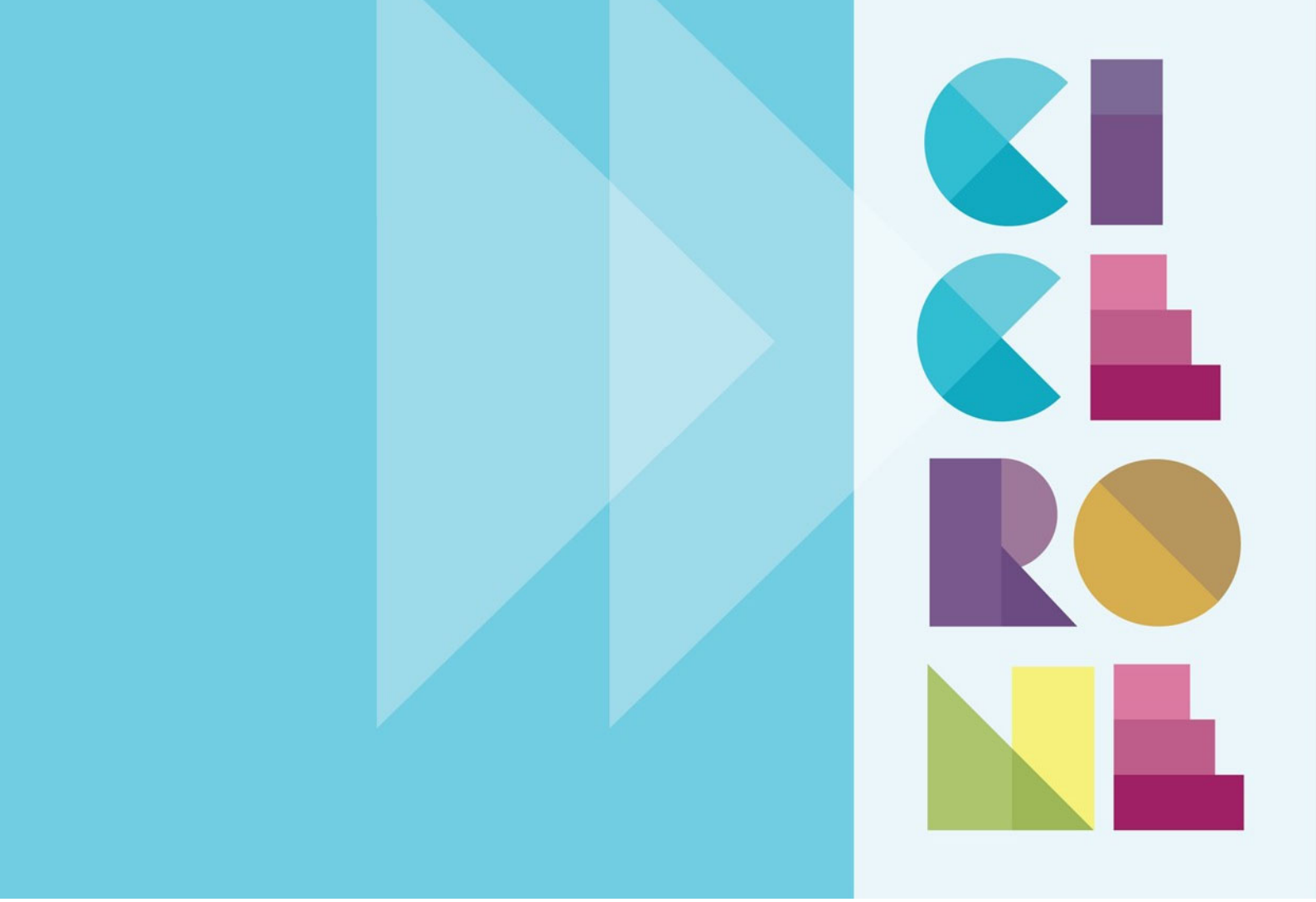

Lessons learned from applying a production network-based policy framework to the cultural and creative sector

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Credits

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Project name	Creative Industries Cultural Economy Production Network
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Deliverable number	D6.4
Responsible partner	University of Amsterdam
Work package	The CICERONE project consists of seven work packages (WPs). This report is part of WP6. Building a capacity to engage is what this WP is essentially about. WP6 is mainly rooted in theoretical work (WP1) and a large-scale empirical case study research (WP2) of actually existing production networks across eight different industries of the cultural and creative sector (CCS). While WP1 focused on the question of how to apply the concept of global production networks on the CCS, WP2 applied this framework with the purpose generating an in-depth understanding of key linkages and mechanisms within CCS networks and how these linkages and mechanisms relate to context-dependent variables. Drawing on both these sources, WP6 explores a network based policy framework that may contribute to enhancing policy support for the cultural and creative sectors. WP6 consist of four deliverables. D6.1 makes the case for a network-based approach to the CCS. D6.2 focuses on where networks get embedded at local, regional and national scales, why this matters, and how policy can address these. D6.3 studies inputs to policy from the sector itself, providing an overview of CCS representation at EU level. D6.4 summarizes many of the project's implications for policy towards the CCS. All the deliverables from the CICERONE project are publicly disclosed on the project's website www.cicerone-project.eu and through its Zenodo community on https://zenodo.org/communities/cicerone-h2020.

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1. Constructing a CCS policy framework[1]

At the end of the 1980s, urban renewal had more or less run its course in many Dutch cities. Many neighbourhoods had been renovated, but there was also a growing unease with quality of the built environment. Cities seemed to become ever more alike and often architects were blamed for the drab urban monotony created in the 1970 and 80s. To improve the quality of architectural design, the Dutch government embarked on a broad set of policies that in retrospect can be seen as a fairly comprehensive attempt to strengthen production networks in architectural design. These included, unsurprisingly, policies dedicated to the *creation phase*, but with a rather different twist. For instance, an extensive grant system which "…gave subsidies to young architects to travel, to publish books or to do research or to do concrete projects" (Kloosterman, 2008: 6) was set up. In addition, schools of architecture were asked to review their curriculum. There were, moreover, also policies targeted at what we from our perspective would call the *exchange* (the phase where products are being discussed and evaluated by tastemakers and gatekeepers) and the *archiving phase* (in this phase products or representations of these are being stored). A whole set of institutions from local architectural design centres to the Dutch National Architectural Institute were established to showcase architectural projects (Kloosterman, 2018) – both the realised and those that did not make it (in some cases yet) beyond the drawing and the mock-up stage. These initiatives were also intended to promote discussion and knowledge spillover among architects (Dutch and foreign) and potential customers (notably local governments).

These policies turned out to be rather successful. One can, evidently, argue about the quality of what was built in the Netherlands after 1990, but, at least in the eyes of the international field of architectural design (peers, critics and clients), Dutch architects were taken very seriously for their innovativeness. A label was even coined for Dutch architects who became internationally famous: SuperDutch (Lootsma, 2000; Kloosterman, 2008, 2010a, 2018; Kloosterman & Stegmeijer, 2004). The Dutch policy approach to architectural design even became a template for other countries to follow (Figueiredo, 2016).

