



# Evolving concepts and context

Many different terms have been developed on the topic of this Report: “creative economy”; “cultural industries”; and “creative industries”; others could also be added, including “content-based or copyright industries”, and “cultural or cognitive-cultural economy”. The different labels reflect and correspond to different analytical positions and ideological stakes, the history of which has been studied by numerous scholars of the field. Each set of terms, together with its antecedents and its interpretations, has become a terrain of lively expert debate.

It is important to note that these terms have come to be widely used in cultural policy circles. Many cultural actors and institutions also have adopted them in their self-descriptions, although by doing so they may be applying the idiom of “industry” to activities that are neither industrial in nature or scope nor profit-making (but instead require permanent subsidy). In some cases, identifying with this now fashionable category is thought to be a means of securing greater investment, political support and sometimes funding to sectors that have been historically overlooked. Yet, some people feel the terms have developed an ambiguous, buzzword quality that is hyped by politicians, seen sceptically by academics, and employed by artists and creative professionals when it suits their cause.

This chapter provides an overview of the development of the three most commonly used terms, namely the creative economy, cultural industries and creative industries, in order to establish a deeper understanding of the creative economy – what it comprises, how it functions, and its potentialities for sustainable human development. Our intention is not to reach a final

**“** *The creative economy is a mysterious animal: it’s found in many land habitats around the world; it mostly frequents cities, often searching out cultural quarters and clusters; moreover it seems to have many heads and appendages, and depending on where one is located it has many tongues. Policymakers talk it up; academics are inclined to talk it down, while artists and creative practitioners are ambivalent: if it helps their work to get noticed they’re happy to ‘talk the talk’.”<sup>1</sup>*

consensus about concepts, but to understand the nuances of the creative economy in order to support its advancement as a feasible option for development at the local level. This chapter also provides an examination of the context and contours of the creative economy as it pertains to social and economic development at the local level.

## » 1.1 DEFINITIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

### 1.1.1 CREATIVE ECONOMY

The term “creative economy” was popularized in 2001 by the British writer and media manager John Howkins, who applied it to 15 industries extending from the arts to science and technology. According to Howkins’ estimates, this creative economy was worth

<sup>1</sup> Michael Keane (2013).

US\$2.2 trillion worldwide in 2000 and growing at an annual rate of 5 per cent. The notion is and remains a very broad one as it embraces not only cultural goods and services, but also toys and games and the entire domain of “research and development” (R&D). Therefore, while recognizing cultural activities and processes as the core of a powerful new economy, it is also concerned with manifestations of creativity in domains that would not be understood as “cultural”. Before exploring the implications of this broader reading of creativity, however, it is important to examine the other two terms used in this Report.

### 1.1.2 CULTURAL INDUSTRIES

The term *Cultural industries* traces its genealogy back to earlier work in the Frankfurt School in the 1930s and 1940s, which scathingly decried the commodification of art as providing an ideological legitimization of capitalist societies and the emergence of a popular *culture industry*. Such pessimistic views of the relation between culture and capitalist enterprise are still held by some. This is notably the case on the Left, and particularly today in the context of the debate on the threat of global cultural homogenization. These views are also based on a view of culture and the economy as mutually hostile, each driven by logics so incompatible that when the two are made to converge, the integrity of the former always suffers. By the early 1960s, however, many analysts had begun to recognize that the process of commodification does not always or necessarily result in the degeneration of cultural expression. Indeed, often the contrary may be true, for industrially (or digitally) generated goods and services clearly possess many positive qualities. Hence, by the 1980s the term *cultural industries* no longer carried pejorative connotations of the earlier term and began to be used in academia and policy-making circles as a *positive* label. This referred to forms of cultural production and consumption that have at their core a symbolic or expressive element. It was also propagated worldwide by UNESCO in the 1980s and has come to encompass a wide range of fields, such as music, art, writing, fashion and design, and media industries, e.g. radio, publishing, film and television production. Its scope is not limited to technology-intensive production as a great deal of cultural production in developing countries is crafts-intensive. Investment in the traditional rural crafts,

for example, can benefit female artisans by empowering them take charge of their lives and generate income for their families, particularly in areas where other income opportunities are limited. All of these productive domains have significant economic value, yet also are vectors of profound social and cultural meanings.

