, a *cultural worker* could be defined as someone who works in a cultural industry, whether the work that person does is 'cultural' (producing cultural output such as writing poetry or acting) or 'non-cultural' (such as selling tickets for a theatre company). But a *cultural occupation* has to be defined by reference not to the industry of employment but to the specifically cultural nature of the work that occupation entails. In this case it may make for clearer definition to identify *creative occupations* instead, since this terminology is related to an easily recognisable input (creativity) rather than to a less easily observed output (culture). Even so, the designation of a set of creative occupations from ISCO (the overall International Standard Classification of Occupations) is not a simple matter, since it depends on how far the adjective 'creative' is deemed to extend. As a result, different countries use different approaches to measuring cultural employment, the creative workforce, etc. Nevertheless, whatever classification system is used, most assessments which look at employment by industry find that significant numbers of creative or cultural workers actually work in non-cultural industries.[3]

Given the importance of arts policy as a component of cultural policy, an aspect of cultural employment of particular interest from

a policy viewpoint is the working conditions of artists. Identifying the artistic workforce presents some difficulties. Many people in the community are engaged in artistic activity; thus as a first step in data collection it is necessary to distinguish between professional and amateur practice. This distinction is important for several reasons. In an economic context, it would be expected that the labour market behaviour of amateurs and professionals would be different, making it necessary to identify which is which for purposes of empirical analysis. Similarly in any larger model of the cultural sector incorporating variables such as the output of cultural goods, value added, employment levels, prices and other economic quantities, attention usually needs to focus on purposeful workers as distinct from leisure-makers. Finally, in a purely artistic sense the association of high artistic standards with professionalism suggests that it will be professional artists who will contribute most towards producing work of lasting artistic value and influence; this is one reason why public policy towards the arts has generally pursued its goals of excellence and innovation via support for professional and not for amateur practice.

How, then, is the distinction between professional and amateur to be codified? The use of a financial criterion is inadequate as a sole discriminator, because of multiple job-holding amongst artists and because some professional artists may receive little or no remuneration over significant time periods in their working lives. Rather, as several writers have shown, professionalism in the arts subsists in a complex set of attributes, none of which on its own is a sufficient condition for professional status, but not all of which are necessary conditions. Significant amongst these characteristics is a commitment to, and achievement of, a standard of work judged as acceptable by some appropriate peer-review process.[4]

Data about artists can be derived from two main sources. Firstly, a population or labour force census provides the most accurate information available on the size and characteristics of the population of workers within specific occupational categories. Given that in most countries' censuses, standard occupational classifications are adopted that include various identifiable types of artists, in some cases down to quite a fine level of occupational disaggregation, these statistics have been useful in studying the extent and nature of the artistic workforce. However, they suffer from several important drawbacks. Firstly, in most cases the allocation of an individual respondent to a

job category is based on their main job at the time of the census or survey; it is well understood that this procedure will overlook many genuine artists who are forced to take other work as a means of supporting their artistic practice, and who are therefore working at some other 'main job' at the time of the data collection. Secondly, the categorisation of artist in such statistical collections does not distinguish professional from amateur; whilst it may be reasonable to assume professional status attaches to someone who declares their 'main job' as artist, there is no way of knowing if such individuals would meet more refined criteria for professionalism as discussed above. Thirdly, there may be problems in understanding what 'artist' means as a job category when the data collection is based on self-evaluation. Finally, the descriptive data collected via censuses may be very limited in their capacity to enable analysis of the sorts of issues of interest to economic and sociological researchers. For example, economists are usually concerned to identify time allocation and corresponding earnings from arts work and from non-arts work, and indeed even this two-way classification does not go far enough for many purposes.[5] Income data for artists derived from census returns is thus problematical for economic analysis, and researchers who use census data to analyse the income position of artists are inevitably limited in the conclusions they can draw.[6]

The second main data source is special-purpose surveys. Targeted surveys of artists can pick up part-time as well as full-time workers, including those temporarily not working, and hence more accurate estimates of the size of artist populations can be obtained than are usually possible from a general census. If the category of interest in a particular study is professional artists, filters can be used to screen out amateurs from the sample or, in a broader study aimed at covering a range of types of practice, appropriate questions can be included to establish precisely the occupational status of respondents. The definition of 'artist' is controllable by the researcher instead of being provided exogenously by census requirements. Finally, and of course most significantly, the quality and extent of data obtainable can be expected to be much richer in a specially targeted survey than in a general data collection, since the data collection is custom-designed to answer the precise questions of interest to the researcher.

