

# WILEY



---

The Nordic 'Cultural Industries': A Cross-National Assessment of the Place of the Cultural Industries in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden

Author(s): Dominic Power

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, Vol. 85, No. 3 (2003), pp. 167-180

Published by: [Wiley](#) on behalf of the [Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3554324>

Accessed: 20/02/2013 10:03

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Wiley and Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# THE NORDIC 'CULTURAL INDUSTRIES': A CROSS-NATIONAL ASSESSMENT OF THE PLACE OF THE CULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN DENMARK, FINLAND, NORWAY AND SWEDEN

by  
Dominic Power

Power, D. 2003: The Nordic 'cultural industries': a cross-national assessment of the place of the cultural industries in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. *Geogr. Ann.*, 85 B (3): 167–180.

**ABSTRACT.** In this paper an attempt is made to measure the cultural industries in a cross-national context. The paper starts with a discussion of the definition and delineation of the term the 'cultural industries'. It is argued that a large range of goods and services may be considered to be cultural industry products and that it is important to place the production and exchange of such products in the context of an industrial systems approach. Following this the concept is operationalised using data on employment and firm activity from Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. Results are presented which suggest that overall growth in both employment and firm numbers has been especially strong in the cultural industries. However, interesting differences between the countries emerged from the data. Thus regional dimensions are then examined resulting in the finding that in all four countries cultural industries have a strong attraction to urban areas but an even stronger propensity to agglomerate. It is suggested that the spatial dynamics observed may be key to the development of the industries' competencies and success. In summary the paper presents results of extensive data analysis that show the cultural industries' important contribution to Scandinavian economies and labour markets.

*Key words:* cultural industries, economic geography, Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden.

## Introduction

The role of culture in the functioning and development of Nordic economies has become an increasingly popular topic for both researchers and policy-makers alike. In particular, there has been a growing awareness in recent years that 'cultural' industries such as film, music and the media are increasingly important and vibrant parts of many countries' economies. In recent years governments and regional authorities in the Nordic countries have begun to take seriously the idea of cultural activities being crucial components of their economies in need of industrial support and development. This concern to think of cultural activities as more than pleasant distractions or ephemeral aspects of a na-

tion's social life strongly resonates with the underlying concern of this study: to treat these activities as part of important and dynamic industrial systems. In recognition of the fact that these industries are important not only to employment (Casey, 1996; Greffe, 1997; Pratt, 1997b; European Commission, 1998; European Union, 2000; Power, 2002), regional development (Power and Hallencreutz, 2002; Hallencreutz and Power, 2003), trade, consumption, and indeed wider social goals, this article attempts to measure their impact on a set of neighbouring countries. Moreover, the article uses industrial data to examine the economic importance, changes in and trajectories of these industries, and investigates these industries empirically in order to gauge something of their contemporary economic importance.

Encompassing sectors and commodified activities as diverse as architecture and advertising, design and music, the cultural industries' industrial structures and dynamics, however, remain relatively under-researched (DiMaggio and Hirsch, 1976; Pratt, 1997a; Sadler, 1997; Scott, 2000b; Power, 2002). Notwithstanding the fact that a large variety of definitions and approaches to the 'cultural industries' exist,<sup>1</sup> relatively little has been done which treats them as part of integrated industrial sectors or systems (Hirsch, 1972; Becker, 1974; Girard, 1982; Kibbe, 1982; Björkegren, 1992; Pratt, 1997a; 1997b; Scott, 1999, 2000a; Scott, 2000b). This article is based on a view that the cultural industries should be subject to analysis that is concerned with their industrial functioning and transformation that occurs within industrial systems of interrelated actors existing within specific socio-institutional and competitive business environments.

The paper opens with a discussion of the study methodology used and then moves on to the presentation of the results of an analysis of industrial data on Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden

between 1997 and 2000. While in the eyes of many Europeans, and others, the countries compared here – Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden – tend to blur into a diffuse image of snow, reindeer and mobile phone manufacturers, they are, of course, very different from one another though they have much in common. However, for comparative purposes, their similarities in terms of levels of social and economic development, size, shared histories, geographic proximity and place in Europe make them ideal. Although far from a united region the four countries' economies and politics are closely interlinked through trade and governmental cooperation. It is for these reasons that the inclusion of these four countries in a comparative study is justified.

### Getting a fix on the cultural industries: study methodology

The research presented below takes its starting point largely from a slightly earlier quantitative study of the cultural industries in Sweden (Power, 2002). As such, much of the thinking and conceptualisation behind the data collection and analysis springs directly from that work. However, this article is unique in being one of the first attempts to use detailed industrial data on the cultural industries in a comparative context.

Like Power's earlier study (2002) it was decided to use Allen Scott's idea of 'Culture Industry-Products' (Scott, 1996, 1999) as the basic definition of the cultural industries used here:

Whatever the physico-economic constitution of such products, the sectors that make them are all engaged in the creation of marketable outputs whose competitive qualities depend on the fact that they function at least in part as personal ornaments, modes of social display, aestheticized objects, forms of entertainment and distraction, or sources of information and self-awareness, i.e. as artifacts whose psychic gratification to the consumer is high relative to utilitarian purpose

(Scott 1997, p.323)

With this definition a wide range of goods and services from furniture design to photography are included and therein the industries and activities associated with their production. In common with other authors on the topic (Hirsch, 1972; Becker, 1974; Girard, 1982; Kibbe, 1982; Björkegren,

1992; Pratt, 1997a; Pratt, 1997b; Scott, 1999; Caves, 2000; Hirsch, 2000; Scott, 2000a, 2000b; Hesmondhalgh, 2002) an industrial system perspective is applied to these evolving chains of value and exchange in order to stress that cultural artefacts are most often products with multiple inputs, actors and geographies involved; i.e. seldom the sole responsibility of the starving and garretted artist. This approach is further informed here by the attention which economic geographers and others have, in recent years, drawn to the important role of interactive environments, milieux, clusters and agglomerations in, for instance, competitiveness, innovation and learning. In this paper however, an attempt is made to extend this understanding beyond the production process alone to include also the activities through which products are processed, distributed and ultimately consumed. As with many products today, many cultural products' value and cost structures are formed most cohesively at the distribution and consumption stages, and their success is often due entirely to individual tastes and consumption patterns (Crewe, 1996; Purvis, 1996; Wrigley and Lowe, 1996; Crewe and Beaverstock, 1998; Miller *et al.* 1998). In line with this an attempt was made to include not only production activity but also other parts of the story such as distributors, consumption points and retailers.

Using the above definition and taking into account activities included by previous studies (New York and New Jersey Port Authority, 1993; London Arts Board and Greater London Group of the LSE, 1995; O'Brien and Feist, 1995; Casey, *et al.* 1996; Pratt, 1997b, 2000; Statens Kulturråd, 1998, 2000; Almquist *et al.* 1999; 2000), a number of cultural industries were identified and an attempt was made to measure the scale of firm and employment involvement in the cultural industries in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. This was done through the use of statistics gathered by the various national statistical offices of the countries in question. Thus similar data sources to those used by other studies of the scale of cultural industry activities are employed and the study here can be seen to both be inspired by and complement these earlier works (Brosio, 1994; Casey, *et al.* 1996; Scott, 1997; Pratt, 1997b; Department Culture, 1998; Department for Culture and Regions, 2000; Hallencreutz *et al.* 2000; Pratt, 2000; Power, 2002). However, this study is more extensive than most others before it in that it uses firm data as well as employment data, many more detailed codes, and data from four countries. In all, fifteen broad categories were

drawn up and studied: Advertising; Architecture; Broadcast media (television and radio); Design; Fashion – clothing; Film; The 'finer' arts (e.g. painting, sculpture); Furniture; Glass, ceramics, cutlery, crafts; Jewellery; Libraries, museums and heritage; Music; Photography; Print media (newspapers, publishing and magazines); Software and new media. An additional category of 'related services' was added to include industries such as tourism, restaurants and bars, which have high levels of interdependency with cultural products activities.