### 1.1.3 CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

The term *creative industries* is applied to a much wider productive set, including goods and services produced by the cultural industries and those that depend on innovation, including many types of research and software development. The phrase began to enter policy-making, such as the national cultural policy of Australia in the early 1990s, followed by the transition made by the influential Department for Culture, Media and Sport of the United Kingdom from cultural to *creative industries* at the end of the decade. This usage also stemmed from the linking of creativity to urban economic development and city planning. It was given a first significant boost by the important work carried out by the British consultant Charles Landry on the “creative city”. A second and highly influential force internationally was the work of Richard Florida, an American urban studies theorist, on the “creative class” that cities needed to attract in order to ensure their successful development. This “creative class” is a very capacious grouping of many different kinds of professional, managerial and technical workers (not just creative workers in the cultural and creative industries), producing innovation of various types. Together they form a “class” that Florida took to be the fountainhead of innovative energy and cultural dynamism in present-day urban societies. In this perspective, cultural activities were seen primarily as amenities in the urban infrastructure that would serve to attract a mobile, professional labour force and provide an outlet for their highly focused and purposeful leisure time. After an initial wave of great enthusiasm, notably among mayors of cities in the United States, northern Europe and East Asia, the appeal of the “creative class” paradigm declined markedly. Scholars found that Florida’s thesis was not supported by empirical evidence and did not provide sufficient guidance on to the necessary and sufficiently durable conditions under which such skilled and creative individuals would congregate and

remain in any given place to become key agents in local and regional development. In addition, Florida himself recently admitted that even in the United States the rewards of his strategy, “flow disproportionately to more highly-skilled knowledge, professional and creative workers,” and added that “on close inspection, talent clustering provides little in the way of trickle-down benefits.”<sup>2</sup>

### 1.1.4 CULTURAL CREATIVITY AND INNOVATION

Critics of the creative industries agenda, and *a fortiori* of creative economy thinking, find that the terms tend to blur the boundaries between “creativity” in a very general sense and the expressive qualities that characterize *cultural* goods and services. They also find that the term “creativity” is used far too broadly. It is true of course that the term “creativity” itself has always been open to multiple definitions, and there have never been as many as there are today. Even in the domain of psychology, where individual creativity has been most widely studied, there is little agreement as to its nature and precise location, or whether it is an attribute of people or a process.

In a recent variant of creative economy thinking, some argue that the cultural and creative industries not only drive growth through the creation of value, but have also become key elements of the *innovation system of the entire economy*. According to this viewpoint, their primary significance stems not only from the contribution of creative industries to economic value, but also from the ways in which they stimulate the emergence of new ideas or technologies, and the processes of transformative change.

The creative economy should be seen, therefore, “as a complex system that derives its ‘economic value’ from the facilitation of economic evolution – a system that manufactures attention, complexity, identity and adaptation though the primary resource of creativity.”<sup>3</sup> In this view, the cultural and creative industries are trailblazers, nurturing overarching societal dispositions which stimulate creativity and innovation, working to the benefit of all. Critics point out, however, that the mechanisms enabling this creativity to radiate are never clearly identified,

although it seems entirely plausible that cultural expressions can be a source of ideas, stories and images that can be reproduced in other forms in different economic sectors. Recent analyses of input-output tables find only weak evidence that firms with supply chain links to firms in the creative industries are more innovative than those with no such links, but say nothing about what takes place in these engagements, and hence offer no clues as to causality.<sup>4</sup> It may simply be that more innovative firms buy more creative industry inputs, such as design, branding or advertising.

It is difficult to argue, therefore, that all aspects of economic, social or political creativity are generated *uniquely* – or even principally – by cultural and creative industry processes themselves. For this reason, the term ‘creative economy’ will be used in this Report to privilege activities involving *cultural* creativity and/or innovation. The bulk of the case studies and examples are therefore drawn from activities that could be also classified as *cultural* industries in order to uncover the increasingly symbiotic relationships between culture, economy and place. The emancipatory social potential of the latter is implicit in their very constitution and the wellspring of expression is itself a means to forms of liberation. This potential cannot be separated from factors that underpin the success of the creative industries in purely economic terms.

