

Global Scripts and Local Translations: *The case of cultural and creative industries (CCIs) in Norway*

Rómulo Pinheiro, *Agderforskning and University of Agder*

Elisabet Hauge, *Agderforskning and University of Agder*

Cite as: Pinheiro, R., and 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.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the last decade or so, cultural and creative industries (CCIs)¹ have become an integral component of regional development policies across Europe (Oakley, 2004; Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005) and an indication of regions' endogenous innovative capacities and creative abilities (Asheim et al., 2011; Lindeborg and Lindkvist, 2013). Following the UK, Anglo-Saxon countries like Australia and New Zealand, in addition to a number of Asian nations, have all adopted their own definitions and nuances, thus resulting in an individualized framing of (approach to) the notion of CCIs (c.f. Pratt, 2009). Each given local context (countries, regions, municipalities, cities, etc.) is characterized by a set of specific challenges when it comes to promoting and supporting CCIs. Although it is primarily at the level of the locality (e.g. city-regions) that concrete efforts towards supporting the sector are visible (Bayliss, 2007), defining and framing CCIs as an integral part of the economy is part and parcel of the national policy framework by central governments (Oakley, 2004; Jayne, 2005). One of the dilemmas pertains to asymmetries within countries and across regions. For example, in Norway, a study shedding light on the allocation of government funds supporting CCIs revealed that the greater Oslo region, where a fifth of the country's population is located, receives four times more funds per capita than the rest of the country (Røed et al.,

¹ Consult Lazzeretti (2013, p. 1-3) for an insightful discussion on the rise of CCIs as a research paradigm. See Pratt (2009) for a review of CCI-related concepts in the context of policy making and policy transfers.

2009). Such issues are particular pertinent within the Nordic context, which has historically been characterized by a strong emphasis attributed to equity-related dimensions.

Power (2009) argues that the CCIs discourse has influenced the Scandinavian countries during the last couple of years, fitting into wider discourses in the realms of economic- and regional- planning within the Nordic region. Duelund (2008) contends that the Nordic cultural policy sphere has evolved through a series of stages all of which have involved social and economic instrumentalism. For example, commercial intentions have become an accepted (legitimate) policy objective also when using the creative industry discourse to promote regional development. Scholars have also critiqued the ways in which concepts such as the rise of a ‘creative class’ (Florida, 2003) have been used to describe current dynamics across the Nordic region, with little attention paid to the unique contextual circumstances (Asheim et al., 2011). At the national level, Sweden and Denmark have both followed the “experience economy” trend (Espelien and Gran, 2011). In the latter case, the term “culture and the experience economy” (*kultur- og opplevelsesøkonomien*) was chosen whereas in the former the original notion of the “experience business sector” (*opplevelsesnæringene*) is about to be replaced with CCIs, resulting into an increased focus on creative- and cultural-entrepreneurship. Power (2009, p. 448-9) reports that the notion of the ‘experienced economy’ had less impact in Finland than in Sweden and Denmark, with governmental agencies preferring to highlight the economic contribution of culture. In this respect, Finnish policy initiatives surrounding the intersection between culture and business have tended to be: (a) more sector specific (e.g. design industry); (b) based on traditional notions of ‘creativity’ and ‘CCIs’; and/or (c) grounded within the broader EU’s policy framework (structural funds).

So far, only a handful of studies have shed critical light on the ways in which national and local policy initiatives surrounding CCIs and across the Nordic region have been affected by global institutional frameworks and initiatives. Hence, the research question driving this paper is as follows:

- How has the concept of CCIs as a ‘global script’ been translated or adapted into specific policy- and bottom-up initiatives at the national and sub-national levels in Norway?

Methodologically speaking, the article is the result of a desk-top study. The research started out with a literature review aimed at illuminating the concept of CCIs in order to pinpoint the permeation of CCIs into national and urban policy across the Nordic region. This was followed by a brief review of Norwegian policy documents such as government white papers, drafts resolutions, policy reports and action plans, in addition to sub-national policies and strategies. The choice of the Agder region and the Kristiansand municipality is linked to both the importance attributed to CCIs in regional/local development policy in recent years, as well as the authors' vast knowledge of policy dynamics and strategic initiatives (various levels) within this particular geographic setting. As such, these constitute the basis for analyses on how the 'global script' of CCIs has permeated national and regional policy frameworks.

Following a conceptual section, where the concepts of a 'global script' and 'local translation processes are presented and briefly discussed, section three discusses key aspects composing Norway's policy framework within CCIs, and section four illustrates how different policy layers and spatial scales are intertwined. In section five, we discuss the key findings in the light of theory. The paper concludes by highlighting the implications of the findings, and by proposing an avenue for future research inquiries.

2. CONCEPTUAL BACKDROP: GLOBAL SCRIPTS AND LOCAL TRANSLATIONS

Organizational scholars have long observed that the institutional environments in which individual actors and collective organizations operate exercise a considerable effect in the ways in which internal structures, rules, identities and traditions develop over time (Meyer and Rowan, 1991; Meyer, 1978). According to Brunson and Olsen (1993, p. 4), conceiving of organizations as surrounded by institutional environments "means emphasizing that many of the rules in individual organizations are part of a wider rule-system in society." It has been contended that such institutions or rationalized institutional structures act as *myths* which, as a result of their legitimating features, not only make formal organization possible (easier) but, more importantly, necessary (Meyer and Rowan, 1991). The idea of circulating global ideas or concepts that, over time, have become deeply institutionalized or 'taken for granted myths' became rather popular in Northern Europe, thus giving origin to what is known as the Scandinavian school of new institutionalism (Czarniawska-Joerges and Sévon, 2005). This tradition has been primarily focused on three key aspects: (i) how and why ideas become widely-spread; (ii) how they are translated as they flow from a global sphere into specific local contexts; and (iii) what the local consequences regarding the process of organizing are

(Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008, p. 219). A central aspect of this body of work is that, as they flow from the global to the local, ideas are subjected to translation processes (*editing*) by the actors involved, hence resulting into mutation or change.