The point of departure for these policies was never an explicit notion of production networks. It was instead first and foremost rooted in the Dutch tradition of consensual policy making which typically involves public sector actors as well as those from the private sector. Policies, then, evidently comprised much more than just narrow economic interventions and throwing money at the creation

[1] I would like to thank Andy Pratt and Joris de Vries for their very helpful comments and Joni Reef of Joni Reef Design for providing the visualisations.

phase through subsidies. Right from the start, policies were aimed at stimulating and strengthening social networks and platforms at the national and the local level which would foster debates, the circulation of knowledge, showcase examples, and contribute to more critical (self-)reflection. From our perspective, we would say that these policies also addressed the exchange and the archiving phases at different spatial levels; were aimed at transforming the institutional framework in which the production networks of Dutch architectural design were embedded (Kloosterman, 2018); and tried to organise forms of collective action in a highly fragmented field of many (very) small firms and actively involving stakeholder associations. At first aimed primarily at improving the quality of the built environment in the Netherlands, these policies turned out have the collateral benefit of a significantly increased global competitiveness of Dutch architectural design through upgrading its product.

Whereas in the case above, policymakers and stakeholders were more or less unwittingly following a production network approach, our goal is to offer an outline of a policy framework which *is explicitly based on a production network approach regarding the CCS* and which will point to a set of procedures or strategies aimed at addressing policy challenges which are currently high on the agenda of policymakers at the local, national and EU level. This approach acknowledges from the outset the importance of actors in these production networks and also where they are based. We, furthermore, take into account the mode of governance: which actor(s) control and supervise which parts of the network and who controls access to the network? Combining a rich-place and a rich-actor perspective (thereby also acknowledging that many active in the CCS are not just profit-maximising individuals, but also motivated by aesthetic and, increasingly, environmental considerations). Below, we first briefly explain the basic characteristics of our approach (section 2). We, then, present the broader policy implications of the CICERONE approach (section 3). The next step is to translate these into more concrete strategies by connecting these in a stepwise way to the typology of production networks explained in D6.1 (section 4). After that a stepwise procedure is presented (section 5). In the conclusions, we draw a few basic lessons regarding the use of a production network approach when devising policies for the CCS (section 6).

2. The basics of the CICERONE approach

With the onset of the so-called *second unbundling* (Baldwin, 2016; Kano et al. 2020), many production chains have become spatially disintegrated[2]. Networks of production have emerged with components of the production process located in very different places and often even in different continents exploiting specific local assets ranging from low wages, low taxes and low levels of regulation to the presence of clusters of ecosystems with highly specialised knowledge workers, dedicated institutions, and a high quality of place (Scott, 2022).

Different approaches – all rooted in Wallerstein's world system theory (Wallerstein, 1974) - have been forwarded to deal with cross-border networks of production and their role in economic development. Gereffi and Korzeniewicz (1994:2) have come up with Global Value Chains (GVC) to understand 'the changing spatial organization of production and consumption in the contemporary world-economy'. More recently, notably economic geographers have developed a *Global Production Network* (GPN) perspective (Henderson et al. 2002; Hess and Yeung, 2006; Coe and Yeung, 2015; Kano et al. 2020), which provides more sociologically and geographically sensitive approach to cross-border production networks. Furthermore, the GPN framework does not necessarily departs from a neat linear flow, nor is it firm-centric, thereby creating room for different kind of lows and interactions between various actors. According to Kloosterman et al. (2019: 17) "[t]he adoption of the GPN framework allows therefore for far greater complexity concerning power relations and knowledge between actors and institutions are understood in a multidirectional and non-deterministic fashion". Moreover, the GPN perspective emphasises the role of *embeddedness*: all economic activities take place within concrete socio-cultural and constitutional contexts at different spatial scales from the local to the regional and the national (Dicken and Thrift, 1992; Smelser and Swedberg, 2005; Hess and Yeung, 2006; Kloosterman, 2010b; Pareja-Eastaway et al., 2023). Initially, the focus of many GVC/GPN studies has been mainly on manufacturing (Coe and Yeung, 2015; Kano et al., 2020). Later on the range has been broadened to include tourism, services, biotechnologies, finance, and, also, still very modestly, cultural and creative industries (Coe, 2015).

Using a (global) production network perspective to analyse the CCS makes much sense and not just because we can observe there too spatially dispersed production networks. Such a lens is also able to

[2] The first unbundling took place during the industrial revolution when the location where the raw materials originated from (e.g. cotton from the south of the United States), where the production took place (e.g. Manchester in the United Kingdom) and where the product was sold (e.g. India) became spatially separated on a large scale.

better grasp the production system of the CCS which is often project-based and highly flexible by temporarily assembling key actors to work together (Grabher, 2002, 2004). This is, obviously, rather different from the archetypical, much more self-contained, rigid Fordist factory production with clear boundaries of the firms and relatively fixed division of labour with well-defined tasks for workers. In a sense, one can even argue that the CCS were post-Fordist *avant la lettre* in having a highly flexible production system with myriad very small "firms" (e.g. part-time self-employed) collaborating in dispersed networks to deal with a volatile demand. With a network approach, we take into account not just transactions which are commodified and monetarised, but also those on a voluntary basis which constitute essential inputs in many parts of the CCS where we often encounter hybrid forms of organisations which comprise state, market and civil society. In addition, many of those involved in these networks have a strong intrinsic motivation to contribute to the creation of *cultural value* and not so much *economic value*. The issues of innovation and quality tend take on a rather different meaning in the CCS (Vriesema et al., 2023). To understand how the CCS function, we, therefore, need a conceptual apparatus that does not have its roots in a Fordist factory production system, but instead allows us to focus on how production networks are organised in terms of phases, actors, places and mode of governance.

Grasping the production network characteristics of the CCS is also instrumental for devising effective policies. Policy interventions regarding the CCS, however, typically remain (implicitly) based on assumption of spatially integrated forms of production. In addition, up till now, most policies aimed at the CCS have typically focused on the creation phase and, related to that, tend to emphasise the place-based aspects while overlooking those of the production network – the different phases and their flows and linkages as well as its governance structure (Daubeuf et al., 2020; Borén and Power, 2021). For example, throwing money at the (spatially concentrated) creation phase of a particular CCS while the network is controlled by a lead actor in the distribution phase may not be very conducive to improve the labour conditions of the workers in that creation phase, as the benefits may end up in a very different place and with different network actors. This may be even more so if a large number of these workers are in relative precarious conditions (part-time, self-employed) and not able to engage in collective action.[3]

The CICERONE project has, therefore, opted for using a production network approach as its theoretical point of departure and guide our empirical mapping of the production networks. We use the basic components (phases, location, embeddedness, governance) of this framework to unpack CCS activities in a novel way. Instead of concentrating on clusters of cultural and creative activities and creative cities, we look at production networks comprising different phases of production, which can be located in (very) different places each with its own socio-cultural and institutional context, and we

[3] Labour in the CCS has a long history of (from a Fordist point of view) non-standard labour relations, but it now looks as if the CCS have been pioneering this as these are now becoming a defining feature of the 'new economy'. Organising collective action among workers, then, is not limited to the CCS.

try to assess how these networks are governed. By explicitly including archiving as a distinct phase and thereby making our network approach more cyclical, we highlight the possibilities of feedback, learning and innovation through hybridisation in the CCS As the GPN perspective is first and foremost "a heuristic framework for interpreting the evolving multi-scalar geographies of the global economy" (Coe, 2015: 486), we can use, tweak and combine these basic components in ways that fit our main purpose of devising a new policy framework for the CCS.