## » 1.2 CLASSIFICATIONS OF THE CULTURAL AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

A number of different models have been developed as a means of providing a systematic understanding of the structural characteristics of the cultural and creative industries. The use of the terms “creative and cultural industries” can vary significantly from one context to the next. Communities often challenge and seek to reshape prevailing models to suit the reality of their local context, culture and markets. The terms are therefore constantly evolving as new dialogues develop, and led to question, for example, whether and where to classify fashion shows, carnivals and video games in the cultural and creative industry models.

<sup>2</sup> Florida, R. (2013).

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, S. Banks, J. and Potts, J. (2008: 17)

<sup>4</sup> Oakley, K. (2009)

In recognition of this fluid context, the previous two editions of the *Creative Economy Report* reviewed a selection of models and highlighted the different classification systems and their implication for the creative economy. An

overview of these models is presented below in Figure 1.1, which encompasses both “cultural” industry and “creative” industry usages and therefore captures the breadth and diversity presented in this Report.

**Figure 1.1 Different classification systems for the cultural and creative industries<sup>5</sup>**

#### 1. DCMS Model

Advertising  
Architecture  
Art and antiques market  
Crafts  
Design  
Fashion  
Film and video  
Music  
Performing arts  
Publishing  
Software  
Television and radio  
Video and computer games

#### 2. Symbolic Texts Model

##### Core cultural industries

Advertising  
Film  
Internet  
Music  
Publishing  
Television and radio  
Video and computer games

##### Peripheral cultural industries

Creative arts

##### Borderline cultural industries

Consumer electronics  
Fashion  
Software  
Sport

#### 3. Concentric Circles Model

##### Core creative arts

Literature  
Music  
Performing arts  
Visual arts

##### Other core cultural industries

Film  
Museums and libraries

##### Wider cultural industries

Heritage services  
Publishing  
Sound recording  
Television and radio  
Video and computer games

##### Related industries

Advertising  
Architecture  
Design  
Fashion

#### 4. WIPO Copyright Model

##### Core copyright industries

Advertising  
Collecting societies  
Film and video  
Music  
Performing arts  
Publishing  
Software  
Television and radio  
Visual and graphic art

##### Interdependent copyright industries

Blank recording material  
Consumer electronics  
Musical instruments  
Paper  
Photocopiers, photographic equipment

##### Partial copyright industries

Architecture  
Clothing, footwear  
Design  
Fashion  
Household goods  
Toys

#### 5. UNESCO Institute for Statistics Model

##### Industries in core cultural domains

Museums, galleries, libraries  
Performing arts  
Festivals  
Visual arts, crafts  
Design  
Publishing  
Television, radio  
Film and video  
Photography  
Interactive media

##### Industries in expanded cultural domains

Musical instruments  
Sound equipment  
Architecture  
Advertising  
Printing equipment  
Software  
Audiovisual hardware

