

# Geographic aspects and spread of the cultural economy in Hungary

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## Introduction

At the turn of the millennium the continuously developing sectoral structure of the economy was substituted with many additives that are also worth a geographical analysis besides the traditional elements. The phenomenon called quaternary-, later on quinary-ization that means enrichment of the economy with innovative elements by the intensive differentiation of the service sector, showed up and spread in different periods of time in the countries of the world economy which are characterized by different levels of development. Of course this process has not even sprouted in some countries of the world, since also tertiarization is still in its infancy, however, in case of the leading economic powers, respectively in almost all European countries the evolution and later on internal differentiation of division of labour between the service based branches was accelerated due to the transformation process taking place after the decline of the role of industry in the economy.

Our study aims at the delineation of the Central-Eastern-European peculiarities of the above described tendencies, together with the domestic interpretation of cultural economy, as a new concept, along the Central- and West-European approaches, respectively flashing the possible spatial issues. Our intention is to integrate all of these questions into Central European economic processes with a kind of historical overview and by tracking the changes in the definition. Our aim is an international literature overview that underpins the theoretical background and ensures a solid base for the development of a methodology that is applicable in our region as well.

## Definitions, interpretations

We are witnessing a debate that is tracing back for many years in the European countries related to the denomination of cultural economy, since there is no consensus among the authors about it and its definition either. It is evident from the historical overview that the authors mentioned cultural economy at the beginning, and later on the plural of this became common. Almost simultaneously with the broadening of the actors, a large part of the tertiary sector is doubtlessly determined by the cultural industries. After the turn of the millennium more and more economists, sociologists and urban scientists started to discover the cultural economic branch that evolved from the adherence of economy and culture and is gaining on ground with the commercialisation, increasing importance of knowledge, and strengthened key position of creativity. The most significant development of the sector was observable in the past two decades, when branches not necessarily operating based on parallel norms, values and attitudes started to converge.

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A fundamental change has taken place in the European cities since the 1970s. On the one hand, this was due to the global transformation affecting the Fordist economy that led to the collapse of the cities' economic base. On the other hand, a part of the city dwellers left their previous residence and moved to rural areas that induced the evolution of the suburbanization and counter-urbanization processes. These clearly had socio-economic, social, and urbanization consequences for the affected areas. Cultural turn that spilled from the international to the national, regional and local level as well, became the key for the success in the post-industrial, knowledge-based, global capitalist economy for the mitigation of the urban areas struck by degradation.

The majority of European cultural approaches born at the beginning of the 1990s can be related to the two economically leading countries, Germany and Great-Britain. Five larger groups of approaches can be distinguished according to the definition, and of course others merged into one another in addition to them. Change in the weight and importance of the newly evolved branch was investigated at that time not only based on economic aspects, but also its societal, social, and settlement effects were analyzed.

### **Commercialisation of culture**

The first study of the topic was related to Adorno and Horkheimer (1944), who traditionally considered cultural economy as the industrial production of cultural goods. While culture – that is identified as special, extraordinary form of art and human creativity – and industry are very distinct phenomena in the traditional sense, in the modern times they can be merged and become cultural industry that is fully determinable by demand and supply. In a somewhat different period the definition was invented by Miège (1979) who believed that a new direction evolved with new production techniques and culture as goods (Harvey, 2000). The significance of this economic segment is proved by the steadily increasing employment, by its contribution to the GDP, the expenditures on that and also with demand and supply as basic economics approaches (Freestone, Gibson, 2004). Authors of this period stated that city centres are privileged places of cultural production and consumption, and at the same time culture has a seeded place in the urban revitalization projects as well. It is used for the renewal of slumming districts in the developed world, since increasing quality of living can be a highly important element of increasing competitiveness (van der Borg, Russo, 2005).

