

Culture on the economic policy agenda

Introduction of the creative industries policies in the Norwegian cultural political discourse - a document analysis

Marie Rønshaugen

Master thesis of Public Administration

Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences

Spring 2018



Summary

This thesis investigates the development of economic and industrial policies aimed at the Norwegian cultural sector, through the introduction of the creative industries policies.

Through its focus on innovation, economic growth and industrial policies, the protection of intellectual property and emphasis on the “creative workers”, creative industries policies have been argued to promote neoliberalism, and endorse neoliberal marketization of the cultural sector. This thesis aim is to discern how and why the creative industries policies are introduced in the Norwegian cultural political discourse, and how this introduction can be viewed upon in relation to the critique of the creative industries. The thesis also aims to explore how the introduction of the creative industries policies can be seen as a party political issue in the Norwegian cultural politics, based on the creative industries policies promotion of neoliberalism, the change from state interventions to the political issue of economic growth, and the connection to the British New Labour Government.

Based on a document analysis of six policy documents covering this initiative in the Norwegian cultural politics, the introduction and development of the economic and industrial aims is argued to be to a large degree formed by the creative industries-policies as described in the critical international discourse. However, in the Norwegian context, the choice of terms and rhetoric's are chosen to be different.

The findings in the present thesis suggests that definitions and argumentations behind the operationalization of the Norwegian “cultural industries” can be seen as defending state subsidies for the arts and culture and problematizing commercialization. At the same time, the content of the policies is argued to promote a broader use of markets to control cultural production with the aim to utilize the cultural industries in the development of the Norwegian economy, through economic growth in the sector. An explicit goal of introducing the creative industries policies is the harnessing of creativity from the cultural sector for transfer to other sectors to strengthen the adaptability and competitiveness of the Norwegian economy. This can be argued to be seen as an exploitation of the “creative workforce”, which in the context of the Schumpeterian workfare state, is exploiting unsecure employments to the benefit of a stronger competitiveness and a dynamic national economy, and furthermore as an example of the Regulatory state, where the use of state interventions are decreasing, in favor of regulations of flexible markets.

Keywords: Creative industries, cultural industries, neoliberalism, market liberalization, creative economy, creative precariat, creative workforce, Schumpeterian workfare state.

Acknowledgments

Five years of studies for my master's degree is over, and the ultimate finish line have been this last semester of writing my thesis. I want to say thank you to several people who have made my writing process much educational, exciting and fun.

First of all, I want to say thank you to my supervisor Atle Hauge. Despite your busy schedule, you have always been available to answer all of my small and big questions, always in a short time notice and always with enthusiasm. Thank you for introducing me to the exiting world of cultural politics and for your great advice, constructive critique and guidance in my work! I also want to say thank you to my "co-supervisor" in this topic, Anders Rykkja, for sharing your knowledge.

I also want to say thank you to my family and friends who have supported me with uplifting words through my years of study. A special thanks to Daniel, you are always so supportive of everything I do, and of course, you have helped me with this semesters` frustrations as well, and most importantly helped me laugh of my missteps. I also want to say thank you to our little boy or girl who have accompanied me every day with much energy through this last year`s semesters of studies, we can`t wait meeting you in two weeks!

Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1 The theme of the thesis and placing of the project in the research landscape	1
1.2 Previous work which have shaped the research question.....	3
1.3 The thesis research questions	3
1.4 Structure of the thesis	4
Chapter 2: Theoretical approach.....	5
2.1 The content of neoliberalism	5
2.1.1 From Keynesian “welfarism” to market liberalization	7
2.1.2 Globalization as a structure pushing forward neoliberalism.....	8
2.1.3 Limitations of the operationalization of neoliberalism	9
2.2 The Norwegian cultural politics and the liberalization in the 1980`s.....	10
2.3 The creative industries policy discourse and the connection to neoliberalism.....	13
2.3.1 The economic focus	16
2.3.2 Individual creativity and the creative workers - “the precariat”	19
2.4. Short summery of theoretical approach.....	21
Chapter 3: Methodological approach.....	23
3.1 Document analysis.....	23
3.2 Content analysis.....	24
3.2.1 Creating meaning of texts	26
3.3 The abductive method	26
3.4 The quality of the study	27
3.4.1 Validity and reliability	27
3.4.2 Limitations of the method.....	28
Chapter 4: Presentation of findings.....	30

4.1 Presentation of documents	30
4.2 Presentation of findings	33
Finding 1: A developing economic focus through economic mappings.....	33
Finding 2: Creativity from the cultural industries as a necessity to establish an adaptable and dynamic economy	41
Finding 3: A decreasing problematizing of markets and defense of state subsidies.....	47
Finding 4: Mismatch between terms and content	54
Chapter 5: Discussion of findings	58
5.1 Discussion of findings	58
5.1.1 The economic policy agenda of the “cultural industries”	58
5.1.2 The exploitation of creativity	62
5.1.3 Is the introduction of the creative industries` policies in the Norwegian cultural political discourse promoting neo-liberalism?.....	67
5.1.4 A strong state or “empty rhetoric’s”?	70
5.1.5 A natural development as part of the “knowledge-economy”?	71
5.1.6 Globalization as a structure pushing forward market liberalization	73
5.1.7 A party political issue? A re-idealization towards market liberalization in the Norwegian political parties	74
5.2 Summary of discussion and conclusion.....	76
5.3 Final perspectives on the study.....	77
6. Literature	79

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The theme of the thesis and placing of the project in the research landscape

In the last two decades of Norwegian cultural politics, a new policy area have evolved, which is connecting the two traditionally separate political issues of industrial- and cultural politics (Espelien & Gran, 2011). The connection between these two political issues have been much discussed and often criticized, where the core of the debate can be seen as being that cultural production should not be controlled by the logic of the markets (Flew & Cunningham, 2010; Kong, 2014). This argument is based on that cultural production have an important value of its own and for the society as a whole, which is also the arguments for why a large amount of cultural activities traditionally have been funded through state subsidies (Kulturdepartementet, 2017). As a part of the development of this “new” issue in cultural politics, a change has been identified from the traditional concept of the “arts and culture” and the “cultural sector”, to the introduction of the terms and policies surrounding the “creative industries policies” (Espelien & Gran, 2011).

In the international discourse several researches and commentators in the field of cultural politics have contributed to place these different terms in a political context, where these concepts have been argued to be connected to different political ideas (see for example Cunningham, 2009; Espelien & Gran, 2011; Flew & Cunningham, 2010; Garnham, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, Nisbett, Oakley, & Lee, 2014). The arguments are that with the development and introduction of the creative industries policies, the focus in cultural politics have been shifted away from state subsidies of the traditional arts and culture and towards innovation and a knowledge-based economy in the center of economic growth and industrial policy (Flew & Cunningham, 2010). Internationally, the policy discourse is now tending to settle around the creative industries ‘policies. Nevertheless, the positions of critical commentators and researchers are still widely differing. Much of the critique in international research towards this field is targeting neo-liberalism, and that the creative industries policies promotes neoliberalism as a political ideology and endorses neoliberal marketization (Flew & Cunningham, 2010; Hesmondhalgh et al., 2014). The creative industries` promotion of neoliberalism is, as part of the economic and industrial focus, connected to its explicit protection of intellectual property and the stress on the training of the “creative workers” through a large focus on the exploitation of creativity (Flew & Cunningham, 2010). A central theme of the creative industries policies is the categorization of several subsectors and the

further operationalization of these in policymaking, as the cultural aesthetic industries and the more digital and technical industries are all now included under the broad term of the creative industries. It has been argued that they could be better served politically when addressed separately (Kong, 2014). The criticism towards the operationalization of the creative industries occurs when these are all put together under one broad area in policymaking, despite their differences and needs of public support, and further, that the creative industries' policies therefore contributes to overlooking the traditional cultural sector. The critiques of the creative industries often goes back to the argument of that, through implementation of and being a part of the creative industries, the cultural industries are lost to capitalism (Cunningham, 2009).

The creative industries' policies was introduced by the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, under the British "New Labour" government (O'Connor, 2010), which have been made explicit through the departments publication of the much known "DCMS mapping", from 1998. This was the first systematic mapping of the creative industries and these industries impact on the national economy. The 1998 DCMS mapping had an enormous influence on both research and policymaking concerning these industries in many European countries, Norway included. In the DCMS mapping document the term "creative industries" was chosen and used explicitly, and in many ways marked a clear transition from the more traditionally used "cultural industries" (Espelien & Gran, 2011). The connection between neoliberalism and the creative industries is therefore seen in the context of the politics of the British New Labour, and has therefore been seen as a party-political issue.

The culture industry and the introduction of the creative industries policies in the Norwegian cultural politics discourse have also been a source of several critical arguments concerning the economic focus, marketization, digitalization and "capitalismization" of culture (see for example Gran, 2017). Despite these arguments, a review of this development in a Norwegian political context, analyzing and connecting these concepts by using political theories such as neo-liberalism, have not yet been done. Little research have been targeting the political initiated economic and industrial development of the cultural sector in Norway, how and why the creative industries' policies have been implemented in the Norwegian cultural policies, and by whom. The aim of the present thesis is therefore to contribute to this knowledge gap by analyzing the development of the economic and industrial political aims towards the cultural sector, and the content of the introduction of the creative industries policies in the Norwegian cultural politics from the first introduction of this initiative.

1.2 Previous work which have shaped the research question

The thesis research question have been chosen on the basis of previous work towards the economic and industrial development of the cultural sector in Norway. This thesis research question is in many ways building on the findings from a recent research project, which aim was to analyze the sector of the performing arts` understanding of and further use of economic and industrial motivated programs from the policy implementation systems, The Norwegian Arts Council and Innovation Norway. The findings, based on interviews with both organizations financed by the private market and institutions financed through state subsidies in the sector of performing arts, suggests that there exists a great tension between the politically promoted economic aims towards the performing arts, and the businesses and organizations artistic aims. The economic aims are thought of as undermining an independent artistic sector, not controlled by the private markets. Furthermore, practitioners in the field regards the economic aims not as an important part of cultural work (Rønshaugen, M. & Hauge, A, 2018). Although this tension between economy and culture is, and have been a part of the Norwegian cultural politics discourse (see for example Espelien & Gran, 2011; Gran, 2017), there is, what could be understood as a knowledge gap, or a lack of research that provides critical perspectives on this tension in a connection to political theories and research, as argued above. The research question is therefore chosen to potentially contribute to a broader understanding of this tension in a political context.

1.3 The thesis research questions

Based on the above, the overarching research question of the thesis is:

What is the content of the economic and industrial initiative towards the cultural sector in the Norwegian cultural politics, and how has this developed over time?

The main research question is operationalized through the following two sub- questions:

1. How and why is the creative industries` policies introduced in the Norwegian cultural politics, and how can this introduction be seen in relation to the critique towards the creative industries` as promoting neoliberalism?

2. With a background in the critique towards the creative industries as promoting neoliberalism and connection to the British New Labour government, can this introduction be understood, also in the Norwegian cultural politics, as a party political issue?

The aim of the thesis is to investigate the introduction of the economic and industrial political aims towards the cultural sector, through the introduction of the creative industries policies in the Norwegian cultural political discourse. Further how, why and by whom the introduction of these policies have been taken place over time. The aim of the thesis is therefore not to investigate the actual implementation of these policies, but how these are introduced in the Norwegian cultural political discourse.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

In chapter two, the thesis theoretical approach will be presented, which works as a framework and tool to answer the thesis research question. In this chapter theories of neoliberalism will be connected to the creative industries policies, as these are presented in the international discourse. This connection creates the basis for the discussion of findings from the document analysis.

In chapter three, the methodological approach chosen to answer the thesis research question will be presented.

Chapter four is a presentation of the findings of the document analysis. Four main findings will be presented and summarized.

In chapter five, findings from the analysis will be discussed in relation the theories and arguments presented in the theoretical approach. The discussion will be summarized and concluded in the end of this chapter, in addition to final perspectives on the study.

Chapter 2: Theoretical approach

The aim of the thesis is to analyze the development of the economic and industrial political aims towards the cultural sector through the introduction of the creative industries policies. In this chapter a theoretical framework will be presented, which will further be applied in the discussion of the thesis` findings and work as a tool in answering the thesis research question. First, general political theories concerning the content of neoliberalism will be presented, the change in the processes of governing from the “Keynesian welfarism” to market liberalization, which will work as a basis to understand the criticism of the creative industries policies. Further the historical development towards market liberalization in the Norwegian cultural politics will be described together with the development of this specific cultural political initiative. At last, critical perspectives from the international creative industries discourse and its connection to neoliberalism will be presented.

2.1 The content of neoliberalism

In the international discourse, there are several critical arguments towards the implications of the shift from the traditional term of the *cultural* industries to the *creative* industries, that have been identified in cultural politics. It has been argued that this is not a neutral shift in terms or labels, but there are both theoretical and policy stakes involved in this shift (Espelien & Gran, 2011; Garnham, 2005). The policy issues at stake in this shift, is the established ones towards the cultural industries that concerns the questions of why and how the state should intervene in the arts and culture (Garnham, 2005). Much of the critique of this shift is targeting neoliberalism, and that the creative industries discourse promotes neoliberalism as a political ideology, and endorses neoliberal marketization (Flew & Cunningham, 2010; Hesmondhalgh et al., 2014). Before describing the further content of the contemporary cultural politics surrounding the creative industries and its connection to neoliberalism, it is necessary to describe how neoliberalism can be defined and understood, which further contributes to a broader understanding of the content of creative industries policies.

The relationship between public politics and the private markets have not been static over the last hundred years, both in a European and Norwegian context there have been shifting political ideas shaping this relationship (Thorsen & Lie, 2007). Thorsen and Lie (2007) describes how the term “neo liberalism” can be seen as a particularly way of viewing the development of liberal thinking. A liberal way of thinking have dominated both normative

and practical political theory the last sixty years, where liberalism have been a common heritage among politicians, both of those who call themselves conservative, or socialists. Opponents to liberalism is now barely to be seen. In this way, neoliberalism cannot be seen as a continuation of liberalism (Thorsen & Lie, 2007, p. 33). It is therefore argued that “neoliberalism” should be seen as opposite to what is called “liberalism”. In the critical literature, neoliberalism is connected to economic liberalism. Economic liberalism is based on the idea that the state should not intervene in the economy, and that the state should hand over as much as possible to individual participation in open and self-regulated markets (Thorsen & Lie, 2007, pp. 33-34).

A much used definition of neoliberalism is made by the neo-marxist David Harvey in his book “A Brief History of Neoliberalism” (see for example Flew and Cunningham, 2010, p, 119 and Mydske, Claes and Lie, 2007, p, 42). Harvey (2005) defines neoliberalism as “a theory of political economic practices that propose that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey, 2005, p. 2). In the distinctions between public and private sector, neo-liberalism promotes the private, where the term “privatization” is essential. Further, neo-liberalism describes how the public sector is built on inspiration from the private sector, in terms of rhetoric and market mechanisms (Mydske, Claes, & Lie, 2007, p. 13).

Wendy Larner (2000), a much cited researcher on the issues of neoliberalism, claims that neo-liberalism is much more complex than have been recognized in the debates. Larner describes that the term “neo-liberalism” denotes new forms of political-economic governance, based on the further promotions of marked relationships where she uses the UK governments and the political projects of “Thatcherism” as examples (Larner, 2000, p. 5). Larner addresses her claim on the complexity of neo-liberalism by describing three different main interpretations of the concept; the interpretation of neo-liberalism as a policy framework, as an ideology, and neo-liberalism “through the lens of governmentality” (Larner, 2000, p. 6). Although all three interpretations of course promotes interesting perspectives on the policy-shifts in cultural politics, it is in relation to the aim of this thesis, neo-liberalism as a policy framework, which is the most relevant. Furthermore, because of the thesis refinements, I will not go into the other two interpretations of the concept. Larner further describes that neo-liberalism as a policy framework is the most common conceptualization of the concept. This understanding

concerns the shift from Keynesian welfarism to a promotion of operations of markets in the political agenda (Larner, 2000).

2.1.1 From Keynesian “welfarism” to market liberalization

Under the Keynesian welfare state, the states provision of goods and services was understood to ensure the national populations well-being (Larner, 2000). In the book “The General Theory”, John Maynard Keynes promoted a new understanding of the terms of creating economic growth in a market economy. He promoted an “anti-laissez-faire” perspective, by showing the need for state interventions in the marketplace to avoid economic crises. Keynes argued that there is no such thing as a natural relationship between supply and demand in the marketplace, and no natural harmony between private interests and socio-economical rationality. With Keynes, it was developed a legitimation of the state to intervene in the marketplace to create and recreate this balance, and he introduced the “interventionist state”, a state that controls the national economy and the society through financial, institutional and regulative interventions (Amdam & Veggeland, 2011, pp. 16-17). On the other hand, neo-liberalism is associated with the minimalist state. Neo-liberalism promotes that markets are a better way to organize the economy based on competition and individual choice. Central themes in the neo-liberalism discourse is deregulation and privatization (Larner, 2000).

Amdam and Veggeland (2011) describes how the traditional political governed plan state, known as the Keynesian interventionist state, is replaced by the regulatory state forms of government. The term “regulatory state” was introduced by Giandomenico Majone in 1994, in his article “The Emergence of the Regulatory State in Europe”, where he describes the decomposition of the plan state and its characteristics such as bureaucratically government and control, which was typical for the interventional state. Pollitt and Bouckaert describes (according to Amdam & Veggeland, 2011, p. 44) four strategies which is central in the regulatory state, which we now know to be the central strategies in today’s forms of governance. These four strategies is *maintain*, *minimize*, *marketize* and *modernize*. The strategy of maintaining the state is about keeping the state going, but reduce costs. Minimize is about making the state “smaller”, in terms of handling over tasks to the private sector. Marketize describes that the state’s outsourcing of tasks and making of the arms length bodies, and modernize describes the mixture of the three already mentioned. The background of the introduction of these strategies, was the international economic stagflation crisis in the 1970`s, which was seen as a sign of that the traditional Keynesian strategies for controlling the economy in the plan state, was no longer working. The politicians therefore needed to

look for other strategies, which was the start of the changes in government (Amdam & Veggeland, 2011).

Jessop (1994) sets focus on how the workforce is drastically changed from the Keynesian welfare state, to what he described as the “Schumpeterian workfare state”. The Schumpeterian workfare state’s objectives is to promote product, process, organizational, and market innovation in open markets, to strengthen the competitiveness of the national economy, by focusing on the supply-side. The social policy is here subordinated to the need of market flexibility, where the welfare rights, which was essential in the Keynesian welfare state, take second place (Jessop, 1994, p. 24).

2.1.2 Globalization as a structure pushing forward neoliberalism

Harvey (2005) describes that there has been a turn towards neoliberalism in political-economic practices and thinking since the 1970`s, where deregulation and privatization and withdrawal of the state to social provision have been embraced by almost all states. Harvey argues that the embrace of the neoliberalism, sometimes have been voluntary, but it has also often been in response to coercive pressure (Harvey, 2005). Many critics would connect neoliberalism to globalization. Several arguments is addressing that globalization and internationalization have changed the national states position and power in the global context. Bourdieu (2002) is connecting the term of “globalization” to his critique of the policy of “Depoliticization”. Bourdieu argues that what is contained in the term “globalization” is not an effect of inevitability, but of a “conscious and deliberate policy” (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 31). One central element in the process of globalization is a decreased power and authority to the national state, and increased power to international institutions, such as the EU. International trade and increased international cooperation have pushed forward liberalization and opened up the national borders (Mydske et al., 2007). Larner (2000) notes that the emphasis on markets is directly associated with the globalization of capital, where globalized production relations leaves the governments no other choice than to minimize their interventions (Larner, 2000, p. 7). This can be seen in close relation to what Harvey (2005) is describing as the national states embracement of neoliberalism, as a response to pressure, as noted above.