#### 6. Americans for the Arts Model

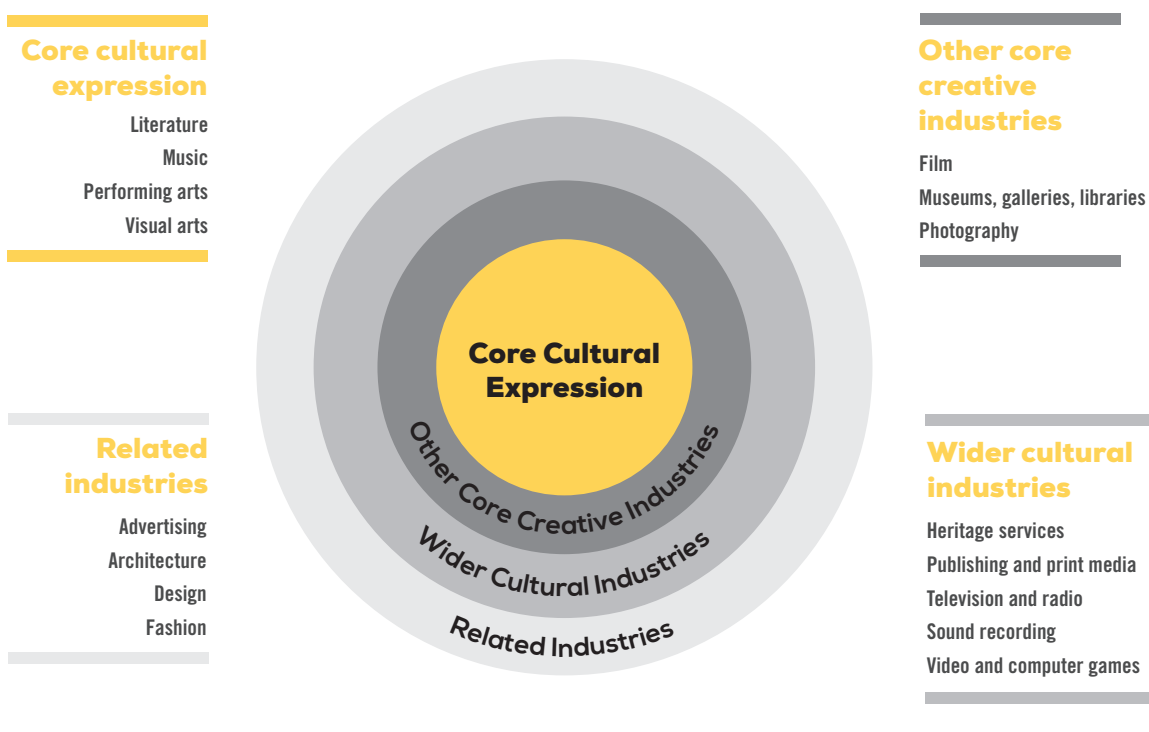
Advertising  
Architecture  
Arts schools and services  
Design  
Film  
Museums, zoos  
Music  
Performing arts  
Publishing  
Television and radio  
Visual arts

<sup>5</sup> CER 2008, 2010.

The cultural and creative industries have also been captured in various “concentric circles” diagrams. One of the

earliest and best known is that of David Throsby, presented below with two minor terminological adjustments.

**Figure 1.2 Modelling the Cultural and Creative Industries: Concentric Circles Model<sup>6</sup>**



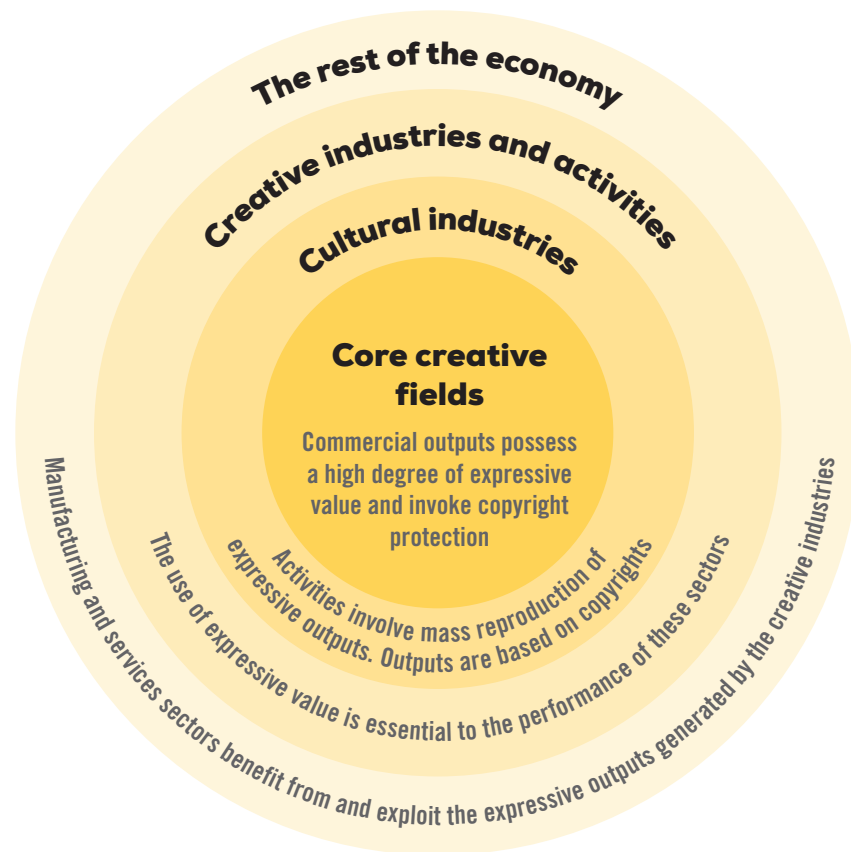
Two points need to be underlined with respect to figure 1.2. The first is that the boundaries between the circles are porous and each successive circle is increasingly shot through with aesthetic and symbolic attributes. Second, the term “core creative arts” used for the central circle should not imply that individual artists are alone at the apex of a hierarchy of creativity. At the start of the cultural value chain, individual artists and creative workers are often part of a broader enterprise whose process is initiated by managers, entrepreneurs, producers, intermediaries, etc. They depend on communities of practice. This is particularly the case in non-Western settings where the modernist notion of the individual endowed with extraordinary powers of autonomous expression often cannot be applied. Instead, cultural