Using these broad categories the standard industrial classification (SIC) systems of the four countries was studied and a range of codes thought to best describe them identified. While these do not exactly reflect all the aspects of these industries one might like to capture they represent a: 'reasonable compromise between descriptive parsimony on the one hand and detailed characterization of the cultural economy on the other' (Scott 2000b, p. 8).

In order, however, that they be the best approximations possible the codes used were all at the five-digit level: the most disaggregated level SIC-coded national statistics go to (Eurostat, 1996).

Due to the availability, at the time of writing, of up-to-date and comparable data using the new NACE-SIC coded data across the four countries a relatively short time period is treated: the three-year period from 1997 to 1999. The fullest possible annual data on employment and firm activity for the period 1 January 1997 to 1 January 2000 (and until 1 January 2002 for Denmark, Norway and Sweden) were collected from the national statistical offices of each country.<sup>2</sup> Despite this brevity it is hoped that understanding this period adds something to our empirical knowledge of the cultural industries. In all four cases the data were obtained from the central business registers which collect data from all enterprises known to the respective national tax authorities<sup>3</sup>. An extensive database was built up from these sources on all *active* enterprises and employees involved in the SIC codes identified as comparable. It must be noted that this database consisted of active commercially trading enterprises, and thus many organizations and activities that are fully funded by the public sector are omitted. This does not mean that the public sector is completely absent from the study, since as many of the enterprises and firms included receive direct and indirect funding and support from the respective public sectors. It may be argued that the exclusion of the public sector from a study of a set of activities often heavily funded and influenced by it greatly limits

the aims of this paper. While this is true it was decided that a focus on activities that were primarily commercial activities best matched the aims of the research project. As stated in the earlier study this one builds upon:

The concern here is not to dismiss the obviously important role of the public sector in many of these activities but to concentrate attention on commercial, for-profit firm activity. This is due to an interest in how these activities can and do function and perform in the competitive realities of the private sector in an attempt to think about them as integral parts of the contemporary economy rather than as mere recipients of state hand-outs administered through spending on the 'arts'.

(Power 2002, p.110)

A further limitation to the sources used is that they do not take account of out-of-work, temporary, unpaid or voluntary employees which in some sectors represent both a sizeable proportion of the workforce and something of a reserve army of labour (Zukin, 1995; Casey, *et al.* 1996).

Despite the fact that a great deal of work and care is taken by national statistics boards in the design and gathering of SIC type data, using the data involves the acceptance of a set of inaccuracies and limitations. First and foremost of these is that the level of aggregation – even at the most detailed five-digit level – is often too high and results in the misdescription or simplification of an enterprise's activities. Added to this is the fact that in order to avoid double-counting, the enterprises in this study were assigned only one code. This means that, for instance, large firms with major cultural products operations that are not their core concern will not show up. Furthermore, statistical codes tend to change more slowly than the activities they attempt to describe and thus tend to be lacking in detail and be over-aggregated in the description of newer industrial activities (this is especially true of areas such as new media and IT). It should also be noted that mistakes are often made in data collection – in one study of the Swedish engineering/machine industry it was estimated that 27% of firms may have been wrongly classified (Larsson, 1998, p.81).

Finally, for the sections that deal explicitly with regional and urban comparison it was decided that the more aggregated four-digit level NACE codes (the five- and six-digit level national codes are all based on the four-digit level NACE classification:

DOMINIC POWER

Table 1. The Scandinavian cultural industries production system in 1999: number of employees and number of firms by size (number of employees or people taking an income from the concern). Measures of change for the extended period 1997–2000 are presented where figures were available. Figures in italics refer to number of firms active in the area.

Sector	Total	% change 1997–1999	% change 1997–2000	Sector	Total	% change 1997–1999	% change 1997–2000	Sector	Total	% change 1997–1999	% change 1997–2000
<i>Advertising</i>			<i>Architecture</i>			<i>Broadcast media</i>					
Sweden	27308	+17.36	+26.47	Sweden	5758	+3.01	+9.03	Sweden	33655	-8.25	-8.11
	10952	+6.49	+13.80		2378	+9.43	+16.98		810	+10.35	+30.65
Norway	8827	+2.80	-1.25	Norway	4674	+10.40	+9.14	Norway	5480	-11.25	-27.50
	3566	+4.57	-1.52		1929	+9.63	+8.15		389	-8.33	-25
Finland	7060	+28.53	***	Finland	4418	+10.45	***	Finland	6176	+5.09	***
	2576	+11.03	***		1801	+3.80	***		228	-3.39	***
Denmark*	11993	+11.57	+17.68	Denmark*	6552	+3.49	+3.03	Denmark*	3000	+11.36	+16
	4528	-7.84	-4.80		2867	-6.98	-6.13		591	-0.67	+7.73
<i>Design</i>			<i>Fashion clothing</i>			<i>Film</i>					
Sweden	7944	+32.89	+62.48	Sweden	51283	+2.08	+3.89	Sweden	7026	+9.27	+19.16
	5757	+32.59	+58.87		14368	-2.83	-2.61		2547	+6.70	+16.46
Norway**				Norway	39688	+8.18	+9.56	Norway	3203	+9.38	+22.66
					8893	+9.90	+10.22		1255	+8.20	+21.31
Finland**				Finland	26000	-4.09	***	Finland	1952	+29.96	***
					7482	-4	***		635	+3.76	***
Denmark*	3074	+26.50	+38.56	Denmark*	34366	+6.79	+0.79	Denmark*	4091	+12.39	+16.98
	2339	+21.25	+37.58		8364	-14.69	-14.95		1543	-0.71	+7.08
<i>Furniture</i>			<i>Glass, ceramics, cutlery, crafts</i>			<i>Heritage</i>					
Sweden	37847	+5.16	+7.00	Sweden	6694	+3.32	+6.25	Sweden	5968	+6.48	+10.81
	5549	+0.85	+3.38		2881	+4.65	+9.34		584	+12.31	+22.69
Norway	19964	+13.88	+16.21	Norway	5231	-5.33	-3.60	Norway	3368	+18.21	+25.24
	3529	+15.57	+15.92		925	-10.26	-4.72		390	+10	+18
Finland	16156	+9.20	***	Finland	1173	-7.64	***	Finland	160	+29.03	***
	3911	-0.03	***		191	+7.91	***		49	+4.26	***
Denmark*	27913	+4.78	+2.09	Denmark*	3512	+71.07	+63.76	Denmark*	2664	+20.93	+110.08
	2493	-12.62	-13.92		612	-11.05	-13.66		369	-2.12	-1.86
<i>Jewellery</i>			<i>Music</i>			<i>Photography</i>					
Sweden	3680	-4.39	-3.07	Sweden	6335	+6.78	+12.24	Sweden	7509	-4.85	+0.04
	1391	-2.25	-1.05		3183	+7.28	+13.82		4027	+9.58	+17.36
Norway	3857	-6.50	+8.42	Norway	4224	-12.62	-17.03	Norway	7632	+9.72	+11.40
	943	-8.61	+6.62		1794	-12	-16		2585	+9.72	+11.74
Finland	2658	-3.42	***	Finland	1543	+1.92	***	Finland	3038	-1.65	***
	1005	-0.89	***		1006	+6.34	***		1196	-1.08	***
Denmark*	1791	-0.44	-0.56	Denmark*	2795	+10.78	+14.86	Denmark*	3819	+2.25	-2.70
	904	-11.98	-9.06		1179	+4.15	+12.28		2225	-6.47	-5.76
<i>Print media</i>			<i>Software, new media</i>			<i>The 'finer' arts</i>					
Sweden	58018	-2.76	-5.47	Sweden	73028	+6.03	+12.36	Sweden	20453	+42.89	+69.28
	8147	-0.46	-0.38		17320	+1.38	+4.87		11593	+26.69	+48.04
Norway	46620	-2.62	-4.11	Norway	27741	+65.08	+119.23	Norway	8419	-30.79	-6.81
	5755	-2.96	-4.25		6290	+54.09	+105.66		5038	-26.32	-8.77
Finland	30408	-0.24	***	Finland	22359	+32.69	***	Finland	1754	-19.62	***
	3353	-2.67	***		3133	+7.92	***		1399	+13.19	***
Denmark*	35830	+14.12	+11.27	Denmark*	33206	+33.60	+48.93	Denmark*	5256	+6.33	+20.96
	5787	-8.32	-8.63		9939	+14.70	+35.06		2962	+0.14	+8.05
<i>The cultural industries</i>			<i>Related industries</i>			<i>Totals (incl. related industries)</i>					
Sweden	352506	+9.62	+16.35	Sweden	87190	+21.20	+33.64	Sweden	439696	+8.88	+15.53
	91487	+12.23	+22.56		19897	+42.86	+70.04		111384	+10.12	+19.13
Norway	188928	+6.64	+10.68	Norway	8419	+6.12	+9.26	Norway	261223	+6.49	+10.29
	43281	+6.58	+10.15		8244	+4.78	+9.13		51525	+6.10	+9.87
Finland	124855	+6.68	***	Finland	41791	+10.58	***	Finland	166646	+7.63	***
	27965	+1.37	***		9563	+2.03	***		37528	+1.54	***
Denmark*	179862	+13.71	+16.20	Denmark*	44062	+13.35	+10.37	Denmark*	223924	+13.64	+15.05
	46702	-3.24	+2.35		12234	-15.07	-12.48		58936	-5.96	-1.06

