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“The evolving place of the Cultural and Creative industries in the public policy orientation: What can we learn from the Communications of the European Commission?”

"La place des industries créatives et culturelles dans les politiques publiques : Des leçons à tirer de l'évolution de la communication de la Commission Européenne "

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BIOSKETCH

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, attention towards the Cultural and Creative industries (CCIs) has been largely renewed. It has become a focal point in management researches for their weight in the economy as well as for their laboratory nature of creativity and innovation practices. Nonetheless, it is not clear whether the present attention towards the CCIs emerged because of internal sector dynamics or is the result of targeted institutional and political attention. Understanding the origin of this perspective and the structuring of associated concepts is important in terms of managerial practices and research: helping CCIs' development on the one hand or understanding and promoting awareness of CCIs on the other hand. In this perspective, this article highlights how the concept of CCIs has gradually imposed itself. It focuses on the context of the European Union. We argue that a thorough analysis of the content of the various Communications issued by the European Commission helps to weigh up the growing weight of CCIs' issues, in what sense and meaning the concept has been mobilized, and its place in public policy actions, beyond long-established cultural policies.

Keywords: creative and cultural industries; Communications; culture; public policy; European Commission; text analysis

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Introduction

In recent years, the attention towards the Cultural and Creative industries (CCIs) has been largely renewed in management research. More and more research works are produced on these industries, which in many ways constitute a laboratory for new management practices. The focus is either on creativity and innovation management modes, or the exploration of response strategies to disruptions brought by digital technologies, as well as new structuring of Internet platforms. The CCIs have thus fueled both the development of a specific stream of economics and management studies and more generalist works focusing on all the sectors, such as the automobile or service industries, for example.

The CCIs concept started from a seminal definition¹ and the first initiatives carried out in the UK by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport Creative Task Force (DCMS, 1998). It is only afterwards that many studies have regularly underlined the unique contribution to economic growth and organizational design brought by the CCIs. This increasing attention influenced institutional perspectives (cf UNCTAD reports; Green Paper, 2010) as well as the academic literature². Additionally, several local governments called for public reports for policy strategy guidelines³. The scientific literature originally focused on the role of the creative class and the management of talents (Scott, 2006; Florida, 2002; Caves, 2000), till the interest towards the establishment of creative cities (UNCTAD, 2010; Crossick, 2006) and the strategic and innovative dimensions of CCIs and their business models (Salvador, Benghozi, 2021; KEA & PPMI, 2019; Benghozi, Lyubareva, 2014; Parkman et al., 2012; Throsby, 2001; Howkins, 2001).

Actually, the use and worth of cultural contents support in large part the development of the digital economy and the emergence of dominant economic actors like Amazon, Google or Facebook. “Creative” processes and information systems play a pivotal role (Cohendet, Simon, 2007) in the knowledge and innovative economy and the CCIs turn to be an ever-increasing inspiration for traditional industries (Lampel *et al.*, 2000).

Notwithstanding this interest and inflation of contributions in both the scientific and the grey literature⁴, it is even so not clear whether the actual attention towards the CCIs emerged because of internal sector dynamics or is the result of targeted institutional and political attention. Understanding the origin of this perspective and the structuring of associated concepts is important in terms of managerial practices and research: helping CCIs’ development on the one hand or promoting awareness of CCIs on the other hand.

In this perspective, this article highlights how the concept of CCIs has gradually imposed itself, by focusing on the context of the European Union. A careful analysis of the content of the various Communications issued by the European Commission (EC) will help to consider the growing weight of CCIs, in what sense and meaning the concept has been mobilized, and its place in public policy actions, beyond cultural policies.

¹ “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” (DCMS, 1998 and 2001: 5). For further deepening on the concept, see Box 1 in the report Benghozi, Salvador & Simon (2015: 11).

² e.g. among others: Flew, Cunningham, 2010; Harper, 2011; Benhamou, 2014; Muller *et al.*, 2009; Chaston, Sadler-Smith, 2012; ; Parkman et al., 2012.

³ e.g. Foundation for Research, Science and Technology, 2003; KEA, 2006; Davy, 2007; Santagata 2009; UNCTAD 2010; HKU, 2010; SGS, 2013; Müller, 2013; CBI, 2014; Roxane, 2014.

⁴ cf. among others, International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation, special issue: Entrepreneurship in the Creative Industries - An International Perspective, 2005; Technological Forecasting and Social Change, special section: Digital Technology and the Creative Industries: Disassembly and Reassembly, 2014; International Journal of Arts Management, special issue: Financing Creativity: New Issues and New Approaches, 2014; Technological Forecasting and Social Change, special section: The Creative Economy in Global Competition, 2015; Regional Studies, special issue: Intermediaries and the Creative Economy, 2015; Journal of Education and Work, special issue: Creative graduate pathways within and beyond the creative industries, 2015; International Journal of Cultural and Creative Industries, special issue: Creative Industries Policy in Asia: Innovating within Constraints, 2017; The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society, special issue: Digital Cultural Policies in Comparison, 2017; Revue d’Economie industrielle, special issue : Industrie et comportements créatifs : leçons du passé et recherches actuelles, 2021; Industry & Higher Education, special issue: Cultural and creative industries and the challenge of sustainable development: opportunities for higher education, businesses and communities, 2023.

More specifically, we will try to answer to the following research question: how the notion of CCI has been progressively constructed and structured, all along the years, in the discourses of a public institution such as the EC? Furthermore, the analysis should stress how Internet and the information and communication technologies (ICTs) evolution influenced somehow the political perspective towards CCIs. Answering these questions should contribute to recognize to what extent the evolution of public action about CCIs echoes - or not - the evolution of the field in the management academic literature.

To this aim, we focused on the specific institutional context of the European Union (EU). It provides a coherent framework for public intervention and makes available a complete corpus on a longitudinal basis. We thus considered texts about Communications from the EC: these are non-legislative texts, published in the Official Journal of the EU, C Series ('information and notices' (C = communication)), (Borchardt, 2017). This choice is relevant because Communications are explicitly conceived to reflect general orientations and to set the framework for information, interpretation and action. Disclosing rights and duties, they could then become a Recommendation or a White or Green Paper.

The originality and potency of our research consists in analyzing the cultural policies not from the historical and qualitative characterization of their contents, but from a formal scrutiny of how the concept is envisioned by public actors and implemented through the presentation of their actions. For that purpose, we set a quantitative treatment of Communications' texts through a consistent texts' analysis, based on a formalized discourse analysis aimed at identifying the occurrences and the semantic context of the notion.

The article will be structured as follows: section 1 presents an overview about the historical evolution of CCIs and their consideration for European policy setting. Section 2 presents our methodology while Section 3 highlights the main results of our analysis. Discussion and some concluding remarks are then presented in section 4.

1. Policies for the cultural and creative industries: a brief overview in the European context

The focus on the European context is particularly relevant for understanding the place of CCIs and the way in which the concept has imposed itself among both public practitioners and researchers. On the one hand, the cultural dimension has been central to regional identity from the outset (Berting, 2006). On the other hand, the notion of cultural industry and cultural policy is rooted and has gradually been broadened in the European context to include creative industries (KEA & PPMI, 2019; Bouquillion, Le Corf, 2010).