expression emerges as a social process – creativity itself is social – that is elaborated in community contexts, so the central core should be recast as “core cultural expression”.

A more recent concentric circles model proposed by the Work Foundation in the United Kingdom usefully places the notion of “expressive value” at the core (figure 1.3). This includes diverse elements, including aesthetic, social, spiritual, historical, symbolic, and authenticity values. The model makes a distinction between cultural and the creative industries, placing both within the economy as a whole. It also has the advantage of capturing the close connection between creative expression and intellectual property/copyright.

<sup>6</sup> Throsby, D., (2001, 2008).

**Figure 1.3 The Work Foundation's Concentric Circles Model**



Source: Work Foundation (2007: 103).

## » 1.3 CULTURAL ECONOMY

The perspective that centres on the interplay between *culture* and economy has also been expressed in the notion of “cultural economy”. This way of seeing is important because it also encompasses the broader ways of life-understanding of culture by revealing how identities and life-worlds are intertwined with the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. It also recognizes that what we refer to as the “economy” is bound up with processes of social and cultural relations. In this sense, it reminds us that the economy itself is a part of culture.<sup>7</sup> There are several understandings of the term

“cultural economy” in academic circles. One of these bears a close resemblance to the concept of “cultural industries”: “the cultural economy comprises all those sectors in modern capitalism that cater to consumer demands for amusement, ornamentation, self-affirmation, social display and so on”,<sup>8</sup> and have high symbolic value (as opposed to a purely utilitarian purpose). Today’s urban and regional economies contain a major cultural-economy component that is apparent in specific sectors that have their own logics and tendencies, such as clustering and reliance on untraded interdependencies and tacit knowledge. Other interpretations remind us that there is no such abstract “thing” as “the economy”,<sup>9</sup> but rather that

<sup>7</sup> See Jane Pollard et al. (2011); also UNESCO (1996).

<sup>8</sup> Scott, A.J. (1999a).

<sup>9</sup> *The Economist* aptly noted in August 2013, “Economics is a messy discipline: too fluid to be a science, too rigorous to be an art.” *The Economist*, “Free exchange: boundary problems”, 3 August 2013.