\* Due to Danish data protection laws the figures for employment incorporate estimates based on firm data and therefore may underestimate employment.

\*\* Accurate comparable data were not available for design activities in Finland and in Norway.

\*\*\* Year 2000 data not available for Finland at the timing of writing.

Sources: Figures based on data delivered by Statistiska centralbyrån (Statistics Sweden), Danmarks statistik (Statistics Denmark), Statistisk sentralbyrå (Statistics Norway), and Tilastokeskus (Statistics Finland).



see Eurostat, 1996) would be used: both in order to standardise the data for comparability and because the most up-to-date and accurate local level – municipality (*kommun* in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, and *kunta* in Finnish) – was available at only four-digit level for all four countries. Using four-digit level data also makes the regional figures presented easily amenable to comparison with other countries around the world if researchers so wish. Thus, in addition to all the difficulties involved in using SIC type data, differences exist between the figures used in the following two sections, it must be remembered though that total accuracy is impossible with currently available data and that the intent of this paper is to highlight general patterns and trends rather than hope for entirely precise quantification.

### Assessment of the national characteristics of Scandinavian cultural industries production systems

The general conclusion of this section is quite simple: that the cultural industries are significant employers and in addition are growing rapidly both in terms of the number of employees and firms involved. It may be seen from Table 1 that employment growth in particular has been particularly strong during the study period. However, a series of interesting sectoral differences and variations between levels of firm and employment growth and decline demonstrate that these industries are going through a period both of industrial restructuring and in some cases significantly above-average growth. Furthermore, despite the proximity of the four countries and their many similarities, important differences emerge from the data.

Overall, the cultural industries account for substantial portions of each country's total employment: around 9 to 10% for each country in 1999. Taken as a whole, cultural industry employment grew much faster than average employment. In the 1997 to 1999 period average overall employment growth in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden was, respectively, 2.88%, 5.86%, 2.87% and 3.72%. Thus the positive growth rates of 13.71%, 6.68%, 6.64%, and 9.62% recorded for the countries' cultural industries are, with the exception of Finland, between two and four times as high. As may be seen from Table 1 this trend continues into 2000 for the three countries where data were available at the time of writing. Well above-average growth was also recorded for related industries in-

dicating that the cultural industries and those related industries should be priorities for the respective governments' employment policies.

Despite the overall positive growth patterns, significant differences exist between the individual categories that comprise the cultural industries. Four categories stood out as enjoying exceptionally high rates of employment growth in all four countries: film, heritage activities, software/new media, and related industries. Norway's software and new media industry, for example, grew by 65% between 1997 and 1999. On the other hand, some categories have suffered heavy job losses (e.g. jewellery, print media, applied arts, broadcast and print media).

What is clear, however, is that no sectoral patterns emerge, as distinct national differences exist within each category. In some categories these differences are particularly stark. One example is the music industry which between 1997 and 1999 grew well above the average in Denmark (10.78%) and Sweden (6.78%), while in Norway it shrank significantly (by 12.62%), and in Finland (1.92%) it failed to keep up with the labour market in general. Denmark seems to have been particularly successful in bucking the trends seen elsewhere since in a number of the categories that experienced job losses elsewhere, Denmark saw strong growth: broadcast media, print media and the applied arts/crafts.

The process of industry transformation or organisational change can be, to an extent, seen in the differences between the growth rates for employment and firm numbers.<sup>4</sup> In general, one may say that in Norway firm and employment growth are pretty well matched. When looking at the growth rates by unit size one can see that the mix of firm sizes in each sector is relatively stable (i.e. all firm sizes are either growing or declining). However, when one looks at Denmark, Finland and Sweden one can see a rather different pattern. In these countries employment growth/decline is not spread evenly over the different firm sizes. In Denmark employment growth has been concurrent with a decline in the number of active firms. Thus for instance, in the 1997 to 1999 period while employment grew by 13.71%, the number of firms dropped by 3.24%. This may be seen in nine of the categories, and in the remaining six categories employment growth has consistently outstripped growth in firm numbers. For example, despite employment growth of 71.07% in the applied arts category (glass, ceramics, cutlery and crafts) there was a 11.05% fall in firm numbers between 1997 and 1999. Supplementary information from industry sources suggests

that this difference is the result of a growing concentration of employment in the hands of larger firms due to both existing firms expanding and a sharp rise in the number of mergers and acquisitions.