It is interesting to briefly come back, in this perspective, to the evolution of the corresponding European policies. In a nutshell, they passed from a traditional understanding of culture and cultural policies as a support and reflection of identities, to a progressive integration of economic and market issues, then to specific attention towards the most innovative sectors before enlarging to the creative industries in general (KEA & PPMI, 2019; UNCTAD, 2018; KEA, 2009). This evolution echoes, at first glance, the evolution of the concept in the economic and management literature. It stands out, however, insofar as the current works on CCIs are less a gradual evolution from researches on culture than the convergence of approaches from very different traditions: management of arts and culture, innovation management, digital strategic management in particular (cf, among others, Bae, Yoo, 2015; Sung, 2015; Chaston, Sadler-Smith, 2012; Brandellero, Kloosterman, 2010; Eltham, 2009; Müller et al., 2009; Potts, 2009; Caves, 2000).

From culture as identity to culture as a market

Culture is an area of frequent cooperation at EU level: Perrin (2015) talked about "Euroregional cultural policy". The "European City of Culture" event and the "European Year of Cinema" are among the main initiatives launched in the 1980s. Yet, the EU treaties considered very lately "Culture" as an explicit ground for action. The Maastricht Treaty of 1992 adopted article 128 about Culture, then included in the Lisbon Treaty as article 167⁵. Cultural activities at EU level were thus officially recognized (Bruell, 2013; Littoz-Monnet, 2007).

⁵ "1. The Union shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.

Several programs supporting cultural cooperation, mobility of artists, creation of networks between the EU country members appeared in the following years: among others, *Kaleidoscope* for cultural and artistic activities (1996), *Ariane* in the field of books and reading (1997-1999), *Raphael* for cultural heritage (1997-2000), *Culture 2000-2006* for promoting a common cultural area. At the same time, other initiatives like *Capitals of Culture* (2007-2019) were introduced.

In the year 2000 the *Culture 2000* single framework programme was launched. It brought a radical change with a trend towards the “multiplication of culture’s utility” (Barnett, 2001) and the awareness of the key role played by culture in general.

Accordingly, culture became a tool for fostering cooperation among member states. But Littoz-Monnet (2007: 2) highlighted that such role has been conceived through national subsidiarity: the EC proceeds only if and in so far as the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the member states. In this context, culture has traditionally been considered as a key pillar of the sovereignty of every member state that is not willing to transfer competences and decisions in this domain. National competence for culture at EU level is strictly anchored in related national cultural styles, habits and traditions. And cultural policies are linked to policy decisions made by governments in a very wide range of issues, including “cultural industries”. This framework openly highlights the “difficult nature of cultural policy as a field of integration”: nonetheless, its governance increasingly shifted towards the EU level that initiated a gradual liberalization of the cultural industries’ markets (Littoz-Monnet, 2007: 3). This liberalization is not in line with the common belief that the French “cultural exception”⁶ concept contributed to associate to France (and influence) EU cultural policy, and France did not succeed in imposing its own policy model at EU level (Littoz-Monnet, 2007). Thus, the EC, with the liberalization of cultural markets, fostered an overall Europeanization of cultural policy with an accent on the economic dimension of culture. Schlesinger (2016) even talked about an “economization of culture” and Bouquillion et al. (2015) highlighted a tendency towards a “culturalization” of the economy.

From culture as a market to culture as a support for innovation and economic growth

The concept of CCIs was influenced by the results of the KEA report for the EC about “the Economy of Culture in Europe” (2006) and the Green Paper “Unlocking the potential of Cultural and Creative Industries” (2010).

2009 was labelled “European Year of Creativity and Innovation” under the Czech presidency: it aimed at fostering awareness of the importance of creativity and innovation for economic development and, thus, increasing attention on Europe’s creative and innovative potential.

Then, in 2011 the EC started to work on a new support programme for CCIs with the objective to merge the Culture 2007-2013 programme with MEDIA and MEDIA Mundus, two 2007-2013 programmes respectively in the audiovisual sector and cooperation with professionals from other countries. This resulted in the “Creative Europe programme (2014-2020)”: with this new program the economic impact and the objective of economic growth became more prevalent. This aspect is linked to the growing awareness of the role of culture, but also CCIs in general, for European economic development. For Bruell (2013) this new programme introduces a new conception of culture, now measured in terms of market mechanisms and commercial value. This new program marked also a change in language expressions: the cultural sector is

2. Action by the Union shall be aimed at encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, supporting and supplementing their action in the following areas: – improvement of the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples, – conservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage of European significance, – non-commercial cultural exchanges, – artistic and literary creation, including in the audiovisual sector.

3. The Union and the Member States shall foster cooperation with third countries and the competent international organizations in the sphere of culture, in particular the Council of Europe.

4. The Union shall take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of the Treaties, in particular in order to respect and to promote the diversity of its cultures.

5. In order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article:

– the European Parliament and the Council acting in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure and after consulting the Committee of the Regions, shall adopt incentive measures, excluding any harmonization of the laws and regulations of the Member States.

– the Council, on a proposal from the Commission, shall adopt recommendations”.

⁶ France is known for the specificities of the role played in general by culture – the so-called “*exception culturelle*” (Lescure, 2013).

now called “cultural and creative sector”. On the one hand, according to Bruell (2013), the focus shifted from the cultural business sector to the artists themselves in the sense of profit producers. On the other hand, cultural policies are intended to promote a more commercial and more industrialized orientation of culture (Bouquillion et al., 2015; Bouquillion, Le Corf, 2010).

From the profit-oriented side of culture to creative industries and cities and beyond

CCIs’ perspective has also changed thanks to the new vision of creative cities seen as regional development strategies (Landry, 2001; UNCTAD, 2010; Comunian et al., 2010; Crossick, 2006). It fosters the development of brand identity for cities characterized by peculiar events, structures and/or industries. As an example, the EU introduced in 1985 an annual designation of a “European City of Culture” that results in the organization of cultural events fostering visibility, singularity and attractiveness. Cultural, social and economic spillovers are expected for building a city brand. This initiative underlines again the great focus on the economic dimension: Bruell (2013) underlined the EC focus on the “profit-oriented side” of culture.

Generally speaking, CCIs are hardly considered to live up to other well-established industries in the manufacturing or service sectors. It is difficult to find a univocal classification as well as definition of what are the CCIs at national and international level. This complexity is reflected in different policy measures at national level as well as tricky comparative studies of performance among countries (cf for example, the case of the video game industry in Benghozi, Chantepie, 2017). Furthermore, CCIs include secular and well-established industries like the book publishing and the cinema, as well as more recent and fashionable industries like the video games sector.

The European case provides thus an interesting illustration of the new perspectives on culture. It turns to be a central pillar of public actions.

Nonetheless, the short overview that we have presented constitutes only a snapshot of the way in which the framework for public action was constructed. The foundations of such a structuring as well as the argumentative and conceptual framework in which it operated are still to be acutely investigated. To this aim, to go beyond the simple identification of the measures implemented, we carried out a systematic and longitudinal textual analysis on all the Communications’ texts produced by the EC.

2. Methodology

From a methodological point of view, we precisely examine the content of all the Communications issued by the EC between 1977 (first text about CCIs available on EUR-Lex⁷) and 2018. We only took into consideration communications specifically focusing on CCIs in general or on one of the CCIs in particular (ie with a specific reference to this field in the title and/or content of the Communication).

We firstly identified a list of results with more than 200 Communications. After a cautious examination, we excluded documents not pertaining to the present analysis: for example, the original search with the keyword “cultural and creative industries” included some texts on “agriculture”.

