

Defining and Developing Creative Sector Initiatives

Margaret J. Wyszomirski
The Ohio State University
wyszomirski.1@osu.edu
#34: September, 2004

Development of the creative sector is an important, complicated and timely subject. For many countries, the cultural industries have been promoted as a leading export sector and a source of jobs in the “new economy”. Creative industry development is also becoming an increasingly common strategy for urban and regional development. Furthermore, the cultural industries can function as both global players but as bulwarks of local identity. Nations as diverse as Canada and Singapore, the United Kingdom and Australia, France and Germany employ the creative sector as a primary purveyor of national images abroad and as a tool of international relations.

Such heightened political and economic interest in the arts and culture is a marked departure from viewpoints common at the end of the 20th century when the arts were often thought of as a small, needy segment of the American socio-economy and public support for the arts was persistently opposed as “trivial” or “a frill.” The popular arts, although recognized as big business, carried the connotation of not being serious business. Likewise arts education has a long history in the U.S. of being extra-curricular, of not being a basic subject, of being one of the first subject areas cut when school budgets are tightened. While this attitude was most apparent in the US, it was not uncommon in other countries where the arts and culture were dismissed “ as ‘mere entertainment,’ or ‘candyfloss’: most certainly not something of ‘real’ value.” (Venturelli, n.d.)

Explanations for why the arts and culture have recently acquired a higher priority on the public agenda, particularly in the form of creative industry development, point to a number of reasons. Some observers point out that “...in the information age, intellectual property has become a key economic resource...” Artists, nonprofit arts organizations, and commercial cultural corporations are not only important generators of intellectual property, but also stewards of vast stockpiles of cultural content in the forms of museum collections, historical archives, and performing arts repertoire (Cherbo & Wyszomirski, 2000b). As Hesmondhalgh observes, the significance of the cultural industries reaches beyond their economic aspects because (1) more than other types of production, they have an influence on our understanding of the world as well as help us constitute our inner, private lives and identities; (2) that they manage and circulate creativity; and (3) that they are not only increasingly important sources of wealth and employment in many economies, but also are increasingly central to social and economic life (Hesmondhalgh, 2002) Similarly, Moneta

(2000) argues that the cultural industries "...constitute a system of multimedia services the field of action of which embraces the entirety of daily life and has a substantial influence on the formation of values, on the selection of priority public issues, on the characteristics of public and nongovernmental spaces, and on the legitimacy of rules and of the players involved. They therefore play a key role in the social and political sphere and in relations within and between states and societies. No less important is their role in constructing an atmosphere, whether favorable or hostile, for regional cooperation and integration." (p. I-1)

Despite the recent, rising tide of interest, even the most basic terminology is unsettled. Some speak of the cultural industries, others of the creative industries, and yet others of the copyright industries. Some focus on the creative class and others on the creative workforce. Some target variable clusters of creative industries, while others conceive of a creative sector drawing on a shared infrastructure and consisting of a multi-industry production system. Indeed, the creative industries recognize little common identity and the public has little awareness of them as a collectivity. This paper argues that the conceptual confusion derives from two primary sources: (1) the implicit use of different definitional criteria for determining which activities are to be encompassed within a creative sector, and (2) the conflation between seeking to establish a baseline or benchmark for measuring effective development and striving to construct a conceptual framework for the design and implementation of development policy initiatives.

The ramifications of these definitional problems are particularly worrisome because cultural industries differ from many other types of industries in fundamental and important ways. For example, few other industries generate products that possess not only public and private economic value but also, as Throsby argues, cultural value along a number of dimensions (Throsby, 2001a). Furthermore, not only the value, but the very nature of cultural products is variable since they can take the form of both a physical object/tangible event and of intangible ideas and reusable content. Another important characteristic of the culture industries is that much of the critical infrastructure of the producing "firms" and creators is external to these organizations and individuals. Finally, it can be argued that the occupations of the creative sector are unevenly professionalized and have little shared identification, either with one another or as part of a broad industrial or sectoral construct. These factors result not only in theoretical quandaries but have real and practical effects on planning and development, on the capacity to mobilize and to evaluate, and on the processes of training and policymaking.

The following discussion will proceed through three sections. Attention will first focus on key issues involved in establishing a working definition. Next, a sampler of creative industry development initiatives will be presented and used to illustrate how definitional issues have been dealt with in practice. Finally, these cases will be used to identify component elements frequently employed in formulating and implementing such development initiatives. Ultimately, the purpose of this exploration is not to propose a blueprint. That would simply be impossible since both the baseline and the developmental goals differ considerably from place to place. Indeed, creative industry development initiatives must not only be highly sensitive to "local" conditions, targets, and resources but must also factor in a more "global" vision of potential competitive advantage. Instead, the intent here is to mine both theory and experience to construct a conceptual model that can be used to clarify key design questions, provide a range of definitional choices, and offer examples of action options.

DEFINING THE CREATIVE SECTOR

The first order of business is to establish a working definition of what might be included in a creative sector. A working definition of the creative sector should help us see the scale, dimensions, variety, and interdependencies of the sector and among its constituent parts. After reviewing a number of national, regional, and community development initiatives in this area, four definitional approaches become evident.

Each of these defining criteria is the subject of an extensive, although seldom synthesized, body of literature. The task of thoroughly reviewing and integrating this large body of research and policy is beyond the scope of this discussion. Awareness of the literature is, however, essential to the development of the conceptual model that is proposed.

Special attention will be given to issues concerning the occupational/workforce dimension because it has acquired greater significance in the information economy, because this topic of research seems more problematic than other definitional dimensions, and because the occupational/workforce perspective is crucial to the creative industries. Indeed, human capital is the key productive factor of the creative sector. Human capital refers to the workers, and the skills, competencies, and talent that they bring to creation, production, presentation and preservation of cultural goods and services. The human capital feature is perhaps the most ambiguous component of a still fuzzy perception of the U.S. creative sector, perhaps because of a tendency to think of creative work as part-time, often underpaid, and largely a matter of innate talent or experience rather than of specialized knowledge or training.

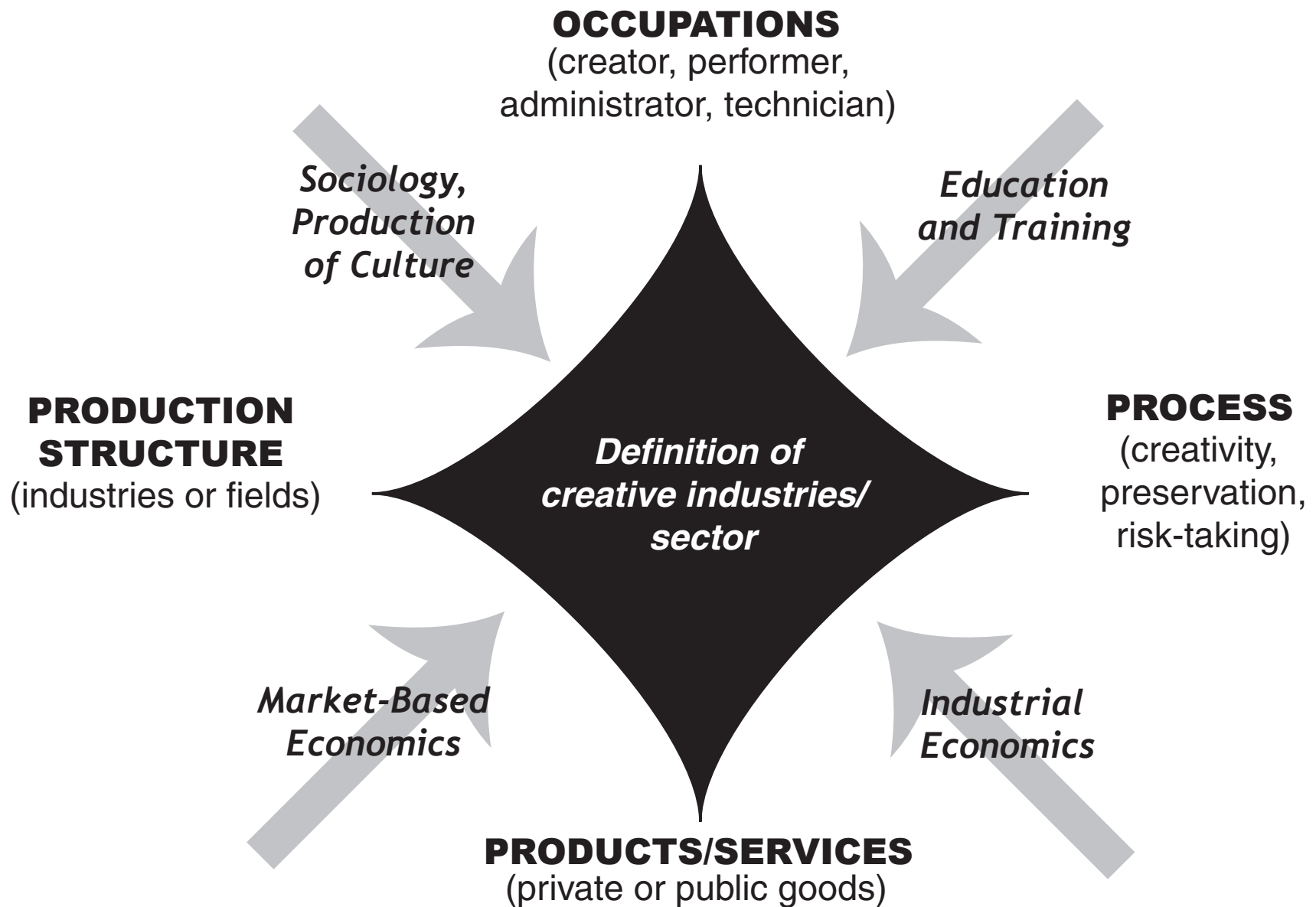
The discussion that follows focuses on definitional questions at two levels. First, it identifies four sets of criteria that have been used to select which activities to include in various studies of and development initiatives designed to advance the cultural/creative industries. Next, attention will turn to a consideration of the three terms that have been employed to describe what these components aggregate into—industry, industrial cluster, or societal sector.

A First Level of Definition: Four Sets of Selection Criteria

Four sets of selection criteria have been used to construct a working definition of the creative industries. As illustrated on Figure 1, each approach can be found at a point of the central diamond. Each approach takes one distinctive characteristic as a vantage point from which to assay the parameters of the sector as a whole. These characteristics are (1) product/service, (2) producing organization, (3) central production process and (4) occupational/workforce groups. Most cultural industry development initiatives implicitly employ the second approach—the producing organization perspective. These initiatives tend to begin with a list of which organizations in what fields and industries are to be included and then gather information that maps key dimensions such as size, distribution, revenues, export activities, employment, and production figures. The utility and problems of each approach are suggested below.

