

THE
CHANGING
FACE
OF ARTS
AUDIENCES

KENNETH MYER LECTURE for the GEORGE FAIRFAX FELLOWSHIP given by

Dr Volker Kirchberg

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ARTS & ENTERTAINMENT MANAGEMENT PROGRAM



Arts and Entertainment Management Program
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Deakin University

The Changing Face of Arts Audiences¹

The Kenneth Myer Lecture

by

Volker Kirchberg

George Fairfax Fellow

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Preface

The George Fairfax Fellowship in Arts & Entertainment Management at Deakin University enables visiting practitioners and scholars in the cultural arena to enrich our understanding of international issues in cultural management. The Fellowship was made possible by the generous support of important donors, including the Myer Foundation, Dame Elisabeth Murdoch and the Faculty of Business & Law at Deakin University.

This volume presents the Kenneth Myer public lecture by Dr Volker Kirchberg from the University of Lueneberg, Germany and the Basica Research Institute, Germany, is on a topical issue of relevance to arts managers. It furthers the exchange of ideas relevant to contemporary arts management issues. It analyses the changing face of arts audiences, presented from a European perspective but relevant to the Australian context. The lecture presents several key areas including research initiatives and changes in attendance patterns. The author evaluates the factors impacting audience decline in Germany. Readers can then draw their own conclusions about similarities and differences in audiences in Australia.

The aim of this publication is to place on record the important arts management issues chosen for debate by the George Fairfax Fellow, and to raise questions about the translation of rhetoric into arts management policy and practice. This initiates a process of balancing scholarly and practical inputs for future inquiry. In addition, the volume places key issues of arts management—marketing, audiences, development, change—into discussion and debate, in order to emphasise their importance to the cultural context.

People who have assisted in the preparation of the manuscript and deserve thanks are Judy Heath, Administrative Officer and Lizard, Research Assistant. Their hard work is greatly appreciated.

Ruth Rentschler
Melbourne
September 1998

Abstract

Arts audience research is commonly performed using short-term, time-independent assumptions on micro-data such as educational attainment, household income or occupational status. Strategic planning in arts institutions requires, however, that the time-dependence of societal characteristics used to explain arts participation be considered. The rate of changes of audience composition and audience numbers over time is more dependent on changing macro-economic and demographic factors rather than on traditional individual traits. Using East and West German data on arts attendees between 1980 and 1996 and, especially, looking at the dramatic dive of these numbers in East Germany in 1989–90, the impact of long-term macro-changes (unemployment, gross national product, value orientations, competition in pop culture) could be analyzed in detail. This data suggest that longitudinal macro-research may be as valuable as non-longitudinal micro-research in decisions about arts planning.

1. Introduction: Time change analysis in empirical arts audience research

To visit or not to visit an arts institution or a cultural event is a personal or group deliberation pivotal for the survival of those arts institutions that are—due to often scarce public funds—dependent on the public as customer. However, even those fortunate institutions which do not rely on self-earned revenue but rather on subsidies must take the public into consideration since budget cuts let politicians look after a ‘voter-friendly’ dissemination of funds. Voluntarily or not, visitor orientation and audience research become indispensable factors in arts management.

Most arts audience research is performed on a micro-level, measuring individual socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of visitors or catchment area residents. This information is then compared with data about attitudes or visits to arts institutions (cf. the corresponding meta analysis by DiMaggio et al 1978, and the publications of the [American museum] Visitor Studies Association, e.g., 1997, or also the review about German museum visitor research in Kirchberg, 1996). However, there is another dimension of audience research not yet properly employed. Almost all of the mentioned studies are cross sectional analyses that lack an assessment of the impact of *time* on attendances at cultural institutions. This study attempts such a longitudinal analysis (Chart 1).

Chart 1
Dimensions of analysis

		micro level		longit- udinal
cross sectional		<i>most audience studies: studies of individuals at one point in time</i>	panel studies of individuals over time	
		studies of aggregates at one point in time	<i>here: time series studies of aggregates</i>	
		macro level		

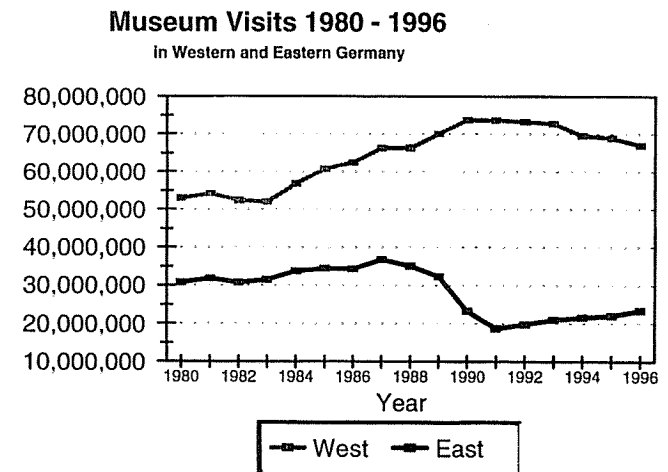
The study describes and analyzes the development of attendance sizes for East and West Germany. Especially in East Germany there has been a dramatic change in attendance sizes between 1989 and 1991 that cannot be explained by common cross sectional visitor studies.

Instead, the change over time of the macro-environment can explain this dramatic impact. By comparing developments of East with West Germany one can also conclude that the effects of the East German transformation on arts audiences are, however dramatic they were, an extreme case of more general macro dependencies between societal circumstances and cultural consumption. The influence of these circumstances could not only be traced in West Germany but also in US metropolitan areas (cf. Kirchberg, 1995). The situation observed in East Germany finds corresponding if less volatile parallels in other places of the world.

2. Attendance changes between 1980 and 1996 (unadjusted)

The following charts show the development of attendance sizes for museums, performing arts institutions and orchestras in East and West Germany. They are not yet adjusted for shifts in supply or population size.

Chart 2



Source: Institut für Museumskunde, annual reports from 1981–98, and Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR 1990, using data from the DDR Institut für Museumswesen

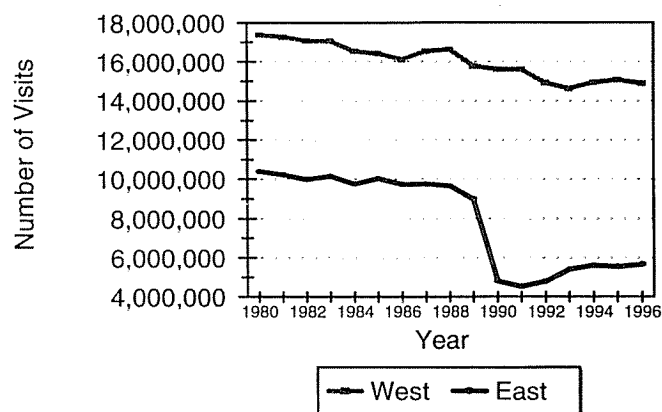
In the 1980s, East German museum audiences increased from 30.7 million visits in 1980 to 36.8 million visits in 1987 (+ 20 %). West German annual museum audiences increased from 54.2 million visits in 1981 to 70.0 million visits in 1989 (+ 29 %). Hence, from 1980 to 1987, the increase in museum visits was almost similar in the East and in the West.² The main changes occur between 1989 and 1991: The drop in East German museum attendances was dramatic, from 36.8 million visits in 1989 to 18.7 million visits in 1991 (- 49 %). In the following years, the annual number of visits recovers slightly to 23.4 million in 1996 (+ 24 %). Compared to this change, the development in West Germany was unspectacular, i.e., a slight increase of documented visits from 1989 to 73.6 million in 1991 (+ 5 %), and then a decline of visits to 67.1 million in 1996 (-9 %).

A similar development can be observed for high cultural performing arts audiences sizes (these performing arts include theatres, opera, ballet and operetta).

