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WHAT IS SO “CULTURAL” ABOUT CULTURAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP?

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The term “cultural entrepreneurship” has been increasingly used during the new millennium, mirroring the rapidly growing importance of the “quaternary sector of the economy,” i.e. knowledge-based industries, including culture. Exploration of the literature in which the term “cultural entrepreneurship” is used does not bring a solid, clear-cut, and unambiguous understanding of its definition or meaning. The aim of this paper is to present various uses of the concept and to bring about some clarity in how the concept can be understood. Two overarching uses of the cultural entrepreneurship concept have been found: 1. the anthropologist’s and institutional economist’s use, which indicates the dynamic development of intangible cultural features such as symbols, myths, languages, beliefs, values, norms, rituals, and attitudes in and between societies, and 2. the arts development use, which indicates the dynamic development of cultural services, tangible goods, and individual or collective career promotion. Most authors use a cultural entrepreneurship concept without defining it. Authors could apply more precise definitions by using a quadruple bottom-line framework to position themselves in the nexus of financial, social, artistic, and cultural perspectives.

Introduction

The term "cultural entrepreneurship" has been increasingly used during the new millennium, mirroring the rapidly growing importance of the "quaternary sector of the economy," i.e. knowledge-based industries, including culture. It seems to be used mostly in connection with "the cultural industries," a term that is used for production and services related to both commercial mass culture and the fine arts. Exploration of the literature in which the term "cultural entrepreneurship" is used does not bring a solid, clear-cut, and unambiguous understanding of its definition or meaning. The aim of this paper is to present various uses of the concept and to bring about some clarity in how the concept can be understood.

I will first present the etymological and historical background of the words "entrepreneur" and "culture." I will then discuss various understandings of the contexts in which the concept "cultural entrepreneurship" can be and has been used. Furthermore, I will present two major and separate ways that the concept has been used. I conclude that it is wise for authors to define how they interpret and use the "cultural entrepreneurship" concept. I will make a few references as to how the words and the concepts have been used and developed in the Scandinavian context.

The Words and Their Meaning

Entrepreneur

Old words tend to have different connotations today compared to when they were first used. It seems that "cultural" and "entrepreneur" to some extent have targeted similar phenomena. They both describe dynamic growth. However, the former is more concerned with individual and collective spiritual matters, and the latter is more concerned with tangible matters. But the distinction between the two is not fundamentally clear, so the combination of them may create a somewhat ambiguous, maybe even tautological, effect. This circumstance underpins the need for clarification of the concept that includes both words, i.e. cultural entrepreneurship.

Entrepreneur

The French word “entrepreneur” is a combination of *prendre* (take) and *entre* (between). Richard Cantillon (1680s-1734) is generally considered the first user, or at least interpreter, of the word “entrepreneur.” He described the role of the entrepreneur in his groundbreaking book *Essai sur la Nature du Commerce en Général* (Essay on the Nature of Trade in General), first published in 1755. Friedrich Hayek (1985) later explained Cantillon's ideas:

In Cantillon's view, which is also the modern one, an entrepreneur is anyone who is a risk-bearer and whose income consists not of ground rent or wages but of profit. Not only in this juxtaposition, but indeed in many other points also, we find Cantillon anticipating a classification of income groups which was later to become conventional. This is true, for example, of the recurrent distinction, based on English usage, between the three rents which the lease-holder must generate – the actual ground rent, which goes to the owner; the wages to cover his own sustenance and that of his laborers; and his entrepreneurial profit, to which Cantillon adds, as an extra source of income, the interest received on money lent.

According to Hébert and Link (2009), Cantillon emphasized that it was farmers who were the first and primary entrepreneurs. They must accept uncertainties and risks, such as weather conditions and future market prices in various geographic locations. But they can calculate the price of land and labor when they start their enterprises. What farmers do is agriculture. They cultivate their crops to grain and bring the harvest from their land to the market. Cantillon's use of the word entrepreneur was rooted in distribution—take things from one geographic point to another—and agricultural cultivation—take things from one state to another. Adding to distribution and cultivation, we now also recognize, for instance, technological innovation and economic growth as such “take things from one point to another” entrepreneurial fields.

