"cafeteria style" Christianity where people select which parts of dogma they accept and practice, and which they reject. This is consistent with the rising number of individuals who, while not atheists or agnostics, indicate that they are not members of any particular organized denomination. It would have been interesting if EHT had more of a discussion of secularism as an alternative form of "religion."

These schisms are beneficial. Quoting Andre Suares, a French poet, EHT write: "There are no heresies in dead religions." Then they continue: "Stated in economic terms, heresy and schism will be constant factors in emerging Christianity because heterogeneous demands for new forms are a function of factors—income, education, or science—that are in constant flux" (p. 268). These ideas seem to be particularly relevant in the current period where religious fundamentalism and liberalism/individualism are clashing to various degrees in all the world's major religions. The application of microeconomic theory that is so successfully applied here to one major development in Christianity can, in principle, be applied to these other religions as well.

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Barry R. Chiswick
University of Illinois at Chicago

Measuring the Value of Culture: Methods and Examples in Cultural Economics. By Jeanette D. Snowball. Berlin and New York: Springer, 2008. Pp. xi, 230. $109.00. ISBN 978–3–540–74355–2. *JEL 2008–0747*

Cultural economics is a burgeoning field. Practitioners currently question whether existing economic tools suffice to research the arts and the cultural industries or whether the special conditions of this field compel economists to rethink their tools and introduce new concepts into economics. Jeanette Snowball explores the applicability of existing tools and ventures into some new directions in this well written, lucid, and compact study of valuation studies in the field of the arts. It is an important book for anyone interested in valuation studies and especially for those who study the worlds of the arts.

The valuation of cultural goods poses a great challenge as it takes place, for a major part, outside the sphere of the market. Without subsidies, grants, and donations, a lot of art projects would not occur. This means that both individuals and organizations (like governments) appreciate art products over and beyond the value that the market attributes to them. People value cultural goods for the option of enjoying them (option value) or just for knowing that they exist (existence value) or for the value they may have for later generations (bequest values). The similarities with a good like nature is striking and so it should not be surprising that cultural economists borrow the techniques that the economic research into natural resources has generated.

Snowball provides a thorough review, discussion, and evaluation of economic impact studies, the applications of the contingent valuation method, and the willingness to pay method. In addition, she gives a tentative appraisal of the choice experiment method, tentative as this method is still relatively new. A student of each of these methods will benefit greatly from her discussion. She covers a great deal of applications. The reader will develop an appreciation for the difficulties that any researcher who tries to assess the value of culture faces.

Snowball starts with economic impact studies. Politicians are often eager to hear what contribution a cultural project, such as a museum or a festival, makes to the local economy. They love economic numbers that indicate the economic relevance or irrelevance of the project. Snowball's survey points at the pitfalls of such studies. The assessment of the indirect impact—the generation of economic activity due to employment in the cultural sector and visitors from outside the region—and the multiplier effect that can be derived from the indirect impact (the multiple effect of a dollar or euro invested in a cultural project on the local economy) proves to be especially dubious.

Because of doubts about economic impact studies, economists have embraced contingent valuation and willingness to pay methods. As any economist will readily acknowledge, these methods have the advantage that they have consumers or users of cultural goods determine their value, rather than that an arts council does so. The idea is basically that, where markets function inadequately, we try to create a market by asking people what they would pay if they had the option to consume the good. This gets us into the technology of surveys. The design of surveys proves to be critical. Even if the problems of design have been addressed—such as the issue of how much information to give to respondents and how to articulate alternative options—we are left with the issue of seduction. Art producers know all too well that their business is about seduction and persuasion and, therefore, about changing the preferences of people. The producer of modern dance tries to seduce people to like modern dance even if they thought that they did not care for such an art form. The question is, therefore, how willingness to pay studies can do justice to the power of persuasion.

Snowball provides an extensive and exhaustive discussion of the criticisms and defense of the contingent valuation and willingness to pay studies. She discusses a few South African studies in detail. Those who are about to set up their own willingness to pay study will find this book an excellent source. They also will learn about the relatively new choice experiment method where respondents are asked to value attributes of a good, rather than the good itself. Such a study allows for more differentiation and does justice to the particular qualities of a cultural good.

Because all of these studies demonstrate the willingness to pay for cultural goods even among nonusers, the conclusion is warranted that cultural goods generate significant positive externalities and nonmarket benefits. This could be an argument for government subsidies of the arts, but not necessarily so as the third sphere, or the sphere of donations and gifts, can be an alternative source of finance.

Whether the current state of knowledge suffices for the valuation of cultural goods remains to be seen. We still seem to be in need for measurements that show the cultural returns of festivals, museums, and other cultural goods so that we can hold arts producers and politicians dealing with the arts accountable.

Arjo Klamer
Erasmus University