“As diffused ideas are translated throughout their circulation, and as they evolve differently in different settings, they may not only lead to homogenization but also to variation and stratification.” (Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008, p. 219)

Earlier studies have shown that even when such global ideas or rationalized myths are adopted in a symbolic fashion, i.e. they are decoupled from internal structures and activities (c.f. Brunsson and Olsen, 1993, p. 8-10), they, nonetheless, lead to significant effects at the local level (Covaeski and Dirsmith, 1988; Powell and DiMaggio, 1991; Holm, 1995; Czarniawska-Joerges and Sevón, 2005). The origins of such prevalent ideas are multiple and overlapping, ranging from fashionable management ideas promoted by consultancy firms to influential international and supranational organizations such as the OECD, World Bank, and the European Union (Brint and Karabel, 1991; Sahlin-Andersson and Engwall, 2002).

While investigating the ways in which dominant global ideas spread and exercise influence at the local level (change dynamics), three processes are thought to play a critically important role. The first pertains to legitimacy or *appropriateness* and the importance attributed to timing or *fashion*. Individuals and organizations adopting ideas from their environments have been found to adopt a *logic of appropriate behavior* (March and Olsen, 2006) and have been characterized as ‘fashion followers’ (Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008, p. 222). To act appropriately is to do so in accordance to deeply institutionalised (taken for granted) local norms, rules and identities which have not only evolved naturally throughout history, but have also - at one stage - been found to match problems with solutions (March and Olsen, 2006). As for fashion, it has been contended that it acts as ‘the steering wheel’ of translation and the flow of ideas (Czarniawska-Joerges and Sevón, 2005), therein guiding imitation and the attention of local actors to specific (legitimizing) ideas, models and practices (Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008, p. 222). Institutional scholars suggest that fashion-following encompasses a simultaneous act of conformism and creativity, hence incorporating *change* as well as *tradition* (Czarniawska-Joergen and Sévon, 2005; Czarniawska 2005; both cited in Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008, p. 223)

The second critical process is that of *imitation* and *identification*. It has been empirically observed that some actors and/or organizations tend to be more prone to imitate and, as a result, are more receptive to widely circulated ideas (Stensaker and Norgård, 2001; Pinheiro and Stensaker, 2013) when compared to others who often play a leading position within their fields or are relatively immune to external dynamics due to both the legitimacy and the resources they command (Clark, 1992; Tapper and Palfreyman, 2011). As a process, *imitation* is a kind of Janus Head. On the one hand, it aims at resembling the most prestigious organizational forms, yet on the other, it is also motivated by the desire to develop a distinct local identity or market-profile (Stensaker and Norgård, 2001; Fleming and Lee, 2009; Pinheiro, 2013). The concept of *organizational field* – defined as those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life, i.e. suppliers, consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations producing similar services or products (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) – is pertinent in this respect. Organizational fields give rise to reference systems – shaping structures and identities – with dominating or central organizations acting as reference points or models for other organizations (Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008, p, 224). Not surprisingly, the former have a tendency to protect and defend the status quo whereas the latter often challenge dominant understandings, which they try to modify and/or displace (ibid.)

The final key process is that of *translation* and *editing*. Institutional scholars shed light on the fact that what is being translated from one setting to another is not an idea or a practice per se, but instead accounts and materializations of a certain idea or practice (Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008, p. 225). And that, these “accounts undergo translation as they spread, resulting in local versions of models and ideals in different local contexts” (Czarniawska-Joergen and Sévon, 2005 cited in Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008, p. 225). Sahlin-Andersson (1996) has introduced the notion of ‘translation of ideas as an editing process’, in order to illustrate the complex ways in which models perceived as successful are formulated and re-formulated as they spread or circulate within a given organizational field (e.g. across the public sector).

“In such processes of translation, new meanings were created and ascribed to activities and experiences. In each new setting, a history of earlier experiences was reformulated in light of the present circumstances and visions. The circulation was a continuous editing process formulated by a number of involved editors.” (Sahlin and Wedlin 2008, p. 225)

Furthermore, editing processes were found to be constrained or framed by ‘editing rules’, which restricted and directed translations (editing) within each of the key phases surrounding idea circulation (ibid.)

In this paper, the term ‘global script’ pertains to the supranational and nationally-rooted policy and academic discourses (in our case mostly within Northern Europe) around the importance of CCIs to the national and local economies. It is not easy to trace the origins of such discourses, yet earlier inquiries have traced policy initiatives back to the late 70s and early 80s, by supranational bodies like the UNESCO and the Council of Europe, as well as French cultural policy in the early 80s (Galloway and Dunlop 2007, p. 18). That said, there is a general consensus amongst scholars that the rise of ‘New Labor’ in Britain (late 90s) led to a substantial shift in terminology, with the term ‘creative industries’ reaching ascendance in public policy outside North America (ibid.). In simple terms, the focus on CCIs as a global, policy idea pertains to its economic relevance in the context of job creation, economic growth/innovation and global competitiveness (c.f. Power and Jansson, 2006). Critics argue that placing CCIs within the context of a broader (and hegemonic) ‘knowledge economy’ discourse (c.f. Rooney et al., 2008) neglects the public benefits (‘externalities’) that are not captured by the market place (Galloway and Dunlop 2007, p. 29).