Then, we sorted through texts about “cultural differences”, “cultural development” or “cultural diversity”: a first part was excluded when texts were pertaining to the education sector, a second part was included if related specifically to CCIs. We also filtered the documents about “copyright”: we only kept those with a specific focus also on CCIs.

In the end, we obtained a coherent and relevant corpus consisting of 30 texts of EU Communications about CCIs.

The selected texts have been codified, classified, and synthesized using textual data statistical analysis software. Semantic work on texts is now a recognized and regularly used approach in management studies (Girin, 1990). It can be completed through different approaches (lexical, linguistic, cognitive, thematic) and methodologies. In particular, texts’ analysis in management research commonly make use of dedicated software like Tropes, Spad-T, Sphinx Lexica, NVivo, Alceste. They have gained more importance in recent years (Seignour, 2011; Helme-Guizon, Gavard-Perret, 2004).

To perform our analysis, we chose Alceste⁸ because its approach and underlying principle consists of *« rendre compte de l’organisation interne d’un discours plutôt que rendre compte de différences statistiques*

⁷ The official website providing access to the EU law and other public documents.

⁸ *Analyse des Lexèmes Co-occurents dans les Enoncés Simples d’un TExte*. The software is developed since 1986 by the company IMAGE, with the collaboration of the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS).

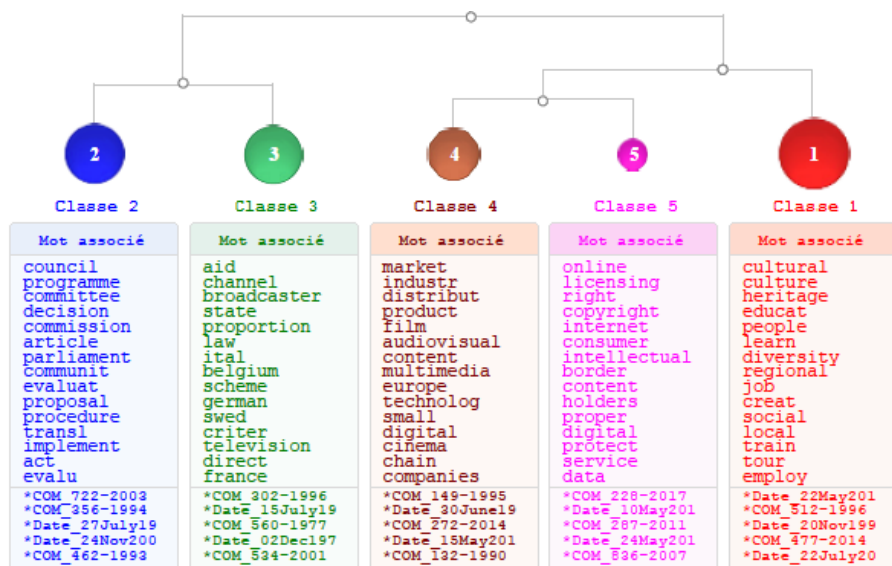
entre les divers textes d'un corpus » (Reinert, 1998). While most of the other softwares rather opt for a logic of lexical statistics (words, sentences...), it was more suitable for our purpose without *a priori* on the discourse analysis. The Alceste methodology consists of scrutinizing the vocabulary distribution in a corpus of texts⁹ with the matter of determining how its constituent elements are organized¹⁰. It fits well for investigating the evolutionary structuring of the EC discourse regarding CCIs.

Thanks to Alceste, we firstly carried out an analysis of the lexical characteristics of the collected documents. Starting from a descending hierarchical classification, we then built five vocabulary classes based on the distribution and the co-occurrence of the “units of the context” that make up the subdivisions of the corpus (ie textual units: sentences and segments of sentences) retained for analysis. In addition, we drafted clouds of words to highlight the most significant keywords. Lastly, we completed the identification of the most significant elements of each class achieving a factorial analysis of correspondence on results of the hierarchical descending classification.

3. Main results

Statistical analysis performed on the corpus resulted in 5 classes with very high relevance of the treatment: 87% of textual units have been classified (Figure 1). These classes group together the words which participate in the definition of a theme (Helme-Guizon, Gavard-Perret, 2004).

Figure 1: The five Classes distribution



3.1 The five classes

Based on this first sorting we can briefly describe the nature and structure of the classes. They are interesting because their relative weight is generally similar, except for the last one. They mark the existence of different centers of gravity illustrating the different cultural, technological, digital and creative components of the CCIs. They make it possible to question the progressive structuring of the EC conversation that has taken place over the years both through the internal dynamics of policies and through the transformations of the environment (cf. the Internet revolution).

Class 1 includes 25.91% of textual units and it is the one that emerged first, it is also the most specific with the most homogeneous vocabulary. Class 1 is characterized by words like “cultural, culture, heritage, education, people, learn” (Figures 1a, 1b). This first class underlines the significant absence of weight of words like “market, product, distribution, content, film” but it considers the issue of employment and

⁹ Alceste makes it possible to achieve a reduction and a classification of the “segments of a text” through a textual structure analysis that enables to interpret groupings through an inventory of repeated segments and concordances in each grouping.

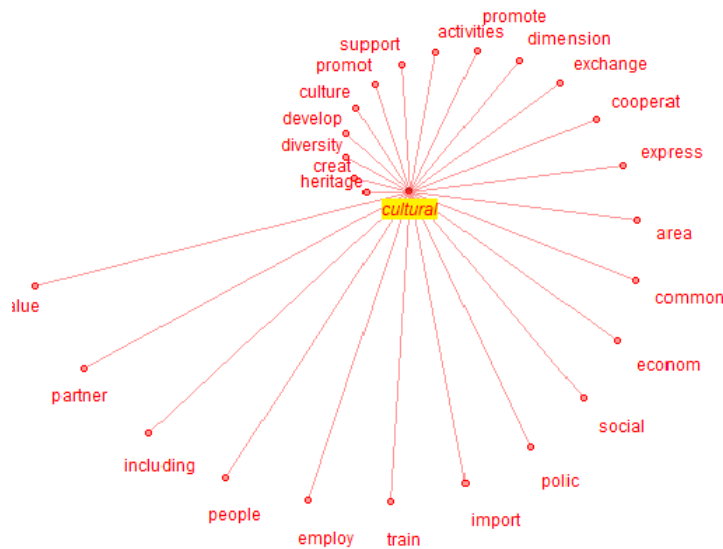
¹⁰ For a detailed summary of the nature of the processing in Alceste software, see Table 1 in Collin-Lachaud and Duyck (2002: 61).

growth: the growing importance of culture is identified as a source of future employment. And cultural heritage is considered a key element for city branding thanks to tourism development. COM-268 (2018: 10) stated that the EC was “addressing the legal and financial framework conditions for the development of the CCIs and the mobility of professionals”.

Figure 1a: Cloud of words of Class 1



Figure 1b: Cloud of words of Class 1



Culture is also associated to local and regional development, as well as to cities’ identity and attractiveness. Class 1 is thus well represented by cultural and human values linked to the historical roots of the EU: the word “cultural” is strongly present in this class. Additionally, the words “innovation” and “creat”¹¹ are more present in this class than in the others: culture has a role in supporting and fostering creativity and innovation. Social innovations for smart growth are associated to cultural heritage. And the promotion of culture is regarded as a catalyst for creativity. Furthermore, creativity is cited as the basis for innovation in other industries. As highlighted by COM-267 (2018: 4), “combining knowledge and skills specific to CCIs with those of other sectors helps generate innovative solutions, including in ICT, tourism, manufacturing, services, and the public sector”. CCIs are thus recognized as strategic spillovers to other industries. COM-537 (2012: 3) underlined that “festivals and European capitals of culture produce important economic benefits, with sometimes more than ten times leverage for each euro invested”.