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Nicolas (Abbé) de Baudeau (1767/1910, chapter IV, article III) distinguishes between the idle landowner—*le propriétaire foncier*—and the agricultural entrepreneur—*le cultivateur en chef*—who is the active agent who seeks to increase production and reduce costs. According to Anne Robert Jaques Turgot (1766, §15), the former belonged to the *classe disponible* and the latter to the *classe productrice*. Johann Heinrich von Thünen identified the difference between management and entrepreneurship. According to von Thünen (1826/1910, 482), the *Unternehmer*¹ supplies “greater mental effort in comparison with the paid *Stellvertreter*/manager,” and for this the former deserves compensation for his diligence, namely the *Industriebelohnung*/ industrial reward. Today we mostly call this residual the “entrepreneurial risk.” Of interest for this study is that von Thünen drew from the *Industriebelohnung*, not only *Kulturkosten* for the maintenance of roads, bridges, trenches, and a school for the village children but also for the “costs of music and entertainment at the dances of the people” (von Thünen, 1826/1910, 636, 646).

Following Darwin, Alfred Marshall (1920, Appendix A, §13) discussed undertakers as persons who by “the natural selection of the fittest [were] to undertake, to organize, and to manage,” and this has “much greater scope in manufacture” than in agriculture. The neoclassical economic thinkers, such as Marshall, Léon Walras, and John Bates Clark, focused on the end-state equilibrium with the perfect match of commodity price, demand, and supply and in which “the effects of uncertainty have been expunged from the consideration” (Hébert and Link 2009, 67). Thorstein Veblen, founder of the American Institutional Economics School, had more or less the opposite perspective. He was interested in what creates disruptions of the equilibrium, and he aimed to describe the dynamics of economic life rather than the static-state equilibrium.

¹ Adam Smith used the same word in English: “undertaker.”

Neither [the marginal utility school nor the classical economics of the nineteenth century] can deal theoretically with phenomena of change, but at the most only with rational adjustment to change which may be supposed to have supervened. To the modern scientist the phenomena of growth and change are the most obtrusive and most consequential facts observable in economic life... For all their use of the term 'dynamic,' neither Mr. [John Bates] Clark nor any of his associates in this line of research have yet contributed anything at all appreciable to a theory of genesis, growth, sequence, change, process, or the like, in economic life (Veblen 1909).

What Veblen (and others) hinted at was further developed by Joseph Schumpeter in his pioneering book *Theorie der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung* (Theory of Economic Development). He pointed at psychological motives for business growth, primarily the "*Freude am schöpferischen Gestalten*" (approximately: Joy of Creative Design) which he contrasted to "*Notwendigkeit der Betätigung*" (approximately: Necessity of action) (Schumpeter 1911, 141). According to Schumpeter the innovative entrepreneur creates a new good or service. Others learn from it, and eventually their imitation or further innovation will reduce the initial monopoly from which the first entrepreneur could benefit. Schumpeter (1942 chap. VII) later coined the term "Creative Destruction" to describe the ongoing forces by which obsolete goods and services are replaced on the market by new innovations. Entrepreneurs are the agents of such change. The entrepreneurship concept used in research and the academic teaching still bears the Schumpeter hallmark.

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Joseph Schumpeter was an ardent lover of the arts. In the seventh and last chapter of the 1911 first edition of *Theorie der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung*,² according to Richard Swedberg (2006), he maintained that

... it is necessary to extend the idea of static versus dynamic theory to other areas, including art. The true artist, in other words, should presumably be conceptualized as an entrepreneur; and as the economic entrepreneur has his imitators and followers, so does the artist. Both the artist and the entrepreneur are dynamic, active, and energetic and show leadership qualities, while their followers are passive and static and accept the way things are.

Whereas the passive artist works statically and non-entrepreneurially with artistic adaptations according to the cultural zeitgeist, the dynamic cultural entrepreneur creates more radical artistic development.

Although Schumpeter's take on the matter was much wider, an entrepreneur was until only recently identified as someone with a focus on financial gain. If the "take things from one state to another" meaning of the word entrepreneurship was related almost exclusively to the growth of bank accounts, we now identify a wide range of objects for which the leverage from a lower state to a higher one can be the concern of an entrepreneur. Now we also see the entrepreneur as someone who could be equally or more interested in some kind of social change. Although there is as yet no undisputed definition of "social entrepreneurship" (Kickul and Lyons 2012, 16-20; Brock and Steiner

²This chapter was eliminated by Schumpeter in the second edition 20 years later. Swedberg (2006) claims "that when Schumpeter wrote the first edition he was a very young and enormously ambitious economist in Europe who wanted to take the academic world by storm; when he prepared the [English] translation in the 1930s he was a tenured professor at Harvard and had developed a much better sense for what mainstream economics was about—and also what it demanded of its practitioners if they wanted to remain in the mainstream."