3. THE NORWEGIAN POLICY APPROACH TOWARDS CCIs

One possible way to analyze the prevalence of a hegemonic ‘global script’ linked to CCIs in Norway is to investigate how the term has penetrated policy design and implementation processes in recent years. In Norway, national policy frameworks have tended to focus on issues pertaining to the interplay between culture and business. Yet, as is the case with the other Nordic countries, it is at the sub-national rather than the national level that many of the key developments and initiatives surrounding CCIs can be observed. These include, but are not limited to; cultural funds, performing art centers, festivals and amusement parks, etc. (Haraldsen et al., 2004; Power, 2009). Earlier mappings of the domestic creative establishment have, for the most part, been commissioned by governmental agencies such as the Ministry of Trade and Industry. This has, to a considerable degree, influenced the domestic translation of the CCI concept. Generally speaking, the discussion amongst Norway’s policy circles has primarily focused on the interaction between arts and business, which, in turn, has resulted in the further re-production of the CCI concept. Related-sectors

have often been referred to as “cultural businesses” (*kulturnæringene*). In 2004, and in the occasion of the first systematic mapping of the sector across the country, a definition of CCIs emerged, namely: businesses that produce products where communicative characteristics are the most important (Haraldsen et al., 2004). This definition has become a central element in developing a shared understanding of CCIs, and the ways in which, over the years, the term has been operationalized in the realms of research and policy (see Lazzeretti, 2013, for a global discussion). Recent efforts towards a further clarification of CCIs reveal that the formation of ideas might have happened at a different *time* (Espelien and Gran, 2011) and/ or *space* (Hauge, 2007) than their actual production. Consequently, this has resulted into the further refinement of the original concept of ‘cultural businesses’ as “businesses that produce more or less commercialized cultural expressions through esthetical means such as symbols, signs, pictures, colors, moves, different sounds and stories.” (Espelien and Gran, 2011, p.10)

Within the Norwegian national policy context, there are *four*² ministries where CCIs are of interest as a strategic tool for promoting cultural, social and economic development. The following paragraphs include a brief discussion of government documents such as white papers, public reports and policy acts. The analysis demonstrates how different ministries possess different strategic interests and engage in different praxis (‘translation and editing’) regarding CCIs and culture policy more generally.

The language and prevalent rhetoric by the official documents emanating from the *Ministry of Culture* are largely connected to societal goals such as diversity, inclusion, participation, and freedom of speech (Ministry of Culture 2008 – 2009, White paper 10 2011 – 2012; Ministry of Culture 2013; NOU 2013). Starting in 2005, cultural policy has been shaped by the implementation of Cultural Initiatives I and II, launched by the previous central-left coalition government (2005-2013). These initiatives were based on a number of cultural policy goals, e.g. that one per cent of the government’s budget should be allocated to culture by 2014. Recent evaluations have shown that, as an economic investment, the above policy has contributed significantly to improving the country’s cultural infrastructure and to upgrading national and regional cultural institutions (NOU, 2013).

² We investigate in detail three out of the four Ministries, i.e. the document analysis pertaining to the Ministry of Trade and Industry only regarded strategic joint efforts across policy portfolios.

Strategic work regarding CCIs within the *Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development* focuses mainly on regional economic and cultural development as well as local governance; with a series of White papers largely influenced by regional and local development policy interests (White paper 33 2007 – 2008; White paper 25 2008 – 2009; Norway’s Public Reports 2011: 3; White paper 13 2012 – 2013). These documents suggest that both the *idea* and actual *use* (operationalization) of CCIs are geared towards the realization of strategic objectives like strengthening and stabilizing regional development and growth. CCIs are largely located within the strategic framework on how to build competitive localities and regions (c.f. OECD, 2005), i.e. they tend to be conceived as a tool or policy instrument for promoting regional development rather than an end in itself.

The *Ministry of Foreign Affairs* is the national political arena responsible for promoting Norwegian culture overseas. A recent White paper discusses how to strengthen Norwegian CCIs outside Norway (White paper 19 2012 – 2013). Its chief political objective is to strengthen the presence of Norwegian art and cultural expressions in supporting cultural entrepreneurs to pursue their business ventures overseas. At the same time, the Ministry is responsible for maintaining a bi-directional communication amongst countries. This goal is focused on strengthening CCIs in developing countries as a part of the broader policy aim of promoting human rights, strengthening civil society, and fighting poverty. In short, Ministerial initiatives around CCIs, act as defacto policy tools for strengthening Norwegian interests overseas, for negotiating international and trade agreements, as well as for promoting cultural exchange. These findings seem to confirm the notion that, within the Nordic countries, the public sector has a long praxis of helping cultural “exports” by promoting and showcasing national images outside the country’s own borders (Power, 2009).

Although the above Ministries have all included CCIs into their respective political initiatives, there have traditionally been few attempts at devising cross-sectorial programs aimed at coordinating different types of initiatives across policy portfolios. The situation made an interesting turn in 2007, when an Action Plan entitled “Culture and Business” was published as a white paper jointly by the (3) Ministers of - Trade and Industry, Culture, Local Government and Regional Development (Ministry of Trade and Industry, 2007). It starts by acknowledging that:

“A constantly larger part of the economy is related to products and services that offer experiences and that create identity. In this development cultural businesses are central. Design, art and culture, entertainment and the experience economy have become important parts of the economy, both in Norway and internationally” (pg. 3; own translation).

This cross-sectorial initiative, with a total budget of 50 million NOK in 2007, aims at expanding the potential of value creation found in the space (interaction) between culture and business.

The document analysis shows that Norwegian policy trends tend to follow European policy-making trends, for example when it comes to designing and implementing initiatives by using CCIs as a strategic tool to promote economic, cultural and social development (Scott, 2004; Pratt, 2009). Yet, despite a clear trace of European influence, the different Ministries all possess distinctive objectives, traditions and strategies while working with and around CCIs, aspects that play a critical role during so-called ‘translation processes’ (Csarniawska-Joerges and Sévon, 2005). At the same time, it is worth highlighting the fact that the chosen mechanisms and approaches on how to include CCIs as part of national policy are intrinsically dependent on the political apparatuses, ideological positions and strategic interests of the multiplicity of actors involved. It is indeed possible (and likely) that a change in government (effective since fall 2013) will lead to a slight turn in the social and economic framework for CCIs in Norway.

4. CCIs ACROSS NESTED POLICY LAYERS AND SPATIAL SCALES

As a process, policy making does not occur in a vacuum and is permeated by a variety of events and stakeholder groups as well as their respective agendas (Miller and Yudice, 2002). This is particularly the case across the Nordic countries, where multi-level governance arrangements are well entrenched (Baldersheim and Ståhlberg, 2002). In turn, this impacts on related processes of policy- *convergence*, *diffusion* and *transfer* at various levels (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000; Pratt, 2009). This section of the paper sheds light on three distinct yet inter-related or nested spatial scales and policy layers surrounding ongoing developments within CCIs .