Giddens (1979) promotes a different perspective, which can be helpful in the study of the relationship between globalization, neoliberalism and the policymaking in a national state, in the field of for example, cultural politics. Giddens introduced the theory of structuration, where *“the concept of structuration, which involves that of the duality of structure, which relates to the fundamentally recursive character of social life, and express the mutual*

dependence of structure and agency” (Giddens, 1979, p. 69). Giddens describes how the duality of structure is about how the different structures of social systems are both the medium and the outcome of the practices that constitute them. The identification of structure as being constraining, is rejected, whereas structure is both enabling and constraining; “*structure is not to be conceptualized as a barrier to action, but as essentially involved in its production*” (Giddens, 1979, p. 70). In Giddens duality of structure, the *agency or the actors*, is not constrained by globalization, but is cognitive participants in the shaping of structure (Giddens, 1979, p. 70). As Giddens rejects that the structure is constraining, his theory of the duality of structure can be understood as a contradiction to the arguments above, as promoted by Bourdieu. Bourdieu sees the structure, here in the meaning of globalization, as being decisive for the actor’s behavior, which in this context can be understood as the political parties, the ministries, or the policy implementation system. In Bourdieu’s understanding, globalization is a deterministic structure, which is pushing forward neoliberalism, leaving the actors no other choice than to follow.

2.1.3 Limitations of the operationalization of neoliberalism

Neoliberalism have become a fashion word in the political discourse and in academia. It has been claimed that we live in the “era of neoliberalism” (Thorsen & Lie, 2007, p. 20). Nevertheless, there is limitations in the use of neoliberalism in political analyses, because there are no clear definition of what neoliberalism in fact is. An interesting note is that there is very few examples where neo-liberalism is viewed in a positive way, whereas almost everyone that writes about neoliberalism does so as part of a critique to the ideology behind the term (Thorsen & Lie, 2007).

Neoliberalism is argued to have become a phenomenon, which “manifests itself everywhere and in everything” (Hesmondhalgh et al., 2014, p. 3). Flew and Cunningham (2010) claims that the notion of “neoliberal globalization or a neoliberal capitalism” since the 1980’s, has become an “intellectual truism”, which is somehow become to true and obvious to question (Flew & Cunningham, 2010, p. 119).

Nonini (2008, 149) notes (according to Flew & Cunningham, 2010) that the term “neoliberal” have appeared so frequently, and have been used referring to almost any political, economic, social or cultural process that is associated with contemporary capitalism (Flew & Cunningham, 2010, p. 119). Furthermore, Nonini (2008) claims that there is an agreement among scholars that “whatever neo-liberalism is, they don’t like it”, and that the term tends to be used in a range of discourses, without the commentators having to clarify exactly what

they are critical of (Flew & Cunningham, 2010, p. 119). These weaknesses has been widely recognized, and because of its many variations and simplifications, the concept of neo-liberalization is by many become tiring. Furthermore, the concept of neoliberalism has been used as criticism from “the left”, although, very few declare themselves as neo-liberals (Hesmondhalgh et al., 2014, p. 2)

Despite these concerns towards the broadness and difficultness of using neoliberalism as a useful theory in analyzes, the term is used in the context of understanding as an analytical framework in this thesis. The term is operationalized through a delineation of neoliberalism as described above, first to Lerner`s (2000) definition of neoliberalism as a policy framework, concerning the shift from Keynesian welfarism to the promotion of markets. Further through Thorsen and Lie`s (2007) definition of neoliberalism as economic liberalism concerning that the state should hand over as much as possible to open and self-regulated markets (Thorsen & Lie, 2007, pp. 33-34).

2.2 The Norwegian cultural politics and the liberalization in the 1980`s.

In Norway the state have been described as “large” in terms of its strong and powerful position. Nevertheless, it has in the post war period, been changed by neoliberal reforms (Mydske et al., 2007). Mydske et al. (2007) describes that there have been a “re-ideologization” in Norwegian politics. Traditionally, the Norwegian political system have been built on very much stable conflict lines, based on a predictable right- left dimension. Nevertheless, there have been a clear development, towards a convergence between the Norwegian political parties, especially in relation to the right- left dimension, where the parties is moving towards the center. This development have been clearest when it comes to the left-wing parties, which seems to change their political profile towards an acceptance of the neoliberal political program (Mydske et al., 2007).

In Norway, the cultural policy have from the 1970`s been moving from a supply-side and focus on the artists, to a market- and consumer oriented policy (Mangset & Hylland, 2017), which can be discussed related to concepts of neo-liberalism. In Norway, traditionally, the cultural politics and industrial politics have been separated in two different political regimes. In the growth of the industrial society, cultural politics was viewed as a welfare policy area, where state interventions were compensating for market failure. Industrial politics on the other hand, was an economical instrument which aim is to stimulate the market mechanisms

(Ueland, 2009). The origin of today's cultural economics and the basis for interventions and state subsidies for the arts is widely understood to be the publication of Baumol And Bowen in 1966; *Performing arts: The Economic Dilemma*. Here they presented a systematic empirical study of the finance, costs and prices in theatres, orchestras, opera and ballet, in addition to employments and payments of the performing arts in the United States. They evolved what they called the "cost disease", which we now call the "Baumol's disease". The theory shows that rising costs of supplying the arts would mean prices having to be increased, thus reducing demand, leading to a shortfall of revenues from ticket sales. This "earning gap" would have to be covered by state subsidy or private patronage if the arts were to survive contemporary levels of both quality and quantity. If not, the arts would have to economize on the standards of production. Their argument was based on welfare economics, that the benefits of the arts are enjoyed not only by those who attend them, but also by the whole of society (Towse, 2010, p. 12).

In Norwegian cultural politics, the 1970's have been referred to as a decade where the cultural politics drastically changed (Mangset & Hylland, 2017). The cultural politics in the 1970's was new for different reasons, but the novelty do not directly reflect the start of the market orientation as mentioned above as was the case in the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, the changes in Norwegian cultural politics in the 1970's can be argued to be an early stage of what was going to happen in the two next decades. What is seen in Norway through the 1970's was that the cultural politics was now going to be integrated and function as an instrument in the general community planning. Furthermore, the cultural politics were to be decentralized from the state, to regional decision-making levels. As opposed to the shift from focus on the supply-side to a market and consumer oriented policy seen in the UK (Flew & Cunningham, 2010), in Norway, culture as an activity was seen as valuable in itself and not as an activity that should be seen in a context of the market-economy (Mangset & Hylland, 2017).

In the 1980's the clear distinction between the cultural politics and industrial politics as two different political areas gradually changed, and the idea that culture "pays off" emerged (Ueland, 2009). From the 1980's, the Norwegian politics were shaped by new ideas, where the reforms opened up to markets and private funding in new ways, and the cultural politics changed with this. In 1981, the Norwegian Labour Party (Arbeiderpartiet) presented a plan for the cultural politics for the 1980's, which was followed up in a new governmental document, presented by the Conservative Party (Høyre) when elected for government in 1981. In both of

these political documents it was promoted that the cultural institutions needed to increase their earned income, and work harder to obtain higher percentage of their budgets from increasing business support. The Conservative Party went further in promoting increased income from private markets, sales, commercials and private sponsorships, which were new elements in the cultural politics. Norwegian cultural politics had now entered a new phase, where the cultural institutions had to cooperate with several private partners. The 1980`s represented a shift in Norwegian cultural politics, where culture is seen as an instrument for further achievements (Bakke, 2001; Mangset & Hylland, 2017).

Bakke (2001) argues that the mixed system of public service and market elements in the cultural production is complicated, where on the one hand, the government is responsible for providing cultural goods and services to ensure equal opportunities for the citizens in cultural consumptions. On the other hand, the market system is based on each person`s right to choose among cultural goods and services. The welfare state is still strong in Norway and plays an important role in cultural policy, but increasingly, cultural production have been provided by private actors with commercial interests (Bakke, 2001, p. 20). Since the 1980`s most of the smaller businesses and institutions in Norway have had a mixed economy, where they increasingly have been forced to base its economy on the income from the private markets, whereas the state subsidies only partly covers the necessary income. Based on the structure of the mixed economy, it is a political aim that the cultural businesses and institutions also is part of the national economy. A convergence between culture and industrial politics can potentially create a conflict in how these sectors is treated politically, because of different characteristics and different needs (Jørgensen, 2013, pp. 9-10). The culture politics is rooted in cultures value in its own and its provision of cultural values. Culture is enriching to humans and society and have the aim to comment, reflect, criticize and challenge our understanding of our selves and the society (Kulturdepartementet, 2017).

The culture- and economy approach, was first put in the political agenda in 2001, by the socialist parties` minister of culture, Ellen Horn, and minister of trade and industry, Grete Knudsen, when they launched the document “Tango for two”. This was the start of a closer cooperation between the culture and industrial businesses and the wider economy. In the years to come, there were presented several political Action Plans and White Paper on this initiative. Today, with the current conservative government, the ministry of culture and the ministry of trade and industry has further cooperation`s on this field, where the policy

implementation system on both ministries, Innovation Norway and the Arts Council, are very much involved (Gran, 2017).

2.3 The creative industries policy discourse and the connection to neoliberalism

A central connection between the creative industries and neoliberalism, is often described as being the period of the “New Labour” from 1997 to 2010, under the administration of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, whereas the creative industries have been seen as “prototypical” of the New Labour’s governments “Third Way” ideology (Flew & Cunningham, 2010, p. 119).

For most commentators, the introduction of the concept of the creative industries and the shift in terminology from the “cultural industries” to the “creative industries”, is being traced back to the election of “New Labour” in the UK in 1997 (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007, p. 18; Howkins, 2002, p. 1). Hesmondhalgh et.al (2014) points out that this period of government in the UK has inspired more commentators than most. This was a long period of office, based on three election victories in 1997, 2001 and 2005, and that the two leaders Tony Blair and Gordon Brown were more charismatic than most (Hesmondhalgh et al., 2014).

The connection to the New Labour government, is based on the argument often mentioned, that the cultural politics, and the introduction of the creative industries was a political area which the Labour government used to distance themselves from the activist of the left-wing, such as the metropolitan councils in the 1980`s. When «New Labour» was elected in 1997, the first thing that happend was that the Department of National Heritage changed name to the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), which marked a new status for British cultural policy. The changing of the departments name, the development of the «creative industries task force» and the political «hype» towards the «Cool Britannia», is all associated with New Labour (O'Connor, 2010).

Flew and Cunningham (2010) argues, that the association of the creative industries with the the New Labour, have open up for the critics to directly link the concept towards the political ideologies of the “economic elites”. Despite the party’s previous history as supporters of socialist policies, the New Labour chose a rhetoric of the “third way”, which was heavily inspired by the neoliberal (Lall, 2012). The “third way” is described as actively promoting economic liberalization, market competition and deregulation. In this way the “third-wayers”, such as New Labour, has established the approach towards the “New right” or neoliberalism (Hale, Leggett, & Martell, 2004).

The policy impact of the creative industries is further based on some main factors and arguments, which is in a large degree promoted through the DCMS (Department of Culture, Media and Sport) mapping document, presented in 1998 under the New Labour in Great Britain, which was the first systematic mapping of the size of the creative industries. In the DCMS mapping document the term “creative industries” was chosen and used explicitly, and in many ways marked a clear transition from the more traditionally used “cultural industries” (Espelien & Gran, 2011). In the mapping, the creative industries was defined as *“those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property”* (British Council Creative Economy Unit, 2010, p. 16) and further operationalized with thirteen subsectors:

Advertising, architecture, arts and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, television and radio ” (British Council Creative Economy Unit, 2010, pp. 16-17).

This definition and operationalization can be seen as the core of the many discussions towards the creative industries, in terms of its great impact on policy making in several countries. First, there are critical arguments towards the broadness and all-inclusivity of the definition and operationalization of the subsectors, which makes it imprecise in further policy making towards these industries (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). Haraldsen et al. (2008) argues that this operationalization and definition have limited analytical value, which is based on that they do not contribute in identifying certain characteristics by one or a group of industries, and include a wide range of activities and businesses that often have nothing or little in common. This further lead in difficulties in developing a good knowledge base for policymaking (Haraldsen et al., 2008). The terminology that is being used in cultural politics, both international and in Norway, have been argued to be very much inconsistent and often confusing concerning the terms “cultural industries” and the “creative industry”. The arguments is targeting that when these are being use interchangeably, they are being given the same content and meaning (Espelien & Gran, 2011; Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). Researchers have contributed in defining these concepts and problematizing their content, highlighting their similarities and differences. Whether these concepts are defined separate with different content or not, have been argued to have further consequences in assessing the industries in operationalization, the perception of their importance in the wider economy and further as a basis for policymaking (Espelien & Gran, 2011). It is relevant to mention that there is a broad

agreement among researchers and commentators that there must be a strong theoretical basis for the definitions used in public policy, and as mentioned there is important consequences for how these industries are being measured, and the types of interventions that is being used (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007, p. 17). Hesmondhalgh and Pratt (2005) describes that the term industry in itself, is to be seen as contrary to the traditional cultural policies where the state subsidies plays an important role, whereas “industry” implies promotion of a broader use of markets to control cultural production. Further, Gran (2017) promotes critical arguments towards the connection of the terms “culture” and “creativity”, to the term “industry”, which is an expression of what is described as a “capitalismization” of the cultural sector, as the term “industry” naturally gives clear associations to economic activity and development (Gran, 2017).

The arguments concerning the promotion of neoliberalism is how these policies represent a shift in the prevailing rationale for cultural policy, away from culture, and towards economic and social goals (Hesmondhalgh et al., 2014). Further criticism therefore occurs when all these subsectors are put together under the broad term of the creative industries in policymaking, in terms of their differences and needs of public support, and further, that the creative industries therefore contributes to a neglecting of the traditional cultural industries in policy making. Many of the arguments is targeting that the core of the creative industries is being the arts-related subsectors, and the subsectors architecture and advertising is to be of more peripherally cultural importance. This is based on the basic understanding of what the cultural industries in fact are, what they produce and their further importance. The core of the cultural industries is that they communicate ideas and produce symbolic goods, rather than having a functional value. Activities like books, films, plays and music is therefore seen as part of the cultural industries, while advertising and architecture, which of course have symbolic content, but where the functionality of the product is most important, is not a part of the cultural industries (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). Hesmondhalgh and Pratt (2005) stress the importance in acknowledging that the main interest in the cultural industries are in fact symbolic and artistic in the nature of their output, and their products is having an great impact on our understanding of society. Furthermore, they point out that it is necessary to identify the boundaries between the cultural production and non-cultural production which they refer to as “provisional and porous”, and that these boundaries should be thought of in terms of the relationship between the utilitarian functions and non-utilitarian functions of symbolic goods. They further describe that there is, of course, a mix of utilitarian and non-utilitarian functions

in all industries, but when it comes to books, plays and fine arts, the non-utilitarian functions is much more important than the other functions of the product (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005, p. 8). Further, the people working in cultural production, often resent the thought of that what they create is a part of an industry, based on that this view subjugates the creative impulse to the demands of the marketplace. It can be argued that such an economical focus on culture, carry with it a focus on the economic potential on the production of cultural goods and services to generate output, employment revenue and to satisfy the demands of consumers (Throsby, 2001).

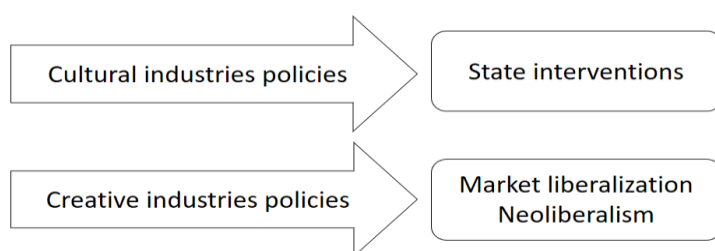


Figure 2.1. Arguments promoted in the critical international creative industries discourse.

Figure 2.1 shows how the arguments is connecting the cultural industries policies to a defense of that state interventions is necessary to control cultural production, and that the change to the concept of the creative industries policies is connected to market liberalization and neoliberalism.

2.3.1 The economic focus

The claims made in the DCMS mapping was that the creative industries represents the fastest growing sector in economic terms. Further, the connection to neoliberalism, is based on the creative industries policies` explicit focus on emerging markets, entrepreneurship and intellectual property. In the debates of the creative industries, the larger claims being made, is a critique to the political focus on that culture and creativity now have a broader socioeconomic significance, arising from the technological and economic substructures and global capitalism of the twenty first century. The creative industries discourse, is not only engaging with the public sector, but also with a range of knowledge- and service practices. The creative industries are described as having its locus in innovation and knowledge-based economies, in the center of economic growth and industrial policies (Flew & Cunningham, 2010, p. 118).

The creative industries discourse, have its basis in the comprehension of the discourse`s close relation to the “new economy” discourse. Either if it`s defined as the knowledge economy,

post-industrial society, information society, network society or post-Fordism, it has worked as an economic narrative for the last decades, in several advanced economies (Garnham, 2005; Lee, 2016). All of these concepts are common in that they are holding a future advancement of the capitalist market economy, which heavily relies on the flexible production of symbolic products, such as knowledge. It further promotes that the production should be driven by human capital and would take place in small firms and networks of individuals (Lee, 2016, p. 440) These terms is argued to serve a purpose within the policy discourse and policymaking. In other words, these are not neutral terms in a political context. Garnham (2005) argues that they are a “shorthand reference to (...) a range of supporting theoretical and political positions”, and further that the rhetoric’s assumes that we already know what the creative industries are, and why they are important and merit supporting political initiatives. Garnham`s argument is furthermore, that when choosing the term “creative” rather than “cultural”, this is an attempt by the cultural policy makers to share the “unquestioned prestige that now attaches to the information society and to any policy that supposedly favors its development” (Garnham, 2005, p. 16). The creative industries is to be seen as taking a great advantage of the new economy, based on that the technological innovations enables new relationships with both consumers and the public, based on new forms of customization, networks and collaborations (Cunningham, 2002). Digitalization can be seen as an essential factor that have overtaken the traditional concept of the cultural industries, the traditional arts and the commercial media such as film, broadcasting and music. As the cultural industries was developing through the technological changes of the early twentieth century, the creative industries can be seen as a product of the technological changes of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (Cunningham, 2002; Galloway & Dunlop, 2007).