### **Cultural goods, services, product industry**

Baumol and Bowen (1966) draw attention to the rethinking of the relationship between culture and economy, and they already mention the common areas as cultural economy. In their view the most important subareas are cultural product industry, cultural goods and cultural services. Garnham (1987) who belonged to the second wave of researchers investigating cultural economy regarded those social institutions as cultural industries which produce cultural goods and services, thus not exclusively commodities, in the typical production and organizational methods of the industrial firms.

Allan J. Scott (2000) already talks about the cultural economy of cities, and also points to the relationship between cultural production and the industrial concentration in cities. He complements to the previous ones by shedding light on the importance of the branch also in settlement geographical approach. He emphasizes that the cities have always played a privileged role as cultural and economic centres. He traces back the history of the earlier separated branch to the period of Fordist mass-production, and highlights that there is a much closer relationship between space, culture and economy in the present post-Fordist societies. In his view, cultural services mostly cover the segments provided or maintained by the state (education, public education), while cultural goods industry symbolizes market-based activities (media, publishing, advertisement, show-business, fashion industry). A more

sophisticated explanation is given by the study Cultural Economy in Europe that divides the cultural branch into industrial and non-industrial sector. The 'production' of the latter includes non-reproducible goods and services (one-time and unrepeatable concerts, art sales, exhibitions), while they classify cultural industries into the industrial sector.

### **Production, distribution and consumption of cultural goods**

Ruth Towse (1992) places in the focus of her work Cultural Economics the evolution of the global market role of 'low' and 'high' culture. Cultural economy is in her reading (2003) the economic use of cultural goods and services in production, distribution and consumption, and its investigation fundamentally relies on the knowledge of cultural policies.

Throsby (2001) calls the new trend cultural economy that has an extreme importance to the local economy. The cultural branch, trade, the variety of the cultural goods, products and services represent cultural economy, the core of which are music, dance, theatre, literature, visual arts and applied arts, the latter also includes video arts and performance as well.

The NRW (Nord-Rhein Westfalen) (2007) study argues that the actors of cultural economy are those members of economic branches that have cultural relatedness. Their interpretation and explanation is feasible in the production, distribution and division relationship of the involved branches that represent the markets and production frameworks.

### **Knowledge economy – innovation**

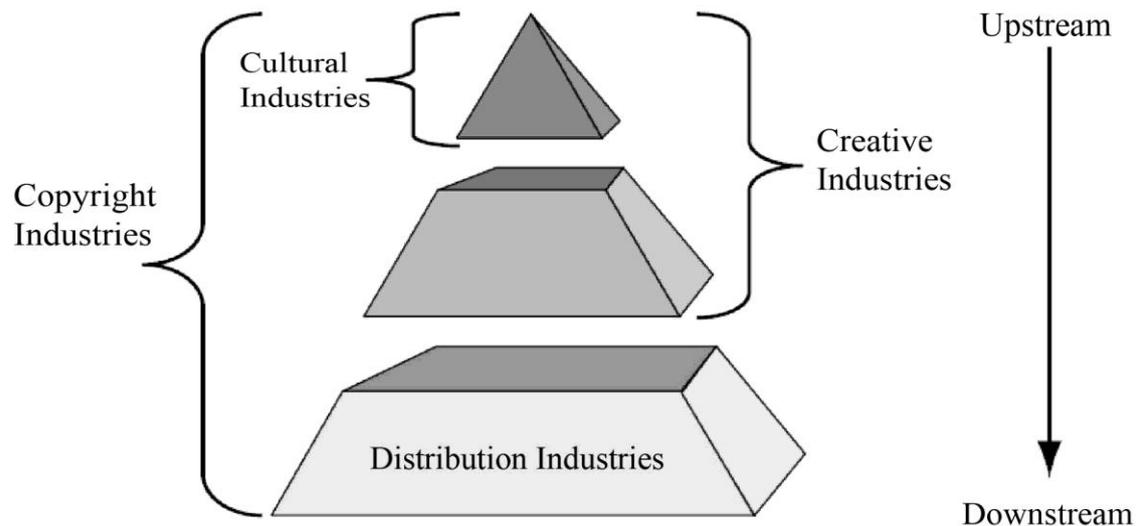
The cultural economy got more and more into the focus of interest at the turn of the millennium, and the background of this was the recognition the importance of knowledge-based economy after the crisis of the period that was characterized by the dominance of material-based goods (Coyle, 1999).