The first basic component is that of phases which form the conceptual backbone of the production network. We distinguish five phases and each of these phases may be the locus of power and control of the network.[4]

Creation

It is in this part of the cycle that new ideas, processes or approaches are devised. The notion of "creation", in the sense in which the term is used here, is a social one – what is new is also relational, situated and conditional. Therefore, a "creative process", that is, a method, is involved ("design" is an example). Reference is also made to history and to previous instances of creation (the preceding stage). Sometimes, this is referred to as "ideation", that is, having ideas.

Production

An idea or a creative new thing remains provisional, potential and conditional until it can be stabilised or made. The intervening period is often called the prototype stage. Usually, the product is also developed during the multiple (or mass) production phase. Technology and labour costs, production decisions, and technological and regulatory standards affect costs and potential access to the products. Marketing and advertising are also relevant, but we allocate them to the exchange phase here.

Distribution

Products, even if they are new and unusual, are unformed and inaccessible unless they can be moved or migrated to markets or audiences. Physical distribution is clearly a key issue for access and reach. The same is true of digital approaches, which may overcome some barriers. Generally, distribution systems (or platforms) are expensive to develop and susceptible to monopoly control.

Exchange

Exchange is the stage at which the product of service engages the audience or customers. It is a critical moment of information exchange, and one in which (e)valuation occurs. That (e)valuation may take forms as varied as market transaction, participation or critique. Values are made and stabilised at this stage. Therefore, marketing and expectation setting provide a link to distribution. In the experience economy, and particularly in the cultural one, the negotiation of value is a critical element of the

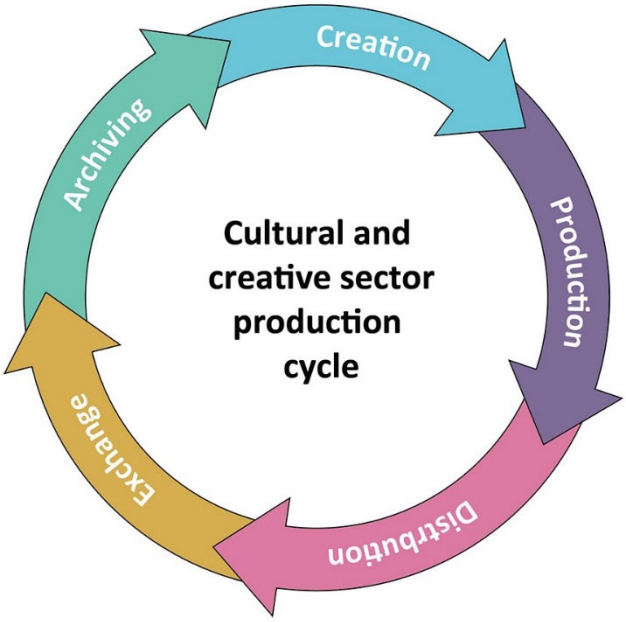
[4] This section on the phases is quoted from the general introduction of the CICERONE WP2 case studies reports.

transaction, and institutions have been developed that normalise it and reduce risks. The engagement of the audience or consumer is also shaped directly by advertising and marketing – to refer to the previous stages once more, the exchange process can determine which products are available for production and distribution.

Archiving

Since cultural value is relational, history and cultural diversity always interact with the present. Moreover, the process of reflection and learning (or that of rejection) is part of the critical appreciation of culture. The archiving of culture creates both normative structures that enable cultural production systems and the disruptive elements that facilitate new approaches. This stage also includes education (of audiences or consumers as well as of creative practitioners), institutions such as universities and media systems, and repositories such as libraries, museums and galleries. It is at this point that heritage is identified and later mobilised via the production system. More generally, archiving constitutes the resource from which new ideas are developed, which refers back to creation.

Figure 1. The cultural and creation sector production cycle



Source: Kloosterman, et al., 2019

We conceptualise these five phases not as a linear chain, but as a cyclical set of relationships which also comprises the Exchange phase in which tastemakers and gatekeepers not just evaluate CCS products, but also may decide on which of these should be - in one way or another – preserved and stored and become part of the archiving phase. This latter phase, then, can serve as repository of ideas which may feed into the creation phase.

All these phases take place in specific concrete locations. This holds, evidently, for the creation and the production and the distribution phase, but the other two phases are also linked to places. The tastemakers in the exchange phase of fashion networks, for example, tend to be located in the global fashion centres. With the advent of the Internet, the archiving phase has become to some extent footloose as anyone, anywhere can get access to stored information on products of the CCS. in that case, it is important to know who decides on what should be archived and where are these gatekeepers based. There are, however, also still, important place-based, tangible forms of archiving. Dresses, mock-ups, and craft and visual objects tend to lose much of their aura when just

seen as 2D on a screen. Production networks, thus, have a traceable *spatial footprint* which conveys crucial information for policymakers on where they should intervene for which phase and how this may relate to other phases.

Such interventions do not occur in a societal vacuum. Each of these phases is, inescapably, embedded in a specific multi-scalar, sociocultural and institutional context which impinges on how production takes place through, for instance, its local traditions of craft, its regional educational infrastructure, and its national regulatory framework regarding labour relations and cultural policies. Being aware of these deeper linkages between a production network and its context is essential for designing effective policies.

The second basic component of our production network framework approach is the mode of governance. The Global Value Chain approach (Gereffi, 2014) already highlighted the role of governance structures and the power relations within GVCs and, more in particular, regarding the role played by lead firms. These firms are seen as coordinating and governing GVCs and by establishing the chain configuration they are also able to determine to a large extent the distribution of the created value. In the GVC literature the distinction between 'producer-driven' and 'buyer-driven' commodity chains has been prevalent. With the shift from Global Value Chain (GVC) to Global Production Network (GPN), this element of the mode of governance remained important. In the GPN approach the power distribution within the network is essential to grasp the eventual capturing of the value that has been created in the network.

We have followed this line and we underline the relevance of the mode of governance of production networks in the CCS for policymaking. When trying to realise policy goals as improving labour conditions in the creation phase or making the production phase more environmentally sustainable, policymakers have to take into account whether there is a single lead actor calling the shots or whether power is more dispersed as this will require different approaches to engaging the relevant actors. Notwithstanding its relevance for how production network functions, the distribution of power is often difficult to assess. There is no clear-cut indicator, let alone one that is included in any published statistics. This holds arguably even more so for the CCS with its fragmented and highly variegated production system. In our case studies, we have used qualitative research – interviews and observation - to evaluate the mode of governance. To avoid undue complexities, we have opted for a dichotomy: either there is a clearly identifiable lead actor or there is not. Rather different than in most of the cases in the GVC and GPN literature, such a lead actor can be an individual artist, a firm, a consortium or public or semi-public sector institution. Not all single lead actors, especially the two latter, are automatically oriented at profit maximisation and capturing as much economic value as possible. The case of the Nederlands Dans Theater showed that this very powerful actor first and foremost aims at creating cultural value (Vriesema et al., 2023). The mode of governance, hence, has to be viewed also in the wider context of the embeddedness of the network.