Chart 3

Performing Arts Visits 1980 - 1996

In Western and Eastern Germany



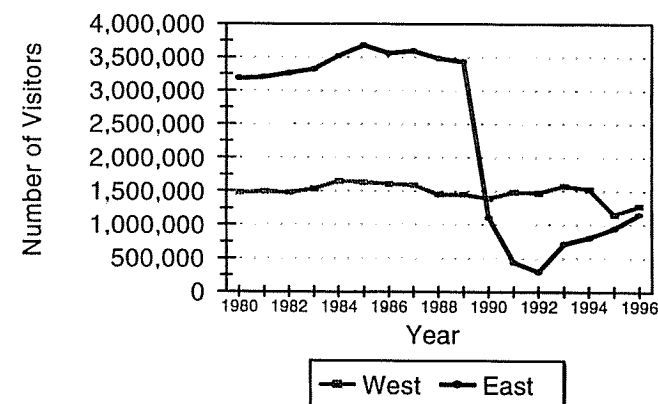
Sources: Deutscher Bühnenverein, annual season reports from 1981-98, Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR 1990

Even before the turn-over of the East German regime theatre audiences decreased from 10.4 million in 1980 to 8.9 million visits in 1989 in the East (- 15%). In a similar manner, theatre audiences in West Germany decreased from 17.4 million visits in 1980 to 15.8 million visits in 1989 (- 11 %). In the aftermath of 1989, the changes were, however, very different. East German theatre audiences declined from 8.9 million in 1989 to 4.5 million visits in 1991 (almost - 50 %), and West German theatre audiences remained almost stable with 15.8 million visits in 1989 and 15.6 million visits in 1991. Differences between developments in east and west could also be seen in the 1990s. From 1991 to 1996, the East German theatre audiences recovered to 5.7 million visits in 1996 (+ 25 %). At the same time, West German theatre audiences took a measurable decline down to 14.9 million visits in 1996 (almost - 5 %).

Chart 4

Orchestra Visits 1980 - 1996

In Western and Eastern Germany



Source: Deutscher Bühnenverein, annual season reports from 1981 to 1998, Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR, 1990

An even more dramatic decline can be observed for orchestra audiences. In East Germany, orchestras experienced first an increase from 3.2 million visits in 1980 to 3.7 million visits in 1985 (+ 16 %), followed by stagnation until 1989. The subsequent drop from 3.5 million to only 0.3 million visits is the biggest fall of all arts audiences reported in this study, accompanied, however, by a simultaneous drop in monitored institutions. From 1992 to 1996, orchestra audiences grew again to 1.2 million recorded visits (+ 75 %).

In West Germany, the changes are not quite so dramatic, and they are partly in contrast to the East German development. In West Germany, in a manner similar to the East German growth in that time, orchestras experienced an increase from 1.5 million in 1982 to 1.7 million visits in 1984 (+ 13 %). At this point in time, the statistics demonstrate a small but steady decline down to 1.4 million visits in 1988 (-18 %), followed by a short increase to 1.6 million visits in 1993 (+12 %), succeeded by another decrease to 1.2 million visits in 1995 (-23 %). This is the lowest number for orchestra audiences documented in West Germany in this study. As early as 1994, these changes combined with the historically higher orchestra attendance rates of the East Germans, caused Scholz & Waldkircher-Heyne (1994) to state that East Germans—as

they have been before the Berlin wall came down—will eventually again become more vivid classical concert goers than West Germans.³

If one compares the major changes of the East German arts audiences with the West German developments, the relative constancy of the West German audience size is striking. The events in East Germany seemed to have no effect on the western part of the country. In addition, in the 1990s there seems to be a slight decline in West German arts audience figures whereas East German arts institutions experienced a slight increase in audiences. These different developments are the subject of the following analysis.⁴

3. Hypotheses: Possible explanations for attendance changes

3.1 Supply side explanations: *The closing-down of arts institutions*

A first important hypothesis of potential causes in audience changes involves changes in the supply of arts institutions and their consequent effect on demand.

In their introduction on the growth of the arts sector in the United States, Heilbrun & Gray (1993) emphasize the supply side explanation. Normally, supply responds easily to changes in demand. *'The situation is very different when, as in the live performing arts, the commodity has to be produced at the point of consumption. ... Aggregate consumption and production is therefore limited by the number of local places served, and discontinuous increases in the number of such places can cause abrupt surges in aggregate consumption.'* (p. 22) Sudden decreases of the supply can, of course, then cause abrupt drops in demand.

Is this the case with the drop in East German arts audiences between 1989 and 1991? The monetary union of July 1990 and the political union of October 1990 made it difficult for East German arts institutions to survive since they relied entirely on state monies as the sole revenue source, and this source seemed to disappear. Less public money meant fewer arts offerings. Some institutions had to be closed, and remaining institutions no longer had the funds for an attractive program. However, this is not the complete story. The Unification Treaty, paragraph 35, determines that the unification may inflict no damage on the cultural substance of East Germany. In a study for the Bonn Ministry of the Interior, it is stated that only one theatre had to be closed down between 1989 and 1994 for financial reasons (Scholz & Waldkircher-Heyne 1994). Most artists and administrative employees kept their jobs by transforming them into short-term, i.e. one or two years 'Work-Creation Programs' [*Arbeitsbeschaffungsmassnahmen*] that are completely subsidized by the Federal Office for Employment [*Bundesanstalt fuer Arbeit*]. Partly, these new state subsidies have been supplemented by newly discovered fund raising instruments like circles of donors. Also, the permanently underfunded and/or 'anarchically' funded independent 'off-Broadway' arts scene (of mostly performing and visual artists in East Berlin) is more vivid than ever, attracting a cosmopolitan crowd from Berlin as well as outside Berlin. Although independent, they would not necessarily belong to one of the established arts interest organizations such as the

'Deutsche Bühnenverein'. In general, the Federal Government of Germany took over the state responsibilities of the East German Government and continued the subsidization, clearly mitigating potential harmful effects of the turn-over for the performing arts institutions.

The situation for orchestras in East Germany was more severe. Four orchestras were dissolved, and for twelve more orchestras, there are plans to merge them with other regional orchestras. More and more orchestras only exist on paper. In fact, especially outside the biggest East German cities it becomes quite common that a group of concert musicians travels from one orchestra site to the next, always adopting the name of the orchestra and, thereby, pretending that each of these local orchestras still exists. For the purpose of local identity, each of the localities insists on maintaining the image of having their own orchestra without really having one (cf. Allmendinger 1990, 1991; Karge 1996).

The very broad cultural landscape of museums in East Germany has been, mostly, sustained. However, the museum buildings were seriously neglected by the German Democratic Republic [GDR] authorities, and now, most of the financial resources must be used to modernize or at least maintain a certain level of building conditions that enable museums to invite visitors without endangering their health. While conducting these high-profile modernization and maintenance programs museum directors often do not have enough remaining funds to improve their exhibits and to acquire new pieces for their collections. This makes it probably less attractive for people to visit these institutions. In general, however, East Germans always liked to visit museums even if they are less colorful and entertaining than, for example, American museums.

The impact of supply on demand has been outlined by Heilbrun & Gray (1993), and it should be still considered as a potential explanation for the changes of arts audience sizes. The following hypothesis will, therefore, be tested:

*H01: (Positive correlation of cultural supply and demand)
The fewer the annual number of high cultural institutions, the fewer the number of annual visits to these institutions.*

3.2 Supply side explanations: Competition between high culture and popular culture

Since the distinction of high and popular culture is a relatively new phenomenon, both poles compete partly for the same audience. This competition has become more distinct in the last 10 to 15 years. Several US American scientists provide evidence for the outdated nature of a social distinction between high and low culture (cf Peterson & Kearn 1996) because in today's culture members of higher social strata consume popular culture as much as members of lower social strata. Heilbrun & Gray (1993, p. 13ff) compare the trend of consumer spending on the performing arts with the trend for other spectator activities, especially movies and spectator sports, from 1929 to 1990 in the United States, and state that *'the live performing arts did not stand up well under competition with talking pictures.'*

*H02: (Negative correlation of movie theatre attendance and high cultural attendance)
The higher the attendance at the cinema, the fewer the number of visits to high cultural institutions.*

Furthermore, spectator sports (an important type of popular culture) compete more and more with every kind of leisure activity due to stronger professionalization or even industrialization of some sports into major leagues. Stollenwerk (1996) lists potential motives of attending spectator sports (such as soccer, tennis or golf) and concludes that the major motive is the interest in the specific sports, followed by talks with friends and business acquaintances, entertainment, and the experience of historic or cultural events. All these motives can also be used to explain visits to high cultural performances. In addition, Stollenwerk (1996, p. 32) shows that attendance at performing arts and professional sports have approximately the same significance in German society. According to a representative survey of the DGF (German Leisure Society, in 1985) 32.7 % of the Germans attended sports events and 30.2 %, performing arts events.