In contrast to the Danish trend towards larger firm sizes, Sweden shows the opposite tendency with the overall number of firms rising by 12.23% between 1997 and 1999 as opposed to 9.62% for employment. However, while it appears in general that in Sweden the growth in firm numbers has consistently outpaced employment this is not true of every category (for an analysis of this trend over a longer period, namely 1994 to 1999, see Power, 2002). Categories such as advertising and software/new media appear to show definite signs of a move towards large firm sizes. However, other industries are going through extremely rapid restructuring resulting in increased fragmentation. The starkest example of this is in the broadcast media category where, despite a fall in employment of 8.25% the number of firms rose by 10.32%. This trend accelerated rapidly through 2000 so that by the end of 2000 the number of firms had risen by 30.65% from 1997 while employment had dropped by 8.11%. It is certain that this may be accounted for by the closure of some larger firms and, in particular, the down-sizing of larger firms combined with a much higher use of outsourcing. More detailed monthly data and the examination of selected company and subsector histories (using information from the press and the Swedish trade and industry register: *Patent- och registreringsverket*) showed that as down-sizing and subcontracting gripped the larger broadcast media firms small firms and start-ups stepped in to fill the gaps. Moreover, company and sector data and accounts show that many of the job losses in the media categories were directly followed by start-ups and employment rises in design, film, freelance writing, music, new media and photography. These latter sectors benefited directly from the downsizing and outsourcing of activities previously done in-house, adding further credence to the notion of a cultural industries industrial system.

In order to understand further what is going on in the countries' cultural industries one should also look at the changing balance of activities within each category. To this end figures are presented in Table 2 that use Pratt's disaggregation of each sector into four systemic aspects: production ('original production, commissioning and directing'); infrastructure ('production of the means of produc-

tion'); distribution ('reproduction, and mass distribution'); and consumption ('sites of exchange of rights to consume' – Pratt, 1997b, p.1960). However, it must be said that today the boundaries between retailers, distributors and producers in many cultural industries, such as fashion (Braham, 1997), are blurred or even non-existent. In addition, data limitations make these divisions somewhat problematic, as many firms try to do a little of everything: at once producer, distributor, retailer and infrastructure provider to other firms.

None-the-less, it may be seen from Table 2 that it is only in production activities that growth exists in every country. The growth rates in productive activities are significantly higher than those in the areas of infrastructure, distribution and consumption. Production activities, such as 'original production, commissioning and directing' (Pratt, 1997b, p. 1960), have grown very rapidly both in terms of employees and firms involved to the extent that by 1999 a total of 423 954 employees in 124 379 firms worked in Nordic cultural industry production activities. In both Sweden and Norway employment growth was in the order of 23% between 1997 and 1999, and over 30% by 2000. In all four countries small firms dominate and there has been especially strong growth in the smallest firms indicating that much of the growth was characterized by start-ups or spin-offs. In general, one may say that the tendency for production activities to be dominated by small and medium-sized production enterprises continues.

Again the Danish industry shows signs of employment growth contrasting with the existence of fewer and fewer active firms: indicating significant industrial restructuring through mergers and acquisitions. In the other three it is only in consumption activities that industrial concentration has been a feature of recent change. This is due most likely to the increasingly competitive nature of the retail environment in Finland, Norway and Sweden; in recent years a combination of deregulation and the growing presence of foreign retailers has radically altered the retail environment.

In conclusion, two main reasons (and one secondary) may be suggested to explain a large share of the strong employment demonstrated above. First, it is certain that in recent years cultural industry products have been growing domestic and export markets for all four countries. 'Scandinavian' design and style, whatever these may be, have become fashionable in many international markets and have fuelled something of a boom for many

Table 2. The Scandinavian cultural industries production system in 1999: number of employees and number of firms by size (number of employees or people taking an income from the concern). Excludes 'Related Services'. Figures in italics refer to number of firms active in the area.

	Firm size 0-4	5-9	10-19	20-49	50-99	100+	Total	% change 1997-1999	% change 1997-2000
<i>Consumption</i>									
Sweden	21464	7932	5543	4689	4238	25051	68917	+2.01	+4.89
	15793	1249	429	160	63	58	17752	-2.70	-2.07
Norway	12574	9778	7464	7780	3591	15416	56603	+9.73	+8.17
	7631	1530	572	270	51	45	10099	+1.10	-6.19
Finland	**	**	**	**	**	**	18310	+0.31	***
	5698	690	228	77	13	4	6710	-3.30	***
Denmark*	10476	4910	4497	4922	1913	4550	31268	+9.71	+12.42
	7426	721	315	151	26	23	8662	-10.16	-8.46
<i>Distribution</i>									
Sweden	11640	3776	4491	5923	4784	43216	73830	-4.37	-4.29
	9372	584	332	199	69	107	10663	+3.24	+7.44
Norway	5605	1908	1921	2160	1373	1497	14464	+8.16	+11.91
	4352	298	141	75	20	8	4894	+7.58	-0.55
Finland	**	**	**	**	**	**	19327	+3.55	***
	3940	343	180	108	34	29	4634	-0.96	***
Denmark*	4150	1437	1895	2499	1464	5921	17366	+14.70	+17.98
	3468	207	129	75	20	23	3922	-10.40	-10.21
<i>Infrastructure</i>									
Sweden	6350	3846	4620	5308	4151	9384	33659	-0.48	-3.48
	4481	590	343	180	57	43	5694	-0.21	+0.30
Norway	6110	3884	3736	4022	2762	22911	43425	+1.46	-1.43
	4230	596	283	139	39	61	5348	+8.04	+15.56
Finland	**	**	**	**	**	**	16894	-3.55	***
	1768	284	167	99	48	24	2390	-3.12	***
Denmark*	4452	2547	3295	4933	2774	10133	28134	+13.70	+7.52
	3474	369	223	146	38	38	4288	-9.48	-10.39
<i>Production</i>									
Sweden	61262	11312	13239	19963	12201	58123	176100	+23.15	+37.59
	53651	1737	992	662	177	159	57378	+21.46	+38.07
Norway	24423	5837	6757	9450	5968	22001	74436	+23.53	+33.57
	21068	895	508	311	88	70	22940	+33.22	+50.65
Finland	**	**	**	**	**	**	70324	+12.33	***
	12098	968	555	385	120	105	14231	+5.41	***
Denmark*	31016	6710	9459	14594	11615	29700	103094	+14.82	+19.49
	27456	986	661	457	165	105	29830	+1.08	+9.78
<i>Totals</i>									
Sweden	100716	26866	27893	35883	25374	135774	352506	+9.62	+16.35
	83297	4160	2096	1201	366	367	91487	+12.23	+22.56
Norway	48712	21407	19878	23412	13694	61825	188928	+12.45	+15.13
	37281	3319	1504	795	198	184	43281	+17.91	+24.10
Finland	**	**	**	**	**	**	124855	+6.68	
	23504	2285	1130	669	215	162	27965	+1.38	***
Denmark*	50094	15604	19146	26948	17766	50304	179862	+13.71	+16.20
	41824	2283	1328	829	249	189	46702	-3.24	+2.35

\* Due to Danish data protection laws the figures for employment incorporate estimates are based on firm data and therefore may underestimate employment.

\*\* Size group data for employment in Finland not available at five-digit level.

\*\*\* Year 2000 data not available for Finland at the timing of writing.

Source: Figures based on data delivered by Statistiska centralbyran (Statistics Sweden), Danmarks statistik (Statistics Denmark), Statistisk sentralbyrå (Statistics Norway), and Tilastokeskus (Statistics Finland).

sectors of the cultural industries in these countries. Thus growing demand and market size have laid the foundation both for firm expansion and new entrants. Second, the high levels of new entrants into these industries is seen by many industry sources as

symbolic of changing attitudes to the cultural industries. It is suggested by many in the industries that a cultural change has occurred, with the result that cultural industries are no longer seen as unprofitable lifestyle choices but rather as viable busi-



ness areas (Berranger and Meldrum, 2000). This, it is suggested, has led to an increased willingness to invest in the industries: both by people investing their futures in setting up firms and by venture capitalists/lending institutions investing in what were traditionally seen as bohemian fringes rather than business areas. The combination of market growth, new entrants and entrepreneurial activity will likely support greater competition and professionalism as well as attracting positive agglomeration and scale economies in areas such as labour and venture capital that may further fuel entrepreneurial activity. In addition to these two reasons, one may also suggest that a reason behind the often dramatic changes in employment levels, and firm numbers, observed may be the specific nature of the organizational change and restructuring gripping certain sectors. As mentioned above even job losses can have positive effects on the overall industry: for instance, the streamlining of large media organisations such as broadcasters and newspapers has in some sectors had very positive effects by increasing the supply of skilled workers and opening up new markets. Further research, however, is needed to test the validity of these conclusions.