The CICERONE approach can be summarised as conceptually sparse and empirically rich while pragmatic in the sense that it uses key components from the GPN perspective to map production networks in the CCS thereby scanning its possibilities and limitations. Applying that perspective has shown that the phases may be analytically distinct, but in the misty, gritty real world – as our case studies have made evidently clear - boundaries may be fuzzy and they may overlap as, for instance, in the case of stand-alone visual artists who cover both the creation and the production phase and sometimes even also the distribution phase. In addition, the phases are not necessarily neatly sequential, but instead iterative and recursive as shown by the case of the design of the acoustic wall (WP2 reference RAP). With regard to the spatial distribution or footprint, not all production networks are global, many of these operate at (much) smaller scale even completely local. In addition, quite a few of our case studies showed complex modes of governance which shifted from phase to phase.

Still, and in line with Throsby (2010: 25), who stresses the usefulness of thinking in terms of phases as understanding the different phases enables us to link specific policies to particular phases or tasks and to assess the impacts of these policy measures and "who are the affected stakeholders upstream or downstream from the point of intervention". It makes much sense to assess which tasks and phases are carried out by whom and where as well as who is in charge of organising the network as this is highly relevant information for policymaking. Discovering cases where they overlap and are blurred, then, is a valuable insight in itself. Finding out what the mode of governance is within a concrete production network may be essential to grasp which actor captures the created value and determines the overall shape of that network. Consequently, applying the basic components of the GPN approach in an open-minded way enables us to map and analyse the production system of the CCS provides a new foundation for policymaking. Instead of rather unconsciously targeting different aspects of these production networks as happened in the case above, we argue that departing from a production network approach will contribute to formulate better policies towards the CCS.

3. The broader implications of the CICERONE approach for policy-making

Whereas more conventional approaches to the CCS are primarily based on distinguishing different sectors and industries, we opt for a non-siloed understanding and seek to grasp the very large range of variation in the CCS in terms of different production networks. This also allows us to view ecosystems in the CCS with their diverse sets of cross-sectoral interaction possibilities in a more realistic way. These conventional approaches are also typically heavily tilted towards the creation phase (Daubeuf et al., 2020; Landry, 2020; Markusen and Nicodemus, 2020). We position the creation phase in a broader framework of production which encompasses the other phases as well in an iterative and cyclical whole. More concretely, this implies, for instance, that in our view policies targeted at localised clusters of creation in a particular industry – although they still can be very useful - may be less effective as they typically neglect the other phases and their location (Coe, 2015).

Our approach also allows a better understanding by being more open in a conceptual sense and, hence, able to deal with the fact that much of the production in the CCS takes place in project-based configurations where boundaries between firms, sectors and industries; and between creative and non-creative workers, self-employed and employees, freelancers and volunteers are often unclear and highly permeable (Grabher, 2002, 2004; Watson, 2012; Coe, 2015). Often these categories are assumed as fixed and clearly delineated and neatly captured in existing statistics thereby disregarding their fluidity and permeability. In this sense, we are integrating elements from the path-breaking work by the sociologists Becker (1982) and Bourdieu (1993) into a more comprehensive framework which highlights the spatial and the governance dimension of the CCS (see also Scott, 2000; Alexander, 2003; Bottero and Crossley, 2011; Hjelle, 2022). Both Becker's *art world* and Bourdieu's *creative field* "…comprise a complex ecosystem of artistic and more humdrum, support activities (e.g. sound engineers, managers; see Becker 1982; Caves 2000), curatorial practices and 'boundary personnel' who operate at the interface of creation, production and consumption, actuating as a filtering or selection process (Bourdieu, 1984; Alexander, 2003; Brandellero and Kloosterman, 2009; Janssen and Verboord 2015), and consumption practices" (Brandellero & Kloosterman, 2020: 301). As these intermediaries are essential in making connections in networks, they are not simply conduits, they *reproduce* the system. We are, hence, proposing to "inject a sense of political economy" (Coe, 2015: 488) as well as a sense of sociology and geography.

What, then, are the broader implications of a production network approach for a policy framework regarding the CCS?

- ✓ There should be an explicit understanding of how the whole production network hangs together from creation to production, distribution, exchange, and archiving; not just focusing on clustering and agglomeration economies in the creation phase, but position these within the broader network.
- ✓ Although the phases can be neatly described in analytical terms, a more ecosystem kind of understanding is needed to grasp real-life production networks as they are typically cyclical and iterative "… where multiple inputs, feedback loops, and a pervasive 'value-creating ecology' replaces a simple stage-wise process" (Throsby, 2010: 25).
- ✓ A SWOT analysis of the existing ecosystem to assess its potential and its shortcomings and identify which capacities should be enhanced.
- ✓ Still, actors and places should be taken seriously within these complex divisions of labour as they constitute the embodied knowledge systems underpinning the CCS. Tasks related to phases are undertaken by specific individual and collective actors and these occur in specific locations. This also means that tasks and their actors are embedded in concrete social, territorial, and institutional contexts, which enable and shape these activities (Kloosterman, 2010b). A policy framework, therefore, requires a thorough appreciation of these forms of embeddedness and should depart from rich actor and rich place conceptualisations. Notably, actors in the CCS tend to have strong intrinsic motivation (Caves, 2000), while policymakers often see cultural activities as important markers of local, regional or national identity (Hutton, 2017)
- ✓ There should be a thorough understanding of the governance structure of production networks as they are not just embedded in broader contexts, they also have their own organisational structures. Whether a production network has a hierarchical structure with a single lead actor in charge of initiating, organising, controlling, and managing the network, or a much more horizontal governance structure may have significant consequences for the capturing of the value created and, hence, for the labour conditions. Who determines what will be produced under which conditions may also be highly relevant for issues of sustainability. Exploring networks can lay bare "the central importance of power and value dynamics" (Coe, 2015:488). Policy makers need to review networks from a mode of governance perspective, because policy of regulatory responses will need to be tailored to the sort of actors who are in control.
- ✓ Our approach does not take the boundaries of firms for granted and looks at intra-firm, inter-firm and extra-firm relations.
- ✓ Given our sociological and geographical conceptualisation of production networks, whichever policy challenges with regard to the CCS are to be addressed, this will always require some kind of mobilisation of actors involved in whichever phase and location to engage in forms of collective action (Pareja-Eastaway and Pradel, 2023). According to Teles (2023: 1) "There is a wide agreement that in contemporary complex settings most of the problems can only be

addressed through joint actions of multiple actors involved in different and, often, flexible arrangements, crossing sectors and tiers of government".

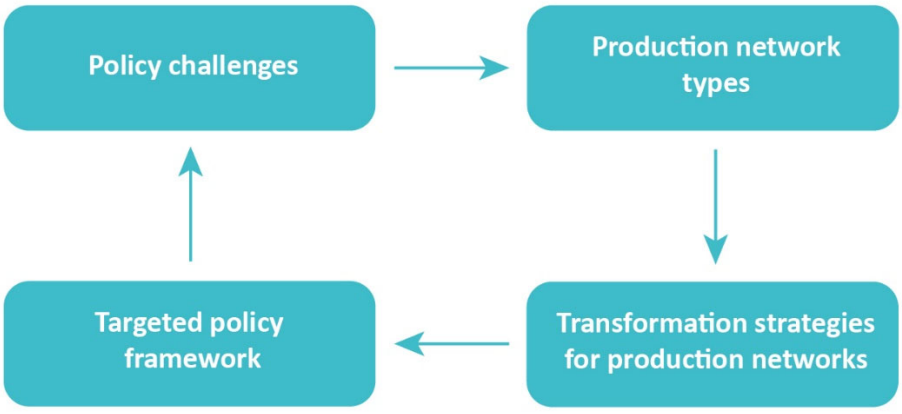
- ✓ In parallel, it requires a robust and appropriate evidence base to justify action
- ✓ It prioritises production networks over industry or sectoral approaches thereby seeking for new axes of difference and similarity.
- ✓ The fundamental sensitivity to rich actors, rich places, and embeddedness in our production network approach precludes a one-size-fits-all policy and, instead, demands a much more customised, policy-challenge driven approaches which, in turn, requires a mapping of the kind of production networks involved comprising phases, actors, places and embeddedness.