*H03: (Negative correlation of spectator sports attendance and high cultural attendance)
The higher the attendance of spectator sports, the fewer the number of visits to high cultural institutions.*

Besides the movie industry and commercialized spectator sports, a third competitor for the potential attendance of the high cultural performing arts emerged in the 1980s: musicals as the commercialized 'popular' section of the performing arts. Due to the unprecedented efforts of

the Andrew Lloyd Webber company (and their licence takers in Germany) as well as the construction of several big musical theatres over Germany, there was an enormous and successful revitalization of this art form starting in 1985 (cf. Stella AG, 1998). The popularization of high culture (musicals, popular modern art museums, science centres etc.) may have drawn people away from traditional art forms—or it may have reached out to an extent not experienced by the high arts.

H04: (Negative correlation of musical attendance and high cultural attendance)
The higher the attendance of musicals the fewer the number of visits to high cultural institutions.

3.3 Demand side explanations: Socio-demographic and economic changes

Four concepts are included under the auspices of 'socio-demographic changes'. Each of these notions represents a multiple set of hypotheses to be tested. All of them are macro-social changes that may affect the change in arts audience sizes:

- population changes;
- age (cohort) changes;
- changes in families with dependent children; and
- changes in educational attainment.

In addition, economic changes consist of three measurable concepts:

- Change in the general economic situation (national or domestic product);
- Changes in individual income (average monthly household income); and
- Changes in employment and unemployment (unemployment rate).

At a first glance, the most direct impact on audience changes may be population changes. An increase of population size (in West Germany from 61.6 million in 1980 to 66.4 million in 1996, i.e., + 8 %) may have its bearing on cultural audience sizes; and a decline of population size (in East Germany from 17.7 million in 1980 to 15.4 million in 1996, i.e., -13 %) may have a corresponding detrimental effect.

H05: (Positive correlation of population size and arts audience size)
The smaller the annual population size, the smaller the annual audience size for high cultural institutions.

Hypotheses H01 and H02 may have to be combined since the dependent variable may be the *average* number of visits per cultural institution rather than the *total* number of visits. Thus, the impact of a changing *supply* must be taken into consideration.

Second, age changes (or *cohort* changes) may influence the annual number of visits to cultural institutions. This assumption is explicitly justified by several National Endowment for the Arts [NEA] studies using and comparing empirical data on American arts participation in 1982 and 1992. For example, younger cohorts clearly show a decreased interest in classical music, opera performances, and theatre plays in 1992 compared to 1982 (Peterson et al, 1996). Peterson et al. roughly divide the age groups in the 'baby boomers', age 27–36 (plus the younger cohort group of 'Generation X') and the 'greying audience' (age 57 and older). Extrapolating their comparative analysis of arts participation in 1982 and 1992, they predict a smaller participation of baby boomers and their successors, Generation X, in the core (high cultural) arts forms (and a higher participation in more popular art forms) and conclude that '*in an increasingly hostile environment for cultural endeavors, if the largest segment of the adult population—the baby boomers—turn away from providing support and from participation actively in core art forms, the future of the arts is indeed grim*' (Peterson et al., 1996). Can a similar correspondence of age groups and high arts consumption be observed in Germany?

H06: (Positive correlation of size of older age group and arts audience size)
The smaller the size of the age group older than 65 years the smaller the high culture audience size.
 (Negative correlation of younger age cohort size and audience size)
The larger the size of the younger age group between 20 and 40 years the smaller the high culture audience size.

On the micro-level of social analysis, life cycle stages are closely related to age but not identical. Especially the life cycle stage of establishing a family with children affects the frequency of visits to cultural institutions (see a review of the corresponding literature in Kirchberg 1992, pp. 142–52). The need to stay at home for child-raising may be a hindrance for cultural activities and, therefore, children in a household may have a detrimental effect on the number of visits to cultural institutions.

- H07: (Negative correlation of number of children in household and arts audience size)
The more children (requiring supervision) in a population the smaller the arts audience size.

Third, one of the strongest explanations for arts participation on a micro-level is the degree of educational attainment. In many studies, the positive impact of education on individual attitudes towards, and visits to high cultural institutions has been confirmed. Compared with other individual traits, educational attainment has the highest explanatory value. It seems obvious, therefore, to use shifts in the overall educational level of a population as a potential explanation for shifts of the annual number of visits to cultural institutions. In contrast to the many micro-sociological studies, the macro-level examination of educational changes and their impact on cultural demand is, however, not a common procedure. Only a few scholars of cultural economics (e.g., Gapinski 1981, Felton 1989) and the sociologist Judith Blau and her students (e.g., Blau et al 1985, Blau & Hall 1986, Blau & Scott-Lennox 1990, Blau 1989) followed this path (also Kirchberg 1992, pp. 253–72). In general, the assumption that there is a macro-level effect of education on arts institution visits is supported by the results of micro-sociological analyses.

- H08: (Positive correlation of educational attainment of a population and arts audience sizes)
The higher the educational standard of a population (i.e., population share with higher educational degrees) the larger the high culture audience sizes.

Forth, economic restrictions may make it impossible to attend the arts. The field of cultural economics focuses extensively on this point, measuring the income elasticity of demand for cultural goods. However, these micro-economic studies look '... *at the matter, cross-sectionally, that is, by comparing families with different incomes at a moment in time. But ... [we should] look at consumption through time, that is, longitudinally: as the average level of family income rises in a society that is enjoying economic growth, the demand for attendance at the live performing arts increases.*' (Heilbrun & Gray, p. 67). In a society without economic growth, the lack of surplus over time may translate to a perceived lack of disposable income normally allocated for arts consumption.

In conclusion, there are three potential economic measurements that may affect aggregates of cultural consumption: economic growth, family income, and unemployment. Subsequently, three hypotheses are formulated:

- H09: (Positive correlation of economic growth and arts audience sizes)
The better the economic condition of society, the higher the audience size for high cultural institutions.
- H10: (Positive correlation of household income and arts audience sizes)
The higher the average household income, the higher the audience size for high cultural institutions.
- H11: (Negative correlation of unemployment and arts audience sizes)
The higher the unemployment rate in a society, the lower the audience size for high cultural institutions.

3.4 Demand side explanations: Value changes

This set of explanations is most difficult to measure through available macro-level secondary data. A few indirect indicators will have to be used in the analysis to approximate the impact of the *de facto* observed value changes.

The fall of the wall in 1989 may not have been the source for the creation but rather the unleashing of a different system of value orientations already latent in most East Germans. The liberalization of Eastern Europe may have opened the possibility of pursuing long-suppressed objectives without further sanction (Opp & Gern 1993). In addition, the 'new capitalistic world' offered material rewards to be achieved immediately. The pent-up demand for material goods that had been observed for decades on West German television was huge. Compared to this outlook, culture and the arts seemed to be definitely outdated. This ignorance of the arts shortly after the turnover was also a way of forgetting the old system which was built on the premise of substituting unachievable material goods with other non-material goods.⁵

These changes in values, after the wall came down, may be called a reverse 'silent revolution' (Inglehart 1977). The long-time enforced 'post-materialistic' value system (maintained by substitution due to the lack of material opportunities) gave way to an almost anarchistic but very materialistic value system. A new BMW was definitely more important than a subscription to an orchestra and a theatre. It remains to be seen whether this negative correlation of materialistic and non-materialistic demand is valid for the non-revolutionary environment of West Germany, too.