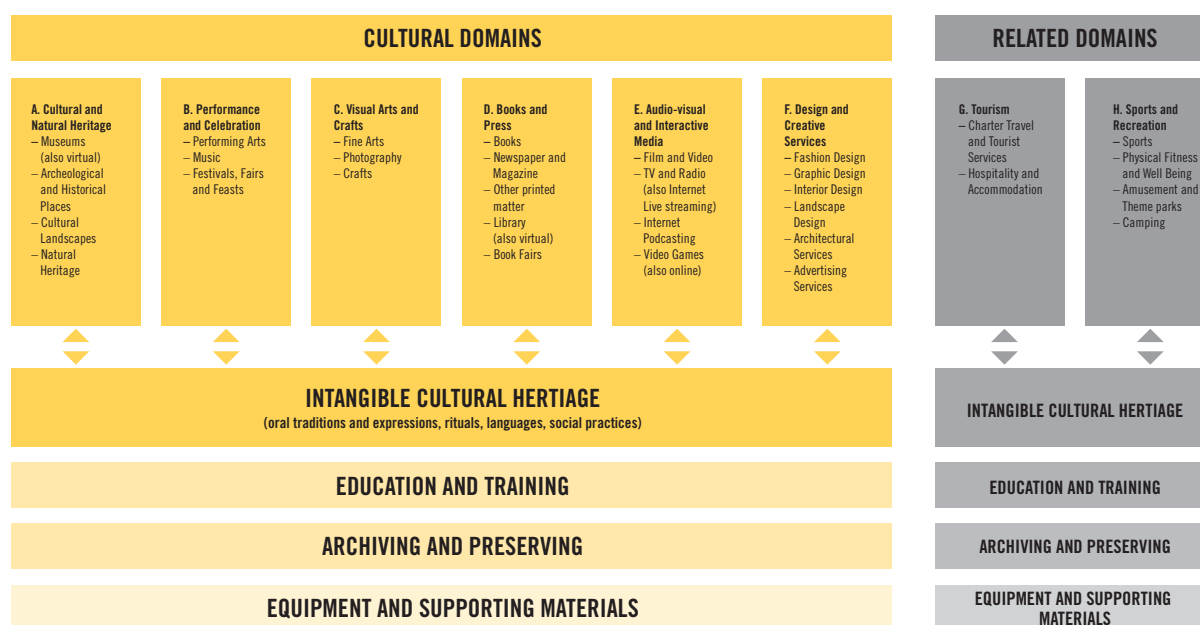
all human beings are caught up in rhythms, movements, relationships and exchanges of resources. These phenomena are grounded and lived, and guided by cultural norms and predilections. As we investigate the cultural and creative industries in diverse local settings around the

world, this perspective helps to deliver the conceptual reframing sought in this Report. The breadth and diversity of the cultural economy are captured in the 2009 UNESCO *Framework for Cultural Statistics* and illustrated in figure 1.4 below.

**Figure 1.4 UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics Domains**

## The Cultural Economy

Based on UNESCO'S Framework for Cultural Statistics



Source: 2009 UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics, p. 24.

## >> 1.4 CONTEXT AND CONTOURS OF THE CREATIVE ECONOMY

Modified policy responses are needed when addressing the creative economy as it differs from other economic sectors. Policy-making in this field has tended to follow generic industrial models, despite the fact that the creative economy functions differently. There is still too much of a cookie-cutter approach in this field, which harms regional and local specificity.<sup>10</sup> Hence, there are few current policy

frameworks that are well positioned to encourage such an approach. The creative economy differs from other sectors through its organizational forms and the market risk associated with new products. Micro-enterprise is more common in this sector than in others, particularly in developing countries; Yet even there, three layers are to be found: small independent producers; quasi-independent subsidiaries serving larger firms; and very large companies (often multi-nationals) in fields, such as film-making and publishing.

The creative economy is simultaneously linked to the

<sup>10</sup> Ross, A. (2009)

public, the not-for-profit and the informal sectors in ways that make it a complex hybrid. Moreover, only one aspect of the creative economy is expressed in price information and income, while other critical parameters of its success are more bound up with intrinsic values and identities. Its governance, then, requires an awareness of a kind of complexity that cuts across a range of policy concerns.

It also requires new approaches to the loosely configured, emergent networks of cultural producers and consumers that drive innovation. All of these are very different from the large-scale and highly visible institutions and interests that most cultural policies still tend to focus on, and which continue to be the source of subsidies and support.

Because the creative economy is difficult to manage and highly risky, larger organizations that can spread risk across a portfolio of products and services will find it easier to flourish. With physical goods, huge economies of scale are afforded to production and to the control of distribution systems, and are a significant barrier to entry. In most creative economy activities, real income comes from bulk selling and smaller and new entrants find it very difficult to break into established markets. Given the first-mover advantage enjoyed by the global North, this presents daunting challenges to any new entrant, especially in the global South, but it is also true that markets are created around goods and services that embody local idioms and motifs. In other words, the cultural and creative industries are naturally idiosyncratic, and benefit from the dynamics of imperfect competition. Yet, across all developing country settings, historical links, relationships and path dependencies are all crucially significant factors of success.<sup>11</sup>

## » 1.5 THE FORMAL AND THE INFORMAL

*A key feature of the creative economy, notably in developing countries, is its deep reliance on informal cultural systems, processes and institutions.* In developing coun-

tries, many creative workers, including musicians, artisans, performers, craftspeople and even professional designers and technicians, find themselves beyond the reach of official regulation and measurement. Many cultural enterprises operate “off the books”. The layer of governmental, commercial and civic institutions that is central to cultural life in advanced economies, e.g. public service broadcasters, museums, art schools, film studios, etc., is generally very thin, if not absent. Informality shapes the political economy of creative industries in developing countries, particularly as government capacity for subsidy and regulation is limited in these countries.