[See FIGURE 1: Definitional Approaches]

FIGURE 1
Definitional Approaches



The *product/service perspective* must contend with two key concerns: (a) the dual nature of cultural products as simultaneously private consumer goods and as collective public goods and (b) debate over which products are to be considered similar. As to the first question, finding ways to describe, categorize, and measure the “public good” value of arts activities and cultural products has bedeviled economists, sociologists, aestheticians, and policy analysts. On the one hand, a general consensus has emerged that the full value of the arts and culture is not captured by economic assessments of their status as consumer goods, their price, or profitability. In contrast, neither a conceptual consensus nor satisfactory methods have emerged for expressing the non-economic, or cultural, value of artistic products or creative services. As to the second concern, Caves points out that creative products exhibit an “infinite variety” and can be differentiated from one another both vertically and horizontally. (Caves, 2000) These possibilities range from entertainment to aesthetic experience, from artwork to artifact to event to symbol, and from intellectual property to national patrimony. Chartrand posits an unusually inclusive set of “related” cultural products – including cuisine and funereal makeup – in his conception of the arts. (Chartrand, 2000) This variability has many implications for the actual production and consumption of cultural products, offering a universe of choices and asserted distinctions to creators, presenters, patrons, consumers, and policymakers.

The *producing organization perspective* seems to employ different terms for essentially equivalent production clusters. While cultural corporations operating in the commercial realm are commonly referred to as “industries” (e.g., the recording industry or the publishing industry), those operating as nonprofit or subsidized organizations refer to themselves as “fields” (e.g., the dance field or the museum field). Two problems are inherent to this definitional perspective. It tends to artificially separate what might otherwise be considered inter-related components of single industries. For example, commercial theatre (Broadway) is often regarded as separate and distinct from subsidized theatre, yet it is obvious that they influence and inter-relate to one another. Only the former is included in statistics on the copyright industries. Bridging the separate identities and different financing systems of the nonprofit and for-profit components of an inter-related theatrical industry is likely to encounter many obstacles. Similarly, the practice of treating galleries, auction houses, and museums as well as public art commissions and alternative exhibition spaces as distinctive and independent sites of cultural activity is so engrained that it requires considerable effort to see that all could be regarded as part of a single, but complex, visual arts field. Furthermore, the clustering of nonprofit arts organizations in juxtaposition to the entertainment industries has meant that each identifies itself with different types of cultural goods and services.

Third, the *central production process perspective* seems recently to have attracted attention with analysts as well as practitioners fixing on the process of creativity as a defining characteristic. This is evident in the term “creative industries” itself and in the shift in U.S. political rhetoric on public funding for the arts from a concern with excellence to creativity. (Wyszomirski, 1999) However there are other potentially defining processes to be considered. Certainly in the heritage industries, preservation would seem to be the core production process. Alternatively, Richard Caves has suggested that risk-taking and risk management may be another defining characteristic shared by both commercial cultural industries and nonprofit artistic fields. (Caves, 2000); (Hodsoll, Arthurs, & Lavine, 1999)

Finally, the *occupational perspective* exhibits a number of tensions and unresolved problems. First, few individuals in these occupations would consider themselves part of a common workforce (Venturelli, n.d.). Indeed, as consultant Malcolm Long observes creative sector workers are

“notoriously non-collaborative with each other, living within their separate smokestacks” (quoted in Cunningham, 2001).

Second, the difficulty of perceiving the pattern of a broad cultural workforce from the tapestry of distinctive occupational threads may have been unwittingly exacerbated by commonly used analytical categories and information gathering practices. Figure 2 presents a comparison of major occupational categories common to information collection and analysis in three countries. In many countries considerable research has focused on better defining and understanding the condition of individual artists. Thorny questions about over-counting, under-counting, how to define who is an artist or a professional artist, and which occupational categories to include in the count have preoccupied such efforts, especially since statistics about artists are notoriously hard to collect. However, in the effort to advance the collection and accuracy of information about individual artists, research has valorized the artistic occupations above all others in the creative sector. In part, this tendency may have been propelled by a romantic notion of the artist as hero and genius (Alper, Galligan, & Wassall, n.d.). In another part, since public arts funding for individual artists has always been precarious, politics may have required extensive justification of the need and the impact of public support for artists.

[See FIGURE 2: Creative Sector Occupational Categories]

In turn, the focus on the core artistic workers has had the effect of widening the identity gap between artists and other cultural workers, who have generally been marginalized as non-creative, including technical, administrative, or educational occupations. Perhaps as a further consequence, information about the professional status, training, recruitment and career paths of other cultural workers such as arts managers, curators, critics, agents, public cultural administrators, or artist educators is even more fragmented and incomplete than information about artists. In the information age, this identity gap is becoming more problematic as digital creativity in the new media arts and the digital distribution of all manner of cultural products is blurring many distinctions between disciplines and production functions. Indeed, as a process-defined focus shifts to creativity, the individual artist remains an essential participant but one that increasingly cannot function effectively without collaborators in other occupations and without a variety of infrastructure supports. Although some cultural workers—especially creators—find it hard to think of themselves as part of a chain of production, it “has become increasingly impossible to produce a cultural artifact alone without the intervention, assistance, guidance, collaboration or hindrance of other people.” (Murdock, 2003)

Third, within each occupational group, there are many sub-categories and it is these sub-categories where workers tend to locate their occupational identity. For example, among artists, there are actors and poets, dancers and painters, directors and choreographers, etc.

[See FIGURE 3: Artistic Workers]

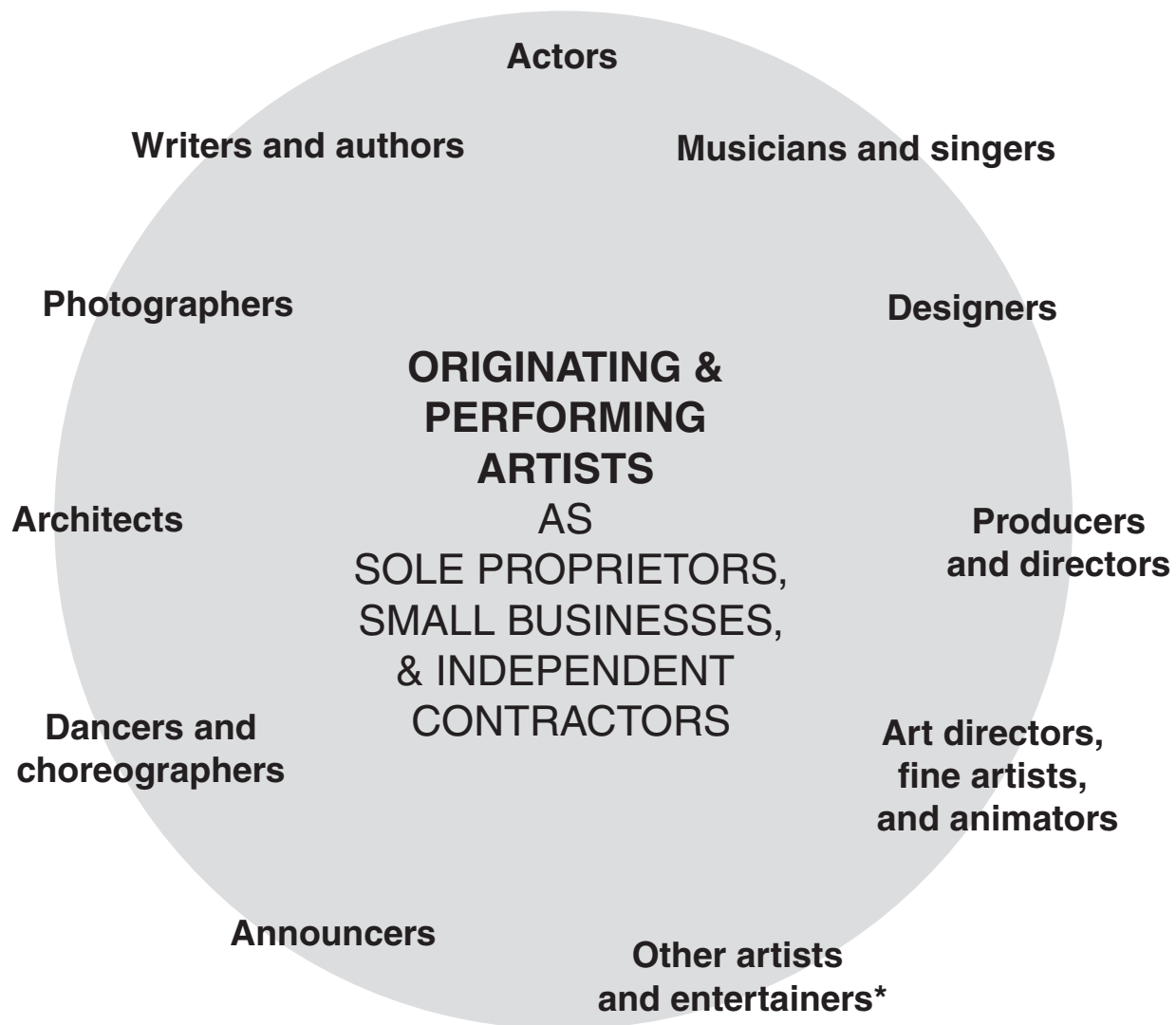
While all are artists, an individual artist’s specific occupational identity tends to override whatever common interests he/she has with other types of artists. Indeed, in Canadian creative industry initiatives, they do not use a single category of “creative” to define artistic occupations, but instead recognize two groups, “creators” and “interpreters.” Similarly, arts educators tend to think of themselves first and foremost as visual arts or music or dance or drama educators. Meanwhile, the term arts administrator tends to apply to managers of nonprofit arts organizations and programs, even though the category also includes cultural/entertainment industry managers as well as public administrators of arts agencies and programs. The presence of the latter two groups are seldom noted in general discussions of arts administrators. Clearly, these many distinct occupational and field identities make it difficult to conceive of a single, broad, interdependent workforce and, in turn, impede constructive efforts to cultivate this workforce as a matter of explicit policy or planning.

FIGURE 2: CREATIVE SECTOR OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

Australia	US	Canada
artistic	creative / artistic	creators
		interpreters
other cultural	intermediaries	- - -
technical and support	noncreative	technical
- - -	humdrum production*	administrative

*Terminology used by Caves (2000)

Figure 3: ARTISTIC WORKERS



Fourth, individually none of these occupations has sufficient mass necessary to attract sustained economic or political attention. Without some aggregate construct, it is difficult to generate the kinds of attention and understanding necessary to gain the attention of policymakers and to inform debate about what measures might support and advance the creative industries both collectively and separately.

“...there is a lack of strategic knowledge about the relationships and networks that enable and sustain the creative process in a knowledge economy. These relationships are enabled between the diverse contributors to the creative process towards the achievement of successful outcomes. These relationships are sustained in diverse communities of activity, from project-based/hybrid/virtual organizations to cultural quarters and digital media hubs...One of the key challenges for researchers and policymakers is thus to better understand these crucial dynamics so that insightful and supportive action may be taken. (Jeffcutt, 2001)

Finally, it should be noted that each definitional perspective tends to be associated with a different disciplinary tradition and stream of analysis. Sociologists have developed a “production of culture” approach that seems to focus on elements of occupation and career development as well as organizational and industrial structure and to ask how these shape cultural goods and services. As Richard Peterson notes:

The production perspective is centered in the assertion that the social arrangements used in making symbolic elements of culture significantly shape the nature and content of the cultural elements produced. Thus, the production perspective focuses on how the content of culture is influenced by the milieu in which it is created, distributed, evaluated, taught, and preserved. (Peterson, 2003)

Put another way, Peterson identifies six facets that characterize the foci of the production of culture approach: technology, law, industry structure, organization structure, occupational careers, and markets. The first three are largely external forces that set a context in which the second trio operate. Included within the purviews of industrial and organizational structure, cultural sociologists have also been keenly concerned with both patronage (meaning support for production) and entrepreneurship (meaning the capitalization of production, distribution and consumption). (DiMaggio & Hirsch, 1976, p.75)

Economists and business administration scholars of different specializations seem to be most interested in questions concerning the market for and marketing of cultural products as well as in the industrial economics and management of production firms. This is also the locus of extensive work on the public goods and public value of the arts and culture. Much of this research has a micro-level focus, examining a particular cultural product (e.g., painting, public broadcasting), the internal culture of a particular artistic organization (e.g., orchestras, theatre or opera companies), the pricing of particular events or artworks, or the production financing of specific forms of entertainment.