- H12: (Negative correlation of demand for material goods and arts audience sizes)
The more the demand for material goods can be satisfied, the lower the demand for arts events.

Heilbrun & Gray (1993, p. 16ff) mention the dramatic effect that television broadcasting had on leisure behavior after World War II. While this impact was strong for movie-going, the effect on attendance at the live performing arts was much less dramatic, since television and movies are technically very similar (images projected on a flat screen), while the *live* performing arts keep the three-dimensionality of a performance in *real* space. However, mass media can effect the (de)cultivation of taste for the arts, and commercial television station propagate popular culture more than the fine arts (Heilbrun & Gray 1993, p. 323ff). This reasoning may have an impact especially on East Germany after the wall fell.

The brave new world of immediate, colorful, and overwhelming opportunities of in-house media consumption introduced was immediately apparent to the East Germans. Modern cable TV infrastructure was laid out in bigger towns. In areas too remote to get cable TV, households bought satellite dishes at once to keep up with the Jones'. Accustomed to receiving the three main public West German TV channels for years, East Germans enjoyed now the same 'luxury' of the West choosing from 30 or more channels. VCRs and hifi stereo equipment became affordable, and one of the favorite new enterprises (apart from starting small fast food venues), created by the unemployed for themselves, were video renting clubs.

- H13: (Negative correlation of television reception and arts audience sizes)
The more television is received, the lower is the demand for live arts events.

One of the very general values in life is the assessment of the present and future circumstances of life. This general optimism or pessimism finds its pivotal materialization in the decision to conceive a child. Mostly, there are several motives or barriers involved in this decision, some of them more egoistic than anticipatory on a barely individual level, some of them involving the assessment of macro environmental conditions such as the provision of kindergartens, or the right for a leave while raising a child without losing a job. It is, however, assumed that this decision is strongly influenced by the assessment of the future as secure or not. The aggregate anticipation of an optimistically or pessimistically assessed future may be reflected in society's birth rate. The subjective value of life affects not only this relatively serious decision but potentially also the life style issue of visiting and enjoying the arts. People with a positive

value orientation towards life may also be culturally more active.

- H14: (Positive correlation of positive value orientations and arts audience sizes)
The more positive the future of society as assessed on an aggregate societal level (measured by the birth rate of this society), the larger are the arts audiences of this society.

4. Secondary data analysis

The data for the following secondary analysis derive from four major sources:

- (for socio-economic and demographic indicators in West Germany 1980–96 and in Germany 1990–96:) Statistisches Bundesamt der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (ed.): Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, annual volumes from 1980 to 1997;
- (for socio-economic and demographic indicators and visits of cultural institutions in East Germany 1980–90:) Statistisches Amt der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (ed.): Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR, annual volumes from 1984 to 1990, especially 1990 with some revised data for the time before 1990;
- (for visits to the performing arts and orchestras:) Deutscher Bühnenverein, Bundesverband Deutscher Theatre (ed.): Theaterstatistik, annual volumes from 1980 to 1996; and
- (for visits to museums in West Germany 1980–90 and in Germany 1990–96:) Institut für Museumskunde, Berlin: Statistische Gesamterhebung an den Museen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, annual volumes from 1981 to 1997

Other sources are the *'Spitzenorganisation der Filmwirtschaft'* for movie theatre statistics (*'Zeitreihen der deutschen Filmwirtschaft'*), the *'Deutscher Fußballbund - Ligaausschuß'* for professional soccer league statistics on spectators (*'Entwicklung der Zuschauerzahlen in der Bundesliga'*) and *'Stella AG'* for musical statistics. Most data had to be recalculated for conducting comparative statistical analyses.⁶

The factors of audience changes listed in the hypotheses H01 to H14 could only quite rarely be measured in a direct fashion. As it is common for comparative secondary data analysis of macro settings, indirect indicators have to be used to reflect the variables of the theoretical assumptions.

Attendances of the observed major cultural genres 'museum', 'performing arts' and 'orchestra' and of the supplemental popular cultural genres 'movie' and 'musical' could be measured in a direct way (number of annual visits). 'Spectator sports' has been measured by the annual attendance of the professional 1st soccer league matches in Germany ('Bundesliga'), however, only for West or West Germany. The supply side variables are either the documented annual number of institutions (for museums, orchestras, or musical theatres) or the annual number of

seats provided (for performing arts theatres and movie theatres). The main variables for cultural consumption will be the *quotient* of attendance numbers and institutions (or seats, respectively), i.e. the number of annual visits in relation to the supply (institution or seat).

Of the independent variables (used as potential explanations for the macro changes in cultural consumption later), the following are measured directly:

- population size;
- 'younger population': number of people in the age group between 21 and 40 ;
- 'older population': number of people in the age group equal or older than 65; and
- 'economic situation': net national product (i.e., *'Volkseinkommen'* (West Germany) or *'Nationaleinkommen'* (East Germany) = GNP - public expenditures - deductions).

The following variables are measured indirectly:

- 'low educational attainment': share of population (in percentages) with primary education (in German: *Volksschule*);
- 'high education attainment': share of population (in percentages) with a baccalaureate, i.e., a year twelve qualification (in German: *Abitur*);
- 'highest educational attainment': share of population (number of persons out of 10 000) with a university degree acquired in that year;
- 'children requiring supervision': annual birth rate plus a time lag of one year (i.e., ARIMA model = 1,1,1), assuming that at least one year after the new arrival the parents will have little time to pursue out-of-house activities;
- 'income': monthly average household income before taxes (for 'household type II', i.e. four-persons-worker's or white-collar employee's household) adjusted to inflation (by dividing income with the West German consumer price index, 1991 = 1.0);
- 'unemployment': unemployment rate, i.e., percentage of unemployed of the total number of employable people;
- 'demand for materialistic goods': annual registrations of new cars;
- 'television consumption': total number of registered television receivers; and
- 'anticipation of a positive future': annual birth rate (without time lag).

The following time series analyses have been conducted using the ARMAX procedure of LIMDEP® Version 7.0. The chosen ARIMA (p,d,q) model is (1,0,1), with pure moving average regression results controlled for 1st order autocorrelations among the observed time periods (p), no assumed time lag of effects (d), and a linear trend, i.e., a 1st order moving average part (q). For the use of the birth rate as indicator for children, requiring supervision, a time lag of one year has been calculated, i.e. ARIMA (1,1,1).

4.1. Time-series analysis: The effect of supply

The cultural supply offered to the public has a significant and immediate positive effect on the demand for the different cultural genres performing arts, orchestras, and museums.

This is especially true for East German orchestras where the documented annual number declined from 88 in 1988 to 51 in 1992 (- 42%), and the number of documented museums declined from 751 in 1989 to 686 in 1991 (- 9%). Again, this may be due to changes in documentation, but the decline of orchestras between 1989 and 1991 has been also reported by Allmendinger (1990, 1991).

The number of museums, however, increased from 1991 to 1996 up to 895 museums (+30%), an increase also reported by Karge (1996). Scholz & Waldkircher-Heyne proclaim in 1994 that East Germans still visit museums more often than their West German compatriots. When adjusted for the number of documented museums this analysis confirms their results.

The number of seats in the performing arts stagnated between 1990 (66 959) and 1994 (66 593). Scholz and Waldkircher-Heyne (1994) state that East Germans visit theatres as often as West Germans when the audience numbers are adjusted to the population sizes of both parts of the country. This can be confirmed by these data.

All in all, supply and demand coincide in West and East Germany between 1980 and 1996. Hypothesis H01 is confirmed by the analysis performed in Table 1. The correlation is even more distinct in East than in West Germany (see highly significant low error probability #.0001 in Table 1).