¹¹ This root word stands for: creativity, creation, creating, creative.

The respect of the principle of subsidiarity in the actions for culture at EU level is also underlined.

This Class can thus be labelled “*Culture and cultural heritage for European identity*”. The texts of Communications that most contributed to create this Class are listed in Table 1:

Table 1: List of Communications that most influenced the content of Class 1:

Communications	Khi2	Title	It deals about:
COM-512(1996)	288	“Cohesion policy and culture. A contribution to employment”	“ <i>This Communication deals with culture only to the extent that it is linked to social and economic cohesion and regional development as assisted by the Structural Funds</i> ” (pag. 3)
COM-477(2014)	260	“Towards an integrated approach to cultural heritage for Europe”	“ <i>The overall aim is to help Member States and stakeholders make the most of the significant support for heritage available under EU instruments, progress towards a more integrated approach at national and EU level, and ultimately make Europe a laboratory for heritage-based innovation</i> ” (pag. 3)
COM-242(2007)	246	“A European agenda for culture in a globalizing world”	“ <i>It explores the relationship between culture and Europe in a globalizing world and proposes objectives for a new EU agenda for culture</i> ” (pag. 3).
COM-673(2017)	245	“Strengthening European Identity through Education and Culture”	“ <i>It identifies key issues and sets out possible ways forward in line with the principle of subsidiarity and the fact that the competences for education and culture lay primarily with Member States at national, regional and local level</i> ” (pag. 2).
COM-268(2018)	235	“Building a stronger Europe: the role of youth, education and culture policies”	“ <i>It brings together a set of initiatives in the fields of youth, culture, education and training policy to help secure a more competitive, inclusive and cohesive Europe...“Youth Strategy” for the period 2019-2027...“A New European Agenda for Culture”. This initiative will be instrumental in improving awareness of Europe’s common identity and heritage...</i> ” (pag. 3).
COM-267(2018)	205	“A New European Agenda for Culture”	“ <i>It aims to harness the full potential of culture to help build a more inclusive and fairer Union, supporting innovation, creativity and sustainable jobs and growth</i> ” (pag. 1).
COM-537(2012)	84	“Promoting cultural and creative sectors for growth and jobs in the EU”	“ <i>Heritage, visual and performing arts, cinema, music, publishing, fashion or design manifest themselves strongly in daily life but the contribution that cultural and creative sectors can bring to social and economic development in the EU is still not fully recognized. This Communication proposes a strategy to exploit further the potential of these sectors in the EU to contribute to growth and jobs</i> ” (pag. 2).
COM-266(1998)	76	“First European community framework programme in support of culture (2000-2004)”	“ <i>The work of the Commission’s services on “culture, the cultural industries and employment” confirms that cultural activities represent an important reserve of jobs of which good use needs to be made”</i> (pag. 4).

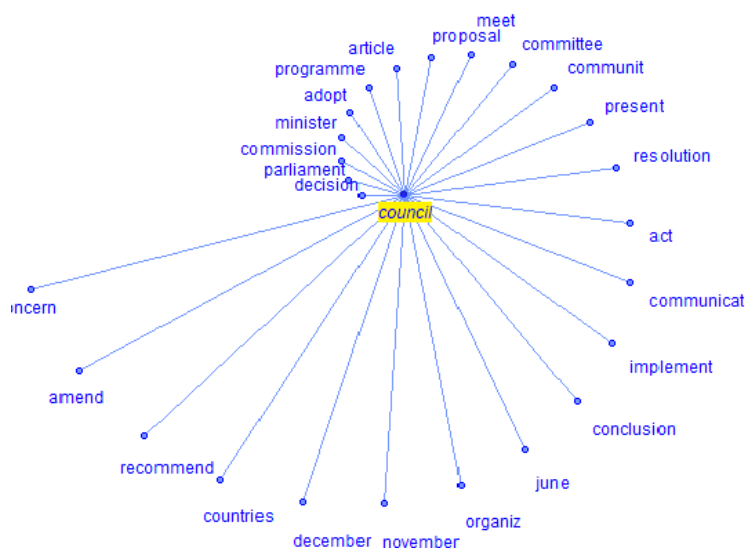
Class 2 represents 22.24% of textual units classified: key words in this class are “council, programme, committee, decision, commission, article, parliament” (Figures 2a, 2b). This second class underlines the significant absence of weight of words like “product, film, creat..., develop, market, digital”.

Following the insertion of article 128 in the Treaty, the cultural field has become a permanent action in EU activities, in the respect of the principle of subsidiarity. Priority areas of intervention are cultural heritage, books and reading, and artistic activities. Yet in the COM-462 (1993: 15) the promotion of the European audio-visual industry is considered necessary for the operation of the single market. Similarly, the matter of the impact of the new technologies on the publishing industry is advocated, but without going further.

Figure 2a: Cloud of words of Class 2



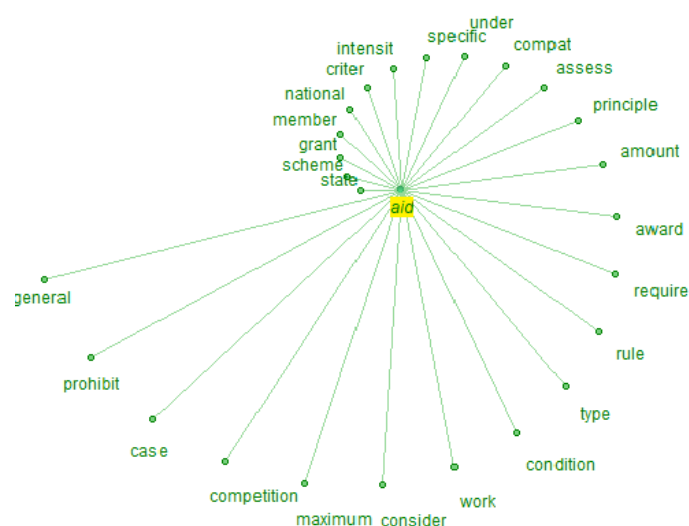
Figure 2b: Cloud of words of Class 2



This class thus represents in general the efforts and initiatives taken by the EC for adopting specific proposals and programs in this field: it can be labelled “*Institutional standpoint and programs for culture development*”. The texts of Communications that most contributed to create this Class are listed in Table 2:

Table 2: List of Communications that most influenced the content of Class 2:

Communications	Khi2	Title	It deals about:
COM-722(2003)	414	“Report on the implementation of the «Culture 2000» Programme in the years 2000 and 2001”	“It presents a summary of the main findings and recommendations of the midterm evaluation of the Culture 2000 Programme , which was carried out by the Danish consultancy PLS Ramboll Management, as well as the main reactions and conclusions of the Commission to these recommendations” (pag. 4)
COM-356(1994)	371	“European community action in support of culture. Proposal for establishing a programme to support artistic and cultural activities having a European dimension (Kaleidoscope 2000) and proposal	“It is now required in order to outline the framework, on the new basis provided by the Treaty, for Community support measures in the cultural field , and thus to avoid the risk of hiatus in the Community's cultural action at the very time the Community has stated its wish for that action to be further developed” (pag. 3)



This class includes texts more linked to the audio-visual sector. Audio-visual works, and particularly cinema, play a pivotal role in shaping EU identities, also because of their widespread influence on society: Franco-Italian or Franco-German co-productions have, for example, existed since the 1950s. The impact of the information society and the new technological developments multiplying the distribution channels are also underlined in COM-534 (2001). This COM reminds that audio-visual works have never been left only to market forces, because they are on the one hand economic goods, and on the other hand cultural goods, thus benefiting of State aids.