Nevertheless, there are some problems with sample surveys. They are generally costly to administer. Furthermore, the usefulness of their

results for purposes of inference depends critically on the researcher's capacity to identify the artist population of interest and to draw a statistically valid random sample from it. For some occupations, identifying the artist population may be relatively straightforward. For example, in many countries actors or musicians are highly unionised; in such cases, with the cooperation of the union concerned, a researcher may be able to obtain a reasonably complete list of professional practitioners, together with contact details, from which to draw a sample. In most other artistic occupations, however, no such centralised lists exist. For artists such as writers, painters, sculptors and craftspeople, for example, a researcher will generally have to rely in the first instance on the assumption that most professional artists will appear on some list somewhere: an association membership list, a directory, a list of grant applicants, an agency register, even the *Yellow Pages*. Population lists may then be laboriously compiled by putting together lists from various sources and eliminating duplication. Inference from a sample drawn from such an aggregated list will generally be based on an assumption that those artists not caught by the population list will be distributed with regard to the principal characteristics of the group in the same ways as those in the list. Nevertheless, it may still be difficult to establish the overall size of the relevant artist population by these means, since the extent of those not included in the population list may not be readily estimable. In these circumstances, the use of techniques such as network sampling or respondent-driven sampling may enable extension of the sample to capture those groups not on the original list; by these means it is possible both to test the validity of the abovementioned assumption and to assess more accurately the size of the overall population from which the sample is being drawn.[7]

Cultural consumption

At the end of the cultural value chain are consumers of the final product. Their demands and behaviours are represented in the following three types of cultural statistics.

(i) Demand for cultural goods

The volume and value of purchases of tangible cultural commodities are recorded in a variety of ways. They may be accessed via household expenditure data (see below) or collected for specific categories of

goods by commercial firms or by trade or industry associations, etc. Examples of the latter include:

- art market data collected and made available (usually at a price) by sales monitoring organisations; for instance, a wealth of data is available on the prices of artworks sold at auction by the major auction houses;
- record industry data on sales of music in various formats collected by the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI); these data include estimates of levels of piracy (sales of illegally copied music) in various countries; and
- data collected by publishers' associations in various countries on the numbers and prices of different categories of books, magazines and newspapers sold.

In some cases, special-purpose surveys of cultural consumption are undertaken by statistical agencies, which provide a wide range of statistics on the artistic and cultural goods purchased by consumers.

(ii) Consumer expenditure

Cultural consumption can be tracked via household expenditure surveys, either carried out across all types of expenditure, of which cultural spending is a part, or focussed specifically on consumption of the arts and culture. Either way, such surveys – a standard means of regular data collection employed by most official statistical agencies – can yield a rich source of information about individual and household spending on culture in all its forms. However, international comparisons of such statistics may be problematical; whilst data for particular items of expenditure may be compared, aggregate concepts such as 'total cultural spending', etc., will depend on the classification schemes for cultural goods and services, which may or may not be comparable between countries.

(iii) Attendance and participation

The generic terms 'participation' or 'involvement' of people in the arts and culture cover a range of activities, from passive attendance as an audience at a concert or a theatrical performance to active engagement in acting, dancing, creative writing, musical performance, filmmaking, etc. In surveys concerned with these latter activities, it is assumed they are undertaken voluntarily and on a non-professional

basis for pleasure rather than reward. Despite the apparent clarity of a definition of participation along these lines, it remains a concept of some fuzziness, especially if international comparisons are involved. Nevertheless, sidestepping questions such as 'How "active" are apparently "passive" cultural pursuits like reading or going to the opera?', we can draw a pragmatic distinction between

- *attendance* as measured by surveys of cultural institutions or tabulated by the institutions themselves;
- *readership* as indicated by surveys of book, magazine and newspaper purchases, library borrowings, etc.;
- *viewing* and *listening* as assessed by television and radio ratings, etc.;
- *access* to on-line cultural consumption either streamed or downloaded and consumed subsequently, as measured by internet tracking and other services; and
- *creative involvement* in active artistic and cultural activities of any type, such as writing a novel, singing in a choir, or painting landscapes, as documented in special-purpose surveys.