2008; Volkmann et al. 2012; Dacin et al. 2010), it could be argued that the cultural labor that primarily seeks to take part in activities that try to implement instrumental cultural policy goals for social change could be identified as taking part in “social enterprises.” Such goals can be centered on, for instance, socio-economically underprivileged groups, gender equality, and the leveraging of tourism. Dacin et al. (2010) define cultural entrepreneurship as separated from social entrepreneurship although, as they exemplify, the cultural entrepreneurs sometimes work with projects for social change just as social entrepreneurs do.

Many artists are more or less only interpreters of original artistic works by other creators. However, both categories can be more or less involved in cultural innovations of different kinds. The most innovative could be labeled “artistic entrepreneurs,” as they bring their art from one state to another. As will be discussed below, cultural entrepreneurs can be either “social” or “artistic” or a combination of the two. It all depends on what we accept as included in the “culture” concept.

Culture

The etymological origin of the word “culture” is described slightly differently in various encyclopedias. But it seems that they are in accord when placing its roots in the Latin words *cultura*, which stands for processing, growth, formation, and agriculture, or *colo*, which could mean, for example, occupy, foster, beautify, and honor. Here, too, we are dealing with a word that depicts the transformation of an object or a subject from one state to another. Cicero (146-43 BC) turned to agriculture to clarify how the human soul must be cultivated to a mature state, just like the seed grows to become *adulta fructus*. Later, Pliny the Elder (23-79 AD), in his *Historia Naturalis* (Pliny 77-79), described how artists use material from nature to create paintings—cultivation from *terrenus* to *factitius*.

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Before Voltaire, the word "culture" in French literature seems to have been used in combination with the matter that was cultivated, such as agriculture, scientific culture, and literary culture (*la culture des lettres*). Blaise Pascal used the word *coutumes* (customs) to indicate the state in which the human mind has been elevated above the state of nature, when good manners have become second nature (Pascal 1669, 30, Séries XXIV, [section 634/97 in the French original]). Voltaire used the stand-alone word "culture" to designate "*la formation de l'esprit*" (the cultivation of the mind) in a much broader sense, which he may have borrowed not only from Cicero but also from contemporary German philosophers, mainly Herder and Kant.

Those who wrote in English before the late nineteenth century mostly used the word "civilization" and its derivatives to describe the cultivated society. The same word was used in German texts of the same period in the same meaning: the ennobling of people through a societal control of basic human impulses. *Kultur*, on the other hand, indicated the control of nature by science and art that the society could muster—well in line with the description by Pliny the Elder. *Kultur* demanded knowledge and skills, but the individual persons were not cultural; they were described as, at best, possessing *Bildung*. According to Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952, 28-29), there was a political reason behind the German use of the word *Kultur*. Before 1871 there was a German "nationality" but no unified or organized nation. Kroeber and Kluckhohn write: "...their nationalism not only took solace in German cultural achievement, but was led to appraise culture as a whole above politics." The unified Germany from 1871 continued to differentiate their new nation from what they called "the old civilizations" of France and Britain through the use of the word *Kultur*, although, according to Kroeber and Kluckhohn, it meant practically the same thing as "civilization"—"the totality of social attainments, achievements and values." The use of the two different words created national disputes—even wars—Kroeber and Kluckhohn maintain.

By the time Kroeber and Kluckhohn's book was published, the international community of anthropologists used the word "culture" the German way. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952, 3) identified how the word had permeated into the social sciences in the mid-twentieth century:

In explanatory importance and in generality of application it [i.e. the idea of culture] is comparable to such categories as gravity in physics, disease in medicine, evolution in biology. Psychiatrists and psychologists, and, more recently, even some economists and lawyers, have come to tack on the qualifying phrase 'in our culture' to their generalizations, even though one suspects it is often done mechanically in the same way that mediæval men added a precautionary "God Willing" to their utterances.