Alternatively, those concerned with the training of artists, cultural managers, creative technicians, and arts educators have tended to focus on elements of professional education, pre-professional training, and lifelong learning. Educational psychologists and a variety of inter-disciplinary perspectives have been brought to bear on understanding the processes of creativity, the techniques of preservation, and the calculus of risk-taking.

Layered and Composite Definitions

It is not unusual to see research studies that analytically layer some combination of definitional approaches. For example, the annual reports of the International Intellectual Property Alliance (IIPA) essentially start with a product-oriented selection criterion (i.e., copyright products) which determines the selection of industries (i.e., the copyright industries). (Siwek, 2002) This, in turn, may be combined with an occupational concern to distinguish what proportion of workers in these industries might be considered part of the creative or artistic workforce. For example, looking to define the artistic workforce in Australia, Throsby not only offers a “tight definition” that excludes technical, administrative and support workers, but divides the copyright industries into those which are core creative industries, other cultural industries (like publishing, which produce both cultural and non-cultural goods), and related industries (like advertising or architecture, where the products include a creative or cultural content dimension). (Throsby, 2001b) It should be pointed out, that such layered analysis typically proceed on the assumption that the industrial/field definitional approach is too inclusive, catching products (e.g., newspapers), services (e.g. public relations), or workers (e.g., technical) that implicitly fall outside a process-centered definition of creativity, a product-centered definition of artistic, or an occupational-centered criteria of creative. Such focusing efforts may indeed employ tight criteria on which to premise pre-development baseline and post-development assessment measures, but they tend to obscure a systemic understanding of how the creative industries work, or what outside and infrastructure elements are crucial to their productivity.

Rather than rely on any single perspective to establish the parameters of a creative sector, a comparative application of each defining perspective may result in a composite, and therefore more accurate map than any single perspective can produce. Certainly a comparison of definitional approaches will reveal anomalies and outliers and thus facilitate an informed decision about inclusion or exclusion. For example, a product-oriented definition could consider both contemporary and historic artworks as similar and seem to agree with an occupational-oriented approach that in both cases the artworks were created by the same type of worker (i.e., painters). However from an industrial perspective, the distribution of these artworks is handled by different sets of organizations—commercial galleries in the case of contemporary artworks and museums in the case of the historic artworks. As a result, two different industries would seem to be involved—galleries and auction houses on the one hand, and heritage on the other. Such a distinction would seem to concur with a process-oriented approach in which creativity would be the defining characteristic of the contemporary artwork but preservation would be the defining process concerning the historic artwork. Of course, it could be argued that when first painted, historic artworks were a product of creativity. In turn, this draws attention to the question of when does a cultural product move into the realms of cultural heritage or even national patrimony? Alternatively, the question might be posed as, when does intellectual property turn into cultural property? Without suggesting that there is a single answer to such questions, it is clear that a comparative definitional approach can clarify taxonomic issues that must be addressed in any industrial mapping and development effort. This example also helps to explain why the inclusion of heritage institutions and workers in the creative industries varies considerably from site to site. In practice, the inclusion or exclusion of heritage industries might seem rather idiosyncratic and inexplicable. However implicitly, different definitional perspectives help explain apparently contradictory mapping decisions.

Other processes may exert an inordinate influence upon the operationalization of any industrial or sectoral definition such that the very process of formulating and pursuing a cultural development policy is likely to construct a sector that resonates with jurisdictional conditions and respond to the interplay of political forces. Similarly, the research process of mapping the sector's terrain will impose a shape and character on it, resulting, in part, from the nature and extent of information that is available. This is one reason why it has been so difficult to accommodate various aspects of the public value of the arts and culture—because conceptual measures like legacy value or social capital generation have had to be invented to capture such dimensions.

A Second Level of Definition: Industries, Clusters, Sector

Deciding what products, occupations, and fields are to be considered “creative” as well as what central production process(es) help to guide the construction of a working definition, there is a second level of definitional choice that must be addressed. What is the aggregate to be called? Four terms present themselves: cultural industries, creative industries, creative clusters, and creative sector. This quartet of terms presents the analyst with two fundamental choices: is the term cultural or creative preferable? And is the construct under discussion most accurately conceived to be a set of industries, of industrial clusters, or as a societal sector?

The first category—*cultural industries*—is both too broad and too narrow. First, the term “culture” may carry too much baggage to be helpful to thinking in new ways. Raymond Williams has observed that the word “culture” is “one of the two or three most complicated words in the English Language (Williams, 1981) p. 76-82.” Its meanings run from a general state or habit of mind to a general state of intellectual development in society as a whole; from the general body of arts to a whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual. The last meaning of the term is sometimes referred to as an anthropological sense of culture. The first is sometimes taken to mean “Culture” with a capital “C” and connotes a sense of elite participation and appreciation. Sometimes the two terms, “arts” and “culture”, have been used interchangeably. Sometimes “the arts” refers to a fairly identifiable subset of “culture”.

Given the lack of parsimony of the anthropological sense of the term “culture”, combined with the elite connotations of “culture, and the international usage of the term “cultural industries” to virtually mean commercial cultural activities, it would be misleading to try to use the term to describe a broad and variable range of activities that has come to be the subject of recent development initiatives.

Although the term “industries” is obviously a plural and can be used as a collective, when combined with the descriptor “cultural”, the term has an established usage that would probably result in confusion rather than clarity. In many places, such as Canada or UNESCO, what in the U.S. is called the entertainment industries are referred to as the “cultural industries.” Sometimes both the “high arts” and the cultural industries of film, broadcasting, and book/periodical publishing were state subsidized and operated. Sometimes this support was an historical artifact: such institutions and industries had roots in monarchical charters and aristocratic patronage and thus were presumed to be state responsibilities. In other cases, cultural production was intimately tied to national identity, hence cultural industries not only produced consumer goods and services but these embodied and strengthened the public goods of national identity and social cohesion: as such, they fell under public jurisdiction. (Shapiro & Miller, 1999) However, until quite recently, neither the term “cultural industries” nor a de facto industrial development policy have had much purchase in the US or in the UK.

Two related terms build on the cultural industries idea and expand it from an essentially producing organization perspective. A more inclusive product/services definition is “the entertainment industries” which includes not only the usual cultural industries of film, broadcasting, sound recording and publishing, but adds gambling, electronic games, and other leisure activities like theme parks and sports. (Vogel, 1998) A second more inclusive definition is based on a different concept of similar products — intellectual property. These “copyright industries” again include the “usual” cultural industries as well as computer software, legitimate theatre, music publishing, and advertising. (Siwek, 2002)

Each of these collective industry labels presents analytical problems. Heritage organizations and professionals as well as those in the subsidized arts are likely to exclude themselves from the “entertainment industries” because they see themselves as producing dissimilar products (i.e., aesthetic experiences, artworks, and artifacts). Conversely, the failure to include the subsidized arts in the “copyright industries” can have the effect of misdirecting attention only to those creative industries that are copyright-based when, in fact, other creative fields also operate within a copyright environment. For example, subsidized music performance institutions like orchestras may not be copyright based, but some have partial copyright interest through their recordings and all operate within a copyright environment where the issue of public domain access to certain repertoire is an important factor in management and programming.

Alternatively, the collective use of “industries” might be combined with the descriptor “creative,” hence the *creative industries* label. Indeed, this is beginning to gain usage in many nations and communities. For example, Caves defines the “creative” industries as those that “supply goods and services that we broadly associate with cultural, artistic, or simply entertainment value. They include book and magazine publishing, the visual arts (painting and sculpture), the performing arts (theatre, opera, concerts, dance), sound recordings, cinema and TV films, even fashion and toys and games.” (Caves, 2000) p.1) Clearly, the term “creative industries” is based on the process-oriented definitional approach, using creativity as its primary selection criterion.

Colin Mercer (2001) argues that use of the term “creative” turns on the “recognition of creativity...as a universal human capacity that has a special though by no means exclusive, relationship to the cultural sector...These connections position the creative industries *strategically* as crucial components of the strongly emergent ‘knowledge economy’ and as, importantly, an industry like no other that generates products and values that have a significance far beyond their economic currency.” In the U.S., creativity seems to be replacing “excellence” as a key standard for assessing artistic merit as well as becoming a desirable trait in the general workforce.

Relying on the creativity process has the advantage of using a definitional approach that easily bridges the historic divide between nonprofit/subsidized arts and popular culture/entertainment/commercial arts. It also emphasizes a key similarity among distinct fields and industries such as dance and theatre or broadcasting and film. In this sense, the term “creative” seems much preferable to the term “cultural”. However, in another sense, the term could be seen as too broad. Critics point out that creativity is not restricted to the arts and culture, but can be found in other endeavors such as science. It could be argued that while creativity, innovation, and entrepreneurship are related phenomenon, their usage seems to concentrate in different areas of endeavor. The arts tends to use creativity, science tends to prefer innovation, and business is most likely to use the term “entrepreneurship.”

Another term is “*clusters*.” The chief advantage of this word is that it clarifies the collective meaning of “industry.” Clearly, clusters are a collection of multiple and related industries. Perhaps the most prominent usage of this term can be seen in the work of the New England Council on its “Creative Economy Initiative.” It presumes that the components of a cluster share at least three characteristics:

1. Closely related product lines (e.g., musical performance and sound recording industries),
2. Shared markets (such as museum members and patrons of commercial galleries)
3. Common resource needs (e.g. actors or designers who work in both nonprofit and commercial cultural industries) (New England Council , 2000)

Apparently the idea of clusters has gained currency in the economic development community –an advantage is securing the attention of that policy community, particularly at the local level. However, the term seems clumsy and vague for usage at the national level. Indeed, countries like Canada, the UK, or Australia, which have undertaken national development initiatives tend to employ the notion of clusters to designate sub-sectors for targeted development strategies, using different tactics to address different needs and goals.

The final terminological option is “*creative sector*.” The definition of a sector may rely on economic concepts or draw on ideas about sociological structures and human service systems. A sector can even be defined through the political processes of formulating a public policy and coalescing a policy community. However it is accomplished, a working definition is crucial to efforts to develop a sector as a matter of public policy. Adam Friedman, and executive director of a New York City economic development organization, offers an economic definition of a sector and its utility as a development focus:

A sectoral approach to economic development...seeks to foster and support an entire industry through broad-based collaborations within an economic sector...and can be an effective way to improve an industry’s overall competitiveness, to anchor that industry to the surrounding community, and to assist small and medium-sized businesses, which are the generators of new jobs but have long received scant attention from economic development policymakers. (Friedman, n.d., ¶ 3.)