All of these types of data and more can be gathered together under the generic heading of participation studies, of which there are many in existence.[8]

Asset valuation

A neglected area of cultural statistics is that of valuation of cultural assets. In Chapter 6 a distinction was drawn between the stock of cultural capital, both tangible and intangible, and the flow of services it produces. The asset valuation issue relates to the former, and can have both micro and macro dimensions.

At the micro level the issue arises in attempts to value the cultural capital held, for example, by art museums in the form of their collections of artworks. This matter has practical relevance to an institution's accounting processes, raising issues such as what value for the asset holdings to include in the organisation's balance sheet, how to determine capital depreciation or appreciation, how to set replacement values for insurance purposes, and so on.[9] The difficulty is, of course, that market valuations of artworks may be uncertain, unstable, and contingent on a variety of circumstances – for example, the market

price of a work sold on its own might be vastly different from what it would be likely to fetch if a gallery's entire collection was up for sale. Moreover, it could be argued that a full estimate of the asset value of an art collection should contain at least some indication of its cultural value. The value of heritage buildings and sites is likewise subject to the same sorts of problems. These difficulties are compounded when it comes to intangible heritage, since no readily comprehensible basis exists for assigning either a monetary or a cultural value to such assets.

Turning to the macro level, we note that in most countries, collections of aggregate financial statistics contain some reference to the value of the nation's physical capital stocks, amongst which might be included the purely physical-capital component of cultural assets such as museums, historic buildings, and so on. But from the viewpoint of cultural statistics, something more is needed. The totality of a country's cultural capital contains a wide variety of elements, including heritage architecture, public and privately held art collections, historic sites, not to mention items of intangible cultural capital. Measuring the aggregate value of such an extensive and heterogeneous stock of assets would be a daunting task for any cultural statistician to undertake, even if the scope of the exercise were limited to economic value. If an assessment of the cultural value of the capital stock were introduced into the picture, it is not difficult to see that the task is likely to be an impossible one.

Cultural funding

Finally, one of the most important areas of cultural statistics from the viewpoint of cultural policy is that of the public sector's financial involvement with the arts and culture. As we have noted throughout this volume, the implementation of cultural policy in all its many guises entails direct and indirect expenditure by government, the levels of which are reported in various ways in national accounting data. Although standardised formats exist according to which national governments present their accounts, there are many variations in detail between countries as to what is counted as 'cultural', if indeed that adjective is used at all.

Moreover, it is not just at the national level that public funding of the arts and culture is important. Sub-national levels of government (states, counties, municipalities, cities, etc.) also provide funds

to support the arts and culture through subsidies, grants, capital and operating allocations to cultural institutions, investment allowances, tax breaks, and so on. The formality and rigour with which these expenditures are recorded and published differ widely between jurisdictions, such that in some countries it is difficult or even impossible to aggregate cultural funding statistics across all tiers of government to obtain a comprehensive national picture.

These variations both within and between countries make international comparisons of cultural funding extremely hazardous.[10] Yet comparing the level of cultural funding per head is a favourite pastime in many quarters, even to the extent of constructing 'league tables' of countries ranked in order of their apparent commitment to arts and cultural support. Such comparative statistics suffer from three main problems. Firstly, as noted repeatedly in this chapter, different countries use different classification systems to assemble their data. Secondly, comparative statistics generally fail to account for the cost to the public purse of indirect support measures such as tax concessions. Finally, in concentrating on public-sector outlays these statistics neglect to account for direct private support for the arts and culture, which is necessary to complete the picture.[11]

3 Some special-purpose statistics

In this section we consider some examples of particular types of cultural statistics that are relevant to cultural policy analysis. They are: cultural indicators; cultural diversity statistics; measures of creativity; and satellite accounts for culture.

Cultural indicators

Indicators are statistics that go beyond simply describing some phenomenon; they are intended to imply something more – for example, to be used in conjunction with other data to monitor or evaluate some circumstance or process. As such they occupy an intermediate position between raw data on the one hand and analysis on the other, in other words between the supply of information in the form of primary statistics and the demand for information for purposes of analysis and policy-making. Indicators can be either quantitative or qualitative in nature.