Our policy framework, which explicitly surveys the components of production networks in the CCS, should be seen as part of a much larger institutional context of rules and regulations which inevitably affect the CCS as well. For instance, more general regulations (EU and/or national) pertaining to product safety, labour conditions (e.g. minimum wage), self-employment, tariffs, taxes and subsidies, and educational policies (e.g. art schools) may well have a significant impact on the CCS. Policies aimed at the production network aspects, then, should be seen in conjunction with this larger policy context at the EU and the national level where these rules and regulation originate. Next to a rich-actor perspective, we also take locations seriously and apply a rich-place view which includes the local institutional and socio-cultural context. We will not present one overriding set of policies, but instead outline which approaches would make sense in the case of addressing a specific policy challenge in relation to a particular production network type. We have opted for this challenge-driven approach as this gives focus to our exploration of policy strategies. This is, evidently, a pragmatic choice – both in a more down-to-earth sense as it will help policymakers to get a handle on the issues they are faced with, but also in a more philosophical pragmatist way as we do not believe in overarching grand schemes of policymaking. No offer here of one silver bullet to address all challenges.

4. The CICERONE approach: challenges, a typology and production network strategies

Below, we present a stepwise approach to construct a policy framework using three main building blocks: policy challenges, network strategies, and a production network typology. We start with a more general description of the policy challenges that policymakers face regarding the CCS. The next step is presenting a set of strategies which are explicitly geared towards transforming production networks. After that, we link these strategies to our production network typology. This, then, results in a targeted policy framework, which inevitably feed into the policy challenges (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Conceptual scheme linking policy challenges, transformation strategies for production networks, production network types, and policy interventions



Source: author

What we offer is a narrative of a policy framework which enables policymakers to deal with the large variety of production networks in the CCS (across, and, more important, within the silos of the traditionally defined sectors) that has come to the fore in our case studies, and which connects with the diverse policy challenges from the original call and those that have been recently become more prominent. To come up with a useful policy framework, we have to significantly reduce this evidence-based variety, and have constructed a typology which serves as a first step to characterise the production networks at hand and provide an initial template for ordering ideas about at which spatial levels policy making should take place and which actors should be involved. Typologies can thus be seen as indicative tools that policy makers can use as they are a good way of 'framing' action types. To apply these action types to actual cases, their embeddedness in the socio-cultural and institutional context at various levels should be taking into account. Interventions, consequently, will be linked to the various ideal-types of these typologies resulting in a targeted policy framework.

Considering the spatial footprint as well the governance and the organisation of production networks is, hence, crucial to develop effective intervention strategies. To enable this development, we use a new foundational typology of production networks in the CCS, which condenses the rich and variegated configurations of the production networks uncovered by the fieldwork. This typology enables a more systematic synthesis that can be used to assess which bundle of policies makes sense in which situations. More precisely, the typology will also help to structure a stepwise approach for policymakers allowing them to assess in concrete cases with which type(s) of CCS they are dealing with and, hence, which sets of policies would suit these real-life situations.

Policy challenges

To construct a transparent and manageable policy framework, we have to reduce the complexity not just of the production networks in the CCS, but also of the policy challenges, and the main strategies targeting the networks. Below we have listed the policy challenges (Table 6.4.1) and the strategies (Table 6.4.2). The policy challenges have been derived from the original Horizon 2020 call and we have added two challenges which more recently have become prominent on the agenda of policymakers, notably those at the EU and the national level, namely environmental sustainability following the launch of the Green Deal by the Commission in December 2019, as well as resilience of the CCS in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic (European Commission, 2022). We have divided the challenges into to two main groups: those that refer to the shape of the production network itself and those which are chiefly about the impact of these networks in terms of labour conditions and their social and cultural effects. These two groups are analytically distinct - one could, in principle, make a production network more competitive or more sustainable without affecting the labour conditions or its cultural impact – but in real-life, they will often hang together.

Table 1. Selected policy challenges for the cultural and creative sector

I.	**Production systems of the cultural and creative sector**	
A	Competitiveness: how to increase competitiveness of the CCS	Original H2020-call
B	Economic perspective: contribution to (local/regional/national) economic development	Original H2020-call
C	Sustainability perspective: making production and consumption of the CCS greener	EU Green Deal
D	Resilience: enabling the CCS to better cope with crises	Covid-19 legacy
II.	**Social and cultural aspects of the cultural and creative sector**	
A	Labour conditions: improve conditions; making work less precarious	Original H2020-call
B	Cultural contribution – diversity, inclusiveness	Original H2020-call

Source: H2020-SC6-TRANSFORMATIONS-06-2018: Inclusive and sustainable growth through cultural and creative industries and the arts

Production network typology

To address the policy challenges in the CCS from a production network perspective, policymakers as well as stakeholders have to deploy strategies specifically targeted at key aspects of these networks. They, then, have to organise the relevant actors in the field to engage in some form of collective action to be able to pursue these strategies. There is no product- or process upgrading or any other form of upgrading without participation of key actors in the production network. Nor can there be any change in the mode of governance without involving them. To devise such policies for a pre-defined segment of the CCS, we have to transcend the specificities of the individual cases and move to a higher level of abstraction. We have constructed a typology of production networks which is informed both by the GPN literature and the rich empirics from our case studies of WP2. This typology should help policymakers and stakeholders to determine at which spatial level(s) collective action should be initiated and, given its mode of governance, which actor(s) are essential when pursuing selected strategies to address policy challenges.

The typology (see also D6.1 and D6.2) has two dimensions with the governance structure of the network on the X-axis and spatial footprint on the Y-axis. These two dimensions convey essential information for policymaking with spatial footprint indicating at which level(s) intervention should take place and the mode of governance impacting on how collective action related to these interventions should be organised. The governance structure is assessed by looking whether an actor is in charge of shaping and controlling the network. At one end of the range, we may find a governance structure which is strictly hierarchical with one lead actor, whereas, at the other end, we can observe a transversal configuration where power is much more dispersed among a larger number of actors. In the first case, for instance, a large firm in the production or distribution phase may be the lead actor calling the shots like in other economic activities, but in the CCS creators (e.g. a famous artist who has become a human brand) and also gatekeepers/tastemakers (e.g. the editor of Vogue in the fashion industry) can be very powerful actors. There are also horizontal configurations where no individual several actors is able to shape or control the network and decide who gets access. Such networks have usually been established in a more organic or bottom-up way. When the whole of a network is not evidently controlled by any actor, we qualify it as horizontal.