This would seem to use the term “sector” as designating something between an industry (in the collective sense) and a cluster (in the sense of the interrelatedness of its components). The New England Council study prefers the term “economy” — as in what it calls “the creative economy” but often uses the words “economy” and “sector” interchangeably. (New England Council, 2001, p. 6) The term “sector” also has the advantage of established used in economic analysis where it is common to speak of entities like the manufacturing sector, or the health care sector.

Exploring the Concept of a Creative Sector

Economically, a sector is a cluster of related industries supplying a given type of product or service. To determine the parameters of an economic sector, analysts must decide which industries are “related” and what constitutes “similar” products or services. In the case of the creative industries, this can raise a number of thorny questions, the resolution of which will most likely involve forging a consensus within the cultural policy community. In turn, the character of this consensus is likely to assume slightly different shapes in each country as it accommodates variations in heritage, taste patterns, and cultural production systems. In each instance, however,

sector dimensions will require a close and comparative look at industrial organization, occupational and professional categories, and types of products and services.

Figure 4 identifies seven possible industrial sectors/clusters of a creative sector:

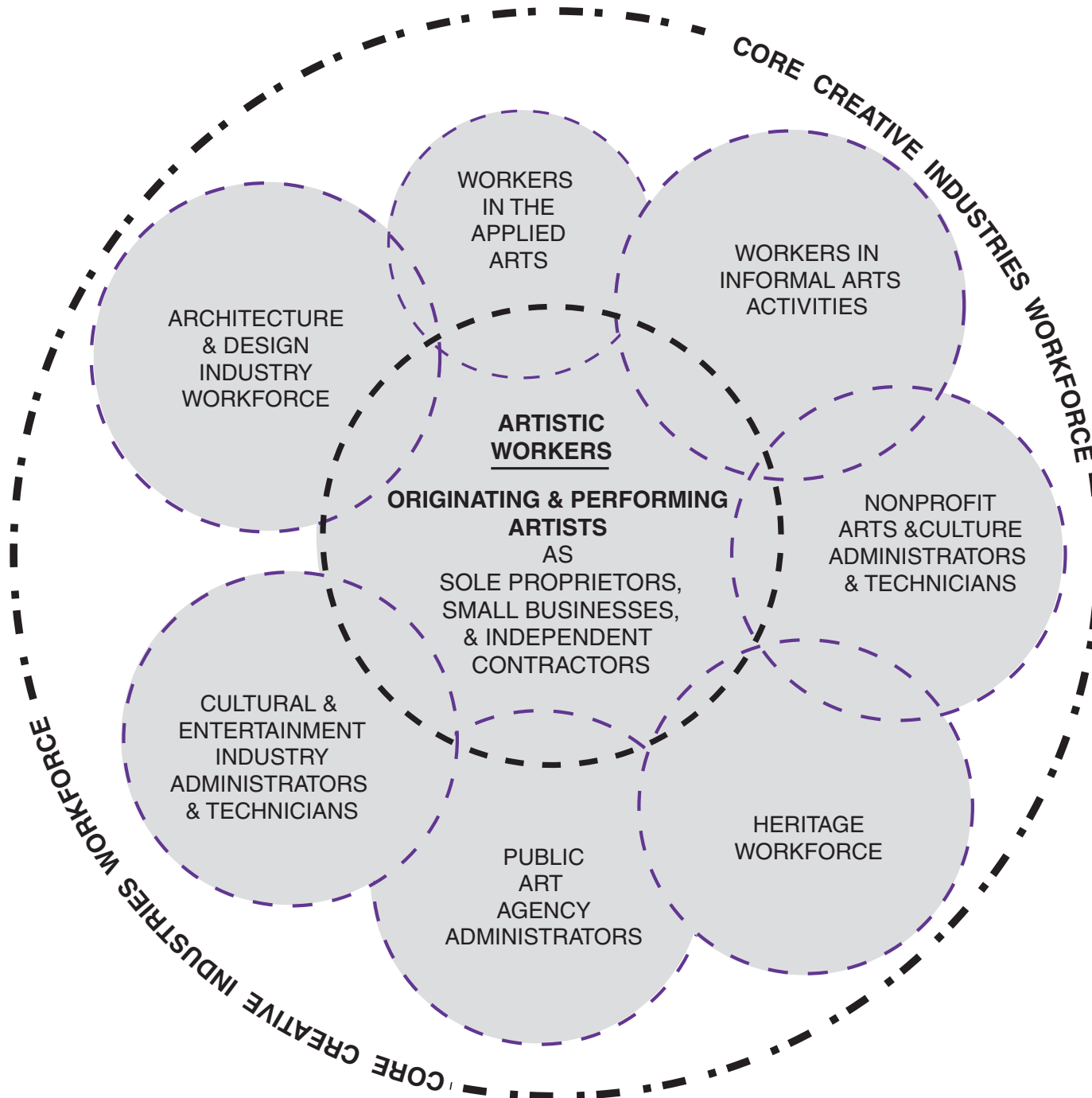
- (1) There are many sole proprietorships, small businesses and independent contractors engaged in arts and cultural production, so this model places them at the “industrial” core; encircled by
- (2) the for-profit popular culture and entertainment industries of Broadway, film, television, sound recordings, and fiction publishing;
- (3) the design industries including graphic and fashion, architecture and the rapidly growing set of new media design activities (Batt, Christopherson, Rightor, & Von Jaarsveld, 2001);
- (4) the non-profit fields of the live performing arts, fine art production, and literary publishing (Galligan, 2001);
- (5) public sector art agencies that directly operate or fund cultural production facilities and organizations such as public arts centers, concert houses or some museums;
- (6) the cluster of informal, unincorporated and/or community-based organizations that facilitate amateur, experimental, collecting, or culturally specific cultural production and engagement; and
- (7) the set of heritage resources and organizations that may operate in either the public or the nonprofit sector such as museums, historic houses and sites, artifact collections, or ethnographic resources.

[See FIGURE 4: An Industrial Cluster Perspective]

As pictured in Figure 4, each of these industrial sectors is of roughly equivalent size. In reality, the relative sizes and the overlap among clusters will vary from country to country and even from region to region within a specific country. At this point of the discussion, the conceptual task requires casting a broadly inclusive “net” rather than establishing the exact dimensions of the sector by deciding which industries are included or excluded, the dimensions of each, and the rationales for those decisions. Indeed, the primary purpose of this model is to illustrate that all of these industrial clusters –each of which has been regarded as separate and distinct are, in fact, related to one another.

If these relationships are recognized, then the scale and significance of arts and cultural activity and production is far greater than is generally appreciated. In the US, these aggregate into one of the largest economic sectors of the economy. In the UK, it is one of the fastest growing sectors and one targeted for development as a matter of national policy. Canada considers culture not only to be a vital national industrial sector but one of the “three pillars” of its foreign policy. A recent Organization of American States report noted that “In several European countries (France, Britain, Germany, Spain), the cultural sector accounts for 3 percent or more of GDP and similarly high percentages can be found in certain Latin American countries, such as Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, and Argentina.”(Moneta, 2000) Nations like Singapore, Taiwan and Australia have also initiated policies to develop their creative industries, cultural identities, and international images.

FIGURE 4. CORE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES WORKFORCE: AN INDUSTRIAL CLUSTER PERSPECTIVE



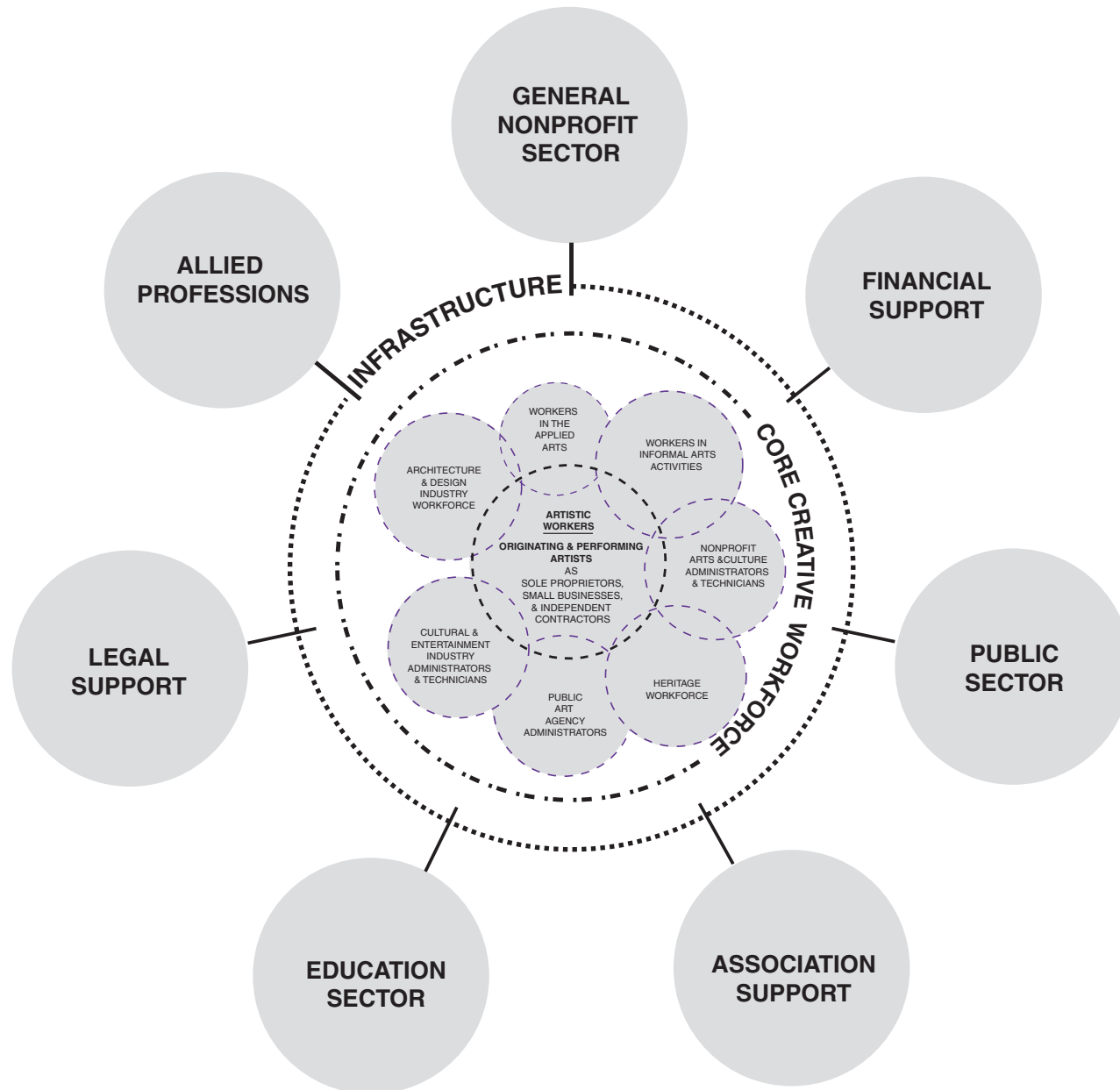
Using the proposed economic model of a “creative sector” also alerts us to the fact that in the “new economy” the creative sector occupies a more important position in national—and global—economies today than it did just a few years ago. Hesmondhaugh (2002) observes that, since the early 1980s, “the cultural industries have moved closer to the center of the economic action in many countries and across much of the world. Cultural industry companies can no longer be seen as secondary to the ‘real’ economy, where durable, ‘useful’ goods are manufactured.” Similarly, Venturelli (n.d.) argues that “culture can be seen as the key to success in the Information Economy, because for the very first time in the modern age, the ability to create new ideas and new forms of expression forms a valuable resource base of a society.” Elsewhere, Wyszomirski (2002) has pointed out that “...in the information age, intellectual property has become a key economic resource...” (p. 200). Artists, nonprofit arts organizations, and commercial cultural corporations are not only important generators of intellectual property, but also stewards of vast stockpiles of cultural content in the forms of museum collections, historical archives, and performing arts repertoire.