Richard Florida (2002) emphasized creativity as the main booster of economic development, although he invented his technology, talent and tolerance (3T) centred model based on professions. He defines talent as human and scientific capital, while technology means research and development and innovation, and tolerance represents variety and acceptance of openness.

Gay, Du and Pryke, (2002) join to this notion and define knowledge economy as intellectual and economic potential that is related to special elements of cultural institutions, mainly to higher education establishments and research institutes. This coincides with the definition of Stuart Cunningham (2003) who emphasizes the leading role of culture in the mediation of knowledge economy.

John Hartley (2005) analyses cultural studies published at the end of the twentieth century and the ecological processes of the 21<sup>st</sup> century that is called beginning of the Chinese century, and he believes that the dominance of the new or knowledge-based economy, respectively the cultural turn is decisive, which also means a fundamental element of the post-modern development path as well. He interprets cultural industry as a sub segment of creative economy, which is represented by the highest hierarchy of a pyramid in the Singapore value model. This and the middle level represent the creative industry which, together with distribution, (books, magazines etc.) refers to copyright related activities.

Figure 1: Singapore value model



Source: Hartley, J. (2005)

David Lechner–Thomas (2006) defines creativity (novel and genuine problem protection) and innovation (improvement and new combination of production factors) as fundamental characteristics of the concept of cultural economy. Montgomery (2007) argues that cultural industry is the main feature of the modern urban economy, and as the fifth wave of industrialization it also fits the Kondratiev-cycle theory. In his view ideas and art works have an accentuated role besides all of those economic activities that are related to digital media and information technologies. Accordingly, he defines knowledge-based economy as a new asset of cities. He argues that cultural industry as an economic activity which is the most significant shaper of the spatial structure of urban economy in our age. He describes cultural production as an activity that requires hardware (equipment, technology, studios) and software (creative people, ideas, artists) as well. John Holden (2007) analyzed the change of the creators' market conditions, emphasizing the importance of ability and talent, and also the key role of human capital.

### **Merge of culture and economy, production, commercialisation, distribution, dissemination, trade, and consumption**

Cultural economy in the rather conservative comprehension of Girard (1981) is the democratization and decentralization of culture together with industrial production. He classified French cultural branches simply: broadcasting, publishing (book, disc etc.), production of music and films, newspapers and magazines. This definition is partly the basis of the 'Anglo-Saxon model' (Frontier Economics 2007), in which the elements – i.e. creation, publication, production, dissemination, and distribution – are grouped around the sub-processes.

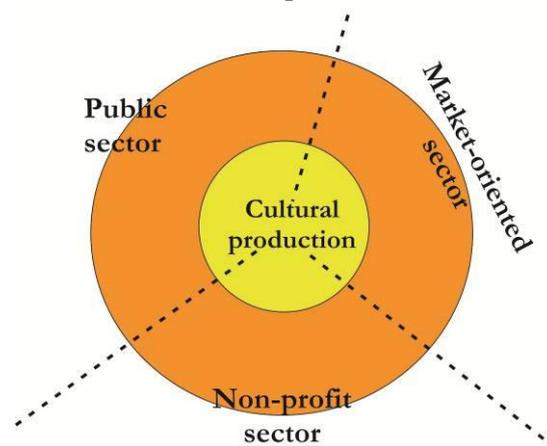
Cultural economy, as a technical term started to spread around the middle of the 1990s in Germany and was related to the processes of preparation, creation, mediation, dissemination, observance, and maintenance. This definition has become widely accepted in the Central-European countries, and though there are slight differences in phrasing, culture economy and cultural economy expressions are used as synonym meanings.