### Regional and urban dimensions

Economic analysts and economic geographers alike have long argued that the spatiality of the economy has important effects both on economies (Sklair, 1994; Fujita *et al.* 1999; Clark *et al.* 2000; Knox and Agnew, 2002) and firm competitiveness (Porter, 1990; Maskell and Malmberg, 1999). It seems that worldwide the cultural industries are similarly characterised by spatial patterning and agglomeration leading many authors to suggest that for many firms involved in cultural industries essential competitive benefits arise from agglomeration in an urban area (Caves, 2000; Scott, 2000b; Hesmondhalgh, 2002). In this section the regional and spatial dimensions of the cultural industries are explored. Again standardised industrial data are used. Standardised regional data at 'municipality' level were available only at the four-digit level, meaning that, due to the higher level of aggregation, the data presented are not as descriptively accurate as those used for the tables and section above. On the plus side, by using the NACE four-digit level direct data comparability is ensured. As far as possible data from November 1999 were used as at the time of writing they were the most up-to-date available for most countries. However, in the

case of Finland the latest data available were for week 52 in 1998. Thus unless otherwise stated the figures below are for these dates. Data for 1995 were also used for all four countries so that changes could be analysed.

As may be seen from Fig. 1, the most obvious, and perhaps unsurprising, finding of this 'mapping' exercise was that the cultural industries are heavily oriented towards urban areas. Moreover the distribution of the industries' employment closely follows the urban system. Thus the national capitals and the larger cities account for the lion's share of cultural industries employment. Stockholm's central city area has the largest single concentration with 83 225 employed. The other capitals' central municipalities also have significant cultural industry workforces: Oslo, 52 173; Helsinki, 43 695; Copenhagen, 42 620. These concentrations equate to between 16% (Copenhagen) and 27% (Oslo) of the countries' total cultural industry employment. If one aggregates up to the county level it may be seen that the capital city regions represent even larger concentrations: Stockholm, 118 879; Copenhagen, 83 915; Oslo, 74 130; Helsinki, 71 337. At a national level this translates into the fact that the capital regions dominate each nation's total cultural industries employment: Helsinki 38%; Copenhagen, 32%; Oslo, 39%; Stockholm, 33%.

Location quotients, presented in Fig. 2, confirm that these cities have far higher concentrations of cultural industry activity than expected (a location quotient higher than 1 indicates higher than average concentration). Thus it appears that as in other countries (see e.g. Pratt, 1997b, 2002) the capital cities have a magnetic effect upon the cultural industries. The tendency for the distribution of cultural industry employment to favour the urban hierarchy may be further seen in the fact that the countries' other major cities also have substantial numbers employed, higher than average location quotients, and extremely high growth rates (see Table 3). Changes between 1995 and 1999/98 confirm that the urban tendency is likely to be accentuated further in the future. Virtually all the municipalities located near a major population centre grew strongly. As may be seen in Table 3, the capital cities again performed very well: Helsinki, 38%; Copenhagen, 7%; Oslo, 41%; Stockholm, 33%. The story is not only an urban one, however, as in all four countries some remote and sparsely populated areas enjoyed high growth rates.

Concentration, localisation and agglomeration of cultural industries in large cities has been taken

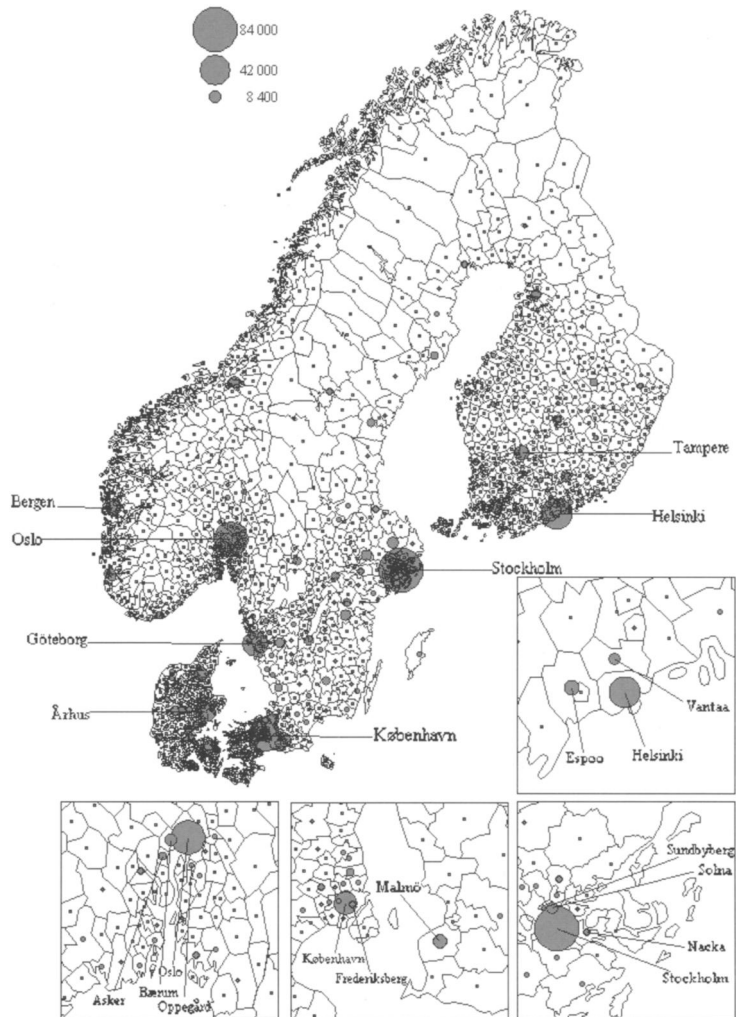


Fig. 1. Cultural industry employment for Nordic municipalities 1999. Data for Finland is for week 52, 1998.

by many as a sign that dense urban areas, and all that these bring with them, are a major precondition for successful cultural industries (see e.g. Scott, 2000a, 2000b). Analysis of the data confirmed this pattern: all but three categories (applied arts, fashion clothing, furniture) were highly concentrated in the capital city areas. Advertising, for instance, was highly concentrated in the central city area of all four capitals. In Finland 54% of the entire Finnish advertising business' employees were located in central Helsinki: 53% of Norway's in Oslo, 38% of Sweden's in Stockholm, and 29% of Denmark's in Copenhagen. This is perhaps hardly surprising as

advertisers the world over tend to favour highly centralised city centre agglomerations (Grabher, 2002a) in order to both work together on projects and to be near large output channels such as national newspapers and television stations. Indeed in all four countries advertising, broadcast media, photography and print media showed identical locational preferences (cf. Aspers, 2001). Further investigation at a more detailed street level, using business registers, revealed that in Copenhagen and Stockholm these four categories tended to micro-cluster together. Without further qualitative research it is hard to say, but one may surmise from