Collectives, micro-enterprises, vendor associations, clubs and guilds occupy the place of major cultural institutions and bureaucracies as creative agents tend to be smaller and less visible than their counterparts in the global North. These ground-level actors are less likely to interface with international arts/culture bodies or appear in the kind of data compiled by international agencies. Moreover, the intellectual property frameworks that have been central to creative industry policy in rich countries are not designed to protect many kinds of non-industrial creative endeavour, such as dance and textile design. In other words, there are often systemic asymmetries in the developing world.

What is more, a sizeable proportion of cultural production is impermanent by intent since it is designed for immediate consumption, e.g. rituals and ceremonies and accompanying cultural expressions that have both intrinsic value and a creative dimension. Such creativity cannot be framed in terms of intellectual property. To do so would be to reject understandings of the economy in which market mechanisms and trading practices are often mediated by the collective values of generosity or sharing. These values “complicate the neo-classical premises of economics regulating the transactions of everyday life cultures.”<sup>12</sup>

The link between informality, development and the creative economy is not a hard and fast rule, of course. Some developing countries are home to highly structured

<sup>11</sup> “Path dependency” is a concept much used today in evolutionary economics and in economic geography. As applied to the cultural and creative industries, the term suggests that the present state of socio-economic conditions and cultural-economic growth in any given place is highly dependent on the decisions, locations and dynamics previously affecting that place. It emphasizes that cultural and creative activities emerge organically from communities and places, and cannot be easily “invented” into industries. Assessing the potential of the creative economy in any given place therefore requires careful tracing of what has come before. In other words, the particularities of geography and history still matter enormously. For further information, see: <http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/puffert.path.dependence>.

<sup>12</sup> Bharucha, R. (2010)



and extensive cultural sectors, as can be seen in the example of Bombay cinema (Bollywood) or the Latin American recording industries. Equally, developed countries are home to many creative cultures, from handicraft

to hip hop, many of which are not institutionally supported and can thus be described as informal. However, given the comparatively larger scale of informality within the developing world, a global perspective inevitably requires

## CASE STUDY

### 1.1

#### **Informality, development and the creative economy: the case of Nollywood**

The Nigerian movie industry, commonly referred to as Nollywood, operates outside the established channels of screen financing, production and distribution. Since the 1990s, low-budget movie production has boomed in Nigeria, creating a vibrant screen culture that attracts a passionate audience throughout the country and across the whole of Africa. Every year many hundreds of titles, from thrillers to supernatural horror movies, are shot and released. Nobody knows precisely how many, but their massive popularity with audiences around the continent is universally acknowledged. The model of production and distribution is informal, yet it is also becoming increasingly professionalized. Films are scripted and shot quickly, often in a matter of weeks, then distributed on videodisc (VCD) through a network of small stores, markets and itinerant traders; movies are watched at home or in makeshift video clubs, markets, bars, etc. This informality has both advantages and disadvantages. It means that Nollywood has no official institutional presence outside Nigeria, and its existence is not even acknowledged in many surveys of international cinema production. Because it is disengaged from the international festival and sales circuit, its products are difficult to acquire outside Africa (although digital streaming via YouTube and pay-per-view sites is growing). Nollywood's informal structure makes it possible for films to be made quickly, cheaply and with minimal red tape, but it also results in instability and a fly-by-night mentality among producers. Weak intellectual-property enforcement in the early years led to widespread piracy but also to deep audience penetration. Research suggests that the industry's informal financing practices – in which production capital from one film is used to finance the next one, with no bank involvement – has worked well for smaller productions, but is increasingly a problem for more ambitious producers wishing to scale up their movie-making and attract audiences among the diaspora and internationally. At the same time, elements of the industry are increasingly organized. A complex system of guilds and professional associations exists, along with a highly developed star system and reviewing infrastructure. The Government of Nigeria is keen to support Nollywood, which it sees as a driver of employment and a source of potential export earnings and tax revenues. The National Film and Video Censors Board is proactive in industry development and has expanded its role from content regulation to industry advocacy. It is attempting, with mixed results, to regularize distribution and amass data on industry activity and has experimented with a licensing system for video clubs. As the status of the industry rises, scrutiny of these films grows. While Nollywood is now widely seen as the country's flagship cultural industry, some figures in government and the cultural establishment are uneasy with the poor production quality of most of these films, as well as their sensationalist stories; they would prefer to project a different image of Nigeria to the world. Many film-makers and intellectuals elsewhere in Africa are critical of what they see as the “dumping” of these rough-and-ready videos in their national markets and the “pollution” of the African cultural space that they see resulting from it.