4.1. The Supranational Policy-Layer

In the last couple of years, the Nordic Council has taken a leading role when it comes to establishing a common policy framework aimed at supporting CCIs, and, concurrently, at stimulating cross border cooperation and coordination between firms, institutions and governmental agencies across whole of the Nordic region. Studies across the region shed light on the criticality of *five* distinct, yet interrelated dimensions, namely:

- The centrality of knowledge and innovation in CCIs;
- The importance of cooperation and collaboration amongst creative firms;
- Connecting firms within CCIs with other industries;
- Help Nordic CCIs reach the market place;
- Encourage and invest in entrepreneurship (Power and Jansson, 2006).

Considerable policy attention has been paid to the need to professionalize the sector, including an upgrading of entrepreneurial and commercial skills within creative firms and across creative educational programs (ibid., p. 6). Concrete aspects include, but are not limited to, taking bold steps to stimulate the commercialization of knowledge and creating a supportive environment conducive to sustainable financial investments (Nilsson and Etelä, 2006; see also Power et al., 2006). Studies have revealed that, despite a number of strengths like ‘creative approaches to education’ and ‘excellence models for incubation and cluster development’, the Nordic countries still suffer from a series of inadequacies ranging from a fragmented policy landscape to small domestic markets and cities (Fleming and Nilsson-Andersen, 2007; see also Andersen et al., 2010).

4.2. The National Dimension

The growing interest towards CCIs across Europe and within the Nordic region is well reflected in Norway’s national policy. As alluded to earlier, it is expected that the sector will generate economic growth and help solve important challenges facing local communities spread throughout the country (Olsen and Kramvig, 2009; Lindeborg and Lindkvist, 2013). According to the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, in the near future, a rather considerable part of the domestic economy will be related to products and services that not only offer unique personal experiences, but will also help shape local identity (Action plan, 2007, p.5). In 2007, the central government launched a strategic plan (Euro 6.8 million) aimed at expanding the potential of value creation found in the space between culture and business. This was part and parcel of a much larger political ambition (‘vision’) of Norway becoming

one of the leading, dynamic and knowledge-based economies in the world within its core competitive areas and business sectors (ibid., p.4).

A report entitled “The significance of cultural business for Norway’s economy” has revealed that, between 2000 and 2009, the number of employees in the cultural sector increased by 50%, accounting for 4% of Norway’s labor force in 2009 (Espelien and Gran, 2011). This amounts to a total of 75,000 creative professionals located across 27,000 firms, of which about a third are active within publishing media. From a revenue perspective, cultural businesses grew by 77% during the above period (40% of which emanated from publishing media). It was also found that, when compared to other business sectors, the profitability of Norway’s cultural sector is rather low, and that the sector suffers from geographic agglomeration, with 45% of the value creation centered in/around the capital city, Oslo. Overall, growth rates were highest across the largest urban areas, i.e. regions with cities hosting more than 50,000 inhabitants.

Earlier studies have also shown that government-led initiatives aimed at promoting CCIs in Norway have traditionally leaned on a *rifle shoots strategy* or bottom-up orientation (Hauge, 2008). Further, our own document analysis (above) reveals that most national policy initiatives are geared towards providing a wide range of support services to a variety of actors at various levels across Norwegian CCIs (Ministry of trade and Industry, 2007; Action plan, 2013; NOU, 2013; The Ministry of Culture, 2013a, 2013b).

4.3. The Sub-National Dimension

The Southern region of Agder (*Sørlandet*) is home to about 285 thousand inhabitants, 5.7% of Norway’s total, most of whom are concentrated along the coastline. About half of its population is located within four (out of 30) municipalities, between the cities of Kristiansand (82 thousand inhabitants) and Arendal (42 thousand), the capital cities of West- and East Agder counties, respectively. The region, the most Southernmost, is the youngest (1902) and smallest (16 500 square km) amongst Norway’s five administrative regions. Agder is a leading, export-led region in energy intensive raw materials (aluminum, nickel, and silicium), off-shore oil and gas equipment (drilling and mooring), and hydroelectric power (clean energy). As far as culture is concerned, the region is known for the considerable number of music festivals, most of which held within the summer period, it hosts. From the 1960s up to 2000, the number of festivals doubled in number every decade, reflecting a growing interest

for culturally-related activities throughout the region (Hjemdahl et al. 2007, p. 110). Since the early 2000s, there has been an “explosion” of music related events, the bulk of which are held by the coast in the geographic stretch between the cities of Kristiansand and Risør (approximately 110 kms distance from each other). In 2006 alone, more than 243 thousand people, many of whom from outside the region, attended a total of 35 music festivals, accounting for a total turnover of approximately Euro 9.9 million (ibid., p.172).

The importance of CCIs to the local economy (jobs, taxes and GDP) on the one hand and the cultural life of the region (vibrant atmosphere) on the other, have been widely acknowledged in recent years. The current regional development plan titled ‘Creative Energy’ refers to the importance of culture and arts as, “decisive for the vibrancy and [future] growth of Agder”, *inter alia*, by contributing to “a sense of mastery and [regional] identity.” (RDP, 2010, p. 27) There is a broad recognition amongst regional policy circles of the systemic nature of ongoing developments within CCIs when it comes to triggering processes of innovation and economic growth, as well as the development of new markets (locally, nationally and globally) with the potential for enhancing the region’s overall competitive outlook (see OECD, 2005).