Besides the specific focus on the audio-visual sector, cultural policies and architectural heritage are taken into account through a remind of the four constituents of the cultural sector: free trade in cultural goods, better conditions of cultural workers, a larger audience and preservation of the architectural heritage.

This Class can thus be labelled “EU support for cultural actions, extending the audio-visual model”. The texts of Communications that most contributed to create this Class are listed in Table 3:

Table 3: List of Communications that most influenced the content of Class 3:

Communications	Khi2	Title	It deals about:
COM-302(1996)	608	“Television without Frontiers”	“It covers the second series of Member States’ reports on the implementation of Articles 4 and 5 of the Television without Frontiers Directive ” (pag. 3)
COM-560(1977)	338	“Community action in the cultural sector”	“It will endeavor to describe the present state of progress of Community action in the cultural sector and indicate further developments to be aimed at. The cultural sector may be defined as the socio-economic whole formed by persons and undertakings dedicated to the production and distribution of cultural goods and services” (pag. 2)
COM-534(2001)	273	“On certain legal aspects relating to cinematographic and other audiovisual works”	“It sets out the principles to be applied for the application of State aid rules to the cinema sector and identifies the next steps to be taken and the areas where further reflection is needed in order to create a favorable environment for the production and distribution of audiovisual works ” (pag. 2).
COM-332(2013)	240	“State aid for films and other audiovisual works”	“The fostering of audiovisual production by the Commission and the Member States have a role to ensure that their culture and creative capacity can be expressed and the diversity and richness of European culture reflected” (pag. 1).
COM-590(1982)	148	“Stronger community action in the cultural sector”	“The 1977 communication made both the institutions and those involved in cultural life aware of two things - the EEC Treaty covers cultural activities and the institutions are mindful of the problems of cultural workers ...The Commission considered, and still considers, that Community action in the cultural sector should be both complementary and subsidiary to what was already being done internationally. There is therefore no duplication with the efficiently run activities of organizations like the Council of Europe, for which the development of culture is a prime objective...In the light of

			<p>experience this paper makes proposals for stronger Community action in the cultural sector and indicates the priorities” (pag. 1-3).</p>
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Class 4 stands for 19% of textual units classified: most influential words in this class are “market, industry, distribution, product, film, audio-visual” (Figures 4a, 4b). This fourth class underlines the significant absence of weight of words like “cultural, commission, culture, member, state”.

Unlike class 3, it is less the overall framework of intervention and support for the audiovisual sector that is considered here than the challenges for Europe in terms of its economic and market dimension. The audiovisual sector is considered a driver for innovation and it is more regulated than other CCIs as well as strongly supported by public funding (COM-272, 2014). The new avenues opened by the digital revolution are also highlighted as well as, like in the other texts, the respect of the principle of subsidiarity. The audio-visual sector - cinema and television industries most of all - is strategic not only for its economic growth potential, but also for its socio-cultural dimension: it contributes to wealth and diversity of EU cultures (COM-132, 1990). Nonetheless, fragmentation of the EU audio-visual market is often cited.

It is this diversity of visions of economic issues that characterizes class 4. COM-487 (2010: 2) cited the CCIs as important drivers of economic and social innovation in many other sectors and contributors to GDP, while COM-786 (2011) argues that investing in the CCIs contributes to promote smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. An advantage linked to ICTs is a wider and cheaper distribution of cultural and creative content.

Figure 4a: Cloud of words of Class 4

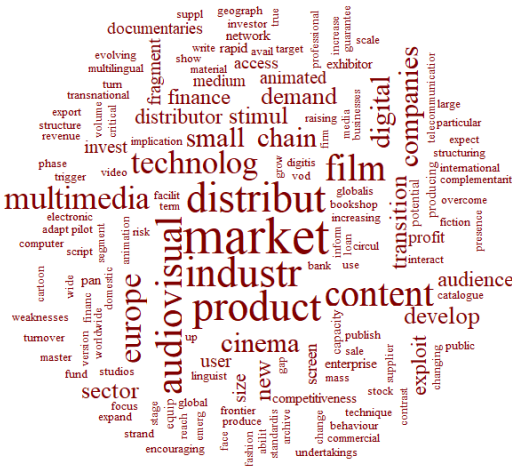
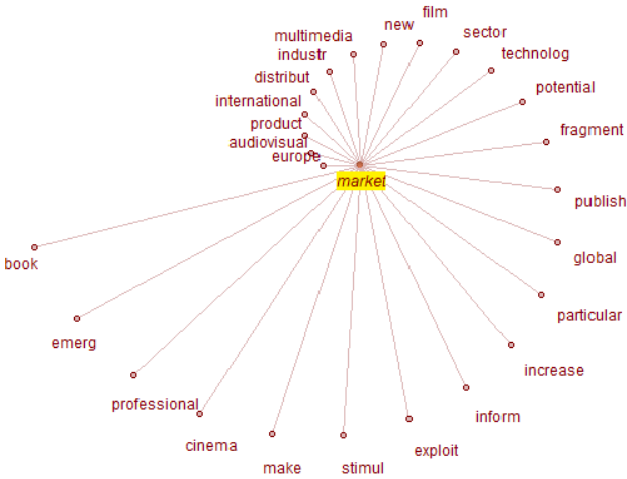


Figure 4b: Cloud of words of Class 4



This class is somewhat like class 3, but with a strong focus on the word “market”, thus it can be labelled “*Audio-visual and market*”. This class is the only one where the word “profit” is significantly present, while “growth” is more represented in class 1.

The texts of Communications that most contributed to create this Class are listed in Table 4:

Table 4: List of Communications that most influenced the content of Class 4:

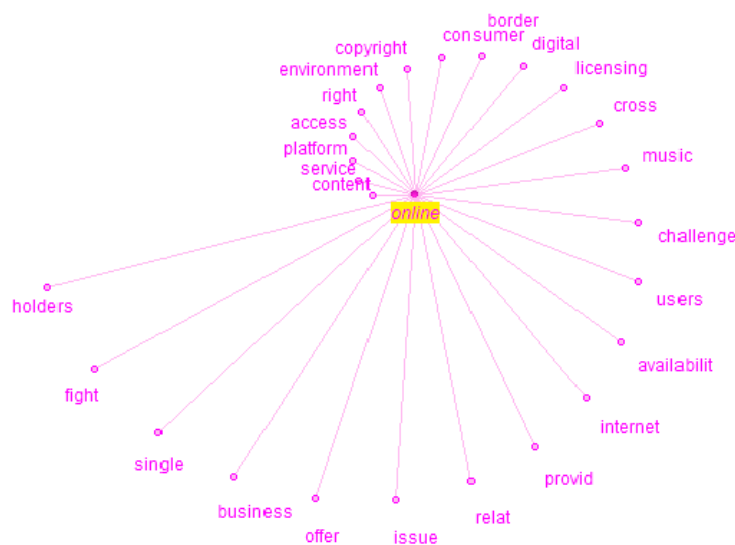
Communications	Khi2	Title	It deals about:
COM-149(1995)	224	“Proposal for adopting a multi-annual Community programme to stimulate the development of a European multimedia content industry and to encourage the use of multimedia content in the emerging information society (INFO2000)”	“ <i>The focus of this communication is on the transition from print to electronic publishing and on the interactive multimedia information services that are rapidly emerging</i> ” (pag. 1c) “ <i>It deals with a key dimension of the European information society: the future development of the content industry in Europe</i> ” (pag. 2)
COM-272(2014)	218	“European film in the digital era. Bridging cultural diversity and competitiveness”	“ <i>It is embedded within the strategic framework presented in the Commission’s Communication on promoting cultural and creative sectors for growth and jobs in the EU and is in line with the Digital Agenda for Europe</i> ” (pag. 2) “ <i>It provides a stocktaking of recent developments in the film sector and identifies current challenges in public policies impacting the film sector. It also highlights existing EU instruments that could contribute to the process of adaptation to these challenges</i> ” (pag. 3)
COM-132(1990)	179	“Action programme to promote the development of the European audiovisual industry "media" 1991-1995”	“ <i>The Commission is presenting to the Council these proposals for Decisions relating to a five-year action programme starting in 1991 based on the results of the MEDIA pilot experiments and setting out the arrangements for the Community’s involvement in Audiovisual EUREKA</i> ” (pag. 1).
COM-658(1999)	170	“Concerning a proposal for a programme in support of the audiovisual industry (MEDIA Plus – 2001-2005)”	“ <i>Faced with a new environment marked by the de facto globalization of the methods of exploitation, the European audiovisual content industry, because of its fragmentation, is not yet fully able to stand up to the growing world-wide competition. [This COM] is intended to establish optimum conditions based on a coherent strategy and clear objectives, with a view to overcoming these difficulties and allowing European operators to position themselves as best possible in these new markets while exploiting European cultural diversity</i> ” (pag. 2).
COM-487(2010)	117	“On opportunities and challenges for European cinema in the digital era”	“ <i>This Communication builds on the work that has already been carried out by the European Commission and the Member States in this area...It is clear that the European Commission has an important role to play in the digital transition of cinemas, in particular by contributing to the establishment of a framework for this transition</i> ” (pag. 3).
COM-725(2003)	94	“Report on the implementation and the mid-term results of the MEDIA Plus and MEDIA Training programmes (2001-2005) and on the results of the preparatory action "Growth and audiovisual: i2i audiovisual”	“ <i>It is based on the conclusions of the mid-term evaluation of MEDIA Plus and MEDIA Training and on the evaluation of the results of the preparatory action "Growth and audiovisual: i2i audiovisual.</i> ” (pag. 4).
COM-786(2011)	59	“Creative Europe - A new framework programme for the cultural and creative sectors (2014-2020)”	“ <i>Despite higher than average growth rates in many countries in recent years, these sectors are facing particular challenges and difficulties. If they are to realise their potential for further growth, a coherent strategic approach to address such constraints and put the right enablers in place is required: this is the core aim of the Creative Europe proposal</i> ” (pag. 2).

Class 5 is the least important and it covers 11.46% of textual units classified: pivotal words of this class are “online, licensing, right, copyright, internet, consumer” (Figures 5a, 5b). This fifth class underlines the significant absence of weight of words like “community/ies, cultural, culture, programme, project, cinema”. Also, and more surprisingly regarding the new challenges of intellectual property opened up by digital technologies, the word “market” is poorly present compared to class 4. CCIs are cited for their high dynamics in jobs creation. It is therefore part of a vision that considers the value created by intellectual property from an individualist angle, that of the rights of authors and multiple rights holders, in accordance with the European tradition of the French law Le Chatelier (1792) or the Berne Convention (1886), and therefore less from the angle of the rights of the producers or broadcasters who constitute the CCIs (yet also of European origin with the English status of Queen Anne (1710)). While innovation is considered indispensable for addressing the big challenges the humankind is facing in the 21st century, no direct link is done between CCIs and innovation.

Figure 5a: Cloud of words of Class 5



Figure 5b: Cloud of words of Class 5



This final class represents Internet and the digital world linked to CCIs: it can be labelled “*Digital and creative content*”.

The texts of Communications that most contributed to create this Class are listed in Table 5:

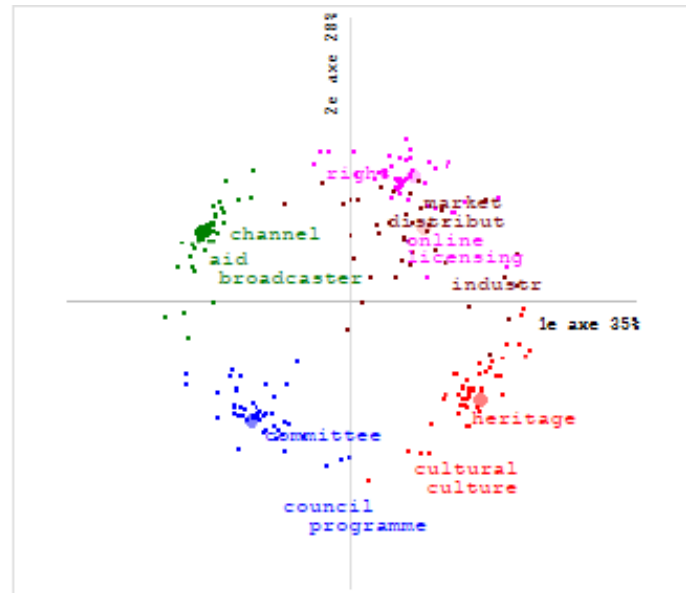
Table 5: List of Communications that most influenced the content of Class 5:

Communications	Khi2	Title	It deals about:
COM-228(2017)	841	“On the Mid-Term Review on the implementation of the Digital Single Market Strategy. A Connected Digital Single Market for All”	“ <i>This mid-term review assesses progress towards the implementation of the Digital Single Market, identifying where more efforts are needed and where the changing digital landscape calls for new action at the EU level</i> ” (pag. 3)
COM-287(2011)	693	“A Single Market for Intellectual Property Rights. Boosting creativity and innovation to provide economic growth, high quality jobs and first-class products and services in Europe”	“ <i>It presents the Commission's overall strategic vision for delivering the true Single Market for intellectual property that is currently lacking in Europe – a European IPR regime that is fit for tomorrow's new economy, rewarding creative and inventive efforts, generating incentives for EU-based innovation and allowing cultural diversity to thrive by offering additional outlets for content in an open and competitive market</i> ” (pag. 3)
COM-836(2007)	409	“On Creative Content Online in the Single Market”	“ <i>It is launching a focused public consultation in preparation for the adoption of a Recommendation on Creative Content Online by the Council and the European Parliament, and is creating a stakeholders' discussion and cooperation platform, hereafter the "Content Online Platform", to initiate the work on forthcoming challenges. It addresses a first set of challenges central to the uptake of online content services in Europe.</i> ” (pag. 3).
COM-789(2012)	215	“On content in the Digital Single Market”	“ <i>Ensure that copyright and copyright-related practices, such as licensing, stay fit for purpose in this new digital context... facilitate the deposit and online accessibility of films in the EU both for commercial purposes and non-commercial cultural and educational uses</i> ” (pag. 2 and 4).
COM-592(2016)	188	“Promoting a fair, efficient and competitive European copyright-based economy in the Digital Single Market”	“ <i>The EU's copyright rules cannot be considered in isolation from the broader set of policies, including notably the Creative Europe programme, that contribute to the rich cultural output of Europe and affect the environment for the cultural and creative industries, for innovation and for cultural diversity...Through a combination of legislative and non-legislative measures, the Commission is proposing an ambitious agenda to help European copyright industries to flourish in the single market and European authors reach new audiences, while making European works widely accessible to European citizens, also across borders.</i> ” (pag. 2-3).
COM-833(2007)	12	“A European approach to media literacy in the digital environment”	“ <i>This Communication adds a further building block to European audiovisual policy. In particular, it links to the provisions of the AVMS Directive (the Communication will encourage research into criteria for assessing media literacy which are a first step towards the Art. 26 reporting obligation) and the MEDIA 2007 programme. The latter underlines the importance of media literacy and image education initiatives in order to access European audiovisual works and to enhance Europe's cinematographic and audiovisual heritage</i> ” (pag. 3).