The meaning of the word "culture" in the social sciences today revolves around a framework consisting of symbols, myths, languages, beliefs, values, norms, rituals, attitudes, and artifacts. "Culture" has both tangible and intangible notions. Many kinds of artistic goods and services are produced by cultural industries. The founder of neoinstitutional economics, Douglass C. North (1991), identifies the anthropologist's definition of culture as part of:

Institutions [that] are the humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction. They consist of both informal constraints (sanctions, taboos, customs, traditions, and codes of conduct), and formal rules (constitutions, laws, property rights).

"Culture" is not static—it changes over time. Maybe this is why the understanding and use of the word-combination "cultural entrepreneurship" has taken, as we shall see, at least two main directions and some sub-directions.

The *Kulturindustrie* and the Cultural Industries

Many entrepreneurs are identified by others as more "industrious" than the common person. Some create new enterprises. Some innovative entrepreneurs create new industries. We expect to find cultural entrepreneurs in cultural industries.

Drawing from the discussion above, one should not be surprised to find the term "cultural industries" first used in Germany. The *Kulturindustrie* concept was coined by its fiercest opponents! Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno (1947) first used it in their *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, "Chapter 4: Culture Industry – Enlightenment as Mass Deception." It was a label they ascribed to the commodification and commercialization of culture, the industry that specifically deals with the production of mass entertainment. Horkheimer and Adorno's claim was that the *Kulturindustrie* produces the opposite of what they labeled "authentic culture." By this they meant culture that is a means in itself and culture that fosters human imagination in a different way than the culture industry does. The authentic culture, according to Horkheimer and Adorno, leaves room for independent thought. The clash results in a "sell-out of culture," in which the true meaning of culture is replaced by "well-calculated stupidities of amusement" that bring about the antithesis of Enlightenment (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1947, 95). According to Horkheimer and Adorno, industrially produced culture robs the individual of his imagination and takes on the thinking for him. For the individual, only the responsibility of the consumer remains. Adorno (1975) maintained his *Kulturindustrie* critique:

The total effect of the culture industry is one of anti-enlightenment, in which ... the progressive technical domination of nature, becomes mass deception and is turned into a means for fettering consciousness. It impedes the development of autonomous, independent individuals who judge and decide consciously for themselves.

The *Kultur* proponents did not lack domestic opposition. In the 1933 play *Schlageter* by Hanns Johst, later the president of the Nazi poetry academy, one of the main characters utters the infamous words: “No, one has to keep all this *Weltanschauungssalat* (worldview salad) at a ten step distance. Live ammunition will be used here! When I hear 'Kultur' I unlock my Browning!”

A substantial cultural policy bill presented in 1961 by the Swedish minister of education (including culture, media, sports, and more), Ragnar Edenman, discussed the importance of state support for the cultural “free sector,” i.e. the part of culture consisting of “artistic creation,” in a *Kulturindustrie* critique way. Edenman’s interpretation was that the societal changes at the time had resulted in a situation in which the previous financial support to artists from royalty, aristocracy, and the upper bourgeoisie had ceased and nothing else had replaced it. Artistic production of high quality was, furthermore, threatened by commercial forces such as “weekly magazines, kitschy paintings, pop music, films of dubious value, and all kinds of ‘entertainment’” (Edenman 1959). Therefore, the state had to take on responsibility for the support of artists.

One of the main arguments against the Adornian *Kulturindustrie* critique was directed to its view of the individual—the consumer—as a passive swallower of preprogrammed junk. The individual's needs, it was argued, must be taken into account. There must be a consumer “use value” in the industrially produced cultural objects that satisfies fundamental needs for meaning and enjoyment. Not just any product is accepted by customers. People are not willing to buy the same goods over again, as Adorno claimed. They want new and different products. What consumers want is actually not possible to predict. Demand is volatile.

Another charge against Adorno maintained that there is not one totalitarian culture industry—there are many “cultural industries.” Each culture, defined anthropologically, has its cultural industries. The same goes for each art form and each way of media communication. Tangible goods like books, records, and DVDs each have industrial logics of their own. Performances in theaters, concert halls, and cinemas depend on other business logics. In addition, the role of cultural labor is downplayed in the Adorno totalitarian model, which maintains that artisans are

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exploited by the *Kulturindustrie* moguls. But, it can be argued, "... a more complex process saw the artist ... becoming much more directly involved in the marketing process, and, through copyright and royalties, gaining a direct share in the profits" (O'Connor 2007, 22). In the world of many cultural industries, there is a possibility—big or small—to choose among employers or self-employment. Recent technological advances, primarily the Internet, have given artists an enhanced possibility to seek their audiences directly without intermediary organizations. In comparison with the prior for-superprofit *Kulturindustrie*, cultural entrepreneurship is now radically different in the new long-tail economy, which is increasingly shifting away from a focus on a relatively small number of mainstream bestsellers at the head of the demand curve and toward a huge number of niches in the tail.