“[...] strong cultural clusters within Culture and the Arts also contribute to more innovation, growth and the development of markets. The [Agder] region needs to cultivate these success factors. This will form the basis for growing professional environments and will in turn result in expertise and business development within the experience economy and cultural-based industries – which will also help to create new companies and lead to growth in tourism and other industries [...] The region must develop forms of cooperation and measures that benefit and develop expertise in order to be competitive in relation to other regions.” (RDP, 2010, p. 27)

Earlier studies revealed significant variations when it comes to the profile and orientation of the various CCIs branches across Southern Norway. The *Music* branch is largely based on voluntary work, with only a handful of actors organized in a more formalized (legal) manner (Hauge, 2004, 2011). In contrast, the *Arts* branch (sculpture, photo, textiles, etc.) is much more formally organized, putting a stronger focus on financial viability as a means of securing part- or full- time employment, albeit its relatively low orientation towards profitability (Hauge, 2004, p.23). Inquiries across the *Film and Multimedia* branch reveal that the majority

of players, the bulk of which are concentrated in/around the city of Kristiansand: are organized as 1-man firms; have, for the most part, no plans to leave the region; and are rather optimistic about future developments (Grønstad, 2010; see also Hauge, 2004, p.27). Finally, studies of the so-called *Festival* branch across Agder, defined by the Norwegian Culture Council has an arrangement lasting for a minimum of two consecutive days and held at least every second year, show that: the industry relies primarily on seasonal (summer-time) collaborators; engages in considerable financial risk; and has high future ambitious both as regards raising revenues and increasing the number of full time staff (Hauge, 2004, p.26).

At the local level (Municipality of Kristiansand, the fastest growing urban area within the Agder region and the epicenter for most of its economic-related activities) local actors have taken bold steps in recent years when it comes to identifying and promoting CCIs. From a local policy perspective, *Cultiva*, a public foundation established in 2000 by the Municipality, is of special interest since, through funding allocations, it shapes dynamics across local CCIs. Its main aim is to secure local jobs and good living conditions by providing grants to projects which set up art, cultural, and educational institutions and organizations that contribute to innovation, development and competence-building within the creative milieu of Kristiansand city. Two initiatives are at the forefront of this strategy. *Lille Cultiva* aims at supporting the establishment and development of large cultural buildings, whereas *Cultiva Express* provides scholarships to local talents within sports and arts. One of Lille Cultiva's main objectives was to raise funds to help realizing *Kilden Performing Art Center* (Kilden), based on the vision of merging the city's theater and concert hall in one physical location, and bring culture to the masses. Kilden, which opened to the public in early 2012, hosts an array of cultural events and is home to the Agder Regional Theatre, Kristiansand Symphony Orchestra and Opera Sør. As far as policy orientations are concerned, Lille Cultiva, which represents "big money" and is managed by actors linked to local financial institutions and hard core businesses, is based on a 'top-down strategy' (steered by governmental agencies), whereas Cultiva Express, which relies on small grants to support a selected number of promising projects led by local cultural entrepreneurs, has, instead, adopted a 'bottom-up' approach, i.e. it is managed by local actors/grassroots with a long experience within cultural and creative milieus.

Figure 1 (below) visualizes the complex interplay between global, national and sub-national dimensions as far as policy processes go. At each stage of the process, 'from global to national' and 'from national to sub-national', processes of 'translation and editing' (section 2)

come to play an important role, as stylised scripts emanating from above, i.e. ‘downstream’ (c.f. Fosse, 2009), meet specific local contexts and circumstances and are then re-interpreted or ‘localized’ (*adapted*) by the various actors involved in the inter-related processes of policy-transfer, design and implementation (c.f. Pratt, 2009)³. More importantly, in some circumstances, the reverse also holds true, i.e. successful national and sub-national “scripts” are brought over one level above (‘upstream’), with these being target of translation and editing processes as well⁴. In other words, the policy process is a dynamic system or cycle rather than a unilateral one-way route from origin (design) to target (implementation). Hence, in this context, it makes more sense to talk about ‘nested scripts’ - global, national and sub-national levels - that interact with, and influence one another, over time.

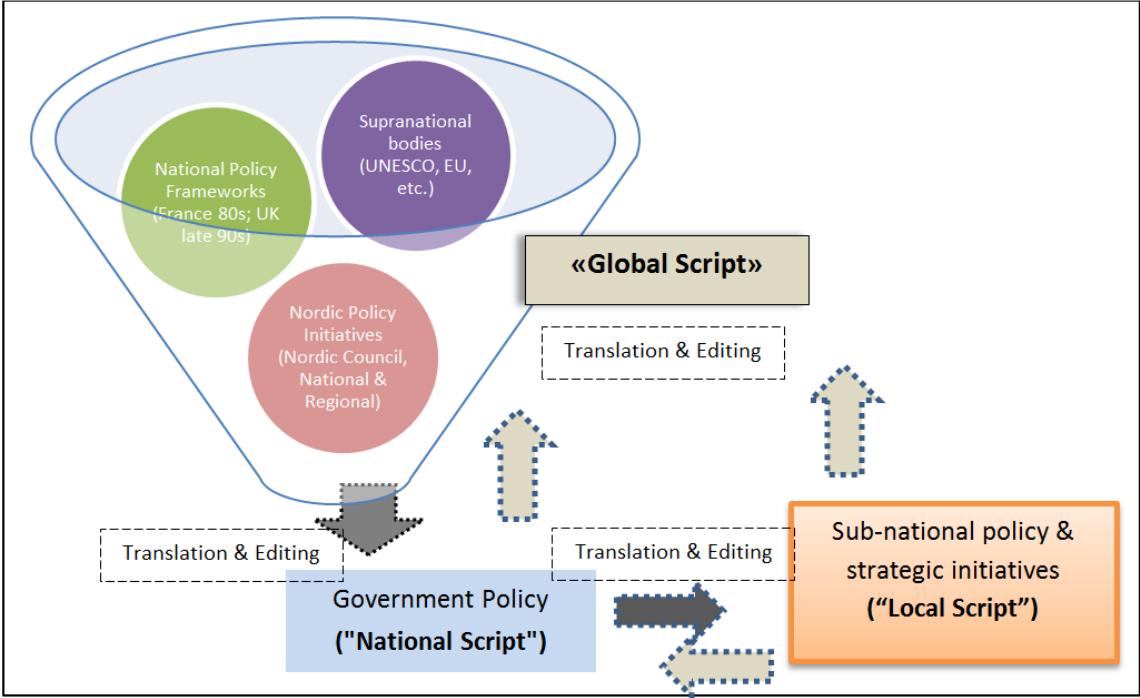


Figure 1: Nested scripts and translation & editing processes

³ In this paper, and in the light of the research question posed at the onset, we provide empirical evidence of the content associated with scripts at the national and sub-national levels, with a particular emphasis on ‘downstream’ processes rather than a thorough investigation of the complex and dynamic interplay between the scripts at the various levels and ‘upstream’ processes; a topic for future investigations by the authors.