– Ramon Lobato

some recalibration of policy settings and orientations. A different, indeed *creative*, policy approach is required for effective engagement with this sector.<sup>13</sup>

The first challenge for policymakers is to obtain reliable data on cultural and creative activities. Aggregated national-level data on cultural flows, inputs and outputs do not provide the kind of information needed to understand the dynamics of cities and regions and are not always useful when mapping local creative economies.

International survey data relying on responses from cultural agencies or governments are also of limited use. Cultural statistics are often patchy and unreliable as they are also designed to only measure those things that are deemed to be worth measuring, particularly to justify public funding. Hence, major creative industries in the developing world often have little visibility in international cultural-policy discussions (see case study 1.1 on Nollywood). These lacunae feed into a wider power dynamic between and within developing countries with respect to their representation in global arts and culture forums. Activities promoted at the international level, e.g. varieties of “world” music and visual art, often represent a selective sliver of the wider scene or arise as a result of brokering by connected individuals who understand the value of being captured in data and having official representation.

Given the difficulty of obtaining formal economic indicators at the local level, how can the vibrancy and scale of the creative economy be properly assessed? Unfortunately, there are no easy answers. Creative activity presents an empirical challenge as it is a universal human capacity and occurs across a very wide variety of public and private sites. Nonetheless, a few recalibrations of assessment methods can be suggested. For example, research in developing countries may benefit from contextualized, ground-level case studies, as showcased in this Report, which are often of greater use than large-scale surveys. Or, when using survey approaches, a snowballing design (the technique of using a small pool of initial informants to nominate, through their social networks, other participants who meet the eligibility criteria and could potentially contribute) may help to pick up the many unregistered creative practitioners embedded in local cultural networks.

The objectives of such work need not be comprehensive mapping.

*Methods that identify the connections between the informal and formal sectors will be particularly useful for policy development and analysis.* These connections already span many areas relevant to creative-industry development, including training, employment and urban planning. Creative economies typically rely on inputs from both the formal and the informal sectors of the economy. By the same token, it will be important to gauge how policy initiatives aimed at fostering creative activity in informal settings may shape the way these activities evolve and feed back into the formal cultural economy.

Positive cultural policy, whether in the form of subsidy, state-funded promotion or other kinds of official support, brings cultural activity into the realm of state oversight and bureaucracy. While such support is often actively courted by cultural producers and usually benefits the individuals and organizations involved, any such intervention will, by definition, change the way in which they currently operate. This is the “variable geometry” of informal economies: as regulatory and policy boundaries move, the dynamics of formal and informal activity shift in response. Policy attention is needed at all levels of government, from the local to the transnational. As in other sectors of the economy, strategies for formalizing labour relations and other aspects of creative work are likely to have positive outcomes in terms of encouraging investment and growth. However, the complexity of cultural infrastructures around the world means that the best policy responses are not always obvious or straightforward. Where a great deal of creative activity occurs under informal conditions, targeting specific actors for subsidy or promotion may have an unwelcome “museumization” effect, converting embedded aesthetic traditions into officially sanctioned spectacle. For all these reasons, then, informal creative activities require a different kind of policy thinking. Appropriate responses and interventions will vary widely from locality to locality. We will return to these issues in subsequent chapters as we explore specific instances of creative production.

<sup>13</sup> Lobato, R. (2012b).