The critiques of the creative industries often goes back to the argument of that, through implementation of and being a part of the creative industries, the cultural industries are lost to capitalism, and that the cultural industries have been set aside by the economic agendas carrying forward the concept of creative industries (Cunningham, 2002). Whereas the traditional cultural industries was a part of the cultural policy, the creative industries is incorporated in an economic policy agenda (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). The DCMS definition of the creative industries shows the economic direction, based on the understanding of individual creativity and the entrepreneur’s copyrights to new ideas. Flew and Cunningham (2010) argues that the definition of the creative industries by the DCMS, clearly takes a commercial orientation, when it prioritize creativity that can generate some intellectual

property for economic profit (Flew & Cunningham, 2010). The definition explicitly states that the creative industries have their origin in creativity, which have a potential in wealth and job creation through intellectual property. Intellectual property gives people the right to own the products of their creativity, ensuring that they can sell their product to the market (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). Towse (2003) argues (according to Galloway & Dunlop, 2007) that intellectual property now is viewed, specifically in the United Kingdom, as an organizing principle for defining the creative industries (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007, p. 20). Flew and Cunningham (2010) argues that this definition is worrying, because of that the focus on intellectual property for economic benefits is narrowing the focus on the activities' commercial value (Flew & Cunningham, 2010). The resistance to the concept of the creative industries have developed with a basis in a purely economic rationale behind the development of this concept. This is very much about how the concept of creative industries neglect the cultural industries when it is showing a shift to an exclusively economic agenda in terms of frameworks, policy aims and measures for success. Culture and arts are here only evaluated as drivers for economic growth and where the priorities are turned to those activities that makes the most economic benefits, rather than their cultural returns (Kong, 2014).

Inspired by the DCMS mapping, the first mapping of the cultural industries in Norway was done by the Eastern Norway Research Institute in 2004 (Haraldsen, Flygind, Overvåg, & Power, 2004) followed up in 2008 (Haraldsen et al., 2008). Here, the researchers consciously chose the term "culture industries" over the competing term "creative industries", introduced by the DCMS, which had further impact on how the term was understood and operationalized in the following years. This choice of term, was done in the time that the "creative industries" started to evolve and dominate around Europe. By choosing the term "culture industries", the industry in Norway was given a much more conservative definition and characteristics than in our European neighboring countries (Espelien & Gran, 2011; Ueland, 2009). In the Eastern Norway Research Institutes definition, the term "culture industry" refers to the activities that is argued to be at the core and essence of cultural production, as focusing on the communication through esthetics (see for example Throsby, 2001 and Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005), as the culture industries was here defined as "those industries that creates products where the primary characteristics is communicative" (Haraldsen et al., 2004, p. 18). Further, it can be argued that these mappings on the cultural and creative industries itself contributes to a "capitalismization" of culture, and the many mappings that have been initiated in Norway

since 2004, shows a development of the economic focus on culture, and the converging of the two policy areas of culture and industrial politics (Gran, 2017).

2.3.2 Individual creativity and the creative workers - “the precariat”

The difference between the “cultural industries” and the “creative industries” can be summed up in that the creative industries have introduced a broader use of creativity, and have placed both economic and social benefits of creativity on the policy agenda, where the cultural industries was traditionally state subsidized for their cultural return to society (Cunningham, 2002; Hesmondhalgh et al., 2014).

Galloway and Dunlop (2007) and Kong (2014) problematize the definitions based on the criteria's of creativity, as they are being used in the definition of the creative industries in policy making, and creativity is an ambiguous concept in terms of what constitutes creativity and the conception of it (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007; Kong, 2014). One of the main issues surrounding the use of creativity as a definitional factor, is that every industry is thought to be creative in today's knowledge society. This confuses the categorization of the industries subsectors, and further the operationalization in analyses and measurements (Kong, 2014). Galloway and Dunlop (2007) further highlights the problems in categorization of industries based on individual creativity, because any activity that involves some form of creativity would in fact be creative. In such terms, any innovation would be creative, and any industry would potentially be a “creative industry”. Their main argument is therefore that defining an industry against such a measure, is far too wide to be useful for any purpose (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). Kong (2014) argues that there should be an improved theorization of creativity and how it presents itself, and that more should be done to explore the concept of the sociality and psychology of creativity, and why this is essential in the these industries (Kong, 2014)

A central part of the creative industries discourse, is in the change in cultural politics, where the states interventions is to be increasingly replaced by the individualized approaches focusing on a flexible human capital. At the core of the creative industries discourse, is the development of a workforce of creative workers, based on a belief in that the creative economy through the creative workers enables the workforce to be more flexible and mobile. The creative workers, or the “information workers” is given power because their minds cannot be substituted by machines (Garnham, 2005, p. 21). The term “precariat” have emerged as a description of this “new working class”, a critical perspective, especially promoted by researcher Guy Standing described in his book with the title “The Precariat: The

New Dangerous Class” (De Peuter, 2014). De Peuter (2014) uses the term “creative precariat”, in reference to this new “dangerous class”, the flexible employed worker in the creative industries. He further promotes critical arguments on how these workers have been positioned as “role models of contemporary capitalism” (De Peuter, 2014, p. 264). The freelancers, self-employed workers in the arts, is here seen as figures of the 21st century capitalism, seen in a political economical perspective, promoting risk-taking, flexible employments and a governmentality that is expecting individuals to take on the responsibilities, that otherwise is carried by the state. The perspective of the creative workers as a role model of neo-liberal capitalistic priorities, is exemplified in the conditions of these non-standard workers, such as an acceptance of risks, blurry lines between work time and non-work time, a promotion of non-bureaucracy and work that have no guarantee for compensation (De Peuter, 2014, p. 264). De Peuter's arguments is relevant to see in the context of the Schumpeterian workfare state, where the Schumpeterian workfare state is to be seen as a clear brake with the Keynesian welfare state, as domestic full employment and welfare rights is de-prioritized in favor of the need of a market flexibility, to strengthen the competitiveness for the national economy (Jessop, 1994, p. 24).

Kong (2014) argues, with regard to the “creative workers”, that this work differs from other industries and businesses in many important ways. She promotes a deeper analysis that enables an understanding of the job insecurity and challenges that a flexible workforce would encounter, and understand the balance between freedom and precarity, certainty and risk, in an artist's work situation, and why they, despite these factors, continue working as they do. (p, 603). This workforce is typically made up by self-employees and freelancers with multiple employers, which have been labelled “people with portfolio careers” (Kong, 2014, p. 599). Critics argue that the positive focus on the “creative labour” has in many ways utopianized the work and life of creative workers, and augments the many difficulties that these types of working arrangements. These are, among other things, job insecurity and uncertainty, short-term contracts, internships, a weakened relationship between employer and employee, and other unstable work arrangements that are familiar in the creative industries (De Peuter, 2014, p. 265; Kong, 2014, p. 599).

The above must also be seen in relation to the celebratory discourses on the creative economy, where the academic consultant Richard Florida and his much known identification of the “creative class” is central (De Peuter, 2014). Richard Florida describes the importance of this emerging new social class in development of the society and communities. He argues that “if

you are a scientist or engineer, an architect or designer, a writer, artist or musician, or if you use creativity as a key factor in your work in business, education, health care, law or some other profession” you are a member of the creative class (Florida, 2002, p. 17 in preface). His argumentation is based on that creativity is the driving force of economic growth and that the creative class is now the most important class in society (Florida, 2002). Many community development strategies, also in Norway, has their aim on how to get artists and artistic environments to establish in the municipality, with a direct link to that the artists representing *creativity*. These are heavily inspired by Richard Florida’s popular strategies based on the creative class (Ueland, 2009). Pinheiro and Hauge (2014) found in their study of the translation of the global script CCI (Cultural and creative industries), that there are significant variations when it comes to the local translations of this broad global script (Pinheiro & Hauge, 2014). Ueland (2009) argues that the translation and implementations of these strategies, is based on a failure in theoretic understanding, and creates diffuse and partly erroneous policies. Kong (2014) argues, with the basis in that governments, national and municipal, have actively implemented policies which support the creative industries, that these have failed to discern the problems associated with them. This failure derives from both that the existing definitions often does not recognize that the creative industries also includes creative work in industries beyond the cultural and aesthetic, or that the creative industries has such a diverse selection of sectors, that implementing social and economic policy across all of these can become non-targeted and too fragmented. It can therefore be a danger of misleading policy and policymakers may blindly implement policies that encourage the concept of the creative industries, the cultivation of creative workers, and without addressing any problems of this policymaking, they could end up with very much negative outcomes (Kong, 2014).

2.4. Short summery of theoretical approach

The theoretical approach is introduced with definitions and descriptions of the concept of neoliberalism. The definitions described is further to be seen as a delineation of this broad term, which further works as an operationalization to make this term useful in the further discussion of the thesis findings. Neoliberalism is here delineated to the definitions of economic liberalism, which is based on the idea that the state should not intervene in the economy, and that the state should hand over as much as possible to individual participation in open and self-regulated markets (Thorsen & Lie, 2007), which further concerns the shift from Keynesian welfarism to the Regulatory state and the promotion of operations of markets

in the political agenda (Larner, 2000). Neoliberalism is also seen in relation to the pressure of globalization and put in the context of Giddens theory of the duality of structure (Giddens, 1979). Further, there is a description of the market liberalization and changes in Norwegian cultural politics from the 1970`s which further can be argued to be an early stage of the development in the two next decades. The next part of the theoretical approach presents the concept of the creative industries` policies, with a description of the content of the critical international creative industries discourse and the connection to neoliberalism, concerning the economic focus and the exploitation of individual creativity and the creative workers. The connection between neoliberalism and the creative industries` policies is being used as a basis for the further analysis of the content of the economic and industrial initiative in the Norwegian cultural politics, and the content of the implementation of the creative industries` policies.

Chapter 3: Methodological approach

3.1 Document analysis

The empirical base of the present thesis is a chain of documents chosen with the purpose of answering the thesis research question. In social research, document analysis is a much used method. Document analysis is a method based on a collection of data and information by intimately studying documents, relevant for the chosen research question (Mehmetoglu, 2004). The method used towards the analysis of the documents is an qualitative research method, which is suitable because of that the thesis research question requires a broader approach towards the data, to create a broad and rich understanding of the information presented in the documents.

For the empirical analysis of this thesis, secondary document data is used. What differs the secondary data from the primary is that the secondary data is documents that is “borrowed” from for example institutions, organizations, or people that have produced the documents, originally for another purpose than the research project. Secondary data is the most commonly used types of data, when using a document analysis as method. The primary data is where the researcher actively is engaging in the making of the documents, for example when giving a person the task of writing a diary, which will be used as data in the research project (Mehmetoglu, 2004).

The documents are chosen with the purpose of giving the most explicit development of the Norwegian cultural political initiative that concerns the economic and industrial aims towards the cultural sector, and the development of this initiative. Through this methodological approach it is possible to show how political ideas and aims are developing in time, in the relationship between culture and the further economic political issues, and which actors are pushing the development forward.

The documents chosen are therefore essentially governmental documents, presented by the Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Industry, and the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, with one exception, which is a report presented by the Governments policy implementation system of industrial politics. The chain of documents is composed of six documents. These documents have different statuses as Governmental pamphlet, report, White papers and Action plans. The documents will be further presented in the chapter “Document analysis- presentation of findings”.

For the building of the chain of documents used for this analysis, the timeline is essential. This is because the documents are chosen based on that they are following up on each other in time, which makes it possible to analyze the development of the initiative in the years that follows from the publication of the first document. The time of the documents publication, have therefore been leading for the selection process, much more than the political status of the documents. In the selection process of the documents, one of the documents was chosen as a natural starting point, because this have been known in the cultural politics discourse for its special role in the initiative toward economic and industrial aims. This is the first document of the document chain, “Tango for two”, and the publication of this document, works as a natural starting point for the analysis.

Some documents, such as the report and the Action Plans have a political purpose specifically in the economic initiative towards culture, but the White papers has a broader cultural political perspective, not only showing this initiative. In these cases, the documents have been delineated, and the parts concerning the theme of present thesis project are analyzed.

The term “chain of documents” is chosen because each document is referring to the previous, and is therefore building on each other, creating a chain. The concept of the chain of documents is referring to Bruno Latour’s “chain of transformation” in his work *Pandora’s Hope*. With the chain of transformations, Latour shows how the reference is developing along a reversible chain of transformations, between “matter” and “form”, what *is* and the *knowledge of it*. At every step of the scientific process, the reference is made through the reduction of and the further adding of a new understanding. Through each reduction of the data material, in this context text data, a further amplification is made (Latour, 1999, pp. 71-73). The knowledge made from the intimate reading process of the documents, is developed through a delineation and reduction of the text and themes, while being amplified when moving back and forth through the chain of documents. The analysis process is further described under the method of the content analysis.

3.2 Content analysis

The analytical work have been based on an intimate reading of the documents. The analytical method used is a qualitative content analysis, which can be defined as a “research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts, to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 18).

The content analysis is a widely used research technique, which have the purpose of interpret meaning of the content of text. There is different methods within content analysis, and essential in the separating of these, is their use of coding categories (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The content analyzing method used for this document analysis is to be seen as a mix of the two methods directed method and the conventional method. With the directed method, the analysis is based on some previous relevant research findings, which works as a guidance in the analytical work towards the creation of coding categories. This is often used when the prior research about a phenomenon would benefit from further description. With the use of a conventional method the coding categories is deriving directly from the text data, with no previous hypothesis or theory that affects the analytical work, where the researcher avoid using any preconceived categories (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

My argumentation of that both methods is used for the document analysis, is based on that the delineation and categorization of the text data is based on categories from, essentially the international research, which have worked as a guidance. Although the broad categories from the findings of international research was working as a guidance, there was not a specific hypothesis or theory that was to be tested directly, and the broadness of these categories was allowing the categories from the text data to develop and change through the analytical work. The analytical work is shifting between the previous research on the topic and the established theories, and the categories emerging from the text data. The analytical categories from the text data were further allowing a comparison of the development in relation to the content of the categories, which made it possible to follow the development in the political initiative, presented in the chain of documents. The findings of the document analysis are presented in the chapter “presentation of the findings”, and are separated into four main findings which are seen in close relation to the secondary analytical categories (table 3.2). The findings are exemplified with quotations from the documents.

Table 3.1. Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005)

<i>Type of Content Analysis</i>	<i>Study Starts With</i>	<i>Source of codes or keywords</i>
Conventional content analysis	Observation	Codes are derived from data
Directed content analysis	Theory	Codes are derived from theory or relevant research findings

Table 3.2. Primary and secondary analytical categories used for the document analysis

<i>1. Primary categories; categories from previous research used in the analytical work</i>	<i>2. Secondary categories; categories which presented themselves in the documents</i>
Neoliberalism, the relationship between markets and state subsidies	Problematizing commercialization
Economic focus	The specific content of the economic and industrial aims
Terms and their content; culture, industry, creativity	The understanding and explicit use of the terms creativity and innovation
Party politics	Which party presented the document
The relevance of economic mappings	The reference to economic mappings

3.2.1 Creating meaning of texts

What is important to note when working with content analysis of texts, is that the texts in itself have no objective, or reader-independent qualities. The meaning of the text arise in the process of someone engaging with them. This means that readers of a text could be creating different meanings. As the texts have no single meaning that could be identified for what they are, they have to be read from different perspectives. It is important to not believe that the message from the text, has no other than one meaning (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 22). The perspective that is used in the analysis of the texts to answer present thesis research question, is created through the primary categories which is described above, categories made from the previous research of this field. The data and further findings, must therefore be seen as part of this context. This is further described as a factor in discussing the reliability of the study.

3.3 The abductive method

Qualitative research is often said to be an inductive method, where the theory is developed from the data, which is opposite from deductive method, where the theory is tested in relation to the data (Thagaard, 2009, pp. 193-194). As described above, the content analyzing methods used for this analysis, is a mix of the two methods, directed method and the conventional

method, which also can be seen as a mix between the inductive and the deductive method. In the position between inductive and deductive method, is the abductive method, which is highlighting the dialectic relationship between theory and data. Here, the analysis of data has a central position in the developing of ideas, and the researchers theoretical basis gives perspectives towards how the data can be understood. The researchers understanding of the data, can both be connected to established theories, and to the researchers perception of data's content (Thagaard, 2009, pp. 193-194). This way of analyzing data is a much known method in a qualitative analysis of text, where known literature is used to contextualize the readings of texts, rearticulating the meanings of these texts in view of the assumed context. The research questions and answers are allowed to arise together in the involvement with the given text (Krippendorff, 2004).

3.4 The quality of the study

3.4.1 Validity and reliability

Reliability is seen in connection to the question of a critical assessment of if the project is giving an impression of that the research is performed in a reliable and trustworthy way, and is further referring to the replicability of the study. Although the relevance of replicability is questioned in qualitative research, it can be ask questions towards how good the quality of the study's data is (Thagaard, 2009, p. 198). The reliability of the present study can be seen as whether the operationalization of the chosen analytical categories could be used to draw similar conclusions by an independent reader and if it is possible for an independent reader to follow the logic that follows from analyzing the text data (Thagaard, 2009). Prior to reading the documents, the primary categories functioned as giving a certain perspective in the analysis. With this delineation of the documents, which is made through the development of the primary categories, the presumptions are made as explicit as possible.

Validity is referring to the interpretation of the data, and if the data can be seen as valid in other situations and not only within the frames of the project (Thagaard, 2009). The validity of the present study, can be seen as concerning the criteria's of the selection of the documents used for the analysis. The validity if the data is strengthened though the status of the documents as being public documents developed from public institutions. The documents are chosen on the basis of a belief that there is significant political weight given to them, which is further based on their role in the cultural political discourse. The political weight and the

documents relevance are made visible through the chain that the documents make, where the documents are referring to each other.

The report “Drømmeløftet” and the pamphlet “Tango for two” does not have the same political weight as the other documents, which are the White Papers and the Action Plans. “Tango for two” is given relevance in the chain of documents, as it was the first political document to introduce the study’s topic of interest to Norwegian cultural political agenda, as it is referred to as the introduction of the connection between culture and economy. The report “Drømmeløftet” is given political weight being presented by the Governments policy implementation system, and is to be seen as an essential document for the political aims to be set into life.

3.4.2 Limitations of the method

What could be seen as the main limitation of the methodological approach is the selection of the documents used for the analysis, concerning the six documents different status. This can be seen as a limitation because of the documents different roles in relation to the specific political issue analyzed in the study. Whereas the action plans plays a central role in the policy framing toward this issue, the White papers are giving a much broader perspective on the status of the cultural politics as a whole. The White papers is therefore delineated to a much larger degree than the other documents and the only themes in these documents, chosen for further analyzing, are determined by the primary choice of categories. The primary categories are in this way given a great significance, which narrows the scope in the analysis. As a consequence, the greater context, in which the abstracted themes originally was a part of may be lost in the delineation. The time perspective of the publications of the documents chosen for this analysis, stretches from 2001 to 2015. The findings from this analysis can only contribute to a discussion of policies that is promoted in these documents in this timeline, and not the current cultural political discussion of today. This is further discussed under the section of limitations of the study.

3.5. Ethical considerations

The text data presented in this thesis analysis have no identifiable information which can be traced back to individuals, and is only describing political parties and Ministries, and in one case the name of two Ministers. The findings is not concerning these individuals, and these are mentioned as representatives of their Minister posts at the time. The documents used for

the analysis is essentially governmental documents, which is freely available on the Internet through the Governments webpage. The report that is used is freely available on the Policy implementations system Innovation Norway's webpage. A further permission for using these have been decided as not relevant for this project. There are thus no ethical issues related to the present work.