⁴ In the figure, ‘downstream’ processes are shown as dark dotted arrows and ‘upstream’ as light dotted ones.

5. DISCUSSION

The notion of CCIs as a ‘global script’ (Czarniawska-Joerges and Sévon, 2005) that has spread across the Nordic region is validated by recent government-led initiatives and policy frameworks. Yet, as suggested by the conceptual framework adopted in this paper (section 2), the diffusion – cross/trans-national, national, and sub-national - of widely accepted (legitimate) policy templates does not occur in a linear fashion and is permeated by processes of local translation in the light of unique contextual dimensions such as historical trajectories (e.g. tradition of multi-level governance arrangements), endogenous factors (e.g. regional strengths and capabilities), and the strategic agendas of the actors involved. Albeit the fact that the importance of CCIs to economic growth and regional development is widely recognized across the board, this does not necessitate *harmonization* when it comes to policy implementation and local initiatives both across the Nordic countries as well as within specific local settings in Norway.

As is the case with other policy realms, like (higher) education and research (Musselin, 2005; Pinheiro and Stensaker, 2013), the current situation across the Nordic region and Norway when it comes to the interpretation of the role played by CCIs in the national and local economy in Norway points towards *convergence* (Drezner, 2001) rather than *harmonization* or isomorphism, as originally contended by proponents of neo-institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Similarly, supranational (coordinative) efforts across the whole of the Nordic region seem to have resulted in the re-conceptualization of CCIs in the form of the ‘experienced economy’, substantiated around the interplay between culture and business, albeit with slight variations from country to country (Power, 2009).

The analysis of discourses and approaches at the national (Ministerial) level suggests that considerable variations exist across policy portfolios, with ‘local translation’ processes reflecting historical traditions on the one hand (e.g. focus on equity dimensions and decentralization) and strategic aims and agendas (e.g. infrastructure development and wide access to cultural goods) on the other. For example, substantial differences in approach (interpretation and implementation) were found between the Ministries of Culture and of Local Government and Regional Development, with the latter approaching CCIs from a much more instrumentalist perspective, reflecting its policy portfolio (direct contribution to economic development) and the expectations of key stakeholders at the local level (around building competitive localities and regions). In the light of this, and despite the fact that

attempts have been made to provide a universal definition of CCIs within the Norwegian context, the lack of horizontal coordination amongst governmental agencies has resulted in translation and editing by the actors within those agencies. This, in turn, has led to the rise of competing discourses (within government) around the importance of CCIs to the Norwegian economy and society. At the sub-national level, such (translation and editing) processes tend to show stronger articulation and thus being more coherent, but this is partly a function of the much smaller number of actors involved.

The *Cultiva* case, as an instrument of regional policy, suggests the importance attributed to flexible, *hybrid* policy approaches combining traditional ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ perspectives⁵ surrounding CCIs (Pratt, 2009). A preliminary interpretation could be that this might be a reflection of the fact that, within the limited geographic scope and administrative jurisdiction of Kristiansand city-region, as an organization, *Cultiva* has successfully managed to adopt and implement a ‘value chain perspective’ towards CCIs (Higgs et al., 2008). Yet, at the same time, it is also clear that, as an *engine* for culture and creativity (Kleiman, 2002) within the city of Kristiansand, *Kilden* is largely dependent on the commercial viability of projects; from concerts to theatre plays, etc.

This discussion points to an important regional challenge, namely; how to best integrate ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ strategies in order to realize the potential inherent to CCIs? In this context, it is worth bearing in mind that copying and pasting successful global models or blueprints that work elsewhere seldom triggers success locally, as demonstrated by various studies (c.f. Lorenzen and Frederiksen, 2005), thus, Hence, we contend that policy frameworks (and their respective instruments) have much to gain from being locally adapted or ‘translated’ (Czarniawska-Joerges and Sevón, 2005) as to fit contextual circumstances.

6. CONCLUSION

CCIs are seen by policy makers and local actors across the Nordic countries as the basis for local economic regeneration, regional development, and national competitiveness within an increasingly integrated and enlarged Europe and inter-connected global economy. Turning

⁵ Earlier studies shed light on the critical interplay between explicit policies implemented ‘top-down’, by national and/or regional authorities, and implicit initiatives organized and financed ‘bottom-up’ by groups of individuals and/or firms (see e.g. Fromhold-Eisebith and Eisebith, 2005, and the case of innovative clusters).

back to the research question driving this inquiry, despite an increasing tendency across the Nordic region for re-defining CCIs along the lines of the ‘experienced economy’ and the interface between culture and business, there are, nonetheless, significant variations when it comes to the ‘local translation’ of such broad, policy frameworks or global scripts. As a case study, the analysis of dynamics within Norway, the Agder region and the Kristiansand municipality illuminate the inherent complexity associated with the inter-related processes of policy- design and implementation within CCIs. In so doing, we contend that this particular case (or nested cases) not only contributes to the burgeoning literature on the role of CCIs in policy making/transfers and local (‘bottom-up’) initiatives across Europe (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; Pratt, 2009; Chapain et al., 2013), but it also sheds critical light for the need to pay close attention to local variations resulting from the interplay of key contextual factors such as path-dependencies (e.g. ‘lock-in effects’) and regional identities and traditions, in addition to resource allocations and the role played by key strategic actors at either the national or sub-national levels. This, we argue, is well aligned with the research agenda aimed at a more holistic conceptualization and understanding of policy- making (*adoption*) and policy- implementation (*adaptation*) surrounding CCIs, as well as the effects or outcomes accrued to such policy/strategic initiatives at the national and sub-national levels.