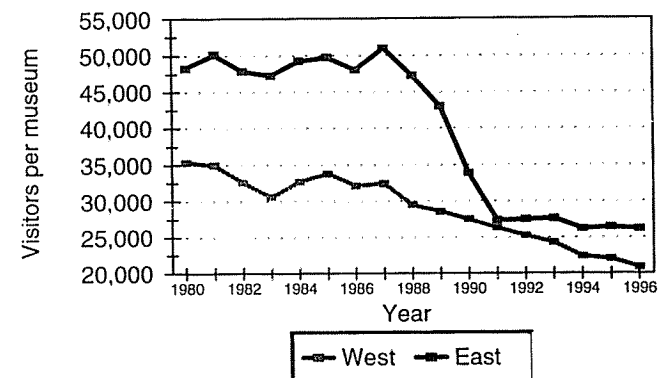
Table 1
Correlation of high cultural demand and high cultural supply developments, time series regression coefficients b (level of significance p in parentheses)

Supply -	West Germany			East Germany		
	Perf. arts seats	Numbers of orchestras	Numbers of museums	Perf. arts seats	Numbers of orchestras	Number of museums
Demand: Number of visits	+0.333E-05 (0.05)	+0.117E-01 (0.01)	+0.135E-03 (0.05)	+0.176E-04 (0.0000)	+0.117E-01 (0.0000)	+0.142E-02 (0.0000)

The development of the three cultural genre attendances, now adjusted to the shifts of supply, is displayed in Charts 5, 6 and 7.

Chart 5

Visits per Museum, 1980 - 1996
in Western and Eastern Germany

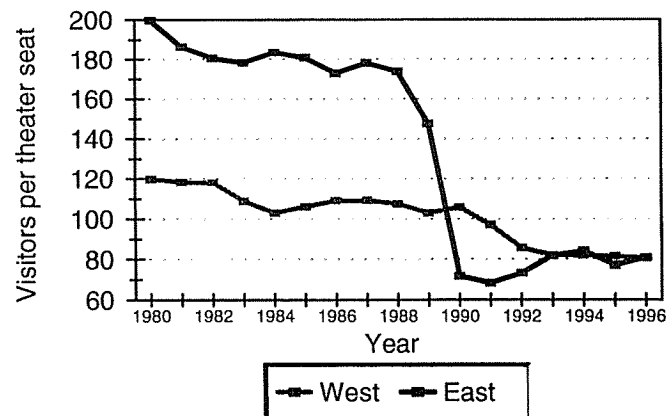


Source: Institut für Museumskunde, annual reports from 1981-98, and Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR 1990, data from the Institut für Museumswesen der DDR

Chart 6

Visits per Perf. Arts Seat, 1980-1996

in Western and Eastern Germany

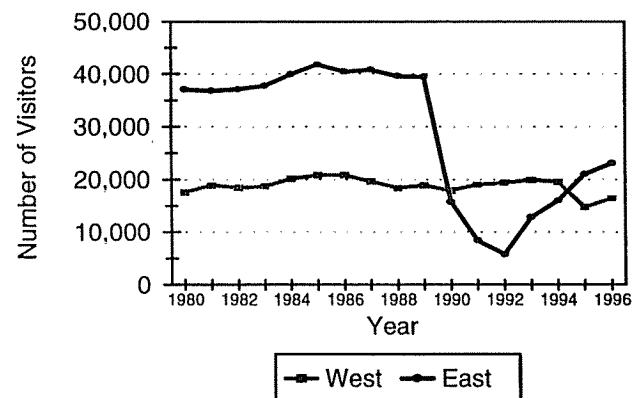


Source: Calculation of data provided by Deutscher Bühnenverein, season reports from 1981-98

Chart 7

Visits per Orchestra, 1980 - 1996

in Western and Eastern Germany



Source: Deutscher Bühnenverein, season reports from 1981-98

4.2. Time-series analysis: The effect of competing popular cultures

Heilbrun & Gray (1993) stress that the high arts will be under growing market pressure from popular cultural offerings. Hypotheses H02, H03 and H04 state that movie theatres, spectator sports and musical theatres compete for the same population that visits high cultural facilities.

Table 2
Correlation of high culture demand and popular culture demand,
time series regression coefficients b
(level of significance p in parentheses)

	West Germany			East Germany		
	Perf. arts vis. by seat	Visits per orchestra	Visits per museum	Perf. arts vis. by seat	Visits per orchestra	Visits per museum
Visits to cinemas	not significant	not significant	not significant	+0.445 (.0000)	+147.47 (.0000)	+44.013 (.0003)
Soccer visits	-0.244E-05 (.03)	-0.699E-03 (.035)	not significant	data not available	data not available	data not available
Visits to musicals	-0.211E-04 (.0000)	not significant	not significant	-.175E-04 (.0000)	-.323E-02 (.01)	-.241E-02 (.0016)

These data do not completely confirm Heilbrun & Gray's assumption of a negative correlation between high and popular culture because hypothesis H02 is rejected for East Germany. Here, there is even a significant positive correlation of visits to the movies and visits to the three genres of high culture. Regarding movies, the decision to stay at home or to go out seems to be stronger than the decision between high and popular culture. However, the lure of spectator sports and of the popular musical scene seem to work in the way Heilbrun & Gray (1993) in the United States and Stollenwerk (1996) in Germany assume. The increase in attendances of the 1st soccer league (in West Germany) and the success of musicals (especially in East Germany) coincide with a decrease of high culture attendances (especially in East Germany).

4.3. Time-series analysis: The effect of socio-demographic changes

Hypotheses H05 to H08 state potential impacts of changing population sizes, age compositions, the number of children in households, and educational compositions of

populations on the observed attendance sizes. Table 3 lists coefficients *b* and levels of significance *p* for these potential factors of macro developments in culture.

Table 3
Correlation of high culture demand and socio-demographic population characteristics, time series regression coefficients *b* (level of significance *p* in parentheses)

	West Germany			East Germany		
	Perf. arts vis. by seat	Visits per orchestra	Visits per museum	Perf. arts vis. by seat	Visits per orchestra	Visits per museum
population size	-0.279E-05 (0.000)	-0.396E-03 (0.022)	-2.289 (0.0018)	not significant	not significant	not significant
young age group size	not significant	-0.699E-03 (.035)	not significant	-0.247E-04 (0.0421)	not significant	not significant
old age group size	not significant	not significant	not significant	not significant	not significant	not significant
birth rate (+ 1 year)	not significant	not significant	not significant	not significant	not significant	not significant
low education	not significant	not significant	not significant	not significant	not significant	not significant
high education	not significant	not significant	not significant	not significant	not significant	not significant
university graduates	+0.951E-05 (0.0011)	not significant	not significant	+2.1564 (0.0047)	+820.14 (0.0014)	+1096.6 (.00242)

The impact of macro socio-demographic changes on macro attendance numbers of high cultural institutions is rather sparse. For West Germany, the development of a growing population significantly coincides with an overall decrease in attendance from 1980 to 1996. However, the loss of population in East Germany during this period did not result in a subsequent gain of cultural audiences—there is no relationship. Hypothesis H05 cannot be confirmed. At least in West Germany, there is a negative relationship between population and visits. Although there are more people living in this part of the country, visits per performing arts institution, orchestra and museum decreased in the 1990s.

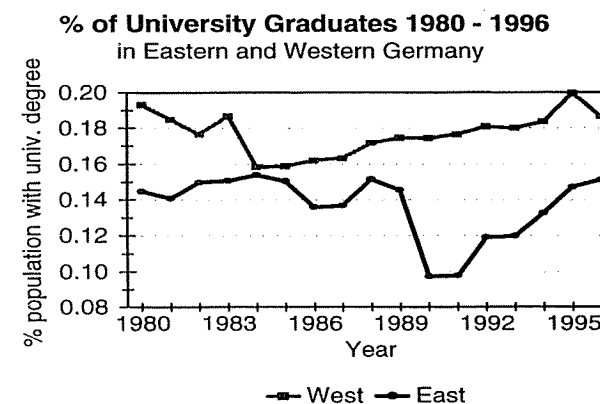
In general, the changing age composition of the population (measured by the two major brackets, younger than 40 and older than 65, see hypothesis H06) has no effect on the development of cultural audience sizes. Exemptions from this observation are the negative correlations between a growing baby boomer group and the diminishing size of orchestra

audiences in West Germany, and between this growing baby boomer group and the coincidentally falling size of performing arts audiences in East Germany, in the 1980s. However, both developments are not significant for the 1990s.