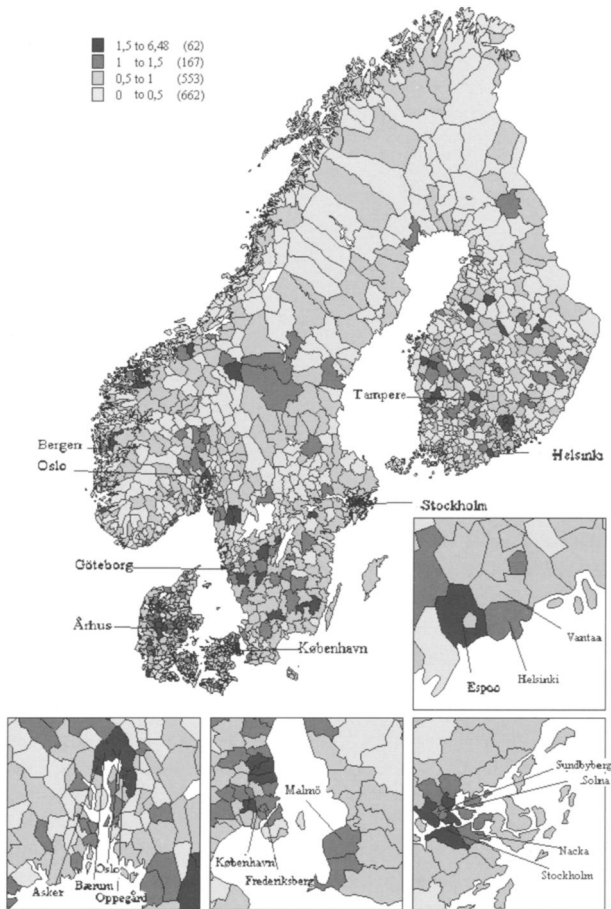


Fig. 2. Location quotients for Nordic municipalities 1999. Data for Finland is for week 52, 1998.

these patterns that such clustering or agglomeration lends the firms some positive business advantages: why else would these industries be so highly concentrated in high-cost central cities? These types of finding suggest further that one must conduct more research which aims at understanding how the different parts of the cultural industries are linked together within a loose industrial system centred in particular areas.

While in general it appears that urban agglomeration characterises many cultural industry businesses, there are some examples of rural or underpopulated areas where the cultural industries make a significant local contribution. When these concentrations are examined it is found that most often it is industries such as furniture, fashion clothing manufacturers, crafts, glass, cutlery and ceramics that form the majority of out-of-town cultural industry activity. The attraction of the smaller towns

and rural areas to these sectors/activities may be seen in all four countries. In general, these rural concentrations are not agglomerations per se but rather the presence in a sparsely populated area of a medium to large cultural industry firm: in particular those involved in art glassware and furniture. Where the firm grows sufficiently, however, it is common to see a diversification in the area's sectoral composition as related services and industries co-locate with their important customer. In southern Sweden, the example of the home town of the global furniture manufacturer/retailer IKEA, Älmhult, is perhaps paradigmatic (cf. Power, 2002). Älmhult is dominated by IKEA's operations but in recent years a significant number of advertising, design and media businesses have been set up or drawn to the town in order to service the giant. Qualitative research conducted shows that this pattern of a large design-led manufacturer attracting a

Table 3. The top 15 Scandinavian cultural industry municipal concentrations in 1998/1999.

	Municipality	Country	Total CI employment	Location quotient	% employment change 1995-98/99
1	Stockholm	Sweden	83225	1.75	+33.00
2	Oslo	Norway	52173	1.57	+40.60
3	Helsinki	Finland	43695	1.42	+38.02
4	Copenhagen	Denmark	42620	1.38	+7.08
5	Göteborg	Sweden	30218	1.28	+28.03
6	Århus	Denmark	21245	1.31	+19.47
7	Malmö	Sweden	16970	1.44	+23.82
8	Espoo	Finland	12655	1.51	+24.84
9	Bergen	Norway	11893	1.06	+19.41
10	Tampere	Finland	10998	1.29	+13.74
11	Odense	Denmark	10047	1.05	+10.50
12	Aalborg	Denmark	9609	1.05	+19.28
13	Turku	Finland	8916	1.16	+17.04
14	Bærum	Norway	8215	1.73	+35.96
15	Trondheim	Norway	7853	1.08	+34.06

Source: Data are for November 1999, except for Finland which are for week 52. (1998). Figures based on data delivered by Statistiska centralbyrån (Statistics Sweden), Danmarks statistik (Statistics Denmark), Statistisk sentralbyrå (Statistics Norway), and Tilastokeskus (Statistics Finland).

cluster of related cultural industry firms is common (at least in Sweden where research was done).

The 'one-horse town' model of rural cultural industries is not always true, as in many of those smaller or more remote municipalities with high location quotients one can see small cultural industry firms doing a variety of different things. When the related services category – which includes many of the core tourist industries – is added, the picture for most rural areas was one of substantially higher cultural industry involvement. Indeed, an interesting finding that holds true for all four countries is greater diversity of cultural industry categories in an area correlated with significantly higher average concentrations of related services: in particular hotels and restaurants. This supports the view of many regional authorities that cultural industry activity is an important plank in developing a local tourist industry. Cultural industry activity should therefore also be seen to have implications for other industries important to rural and remote areas.

In conclusion, it seems that most sectors of the Nordic cultural industries match the paradigmatic cultural industry model of urban agglomeration. This is not the entire story, however, for not every part of the cultural industries matches the stereotypical images we have of the urbane Madison Avenue advertising executive shuttling between busy power-lunch establishments or long-established images of Left Bank creatives huddled around city centre coffee tables. Rather the cultural industries are a diverse set of activities with a diverse set of working practices and preferences. In all four countries cultural industries may be said to have a strong

attraction to urban areas but an even stronger propensity to agglomerate; though less frequently, agglomerations and concentrations appear in rural as well as urban areas. It is suggested that the spatial patterns observed may be key to the development of the industries' competencies and success. This in combination with the fact that these activities are locally and nationally significant employers means they should not be ignored by analysts or regional economic development policy.

## Conclusions

Analysis of industrial statistics for four Nordic countries shows that in general the cultural industries make an important contribution to employment in each country. Moreover this group of industries has been among the fastest growing in each country. High growth rates are not the entire story, of course, as different categories demonstrated radically different trajectories, and major differences may be observed between the industries both at regional and cross-national levels.

One finding is that as clear national differences exist within every category no definite sectoral patterns may be said to emerge from the data. The broadcast media category (see Table 1) is a perfect example of these differences: in Sweden it is shedding jobs and its firm structure rapidly fragmenting; in Norway both employment and active firms have dropped by around 25% over a short period; in Finland there are fewer active firms but these are hiring steadily; and in Denmark the category is growing strongly but tending towards larger firm



sizes. Such differences warn us against the utility of the type of meta-narratives so common in analysis of the broadcast media (such as stories about Anglo-American centralisation and consolidation) and also warn us that industrial policy (such as European Union and national audiovisual policies) must be sensitive to the different needs of such industries in different regions and nations.