Following this line of thought, future research inquiries - within the Nordic region and beyond - could cast empirical light on the ways in which policy makers at the national, regional and sub-national levels are taking pro-active steps to ‘translate’ relatively ambiguous global scripts and success stories with the aim of promoting the rise of CCIs within their own jurisdictions. Scholars interested in the topic could also investigate the ways in which synergies with other sectors of the economy and amongst specific actors across the value chain within CCIs are being pursued, in addition to pinpointing key barriers and bottlenecks. For example, future inquiries (within and beyond the Nordic region) could shed critical light on the importance attributed to political and cultural dimensions – national and sub-national levels – in processes of translation and editing.

Finally, within Europe, future research inquiries, preferably of a comparative nature, could illuminate the extent through which supranational-policy developments and initiatives (EU, Nordic Council, etc.) substantiated around dominant and legitimate global scripts affect, directly and/or indirectly, local dynamics (national and sub-national levels) across CCIs, including a preliminary assessment of the scope and nature of tangible effects or outcomes.

Moreover, and in light of the conceptual approach adopted in this paper, future studies could investigate the ways in which local variations (“translation”) of universally-adopted templates or models first emerge (*adoption*) and consequently develop (*adaptation*) and diffuse (*transmission*) into specific directions (e.g. within specific creative branches) and over periods of time (longitudinal perspective).

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We would like to thank three anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments on an earlier version of this paper. Any remaining errors are our own.

REFERENCES

Action plan (2007). Culture and Business. Oslo: The Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, The Ministry of Culture and The Ministry of Trade and Industry.

Action plan (2013). Fra gründer til kulturbedrift. Oslo: The Ministry of Culture, The Ministry of Trade and Industry and the Ministry of Local Government and Regional development.

Andersen, K. V., Hansen, H. K., Isaksen, A., and Raunio, M. (2010). Nordic City Regions in the Creative Class Debate—Putting the Creative Class Thesis to a Test. *Industry and Innovation*, 17(2), 215-240.

Asheim, B. T., Boschma, R. & Cooke, P. (2011). Constructing Regional Advantage: Platform Policies Based on related Variety and Differentiated Knowledge Bases. *Regional Studies*, 45(7), 893-904.

Baldersheim, H. & Ståhlberg, K. (2002). From Guided Democracy to Multi-Level Governance: Trends in Central-Local relations in the Nordic Countries. *Local Government Studies*, 28 (3), 74-90.

Bayliss, D. (2007). The rise of the creative city: Culture and creativity in Copenhagen. *European Planning Studies*, 15 (7), 889-903.

Brint, S. B. & Karabel, J. (1991)- Institutional origins and transformations: the case of American community colleges. In W. Powell and P. DiMaggio (Eds), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis* (pp. 337-360). Chicago: University Chicago Press.

Brunsson, N. & Olsen, J. (1993). *The reforming organization*. London: Routledge.

Chapain, C., Clifton, N., & Comunian, R. (2012). Understanding Creative Regions: Bridging the Gap between Global Discourses and Regional and National Contexts. *Regional Studies*, 47 (2), 131-164.

Clark, B. R. (1992). *The distinctive college*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers.

- Covaleski, M. & Dirsmith, M. (1988). An Institutional Perspective on the Rise, Social Transformation, and Fall of a University Budget Category. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 33 (4), 562-587.
- Czarniawska-Joerges, B. & Sevón, G. (2005). *Global ideas: how ideas, objects and practices travel in a global economy*. Copenhagen: Liber & Copenhagen Business School Press.
- DiMaggio, P. & Powell, W. (1983). The iron Cage revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. *American Sociological Review*, 48 (2), 147-160.
- Drezner, D. W. (2001). Globalization and Policy Convergence. *International Studies Review*, 3 (1), 53-78.
- Duelund, P. (2008). Nordic cultural policy: a critical view. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 14 (1), 7-24.
- Espelien, A., & Gran, A. B. (2011). Cultural businesses influence of Norwegian economy. Status and development 2000-2009. Publication nr. 9/ 2011. Oslo: MENON.
- Flemming, R. & Nilsson-Andersen (2007). A Creative Economy Green Paper for the Nordic Region. Oslo: Nordic Innovation Center.
- Fleming, R. & Lee, G.R. (2009). Canada: Whats in a Title? In N. Garrod & B. Macfarlane (Eds). *Challenging boundaries: managing the integration of post-secondary education* (pp 93-110). New York: Taylor & Francis.
- Florida, R. (2003). Cities and the Creative Class. *City and Community*, 2 (1), 3-19.
- Fosse, E. (2009). Norwegian public health policy: revitalization of the social democratic welfare state? *International Journal of Health Services*, 39(2), 287-300
- Fromhold-Eisebith, M. & Eisebith, G (2005). How to institutionalize innovative clusters? Comparing explicit top-down and implicit bottom-up approaches. *Research Policy*, 34(8), 1250-1268.
- Galloway, S. & Dunlop, S. (2007). A critique of definitions of the cultural and creative industry in public policy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 13 (1), 17-31.
- Grønstad, L. (2010). A business at the starting gate - Mapping of the film and multimedia industry in the Agder counties. Report nr. 5/2010. Kristiansand: Agderforskning.
- Haraldsen, T., Flygind, S. K., Overvåg, K. & Power, D. (2004). Mapping the cultural businesses in Norway – economic influence, growth and potential ØF-report nr. 10/ 2004. Oslo: The Ministry of trade and Industry & Østlandsforskning.