A cultural indicator can be defined as 'a statistic that can be used to make sense of, monitor or evaluate some aspect of culture, such as the arts, or cultural policies, programmes and activities'.[12] Examples include:

- a suite of statistics gathered together to indicate levels of cultural participation or enjoyment;
- performance indicators for cultural institutions to indicate their success or otherwise in achieving certain designated goals;
- 'quality of life' indicators to demonstrate the artistic or cultural ambience of a city or region, or the cultural vitality of communities;[13]
- various data that can be taken as indicators of cultural development in a developing country; and
- indicators of cultural value for some artistic or cultural phenomenon, to be used when direct measures of cultural value are not available.

Much effort has gone into devising workable procedures for constructing and utilising indicators of various sorts, including cultural indicators.[14] There is general agreement that good indicators should be firmly grounded in theory, linked to policy practice, and relevant, unambiguous, measurable and easily understood.

Measuring cultural diversity

The increase in interest in the concept of cultural diversity as a key aspect of cultural policy, which has been given added impetus by the conclusion of the Cultural Diversity Convention (discussed in Chapter 10), raises the issue of measurement. How is the diversity of cultural expressions to be assessed and evaluated? This is another area where the use of indicators is clearly appropriate. The very nature of diversity is such that multiple datasets will be required, since diversity exists in identifying the differences and variations between and across datasets relating to a variety of cultural phenomena.

In a paper prepared for UNESCO, Renato Flôres proposes that a framework of statistics to address cultural diversity would need to cover the following areas:

- data relating to personal characteristics of individuals, such as age, ethnicity, nationality, religion, etc., including participation statistics;

- data relating to the range of outputs produced by the cultural industries;
- data based on cultural institutions and providers;
- data on particular types of cultural expressions that may be defined in locational or geographical terms, such as local festivals, handicrafts, etc.; and
- data on public and private funding sources.[15]

It may be tempting to try to combine various items of data into one or more 'diversity indexes' as a basis for policy development; however, such an exercise is fraught with theoretical, methodological and practical difficulties.

Measuring creativity

Given the centrality of creativity to the cultural economy and hence to cultural policy, it is not surprising that various efforts have been made to provide measures of the importance of creativity in particular contexts. Two examples suffice to illustrate such efforts. Firstly, the Centre for Cultural Policy Research in Hong Kong has developed a 'creativity index' which purports to measure the social capital – expressed in terms of trust, reciprocity, cooperation and rich social networks – that forms an essential part of the infrastructure for a creative society.[16] Secondly, the Washington State Arts Commission and the Office of Arts and Cultural Affairs in the City of Seattle have proposed a 'creative vitality index' to provide an assessment of the health of the state's arts-related creative economy. The index combines measures of arts participation in the community with data on per capita concentrations of arts-related employment to produce an indicator of the contribution that creativity makes to the local economy. Its primary purpose has been one of advocacy.[17]

Satellite accounts for culture

Satellite accounts provide a representation of national accounting data for a particular field that is more detailed than that available from the usual national accounts. Essentially, these accounts expand the System of National Accounts (SNA) that is used as a basis in most countries for the construction of statistics measuring aggregate

economic activity such as national income and GDP. Since their construction entails data, expertise and resources that are not generally available, such accounts are relatively rare; to date the main areas where they are available in some countries are for tourism and the environment.[18]

Following these leads it is possible to imagine developing procedures for identifying satellite accounts for culture. If so, they could provide information on a range of macroeconomic data for the cultural sector with greater product and industry specificity than would otherwise be available. In addition, a system of cultural satellite accounts would be expected to cover various social and cultural dimensions of the operations of the cultural sector. At present, however, the development of satellite accounts for culture is in its infancy. Only two systematic efforts have been made to date in this direction, one in Colombia under the auspices of the Convenio Andrés Bello, the other by Statistics Finland. These two initiatives seem certain to illuminate the path towards a wider development of this form of cultural statistics in the future.

4 Towards a new framework for cultural statistics

As noted above, there are a number of international standard classifications which provide individual countries with a template for the design of their own classification systems for statistics covering a range of economic variables, including industry, occupation and commodity classifications. In the specialised field of cultural statistics, a framework was put forward in 1986 by UNESCO that was intended to provide some consistency across jurisdictions in national statistical collections for the arts and culture. The framework has guided the development of cultural statistics collections in many countries over the intervening years. However, the social, economic and technological changes that have occurred since the 1980s have rendered the original framework increasingly out of date, prompting the initiation of a process designed to produce a new framework for cultural statistics by the end of the first decade of the new millennium.[19]

The task confronting the framework revision has been one of establishing a conceptual foundation that captures the full range of cultural expressions, including new forms of production and consumption, and

cultural practices not previously accounted for. In its final form the framework has been built around the concept of cultural 'domains', meaning areas in which specific cultural industries and cultural activities are located. Six domains are identified:

- cultural and natural heritage;
- performance and celebration;
- visual arts and crafts;
- books and press;
- audio-visual and interactive media; and
- design and creative services.