Chapter 4: Presentation of findings

In this chapter there will first be a presentation of the six policy documents which have served as the empirical basis for the study, with a short description of what the aim of the document was, and which political parties and Ministries that presented them. Second, the findings of the document analysis will be presented, where parts of the findings will be presented as quotes directly from the documents.¹ Four main findings are presented separately, where the presentation of each finding will start with a short summary to make the content of the findings and argumentations behind, as explicit as possible.

4.1 Presentation of documents

1. Tango for two (2001) (Pamphlet)

The publication of the pamphlet “Tango for two” can be considered to mark the introduction of an economic focus in the Norwegian cultural politics (Tango for to).² This is stated in the political plan “From Entrepreneur to Cultural business”,³ (“Fra Gründer til Kulturbedrift” p, 2), presented by the Ministry of Culture, Ministry of trade and industry, and the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development which I will come back to.

The arguments presented in Tango for two are based on a consultation meeting initiated by the Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Trade and Industry, which took place in May 2001, with several central representatives from both the cultural sector and industrial businesses. The discussion was centered on questions concerning how, and if a collaboration between the cultural sector and other industrial businesses would develop creativity and trigger a creative potential and economic growth and in society as a whole. The thoughts and ideas from this meeting are presented with the aim to “*work as inspiration in the work towards an increased cooperation between the cultural and industrial sectors, which potentially can strengthen*

¹ The quotations from the documents is my own translations, which is essentially directly translated.

² Document from 2001; «Tango for two»;
https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/kkd/kultur/rapporter-og-utredninger/brosjyre_kultur_naring.pdf

³ Action Plan from 2013; «fra gründer til kulturbedrift»;
https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/kud/samfunn_og_frivillighet/rapporter/fra_grunder_til_kultur_bedrift_2013.pdf

both parts, and facilitate increased creativity and growth» (p, 3). The two ministers was representing the Norwegian Labour Party (Arbeiderpartiet). This is the first document analyzed in the chain of documents chosen to answer this thesis research questions.

2. White paper no. 48 “Culture politics towards 2014” (2002- 2003)

White paper no. 48 “Culture politics towards 2014” (Kulturpolitikk fram mot 2014)⁴ was presented in 2003, by the center-right “Bondevik” government, a coalition government and a minority government, based on a collaboration between the Conservative party (Høyre), the Christian Democratic Party (Kristelig folkeparti), and Liberal Party (Venstre). This document places itself as number two in the chain of documents for this analysis, and builds upon the previous document «Tango for two», as the document is said to continuing the work that was previously established (see page 118).

The status of a White Paper is to work as a report to the Parliament, of the political work in a specific field, or a discussion of future policy making. The papers and the processing of these, in the Parliament, often works as a basis for future propositions⁵. The aim of white paper no. 48 “Culture politics towards 2014” is to “*draw the main lines towards the cultural political priorities in the next decade, which means that it will focus on the states feature in the development of the field of culture in the years towards 2014*” (p, 7).

3. White paper no .22 (2004-2005) “Culture and the economy”

White paper no. 42 «Culture and the economy» (Kultur og næring)⁶ was presented in 2005, by the Bondevik Government. This was the last year of this sitting government, before the election was won by the Norwegian socialist labour party.

This document places itself as number three in the chain of documents for this analysis, and the premises for this document is mainly being made in the previous document, «Culture politics towards 2014» (p, 30). The aim of the document, presented in the introduction, is to give a *«holistic perspective on the relationship between culture, the economy and building of*

⁴ White Paper no. 48 “culture politics towards 2014» (2002- 2003)

<https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/stmeld-nr-48-2002-2003-/id432632/sec1>

⁵ Description of White paper; <https://www.stortinget.no/no/Stortinget-og-demokratiet/Arbeidet/Om-publikasjonene/Regjeringens-publikasjoner/>

⁶ White paper no .22 (2004-2005) “Culture and the economy”:

<https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/d52ff8142b7140c78a955eb9101c967f/nn-no/pdfs/stm200420050022000dddpdfs.pdf>

community» (p, 5). The government wishes with this to explicitly show the functions of the culture sector in a sustainable society.

4. Action plan “Culture and the economy” (2007)

In 2007, the Action Plan “Culture and the economy” (Kultur og næring)⁷ was presented by the socialist coalition government consisting of the three political parties the Labour Party (Arbeiderpartiet), the Socialist Left Party (Sosialistisk venstreparti), and the Center Party (Senterpartiet).

The document builds on the previous document, White Paper no. 22 “Culture and the economy” (2004-2005), which is described in the documents introduction (see p, 5). Three main focus areas from the previous document is followed up in this plan; first, the culture industries economic strength in its own “culture as industry”, second, cultures contribution to other industries, and third, culture as a main factor in community development (p, 5).

5. Action plan “From Entrepreneur to Cultural Business” (2013).

The same sitting government that presented the Action Plan in 2007, presented the plan “From Entrepreneur to Cultural Business” (Fra Gründer til Kulturbedrift)⁸ in 2013, which directly follows up on the initiatives from the plan “Culture and the economy” from 2007. The themes and focus areas in these two plans are to a large degree the same, building on many of the same arguments. The document “From Entrepreneur to Culture Business” is built on four main parts, where the first part is the development characteristics of the culture industries, where culture`s contribution to the economy is, again, a main focus area, such as the contribution to GDP, and culture as a competitive factor.

6. Report “Drømmeløftet” (2015)

“Drømmeløftet” is Innovation Norway`s arena for innovation-political debate, with the aim of providing knowledge, experiences and suggestions of relevance for future policy making. The

⁷ Action plan “Culture and the economy”, 2007:

https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/nhd/vedlegg/handlingsplaner2007/kulturognaering_handlingsplan_070625.pdf

⁸ Action plan “Fra gründer til kulturbedrift”:

https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/kud/samfunn_og_frivillighet/rapporter/fra_grunder_til_kulturbedrift_2013.pdf

report «Drømmeløftet- cultural and creative industries» (Drømmeløftet- kulturell og kreativ næring),⁹ is based on input from several actors in industry and in the cultural field, and is primarily based on input from the arrangement “Drømmeløftet Culture”, which was a collaboration between BI (Norwegian business school) Centre for Creative Industries, the Arts Council Norway and Innovation Norway (p, 1). This report is therefore different from the previous in this chain of documents, because it is based on input from the sector and has no status of a governmental document, as the previous. Nevertheless, it is chosen as being part of the document analysis, because it shows the focus of the current political initiatives in the relationship between culture and industrial businesses in the wider economy. Further, the policy implementation system can be seen as the most important instrument for setting the political initiatives into life. The report from 2015, because there has not been presented any new governmental plan on this focus area since the previous document from 2013. The organizations behind the document are Innovation Norway and the Arts Council. Innovation Norway is the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Fisheries’ policy implementation system, and is described as the Norwegian Government’s most important instrument for innovation and development of Norwegian enterprises and industry. It supports companies in developing their competitive advantage and to enhance innovation (Innovation Norway, 2018a). Innovation Norway have chosen the cultural and creative industry as one of six focus areas for the Norwegian economy (Innovation Norway, 2018b). The Arts Council is the Ministry of Cultures` policy implementation system, which provides economic project support and is a facilitator for development towards the arts and culture throughout the country, and is also councilor for the Ministry of Culture in questions on the field (Arts Council Norway, 2018).

4.2 Presentation of findings

Finding 1: A developing economic focus through economic mappings

Summary of finding

The first finding shows an economic focus developing, through the chain of policy documents, and that this focus is developing through a significant inspiration from the publications of economic mappings of the current time. The focus is changing from a promotion of cultures

⁹Report «Drømmeløftet»; http://www.drømmeløftet.no/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Kulturell-og-kreativ-n%C3%A6ring-2_underrapport.pdf

contribution to the economy¹⁰, to the establishment of the culture industry as a significant industry of its own and a significant part of the industrial politics.

In the documents presented before the first Norwegian economic mapping of the cultural sector, the focus is that the cultural sector has a great contribution to industrial businesses. This contribution is based on the cultural industries' premises and core knowledge, because the focus of the collaboration is directed towards the esthetics and design in product development with other businesses. After the publication of the first economic mapping, the focus is not longer on collaboration between culture and industrial businesses alone, but on culture being an industry with significance in the National economy. The latter understanding is based on measures of the industries' part of the GDP and socioeconomic effects. This notion is being amplified through the chain of documents, and the cultural industries are in the last document argued to be a significant part of the solution of, for example, challenges related to the decreased growth in the oil sector.

Presentation of finding

The background of the initiative towards collaboration between culture and industrial businesses, presented in the preface of «Tango for Two», is based on the argument that the *«future regulatory frameworks for development and growth increasingly should be developed in the intersections between the politics of industry, culture and welfare»* (p, 3), with the belief that these areas will be more strongly connected in the future. With this, the notion of a closer relationship between culture, industry and welfare is presented for the first time. The introduction of the idea of collaborative effects between sectors can be understood as being a prediction of the future, more than based on facts. The word «potentially» is used several times in the argumentations throughout the document Tango for Two, as described in the aim of the document presented under. This prediction of the future can be seen as natural, based on that this document represents the start of this initiative, where the arguments is based on inspiration from similar collaborations in Denmark. It can further be seen as a result of arguments not being based on any statistical analysis, which works as a basis for the argumentations in the further documents.

¹⁰ The term and references to «the economy» is in this context used as an English translation of the Norwegian word «næringsliv», and will be further used throughout the document analysis.

The notion of culture as an significant industry on its own is only a modest part of the first and second document in this chain of documents, “Tango for Two” in 2001, and “White paper no. 48- “Culture politics towards 2014” in 2003. However, the promotion of a collaboration between culture and industrial businesses, based on their contribution to each other, is explicit. The aim for “Tango for two” is to be a

“(.) inspiration in the work towards an increased cooperation between the cultural and industrial sectors, which potentially can strengthen both parts, and facilitate increased creativity and growth (...). At one hand, it (a cooperation) can strengthen the production level of Norwegian arts and culture, and offer the cultural sector new development opportunities. On the other hand, it can put speed into an industry development based on innovation, creativity and idea richness. It will also contribute in the strengthening our national identity and out international competitiveness» (p, 3).

Denmark is highlighted as a central source of inspiration behind this initiative, in addition to the input from the consultation meeting. It is described that the two ministries have used the experiences from similar political work in Denmark;

“In addition to the great input we got from the consultation meeting, the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Trade and Industry have also been inspired from likewise initiatives from other countries. We will first of all highlight the experiences from Denmark, where the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Business and Industry, got together towards a common culture- and business political statement- “Denmark’s creative potential”, which was presented in November 2000 by the Ministry of Business and Industry”(p, 9).

The main inspiration from Denmark is that it is there acknowledged that consumers need more than just functional and materialistic characteristics in products and services, but also the notion of a “*dream, story or lifestyle*” (p, 9). Industrial businesses therefore needs to “*produce goods that not only satisfies material needs, but also have a cultural added value*” (p, 9). “Cultural added value” is described as, that the production of goods and services is increasingly focused on giving the consumer more than just the material and functional sides, where the experience, entertainment, and esthetics of the products and services are increasingly important. Much space is given to several examples of collaborations, between

culture and industrial businesses, which is referred to as their experiences. Here, the focus is also concerning the development of culture as an industry on its own, but is based on different arguments than, as we will see, in the later documents;

«we think that a good collaboration between culture and industrial businesses will have a great impact on the development of culture as an industry, to regional development, and to innovation, creativity and in creating value. This is not just «taken from the air». We have experienced that it is so» (p, 10).

The notion of the cultural sector as being a significant industry on its own, is here still based on cultures contribution to industry, and the argumentations behind the importance of acknowledging culture as a growing industry is sorted into two main headlines; cultural innovation and good design. Innovation in culture is argued to have a great impact in the society as a whole. The cultural areas where innovation has a great impact, is described as being for example product design and innovative expressions in sound and picture. The implementation of innovation in these areas is argued to possibly be a major force in the economy. When it comes to innovative cultural expressions, the examples are Disney and Spielberg, whom uses a large amount of creative elements in their product development. Good design is argued to be a main factor to the competition in international markets, where good design is *“more often what makes the consumers pick one product before another”* (p 10). The focus on design is legitimated with a reference to the board of industry design, initiated in 2000 by the Ministry of Trade and Industry, which have stated that *“design is the futures most important competitive tool, both for the single business, and as a creator of national identity”* (p, 11). The focus on national identity is seen as part of a profiling strategy towards international markets as Norway have many great designers, which already have contributed with their competencies. Industrial businesses are here encouraged to take a greater advantage of the thoughts and visions of designers. This is exemplified in, among other examples, the collaboration between Ringnes and their production of the soda “Mozell”, where Ringnes in 2000, initiated a collaboration with the much known painter Odd Nerdrum, who painted the soda`s logo.

The arguments concerning cultures contribution to industry is continued from the first document to the second, White paper no. 48, “Culture politics towards 2014”, where the

aesthetics behind products is argued to be of great significance; “*there is a great interest in esthetic values in product development, branding, marketing etc.*” (p, 13). The arguments behind a collaboration are repeated from «Tango for two»;

«Industries are increasingly requesting values from the cultural sector, such as creativity, idea-richness and adaptability. In many industries there are great interest in esthetic values in (...) product development, branding, marketing etc. It looks like the esthetic values have become a more critical resource, and it is a much more esthetical focus on products, which earlier was not seen in such perspective» (p, 34).

It has, at the point of the publication of White Paper no. 48, not been initiated any quantitative analyses of the cultural businesses significance, industry-wise or as contributor into culture based development. It is made clear that more knowledge about the cultural sector and its economic significance is necessary in the further work on this initiative;

«It is not today a satisfying overview of the cultural sectors significance industry-wise, and what the creative industries means to the Norwegian economy and businesses value creation. Such knowledge will be important in the further development of this area. It can be difficult to measure the direct effects, but the Ministry of Trade and Industry will, in 2003, explore the possibilities to initiate work to increase the knowledge basis» (p, 118).

The documents basis for the argumentations can be understood as, in the same way as in the previous document, being based on a loose prediction of these industries` potential and significance in the future.

When moving to the third document, White paper no. 22 “Culture and the economy”, presented in 2005, the focus is taking a much more explicit direction towards seeing culture as an industry of its own, which now represent a significant part of GDP and further social economic political aims. The arguments is based on the first systematic mapping of the cultural industries in Norway, presented by The Eastern Norway Research Institute (Østlandsforskning) in 2004, the year before White paper no. 22 was presented. A new perspective on the cultural sector is being introduced, which can be understood as being based only on this economic mapping. We can see a significant difference in the understanding of the cultural sectors contribution, between the two White Papers (White paper no . 48, “Culture politics towards 2014 and White paper 22, “Culture and the economy”), which shows the

great influence that the mappings had on policy making in the field of culture. The direct reference to this first mapping in the policy documents following its publication shows the political weight given to it. In the introduction of White Paper no. 22 “Culture and the economy”, the reference to The Eastern Norway Research Institute`s mapping is made, with a presentation of its findings, such as;

«The Mapping of the culture industries in Norway shows that the culture industries` part of the employment and GDP is (...) twice the size of the agriculture industry, and over three times as large as the fishing industry (...)» (p,5).

A reference is also made to international mappings, that shows that the culture industries *«is about five percent of GDP in mean in different industrialized countries»* (p, 5), and it is further highlighted that the growth in these industries is about five percent every year. Which international mappings the quote refers to is not mentioned and their content is not further described. Nevertheless, the statistics is problematized. It is argued that measurements of employments and earnings in the cultural industries can be problematic, based on that the statistics that are being used is not differentiated enough, and all the relevant parts of the industries may therefore not be included (p, 5). This problematizing is not seen in the latter, nor the next documents, which can be understood as being a natural response to that this is the first mapping of this sector in Norway. The problematizing of the statistic is neither seen in the following documents, which can be understood as the increasing political weight and interest given to these mappings, undermines the problematic perspectives of the statistics made.

From the Action plan “Culture and the economy” from 2007, and to the last report “Drømmeløftet” from 2015, the notion of the significance of the culture industries contribution to GDP is being amplified. When moving from White paper no. 22 in 2005, to the Action Plan in 2007, the culture industry is now seen as an established industry and its significance to Norwegians economy is seen as an established political idea.

In the Action Plan from 2007 “Culture and the economy”, the economic significance of the culture industries as part of the GDP, is also described with a direct reference to the first mapping from The Eastern Norway Research Institute in 2004. The numbers and arguments presented here are based on the mapping, and are therefore the same as in the white paper no. 22 “Culture and the economy” (2004-2005).

“Already today, the culture industry is an important part of the Norwegian economy. A mapping from The Eastern Norway Research Institute, initiated by the Ministry of Trade and Industry, shows that the cultural industries, in language and literature, visual arts and living pictures, paintings and photo, commercials, hand crafts, theater, dance, music, architecture and design, including fashion design, is contributing to 3,5 percent of Norway’s GDP and is creating value worth 33, 6 billions Norwegian kroners each year” (p, 6)

It is further argued that the latest statistics is now getting old. A new mapping is therefore encouraged, as yearly statistics on the cultural industries are *“important for the development of future politics on this area” (p, 6).*

The comparison between the cultural industries and the industries of agriculture and fish industry is repeated from the White Paper no. 22 “Culture and the economy”, and the further argumentations made are regarding the high numbers of employees and businesses in the culture industries. As described in the quote above, the cultural industries are now seen, not as a new and interesting industry but as an established industry, that plays an important role in the Norwegian economy. This can be understood as a direct effect of the mappings on policy making and the arguments is legitimated in the political work which is now to be seen as knowledge based, and therefore can be stated as facts. As the arguments towards knowledge based policy making towards the cultural industry is only shortly described in the plan from 2007, it is viewed in an own chapter in the plan from 2013.

“Political decisions towards the culture industries should be taken on the basis of relevant and up-to-date knowledge on the culture industries. The policy implementation system also needs a good knowledge base behind its priorities and in its guidance towards businesses” (p, 28).

Further, it is described in which institutions this knowledge development currently is taking place and what kinds of initiatives are, taken, such as science and evaluation projects. The arguments made on that the statistics in these mappings might be problematic in several ways, as made in the previous document White Paper no. 22 “Culture and the economy”, is not commented in the document from 2007.

When moving forward to the action plan from 2013 “From Entrepreneur to Culture Business”, the many arguments of the culture industries significance to GDP is being much more explicit. The direct connection to the economic mappings is made through a reference to

the DCMS mapping from Great Britain, the first international mapping on culture industries economy, and its significance in the establishment of this view:

“The British mapping “cleared the way” towards an increased interest in the cultural industries` significance to the economy. In the years to come, it was conducted corresponding mappings in the Nordic countries, and the rest of the world” (p, 13).

Further, the statistics being presented is based on the numbers from the new mapping of Menon Business Economics presented in 2011, viewing the cultural industries` significance to Norwegian economy from 2000- 2009 ¹¹, where the categories for presentation of the statistics, is the employment level, payments and all together economic value creation. Under the headline “employment” (p, 14), three pages shows statistics from the Menon mapping, on how many people working in the culture industry, the number of businesses and the economic value creation from these businesses. Further, under the headline “value creation” (p, 17), the statistics on the economic value creation in the culture industry as a whole are presented. It is described that the economic growth in these industries have increased with almost 80 percent from 2000 to 2009 and it is highlighted that these industries are more stable and work intensive than other industries, *where payments makes 80 percent of the total (economic) value creation” (p, 17).*

“The value creation in the culture industries, in a large degree, follows the growth in Norwegian industries, but the growth have been more stable than in other industries. The “down turn” in 2002, does not seem to have hit the culture industries in the same degree as the rest of the Norwegian industries” (p, 17).