The second dimension of the typology is that of the spatial footprint. On the Y-axis, the spatial footprint is measured for a network in its entirety (not on the level of its production phases). Given the importance of formal institutional frameworks (e.g. laws pertaining to competition, intellectual copyright, labour conditions, and taxes and subsidies) for production networks in the CCS, we distinguish four relevant spatial scales (see Table 6.4.3). The typology is explicitly *not* aimed at constructing a perfect mirror of social reality, but intended to serve as *a strategic conceptual tool* or instrument which will help us to make sense of the multiplicity of manifestations of the CCS and – subsequently – support policymakers to devise more sensible and effective policies.

The typology enables a more systematic synthesis that can be used to assess which bundle of policies makes sense in which situations. More precisely, this typology also functions as the starting point for the stepwise approach for policymakers allowing them to assess in concrete cases with which type(s) of CCS they are dealing with and, hence, to construct policy packages consisting of several, interlinked sets of interventions, which are informed by key concepts of production networks.

The typology of production networks condenses the rich and variegated configurations of the production networks uncovered by the fieldwork in the first instance into eight possible ideal-types. We cannot claim that our selection of case studies is representative of the whole population of the CCS – the number of potentially relevant variables is relatively given the wide range of variation in the CCS and the data on networks are not available and making a random selection at the beginning of the project impossible. Instead, we opted for a strategic selection looking for high variety of cases and richness of information to generate the greatest possible amount of information on the production networks in the CCS (Flyvberg, 2006).

Although there are, in principle, eight possible ideal-types, positioning our cases from the fieldwork within the matrix has revealed a rather distinct pattern (see Table 2). As could be expected, horizontal modes of governance are mainly to be found in local/regional production networks, whereas more complex and extended global production networks tend to have a single lead actor. There are exceptions, but the pattern is quite evident with national and intra-EU footprints almost absent (see also Pareja-Eastaway et al., 2023).

Table 2. The typology case distribution

		Governance structure (Coordination of the production network at network level)	
		Multiple lead actors	***Single lead actor***
Spatial footprint (4 levels)	***Local/ regional***	- Festivals and performing arts (Amalyashi Festival) - Cultural heritage (Wiener heurigenkultur) - Architecture (MEF Architect) - Visuals arts (Simbumski and UNU Rotterdam; Patty Morgan) - Artistic crafts (Prisma) - Music (independent debutant artist)	- Architecture (Theater Zuidplein) - Artistic craft (Swedish glass making)
	National	- Artistic craft (Konsthantverkarna) - Heritage (Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius)	- Libraries and archives (Archiv Österreichischer Popularmusik)
	Intra-EU		- Festivals and performing arts (Varna Summer Festival)
	Extra-EU/Global	- Fashion design (Magenta Co; Cyan Co) - Visuals arts (Vienna gaming company) - Publishing (STM Publishing)	- Festivals and performing arts (Lowlands Festival; Nederlands Dans Theater)

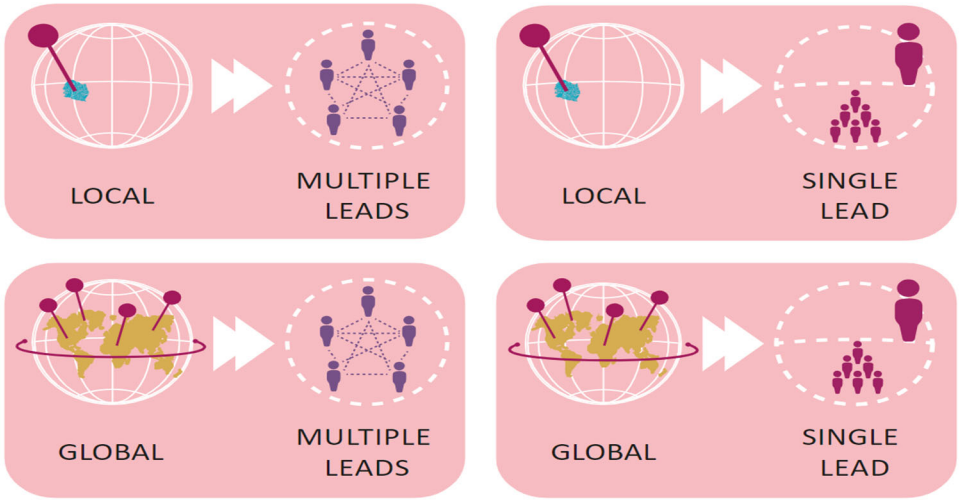
			- Audiovisual and radio (KLAS Film production company; Euroradio; Eurovision) - Design (Yellow Co) - Architecture (Guallart Architects and Picharchitects) - Visual arts (Venice Biennale) - Publishing (Wislawa Szymorska - Music (Marcin Wasilewski Trio)

Source: CICERONE WP2 reports: d'Ovidio et al., 2023; Gmeiner et al. 2023; Henriksson and Janowska, 2023; Inno et al., 2023; Karpińska et al., 2023; Tomova et al., 2023; Vriesema et al., 2023a; Vriesema et al. 2023b;

The distribution shows a concentration of cases in local/multiple lead actors and global/single lead actor. We cannot claim a representative sample, but this pattern also makes sense from a more analytical perspective as local network tend to be more organically grown and sufficiently small to have a more horizontal mode of governance with multiple actors in charge sustain, while large complex global networks can be expected to have a hierarchical mode of governance with a single lead actor. The observed distribution also indicates that networks tend to be either local or global and, hence, that transcending the local will often mean a global reach.

Given the relative absence of the national/intra-EU spatial footprint, we have reduced the variation of the typology even more and limit ourselves to the scale of the local and of the global, while distinguishing between multiple lead actors, on the one hand, and single lead on the other (see Figure 6.4.3). This fourfold typology, then should serve as a conceptual tool to formulate interventions aimed at transforming production networks. In real-life situations, actual cases will often not neatly fit in this 2x2 matrix. Still, it makes sense to capture the wide range of variation in the CCS and position real-life production networks in this field of four poles as a springboard for policymaking.

Figure 3. Four basic production network types



Source: author

The typology also serves a more academic goal as it enables us to undertake a series of intra/inter-sector comparisons and within and between countries. Notably, such cross-sector comparisons are crucial, as the CICERONE project claims to oppose the traditional siloed (sector-based) conceptions and to show that boundaries between sectors (and professions and firms) in the CCS are evidently much more volatile and permeable than often assumed.

Transformation strategies for production networks

The next step is to identify strategies which are specifically aimed at particular production network characteristics. Both the GVC and GPN perspectives, with their deep roots in Wallerstein's world system, have been explicitly applied to issues of economic development and, more specifically, how the position of firms, workers and other actors in more peripheral locations engaged in lower-value (economic value that is) added activities could be improved (Kano et al., 2020). Blažek (2016) gives an extensive overview of such strategies. Strategies can only be pursued by real-life actors, be it individuals or some form of collective actors (e.g. firms). Looking at strategies to address policy challenges, consequently, implies focusing on actors, their position within the network, their resources, and their goals.