In addition, two 'related' domains are specified:

- tourism and
- recreation.

Cutting across all eight of the above domains are four transverse domains which are relevant to a greater or lesser extent across all the industries and activities identified. These transverse domains are:

- intangible cultural heritage;
- education and training;
- archiving and preservation; and
- equipment and support materials.

The framework provides a basis for classifying the cultural industries that can be integrated with broader standard industrial classifications both internationally and at the national or sub-national level. It also allows the specification of an updated system for classifying cultural occupations and for measuring cultural participation.

The revised Framework for Cultural Statistics is not intended to be a blueprint that every country will follow, since different features of cultural statistics are of different importance in different countries. Rather it provides a coherent and consistent basis on which national systems of cultural statistics can be developed. To the extent that the framework is utilised in different jurisdictions, we can hope in future that stronger, more reliable and more internationally comparable cultural statistics will result. If so, the benefits for the entire cultural policy process, from policy formulation through to monitoring and evaluation, will be substantial.

5 Conclusions

Statistics describing the cultural sector are an essential adjunct to the making and implementation of cultural policy. They are also necessary for effective monitoring of policy strategies so that the success or otherwise that such strategies have achieved can be evaluated. Some countries have taken the matter of cultural data collection seriously. The official statistical bureaux in Canada and Australia, for example, have longstanding interests in this area that have provided policy-makers and policy analysts with a rich source of data on the arts and cultural sectors in those countries. Other countries, however, have lagged behind in the development of their cultural statistics capability, and their cultural policy processes must inevitably have suffered as a result. The new Framework for Cultural Statistics discussed in the previous section will hopefully stimulate a stronger interest in cultural statistics in data collection agencies around the world.

At the same time it must be borne in mind that statistics are not collected just for their own sake, but to inform discussion and to enable analysis of the size, structure, interrelationships, causal connections, and so on, that characterise the cultural sector. The validity of such discussions and the strength of such analyses will depend critically on the quality of the data on which they are based, imposing a major responsibility on collection agencies to provide consistent, comprehensive and reliable statistics for the variety of users that they serve.

Notes

1 Quote is from Dubuffet (1988: 14).
2 For a recent re-assessment and compilation of physical trade statistics for cultural goods, see UNCTAD (2008: 101–137 and 225–331).
3 These workers have been referred to as 'embedded'; see, for example, Higgs, et al. (2008).
4 For a discussion in the context of the visual arts, see Jeffri and Throsby (1994); for criteria for identifying professional artists in different artforms, see Throsby and Hollister (2003).
5 A three-way classification of artists' work, into creative work, arts-related work such as teaching art, music, etc., and non-arts work is now widely accepted; see Throsby (1996).

6 An example is Randall Filer who used census data to question the existence of the 'starving artist' phenomenon in the US, but whose results may be questioned on the grounds discussed; see Filer (1986).
7 See Heckathorn and Jeffri (2001); Salganik and Heckathorn (2004).
8 For a thorough account of the pitfalls and potential of participation studies, see Schuster (2007).
9 See Carnegie and Wolnizer (1995); Carman (1996).
10 See, for example, McCaughey (2005).
11 See a discussion of cross-country comparisons in Madden (2005b).
12 See Madden (2005a: 221).
13 A major project devising indicators of community cultural vitality is reported in Jackson, et al. (2006).
14 See, for example, Schuster (1996, 2002a, 2003); Pattanaik (1998); McKinley (1998); Fukuda-Parr (2001); Pignatoro (2003); for some earlier literature on this subject, see references in Schuster (2001: 19–20).
15 See Flôres (2009); see also Liikkanen (2007).
16 See Hui, et al. (2005).
17 See Irby and Hebert (2005).
18 See Chapter 8 above for reference to tourism satellite accounts.
19 See UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2009).

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