The arguments in these two documents are following the mappings of the current time, where the plans are directly referring to the statistics. The notion of the cultural industries is being established through the chain of documents, following the publications of statistic mappings of the current time. The cultural and creative industries, as they are now called, are in the last document “Drømmeløftet” from 2015 being introduced in the policy implementation system and in the larger strategic plans for the industry as a whole. Here, the cultural and creative industries are seen as a part of the solution to the decrease in for example the oil sector, based on its economic value creation, significant contribution to GDP and high employment rates. As described under the presentation of the documents, this report is built on an arrangement.

¹¹ Menon Business Economics Report; <https://www.menon.no/wp-content/uploads/23statistikkforkulturnringen2.pdf>

The arrangement that this report is built on, was opened with the words; *“It is for the first time reason to be optimistic”* (p, 4). This optimism was rooted in the new numbers from the mapping “Creating growth: Measuring Cultural and Creative Markets in the EU”, launched the year before, in 2014, which showed *“sensational results”* (p, 4). The results highlighted are that cultural and creative industries are the third largest sector in the EU when it comes to the number of employees, and it is 2,5 times larger than the car industry, and it has a yearly turnover of over five hundred billion euros. Furthermore, it is described that these industries have the youngest employees of all industries, which is especially important in the future economy (p, 4).

Finding 2: Creativity from the cultural industries as a necessity to establish an adaptable and dynamic economy

Summary of finding

The second finding shows that throughout the chain of documents a notion is developing of a direct link between the creativity and innovation found in the cultural industries to the necessity of creativity in the economy in relation to several socioeconomic challenges caused by globalization. The creativity and innovation is here described as a necessity to develop an adaptive and competitive economy, in the crossing-point between social and economic challenges caused by globalization.

In the first documents, where the focus is on collaboration between culture and industrial businesses, creativity and innovation is seen as the core factors in developing areas such as product development and design projects. Throughout the documents a notion is developing of creativity from the cultural industries is a solution to the challenges in industrial politics, concerning the need for an adaptable and dynamic economy, and is in its extent put in the context of problems surrounding the “elderly wave”, the decrease in the oil sector, and the need for innovation in the public and private sector. This development can be seen as a parallel to the development of the notion of the cultural industries economic significance, as described under finding one.

Presentation of finding

In the first document “Tango for Two”, the perspective of culture seen in relation to the challenges and opportunities of globalization, is being introduced. Collaboration between

culture and industrial businesses is presented as a necessity, which is rooted in fast changes in technology, economics and culture, changes that are results of the globalization of economics and the opening of global markets. It is described that collaboration between cultural and industrial businesses is “*necessary to meet the changes in society pushed forward by the global development*” (p, 9). Culture is seen as a contributor towards the businesses need for adaptability to respond to these changes, based on its core creative elements. The arguments are concerning product development as the focus is set to cultures contribution to the economy through “cultural added value” and “good design;

“The argumentation behind the stimulation of an increased focus on creative elements in the production of goods and services is easy. Businesses that produces goods and services with a cultural added value, will get access to greater markets and be better equipped in the meeting with the global challenge. This can contribute to that they will become more competitive and more profitable” (p, 5).

This could be understood as a promotion of that culture and industrial activities, is two different activities that can benefit from each other.

It is seen as natural for the industrial businesses to have an interest in the arts and culture, because it is necessary for their economic growth in global competition, through the mentioned “cultural added value”. The use of cultural aspects in product development, in this way, represents a major opportunity because it facilitates competitive advantage. Cooperation is here based on cultures role as a facilitator of development in the economy. In addition to these arguments, it is argued that a strategy towards using culture will possibly lead to a stronger national identity. A stronger national identity can be understood as being the result of the implementation of Norwegian culture in different products and services, which are sold in international markets, which, furthermore, will increase businesses competitiveness.

In the next document, white paper no. 48 «Culture politics towards 2014», the arguments behind a collaboration is repeated from «Tango for two»;

«The economy is increasingly requesting values from the cultural sector, such as creativity, idea-richness and adaptability. In many industries there is a great interest in esthetic values in (...) product development, branding, marketing etc. It looks like the

esthetic values have become a more critical resource, and it is a much more esthetical focus on products, which earlier was not seen in such a perspective» (p, 34)

What was seen as a possibility for the future in «Tango for Two», is here stated as a fact, that the economy is now requesting these core values from the cultural sector, such as creativity and innovation. Creativity from the cultural sector is seen as essential in development and competitiveness in the economy, through collaborations in product development. Through collaborations with the industrial businesses, the cultural sector can increase their income from the markets, which again is positive for the level of cultural production and for the consumers to experience even more culture (p 117). Some examples is mentioned, which among others, is that the known brand «Armani», now can present its clothing lines in the Guggenheim museum in New York. The alliance between culture and industrial businesses is described as;

«opening up to, in one way, new development and solutions in terms of financing, employments and presenting. In other ways, the art sector, and the society in a broader sense, can benefit from an esthetization of the economy, more than the financial gains through more competitive businesses» (p, 34).

These arguments is exemplified with cultures cooperation's with industrial businesses, where new financing sources is a source to new artistic projects.

When moving to the third document, the Action Plan "Culture and the economy" from 2007, the focus and rhetoric's on creativity and innovation is changing. Whereas the earlier perspective have been focusing on creativity from the cultural sector as a contribution to the economy through collaborations in product development, the further perspectives are extended to the notion of that the creativity from the cultural industries, is a part of the solution to the changes caused by globalization. This is, as seen earlier, based on the arguments of that the economy needs to be adaptive and innovative to respond to the changes that globalization is creating, and that the cultural industries are the most innovative. It is here developed a notion of a direct link between creativity found in the cultural industries, and the creativity and innovation that is needed in the economy's meeting with challenges of globalization and international competition. This could be understood as promoting a quite different use and further understanding of what the cultural industries in fact can contribute with, and what their knowledge in fact is.

In this document, it is explicitly described that creativity from the cultural industries, is seen as an important advantage in the development of an innovative and dynamic economy, which is built on the arguments of that the cultural industries are “(...) *throughout innovative*” (p, 6). The plan builds on the argument that innovation is a central characteristic in the cultural industries, which connects the culture industries to the arguments of that innovation is much important in facing globalization. This is made clear in the reference to the Soria-Moria declaration, where it is highlighted that the national economy needs to be dynamic and innovative. The Soria- Moria declaration is the document that works as a basis for the collaboration between the three elected political parties, for the next four years;

“In the Soria-Moria declaration, the government is determined that Norway is going to be of one the leading, innovative, dynamic and knowledge based economies in the world, in those areas where we have an advantage. The cultural industries and culture based industry development is great examples on economic areas, which can contribute to more creativity, and innovation to society” (p, 6).

The results of globalization processes is that businesses need to increase their abilities to innovate, and creativity is here essential.

“(..) Creativity and an ability to adapt is crucial. Creativity is a characteristic that often is to find in the cultural sector” (p, 6).

The notion of culture as facilitator for competitiveness is continued and further extended in the document from 2013 “From Entrepreneur to Culture business”. Creativity and innovation from the culture industries, is first connected to changes and insecurity in the international markets;

“The Norwegian economy is solid, the unemployment is low, and have been stabile the last year. But, we also have challenges. International economy is unsecure. Several of our trade partners is experiencing low economic growth and great challenges in the finance and labor market. We cannot do much to what is coming as an “economic storm” from abroad. It will come several crisis and downward business cycles. What we can do, is to prepare us self and build an adaptable economy. Therefore, it is important that the industrial politics is shaped in the way where the Norwegian economy is “equipped” to handle the changes that is coming” (p, 8-9).

Creativity and innovation from the cultural industries is now seen as part of the solution of the future challenges in population growth and climate change, in addition to globalization.

“To meet the futures challenges, climate change, the increasing growth in population, the “elderly wave” and globalization, we need to readjust. We need to think new, offer new solutions and still deliver products and services that the world demands. A diverse economy secures that we (...) better can meet the futures challenges. (...) The cultural industries can contribute to innovation and an increased competitiveness in the economy” (p, 9).

Whereas the topics of digitalization and technology is not given much attention in the Action plan from 2007, nor in the earlier documents, the Action plan from 2013 is giving much space to both the opportunities and challenges that lies in the digital and technological development towards the cultural industries. It is described that the goods and services produced in the cultural industries *“in a large degree are copyrighted” (p, 21)*, and that today this content is spread in a higher speed than ever before. The opportunities described in this context, is that new technology is important as the production and distribution of these industries is moved to new digital platforms, which makes it much easier to compete in both national and international markets. The challenges mentioned concerns illegal distribution of copyrighted material.

The arguments towards the culture industries` basis in creativity and innovation is seen as part of the solution of many large scale problems of society and national economy in the Action Plan from 2007, and from 2013. This argument is further developed in the report from the policy implementation system towards industry, “Drømmeløftet” presented in 2015. Here, it is highlighted that the cultural industries now is in the front of the development of the national economy. In the introduction of the report, it is highlighted that there is a need for new political areas that encourages creativity and innovation, in the development of an including and sustainable growth in today`s society. The arguments behind the importance of culture in economic growth are repeated;

“culture is a driver for development, and it is the cultural and creative industries that is in the front seat. These industries is continuing growing, and has proved being important both in itself, and as a contributor into other industries, and therefore the economy as a whole” (p, 2).

It is further argued that the cultural industries and the artistic sector “*have creativity, which the Norwegian economy now needs*” (p, 6). This argument of the importance of creativity is taken even further, when creativity is described as “*crucial for both public and private sector innovation, and investments in intellectual property is in many countries much more important than other property*” (p, 5). The aim of the report is therefore to answer the question of how to exploit the advantage that the cultural and creative industries provide. The competitive advantage identified in the cultural and creative industries, is based on several characteristics that these industries hold; (p, 5).

- they have a strong profile, based on their strong identity which can be further used in a strategic way
- they are knowledge based, which means that the industries have many workers with an formal education and competence in areas such as technology, design, different crafts and creativity
- they are digitalized, which means that they “have a broad experience with the intensive globalization, where digitalization is an important part
- It is sustainable
- It contributes to the public infrastructure, democracy and freedom of speech, since they historically are the public’s voice in society.
- It is young and urban as the future, where the cities are the futures most sustainable places (smart cities).

The last part of the report, is a presentation of several industrial political aims towards the cultural and creative industries. The introduction to this presentation is, that Norway needs to develop industries that can continue to grow when the oil sector gradually decrease, and that the need for creativity is increasing in the years to come. The potential in the large number of employees, which have a great creative potential and many creative ideas, is repeated. The aim of the policy implementation system through Innovation Norway should therefore stimulate creativity and contribute to culture based competency in institutions and businesses (p, 11). Based on these argumentations, four aims towards the cultural and creative industries is listed. First, to integrate the cultural and creative industries in the superior innovation politics. Second, to stimulate the use of creativity and innovation in schools. Third, make it easier to invest in the cultural and creative industries, based on that these are currently associated with too much risk, and fourth, to develop an export strategy towards the cultural and creative industries (p, 11- 12).

The report is summarized stating several questions that has not yet been answered, with the acknowledgement of that this is an initiative that is only half way completed. As a conclusion it is argued that Norway will, with no doubt, loose a lot of value if the cultural and creative industries initiatives are not strategically implemented in the industrial politics and that it is crucial to release the economic potential within these industries.

Finding 3: A decreasing problematizing of markets and defense of state subsidies

Summary of finding

The third finding shows that the critique of commercialization, and further defense of state subsidies to the arts and culture are decreasing throughout the chain of documents.

As a parallel to the developing notion of cultures significance as an industry, and the further development of social economic aims towards the cultural industries, the problematizing of commercialization is decreasing. The first three documents, “Tango for two” from 2001, White paper no. 48 “Cultural politics towards 2014” presented in 2003, and White paper no. 22 “Culture and the economy”, is explicitly taking a position of defense of the cultural politics and state subsidies, and a further problematizing of a commercialization and the use of market competition in cultural production, seen as a result of market liberalization. The last three documents, Action Plan from 2007 “Culture and the economy”, from 2013 “From Entrepreneur to Culture Business” and the report “Drømmeløftet” is taking a much lesser explicit position towards this defense, and the problematizing of markets and commercialization is gradually decreasing. This is, maybe naturally, to be seen in close relation to the promotion of the economic significance of the cultural industries in these documents.

Presentation of finding

In the introduction of the collaborative initiative between culture and economy, presented in the document “Tango for two” in 2001, a main challenge in this initiative is highlighted. This challenge is that there has been identified a great barrier between culture and economy, based on different languages, values and traditions. It is noted that it is important that the two sectors can get to know, and inspire each other. Furthermore there was identified a lack of knowledge towards how collaboration would work. Several aims are therefore targeting this

challenge, such as the development of common workplaces and arenas, which can facilitate development, knowledge transfer between the two sectors, and networking;

“The discussions in the consultation meeting revealed that it exists a barrier between the cultural sector and the economy, characterized by different values and a lack of knowledge” (p, 8).

The explicit focus on the arts and cultures contribution to industrial businesses, with the aim of increasing competitiveness, could be understood as a promotion of that the arts and cultural sector needs to develop more commercialized ideas in order to be able to contribute to economic growth in these businesses. On the contrary, it is explicitly highlighted that the purpose behind the initiative is *“not to give the economy a cultural alibi, nor make the cultural sector more commerce” (p 4)*. A wish is rather to stimulate to a cooperation that both sectors *“have a benefit of and can enjoy” (p 4)*. Commercialization is listed as one of the main challenges for the cultural sector in a collaboration with industrial businesses, which further can be understood as a defense of cultural political interventions;

“An increased collaboration (between culture and industrial businesses), must of course presuppose that cultures distinctive contribution to society, is not commercial. The cultural politics` aim is especially to secure the terms for arts and cultures` independence and integrity” (p, 6).

It is further highlighted that the aim of this initiative therefore is *“not an attempt to reduce the public responsibility to support a varied and rich cultural sector” (p, 6)*. The aim is argued to be targeting those areas where such collaboration is wished for, as a *supplement* to the public economic contributions through state subsidies. It is, nevertheless, argued, that it is important for the arts- and cultural sector to take on the challenges in creating quality, also when it takes place in commercial contexts, and develop collaborations with commercial businesses, when this is possible (p, 6).

When moving forward to the next document, White paper no. 48 “Cultural politics towards 2014” presented in 2003, this perspective is more explicitly described. The arguments are still based on the important value of the arts and culture (p, 34). Here, the relationship between culture and economy is strongly problematized, where argumentations towards the many

consequences of commercialization, culture industry and market liberalization is highlighted and given much space. The problematizing is here put in the context of the processes of development in society. Several characteristics of the development of society is described, where the process of modernization is highlighted. Processes of modernization are here explicit connected to the technological development and market liberalization;

«The form and direction of these processes (processes of modernization), is today strongly affected by the fast development in information and communication technology, and they are strongly effected by a general market liberalization» (p, 27).

It is described that competition in the marketplace, can give several negative consequences, where the first mentioned, is that a system based on the marketplace always favors safe successes, and that this will always create a tendency of that the cultural content will be more similar, and the broadness in the cultural content will be strongly restricted. Furthermore, it is highlighted that consummation of culture will be «steered» by a created market demand; *«We fear that the concentration towards markets will overturn the competition regulative initiatives, which are culture political motivated»*. It is highlighted that the motivation behind culture politics is to maintain quality and broadness of cultural expressions (p, 34).

Commercialization of culture is explicitly argued to be a consequence of the now new convergence between culture and economy. This is described as being a continuous development from the 1980`s, where the distance between traditional arts and culture and the commercialized culture industry;

«An increased commercialization of the field of arts, is not only a consequence of the increasing of culture industry. It seems like there have been developed new connections between the traditional non- commercial life of the arts, and the industrial sector, which challenges the sectorial distinguishment between the arts and commerce in several ways. It is an esthetization of the economy, at the same time as there is a commercialization of the arts and culture life» (p, 34).

It is highlighted that it is strong reasons to ask critical questions towards the convergence between culture and the economy, in what happens in the terms of the production of independent and critical arts, when the traditional field of culture is «dragged into» the market economy. It is here argued that artistic value will in a high degree be reduced into the value of

the market (p, 35). Furthermore, when letting the marketplace control the production of the arts and culture, the cultural expressions which are difficult to commercialize, will get lost. An example of these types of cultural expressions is here those which are more experimental and creates alternative forms of performance.

It is highlighted that these types of cultural expressions, not only is important to innovation in the field of culture, but «*is important for the whole society*» (p, 35), because they challenge us and our established thoughts of society. It is also argued that a broad, free and innovative cultural sector, represents an important arena in the public sphere, where new perspectives can come to life, challenge and stimulate the whole society.

As one of the main focus areas in this part of the document, culture is put in a context of globalization. It is here argued that the “*cultural globalization*” is strongly increasing. This is based on the arguments of that the arts and culture increasingly is part of an international context, much more now than before. Further, some consequences of the cultural globalization are argued. These are, first, that the globalization is culturally “homogenizing”. This is based on arguments that the transnational spreading of cultural impulses, through internet and tourism, can lead to that local freedom of speech is neglected for the benefits of a dominating globalized culture. Here, terms as “*Americanization*”, is used to describe the increasingly similarity in the types of culture which is presented. Second, a consequence of the cultural globalization is a “*heterogenization*”, in that globalization promotes cultural differentiation and pluralization (p, 28). It is here argued that both of these theories in different ways are true, and that the situation of cultural globalization is complex. Globalization is described as part of and a contributor to market liberalization, and modernization processes such as commercialization is seen as a product of these structural changes (p, 27). The arguments towards «Americanization» of culture, is seen as a consequence of globalization.

In the document «White paper no. 22, Culture and the economy» presented in 2005, as in the previous document, much space have been given to the problematizing of markets and free competition on the fields of the arts and culture, and a promotion of the importance of state subsidies. It is highlighted that «*of different reasons it is not possible to achieve the culture political aims towards diversity, quality and access, on the markets premises alone*» (p, 33). This is based on two main arguments, first, that there is large expenses in production of culture in institutions, where financing based only on the marketplace could lead to a lesser

degree and quality of production. Second, production of cultural expressions creates important value to society, beyond what the private market would give. Examples that is given are knowledge, reflections, creativity and criticism, which is important in the development of most societies.

«With our times economic and technological changes, which opens up to enormous perspectives when it comes to creative business and innovation, it must be given a great attention towards (..) the «specialness» in cultural products and services, which in their characteristics of creators if identity, values and meaning, cannot be considered as regular goods (..) (p, 33).

With a reference to a new governmental report on market competition politics, where it is noted that many cultural products in fact are commercial and is being sold in the marketplace, it is highlighted, that businesses in the cultural sector is very much heterogenic in relation to the degree of their products commercial potential. It is argued that, even though some products have a commercial potential, it could still be necessary with a supplement through state subsidies, to achieve the culture political aims that the marketplace cannot achieve on its own (p, 33). Even though it is acknowledged that some cultural businesses is completely financed by the market, it is argued that not every cultural business can be transformed into «profitable market based businesses» (p, 6). The main aim of the cultural politics are described as being based on the idea of cultures own value, promote cultural and esthetic diversity, stimulate to artistic quality and innovation, preserve the cultural heritage and make sure that all parts of the country have access to culture. Opposite, the aim for the industrial politics is to strengthen the value creation in Norwegian economy (p, 6).