The overview (see Table 3) will serve as a starting point for identifying strategies targeting production networks (not just the global ones) in the CCS. The GPN approach was originally developed to analyse vertically disintegrated manufacturing processes spread across a number of locations across the globe. Key actors in this approach are firms or companies aiming at capturing more value. To be able to accomplish that, these firms could engage in number of strategies either by creating more value or by shifting the distribution of the value created. The focus of these GPN based strategies is clearly on firms pursuing profit. In the CCS, we encounter networks which are hybrids of market, state and civil society actors and, in many cases, not primarily oriented towards creating economic value or profit but towards cultural value usually for an audience which may vary from very local to global. We, therefore, have to adapt these firm-oriented strategies as potential levers for policy interventions aimed at transforming production networks in the CCS for a wider set of actors and a broader set of goals. We do not just look at improving the production networks in a narrow economic sense, but we have also included the cultural value and the greening of the production and consumption as an important aspect of production networks.

Policymakers should explore which strategy or strategies fit(s) which policy challenge(s) and then work out how they can advance their goals through which forms of collective action and which actors should be involved. With foregrounding the role of policymakers in transforming production networks in the CCS or their socio-cultural impact, these strategies become part of a wider configuration or coalition for collective action and thereby much more than just activities of individual firms to achieve more added value.

Below, we have listed seven potential basic strategies to transform production networks (see Table 3). For each type of strategy, we have added which phases of the network would, in principle, be mainly involved. Although these strategies are analytically distinct, in practice they will often overlap. Using this perspective, we can already show that all strategies involve several phases (though we assume in varying degrees), so policies focusing just on the creation phase neglect the broader context. Upgrading the product, for instance, also concerns the archiving phase and its accessibility into which creative actors can tap for new ideas as well as the exchange phase in which tastemakers evaluate the new products. In addition, we note that two strategies encompass the totality of the network: chain upgrading in which the whole production network is shifted and a reversion of the power distribution in the network which implies a change in the mode of governance of the network. Furthermore, whereas product and process upgrading would not affect the composition of the network, inter-sectoral upgrading, functional upgrading, as well as strategic decoupling and subsequent recoupling refer to strategies where at least one actor moves to another, more rewarding, production network.

Table 3. Types of strategies targeted at transforming production networks

Type of strategy	Brief description	Phases involved
Product upgrading	Developing new products with higher value for customers and/or less environmental impact	Creation, exchange, and archiving phase
Process upgrading	Cost-saving measures or improved practices - can also mean more sustainable way of producing	Creation, production, and distribution phase
Inter-sectoral upgrading	Actor moves to another production network which serves upper segments of the market of same industry.	Creation, production, and distribution phase
Functional upgrading	Actor uses knowledge acquired in a particular chain shifting to another industry	Creation, production, and distribution phase
Strategic decoupling and subsequent recoupling	Actor develops new capabilities during a decoupling phase and subsequent recoupling into production network under more favourable terms	Creation, production, distribution band exchange phase
Chain upgrading	Gradual shift of the whole GPN towards more demanding segments of the market	Network level
Reversion of power hierarchy	Significant shift in the mode of governance	Network level

Based on Jiří Blažek (2016) 'Towards a typology of repositioning strategies of GVC/GPN suppliers: the case of functional upgrading and downgrading', Journal of Economic Geography, 16(4), p. 855

Given the central role of actors in all the production network strategies of upgrading and that of changing the power distribution, production network policies, inevitably, always involve engaging with the key actors. Actors have to be empowered to upgrade product and/or process one way or another and they have to be mobilised to initiate collective action. Which actors are involved in which phase

located where and in what capacity – the key dimensions of the spatial footprint and the mode of governance - thus becomes essential information to construct effective policies. By giving production networks a central role, the CICERONE approach enables policymakers and stakeholders to organise adequate collective action to address concrete policy challenges by explicitly considering which phases or tasks happen where and what the mode of governance looks like. This, then, connects the challenges and the strategies to the production network typology.

The configuration of the policy challenges chosen, the selected strategies, the profile of the production networks targeted, the sets of relevant stakeholders to be mobilised, and the specific institutional contexts, make each concrete policy case unique. There are, therefore, no prefab, one-size-fits-all solutions. Instead, when addressing a policy challenge in the CCS, policymakers have to consider the specificities of the case at hand and then devise a customised intervention. Below, we provide a stepwise approach to do just that.

5. Policy framework and stepwise approach

Based on these building blocks, we suggest a stepwise approach for organising collective action around a specific strategy to address a selected policy challenge. Given our perspective, the focus is on how to transform production networks to address economic, socio-cultural or environmental goals by applying strategies explicitly targeted at the shape or profile of these networks. These production network strategies were originally intended for actors who are part of the network– firms and workers which are part of the primary value chain – to boost the created value and/or to shift the distribution of the value captured. We explore how policymakers can influence the behaviour, the resources and/or the relationships of key actors in these production networks to address broader policy goals. Rules and regulations (for instance regarding minimum wage or environmental standards) as well as fiscal arrangements and subsidies (these are mostly decided by the national governments of the individual EU member states) can also significantly impact on the shape of production networks. We, however, propose a different, in principle complementary, policy framework. Instead of top-down policymaking, we home in on much more grass-roots oriented forms of soft institutionalism and, notably, on how to initiate successful forms of capacity building.

We are, of course, aware that pursuing one particular policy challenge can clash with another – as, for instance, boosting competitiveness may thwart attempts to improve labour conditions. Which policy challenge should be prioritised and which choices should be made in more concrete trade-offs is up to the policymakers and stakeholders. Still, the CICERONE approach adds important new elements to the debate on policymaking regarding the CCS.

We now have to take (at least) one step up in level of abstraction and distil more general lessons regarding policy making. Our fieldwork has uncovered the rich variety of individual production networks along many dimensions in the CCS. It also pointed to the salience of embeddedness at different spatial scales not just on the national and the EU level, but also on the local/regional level. Policies have to be customised to fit the match between the CCS activities and their localities. The production network structure in the architecture industry may be quite similar in Barcelona compared to Rotterdam, but the relationship with the local or the national policymakers might be rather different and therefore each demanding a bespoke approach. This results in unique configurations of production networks and contexts. Given this variety, we cannot spell out in detail policies or advance micro-management interventions. Quite a few of the proposed strategies will be familiar to policymakers and stakeholders – there is no claim for innovativeness here – but the fundamental added value of our approach is to position these interventions in a much more comprehensive framework by explicitly including both more phases and the dimension of the power distribution. Enhancing awareness of all actors involved – from the public and private sector as well as from civil society – of these key aspects of production networks is essential.

Steps for a stepwise CCS policy guide

Implementing such approach to CCS policymaking, requires to take seven basic and consecutive steps:

1. Choose a concrete **policy challenge,** which may refer to the CCS production system and/or to the economic, or the socio-cultural and/or environmental impact of the CCS.

2. Select which part or **segment** of the CCS will be targeted: **where** (for example: local/regional, national, or EU-wide) and the **type** of CCS (for example: local or global networks, type of industry, project or firm size, migrant-run, digital or handicraft). Although our production network approach does not depart from a siloed approach, policymakers may still want to address a particular sector (say fashion design or heritage. In most cases, the targeted population will comprise multiple production networks. Only in very rare cases – e.g., in the case of one large dominant systems house which dominates a whole field (like Netflix), policies can be directed at one concrete production network.