The Values of Culture

In order to better understand how the cultural entrepreneurial concept has been used, it is wise to look at the various values that cultural entrepreneurs work to enhance. Cultural entrepreneurs may, of course, have a focus on financial revenues. The economic value is always one part of their calculation. For some, maximum profit is the only objective. However, for most artists, earning money is most likely only one of several goals. The opportunity cost they put on more lucrative jobs than their own artistically creative labor is high.

The societal "use value" is the focus of the modern "instrumental cultural policy," i.e. the use of cultural activities, goods, or services in the pursuit of a desired societal change. The evaluation of the investment in cultural means for the societal change is then directed not towards the quality of, for instance, the artistic result but, rather, on the societal change for which the activity, good, or service is a vehicle. No wonder then that instrumental cultural policies are disliked by many artists of the *l'art-pour-l'art* (art for the sake of art) school, who favor discussing only the aesthetic value.

The inherent value is the most difficult value category. The concept is frequently used by advocates of high culture and the beaux arts. The idea is that culture itself or a cultural artifact possesses some

transcendental qualities that are impossible to describe and thus impossible to discuss and refute. The inherent value notion is also apparent in the Germanic countries' use of the *Bildung* concept. It is claimed that *Bildung* is good in itself—it will make the life of the owner more interesting and spiritually rewarding.

The Art-Centered Definition of Cultural Entrepreneurship

In eighteenth century France, the townships offered the premises, stage sets and props of its municipal theaters to *entrepreneurs* who took it upon themselves to engage an ensemble and take the financial risks involved in the production of performances. In Toulouse, for instance, the *capitouls* published official *devis* not only to attract tenders for refurbishment subcontractors but also for the artistic production, wherein the responsibilities of the (cultural) entrepreneur regarding the house and its content were very specific (Toulouse DD308, 58, 87-89, 171-174).

One of the first to use the term “cultural entrepreneurship” was Paul DiMaggio (1982) in his article on the people who started the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Boston Symphony Orchestra. DiMaggio does not give his definition of the term “cultural entrepreneurship,” and he uses it only in the article's title and in the title of one section. It seems that he takes for granted that the reader will understand the term as art-centered. Although DiMaggio does not explicitly label the founder of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Henry Lee Higginson, as a cultural entrepreneur, that is, in effect, how he is described. Victoria Johnson (2007) treats the concept in a similar way when she presents the poet Pierre Perrin as the cultural entrepreneur behind the founding of the Paris opera.

Dacin et al. (2010, table 2) refer to DiMaggio in their attempt to define a cultural entrepreneur: “An individual who identifies an opportunity and acts upon it in order to create social, cultural, or economic value.” According to Dacin et al the cultural entrepreneur tries to establish new norms and values through cultural diffusion/ enlightenment. The context can be for-profit or non-profit but a primary “tension” is “commercialization versus culture (authenticity).”

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Arjo Klamer (2011), professor of the Economics of Art and Culture at Erasmus University in Rotterdam, demands of the cultural entrepreneur that he puts the cultural mission in the forefront:

Cultural entrepreneurs are cultural because they are about the cultural. Being focused on the (cultural) content, being about the art itself and the creative process is a moral attribute of the cultural entrepreneur. The economics has to be an instrument for them in order to realize cultural values... To be clear, we are working on a moral picture here and try to figure out what makes a good cultural entrepreneur. Someone who sees in cultural trade a way of adding profit becomes suspect as culture is his instrument and not his mission. He is rather a businessman. That does not make him a bad character but he is miscast as a cultural entrepreneur.