From a *societal perspective*, a sector is broader than an economic sector. Constructing a societal sector draws not only upon economic concepts but also on community studies, human services systems, organizational theory, and public policy analysis. Scott and Meyer argue that a societal sector includes all organizations within a society supplying a given type of product or service together with their associated organization sets: suppliers, financiers, regulators, and the like. (Scott & Meyer, 1983) Hirsch takes a similarly inclusive view that is both multi-level and interdisciplinary but calls it an industry system. (Hirsch, 1985) In trying to discern an emergent new cultural policy paradigm, Cherbo and Wyszomirski (2000a) suggested possible components of a creative sector. O’Connor (n.d.), in specifying what might be included in a widely conceived field of cultural production, implied that a creative sector would include “the full range of activities from ideas, primary creation, production, distribution, and consumption along with ancillary functions such as management, accountancy, legal services, promotion, marketing, etc.” He also suggests that there are informally organized infrastructures of knowledge and expertise that constitute a “soft” or “critical” infrastructure that includes cultural intermediaries and cultural entrepreneurs who operate across networks and use knowledge of these networks to generate their business or advance their work. Finally, the New England Council notes that surrounding the core cluster of creative industries “...is a rich infrastructure of public and private entities that both supports and benefits from the existence of a vital creative economy.” (New England Council, 2001, p. 6)

[See FIGURE 5: Creative Sector Workforce: Core & Infrastructure]

As illustrated in Figure 5, a preliminary model of the creative sector as a societal sector would place the seven clusters of creative industries identified previously at the core. Arrayed around this core would be an infrastructure of supportive services and resources. Infrastructure services may be educational, legal, or representational; they might also include specialized intermediary, licensing, and brokering services. Resource supports might concern funding, authority, facilities or information and analysis. Another part of the infrastructure would include activities and organizations that regulate and/or foster the creative sector (such as government policies at all levels or the broad nonprofit sector). Finally, one must include some part of the activities and industries that apply or use the arts, thus extending the economic and societal effects of the arts and culture beyond the creative sector itself. Applied or interactive effects might include advertising, design, therapy, and tourism. As the New England Council study observes, the creative sector “...is unique in the extent to which it has an impact on industries outside the cluster... “ as well as in how “...closely [it] interacts with other industries to create or enhance their products.” (New England Council, 2001, p. 6)

FIGURE 5. THE CREATIVE SECTOR WORKFORCE: CORE & INFRASTRUCTURE



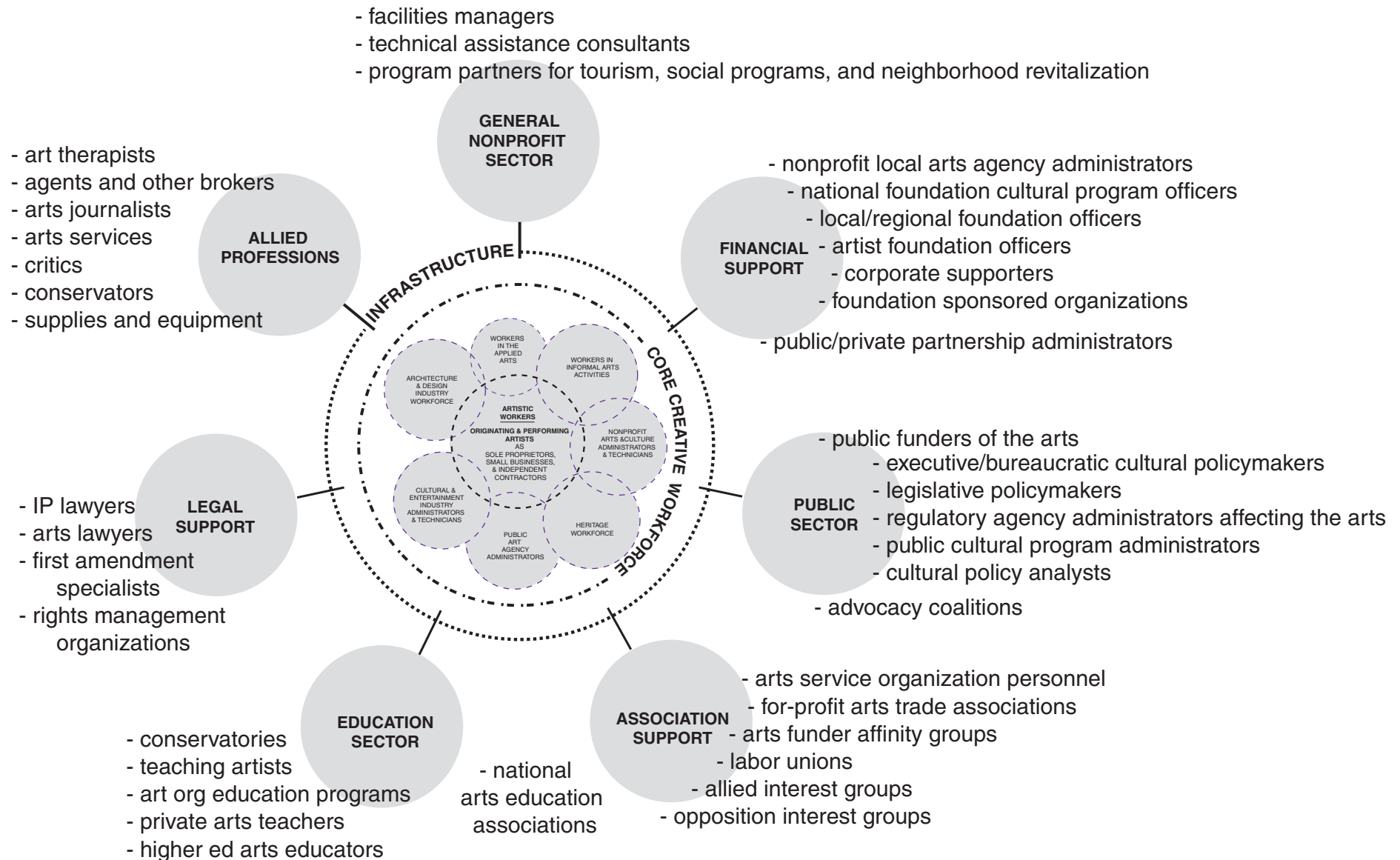
In contrast to the economic perspective that tends to focus on industrial organization, a societal perspective requires a close examination of the occupational dimensions of the sector. It could be argued that human capital is the key productive factor of the creative sector and technology is becoming the key distribution element. Human capital refers to the workers, and the skills, competencies, and talent that they bring to creation, production, presentation and preservation of cultural goods and services. In the U.S., the human capital feature is perhaps the least visible component of a still fuzzy perception of the creative sector. Advocates have long recognized the value of economic impact arguments in securing public funding. As part of these arguments, proponents point to the number of jobs generated by cultural industries and activities, but seldom give concerted attention to the range of occupations included in employment figures or to the education, training, and career development involved in sustaining a creative sector workforce. Analysts have to ask what occupational categories outside of the creative industry clusters allow those industries to function productively and effectively (See Figure 6 for examples). These include parts of the education sector, where relevant occupations that might range from those who train artists privately or at conservatories to those who train arts managers. Similarly, workers in allied and applied industries draw our attention to a number of occupations that are generally not included in an occupational approach that focuses on artists. This group includes critics, art therapists, and some part of the advertising and publishing industries as well as a variety of occupations and businesses that provide supplies, equipment and repairs to the cultural industries.

[See FIGURE 6: Occupations Of The Creative Sector: A Societal Perspective]

Information about workers in the infrastructure of the creative sector is no where nearly as well developed as that on artists. For example, there is little reliable information about the dimensions, characteristics or career patterns of even key professional groups like arts managers or arts educators. Even less information has been gathered and analyzed concerning workers in the allied and applied occupations or in the legal, foundation and policy components of the sector's infrastructure. However, if a clear and comprehensive picture of the creative sector is to emerge, information-gathering must be guided by a conceptual framework that views the sector not only as a collection of industries and organizations, but as an inter-related workforce spread across many occupational sites, including a variety of highly-skilled professionals in a labor intensive segment of the knowledge economy.

Development of such a perspective will, itself encounter many obstacles. First, few individuals in artistic or creative infrastructure occupations consider themselves part of a common workforce (Cherbo & Wyszomirski, 2000). As Cunningham (2001) has observed with regard to this problem in the Australian context: "The arts, culture and creative industry sectors will need to get used to thinking of themselves and acting as part of a broader coalescence of interests encompassing the content-rich service industries such as education and learning, publishing, design, communications devices, and e-commerce.

FIGURE 6. OCCUPATIONS OF THE CREATIVE SECTOR INFRASTRUCTURE: A SOCIETAL PERSPECTIVE



Second, within each occupational group, there are many sub-categories and it is these subcategories with which workers tend to establish their occupational identity. For example, among artists, there are actors and poets, dancers and painters, directors and choreographers, etc. Workers in applied fields also tend to have distinct identities as architects or designers. While all are artists, an individual artist's occupational identity tends to override whatever common interests he/she has with other types of artists. Similarly, art educators often identify most strongly with the level of the education system in which they work (e.g., preK-12 and Higher Ed). Nonprofit arts administrators tend to segment and organize their professional identities according to field (i.e., museum directors, symphony orchestra managers, directors of theatre or dance or opera companies, etc.) or to cluster around common organizational functions (such as development directors, marketing directors, education program coordinators, etc.). Managers in the subsidized and the commercial creative industries seldom identify with one another.

Yet cultivation of a shared workforce identity may be essential to the development of the creative sector since, individually, since none of these occupations has sufficient mass necessary to attract sustained economic or political attention. Clearly, these many distinct occupational and field identities make it difficult to conceive of a single, broad, interdependent workforce and, in turn, impede constructive efforts to cultivate this workforce as a matter of explicit policy or planning. Without a sectoral perspective, it is difficult to generate the kinds of information and understanding necessary to inform policymakers about measures that could support and advance the creative sector both in whole and in its parts.

DEVELOPING THE CREATIVE SECTOR: EXAMPLES

In recent years, many countries and communities have recognized the potential of the knowledge economy and begun to invest in the development of their creative sectors. Different initiatives have been premised on different definitional criteria, focused on different sub-sectors or industrial clusters, and used different development tactics. A few examples are briefly described here to provide readers with a factual base before this paper uses such examples to deduce what seems to be development planning process implicit to such initiatives.