«In an international market place, which is increasingly characterized by competition and commercialization, it is more important than ever to lead an offensive culture politics on a local, regional and national level, which secures an independent, diverse and innovative cultural sector. It is the artistic quality and not commercial interests which is important in the development of the cultural sector» (p, 6).

It is further argued that a precondition for further development in the cultural sector, towards economic goals, is that the cultural politics have made it possible to experiment and take risks, without any consideration to economic income. A «base investment» from the state is

therefore argued to be crucial to make it possible for these businesses to further increase their income from the marketplace. Furthermore, it is highlighted that a political initiative towards further cooperation between culture and industrial businesses, *«should be a part of the industrial political aims and implementation systems»* (p, 6).

This can be seen in relation to the further argumentations on the topic of innovation, which is a topic that is highlighted in the first part of this document. Innovation is here argued to be, in a large scale driven forward by the marketplace, and the aim of the plans on innovation is to *«promote profitable innovations»* (p, 11). This perspective is further problematized when put in a cultural context;

«In the cultural sector, innovation is understood as, that which is not collected through habits, traditions and conventions. Throughout the twentieth century, the arts and other artistic expressions have been centered on breaking boundaries. While innovation in the economy is market driven and economically orientated, the arts and cultural expressions is a supplier of new interpretations to society (...）」 (p, 11).

It is furthermore argued that in this document, innovation will be understood as a process that is not just market orientated, but is also about the values which is not economically profitable in the short-term perspective (p, 11).

In the Action plan «Culture and the economy» from 2007, the defense of cultures value in its own is mentioned, as the aim of the plan is *not* that the cultural sector should be commercialized, nor that the public support towards the cultural sector is going to be reduced (p, 5). Nevertheless, these arguments is given lesser space and focus than in the previous documents, whereas these arguments have been continuous highlighted throughout the main themes such as innovation, commercialization, competitiveness and globalization. It seems like the defense of cultures values on its own, is here placed in the background of the many arguments of culture as an instrument in different economic and social economic areas.

In the Action plan from 2013, the critique of commercialization is not mentioned, nor the previous discussion on the markets negative effects on the freedom, experimentation and broadness in cultural production. Nevertheless, the plan is giving much space to the description of the cultural politics aim, and the importance of the cultural political work towards the cultural industries. The arguments behind the importance of state subsidies are

given a whole chapter, where it is stated that the government wants to continue the work towards a “*secure economic framework towards culture*” (p, 29). The framework that the state subsidies give the cultural sector, is argued to work as a basis to the further industrial initiatives to work; “*even though the Ministry of Culture is having culture political aims, the initiative towards culture, also works as basis towards industrial development*” (p, 29).

In the report from 2015 “*Drømmeløftet*”, the cultural value of its own is noted in one sentence, followed by the arguments of that the cultural industries has the role of producer of creative ideas, which again is argued to be an important factor, first to innovation and technology, and further to economic welfare;

“The industries is not only known for its “own value”, but also increasingly for its role as producer of creative ideas. Creative ideas is an important ingredient in both product- and process innovation, which is a driver behind technological change, which further contributes to growth. Cultural and creative industries have become important to economic welfare and many experts argues that these industries is a “key for the future” (p, 2).

What is argued to be a main challenge for the cultural and creative industries, in this work, is highlighted. This is not that there is a gap between cultures value in its own and the further commercialization and economic direction the focus towards these industries is taking, but is argued to be that the cultural and creative industries is not seen of an economic relevance, yet. It is argued that it needs to be a changing in norms, mentality, values and attitudes towards the cultural industries; “*We need to work with a change in attitudes, so that we can increase the understanding of these industries` significance towards innovation, employment and growth*” (p, 4).

It is important to mention that this documents main aim, of course, is not to problematize industrial policies towards the culture sector, because the main aim for the policy implementation system Innovation Norway, is, naturally, to look into the opportunities for industrial development of the cultural industries. Nevertheless, this report is based on a collaboration between Innovation Norway and the Norwegian arts Council, which is the policy implementation system for culture politics, and it is further based on the input from different opinions from the cultural sector. It is therefore interesting that not any views towards a problematizing of the relationship between culture and the economy is mentioned.

Finding 4: Mismatch between terms and content

Summary of finding

The fourth finding shows that there is a mismatch between the use of terms and definitions, and the policies that are presented in the policy documents. When following the development of the content of the policy documents, it can first seem like the critique of markets and commercialization, described in the previous finding, is argued in parallel with the use of the terms «cultural sector» and the «culture and arts». When introducing the term «culture industry» and «cultural and creative industries», and the notion of culture significance to the wider economy is developing as an established idea, we can see that the focus is also gradually changing to a lesser degree of critique of markets. The terms are therefore, in a degree, signaling the documents content. At first sight, it therefore seems like the terms used is following the policies that are promoted. On the other hand, the definitions of these terms, as described throughout the chain of documents, is signaling a much more conservative and «defensive» view on the cultural industries, towards what characterizes these industries and the products these industries produce. These definitions can in different ways be seen as contrary to the explicit focus on the cultural industries economic contribution to industry, which is in its extent drawn to being a solution to the decreasing in e.g. the oil sector, as described earlier. Whereas the argumentations towards the understanding of culture and the cultural industries can be seen as arguments of that culture is different than other industries, the political content is taking a opposite direction, where it can be understood that the development in the political initiatives is to create a convergence between culture and economy.

Presentation of finding

White paper no. 22 «Culture and the economy» is the first in the chain of documents chosen for this analysis, and may also be the first political document, explicitly using the term culture industry, as this was introduced in The Eastern Norway Research Institute mapping the year before. As we have seen in the previous documents, published before the terms was defined in the systematic mappings of the culture industries, the terms «cultural sector», «culture life» or «the arts and culture», have been the terms that have been used. The argumentations towards the term culture industry are made with a direct reference to the mappings definitions and argumentations;

«ØF-report no. 10:2004 Mapping of the culture industries in Norway argues that the term culture industries is a better tool for analyzing the cultural sector as a part of the economy, than creative industries (...). This is based on the argumentation that creativity is, in a larger or lesser degree, a part of all industries» (p, 10).

Here, the use of the term «creative» is problematized, based on that this is a characteristic that is all-inclusive when it comes to define and categorize industries. The definition of the cultural industries is used, which is directly contained from the economic mapping, where the focus explicitly is put on the communicative sides of cultural production;

“The Eastern Norway Research Institute have in their definition (of the cultural industries) chosen to take a basis in the term cultural products. This is a product that is produced to communicate with its audience or consumers. The cultural industries was defined as those industries which creates products where the primary aspects is communicative” (p, 10).

It could be understood as, in this definition it is emphasized that it is not the degree of commercial value which is determining for if an industry is included in the operationalization or not, but that it is some cultural expressions that is the common characteristic. This can be understood as arguments for, that the cultural industries is to be seen as different from the creative industries in some significant ways, where the content of these industries are much different. Much space has been given to the descriptions on how culture should be understood in this context, where values, symbols and norms are highlighted. The term culture is here described in two different ways, which both are argued to be much important in this context, where the first is a broader understanding of the term, and the second a more narrow;

«In a broad meaning it (culture) covers the values, norms, knowledge, symbols, a freedom of speech, common for a group of people or a community. In a narrow meaning the term is used to describe the different activities in the cultural sector (...).» (p, 9).

This can be understood as contrary to the promotion of culture as a facilitator of economic growth, as argued being the essence in this initiative.

In the Action plan from 2007 “Culture and the economy” the definitions of terms and operationalization of the culture industries used, is the same as in the previous document. Under the headline “term clarification”, (p, 12) it is referred to the Eastern Norway Research Institute`s mapping and its definitions, where the essence of the culture industries` production is that the primary characteristic is communication;

“When it comes to the arts and the cultural, it is the communication that is their primary characteristic. Cultural products can in other words, be seen as one or another form of communication. Communication can be presented through signs, symbols, forms, sounds, pictures, movements, colors etc. (...) (p, 12).

It is further highlighted that the experience of the arts is unique for every individual and has a value of its own. The cultural industries is operationalized in the same way as in the mappings, which are *advertising and commercials, architecture, books, newspapers and magazines, design, film, photo and video, music, performing arts, TV and radio, libraries and museums (p, 12).*

The plan from 2013, “From Entrepreneur to Culture Business” refers to the definition and operationalization from the Menon mapping in 2011, where the culture industries is defined as *“industries which presents more or less commercialized cultural expressions, which primary communicates through esthetics such as symbols, signs, pictures, colors, movements, shapes, sounds and stories” (p, 13).* The definition of the culture industries is not further described or discussed.

Here, we can see that the definition of the cultural industries is focusing on that the core characteristics of these industries is that they are communicating through signs, symbols, movements, colors and so on, where some of the cultural industries mentioned is music, performing arts, magazines, libraries and museums.

In the report from the policy implementation system “Drømmeløftet”, the terms “cultural and creative industries” is introduced. In the introduction of the report, it is explicitly defined that the terms used in Norway now is changing;

“When it comes to the use of terms, we are now moving slowly away from “cultural industries”, and is approaching Denmark and Great Britain which is using the terms “cultural and creative industries” or “creative industries” alone” (p, 2).

It is referred to both the DCMS mapping in Great Britain from 1998 and the newer EU mapping from 2014, and these mappings operationalization of industries. The operationalization of the industries in Norway, is here described as being *publishing, newspapers and magazines, music, performing arts such as theater, dance, opera, ballet, orchestras and festivals, TV, movies, radio, games, the visual arts such as the arts, design, galleries and museums, and architecture and commercials* (p, 2). This operationalization is not significantly different, nor extended, when the term “creative industries” is added to the previous “cultural industries”.

Chapter 5: Discussion of findings

In this chapter the findings of the document analysis is discussed in relation to the argumentations and theories presented in the theoretical approach, with the aim of answering the overarching research question of the thesis;

What is the content of the economic and industrial initiative towards the cultural sector in the Norwegian cultural politics, and how has this developed over time?

The structure of the discussion will follow the order of the two sub-questions, which is an operationalization of the overarching question;

1. How and why is the creative industries` policies introduced in the Norwegian cultural politics, and how can this introduction be seen in relation to the critique towards the creative industries` as promoting neoliberalism?

2. With a background in the critique towards the creative industries as promoting neoliberalism and connection to the British New Labour government, can this introduction be understood, also in the Norwegian cultural politics, as a party political issue?

The first topic for discussion concerns how the findings from the document analysis can contribute in describing the introduction of the creative industries policies in the Norwegian cultural political discourse. The further discussion concerns how the findings can be seen in relation to neoliberalism, following the argumentations towards the connection between neoliberalism and the creative industries policies, as argued in the theoretical approach. In relation to the second sub-question, the discussion concerns how the findings can contribute to describe if the introduction of such policies in the Norwegian cultural politics, can be understood as being a party political issue. The discussion of these two sub-questions will contribute to answering the overarching research question. The discussion is concluded in the end of this chapter.

5.1 Discussion of findings

5.1.1 The economic policy agenda of the “cultural industries”

As described in the theoretical approach, the DCMS mapping, which introduced the creative industries policies, had an enormous influence on both research and policymaking towards the

cultural sector, in Norway as in several other countries (Espelien & Gran, 2011). There is no international classification system for the creative industries, and the creative industries policies and approach is understood and implemented in many different ways in various international contexts (Kong, 2014). Based on the findings of the document analysis, the economic and industrial aims towards the cultural sector in Norway, can be understood as being in a significant degree based on the creative industries policies, as these are described in the theoretical approach. The first finding shows that from the third document (White paper no .22 (2004-2005) “Culture and the economy”), through the first Norwegian economic mapping introduced by the Eastern Norway Research Institute, the notion of the cultural industries¹² is introduced. The first systematic mapping of these industries in Norway, was further inspired by the DCMS mapping, as presented in the theoretical approach (Espelien & Gran, 2011; Ueland, 2009). The further several references to the economic mappings through the chain of documents can be understood as being central in the introduction of the creative industries policies in the Norwegian cultural political discourse. The third policy document can therefore be seen as representing the first document that introduces the creative industries policies, as this marks a change from the previous two documents in terms of the aims that is presented towards the Norwegian cultural sector.

The arguments presented in the theoretical approach concerns the creative industries policies` incorporation in an economic policy agenda, and that the policymaking based on the creative industries policies is fueled by the belief that these industries generate some significant economic benefits (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007; Kong, 2014). The first and second finding shows that the cultural industries are put on the economic policy agenda through the developing notion of the significance of these industries to the National economy. The economic focus towards the cultural sector is being established through the several references to economic mappings, and the further description of these mappings statistics, such as the description of the cultural industries great significance to GDP, “worth 33,6 billion Norwegian kroners each year”. The statistics shows numbers of the cultural industries` employment level, payments, and all together value creation. The arguments such as “*The value creation in the culture industries (...) have been more stable than in other industries*” (finding one, p, 39-40), and further that the “*down turn*” in 2002, does not seem to have hit the culture industries in the same degree as the rest of the Norwegian industries”, (finding

¹² The term «cultural industries» was chosen instead of the «creative industries» in the Norwegian introduction of these policies. This will be discussed under the next subsection.

one, p, 39-40) shows an clearly economic policy agenda for the cultural industries. It is further interesting that much space is given to the argumentation that the policy making towards the cultural industries must be knowledge based. The arguments made behind this economic focus is legitimated through the knowledgebase that is created through the economic mappings of the current time, which shows a strong encouragement of a strengthened and continuous economic development of the cultural sector. The arguments towards knowledge-based policymaking are developing as a parallel to the growing economic focus (finding one) through the chain of documents. Knowledge-based policymaking is given a whole chapter in the Action Plan from 2013, through the arguments of that *“political decisions towards the culture industries should be taken on the basis of relevant and up-to-date knowledge on the culture industries”* (finding one, p, 47 in presentation of findings).

The essence of the creative industries critical discourse is as described in the theoretical approach, that these policies are turning the focus of cultural production to the commercialization of cultural products. These arguments are based on the DCMS mappings definition of the creative industries, when these industries are defined as generating intellectual property for economic profit (Flew & Cunningham, 2010). The focus on intellectual property is not explicitly presented until the last document “Drømmeløftet” in 2015, where creativity is described as *“crucial for both public and private sector innovation, and investments in intellectual property is in many countries much more important than other property”* (finding two, p, 47). Nevertheless, aims towards commercialization through intellectual property can be argued, more implicit in the Norwegian introduction of these policies, to be a central part of the aims presented in the previous policy documents as well. Finding four of the document analysis shows that the DCMS definition, which is explicitly using the term intellectual property, is not chosen in the introduction of these policies in the Norwegian cultural political discourse, as the focus in the Norwegian definition is significant different. This will be further discussed in the next subsection. Intellectual property is described as being the main factor that is securing people working in the cultural and creative industries the right to own the products of their creativity, so that these products can be sold in the marketplace and create an economic income (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). In this way, intellectual property can be understood as a main factor that in fact is making it possible to develop the arts and cultural sector through industrial and economic aims that is promoted in the policy documents, towards the developing and acknowledging of the cultural industries as a significant part of the National economy. These aims towards the cultural industries as

shown in finding one and two, can be understood as demanding cultural products to be sold in the marketplace to increase economic growth in these industries. The introduction of these policies can therefore be understood as turning the focus to the evaluation of culture and arts as drivers for economic growth, where the priorities are turned to those activities that makes the most economic benefits and measures for success, rather than their cultural returns (Kong, 2014). The introduction of the creative industries policies can be understood as narrowing the focus in the cultural politics to the cultural activities` commercial value and neglecting the traditional culture and arts (Flew & Cunningham, 2010), as these are traditionally being state subsidized because these are not commercial enough and therefore not able to, or should not be financed by the markets. The connection between the economic focus that is developing through the documents, and the further promotion of commercialization and use of markets in cultural production, is therefore explicit. It can therefore be argued that the introduction of these industrial policies, is pointing at a broader use of markets to control cultural production from Norwegian cultural sector.

As we now have seen, through the aims promoted in the policy documents, the content of the introduction of the creative industries in the Norwegian cultural political discourse, is significantly similar to the policies in its original form, as these were presented in the international discourse. Nevertheless, finding four shows that there is a mismatch between the use of terms and definitions introduced in the policy documents, and the aims that are promoted for further policymaking. It seems like the terms and definitions chosen in the Norwegian introduction is not determinative for the actual policies that is promoted. Finding four is pointing at that the terms and the defining of these industries in these policy documents have no direct connection to the aims that are set towards them. This is seen in the development from the third document, White paper no. 22 (2004-2005) “Culture and the economy”, and throughout the chain of documents, after the introduction of the creative industries policies. As we have seen in finding four, the definition of the term “cultural industries”, first used in the third document, is based on the argumentation of that the term “creative industries”, which was used in the DCMS mapping, is not a good tool for analyzing the cultural sector in Norway. This is described as being based on that every industry is to be seen as creative, but not every industry is cultural. The term «creative» is problematized based on its all-inclusiveness when it comes to define and categorize industries, as also argued by Galloway and Dunlop (2007). Problems that concern the all-inclusiveness of using the term “creative” will be further discussed in the next subsection. As finding four shows, it is here

referred to the Eastern Norway Research Institute`s mapping and its definitions of the cultural industries, where the essence of these industries` production is that the primary characteristic is communication;

“When it comes to the arts and culture, it is the communication that is their primary characteristic. Cultural products can in other words be seen as one or another form of communication. Communication can be presented through signs, symbols, forms, sounds, pictures, movements, colors etc. (...). (finding four, p, 57).

As we can see from the definition of the creative industries in the DCMS mapping (page 15 in theoretical approach), the definition used in the Norwegian introduction of the concept is significant different. This definition is not in any way promoting culture as a facilitator of economic growth. The argumentations and definitions used in the policy documents, which finding four shows, can be seen as placing themselves together with the critical arguments towards the creative industries policies` focus on commercialization, promoted by, among others, Galloway and Dunlop (2007), Hesmondhalgh and Pratt (2005). They are arguing that the core of the cultural industries is that they are communicating ideas and produce symbolic goods, more than having a functional value. The definition and argumentations of the cultural industries used in the Norwegian policy documents could, on the basis of that the definition of the creative industries is not chosen, be understood as emphasizing that it is not their commercial potential which should be in focus in policymaking towards them. The definition used, can therefore be understood as promoting that the cultural industries is to be seen as different from the creative industries, where these industries` production is significant dissimilar. Even though the term “creative industries” was not chosen, nor the definition of the term, the content of the policymaking in this initiative is to be seen as significant similar to the creative industries policies as original presented by the DCMS, though with some delineations and a different rhetoric. The further introduction of the creative industries policies will be further discussed in relation to the explicit focus on creativity.