Klamer's moral imperative is that the cultural entrepreneur remains an artistic entrepreneur even when he operates on a market with its commercial logic. Not everyone will agree that this is necessary. It can be argued that the consumers' cultural needs and their satisfaction should be put above the moral standard of the producer. The high moral (and cultural) standard should rather be inherent in what is conveyed. Klamer uses the word "cultural" in cultural entrepreneurship as indicating the personal virtues of the entrepreneur. The alternative is to use the word "cultural" as an adjective attached to the good or service that the entrepreneur provides.

In a country like Sweden, there are ample opportunities for both the Klamer-style art-centered and other kinds of cultural entrepreneurs to work within public cultural institutions or in cultural policy-driven private organizations.

Cultural Entrepreneurialism

I take Andrea Ellmeier (2003), leader of the Unit for Equality, Gender Studies & Diversity at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna, as an example of a line of inquiry into cultural entrepreneurship as a means for cultural “workers” to avoid unemployment:

These new self-employed are on the one hand described heroically as 'micro-entrepreneurs'. As 'entrepreneurs of their own human capital', but also as 'job slaves', 'day labourers', 'migrant workers' or as pseudo-self-employed.

Ellmeier cites Angela McRobbie (1998, 188), professor of communications at Goldsmiths College, University of London:

It means being multi-skilled in hand work, design work, publicity and promotions, management and business and having some idea of manufacturing, as well as being in possession of creative vision, imagination and all the other qualities associated with fashion design.

Furthermore, Ellmeier uses a definition ascribed to Professors Karin Gottschall, Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences, and Sigrid Betzelt, Berlin School of Economics and Law, (2001) when she labels these cultural entrepreneurs

...'sole service suppliers in the professional cultural field'. This term signifies a status, which is very different from traditional employee categories. The authors [Gottschall and Betzelt] state that the cultural professions belong to the expanding knowledge-based occupations and take a special position in the various employment systems across Europe.

Pierre-Michel Menger (2006), professor of creative labor at the Collège de France, describes artists as multiple jobholders who resemble entrepreneurs. If the latter group “as property owners spread their risk by

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putting bits of their property into a large number of concerns, multiple jobholders put bits of their efforts into different jobs" (Menger 2006, 794). He suggests that a threefold division of earnings is apparent, namely those derived from 1) the creativity itself and the artistic products; 2) arts-related work, such as teaching and management tasks in artistic organizations; and 3) non-arts work.

This kind of, more or less, necessity-driven and, perhaps, involuntary cultural entrepreneurship executed by cultural workers who only reluctantly identify themselves as entrepreneurs is in many countries encouraged by both cultural and labor-market public authorities. It is not only a European phenomenon. Michael Scott (2012), a research fellow at Flinders University, Australia, discusses cultural entrepreneurialism on the New Zealand music scene:

...'cultural entrepreneur' is used here as a synecdoche for the (mostly) young neo-bohemian person operating in freelance mode at the interstices of the flexible labor market (within and without the creative industries) and self-driven cultural production. That is, they may not be employed directly or indirectly in the cultural industries per se, but they continue to produce cultural goods with or without pay... As aspiring creative workers often combine jobs, this feature leads to a slash-mark bisecting their working identity: café worker/ songwriter, courier/drummer, color consultant/ painter, administrator/jewelry designer, and so on.

David Throsby (1994), cultural economics professor at Macquarie University, Australia, found that when income increased for non-artistic occupations, the multi-tasking artists spent fewer hours on such work. Then it takes less time for the artists to collect the income they consider necessary in order to devote themselves to their actual, artistic profession. Cultural economist and art writer Hans Abbing (2003) found empirical evidence to suggest that enhanced public financial support increases the amount of artists of various kinds but not the average income.

Arts Entrepreneurship

A special issue of the *The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society* in the autumn of 2003 focused on the exploration of arts and entrepreneurship. Its editor, Ruth Rentschler, seems to have been the one who first used the entrepreneurship concept together with the word “arts.” It started a kind of arts entrepreneurship movement primarily centered on the education of arts managers and producers of art, including artists themselves. However, Woong Jo Chang, assistant professor in arts leadership at Seattle University, and Margaret Wyszomirski, professor of arts administration at the Ohio State University, (2015) find that “despite the fact that arts entrepreneurship has been a hot topic in recent years ... the scholarly literature on arts entrepreneurship has, in fact, been quite scarce.” It seems that they have found very little in the literature when it comes to definitions of the term “arts entrepreneurship.” The meaning seems to be taken for granted by authors who, to a very large extent, are focused on the education of artists of various kinds.