The Entertainment Industry Development Corporation/the Entertainment Training, Research and Education Initiative. In 1994, the Alliance of Motion Picture and Television Producers issued the report, "Stimulating Entertainment Industry Growth in California." This report quantified the economic impact of the film production industry in California for the first time and began a process of identifying what public policy actions might support the continued growth of this entertainment industry. In 1995, the Los Angeles County and the Los Angeles City film boards merged to form the Entertainment Industry Development Corporation (EIDC). The EIDC worked in partnership with the motion picture industry to facilitate and develop film projects in the Southern California region, particularly by providing information and assistance in obtaining the necessary permits. In other words, the EIDC was to provide regional support services to facilitate film production—it was creating a one-stop piece of infrastructure that would help the industry operate more efficiently. A few years later (1997), EIDC consolidated the management of a number of privately run educational and job training programs—piece of infrastructure that had been identified by the industry as a key factor to its continued growth. This program consolidation became part of the Entertainment Training, Research, and Education (EnTRE) Initiative. (EIDC, 2004) EnTRE focuses on a set of workforce development strategies including:

- 1) a research and dissemination project that provides information and publications concerning “jobs, occupational requirements, portfolio development, links to employers, training institutions and other industry specific websites and publications.” Initial efforts to investigate workforce issues were supported by a coalition involving the industry, the California Employment Training Panel, the North Valley Private Industry Council, and the Los Angeles Private Industry Council. They supported the creation of SkillsNet—a mechanism for using research to improve linkages between employers, training institutions and potential workers. The research also resulted in two occupational studies: *Making Digits Dance: Animation and Visual Effects Careers in the Entertainment Industry* and *Amazing post: Post-production in the entertainment industry*. (SkillsNet, n.d. a.; SkillsNet, n.d. b.)
- 2) Development of a set of New Media/Entertainment Academies in local high schools that would integrate entertainment industry skills and knowledge into the regular high school curriculum, thus making school more relevant to potential entertainment industry workers about to enter the workforce. Initially, this was a collaborative project between Workforce LA, the film production industry Alliance, and various regional high schools. By 2003, this program involved nine high schools and had received \$2.6 million in the form of a Federal Technology Challenge Grant as well as other financial support and the assistance of industry volunteers.
- 3) A retraining program for entertainment industry professionals offered through the State of California Employment Training Panel which provides funds to retrain workers in businesses threatened by out of state competition.
- 4) Coalescing a network of community-based organizations that help young people gain exposure to the employment prospects in the entertainment industry and/or help ease access for those groups who might currently be under-represented in the industry. These include organizations that conduct summer, mentoring, and after-school programs for primary and middle school students in activities like animation, script-writing, video production, and digital arts.

EIDC provides an example of an industrial cluster—film production—acting as a whole to undertake mapping research and identify industry development needs. Key needs concern traditional production facilitation mechanisms as well as workforce development. Over time, the original industry group expands into a public-private partnership involving a number of pre-existing agencies and organizations as well as newly created organizations and initiatives to plan and implement a series of workforce development projects.

The Canadian Cultural Workforce Projects. In the 1980s, the Canadian government began a series of actions and initiatives aimed at developing the cultural workforce. The key starting point was a joint proposal of the Canada Council (Arts) and the Canadian Employment and Immigration Council (CEIC) to designate cultural industry occupations as “national occupations” under the National Training Act in 1984. This designation allowed the CEIC to direct over \$47 million to training programs, job creations programs and special employment initiatives in the creative sector. It also supported the development of full-time arts administration training programs in Canadian institutions of higher education. The CEIC defined the cultural sector as including three clusters of industries: the arts (performing, visual, literary), heritage (museums, galleries, archives, libraries), and cultural industries (broadcast, film, sound, publishing).

Later, the Canadian Conference of the Arts (CCA), a national, non-government art service organization representing artists, cultural workers and cultural organizations across Canada, used seed money from the sectoral development initiative program of Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) to advance three interrelated projects concerning the cultural workforce. In 1991, the CCA established a Human Resources Planning Committee to guide the research and planning process. It also managed a training initiative that provided financial support for artists and cultural workers in all cultural fields to undertake job training and skills updating. Early in 1993, the Planning Committee expanded to include not only representatives of the major arts disciplines and cultural industries (both producers and workers, including the self-employed), but also government officials and evolved into the Cultural Human Resources Council (CHRC). Meanwhile, two complementary research projects were launched:

- (1) studies of five cultural subsectors which “documented the characteristics of work and training...;identified emerging trends, including occupations in which training needs [were] changing and gaps which exist in current training and professional development opportunities; and established priorities for action to address career needs..”(CHRC, n.d.); and
- (2) the first extensive survey of the cultural labor force undertaken by Statistics Canada. This survey targeted 201,000 paid and unpaid career-oriented individuals working as artists, administrators, professionals and technicians working in the cultural sector.

More recently, CHRC undertook the Creative Management project to development and implement a “comprehensive human resources strategy for professional management personnel in the cultural sector” (Harvey, 2002, p. 7), calling “leadership and succession planning critical priorities.” (p.6) This project involved a cultural sector study update to the reports of the mid-1990s as well as the creation of a Portfolio Arts Policy Committee with representatives from the Department of Canadian heritage, Canada Council for the Arts, the National Arts Centre, the National Film Board, the national Gallery, the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the National Library and the National Archives. The Project issued its final report in July 2002, “Creative Management in the Arts and Heritage: sustaining and Renewing Professional Management for the 21st Century” and a policy summit was held in November of 2003.

In this set of cultural sector initiatives, we see the Department of Canadian Heritage, working in collaboration with various nonprofit, foundation, professional, business and educational groups. The initial definition of the sector emanated from the producing organization perspective and then overlaid this with an occupational definition. A critical early step was the pursuit of a number of research and information effort that would inform and help mobilize inter-sectoral partnerships designed to develop and strengthen its creative sector workforce. Not only was an action plan drawn up for sustaining and renewing arts and heritage management capacity across the sector, but the development of public-private partnerships was promoted for four creative industry clusters (visual arts and crafts, audio-visual and live performing arts, literary arts and publishing, and music and sounding recording).¹ The initiatives also involved the creation of a new national arts service organization –the Cultural Human Resources Council– in 1995 with the financial assistance of the Canadian department of labor (Human Resources Development Canada) to ongoing provide leadership, project management, and career development services for the cultural workforce.

The Creative Industries Initiative in the United Kingdom. In the case of the United Kingdom, the government has pursued an explicit effort to put creative development on the national agenda, to undertake a series of research and consultation projects to identify problems, to build resources,

and launch specific projects and programs. Starting with the establishment of the Creative Industries Task Force by Prime Minister Blair in 1997, representatives from across government were brought together to investigate strategies of sustainable growth in the creative industries. The creative industries were defined as “those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property. This includes advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, television and radio.” (DCMS, 2002)

Taking a sectoral approach has allowed the UK to develop a systemic or ecological approach to development of the creative sector and has encouraged it to evolve an ambitious, integrated approach that builds “creative partnerships” within the national government; between national and regional governments; between the subsidized arts community, voluntary arts and cultural organizations, and the commercial cultural industries; between education (including basic, higher and vocational) and culture; and between trade, education, and culture policies. The processes of issue identification and coalition/network development have been complex and extensive.

Subsequent efforts have involved educational policy and export development programs (CIEPAG, 1999), as well as creative industry development strategies. For example, a Creative Industries Higher Education Forum draws together members of government, creative industries and higher education to develop a shared vision on the interrelationship of the creative industries, education and research. The development of new partnerships between particular creative industries and education and training providers is encouraged and is being channeled through the creation of sector skills councils (SSCs) such as **Skillset** (the Sector Skills Council for Broadcast, Film, Video and Interactive Media) or **Metier** (the designated the National Training Organization for arts and entertainment) (Skillset, 2002; Metier, 2001) Concurrently, proposals have been developed “to remove many of the obstacles that currently frustrate the development [of artists, arts managers and cultural entrepreneurs] and to create a more supportive structure which will free their creative potential,” making it easier for individual artists and small business to gain access to funding, expert advice, protection of intellectual property, facilities, networking with similar organizations, and skills development.

Other Creative Industries Development Projects. One can also identify a number of other development initiatives that target a particular cultural industry or a particular development goal.

1. The French Music Export Bureau—created in 1993 at the initiative of record producers with the support of public authorities and other professional music industry organizations. This nonprofit organization aims to promote French music abroad in what it calls a “world dominated by anglo-saxon music.” It provides advice, referrals and information to create worldwide links to facilitate the export of French music recordings and touring. The Bureau has offices in Paris, London, Berlin, and New York. It reports that French record sales abroad have risen from 1.5 million (1992) to more than 39 million (2000). Activities also include the publication of a newsletter, using French music export to also promote cultural exchange and the French language, assisting the participation of French-language artists in major festivals, educational initiatives, and the creation of a European policy for the music industry. (French Music Export Bureau, n.d.)
2. State Arts Partnership for Cultural Participation (START) –is an audience/market development project involving 13 state arts agencies (SAAs) and supported by the Lila Wallace Readers Digest Fund. The START project was initiated in 2001 and employs three strategies:

- direct grants to select state arts agencies to develop new or enhanced standards and practices that lead to greater participation in the arts;
- targeted research and expertise to help SAAs launch and evaluation efforts to design and implement statewide participation building activities; and
- shared technical assistance, training, and dissemination efforts to inform and transfer START learning to all 56 state and territorial arts agencies of the U.S.

A leading START participant is the Ohio Arts Council which had undertaken a broad-gauged research project to acquire a detailed assessment of Ohio arts industries, workforce, participation levels, and public perceptions. The results were released in the State of Ohio's Arts Report (SOAR) in 2001 and became a data resource used by five sites around the state to develop community development plans for their local arts industries. Typically, local site development efforts involve public-private partnerships that involve representatives of the creative industries, government official, community development agencies, and local business interests which develop and implement local development plans.

The Texas Music Office (TMO) opened January 20, 1990 with a legislative mandate "to promote the development of the music industry in the state by informing members of that industry and the public about the resources available in the state for music production." The TMO is a state-funded business promotion and information clearinghouse for the state's growing music industry. It publishes the annual Texas Music Industry Directory, that includes listings on artistic management and representation, music instrument cases, audio engineers, recording studios, promotion and touring services, music education organizations, booking agents, photographers, instrument sales and repair services, arrangers, rehearsal studios, unions, sheet music suppliers, concert and event production, lighting services, disc jockeys, record labels, venues, advertising, video/cassette, compact disc production and duplication, music publishing, record stores, ticket outlets, and music archives. It assists more than 14,000 individual clients each year, ranging from a new band trying to make statewide business contacts, to BBC journalists seeking information on Down South hip hop. It facilitates the music business in Texas by researching the state's music industry, then publishing the results both online and in print, distributing it to 13,000 bands / businesses, and then assisting clients with their individual projects. (Office of the Governor of Texas, 2004)

The Texas Music Office is complemented by local music promotion activities such as the *Austin Music Marketing Office* in the city's convention and tourism bureau. (Austin Convention and Visitors Bureau, 2004) The Austin Music Marketing Office also acts as a liaison between the music community and city government. The Office staffs the Austin Music Commission and books music to open every city council meeting. (City of Austin, 2004a) The Austin office has produced a research report on "The Role of Music in the Austin Economy" which not only mapped the dimensions of the music industry in Austin by identified major issues affecting musicians including job placement, health issues, housing concerns, and the need for an information clearing house. Claiming that traditional; economic impact analyses of the arts in Austin did "not tell the full story" (City of Austin, 2001, p. 3), the report was designed "to better understand how to enhance and support the role of music in Austin's economy," "...to measure the economic impact of the music industry, to evaluate factors shaping the status of music in Austin, and to suggest policy options to help enhance and promote local music. (p. 4) The City of Austin also offers a Music Industry Loan Guarantee Program to strengthen local music businesses. The City allocates over \$200,000 to the program which underwrites 50% of bank loans to music-related firms. (City of Austin, 2004b)

DEVELOPING A CREATIVE SECTOR INITIATIVE

The previous sections have established a basis for modeling the process of developing a creative sector initiative. First, the definitional issues involved in mapping the dimensions of the creative industries and in conceiving a creative sector were surveyed. Next, an assortment of creative industry development initiatives was discussed. Now, the discussion turns to identifying common practices and components involved in developing a creative sector initiative.