Ralf Ebert (2002) discusses the new segment of economy based on two approaches. On the one hand, he is dealing with the connection of culture and economy, which he comprehends as supply of economic elements that are state supported and provided by civil organizations (e.g. library, video, theatre, art homes, built heritage, and sponsorship). On the other hand, he speaks about cultural economy including autonomous, demand- and profit oriented

enterprises operating in different fields, like arts, publishing, book trade, and cinema. The Berlin and Aachen case studies published in 2005 classify those products and services to this branch that are produced, marketed, distributed and traded or which are related to the conservation of cultural goods.

Three approaches of the definition were given by Bernd Fesel and Michael Söndermann (2007). They argued that economy and culture represent fundamentally adverse areas regarding their nature. Economy means goods production and profit oriented services which only deal with (solely) culture that is based on economic rationales. Culture symbolises intelligence creation instead of profit, hence it is usually state supported. It primarily becomes interesting for the economy if it is accompanied by a short- or long-term interest. A different approach interprets culture and economy as value mediation of arts, complement of production or service with immaterial characteristics – this is sponsorship. Culture can be elucidated through economy as well, this is cultural economy which focuses on those areas of the cultural sector that represent cultural ‘factories’ in private economy. Branches dealing with art production, culture mediation or with deepening services belong here. Fesel and Söndermann (2007) argued that the elements of state, community and market economy are markedly different.

Figure 2 The Central-European, finance-based model



Source: Based on Fesel, B. and Söndermann, M. (2007) and Ságvári, B. (2007) edited by the authors

Michael Söndermann (2009) argues that cultural and creative economy are those cultural and creative enterprises that are dominantly market- and profit-oriented and deal with the creation/establishment, production, distribution and/or with the dissemination of cultural/creative goods and services. This approach is different from the former ones in the sense that one of the objects of basic investigation is internal segmentation. The base of all cultural and creative economic activities is creation, so contents, products and services of art, literature, culture, music and architecture provide the basis for the definition of the sub-areas of this sector.

Sharon Zukin (1995) used a sociological approach for her definition by analyzing the culture of cities, the ethnic composition, aesthetics, architecture, common culture and symbolic/allegoric elements of culture. She declared that locus means the spatial basic unit in the relation system of space and culture.

Andy C. Pratt (1997) writes about new economy that is identifiable with the commercialisation of culture, large-scale increase of consumption and includes knowledge economy next to the sub-areas mentioned in the table.

Richard Caves (2000) mentions creative industry, and just as Molotch, he conceives to discover a relationship between art and trade, that depicts also the characteristics of producers and market actors in the cultural production.

In 2001 John Howkins emphasized the importance of ideas and creativity, which are tangibly validated in the enforcement of copyright laws, and also design as a novel and flushing branch can be described along the mentioned components. He highlights that since the middle of the 1990s the revenues and economic development of the earlier unknown sector of economy exceeded the growth rate of automotive industry, military technology and agriculture.

Gibson and King (2005) interpreted cultural industry as a fumbling, gawky expression that found its place between economic and cultural geography in the last decade.

David Bole (2008) highlights the broad definition of cultural industry that is benchmarked with the spread and increasing importance of special services in cities. The cultural industry is the common expressive of new economy that is characterized by the variety and formation of production and servicing through creative processes.

Ann Markusen (2008) elucidated creative industry as creation, production and distribution of goods and services, which includes knowledge-based activities that give a creative content, economic value and market context to intangible intellectual and art services.

### Sub segments of cultural economy

Beyond the attempt to define the concept, also the definition of the sectoral sub segments was an important task, since in the last two decades several notions have been defined here as well. The Anglo-Saxon interpretation of this is related to the division of cultural economy into sub segments by the three authors named in Table 1.