3.2 The lack of influence of temporality and the role played by innovation in structuring and detecting the CCIs

To complement the description *supra*, Figure 6 shows a graphical representation of the factorial analysis grouping results: it highlights the key elements by class. One can notice the weight of Classes 1 and 2 - with an accent on culture and heritage -, as well as the focus of the remaining Classes on the audio-visual sectors, their market and distribution in the digital age.

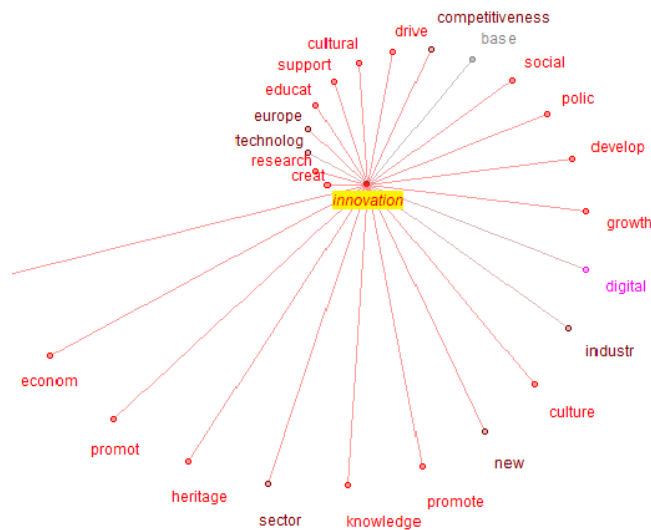
Figure 6: Factorial analysis in correlations



The first interesting and surprising result is that the analysis did not emphasize a clear chronological evolution. As a matter of fact, all the classes include on average a mix of old or recent texts, except Class 2 that includes texts between 1989 and 2003. In other words, and contrary to what we initially expected, it is not possible to identify a chronological evolution in EC conversations about CCIs. The essential changes that can be identified concern on the one hand the expressions used - that is to say the fact of speaking only of cultural sectors or of creative and cultural sectors - and on the other hand the nature - different according to periods - of the impact of digital technologies. But in any case, the core of the main discourse in each class of documents remains the same. It keeps on the orientation on the pivotal role of culture and cultural heritage for employment and growth, as well as the centrality of the audio-visual sectors for EU identity and worth of State aids being economic and cultural goods. However, the impact of the digital technologies is also stressed.

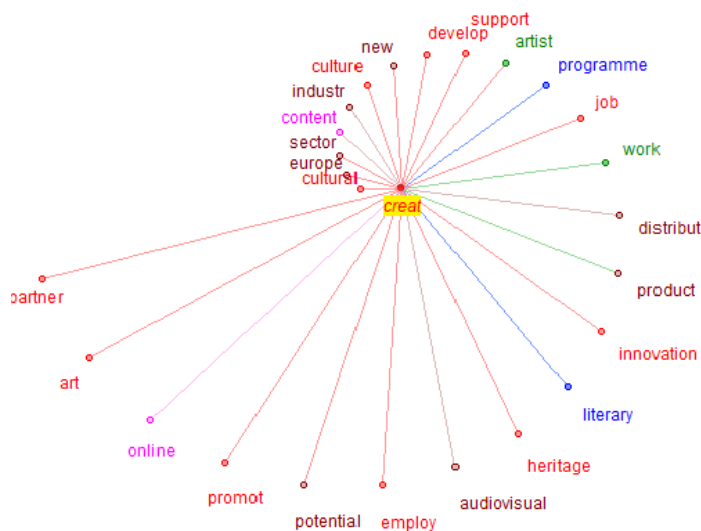
Furthermore, speaking of industries, the overall description of the Classes' content distribution and the factorial analysis in correlations surprisingly highlighted the absence of significance of words like "innovation", "creativity" and "profit": however, they are main matters of investigation in academic publications and remain open questions. In particular, innovation appears in the management literature to be an important issue for the recent attention towards CCIs. Yet, such dimension remains "hidden" and it is not built-in as such (Benghozi, Salvador, 2016). Similarly, looking at the EC Communications' texts, it is interesting to highlight that the word "innovation" represents only 2.09% of textual units classified and it is associated to words (or roots) like "drive, educat, research, horizon, growth, inclu, competitiveness, create, technolog". In contrast, "innovation" is typically present in more recent communications' texts (ie 2012-2018). Figure 7 highlights the network of associations between the word innovation and other words in the overall classes; it shows a form of structuring and hierarchization of perspectives around this root. Innovation is strongly associated to creativity, but the texts' content is mostly general through using sentences like "provide sustainable incentives for creativity, cultural diversity and innovation" (COM-789, 2012). Culture and audio-visual sectors are considered as drivers for creativity and innovation, but no further details or avenues of improvement are provided.

Figure 7: Network of the word Innovation in the overall Classes:



The word “creativity” represents 10.64% of textual units classified and it is of course associated to words (or roots) like “creat”, but also “artist, cultural, job, sector, innovation”. The gradual shift from a culture-based to a creativity-based approach is reflected in the fact that, as in the case of “innovation”, “creativity” is proportionally present in more recent communications’ texts (ie 2007-2018). Figure 8 highlights the network of associations between the word creativity and other words in the overall classes, showing the hierarchization around this root. Creativity is strongly associated to “cultural” and “Europe”.