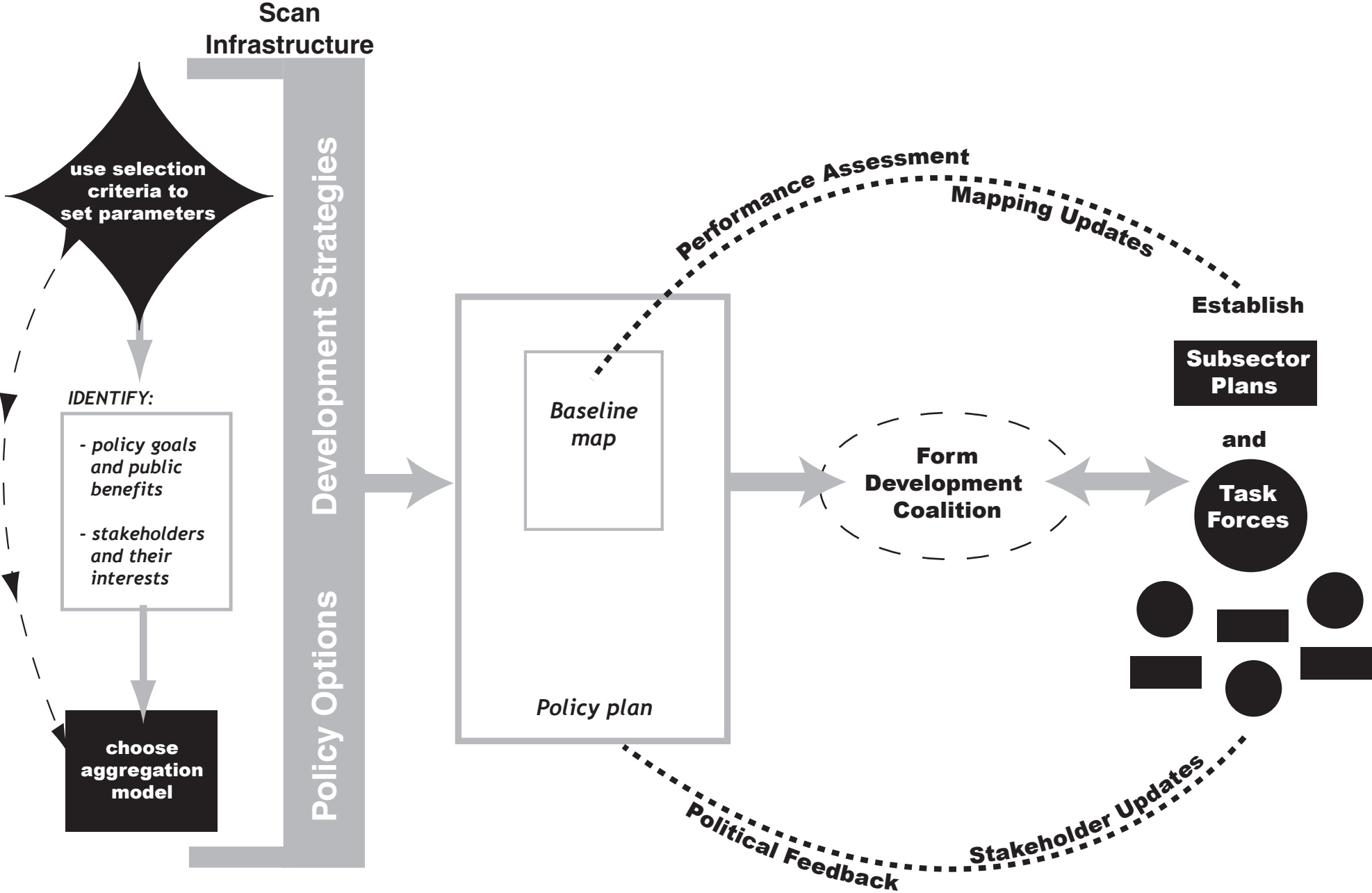
[See FIGURE 7: Developing a Creative Sector Initiative]

Steps in the Development Process. Figure 7 presents the component elements of a creative sector development initiative. It is often believed that a research effort to map the creative industries or sector is the first step in this development process. However, this is not really the case. Indeed, the tendency to rush into a mapping exercise without explicit attention to pre-mapping tasks emerges as a common, but avoidable, mistake that can confuse and complicate later development plans.

Five pre-mapping tasks emerge from an examination of the various cases surveyed:

1. *Selection of definitional criterion* to establish the potential parameters of the creative activities for inclusion in the plan. As discussed earlier, four selection criteria are available: product, occupation, producer, and process orientations. Many efforts seem to implicitly rely on one definitional criteria while implicating others. It has been suggested that cross-referencing all four approaches may produce the most accurate set of parameters.
2. *Choice of aggregation model and scope.* Creative development plans may be narrow and targeted or broad and inclusive. There is no optimal choice—however there should be a conscious choice. Some initiatives choose to focus on a single industry—like the Entertainment Industry Development Corporation’s focus on the film production industry or the Texas Music Office’s and the French Music Bureau’s focus on the music industry. Others may concern clusters of cultural or creative industries—such as the Design Industries Initiative of the New England Creative Economy project or the various sub-sector initiatives undertaken in the UK and Canada. Alternatively, some plans are broadly inclusive of multiple clusters or industries and try to encompass the entire sector. This has been the case with the UK’s Creative Industries Initiative, with similar scope characterizing efforts in Canada and Australia as well as in the New England region as well.
3. *The Identification of Public Policy Motivations.* A variety of public policy goals or motivating factors are exhibited in the illustrative development projects discussed here. By looking at more than one creative sector development initiative, a list of such motivating issues begins to emerge. These include (1) expanding the export of cultural goods and services and/or improving one’s international trade and competitive position; (2) easing the transition of workers into the new economy and/or fighting unemployment or labor dislocation; (3) integrating creative skills and competencies into efforts at educational reform; (4) cultivating the creative sector as a way of bolstering local cultural identity amidst the pressures of globalization; and (5) cultivating market development for creative products particularly for the subsidized arts, as a way of making them more sustainable and of expanding public participation. As with most public policy efforts, more than one goal may be sought.

FIGURE 7: DEVELOPING A CREATIVE SECTOR INITIATIVE



Currently there is considerable confusion over ends and means regarding development and the creative industries. For example, economic development may be pursued by using existing arts, culture or heritage resources to attract more tourism. But if such a goal merely capitalizes on these resources, then the creative industries are simply a means toward other economic development ends. To be creative industry initiatives, development plans should undertake investments that advance the creative industries. A similar confusion can come from mis-labelling a cultural organizational development plan as a creative industry development effort. By definition, creative industry or sector plans do not focus on a single organizations, they have a broader mission than organizational development. The growing popularity of the idea of creative development does not justify a misappropriation of the term to promote the strategic development plan of a particular cultural organization.

4. *Identification of industrial/sector stakeholders and their interests.* Prospectively, creative sector develop initiatives benefit both employers and employees of creative industries. They also effect the general community and public of the community (communities) in which these industries and organizations function; effects that are likely to be evident both in economic terms and in public goods. Creative workers often have interest not only their economic and work conditions but in the artistic, cultural and creative works that result from their efforts and in the reputational effects their work may produce. Creators, owners, and the public have different interest attached to the intellectual property that creative content often assumes. Various elements of the supportive infrastructure of the creative sector bring a variety of personal, professional, and economic interests to creative development plans. Both private funders (e.g. foundation, corporate and individual donors; private investors and financiers) and various levels and departments of public funders and conveners have varying stakes, interests, and goals in these initiatives. Identifying the range and variety of such stakeholders is a important step toward determining who and what interests will need to be incorporated into the planning and implementation processes.
5. Finally, the *creative sector infrastructure should be scanned* to identify the range of policy options and developmental strategies available and appropriate for the policy goals and impacts involved. Scanning the infrastructure will help determine which supports, services, and resources might be present and their capacity to leverage creative sector development. It will ascertain whether there are connective structures and mechanisms all ready in place or if these will have to be created. It can identify weaknesses and obstacles that may be present in the infrastructure. It can “test the waters” of public opinion and political feasibility surrounding different policy goals and development strategies. It can gather information about creative sector development initiatives undertaken elsewhere to enlarge the set of policy options and development tactics that have been used and the conditions and purposes under which they are effective.

Mapping. The gathering of information that details the scale, scope, variety and dimensions of the creative industries within the planning jurisdiction is a necessary and well-know step in the development process. As noted in many of the case examples, undertaking research projects lay a baseline or benchmark that will be used to assess development performance. In the case of the UK, this entailed the compilation of Creative Industries Mapping Documents in both 1998 and in 2000.

In the case of the Canadian Cultural Workforce Project, multiple studies were undertaken—a workforce survey by Statistics Canada as well as five subsector (or industrial cluster) profiles. The EIDC started with a film production industry economic impact study followed by career development studies of occupational recruitment and pipelines work in the fields of animation/visual effects and in interactive digital media.

Such mapping studies are essential to being able to track and assess creative sector development initiatives. However, by themselves, they are seldom sufficient to devise or constitute a development initiative or policy plan. Information must be transformed into understanding and strategy and this requires seeing the information both in local context and as part of a creative industries system. In part, this is because the economic dimensions of the creative sector will differ from country to country, region to region, and city to city. In another part, this will entail realizing that the economic map of the creative industries is only the tip of the proverbial iceberg. The “iceberg” also includes those “below the water line” relations and interactions, resources, supports and obstacles that constitute the infrastructure and the network of interrelationships between the infrastructure and the economic sector. A careful look at many of the examples provided shows that of the development strategies target aspects of the infrastructure—improving education and training for specific creative sector occupations; providing better information systems to link among industries, between industries and potential markets, and between potential employers and workers, and between investors and development opportunities; and mobilizing the authority and legitimacy of government to endorse, propel, convene, and facilitate development tactics and targets identified by direct creative sector stakeholders. Thus, devising a creative sector initiative or policy plan includes but goes beyond the baseline map. As in the structure of the sector itself, it must reach outside the firms, artists, artworks, and creative products that are the core of the creative industries components in the infrastructure that support, facilitate, stimulate or obstruct the capacity and ability of the creative industries to flourish and that connect the core with other industries that use or apply creative services and products to other kinds of tasks and activities.