3. Gather **data** on the selected CCS segment. Provide general information on the distribution of network types within the selected segment. First, by using the CCS production network typology . Are we, for instance, dealing with mainly local networks with a horizontal mode of governance, or global and hierarchical? This requires data, both on the spatial footprint of the phases and on the power distribution, which are not yet widely available (see Pratt and Bennett, 2022 to obtain a profile of the distribution.

4. Construct more **in-depth mapping of production networks** for samples of the selected segment which provides more information on how the phases hang together, the mode of governance, and identify which key actors (collective and individual) are relevant for which phase (notably creators, strategic partners, dedicated suppliers, distributor, gatekeeper/tastemaker, or main customer) at which level of policymaking (local/regional, national, EU) and have to be involved/mobilised/empowered? (see Table 4).

Table 4. Detailed mapping of production networks

		Production network phase				
		Creation	Production	Distribution	Exchange	Archiving
Spatial footprint	Local/regional					
	National					
	EU					
	Global					
Mode of governance						
Key actors						

5. Decide which network restructuring **strategies** would make sense given the policy challenge(s) in combination with production network type(s) and location, mode of governance, key actors, and the wider institutional context.

6. Translate these strategies into concrete **policy packages** of coherent sets of interventions aimed at transforming the selected production networks and organise effective forms of collective action to bring this about.

7. Consider the **broader context** of the proposed policies: the relationship with other (national and EU) policies and the potential trade-offs/dilemmas between different policy aims (e.g. competitiveness vs. labour conditions or sustainability).

6. Concluding remarks

The importance of the CCS in the EU is unmistakeable (Kloosterman et al., 2019). Not just in sheer economic terms (turnover, employment, export), but also in creating forms of cultural value which may cement social cohesion as well as in giving voice in a very wide variety to different social groups. Given the key characteristics of the CCS – high degrees of uncertainty about consumer response, near-endless product variation, project-based in conjunction with a dependence on temporary coalitions of diverse and often mobile workers, high levels of skills and talents involved, strong intrinsic motivation, and a very fragmented labour force with a high level of non-standard labour contracts (Caves, 2000; Scott, 2000; Gill & Pratt, 2008; Coe, 2015) – they demand a rather different approach than the more traditional forms of industrial policy geared towards more large-scale Fordist activities such as the car or steel industry.

Policy needs to be evidence based. But for the CCS, we currently do not have enough evidence on how they work. CICERONE is showing this and attempts to provide a way forward to get more evidence and, hence, allow for more better policies. We propose a production network approach based on "detailed empirical knowledge of broader network dynamics, which can be useful to the formulation of relevant political initiatives (state and policy) and social interventions (reproduction and livelihood) to address the real-world trouble with global production networks in most cases" (Yeung, 2021, 4). We provide a policy framework which departs from policy challenges which are subsequently linked to specific production network strategies which involve forms of collective action. These strategies should, then, be targeted towards the sets of different production network types within the selected CCS population. This necessitates a mapping of the production networks in the selected CCS segment in terms of production network characteristics and also of the key actors which should be mobilised and empowered. We, thus, suggest a stepwise approach to address policy challenges, which provide a clear and transparent structure to devise policies regarding the CCS.

Our approach is inherently hybrid by seeking for coalitions between state (local/regional, national and EU level), market (firms – not just creative actors but also key suppliers), and civil society (strategic partners such as gatekeepers and tastemakers) covering the production network from creation to archiving. This way, we are also seeking to bridge the policy gap between, one the one hand, the EU, and on the other, the national and the local level by actively seeking coalitions of relevant actors at different levels to engage in processes of capacity building. In their review of EU policies targeted at the CCS, Elisa Salvador and Pierre-Jean Benghozi (2023) have pointed at the impotence of such policies

as they tend to be formulated in very general terms, which makes them difficult to operationalise, thereby avoiding clear-cut positions as they have to respect the principle of subsidiarity.[5]

Furthermore, the CICERONE approach goes beyond the more traditional CCS policies which focus on the creation part and highlight monetary and regulatory interventions. Going this way, we also appeal to the intrinsic motivation to create cultural value or contribute to more environmentally sustainable forms of production and consumption of many of those active in the CCS. Still, we are very much aware of the fragmentation of the field, the lack of resources and expertise, the need for more slack to foster innovation, the tension between a non-siloed approach and siloed stakeholder organisations (KEA European Affairs, 2023), and, more in general, the relatively poor representation of the CCS in policymaking circles. There looms, hence, a larger organisational issue, namely how to created imagined communities of stakeholders who perceive common interests. The CCS, however, in its myriad representations, should be able to identify and communicate that common ground. Our stepwise approach contributes to finding that common ground and the Observatory is aimed at doing just that together with providing more comprehensive data on the CCS.

We can summarise the key findings of CICERONE as follows:

1. A more comprehensive approach to policymaking by taking not just creation, but also production, distribution, exchange and archiving serious as leverage points to address competitiveness and contribution to economic development, labour conditions, socio-cultural impact and greening of the CCS. Given the spatial footprint of many production networks, this also often means broadening the geographical scope of policymaking. This broader view is still very rare among policymakers and stakeholders.

2. Policymaking to transform production networks is typically about multi layered collective action involving different sets of actors from the public and private sector. Mobilising and empowering actors to engage in capacity building, hence, is essential.

   The field of the CCS is highly fragmented and still mainly organised along lines of industries or siloes making collective action often difficult if not impossible. Given this fragmentation, it does make sense to foster the establishment or strengthening of collective forms of organisation among workers. This will not just help them to improve their situation, but also gives policymakers a handle to implement policies of, for instance, upgrading of quality or the setting-up of platforms which integrate different production phases. Such policies should

[5] Salvador and Benghozi (2023: 323): “Le discours qui émerge des communications de la CE semble donc traduire, paradoxalement, une forme d’impuissance à agir résultant d’une part de la prédominance d’affirmations très générales difficiles à opérationnaliser et d’autre part d’une absence de prises de position claires, justifiées par le respect du principe de subsidiarité.”

definitely take the intrinsic motivation into account. Appealing solely to economic or monetary goals will have limited effect. Instead, policies should explicitly highlight the importance of cultural and social values.

3. There is a very wide range of variety in production networks in the CCS. To deal with this variety, a pragmatic reduction of that complexity is necessary for policymaking.

4. Devising effective policies targeting production networks in the CCS requires a (much) broader set of data (both quantitative and qualitative) than currently available.

5. There is an evident need for a pivotal platform or Observatory that provides relevant data as well as playing an active role in organising the field of the CCS in a non-siloed way by mobilising actors across industries.

6. Policymakers should embrace a cross-sectoral vision of the CCS and consider the perspectives given by the GPN approach when organising consultation with the CCS to design policies. The CICERONE project identified no less than separate 112 CCS policy networks (mostly organised along lines of industry) active at the EU level. The CCS policy networks should be encouraged to develop as an alliance to consider trans-sectoral issues. The CCS Alliance would be mandated to reflect on the following trans-sectoral policy topics, notably (KEA European Affairs, 2023):

    a) Contribution to innovation and societal transformation with a view to address the Green Deal and Sustainable Development Goals.
    b) Improve skills, training and working conditions.
    c) Develop access to finance and consider the impact of financial models and rights acquisition which impact/threaten economic value of cultural productions.
    d) Adapt new technologies to the benefit of the CCS and society.

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