- Hauge, E. S. (2004). Between culture and business: A study on business strategy and competence among businesses in the cultural industries based in Kristiansand. Report nr. 28/2004. Kristiansand: Agderforskning.
- Hauge, E. S. (2007). Export of Norwegian music – an analysis. Project report nr. 1/ 2007. Kristiansand: Agderforskning.
- Hauge E. S. (2008). Export of Norwegian music - 2007. Report nr.2. Kristiansand: Agderforskning.
- Hesmondhalg, D. & Pratt, A. (2005). Cultural industries and cultural policy. *International journal of cultural policy*, 11(1), 1-14.
- Higgs, P., Cunningham, S. & Bakhshi, H. (2008). Beyond the creative industries: Mapping the creative economy in the United Kingdom. London: Nesta.
- Hjemdahl, K. M., Hauge, E. S, & Lind, E. (2007). Festivals in Southern Norway. Culture virtue format. Report nr. 4/ 2007. Kristiansand: Agderforskning.
- Holm, P. (1995). The Dynamics of institutionalization: Transformation processes in Norwegian Fisheries. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 40 (3), 398-422.
- Jayne, M. (2005). Creative industries: the regional dimension? *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 23(4), 537-556.
- Kleiman, N. S. (2002). The creative engine. New York: Center for an Urban Future.
- Lazzeretti, L. (2013). *CCIs and innovation in Europe: Concepts, Measures and Comparative Case Studies*. Milton Park: Routledge.
- Lindeborg, L. & Lindkvist, L. (2013). *The Value of Art and Culture for Regional development: A Scandinavian Perspective*. London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.
- Lorentzen, M. & Frederiksen, L. (2005). The management of projects and product experimentation: examples from the music industry. *European Management Review*, 2, 1998-211.
- March, J. G. & Olsen, J. P. (2006). The logic of appropriateness. In M. Morand, M. Rein & R. Goodin (Eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy* (pp 689-708). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Meyer, A. D. & Rowan, B. (1978). Institutionalized organization: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology*, 83 (2), 340-363.
- Meyer, A. D. & Rowan, B. (1991). Institutionalized organization: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. In W.W. Powell & P. DiMaggio (Eds). *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis* (pp. 41-62). Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

- Mayer, M. W. (1978). *Environments and Organizations*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Miller, T. & Yudice, G. (2002). *Cultural Policy*. London: Sage Publications.
- Ministry of Culture (2008-2009). National Strategy for Digital Preservation and Dissemination of Cultural Heritage. Report No. 24. Oslo: The Ministry of Culture.
- Ministry of Culture (2013a). Kulturløftet. Politisk Regnskap 2005-2013 [Cultural Initiative. Evaluation 2005 – 2013]. Oslo: Ministry of Culture.
- Ministry of Culture (2013b). The Norwegian action plan for CCIs. Oslo: Norwegian Ministry of Culture.
- Musselin, C. (2005). Change or Continuity in Higher Education Governance? in I. Bleiklie and M. Henkel, (Eds.), *Governing Knowledge* (pp. 65-79). Dordrecht: Springer.
- Nilsson, P. & Etelä, N. (2006). A Creative Powerhouse. Oslo: Nordic Innovation Centre
- Norway's Public Reports (2011:3). Kompetanseplasser: drivkraft for vekst i hele landet [Skilled jobs: motivating growth for the nation]. Norway's Public Reports 2011: 3. Oslo: Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development.
- NOU (2013). Kulturutredningen 2014. NOU 2013: 4. Oslo: The Ministry of Culture.
- Oakley, K. (2004). Not so Cool Britannia, the Role of Creative Industries in Economic Development. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 7 (1), 67-77.
- OECD (2005). Building competitive regions: strategies and governance. Paris: Organisation for Economic CO-operation and Development.
- Olsen, E. F. & Kramvig, B. (2009). Cultural business – meetings that imping? Report 9/ 2009. Oslo: Magma.
- Pinheiro, R. (2013). Bridging the local with the global: Building a new university on the fringes of Europe. *Tertiary Education and Management*, 19 (2), 144-160.
- Pinheiro, R. & Sensaker, B. (2013). Designing the entrepreneurial university: the interpretation of a global idea. *Public Organization Review*, 1-20.
- Porter, M. E. (1998). *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*. New York : Free Press.
- Powell, W. W. & DiMaggio, P. (1991). *The New institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Power, D. (2009). Culture, creativity and experience in Nordic and Scandinavian cultural policy. *International journal of Cultural Policy*, 15 (4), 445-460.

Power, D. & Jansson, J. (2006). *Creative Directions – a Nordic framework for supporting the creative industries*. Oslo: Nordic Innovation Centre & The Swedish Institute for Food and Biotechnology.

Pratt, A. (2009). Policy Transfer and the field of the cultural and CCIs: What Can Be Learned from Europe? In L. Kong & J.O'Connor (Eds.), *Creative Economics, Creative Cities* (pp. 9-23). Dordrecht: Springer.

RDP (2010). *Creative Energy: Regional Development Plan Agder 2020*. Kristiansand: West- and East-Agder Counties.

Rooney, D. Hearn, G. & Ninan, A. (2008). *Handbook of the Knowledge Economy*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Røed, H., Hidle, K. & Hjemdahl, K. M. (2009). *Culture and regions in Norway*. Project report 06/ 2009. Kristiansand: Agderforskning.

Sahlin-Andersson, K. (1996). Imitating by editing success: The construction of organizational fields. In B. Czarniawska & G. Sévon. *Translating organizational change* (pp 69-92). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Sahlin-Andersson, K. & Engwall, L. (2002). *The Expansion of Management Knowledge: Carriers, Flows, and Sources*. Stanford, California: Stanford Business Books.

Sahlin, K. & Wedling, L. (2008). Circulating ideas: imitation, translation and editing. In R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, K. Sahlin & R. Suddaby. *The Sage handbook of organizational institutionalisation* (pp. 218-242). London: SAGE.

Scott, A. J. (2004). Cultural-Products Industries and Urban Economic Development: Prospects for Growth and Market Contestation in Global Context. *Urban Affairs Review*, 39(4), 461-490.

Stensaker, B. & Norgård, J. D. (2001). Innovation and isomorphism: A case-study of university identity struggle 1969-1999. *Higher Education* 42 (4), 473-492.

Tapper, T. & Palfreyman, D. (2011). *Oxford, the Collegiate University: Conflict, Consensus and Continuity*. Dordrecht: Springer.

White paper 10 (2011 – 2012). *Culture, inclusion and participation*. Oslo: Norwegian Ministry of Culture.

White paper 13 (2012 – 2013) *Using all of Norway. District and local policy*. Oslo: Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development.

White paper 19 (2012 – 2013). *The government international cultural effort*. Oslo: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

White paper 25. (2008 – 2009). *Local growth and hope for the future*. Oslo: The Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development.

White paper 33 (2007 – 2008). A strong regional democracy. Oslo: The Ministry of local Government and Regional Development.