Implementation. The implementation of creative sector development initiatives involves two interactive components linked by frequent feedback. These include *Forming development coalition councils which, in turn, help devise sub-sector or goal-specific development plans.*

An overall development council enlists political and financial support, engages leadership and expertise, sets priorities and establishes more specialized task forces. In the case of the UK, a number of these councils were employed. It began with the Prime Minister’s Creative Industries Task Force, a public-private group that brought together leading figures from the creative industries and government ministers and other officials to “recommend steps to maximize the economic impact of the UK creative industries at home and abroad.” (CIEPAG, 1999, p. 6) It then established the Creative Industries Export Promotion Advisory Group, as a sub-group of the Task Force, to focus on export development and included members from other industries including tourism and hospitality. In turn, the CIEPAG created four industrial cluster groups, each of which was composed of representatives of a specific set of creative industries and their trade associations, involved occupational associations, government officials, and key support service providers. Later Creative Partnerships were developed to join together cultural institutions, artists and schools to develop the creative talents of future generations. Along the way there was also a National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education. A network of Sector Skills Councils were developed across the economy, with specific NGOs awarded a license to undertake research and training activities in support of particular subsectors of the creative sector. These included

Skillset for the audio-visual industries and Metier for the performing arts industries. Alliances between Regional Development Agencies and Regional Cultural Consortiums were convened under the national government's decentralization policies.

In other words, an overall creative development coalition was created, which in turn created more specialized task forces to develop more targeted subsector and regional plans. Each of these drew upon research generated at the national level as well as sponsored their own information gathering activities. Information, action plans and development experience fed back to one another at each level and between planning levels. At the mapping level, this feedback provided both performance assessment information as well as new information on changing environmental conditions. At the planning level, political feedback was provided as well as updated information about stakeholder needs and capabilities. New organizations and consultation bodies were established as necessary. Goal-specific allies and infrastructure components could be mobilized and co-opted into development coalition groups on a variable basis.

IMPLICATIONS AND PROJECTIONS

The impetus behind attention to the creative sector has many roots. The actual and potential value of intellectual property in the "new economy" has, in part, been prompted by the forces of economic and communications globalization. It is also a result of the technological revolution in telecommunications and the networked society. Conversely, the link between culture and identity has a new-found significance precisely because it can be seen as a local anchor against the wave of change induced by the forces of globalization. Alternatively, nations seem to be increasingly aware of the value and utility of the creative sector in projecting a positive international image which, in turn, is regarded as a "soft power" resource in the diplomatic realm (Nye, 1990) as well as a marketing tool for international trade and tourism.

Recognized as a growing sector of domestic economies, development of the creative sector is attracting attention as a potential engine of economic development for communities as well as a source of new jobs (NGA, 2002). Sometimes the recognition of the creative sector is accompanied by a concern that key personnel in the sector are reaching retirement age and that attracting new professionals into the sector must be actively cultivated (IAA, 2003).

Clearly, the concepts of the "creative industries and of a "creative sector" are gaining recognition in many countries, each of which is trying to establish a working definition to articulate its importance and potential, to accumulate an adequate information base to guide planning, and to formulate and implement policies to develop the sector and its workforce. Success at such efforts requires an appreciation of the difference and relationship between the creative sector as an economic construct and as societal system. Accurately mapping the economic sector is essential to assessing the effect of development plans on the performance of the creative industries. Mapping the strategic relationships, networks, services, and resources that constitute the infrastructure of the creative industries is essential to the design and implementation of promising development plans.

Growing efforts to develop the creative sector may represent a policy convergence that finds a number of governments responding to the forces of globalization, technological change, shifts inherent to the emergence of the "new economy", demographic changes in the general population within nations, as well as generational turnover within the creative sector. On the other hand, there may be an element of transnational policy learning occurring as countries and communities learn

from the example of one another and seek to adopt and adapt creative sector development policies and tactics from one another. In any case, cultural development and the creative sector are on the policy agenda and are changing the character of the cultural policy paradigm for governments around the world.

Reference List

- Alper, N., Galligan, A., & Wassall, G. (n.d.). *'Policy Perspectives for Bettering the Working Conditions of Artists in America'*. Unpublished background paper prepared for the Center for Arts and Culture.
- Austin Convention and Visitors Bureau. (n.d.). Austin Music [Web Page]. URL http://www.austintexas.org/mfo_m_austinmusic.html [Accessed 2004, April 12].
- Batt, R., Christopherson, S., Rightor, N., & Von Jaarsveld, D. (2001). Net working: Work patterns and workforce policies for the new media industry. Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute.
- Caves, R. E. (2000). Creative Industries: Contracts between Art and Commerce. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Chartrand, H. H. (2000). *Toward an American arts industry*. J. M. Cherbo, & M. J. Wyszomirski (Eds), The public life of the arts in America (pp. 22-49). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Cherbo, J. M., & Wyszomirski, M. J. (2000a). Mapping the public life of the arts in America. in J. M. Cherbo, & M. J. Wyszomirski (eds.), The public life of the arts in America . New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Cherbo, J. M., & Wyszomirski, M. J. (Eds). (2000b). The public life of the arts in America. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- CIEPAG (Creative Industries Export Promotion Advisory Group). (1999). Creative industry exports: Our hidden potential. London, England: Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS).
- City of Austin. (2001). Texas Perspectives: The Role of Music in the Austin Economy. Available at <http://www.ci.austin.tx.us/telecom/musicstudy.htm>:
- City of Austin. (n.d. a) Boards & Commissions [Web Page]. URL http://malford.ci.austin.tx.us/boards/results.cfm?BoardsCommissions__BoardName=Music+Commission [Accessed 2004, April 12].
- City of Austin.. (n.d. b) City of Austin Music Industry Loan Guarantee Program (n.d.). [Web Page]. URL http://www.austintexas.org/mfo_m_mloan.html [Accessed 2004, April 12].
- Cultural Human Resources Council (CHRC). (n.d.). A history of CHRC. Available at www.culturalhrc.ca/about/historyCHRC-e.pdf: [Accessed 2004, April 12].

- Cunningham, S. (2001). *From cultural to creative industries: theory, industry, and policy implications*. Culturelink, (Special Issue), 19-32.
- Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). (2002). Creative industries fact file. London: DCMS.
- DiMaggio, P., & Hirsch, P. M. (1976). Production Organizations in the Arts. in Richard A. Peterson (editor), The Production of culture (pp. 73-90). Beverly Hills: Sage Publications .
- Entertainment Industry Development Corporation. (2004) History of EnTRE [Web Page]. URL www.eidc.com/Hollywood_EnTRE/History_of_EnTRE/history_of_entre.html [2004, April 12].
- French Music Export Bureau. (n.d.). French music. Available at www.french-music.org/about/about.php: [Accessed 2004, April 12].
- Friedman, A. (n.d.). *Succeeding with Sectors*. Forum of NYC Inc Available at www.nycfuture.org: Center for an Urban Future. [Accessed 2004, April 12].
- Galligan, A. M. (2001). Creativity, culture, education, and the workforce. Washington, DC: Center for Arts and Culture.
- Harvey, J. (2002). Final Report on Phase 1: Creative management in the arts and heritage: Sustaining and renewing professional management for the 21st century. Canadian Conference of the Arts.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. (2002). The Cultural Industries. London, England: Sage Publications.
- Hirsch, P. M. (1985). *The study of industries*. Research in the Sociology of Organizations, 4, 271-309.
- Hodsoll, F., Arthurs, A., & Lavine, S. (1999). *For-profit and not-for-profit arts connections: Existing and potential*. Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society (JAMLS) , 29(2), 80-96.
- Illinois Arts Alliance (IAA). (2003). Succession: Arts leadership for the 21st century. Chicago, Illinois: Illinois Arts Alliance.
- Jeffcutt, P. (2001). *Creativity and Convergence in the Knowledge Economy: Reviewing Key Themes and Issues*. Culturelink, (Special Issue), 9-18.
- Mercer, C. (Guest Ed). (2001). *Convergence, creative industries and civil society: The new cultural policy*. CultureLink, (Special Issue).
- Metier. (2001). Arts and entertainment sector: Workforce development plan. Available at www.metier.org.uk:
- Moneta, C. J. (2000). Cultural industries in the Latin American economy: Current status and outlook in the context of globalization. DC: Office of Cultural Affairs of the Organization of American States.
- Murdock, G. (2003). *Back to Work: Cultural Labor in Altered Times*. In A. Beck (ed.), Cultural Work: Understanding the Cultural Industries (pp. 15-36). London/New York: Routledge.
- New England Council . (2000). The creative economy initiative: The role of culture in New England's economic competitiveness. Available at www.nefa.org/projinit/createecon/creative%20economy%202000.pdf:

- New England Council . (2001). The creative economy initiative: A blueprint for investment in New England's Creative Economy. Available at www.nefa.org/projinit/createecon/june_2001_blueprint.pdf:
- National Governors Association (NGA). (2002). *A governor's guide to creating a 21st century workforce*. (State Leadership in the Global Economy Task Force) Washington DC: National Governor's Association.
- Nye, Jr., J. (1990). *Soft power*. *Foreign Policy*, 153-171.
- O'Connor, J. (n.d.) Cultural industries and cultural policy in Europe [Web Page]. URL www.culminatium.fi/ajankohtaista/19990924oconnor.html [Accessed: 2000, May 18].
- Office of the Governor of Texas. (Texas Music Office [Web Page]. URL <http://www.governor.state.tx.us/divisions/music/> [Accessed: 2004, April 12].
- Peterson, R. A. (2003). *Care and feeding of Calliope and her friends: the production perspective in arts research*. Valerie B. Morris and David B. Pankratz (eds), The arts in a new millennium: Research and the arts sector (pp. 37-39). Westport: Praeger.
- Scott, W. R., & Meyer, J. W. (1983). *The Organization of Societal Sectors*. In Meyer, Scott, & Richard's Organizational environments: Ritual and rationality (pp. 129-153). Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Shapiro, M. S., & Miller, B. I. (1999). A Museum Guide to Copyright and Trademark. Washington, DC: American Association of Museums.
- Siwek, S. E. (2002). Copyright Industries in the U.S. Economy: The 2002 report. Washington, DC: International Intellectual Property Alliance.
- Skillset. (2002). Skills for Tomorrow's Media. Available at www.skillset.org/research/home.asp:
- SkillsNet. Making digits dance: Animation and visual effects careers in the entertainment industry. Available at www.eidc.com/MDD.pdf: n.d.
- SkillsNet. (n.d.). Amazing post: Post-production in the entertainment industry. Available at www.entertainmentcareers.cc.
- Throsby, C. D. (2001a). Economics and culture. Cambridge, UK ; New York : Cambridge University Press.
- Throsby, D. (2001b). *Defining the artistic workforce: The Australian experience*. Poetics, 28, 255-271.
- Venturelli, S. (n.d.). From the Information Economy to the Creative Economy. Washington, DC: Center for Arts and Culture.
- Vogel, H. (1998). Entertainment industry economics. 4th ed. NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Williams, R. (1981). Culture . London: Fontana.
- Wyszomirski, M. J. (2002). *Arts and Culture*. In L. Salamon (ed.), The State of Nonprofit America . Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Wyszomirski, M. J. (1999). *Shifting values and cultural policy in the United States*. Boekman Cahier, 39, 25-36.

¹ Human Resources Development Canada commissioned 50- to 80-page detailed reports on each industry cluster from various consulting firms and published the results in 1994. These include “Work in Progress: Human Resource Issues in the Visual Arts and Crafts” by Price Waterhouse; “Word in Progress: Human Resources Issues in the Literary Arts and Publishing Industry” by the Briers Group; and “Staging the Future: Human Resource Issues in the Audio-Visual and Live Performing Arts Industry” and “Sound of the Future: Human Resource Issues in Music and Sound Recording” by Ekos Research Associates.