Despite all the differences in firm and employment growth rates it is relatively unproblematic to say that in all four countries these industries are dominated by SMEs: in particular very small firm sizes. In all four countries it may also be seen that overall growth is accounted for mainly by these smaller firms: either start-ups or very small firms taking on a few employees and so on. This of course may be explained in a number of ways: fragmentation and industrial change; or growing entrepreneurial activity that may be fuelled by a renewed entrepreneurial spirit; the increasing willingness of venture capital to fund cultural industries projects; changes in attitudes to making 'culture' one's business; or increased market demand and size. It is no surprise perhaps that it is small enterprises which dominate nearly all cultural product industries, since artistic or 'creative' work and innovation often ultimately depend entirely on the individual. At the same time one must also understand that the production, distribution and consumption of cultural products works within a collective framework (Becker, 1974; DiMaggio and Hirsch, 1976; DiMaggio, 1977; Casey, *et al.* 1996; Crewe, 1996; Scott, 1996; Garibaldi and Ortoleva, 1999; Scott, 2000b; Grabher, 2002a, 2002b) and that the myth of the isolated creative genius is usually just that: a myth. Thus industrial and regional policy aimed at the cultural industries is likely to work best if it takes as its starting point the idea that small firms bound together within networks, or 'clusters' (see Hallencreutz and Power 2003), best support both basic operational functionality and competitiveness.

Such a view is supported by the fact that in all four countries analysis of employment distribution, growth rates and location quotients suggests that agglomeration is a 'universal' characteristic of these industries' industrial systems. In all but three categories' urban areas, the larger urban centres attracted far more than their fair share of cultural industry employment. Data show that these urban concentrations perform substantially better in terms of employment growth or levels of relative decline. Even for industries such as the broadcast media, fashion clothing, jewellery and print media

which in most countries were laying off staff (see Table 1), it was the central city workforces for these industries that fared relatively better. It should be noted, however, that the cultural industries are not an exclusively urban phenomenon and high concentration rates were sometimes observed in small towns, rural and remote areas. This suggests that the collective nature of cultural industry activity as indicated above is often reinforced or secured by agglomerative spatial dynamics.

In conclusion, the Nordic cultural industries are growing at higher rates than the general economies in which they are embedded. Their propensity to agglomerate combined with their impressive growth record suggests that they should be considered as important contemporary and future growth engines within Nordic countries and regions. In short, 'an economic orientation to cultural policy is now needed: cultural industries as industrial strategy' (Pratt, 1997a, p.1914).

### Acknowledgements

This work was supported by funding from the European Community Improving Human Potential program under the contract number HPMF-CT-2000-00668. The author would like to thank Jörg Neubauer (Nordregio) and various individuals on the statistics boards of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden for their help in the preparation of data for this paper.

*Dominic Power*

*Department of Social and Economic Geography*

*Uppsala University*

*Box 513, S-75120 Uppsala*

*Sweden*

*Tel: +46-18-4712538 Fax: +46-18-4717418*

*E-mail: dominic.power@kultgeog.uu.se*

### Notes

1. For more systematic work on different definitions of the 'cultural industries' see (Breton, 1982; Mattelart and Piemme, 1982; Adorno, 1991; Wynne, 1992; Frey, 1994; Casey *et al.* 1996; Cook, 1996; Scott, 1997; Pratt, 1997b; Department Culture, 1998; O'Connor, 1998; Department for Culture and Regions, 2000; Kong, 2000; O'Connor, 2000; Scott, 2000b).
2. Due to privacy and data protection laws in Denmark the Business Register could not supply employment data for certain SIC codes. With the help of employees of Danish Statistics these data 'holes' were filled using estimates based on firm activity figures.
3. *Det centrale virksomheds register* in Denmark; *Tilast-*



*tokeskus* in Finland; *Bedrifts- og foretaksregister* in Norway; *Centrala företags och arbetsställeregistret* in Sweden.

4. It must be noted that some of the differences between the countries in the number of active firms and the propensity to set up firms reflects differences in the countries' taxation, company registration and corporate law regimes. Whilst such differences do of course have an effect, analysis of the data suggests that these differences do not effect each category equally indicating that underlying industry and market change are better explanatory variables than regulatory changes and regimes.

## References

- ADORNO, T. (1991): *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*. London, Routledge.
- ALMQUIST, K., ENGSTRÖM, M. and OLAUSSON, K. (1999): *Blandade Upplevelser: en förstudie om svensk upplevelseindustris möjligheter, med förslag till åtgärder – först rapport*. Stockholm, Stiftelsen för Kunskaps- och Kompetensutveckling.
- ALMQUIST, K., ENGSTRÖM, M. and OLAUSSON, K. (2000): *Blandade Upplevelser: en förstudie om svensk upplevelseindustris möjligheter, med förslag till åtgärder – rapport, andra upplagan*. Stockholm, Stiftelsen för Kunskaps- och Kompetensutveckling.
- ASPERS, P. (2001): *Markets in Fashion*. Stockholm, City University Press.
- BECKER, H. (1974): 'Art as collective action.' *American Sociological Review* 39: 767–776.
- BERRANGER, P., DE and MELDRUM, M. (2000): 'The development of intelligent local clusters to increase global competitiveness and local cohesion: the case of small businesses in the creative industries'. *Urban Studies* 37: 1827–1835.
- BJÖRKEGREN, D. (1992): *Kultur och ekonomi*. Stockholm, Gotab.
- BRAHAM, P. (1997): Fashion: unpacking a cultural production. In DUGAY, P. *Production of Culture/Cultures of Production*. London, Sage.
- BRETÓN, A. (1982): Introduction to an economics of culture: a liberal approach. In UNESCO. *Cultural Industries: A Handicap or a New Opportunity for Cultural Development?* Paris, UNESCO.
- BROSIO, G. (1994): The arts industry: problems of measurement. In PEACOCK, A. and RIZZO, I. *Cultural Economics and Cultural Policies*. Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic.
- CASEY, B. (1996): The media industries. In CASEY, B., DUNLOP, R. AND SELWOOD, S. *Culture as Commodity? The Economics of the Arts and Built Heritage in the UK*. London, Policy Studies Institute.
- CASEY, B., DUNLOP, R. and SELWOOD, S. (eds) (1996): *Culture as Commodity? The Economics of the Arts and Built Heritage in the UK*. London, Policy Studies Institute.
- CAVES, R. (2000): *Creative Industries: Contracts Between Art and Commerce*. Cambridge, MA., Harvard University Press.
- CLARK, G., FELDMAN, M. and GERTLER, M. (eds) (2000): *The Oxford Handbook of Economic Geography*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- COOK, D. (1996): *The Culture Industry Revisited: Theodor Adorno on Mass Culture*. London, Rowman & Littlefield.
- CREWE, L. (1996): 'Material culture: embedded firms, organizational networks and the local economic development of a fashion quarter.' *Regional Studies*, 30: 257–272.
- CREWE, L. and BEAVERSTOCK, J. (1998): 'Fashioning the city: cultures of consumption in contemporary urban spaces.' *Geoforum*, 29: 287–308.
- DEPARTMENT FOR CULTURE, MEDIA AND SPORT (1998): *Creative Industries Mapping Document*. London, DCMS.
- DEPARTMENT FOR CULTURE, MEDIA AND SPORT and DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENT TRANSPORT AND REGIONS (2000): *Creative Industries: The Regional Dimension. The Report of the Regional Issues Working Group*. London, DCMS.
- DIMAGGIO, P. (1977): 'Markets structure, the creative process, and popular culture: towards an organizational reinterpretation of mass-culture theory'. *Journal of Popular Culture* 11: 332–337.
- DIMAGGIO, P. and HIRSCH, P. (1976): Production organizations in the arts. In PETERSON, R. *The Production of Culture*. London, Sage.
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION (1998): *Culture, the Cultural Industries and Employment*. Brussels, European Commission Staff Working Paper.
- EUROPEAN UNION (2000): Decision of the European Parliament and of the Commission Establishing the Culture 2000 Programme. PE-CONS3638/99.
- EUROSTAT (1996): *Nace Rev. 1: Statistical Classification of Economic Activities in the European Community*. Luxembourg, Eurostat/European Communities.
- FREY, B. (1994): Art: the economic point of view. In PEACOCK, A. and RIZZO, I. *Cultural Economics and Economic Policies*. Dordrecht, Kluwer.
- FUIJTA, M., KRUGMAN, P. and VENABLES, A. (1999): *The Spatial Economy: Cities, Regions, and International Trade*. Cambridge, MA., The MIT Press.
- GARIBALDO, F. and ORTOLEVA, P. (1999): 'Cultural production at a turning point: what does convergence really mean?' Presented at *Cultural Work Within the Information Society*. Rome, 22–23 October.
- GIRARD, A. (1982): Cultural industries: a handicap or a new opportunity for cultural development? In UNESCO. *Cultural Industries: A Challenge for the Future of Culture*. Paris.
- GRABHER, G. (2002a): 'Cool projects, boring institutions: temporary collaboration in social context.' *Regional Studies* 36: 205–214.
- GRABHER, G. (2002b): 'Cultural production in projects. The project ecology of the London advertising industry'. Presented at The Association of American Geographers Annual Conference. Session: 'Cultural industries and the production of culture 1'. Los Angeles, CA, 22 March.
- GREFFE, X. (1997): La contribution du secteur culturel au développement de l'emploi dans l'Union européenne (The contribution of the cultural sector to the development of employment in the European Union. Brussels, European Commission (DG V).
- HALLENCREUTZ, D. and POWER, D. (2003 (forthcoming)): Cultural industry cluster building. In OINAS, P. and LAGENDIJK, A. *Proximity, Distance And Diversity: Issues on Economic Interaction and Local Development*. London, Ashgate.
- HALLENCREUTZ, D., LUNDEQUIST, P. and MALMBERG, A. (2000): 'Production of popular music: on the industrial geography of the Swedish music cluster.' *Nordisk Samhällsgeografisk Tidskrift* 30: 37–59.
- HESMONDHALGH, D. (2002): *The Cultural Industries*. London, Sage.
- HIRSCH, P. (1972): 'Processing fads and fashions: an organization-set analysis of cultural industry system.' *American Journal of Sociology* 77: 639–659.
- HIRSCH, P. (2000): 'Cultural industries revisited.' *Organization Science* 11: 356–361.
- KIBBE, B. (1982): Creative workers, cultural industries and tech-