No significant correlation between the number of children in the household (requiring supervision) and attendance at cultural events (hypothesis H07) was observed either in West or in East Germany. However, this variable has been measured in a very indirect way, using the annual birth rate and assuming a time lag.

The only impact of the population's educational attainment of a population on cultural institution visits occurs through the relative size of the population with a university degree. Neither the changing share of people with a low education (*Volksschule*) nor the share with a relatively high education (*Abitur*) has any effect on audience developments. Only the size of the very small group of the population with a university degree has, mostly in East Germany, a considerable positive impact. Therefore, hypothesis H08 is corroborated for the East. The development of this macro characteristic is displayed in Chart 8.

Chart 8



Sources: Statistisches Jahrbuch der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1981–97, Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR 1990

4.4. Time-series analysis: The effect of economic changes

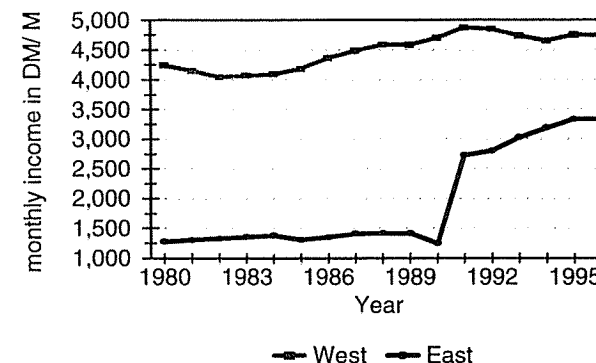
Hypotheses H09 to H11 summarize economic context factors that may affect arts audience sizes, for example, the general economic situation (measured by national product), the income situation of an average household, and unemployment in a society.

Some more detailed information especially about the economic changes in Eastern Germany are necessary at this point. First, a glance at income (all information about these indicators from Mayer & Thumann, 1990, and Economic Commission for Europe, 1991). Before the wall fell, there was a rigid wage structure with little wage differentiation over time and over occupational positions. In 1989, the average monthly East German wage was 1281 Marks, about one third of the average West German wage (differences in taxation narrowed the gap to about 60 %). However, due to heavy subsidization, living costs for everyday expenses were cheap. In 1985, an efficiency apartment in East Germany cost about 75 Marks, in West Germany almost 400 DeutschMarks monthly rent. This system of low wages and cheap prices changed in July 1990 with the currency union. The East German Mark was replaced by the West German DeutschMarks with a general exchange rate of Mark 2 = DeutschMark 1. Big exceptions to this rule allowed the East Germans modest affluence: all wages, salaries, scholarships, rents, leases and savings up to Mark 4000 (and up to Mark 6000 for people older than 58 years of age) were exchanged on a parity basis. All prices were now in West German marks and increased at a fast pace (in spite of some new subsidies by the new West German government), narrowing the gap for prices of the same West German goods and then exceeding them on a wide range. Whereas the 1989 consumer price index was 93.8 in West Germany and 92.3 in East Germany, the 1992 CPI was 104.1 in West Germany and 119.6 in East Germany, and the 1996 CPI was 114.4 in West Germany and 132.1 in East Germany (CPI, 1991 = 100 in West Germany).

The wages in the East increased as well, however, not nearly as much as in the West. Wages in the East have risen some 30–40 percent in 1990 compared with 1989, bringing them to about half the levels in the West. Chart 9 shows the CPI adjusted household income in East and West Germany, 1980–96.

Chart 9

Income Development, CPI adj. 1980-1996
in Western and Eastern Germany



Sources: Statistisches Jahrbuch der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1981–97, Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR 1990, Winkler 1997

There was virtually no unemployment in East Germany before the wall fell. Just prior to this in 1989 (during the emigration of skilled workers through Hungary to Austria and then West Germany), there were 250 000 officially recorded job vacancies and 50 000 unemployed in East Germany (in a population of almost 17 million). Of the 9 million job positions in East Germany, 95% were part of socialist people's companies. The breakdown of the socialist system put most of these jobs (many of them in *Kombinate*, i.e., huge conglomerates of companies, mostly in the secondary sector) in jeopardy. Most of these jobs were unproductive, produced out-dated products not able to compete with western products, and were only needed for participation in the economy of Warsaw Block nations (that is, they were specialized in certain products aligned to the needs of the Warsaw Block, supervised by the Soviet Union). The 1990 governmental privatization agency (*Treuhand*) did not prevent, but rather encouraged many of these companies to file for bankruptcy and to close their doors forever (to accelerate the process of structural changes). Therefore, many people lost their jobs and the unemployment quota rose from a virtual 'zero' to between 25% and 30% in 1991 (with up to 40% unemployment and more in regions).

However, in contrast to other central and eastern European post-socialist countries, the East Germans received

- immediate unemployment and other social security benefits according to the same rules prevailing in the West (in general 65 percent or 68 percent of the net wages of their previous employment);
- short-term jobs paid for by the Federal Employment Office (in German: 'Arbeitsbeschaffungsmassnahmen'); and
- generous payments for retraining and job qualification courses (up to 90 percent of their last net income).

The unemployment benefits have been adjusted by year for price increases in East Germany. Therefore, unemployment did not necessarily mean a financial crisis, or the lack of disposable income. Whether unemployment or any of the other economic context variables had any effect on art audiences (in East but also in West Germany) will be shown in Table 4.

Table 4
Correlation of high culture demand and economic context characteristics, time series regression coefficients b (level of significance p in parentheses)

	West Germany			East Germany		
	Perf. arts vis. by seat	Visits per orchestra	Visits per museum	Perf. arts vis. by seat	Visits per orchestra	Visits per museum
national product	-0.136E-01 (0.0054)	not significant	not significant	not significant	not significant	-0.129 (0.021)
household income	-0.117E-01 (0.0044)	not significant	not significant	+0.476E-02 (0.0465)	+1.6699 (0.034)	not significant
unemployment rate	not significant	not significant	not significant	-0.443E-01 (0.00000)	-25.122 (0.00000)	-5.1127 (0.00002)

The measured effect of the overall economic situation (national product) does not offer a clear conclusion. Whereas there is no effect on orchestra audience sizes in both parts of Germany, there is an effect on museum attendances in West Germany, and on performing arts audiences in East Germany. However, the correlation of economic growth and performing arts audience sizes in West Germany and of economic growth and museum attendance in East Germany are

negative. This contradicts the positive correlation assumed in hypothesis H09, which will therefore be rejected. It seems that in better economic situations, the East Germans, in particular, tend to retract from the arts.

The same is true for income: Hypothesis H10 will be rejected in West Germany (for audience sizes in the performing arts, there is even a negative correlation) but it will be confirmed (however, only slightly under the 5% error probability threshold) for performing arts and orchestra audiences in East Germany.

The results of the effect of unemployment on cultural audiences are more convincing. In East Germany, there is a highly significant and negative correlation between these two variables for all three cultural categories. Hypothesis H11 will be corroborated. The higher the unemployment rate, the less likely people are to visit the arts (and, probably, even other cultural events). The development of unemployment in East Germany is striking as Chart 10 shows.

Chart 10



Sources: Calculations by Statistisches Jahrbuch der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1981–97, Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR 1990

4.5. Time-series analysis: The effect of value orientation changes

Hypotheses H12 to H14 summarize some potential changes in value orientation in East Germany but probably also in West Germany. H12 postulates a substitute relationship of the demand for material goods and for immaterial services (especially culture). Shortly after the monetary union, East Germans chose to use their 'new' money to buy new symbols of prosperity, like representative cars, or a big screen TV with VCRs and satellite links. Disposable income was used to satisfy urgent material needs. Does this striving for material consumption reduce the demand for immaterial needs? The German prototype of typical material demand, buying new cars, will be compared to the immaterial demand for culture and the arts.