5.1.2 The exploitation of creativity

As discussed above, the term “creative industries” as first introduced in the DCMS mapping, and the definition focusing specifically on creativity was not chosen in the introduction of these policies in the Norwegian cultural political discourse. The “cultural industries” was used instead, based on the Eastern Norway Research Institutes definition, where the focus is set to the cultural aspects of these industries. The term “creative” was therefore not used in further

definitions of the concept, based on the argumentations of that the *“term culture industries is a better tool for analyzing the cultural sector as a part of the economy, than creative industries (...) based on the argumentation that creativity is, in a larger or lesser degree, a part of all industries»* (finding four, p, 63).

Nevertheless, finding two of this document analysis shows how creativity is described as a main characteristic also of the cultural industries, and is seen as essential, first in collaboration with industrial businesses, and further as a main factor in the development of an adaptable and innovative economy. The utilizing of creativity from the cultural industries, is connected to the changes and insecurity in the international markets, and is further seen as part of the solution of the future challenges in population growth and climate change, in addition to globalization. An example is how creativity from the cultural industries is described as contributing to “meet the futures challenges, climate change, the increasing growth in population, the “elderly wave” and globalization”, and further “that the cultural industries can contribute to innovation and an increased competitiveness in the economy” (finding two, p, 52).

The first concern in using the term creativity is its all- inclusiveness, when it comes to the operationalization of the term in policymaking. The utilizing of creativity from the cultural industries` workers for use in the wider economy must be questioned. The operationalization of creativity when used in the several economic aims that is presented under finding two of the document analysis is not further defined. This diffuseness makes the political aims much confusing, and the knowledge-base for policymaking seems weak. In the international, critical discourse, this is a main topic. Galloway and Dunlop (2007) problematize definitions based on the criteria`s of creativity, when these are being used in the definition of the creative industries in policy making, whereas creativity is an ambiguous concept in terms of what constitutes creativity and the conception of it. Further, one of the main issues surrounding the use of creativity as a definitional factor, is that every industry is thought to be creative in today`s knowledge economy (Kong, 2014), where any activity in fact could be thought of as creative (Galloway and Dunlop, 2007). It is interesting that these arguments towards the all-inclusiveness of the term “creativity” in definitions and in policymaking, is the same arguments promoted when choosing the term “cultural” instead of “creative” when first introducing these industrial policies towards the cultural industries. This is described initially in the presentation of finding four, which points at the mismatch between the chosen terms and definitions, and the content of the policies that is promoted.

Because the focus in the first two documents is set to the cultural industries contribution to the economy through collaborations with businesses, in terms of product development with a “cultural added value” or esthetic design as presented under finding one, their contribution can be seen as more natural as this is based on the cultural workers` terms and core activities. When the economic focus is changing towards an understanding of these industries` contribution to the many socioeconomic challenges of the national economy, as presented in finding two, the perspective on creativity from the cultural industries is broadening in a large degree. Based on the operationalization and definitions of the cultural industries as described in the policy documents, the knowledge transfer is now much harder to understand. The operationalization of the industries`, with some small alterations throughout the chain of documents, is the industries of publishing, newspapers and magazines, music, performing arts such as theater, dance, opera, ballet, orchestras and festivals, TV, movies, radio, games, the visual arts such as the arts, design, galleries and museums, and architecture and commercials. The definition used is “industries which presents more or less commercialized cultural expressions, which primary communicates through esthetics such as symbols, signs, pictures, colors, movements, shapes, sounds and stories” (finding four, page 65).

It is interesting to ask question towards what is especially important of the creativity found in the cultural industries, for the wider economy. Questions can be raised when the political aims towards the cultural industries are that these could be of a great significance in the economic challenges pushed forward by globalization, such as the economies needs to be adaptive and innovative to respond to international competition. Is it possible for e.g. a cultural worker, such as a musician, dancer or a opera singer, columnist or writer, which` primary aim is to communicate through symbols or movements, as the definition is describing, to transfer it`s creativity to industrial businesses, so that these can be more adaptive in the meeting with global challenges and competition?

It is drawn a long line from the creativity used of a ballet dancer or a musician in its work, to the solution to the problems we face with a decrease in the oil sector, the need for more creativity in schools, and in innovation in private businesses and public institutions. This can be seen in close relation to the critical arguments made towards the operationalization of the creative industries, as described in the theoretical approach. Several of the critical arguments is targeting that the core of the cultural industries is that they communicate ideas and produce symbolic goods, rather than having a functional value. Activities like books, films, plays and music is therefore seen as part of the cultural industries, while advertising and architecture,

which of course have symbolic content, but where the functionality of the product is most important, is not a part of the cultural industries (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). The criticism occurs when these industries or subsectors are all put together under the broad term of the, in Norway, “cultural industries”, in terms of their differences and needs of public support. Further, that this operationalization therefore contributes to neglecting the traditional cultural industries in policymaking, through the described economic and industrial focus. It is therefore interesting to ask critical questions towards the benefit of such an operationalization. Haraldsen et al. (2008) argues that this operationalization and definitions have limited analytical value, which is based on that they do not contribute in identifying certain characteristics by one or a group of industries, and include a wide range of activities and businesses that often have nothing or little in common. This further leads to difficulties in developing a good knowledge base for policymaking (Haraldsen et al., 2008). Even though the definition and term is different in the Norwegian introduction of the concept, the operationalization of the industries under the term cultural industries is very much the same as in under the creative industries. The difference is only that the industries` of software and computer services is not included in the Norwegian operationalization, (see chapter 2.3 in theoretical approach). It seems like when all these different industries are put together under a broad term and policies of the cultural, or the “cultural and creative industries” as in the last document from 2015, it is necessary to ask questions to the explicitness of the cultural politics, as Haraldsen et al. (2008) is arguing, whereas many of these industries traditionally have been, and still is, in a large degree funded by state subsidies, and other industries under this operationalization is more market based, and based on more functional characteristics, such as the architecture and commercials as argued by Galloway and Dunlop (2007).

The neglecting of the cultural industries is further interesting to study in relation to that these industries, in the Action Plan from 2013 and the report from 2015, is described as being in the center of digitalization and technology, where the cultural industries` products in a large degree is being copyrighted, digitalized and knowledge based in areas such as technology (finding two, page, 53-54). The operationalization of the cultural industries is in this way problematic, as this can be understood as a development away from the cultural sectors activities that is not digitalized and based on technology, which further can be understood as being the state subsidized sectors. Further, Garnham (2005) argues, that the shift to the creative industries was chosen only so that the claims about the industries size and influence can be made (Garnham, 2005). It is therefore interesting to ask questions towards if the

traditional cultural sector such as the state subsidized arts or museums, is included in this economic and industrial initiative, so these industries' economic impact as a whole, is of a larger significance, as Garnham is arguing. The depth in this cultural political initiative in terms of its actual benefit, can be questioned.

The strong focus on the exploitation of creativity from the cultural sector, is here, put at the locus of the Norwegian cultural industries policies as well as what is argued in the international creative industries discourse, whereas finding two point at that creativity from the cultural industries is seen as an essential part of the growth in the Norwegian economy. This can further be argued to be an utilizing of the creative workers, and a further exploitation of the "non-standardness" of these workers. The "creative workforce", is to be seen as freelancers, self-employed workers, which is balancing precarity and risk (De Peuter, 2014; Kong, 2014). This workforce, which is seen as the "creative workers", is in this way put in the center of the wide exploitation of creativity into economic and industrial aims, also in the Norwegian economy, as being argued by De Peuter (2014). De Peuter promotes critical arguments towards how these workers is this way is positioned as "role models of contemporary capitalism" (De Peuter, 2014, p. 264). As described in the theoretical approach, the creative workforce can be seen as an essential part of the Schumpeterian workfare state, which is describes by Jessop (1994) as focusing on the supply-side, promoting innovation in open economics to strengthen national competitiveness. Essential in the Schumpeterian workfare state is that the domestic full employment and welfare rights is de-prioritized and put in second place for the benefit of a flexible workforce that is corresponding with the emerging of a dynamic capitalism (Jessop, 1994). The introduction of the creative industries policies is therefore to be seen as being at the locus of the Schumpeterian workfare state, where these policies is to be seen as promoting risk-taking and flexible employments, to the benefit of a stronger competitiveness of a flexible dynamic national economy (Jessop, 1994). Based on the findings of the utilizing of creativity from the cultural industries' workers, this can therefore be seen as a symbol of a shift in the Norwegian cultural politics. This is the shift from previous legitimations in state interventions for the cultural sectors production-activities based on its wider cultural value in society, towards an exploitation of these workers to achieve economic and social goals.¹³

¹³ The utilizing of creativity is also seen in relation to community development, which is a mentioned topic throughout the chain of documents. It is argued that the "creative class" is the most important class in society, and it is promoted development strategies to attract artistic environments, which is further seen as a driving

5.1.3 Is the introduction of the creative industries` policies in the Norwegian cultural political discourse promoting neo-liberalism?

Flew and Cunningham (2010, p. 119) is connecting the creative industries to neoliberalism through the connection to the British New Labour`s cultural politics, where the DCMS (The Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport) under this government introduced the creative industries policies through their systematic mapping of these industries economic significance. We have now seen that the concept of the cultural industries, from 2015 the cultural *and* creative industries, despite much more conservative definitions and argumentations of these industries characteristics, is in a significant degree the same as the creative industries policies, described in the critical international discourse. The introduction of the creative industries policies can be argued to represent a shift in the prevailing rationale for cultural policy, away from culture, and towards economic and social goals (Hesmondhalgh et al., 2014). This argument is based on what is previous discussed, where the findings of this document analysis is pointing at that culture is clearly set on the economic policy agenda, whereas the priorities are turned to the economic benefits of cultural production, and a implicit focus on intellectual property, is explicitly exploiting creativity from the cultural sector for economic development (Flew & Cunningham, 2010). Such an economic and industrial focus can be argued that demands a commercialization of culture, to create economic income to contribute to the economic aims that is described. Based on a summary of the four findings, the development in the cultural politics can be seen as promoting a broader use of markets, where the connection between the economic direction that is developing through the documents, and the further promotion of commercialization and use of markets in cultural production, is made explicit.

When the focus towards culture as an industry is increasing (finding one), and the notion of that creativity and innovation from the cultural sector is a solution to national socioeconomic challenges is developing (finding two), as a parallel the problematizing of commercialization and the use of markets for cultural production, is decreasing (finding three). The introduction of the creative industries policies, could therefore be pointing at a development towards a market liberalization in the field of cultural politics away from state interventions. The promotion of market liberalization is made through the creative industries policies` focus on the evaluation of the culture and arts as drivers for economic growth, where the priorities are

force to establish businesses (Florida, 2002). Because of a delineation of the document analysis, this topic is not further described or discussed.

turned to those activities that makes the most economic benefits, rather than their cultural returns (Kong, 2014).

As described in the theoretical approach, a main argument behind the Keynesian welfare state and the interventional politics, is that there is no such thing as a natural relationship between offer and demand in the marketplace, and no natural harmony between private interests and socio-economical rationality. These arguments worked as a legitimization of the interventionist state, where the state controls the society through regulative interventions (Amdam & Veggeland, 2011). As described, state interventions in the cultural politics is legitimated in cultures value of its own and its important role in society as being enriching to humans and cultures aim to comment, reflect and challenge our understanding of our self (Bakke, 2001; Kulturdepartementet, 2017), and not its economic or commercial value. The introduction of the creative industries policies and the operationalization of the several and much different industries in relation to their income through state subsidize and private markets, can therefore be argued to neglect the traditional culture and arts. The neglecting of the cultural sector, could be understood as being prevented by state interventions, which again is rooted in the unbalance between supply and demand of cultural production, which makes the markets unfit to control cultural production. Finding three shows that the critique of commercialization is decreasing throughout the chain of documents, which can also be a sign of that the strong economic focus towards these industries is undermining the “differenceness” of, and further contribution from the traditionally state subsidized cultural activities to the society as a whole.

Neoliberalism is in the theoretical approach delineated to economic neoliberalism and the relationship between the interventionist state and market liberalization. Thorsen and Lie (2007) argues that the core of neoliberalism in fact is economic liberalism, which means that the state should reduce interventions, and hand over as much as possible to the self-regulated markets (Thorsen & Lie, 2007) as also argued by Harvey (2005) and Larner (2000). Further, Larner (2000) describes that neo-liberalism shows the development from the Keynesian interventionist state to the promotion of markets, and Pollitt and Bouckhaert (according to Amdam & Veggeland, 2011, p. 44) describes that the new regulatory state, is characterized by a smaller state and privatization. Based on the mentioned arguments, the introduction of the creative industries policies in the Norwegian cultural politics can be seen as a characteristic of the new regulatory state, because the legitimizations of state interventions of cultural

production, through this economic initiative, could be seen as being undermined due to market liberalization.

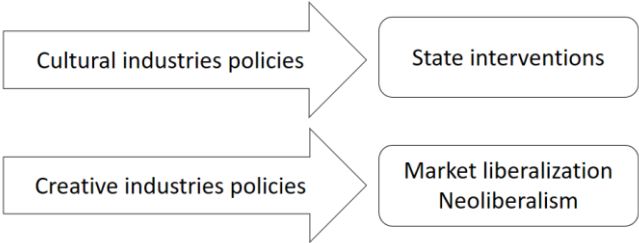


Figure 5.1. The arguments in the international discourse, as presented in the theoretical approach.

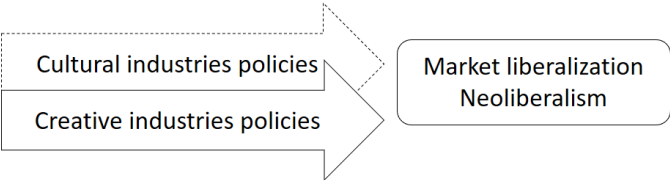


Figure 5.2. The policies of the cultural industries is to be seen as the same as the creative industries policies, both promoting market liberalization and neoliberalism.

The term “cultural industries” in the international discourse as described in the theoretical approach, is understood as being part of the traditional cultural sector which is state subsidized. When this term is used in the Norwegian cultural politics, it represents the development from the traditional concepts of the “arts and culture” or “cultural sector”, which is to be seen as a parallel to the cultural industries in the international discourse, to an explicit economic, market oriented and industrial focus. Figure 5.1 describes how the concept of the cultural industries in the international discourse is connected to the traditional cultural sector, and those sectors that is traditionally state subsidizes. Figure 5.2 shows that the term “cultural industries”, used in the Norwegian introduction of the creative industries policies, is promoting market liberalization and neoliberalism. The question of neoliberalism can therefore be discussed in relation to the introduction of the term “industry” in the third document of this analysis (White paper no. 22 “Culture and the economy”). The connection of the term “industry” to “culture”, can be argued to give natural association to an economic development of the cultural sector, and can be seen as a contrary to the traditional cultural policies where the state subsidies plays a much important role, to a promotion of a broader use of markets to control cultural production (Gran, 2017; Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005). It can

therefore be argued that the introduction of the creative industries` policies, as the findings are pointing at, in itself represent a clear shift in the Norwegian cultural politics, from a traditional broad use of state subsidies based on the wider importance of cultural production in the society, towards a commercialization of culture, market liberalization and neoliberalism.

5.1.4 A strong state or “empty rhetoric’s”?

What is further interesting, as previously discussed, is the relationship between the choice of a more “conservative” approach in the defining and further rhetoric of the cultural industries, and the explicit focus on economic and industrial aims towards them. As discussed, this conservative approach through the choice of “cultural industries” instead of “creative industries” can be understood as emphasizing that it is not the degree of commercial value that is determining for if an industry is included in this operationalization or not, whereas the definition is describing that the cultural industries presents *“more or less commercialized cultural expressions, which primary communicates through esthetics such as symbols, signs, pictures, colors, movements, shapes, sounds and stories”* (Finding four, page 57). This conservative approach can be understood as representing that it is important in the Norwegian cultural politics to defend state subsidies for the arts and culture, when promoting industrial aims. This can be discussed in relation to the strong cultural political traditions, and the strong and “large” state (Mydske et al., 2007). It can be understood as when promoting industrial aims which is promoting the use of markets, must be legitimated in an “empty rhetoric” defending state subsidies. Further, as previous discussed, it could also be a sign of a undermining of state subsidies through a promotion of neoliberalism.

Nevertheless, a claim that the development of the Norwegian cultural politics as a whole, through the introduction of the creative industries policies is promoting neo-liberalism, may be a too large claim to make. The “defensive” rhetoric used in the documents, could be seen as a sign of that the state in fact is still strong on the fields of cultural politics, and this initiative could of course be seen as a “sidetrack” of the larger Norwegian cultural politics. In addition to the findings that show a more “cultural- defensive” rhetoric and choice of terms and definitions, the findings also show that the defense of state interventions is mentioned and promoted throughout the chain of documents all the way to the last document presented in 2015. This can therefore be a sign of that state interventions still creates a strong basis for cultural production. This is further decreasing the value of finding three of the document

analysis in further discussion, which shows that the problematizing of commercialization, and further defense of state subsidies to the arts and culture, is decreasing throughout the chain of documents. This finding could be seen as not relevant, as most of the documents are created specifically in the context of this economic and industrial initiative, which is not representative for the Norwegian cultural politics as a whole. It is therefore natural that when the focus is turning towards the economic aims, such a defense of commercialization is out of place and not relevant in this context.

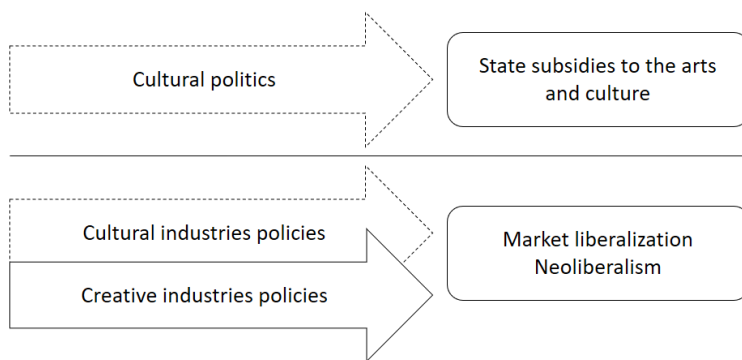


Figure 5.3. The relationship between cultural politics and the cultural industries policies, where the cultural industries policies is to be seen as a sidetrack of the cultural politics as a whole.

Figure 5.3 shows the relationship between the cultural industries policies and the cultural politics as a whole, where the cultural industries policies are to be seen only as a sidetrack.

5.1.5 A natural development as part of the “knowledge-economy”?

As described in the theoretical approach, there have been an explicit development towards market liberalization in Norway from the post war period (Mydske et al., 2007), which have been explicit in the field of cultural politics from the 1980`s. In cultural politics, the focus have been moving from a supply-side and focus on the artist, to a market- and consumer oriented policy (Mangset & Hylland, 2017), and the distinction between the cultural politics and industrial politics as two different political regimes gradually changed (Ueland, 2009). This development can be understood as building up to the introduction of the creative industries policies, as liberalization of markets already have had a basis in the Norwegian politics as a whole and in the cultural politics. The transition from state subsidies towards the broader use of markets to control cultural production can therefore be seen as a natural continuation. The development towards a broader use of markets in cultural politics, can also be seen as a natural development of today`s society, and it must be highlighted that the chain

of documents used in the document analysis, starts in 2001, where the characteristics of society is much different. As Cunningham (2002) is arguing, the creative industries can be seen as a product of the technological changes of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Based on this, it can be understood that the economic and industrial turn in cultural politics, and the introduction of the creative industries policies as they developed in the late 1990`s, can be seen as a parallel to the development of society through the years of the publications of documents. Furthermore, the economic and industrial perspective on culture can be seen as a natural response to this development.