Although Swedish scholar Maria Aggestam (2007), associate professor in entrepreneurship at Lund University, used the term “arts entrepreneurship” in a chapter in a textbook on entrepreneurship in creative industries, it seems that it has not yet permeated into the mainstream of European scholarly debate.

Chang and Wyszomirski (2015) “offer a preliminary definition of 'arts entrepreneurship' as a management process through which cultural workers seek to support their creativity and autonomy, advance their capacity for adaptability, and create artistic as well as economic and social value.” Inspired by and almost fully based on Chang and Wyszomirki (2015, Table 3), I suggest the following taxonomy:

Table 1

Taxonomy of arts entrepreneurship components

Context	Mindset	Strategies	Skills
Art form	Art related	New ventures	Opportunity identification
Artistic field	Business related	Creative enterprise	Artistic competence
Singular producer	Perseverance	Career portfolios	Business competence
Small business	Risk-taking	Social enterprise	
	Tolerance of failure	Intrapreneur	
	Open-minded	Change management	

The Anthropologist's View of Cultural Entrepreneurship

In a recent article, Joel Mokyr (2013), professor of economic history at Northwestern University, has a totally different take on cultural entrepreneurship from the ones described above:

As Greif [1994] noted, each individual makes cultural choices taking as given what others believe... What matters for my purposes is that for a small number of individuals, the beliefs of others are not given but can be changed. I shall refer to those people as cultural entrepreneurs... [They] are defined as individuals that add to the menus from which others choose [their beliefs] ... To repeat: cultural entrepreneurs are the creators of epistemic focal points that people can coordinate their beliefs on.

Mokyr presents, among others, Martin Luther, Karl Marx, Francis Bacon³, and Isaac Newton as examples of cultural entrepreneurs. His use of the culture concept is rooted in Max Weber and the Institutional Economics School. Kenneth Lipartito (1998) gives an understanding of the cultural entrepreneur through the eyes of a business historian. He exemplifies his take on the matter with two prominent American businessmen: Gustavus Franklin Swift who revolutionized the meat industry in the second half of the 19th century and the automotive industry guru Henry Ford.

Businessmen like Swift or Ford, because they undertook creative action that went beyond what was known or accepted at their time, had no choice but to draw their ideas and strategies from the deep sources of culture and value in which they were immersed.

Lipartito, as Schumpeter, find crucial similarities between entrepreneurs and artists:

³ The philosopher Francis Bacon (1561-1626). Others would perhaps rather identify Francis Bacon (1909-1992), the painter, as a cultural entrepreneur.

Occasionally entrepreneurs really open up supposedly settled matters, calling into question interpretations that define products or technologies, and reconfiguring the symbols on which organizations rest. They are thus closer to artists than to supercomputers.

Lipartito defines the cultural entrepreneur as someone who

... possess expertise, which is rather different from the sort of computational, linear reasoning of the machine — or of the corporate bureaucracy. Expertise inheres in the individual, and can be aided by the acquisition of knowledge and information, but never totally replicated by purely rational models. It is also culturally specific, an example of "local knowledge," and "common sense," which differ, sometimes radically, across societies.

The discussion on cultural entrepreneurship by Norwegian Olav R. Spilling (1991), research professor at the Nordic Institute for Studies in Innovation, Research and Education, is slightly ambiguous. On the one hand, he presents the Danish town Holstebro as an example of how investments in cultural activities and art institutions can bring widespread positive societal values: "It is widely recognized that this strategy has been the main reason for a successful development of the city and a significant economic growth in the area." This is in line with the instrumental policy view on culture as discussed above. But Spilling also expands along lines similar to Mokyr. Spilling's actual focus is on the cultural entrepreneur as an agent for "1) changing people's understanding of what is possible (changing frame of reference), and 2) changing people's motivation for taking part in economic development." Culture is then a kind of ideological and cognitive frame of all local economic sectors.

Professors Michael Lounsbury, Alberta School of Business, and Mary Anne Glynn, Boston College, (2001) discuss story-telling in relation to

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cultural entrepreneurship. They describe the way this cultural/ artistic means can be used to attract the capital necessary for the creation of financial success for start-up enterprises:

... we propose that stories function to identify and legitimate new ventures, thus mediating between extant stocks of entrepreneurial resources and we propose that stories function to identify and legitimate new ventures, thus mediating between extant stocks of entrepreneurial resources and subsequent capital acquisition and wealth creation. We define this process as cultural entrepreneurship.