According to the statistics from Kulturforschung (1993), East Germans watch as much TV (72% and 71% of the population, respectively) and listen as much to the radio (53% and 57% of the population, respectively) as West Germans.⁷ However, directly after the unification East Germans spent significantly more time in their homes than West Germans. The East German is still more a homebody than the West German. In support of hypothesis H13, a negative relationship between the aggregates of 'watching more TV' and 'consuming high culture' is observed.

In this study, birth rate is employed as the indicator for the 'anticipation of a positive societal future'. In a modern society, bringing a child into the world may be a symbol for trust society. In support of hypothesis H14, this attitude of a positive belief correlates positively with the demand for arts and culture.

Interestingly, the observed craving of the East Germans for material goods after unification could not be related to a diminished interest in culture and the arts. This is also true for West Germany. Regarding visits to museums, in this part of Germany there is even a positive relationship: The more West Germans are interested in material goods (that is, new cars) the more they also visit museums. All in all, hypothesis H12 has to be rejected.

The same is valid for hypothesis H13. The increase of registered television receivers does not have a negative effect on cultural consumption on this aggregate level. In fact, with one

exception (museums and tv registrations have a *positive* correlation in West Germany!) the number of television receivers and arts audiences sizes do not correlate at all with cultural institution visits.

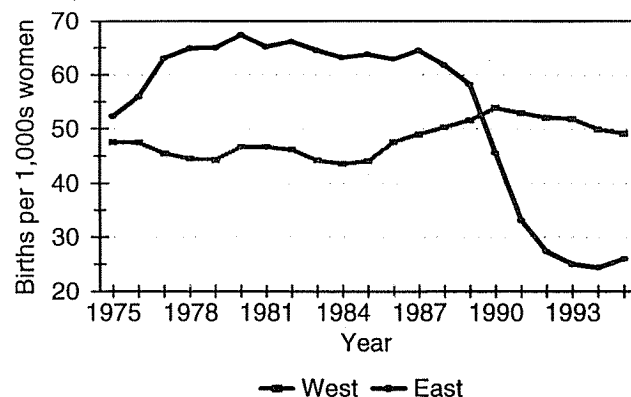
Table 5
Correlation of high culture demand and value orientation changes,
time series regression coefficients b
(level of significance p in parentheses)

	West Germany			East Germany		
	Perf. arts vis. by seat	Visits per orchestra	Museum visits	Perf. arts vis. by seat	Visits per orchestra	Visits per museum
new car registration	-0.951E-01 (0.0011)	not significant	+4.5407 (0.0196)	not significant	not significant	not significant
television registration	not significant	not significant	+0.5698 (0.0016)	not significant	not significant	not significant
birth rate	not significant	not significant	+0.374E+06 (0.0001)	+3.647 (0.042)	+803.9 (0.0125)	+377.22 (0.00000)

In contrast to the last two hypotheses, hypothesis H14 can be confirmed. Particularly, the dramatic drop of birth rates in East Germany coincides significantly with a drop in visits to arts institutions. Why is there this distinct relationship? Probably, the aggregated quality assessment of life impacts both the wish to give birth to children as well as the desire to be culturally more active. A lower quality of life assessment correlates clearly with a lower birth rate as well as fewer cultural activities, at least during the unstable (and not yet completely stabilized) conditions in East Germany.

Chart 11

Birth Rates, 1975 - 1995
in Western and Eastern Germany



Sources: Statistisches Jahrbuch der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1981-97, Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR 1985, 1990

5. Conclusion: Factors impacting arts audience decline in Germany

A total of 14 hypotheses have been tested using secondary data from East and West German official statistics. The following is a short summary of the results.

The first four hypotheses deal with *supply side effects* on the development of high cultural audience sizes. H01 assumes a positive correlation of cultural supply and demand. This could be confirmed, but was more significant in East Germany where the oscillations of institutional offerings were far greater than in the West. H02 assumes a negative correlation of movie theatre attendance and high cultural attendance under the premise that popular culture offerings compete for the same audience as high culture offerings. This hypothesis could be rejected. In East Germany, the test yields a positive relationship. H03 assumes a negative correlation of spectator sports attendance and high cultural attendance. This hypothesis could be confirmed for West Germany (there are no corresponding data available from East Germany). The increase of spectators coincide with a decrease in attendances at the performing arts and orchestras. H04 assumes a negative correlation of musical attendance and high cultural attendance. This hypothesis could be confirmed in East Germany (for all arts) and in West Germany (for the performing arts only). Hence, apart from movie-going, Heilbrun & Gray's thesis of competition among the high and popular arts (including museums) for the same audience is corroborated by this study.

The next seven hypotheses deal with the effect of socio-demographic changes on audience sizes. Hypothesis H05 assumes a positive correlation of population size and arts audience size. This hypothesis must be rejected. In West Germany, there can even be a negative relationship. Hypothesis H06 assumes a negative correlation of the size of the younger age group and arts audience sizes, or a positive correlation of the size of the older age group and arts audience sizes, respectively. Except for a corresponding effect on orchestra audience sizes in West Germany and performing arts audience sizes in East Germany this hypothesis has to be rejected *as generally valid*. Hypothesis H07 assumes a negative correlation of the number of children in households and arts audience sizes. This relationship could not be confirmed (probably due to an insufficient indicator, i.e., the birth rate plus time lag). Hypothesis H08 assumes a positive correlation of educational attainment of a population and arts audience

sizes. In its universality, this hypothesis cannot be substantiated. Neither the proportion of people with a low educational degree nor the proportion of people with an advanced degree had any effect on the sizes of high cultural audiences. However, the proportion of elite (i.e., university) graduates in the population had a specific positive effect on arts audience sizes as predicted.

The next three hypotheses deal with the effect of economic conditions in society on arts audience sizes. Hypothesis H09 proposes a positive correlation of economic growth and arts audience sizes (general economic growth is measured by the national product differentiated in a GDR or East German and in a West German national product). This hypothesis can be rejected. There is either no correlation or there is a negative relationship between national product and performing arts audience sizes (in West Germany) and between national product and museum attendances (in East Germany). Hypothesis H10 assumes a positive correlation of household income and arts audience sizes. With respect to East Germany (again, where major income changes occurred in 1989–90), this hypothesis can be confirmed. Hypothesis H11 assumes a negative correlation of unemployment and arts audience sizes. In a similar manner to H10, this hypothesis is corroborated with high significance for the case of East Germany. Here, the high level of unemployment definitely corresponds with a low level of high cultural activities. In general, the less abstract the measured economic variable is (national product as opposed to income), and the more directly the economic situation may intervene in individual behavior patterns (income as opposed to unemployment), the more there is a significant impact from economic conditions on the development of arts audience sizes.

The last set of hypotheses focuses on changes in general value orientation. Hypothesis H12 deals more with a delayed pent-up demand than with an immediate value orientation change in 1989–90 Eastern Germany. H12 assumes a negative correlation of demand for material goods (measured by new car registrations) and arts audience sizes. Although this negative correlation can be confirmed for the development of performing arts audiences in West Germany, *all in all*, it has to be rejected. There is no correlation with audience numbers in East Germany (the hypothesis was directed to this part of the country) and even an opposite effect on museum attendances in West Germany. Hypothesis H13 proposes a negative correlation of television reception and arts audience sizes. This hypothesis has to be rejected,

too. Other studies showed that even after the arrival of cable and satellite TV, the rate of watching TV did not increase—neither in East nor in West Germany.

The only hypothesis of the value change assumptions to be confirmed is H14 which assumes a positive correlation of value orientations (measured by the *birth rate*) and arts audience sizes. This could be corroborated for all three types of arts audiences in East Germany and for museum attendance developments in West Germany. The significant drop of birth rates in East Germany (and to a slighter extent also in West Germany) coincides closely with the drop in audience sizes, and the small increase of birth rates in the 1990s coincides with a corresponding increase in audience sizes.

In a few summarizing words,

- The demand for popular culture increases at the cost of high cultural demand;
- The educational standard of a population has only a small effect on arts audience sizes, particularly with respect to the population share of university graduates;
- An increased average household income of a population and a decrease in unemployment are reflected in growing arts audiences, and vice versa; and
- Last but not least, the belief in a positive future of and in society (measured by the annual birth rate) has a significant positive effect in the size of arts audiences. Living a 'good life' is reflected in visits to arts institutions *and* in the trust in a positive future for one's children.