The characteristics of today`s society have been argued that must be seen in the context of the “new economy”, the “knowledge economy”, “post-industrial society”, “information society”, “network society” or “post-fordism”, which is further argued to be seen as the central economic narrative for the last decades, in several advanced economies (Garnham, 2005; Lee, 2016). Further, these concepts are argued to be holding a future advancement of the capitalist market economy, heavily relying on the flexible production of symbolic products. It further promotes that the production should be driven by human capital and would take place in small firms and networks of individuals (Lee, 2016). The findings from the document analysis show that the concept and policies of cultural industries is put in the context of the digital economy and the knowledge economy. This is explicit from the Action plan from 2013, where it is given much space to the topic of digital and technological development in these industries. Here it is noted that culture industries` products are in a large degree copyrighted, they are knowledge based in areas such as technology, they are digitalized and have a broad experience with the intensive globalization (finding two, page, 53-54). As the creative industries policies is to be seen as central in these contexts, and in the locus of the capitalist market economy, a claim that the introduction creative industries policies alone is turning the Norwegian cultural politics towards a promotion of neoliberalism as a policy framework, is not a valid argument. Despite that the state subsidized traditional cultural sectors, when operationalized together with several much more market based and highly technological industries, could be seen as neglected, the creative industries policies is also to be seen as a natural part of today`s economy and the policy frameworks that is supporting it. Maybe state subsidies, also towards the arts and culture, is in fact losing its relevance.

5.1.6 Globalization as a structure pushing forward market liberalization

Throughout the chain of documents, there are several references to globalization, which could be seen as the background of the several arguments presented under finding two and three especially. Finding two shows that the terms creativity and innovation from the cultural industries is seen as a central part to several socioeconomic challenges that is caused by globalization. These challenges lies in that the economy need to be adaptable, and businesses need to increase their competitiveness, because of globalization.

As presented in finding three, described in the White paper no. 48 “Cultural politics towards 2014”, globalization is argued as being part of and a contributor to market liberalization. Further, it is described that modernization processes such as commercialization, are seen as a product of these structural changes. Here, the arguments towards «Americanization» of culture, is seen as a consequence of globalization. These arguments towards globalization, can be seen as placing themselves together with the arguments promoted by Bourdieu (2002), Mydske, Claes and Lie (2007) and Larner (2000), who argues that globalization is pushing forward neoliberalism and leaves the national states no other choice than to minimize their interventions and open up markets. As Harvey (2005) describes, the state have to response to coercive pressure. The arguments presented in the document analysis, under finding two and three as described above, can be understood as that the authors, which is the ministries and the policy implementation system, is seeing globalization as a determinative force that is pushing them to introduce economic and industrial aims towards cultural production as in any other industry. It could be understood as that the ministries and the policy implementation system is legitimating the promotions of economic aims and market liberalization through this inevitability.

On the basis of Giddens` (1979) argument towards the duality of structure, the *agency* or the actors, is not constrained by globalization, but is cognitive participants in the shaping of it, which rejects that globalization is to be seen as constraining. Structure, here seen as globalization, is essentially involved in its production. Based on this understanding, the actors, which can be understood as being the ministries and the policy implementation system, is cognitive actors, whom are very much involved with the creation of the structure that is argued to constrain them. Although the arguments towards that globalization is pushing forward neoliberalism is a well-known and much legitimated argument, for example in the EU- or international integration-studies, it could also be argued that the policy makers is much

involved and also responsible for the policies which promotes the liberalization of markets and *creates* the structure of neoliberalism. This can also be seen in relation Gran`s (2017) arguments towards the several economic mapping that have been initiated by the ministries towards the measuring of the cultural industries. Gran argues that these mappings as they are being initiated, are contributing to a significant degree, as finding one of the document analysis also points at, to a “capitalismization” of culture. The initiative-takers of these economic mappings, and the broad use of these, is to be seen as contributing to the development of the structures of market liberalization.

5.1.7 A party political issue? A re-idealization towards market liberalization in the Norwegian political parties

Flew and Cunningham (2010) describes how the creative industries policies and the notion of that these policies represent neoliberal strategies is connected to the period of the “New Labour” from 1997 to 2010 and the “third way ideology”. “The third way” ideology is characterized by an active promotion of economic liberalization, market competition and deregulation (Lall, 2012). New Labour have been seen as a symbol of the introduction of concept, and the many economic aims towards the cultural sector (Flew & Cunningham, 2010). Furthermore, critical commentators describes that the New Labour government used the cultural politics and the introduction of the creative industries to distance themselves from the activists from the left-wing (O'Connor, 2010), as the left have been focusing on public subsidies for the cultural sector (Flew & Cunningham, 2010). As we can see, the concept of the creative industries could easily be understood as being a party political issue. It is therefore much interesting to investigate if the introduction of the creative industries` policies in the Norwegian cultural political discourse also could be understood as being a party political issue. This is especially interesting when the findings of the document analysis is pointing at that the introduction of the creative industries` policies is promoting neo-liberal strategies, which promotes greater competition among markets over public sector interventions.

Through the document analysis, we can see that the introduction of the creative industries policies have not only been a focus area by the conservative parties, whereas the Norwegian Labour Party have been in Government repeatedly throughout the publications of the documents. As we can see, the first document, «Tango for two», was presented by the Minister of Culture and Minister of Trade and Industry, representing the Norwegian Labour

Party. White paper no. 48 “Culture politics towards 2014” was presented by the center-right “Bondevik” government, a coalition government and a minority government, based on a collaboration between the Conservative Party (Høyre), the Christian Democratic Party (Kristelig folkeparti), and Liberal Party (Venstre), which is a center- positioned party. In this document, much space have been given to the problematizing of markets and competition on the fields of the arts and culture, and the promotion of the importance of the culture politics and state subsidies to the arts and culture. This is shown under finding three. It is especially interesting that, in this document it is described that because of increasingly competition and commercialization in the international marketplace, it is “more important than ever” (finding three, page 52) to lead an offensive culture politics, and it is not the commercial interests that are important in cultural production. It is furthermore this conservative government that is arguing that innovation must be understood as a process that not only is market orientated, but also is about values which is not economically profitable in a short-term perspective. This is presented in the document analysis under finding three.

In the Action Plan “Culture and the economy”, from 2007, the economic focus is sharpened through the use of economic mappings, and the focus on culture as an industry is introduced. As the findings and prior discussion have pointed at, the promotion of culture as industry and the several socioeconomic aims, can be seen as a promotion of a broader use of market control for the cultural production. It is therefore interesting that these arguments was presented by the socialist coalition government consisting of the three political parties the Labour Party (Arbeiderpartiet), the Socialist Left Party (Sosialistisk venstreparti), and the Center Party (Senterpartiet). As we can see, the cultural industry initiative, and the promotions of economic aims that are developing throughout the document analysis, is independent from which government that is currently sitting at the time of the publication of the documents. As a parallel, the problematizing of markets and commercialization is decreasing throughout the document analysis, independent from which government currently sitting. The introduction of the creative industries` policy in the Norwegian cultural politics can therefore be understood as not being an explicit party political issue, as in Great Britain concerning the New Labour government.

Based on this, it is interesting to ask questions towards if cultural politics is an important issue on the political agenda in Norway, as every party seems so have the same aims towards the cultural politics. Further, as mentioned before, this can also be a sign of that culture is a

political issue that is still, to a large degree, funded by state subsidies, and that the cultures own value is not to be questioned by any political party. It is furthermore interesting to see this finding in relation to the arguments of Mydske, Claes and Lie (2007), which describes that there have been a “re-ideologization” in Norwegian politics, where the stable conflict line based on the right-left dimension have been changing. The political parties have been moving towards centrum, and especially the left-wing parties have changed their political profile towards an acceptance of a neoliberal political program (Mydske et al., 2007). This is also what can be understood as been happening in the cultural politics. Based on the findings from this document analysis, especially finding one and two, where the two Action Plans “Culture and the economy” in 2007 and “From entrepreneur to cultural business” in 2013, shows the Norwegian Labour Party’s explicit promotion of economic aims towards cultural production. As discussed, these aims can be understood as promoting a broader use and liberalization of markets to accomplish them.

5.2 Summary of discussion and conclusion

Based on a document analysis of six policy documents, this thesis findings is pointing towards that the content of the economic and industrial initiative towards the cultural sector in the Norwegian cultural politics, to a significant degree is formed through the introduction of the creative industries policies, as these are described in the critical international discourse (Cunningham, 2009; Flew & Cunningham, 2010; Garnham, 2005; Hesmondhalgh et al., 2014). Nevertheless, the choice of terms, definitions and rhetoric in the Norwegian introduction of the creative industries policies are chosen to be different. The rhetoric’s, and argumentations behind the operationalization of the in Norway, “cultural industries” and later “cultural and creative industries”, can be seen as defending state subsidies for the cultural sector, and problematizing commercialization. The findings are pointing at that culture is clearly set on the economic and industrial policy agenda, where the focus is turned towards the economic benefits of culture, implicit focus on intellectual property, and explicitly promotion of using creativity from the cultural sectors` workers for economic development and industrial goals. It is here argued that there are demands of commercialization of cultural products to create economic income that is contributing to the economic aims that is promoted in the policy documents. The findings are further pointing at that the content of the policies, as contrary to the definition used, is promoting market liberalization through a focus on

utilizing the cultural industries in the development of the Norwegian economy, through an explicit focus on economic growth in these industries.

The utilizing of creativity from the cultural industries` workers to strengthen the adaptability and competitiveness in the Norwegian economy, is here argued to be the essence of the Schumpeterian workfare state, exploiting risk-taking and flexible employments to the benefit of a stronger competitiveness in a flexible dynamic national economy (De Peuter, 2014; Jessop, 1994; Kong, 2014). The exploitation of the creative workforce, is here seen as an example of the contemporary forms of governance, under the concepts of the “Regulatory state” (Amdam & Veggeland, 2011) or the “Schumpeterian workfare state” (Jessop, 1994), where the use of state interventions to the cultural sector is decreasing, in favor of regulations of flexible markets. Based on the findings of the operationalization of the cultural industries in policymaking, where the traditional state subsidies arts and culture is put together with more market-based and commercialized industries, the traditional cultural sector is here argued to be neglected in policymaking.

In the international discourse, the creative industries policies are seen as a party political issue because of the close connection to the politics of the British New Labour Government, the “third way ideology” and the promotion of neoliberalism (O'Connor, 2010). The findings of the present analysis are pointing at that the introduction of the creative industries policies is not a party political issue in the Norwegian cultural politics, even though the policies could be seen as endorsing market liberalization and marketization. This is further seen in relation to the arguments of a re-idealization towards an acceptance of market liberalization in the Norwegian political parties (Mydske et al., 2007).

5.3 Final perspectives on the study

As the thesis research question concerns the broad concept of neoliberalism, there is several problems concerning the operationalization of this term to make it useful in further analysis. Some of these problems is described in the theoretical approach, such as the several definitions of the term. It is important to note that the use of the term in this thesis` analysis only concerns the definition of neoliberalism as a policy framework, significantly delineated to a promotion of operations of markets in the political agenda, which shows a shift from the Keynesian welfarism, and the explicit use of state interventions. While such a delineation of the term is attempted in the theoretical approach, the conclusion made that the introduction of

the creative industries policies in the Norwegian cultural political discourse is promoting neoliberalism, might be understood as being concluded on a basis of a too narrow understanding of the term.

Further, it is important to note that the findings and the argumentations behind these, is only pointing at what is described in the documents chosen for this analysis, and not the actual actions in policymaking. This means, as also described in the methodological approach, that the findings is based only on how the policymaking is planned for and talked about, and not how the policymaking in fact have been or is.

A problem that came up in the analytical work, was that there have not been presented any political plans towards this cultural political issue since 2015, and the findings therefore only concerns the years towards 2015, whereas this was the year of the publication of the last document used in this document analysis. It would of course be interesting to investigate the present policymaking towards this initiative, whereas this topic can be understood as being an important part of the Norwegian cultural political agenda and debate in the last two years. The findings could be more explicit if these last years have been included in the analysis. This problem could have been avoided if a different method had been chosen, such as interviews or different kinds of text data, such as a media analysis. Nevertheless, these policy documents was chosen to give the findings analytical weight and strengthen the findings validity, and the document analysis as a method was chosen to study the development over time, where other methods may have been inadequate. A mix of methods would have been preferred.

6. Literature

- Amdam, J., & Veggeland, N. (2011). *Teorier om samfunnsstyring og planlegging*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Arts Council Norway. (2018). Om Kulturrådet. Retrieved from <http://www.kulturradet.no/om-kulturradet>
- Bakke, M. (2001). Cultural Policy in Norway. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 31(1), 10-33. doi:10.1080/10632920109599577
- Bourdieu, P. (2002). Against the policy of depoliticization. *Studies in Political Economy*, 69(1), 31-41.
- British Council Creative Economy Unit. (2010). *Mapping the Creative industries: a toolkit*. Retrieved from https://creativeconomy.britishcouncil.org/media/uploads/files/English_mapping_the_creative_industries_a_toolkit_2-2.pdf
- Cunningham, S. (2002). From Cultural to Creative Industries: Theory, Industry and Policy Implications. *Media International Australia incorporating Culture and Policy*, 102(1), 54-65. doi:10.1177/1329878x0210200107
- Cunningham, S. (2009). Trojan horse or Rorschach blot? Creative industries discourse around the world. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15(4), 375-386. doi:10.1080/10286630902977501
- De Peuter, G. (2014). Beyond the Model Worker: Surveying a Creative Precariat. *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, 6(1), 263-284. doi:10.3384/cu.2000.1525.146263
- Espelien, A., & Gran, A.-B. (2011). Kulturnæringens betydning for norsk økonomi - Status og utvikling 2000-2009. Retrieved from <https://www.menon.no/wp-content/uploads/23statistikkforkulturnringen2.pdf>
- Flew, T., & Cunningham, S. (2010). Creative Industries after the First Decade of Debate. *The Information Society*, 26(2), 113-123. doi:10.1080/01972240903562753
- Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class : And how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Galloway, S., & Dunlop, S. (2007). A critique of definitions of the cultural and creative industries in public policy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 13(1), 17-31. doi:10.1080/10286630701201657

- Garnham, N. (2005). From cultural to creative industries: An analysis of the implications of the “creative industries” approach to arts and media policy making in the United Kingdom. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11(1), 15-29.
doi:10.1080/10286630500067606
- Giddens, A. (1979). *Central problems in social theory : Action, structure and contradiction in social analysis*. London: Macmillan.
- Gran, A.-B. (2017). Kultursektoren og kreativ næring i norsk økonomi. *Praktisk økonomi & finans*, 33(02), 156-171. doi:10.18261/issn.1504-2871-2017-02-02 E
- Hale, S., Leggett, W., & Martell, L. (2004). *The third way and beyond criticisms, futures and alternatives*. Manchester: S.l. : Manchester University Press.
- Haraldsen, T., Flygind, S. K., Overvåg, K., & Power, D. (2004). *Kartlegging av kulturnæringene i Norge - økonomisk betydning, vekst- og utviklingspotensial* (ØF-Rapport nr.: 10/2004). Retrieved from <http://www.ostforsk.no/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/102004.pdf>
- Haraldsen, T., Hagen, S. E., & Alnes, P. K. (2008). *Kulturnæringene i Norge- Muligheter og utfordringer- en oppdatering av kartleggingen fra 2004* (ØF-rapport 12/2008). Retrieved from <http://www.ostforsk.no/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/122008.pdf>
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hesmondhalgh, D., Nisbett, M., Oakley, K., & Lee, D. (2014). Were New Labour’s cultural policies neo-liberal? *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 21(1), 97-114.
- Hesmondhalgh, D., & Pratt, A. C. (2005). Cultural industries and cultural policy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11(1), 1-13.
doi:10.1080/10286630500067598
- Howkins, J. (2002). *The creative economy : How people make money from ideas*. London: Penguin.
- Hsieh, H.-F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277-1288. doi:10.1177/1049732305276687
- Innovation Norway. (2018a). Innovation Norway. Retrieved from <http://www.innovasjon norge.no/en/start-page>
- Innovation Norway. (2018b). Kvalifiserer din bedrift? Retrieved from <http://www.innovasjon norge.no/no/kreativ-naering/kvalifiserer-din-bedrift/>
- Jessop, B. (1994). The transition to post-Fordism and the Schumpeterian workfare state. *Towards a post-Fordist welfare state*, 7, 13-37.

- Jørgensen, K. (2013). Mellom næring og kultur ; en studie av norsk spillpolitikk. *Norsk medietidsskrift*, 20(1), 5-28.
- Kong, L. (2014). From cultural industries to creative industries and back? Towards clarifying theory and rethinking policy. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 15(4), 593-607.
doi:10.1080/14649373.2014.977555
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis : an introduction to its methodology* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage.
- Kulturdepartementet. (2017). Kulturpolitikken. Retrieved from <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/kultur-idrett-og-frivillighet/innsiktsartikler/kultur/id2001223/>
- Lall, M. (2012). Introduction: Identifying New Labour's Trojan Hors. In M. A. Peters & M. Lall (Eds.), *Policy, Discourse and Rhetoric : How New Labour Challenged Social Justice and Democracy* (pp. 1-14). Rotterdam: Rotterdam, DE: Sense Publishers.
- Larner, W. (2000). Neo-liberalism Policy, Ideology, Governmentality. *Studies in Political Economy*, 63(1), 5-25. doi:10.1080/19187033.2000.11675231
- Latour, B. (1999). Circulating reference. In *Pandora's hope : Essays on the reality of science studies*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Lee, H.-K. (2016). Politics of the 'creative industries' discourse and its variants. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 22(3), 438-455.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2014.991783>
- Mangset, P., & Hylland, O. M. (2017). *Kulturpolitikk : organisering, legitimering og praksis*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Mehmetoglu, M. (2004). *Kvalitativ metode for merkantile fag*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.
- Mydske, P. K., Claes, D. H., & Lie, A. (2007). *Nyliberalisme : Ideer og politisk virkelighet*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- O'Connor, J. (2010). *The cultural and creative industries : A literature review* (2nd ed.). London: Creativity, Culture and Education.
- Pinheiro, R., & Hauge, E. (2014). Global scripts and local translations: The case of cultural and creative industries (CCIs) in Norway. *City, Culture and Society*, 5(2), 87-95.
doi:10.1016/j.ccs.2014.05.007
- Thagaard, T. (2009). *Systematikk og innlevelse : En innføring i kvalitativ metode* (3rd ed.). Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

- Thorsen, D. E., & Lie, A. (2007). Kva er nyliberalisme? In P. K. Mydske, D. H. Claes, & A. Lie (Eds.), *Nyliberalisme- ideer og politisk virkelighet* (pp. 33-48). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Throsby, D. (2001). *Economics and culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Towse, R. (2010). *A textbook of cultural economics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ueland, L. K. (2009). *Kultur og næring* (TF-notat nr. 35). Retrieved from <http://www.telemarksforsking.no/publikasjoner/filer/1641.pdf>