Furthermore, there is an extensive research area concerned with the study of "cross-cultural entrepreneurship." What are then studied are attitudes to entrepreneurship and the number of entrepreneurs in various countries. Engelen et al. (2009) list 15 such studies conducted between 1988 and 2008.

Conclusion

I have found two overarching uses of the cultural entrepreneurship concept:

1. *The anthropologist's and institutional economist's use*
This use indicates the dynamic development of intangible cultural features such as symbols, myths, languages, beliefs, values, norms, rituals, and attitudes in and between societies, i.e. culture as the fabric encompassing all societal activities. This kind of cultural entrepreneurship is targeted on societal change through the promotion of such cultural features. Culture is then perceived as something permeating all societal activities and all economic sectors.
2. *The arts development use*
This use indicates the dynamic development of cultural

services, tangible goods, and individual or collective career promotion. Culture is here perceived as a sector in the economy. This kind of cultural entrepreneurship can be targeted on societal change through the promotion of cultural objects and subjects. Culture and the arts in this case can be used for societal change not directly related to the cultural field. Alternatively, cultural entrepreneurship can be targeted on the development of the labor conditions of those who provide the cultural goods and services. Principally, it can be applied for production processes in the market for commercially viable artistic goods, governmental supply of cultural services, and the enterprises acting in the void that might occur between them.

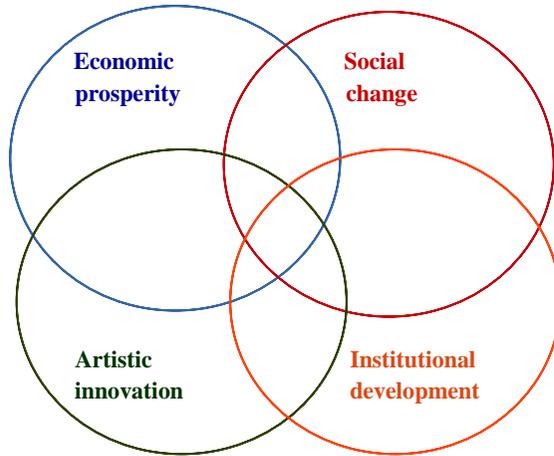


Figure 1
The quadruple bottom line of cultural entrepreneurship

Most authors use a cultural entrepreneurship concept without defining it. As discussed above, this might be confusing for readers. Maybe more

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precise definitions could be made by borrowing some principles from the triple bottom-line framework often used by organizations to position themselves in the nexus of financial, social, and environmental matters. In Figure 1, I exchange "environment" with both "art" and "institution." Hence, a quadruple bottom-line framework is constructed.

This paper has identified and discussed several aspects of cultural entrepreneurship. Cultural entrepreneurs are targeted on the creation of values. Institutional economists identify the work done by cultural entrepreneurs as a vehicle for societal change of intangible habits and norms. A change of attitudes towards taking part in activities for economic development makes this kind of cultural entrepreneurship a vehicle for taking the economy from one point to another. Economic values, for both singular citizens and society at large, are then also in focus. The same goes for the kind of art-centered entrepreneurs who market their goods or services for the sake of financial gain. Further-more, instrumental cultural policies often have as one objective the use of cultural enterprises for societal economic growth.

The cultivation of the mind—*la formation de l'esprit* or *Bildung*—is, at least in the Scandinavian context, mostly regarded as something separate from the prospect of economic value enhancement. It is then seen as something that is good in itself and that thus has inherent values. The person who develops *Bildung* will, allegedly, have a more interesting and spiritually rewarding life. *Bildung* can be acquired from education. But most education programs are *Ausbildung* for professions that bring employment and income. Cultural entrepreneurship within the educational field can bring both *Bildung*- and *Ausbildung*- related values.

Finally, the art-for-art's-sake concept of the nineteenth-century Romantic era is still very strong among artists. To be financially successful could decrease the reputation of such an artist, as it can be seen as an indication of their work having a poor, people-pleasing quality and a lack of artistic innovativeness and uniqueness. Hence, if they interpret entrepreneurship in the old-fashioned, dollar-greedy way they will not wish to label themselves cultural entrepreneurs.

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