Figure 8: Network of the root Creat in the overall Classes:



Finally, the word “profit” is in general poorly present, representing only 0.77% of textual units classified. Words (or roots) like “profit” are also associated with “dealer, heir, success, invest, boost”. “Profit” is present both in older and in more recent communications’ texts, almost exclusively included in Class 4 *supra*. Figure 9 highlights the network of associations between the word profit and other words. Interestingly, words/roots like “Commission, communit, support” are not associated to “profit”. Considering the very low occurrence of the term "profit", we have contented ourselves with presenting, through a simple word cloud, the multiplicity of contexts in which it appears rather than an helix representing distance, proximity and hierarchy that would have been insignificant.

ty	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
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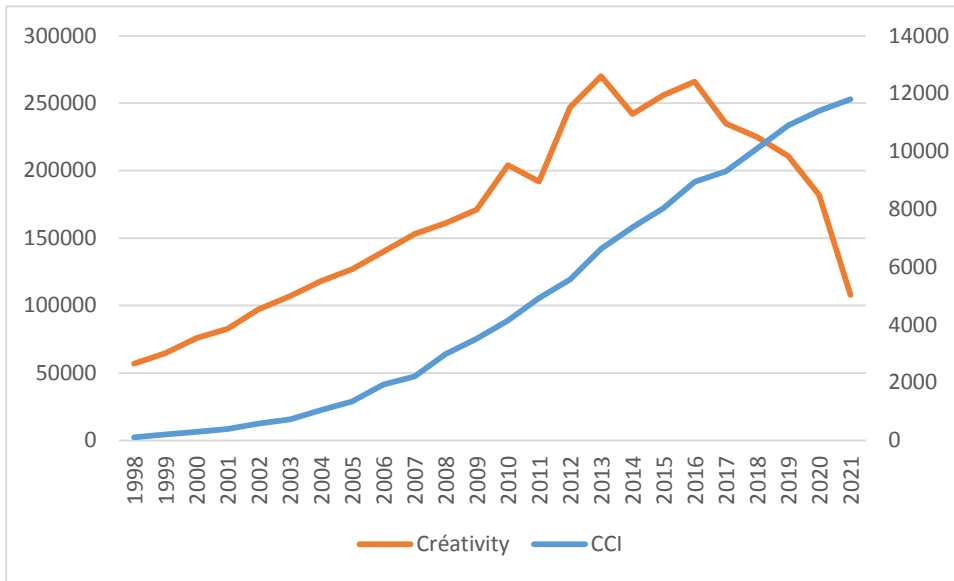


Table 6: Occurrence of the term “cultural and creative industries (CCI)” and creativity in academic productions referenced by Google Scholar (authors' elaboration)

As our results and the main classes identified have shown, the enrichment of approaches at the level of a public actor such as the EC is however less the result of an explicit conceptual evolution over the years. It is rather the result of the polysemy of the notion of CCI: it is this variety of dimensions that it covers that has nourished, from the start, the variety of discourse in the classes.

Class 1 -that emerged first- underlines the pivotal importance of the cultural values associated to culture and heritage for the European identity: a link to a market and/or profit orientation is absent, but the employment and growth potentials of these sectors are well underlined.

Class 2 mainly focuses on the CCIs' programs, their procedure and adoption.

Class 3 is clearly oriented towards a specific sector, the most important economically speaking, meaning aids in the audio-visual sector, mostly cinema and television.

Class 4 is the only one where “profit” is significantly represented: this class is strongly focused on the cinema sector.

Finally, Class 5 underlines the key role of “online” elements, digital platforms and the Internet age.

These outcomes fuel the discussion on the emergence of CCIs' concept in public policy action as well as in management theories. In particular, they put in perspective how the public policy issues of the European texts consider CCIs and their structural dimensions in a somehow different way (e.g., innovation, creativity, economic and non-market models, talents, ecosystems and industrial sectors, adhocracies) than they are put forward in the traditional academic literature (Bae, Yoo, 2015; Sung, 2015; Chaston, Sadler-Smith, 2012; Brandellero, Kloosterman, 2010; Müller et al., 2009; Potts, 2009; Caves, 2000).

While no clear chronological evolutionary change is noticeable, some striking features can nevertheless be identified. The analysis on the general orientation of communications' texts of the EC revealed a strong focus on the awareness of the importance of culture, cultural heritage and CCIs in general for European roots and identity (cf Class 1), as well as the necessity to adopt structured programs and initiatives of aid in this field with the involvement of the main institutional actors (cf Class 2). Nonetheless, the audio-visual sector deserves a particular attention: Classes 3 and 4 are oriented towards these industries, but with a different approach, one more oriented towards aid and initiatives adoption, the other one strongly anchored on the profit side of the cinema brought by the Internet and the ICTs revolution that is clearly taken into account in Class 5, notably for the wider and cheaper distribution of cultural and creative content.

We find, in the respective place of the keywords of these classes, significant traces of the evolution of the notion itself. In a context of globalization of the economy, where the commodification of culture looks like omnipresent for many players, it can offer unprecedented revenue opportunities and is increasingly driven by

digital platforms. Surprisingly, the word “profit” resulted to be poorly present both in older and in more recent communications’ texts, almost exclusively included in Class 4 “Audio-visual and market”, meaning first the cinema industry. The word “profit” covers only 0.77% of textual units classified. On another hand, it is interesting to highlight the role played by the words “innovation and creativity”. Speaking of CCIs, innovation is mostly used recently, and it is commonly associated to creativity. Similarly, creativity is present in more recent texts and it is often associated to “cultural” and “Europe”.

Considering the width of the field and the progressively generic nature of the CCIs, one may wonder whether we could assist in the next future to a rising process of “commoditization of culture and creativity” following the influence of the online market and its profit side (cf Classes 4 and 5): like in the e-book readers’ sector (Benghozi, Salvador, 2015), recent changes like specific orientation in the EU policy may have an impact on the industrial change trajectory in the form of such shifts. Commoditization can be defined as the process by which a product loses all its specific attributes, such that is no longer truly distinguishable by customers. Schlesinger (2009, 2013, 2016) yet highlighted doubts about the efficacy of UK policy implementation for making creativity profitable and capitalizing on the economic value of culture: the pervasive economic dimension of the creative sectors influence trends and thinking of public actors, academics and overall players involved in debates and policy formulation. In France, Bouquillion (2012) and Bouquillion et al. (2015) highlighted the potential consequences of linking creativity to cultural industries for transforming public policies: companies of the new economy could benefit from what these authors call an “industrialization of symbolic goods”. In our opinion, since CCIs are clearly considered a source of innovation and creativity, the real challenge lies in the role that “creativity and innovation” will be able to play for a differentiation strategy. Till now, it seems that their presence in the orientation expressed by communications’ texts is quite weak and most of all it remains at a very general level: it is said that culture supports creativity and (social) innovations, but nothing else is added in complement. CCIs are thus recognized as a “significant economic sector” as well as a key source of EU cultural diversity (COM-592, 2016) and as important drivers of economic and social innovation in many other sectors and contributors to GDP. Nonetheless, while the academic literature strives to identify specific CCIs theories and *ad hoc* methodologies of investigation, at the opposite, the longitudinal discourse that emerges from the EC Communications’ texts highlighted the predominance of very general statements and an absence of clear stances justified by advocating the respect of the principle of subsidiarity. It even seems that the rapidity of (unexpected) changes in the digital age to which the CCIs are responding with static but flexible or dynamic and liquid strategies (Benghozi et al., 2021) escapes from a prompt and due reaction of the EC. One can wonder whether the EC discourse around the CCIs is really in tune with the constant new configurations that are emerging in these industries or whether it is not now tending to dissolve completely into the approach to the digital economy and its regulation, as the enactment of the Digital Market Act and Digital Service Act suggests.

Given this general framework, as an issue for future research it would be interesting to analyse more in depth the EU policy setting through a meticulous investigation of additional EU texts concerning CCIs and their historical evolution (not only Communications, but also Recommendations, Decisions, Directives, Green and White Papers and so on), as well as the place of cultural industries in the texts addressing the digital economy. This larger corpus of texts would enable to check more carefully the role played by temporality and to understand whether we are really assisting to a process of commodification or commoditization of CCIs and which could be the consequences. In a broader perspective, considering the relatively small size of the corpus of communications on a subject such as the CCIs, it would be interesting to look at the extent to which other sectors of activity are more or less represented in such texts, thus measuring the related weight of the CCIs’ issue in EC policies as a whole.

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