- nology in the United States. In UNESCO. *Cultural Industries: A Challenge for the Future of Culture*. Paris. UNESCO.
- KNOX, P. and AGNEW, J. (2002): *The Geography of the World Economy, Third Edition*. London. Arnold.
- KONG, L. (2000): 'Culture, economy, policy: trends and developments. *Geoforum*, 31: 385–390.
- LARSSON, S. (1998): *Lokal förankring och global räckvidd: en studie av teknikutveckling i svensk maskinindustri [Local embeddedness and global reach: a study of technological development in the Swedish machinery industry]*. Uppsala. Geografiska Regionstudier nr. 35. Uppsala Universitet.
- LONDON ARTS BOARD and GREATER LONDON GROUP OF THE LSE (1995): *The Arts and Cultural Industries in the London Economy: A Report*. London, London Arts Board.
- MASKELL, P. and MALMBERG, A. (1999): 'Localised learning and industrial competitiveness.' *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 23: 167–185.
- MATTELART, A. and PIEMME, J.-M. (1982): Cultural industries: the origin of an idea. In UNESCO. *Cultural Industries: A Handicap or a New Opportunity for Cultural Development?* Paris. UNESCO.
- MILLER, D., JACKSON, P., THRIFT, N., HOLBROOK, B. and M ROWLANDS, (eds) (1998): *Shopping, Places and Identity*. London. Routledge.
- NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY PORT AUTHORITY (1993): *The arts as an industry*. New York.
- O'BRIEN, J. and FEIST, A. (1995): *Employment in the Arts and Cultural Industries: An Analysis of the 1991 Census. Research Report no. 2*. London. Arts Council of England.
- O'CONNOR, J. (1998): Popular culture, cultural intermediaries and urban regeneration. In HALL, T. and HUBBARD, P. *The Entrepreneurial City: geographies of politics, regime and representation*. Chichester. Wiley.
- O'CONNOR, J. (2000): The definition of 'cultural industries'.  
PORTER, M. (1990): *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*. New York. The Free Press.
- POWER, D. (2002): "'Cultural industries' in Sweden: an assessment of their place in the Swedish economy'. *Economic Geography* 78: 103–127.
- POWER, D. and HALLENCREUTZ, D. (2002): 'Profiting from creativity? The music industry in Stockholm, Sweden and Kingston, Jamaica. *Environment and Planning A* 34(10): 1833–1854.
- PRATT, A. (1997a): 'Cultural industries: Guest editorial'. *Environment and Planning A* 29: 1911–1917.
- PRATT, A. (1997b): 'The cultural industries production system: a case study of employment change in Britain 1984–91'. *Environment and Planning A* 29: 1953–1974.
- PRATT, A. (2000): The cultural industries: a cross national comparison of employment in Great Britain and Japan. In KAWASAKI, K. *Cultural Globalisation and the Cultural Industries: Experiences in the UK and Japan Research Report*. Tokyo. Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Japan.
- PURVIS, S. (1996): The interchangeable roles of the producer, consumer and cultural intermediary. The new 'pop' fashion designer. In O'CONNOR, J. and WYNNE, D. *From the Margins to the Centre: Cultural Production and Consumption in the Post-industrial City*. Aldershot, Arena.
- SADLER, D. (1997): 'The global music business as an information industry: reinterpreting economies of culture.' *Environment and Planning A* 29: 1919–1936.
- SCOTT, A. (1996): 'The craft, fashion, and cultural-products industries of Los Angeles: competitive dynamics and policy dilemmas in a multisectoral image-producing complex.' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86: 306–323.
- SCOTT, A. (1997): 'The cultural economy of cities.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 2: 323–329.
- SCOTT, A. (1999): 'The cultural economy: geography and the creative field.' *Media, Culture and Society* 21: 807–817.
- SCOTT, A. (2000a): 'The cultural economy of Paris.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24: 567–582.
- SCOTT, A. (2000b): *The Cultural Economy of Cities: Essays on the Geography of Image-Producing Industries*. London, Sage.
- SKLAIR, L. (ed.) (1994): *Capitalism and Development*. London, Routledge.
- STATENS KULTURRÅD (1998): *Kulturen i siffror – Kulturen i ett regionalt perspektiv*. Trelleborg, Skogs Botryckeri.
- STATENS KULTURRÅD (2000): *Om 2000 Världen: Kulturrådets omvärldsanalys*. Trelleborg, Berlings Skogs.
- WRIGLEY, N. and LOWE, M. (eds) (1996): *Retailing, Consumption and Capital: Towards the New Retail Geography*. Harlow, Longman.
- WYNNE, D., (ed.) (1992): *The Culture Industry: The Arts in Urban Regeneration*. London, Avebury.
- ZUKIN, S. (1995): *The Culture of Cities*. Oxford, Blackwell.