A similar analysis has been conducted by the author with United States data, and those results were very similar to the ones presented here.⁸ The data from the United States demonstrated especially that the development of income and unemployment are highly significant for the development of audience sizes for orchestras and theatres.

Using a few macro-sociological variables for time series analyses, I was able to explain several issues of sudden drops and slow recoveries in arts audiences in East and West Germany. How important are these results, however, for other countries? A first answer has been given by comparing the tumultuous East German results with the moderate West German results. The correlations are somewhat distinct in West Germany. However, I believe that East Germany was somewhat of a 'laboratory', a 'magnifying glass' for processes also happening (to a less measurable extent) elsewhere. This study has not only been a historical exercise but demonstrated that this type of historical analysis has theoretical and practical benefits for

today. Information has been obtained about macro-level factors that may strongly affect the stability and development of arts audience sizes, in addition to traditional factors such as education or income.

The example of East Germany showed that the political and social changes observed upon unification also had a dramatic impact on cultural and arts institutions. It is interesting to note that a very well educated population like the 1980s East Germans (with a seemingly stable interest in the arts) could so suddenly lose their interest in the arts, despite their good education. It may not always be enough to use the conventional explanations of social and demographic stratification to explain arts consumption. Rather, in this case, a complete change of social macro-conditions had its distinct impact on individual micro-decisions (and on the expression of latent older or growing newer value orientations) with respect to arts consumption.

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7. Notes on author and editor



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8. Endnotes

¹ A former version of the paper was presented under the title 'Changes of Living Conditions and the Drop of Arts Audience Sizes: Examples from Eastern Germany and the United States', at the Social Theory, Politics and the Arts conference in Santa Barbara, October 1995 (Kirchberg, 1995).

This former paper, however, did not include the comparative analysis of West and East German secondary data which is central to this paper.

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² However, this number is inflated by the adding of newly recorded museums in every year. In fact, the increase is closer to 5% (Treinen and Kromrey, 1992). The effect of a diverse number of documented institutions will be considered in the next section. The Eastern German Institute for Museology had a more stable count of their museums.

³ In 1993, arts participation attitudes were almost equal in East and West Germany. Fifteen per cent of East Germans thought of the visit of a theatre or an orchestra as an important leisure activity for themselves (compared to 16% of the West Germans), and 14% of East Germans thought of museum visits as important leisure activities for themselves (compared to 11% of the West Germans) (Kulturforschung, 1993).

⁴ The following is an excursus on necessary caveats about the East German statistics. The GDR data before 1989 have to be scrutinized for reliability.

Firstly, there was a political incentive to exaggerate the audience numbers; especially, it was necessary to have a steady increase of visitors from one year to the next to prove the success of the socialist art policy and to secure ample amounts of money from the GDR ministry of finance in the next year (Strittmatter, 1989).

Secondly, factories and state unions bought theatre tickets in bulk to give them for free to workers' collectives with the purpose of organizing their leisure time outside the working place. However, giving them for free did not ensure the workers' *de facto* visits to arts institutions. In Leipzig, only about half of the people who received these tickets actually went (Schmidt, 1992). The method of buying tickets in bulk was mostly abolished soon after unification, and the attempt to substitute this method by new visitor organizations did not succeed. In 1994, 43.9% of theatre visitors had a box-office ticket (in Western Germany: 27.4%), subscription tickets made up 21.4% of the audience (in West Germany: 26.8%), and visitor organizations bought only 8.4% of all tickets (in West Germany: 21.9%) (Scholz and Waldkircher-Heyne 1994).

However, even if visitor numbers have been somewhat overstated in the GDR statistics, the general picture of the development of arts audience sizes is realistic. The main message of the figures, i.e., the drop between 1989 and 1991, is so dramatic that it cannot be solely the result of statistical artifacts. For example, East Germany had one of the densest networks of residential theatre ensembles in the world. Supporting the argument that the East German statistics are mostly reliable, the official statistics document a decline of theatre audience numbers during the 1980s. This was caused by the increasing financial problems the state administration had making ends meet. One problem was to find funds for the maintenance of the many theatre buildings in the republic with less and less revenues for arts and culture. In the early 1980s, it was common to send residential theatre ensembles on extensive tours through the countryside. This was stopped in the middle of the 1980s due to deteriorating vehicles and new limits of fuel distribution. Another example is the 750 year anniversary celebration of Berlin in 1987 that pressed a

lot of arts funds into the capital city of East Berlin and triggered a new and attractive supply of representative high arts institutions (mostly museums but also the '*Deutsche Oper*' and the '*Schauspielhaus*' theatre). This increased the number of museum visitors in 1987 and led to the unavoidable decline in the next year due to a lack of funds after the celebration was over. Developments like this are indeed reflected by the official statistics.

⁵ The constantly high demand for culture and the arts in East Germany in the 1980s was not merely a consequence of state-manipulation. The attendance of theatre performances in the years before 1989, was a way to publicly attend and contribute to a mild form of political protest, ignored if not even supported as a harmless valve for frustration with the regime. Audiences applauded certain scenes on stage that demanded 'freedom for the people' (and German classic plays have a lot of such scenes).

⁶ For example, the number of small museums with less than 5000 annual visits documented by the Institute for Museum Studies had been underestimated in the beginning of the 1980s due to communication gaps. In the following years these small museums noticed the recording of visit numbers by the Institute and provided more and more information every year. The increase of visits is, therefore, the artifact of a more complete documentation over the years. Assuming that most of the small museums of 1996 already existed in 1980–1981, the recorded number of museums will be adjusted to the share of small museums in 1996 (i.e., a constant 52.8 % for every year), and the number of recorded visits will be divided by this adjusted number of museums to yield the average number of visits per museum.

⁷ More comparative statistics from Kulturforschung (1993) show a similar habit of listening to tapes, CDs, or records (29% in both Germanies), and of watching videos (18% in West Germany, and 16% in East Germany). However, 50% of East Germans like to cultivate plants (compared to 33% of West Germans), and 41% of East Germans like to repair things at home (24% of West Germans). Here, they are more active at home than the West Germans.

⁸ In a paper for the Social Theory, Politics and the Arts Conference (Kirchberg, 1995) the issues of socio-economic and arts audiences changes have been also tested for eleven American metropolitan areas for the years 1977 to 1991. Arts audience developments are not parallel in the selected American cities. For example, in the 1980s museum attendances steadily increased in cities like Washington, New York or San Francisco, and they steadily decreased in cities like Pittsburgh or Denver. In some cities museum attendances first decreased, then increased (Boston), and in other cities museum attendances first increased, then decreased (Chicago or Seattle).

Furthermore, orchestras had more listeners in the first two thirds of the 1980s followed by a distinct drop in the last third of the 1980s and in the first years of the 1990s (New York City, Chicago, Pittsburgh). Other cities had instead a steady increase of orchestra attendances up to the end of the 1980s, followed by a distinct drop (Washington, Minneapolis, Houston). Some cities experienced several ups and downs in the 1980s (Boston or Baltimore). Potential aggregate factors of these oscillations were the employment situation, the income situation, the level of educational attainment, the population size, and the geographical location of the selected metropolitan areas in three regions of the USA. Annual arts audience figures for these cities have been obtained for orchestras, theatres, art museums, operas, and dance. In short, the results of this panel analysis are as follows: The average amount of per capita income of an urban area has a strong positive effect on audience sizes of operas and a weaker positive effect on attendance sizes of art museums. The employment situation in a city positively affects the development of arts audience figures for operas and dance theatres. The degree of college educated people in a town has a positive effect on the audience figures of orchestras and art museums. Population size is an important positive factor for the audience size of theatres and dance theatres for the tested cities. Arts audience sizes are significantly higher in the East than in the West of the United States. These results are in line with the results of the secondary data time series analysis presented here for the two Germanies.