Table 1 Elements of cultural economy in the second half of the 1990s

<b>Charles Landry (1996)</b>	<b>Andy C. Pratt (1997)</b>	<b>Department for Culture, Media and Sport (1998)</b>
Elocutionist	Elocutionist (theater, night club)	Elocutionist (theater, opera, dance, live music, pantomime, circus)
Music		Music
Visual artist	Fine art	Art and antique market
Audiovisual artist and media	Broadcasting	Broadcasting
Publisher	Press	Publisher
Design and fashion	Handicraft	Design and fashion
Digital technology	Sound recording	Film
	TV, radio, film	Architecture
	Museum	Advertisement
	Library	
	Gallery	
	Literature and book	

Source: K. Stefán – A. Trócsányi (2010)

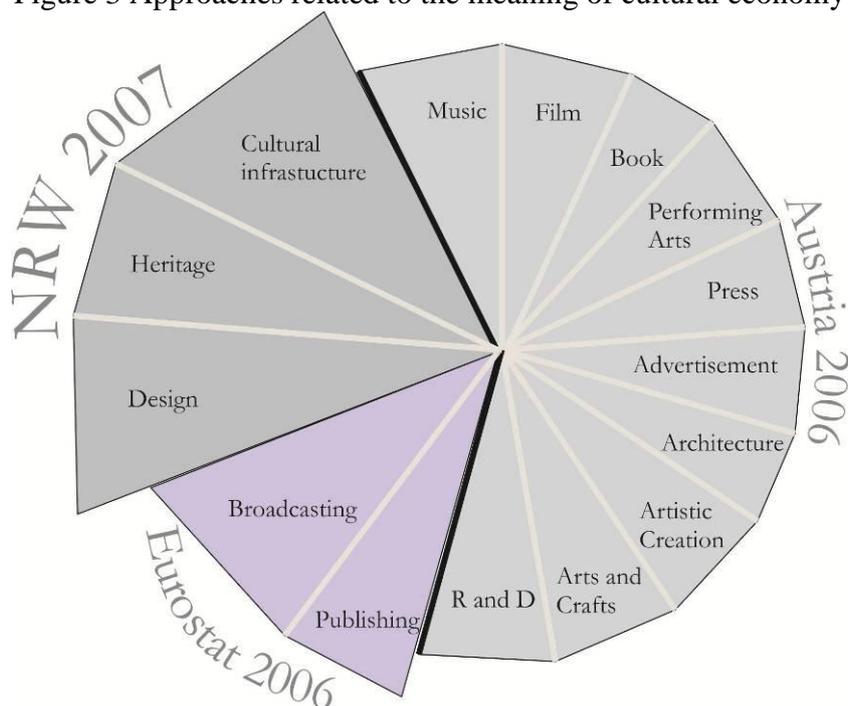
According to the German interpretation, seven more areas – architecture, arts, broadcasting, design, filming, music-theatres and publishing – operating on market principles also belong here.

Justin O'Connor (2002) argued that those activities belong to cultural industries the primary cultural value of which originates in their cultural being. It incorporates cultural branches in the classical sense (broadcasting, film, publishing, music, design, architecture), traditional arts (fine arts, handworks, theatre, concert, museum), and respectively state financed arts.

Masayuki Sasaki (2003) Japanese researcher established the model of creative branches in which the 'creative core' is music, dance, theatre, visual arts, literature, handworks, multimedia, video- and performing arts. The internal scale hosts newspaper, film, television-radio, book- and newspaper publishing, while architecture, advertisement and tourism are located on the external cover.

Drake (2003) rather uses the term 'creative economy' which embraces activities that are rooted in individual creativity, skills and talent and carry the possibility of profit- and job creation, respectively bear the intellectual potential of the individual. Based on this the most common activities are marketing, architecture, art, design, fashion, movie industry, software development, music, theatre, publishing, television, and radio. Table 2 summarizes the most important streams of classification of sub segments for the German speaking countries and the European Union since the turn of the millennium.

Figure 3 Approaches related to the meaning of cultural economy



Source: Based on Lechner–Thomas, D. (2006), Eurostat (2006) and NRW (2007) edited by the authors

In its 2006 analysis EUROSTAT gave a quantitative impoundment of the concept. It focused on the increasing economic weight of the sector; hence almost 5 million people are cultural employees in the member states of the EU, which equals to 2.5% of the employees. It becomes evident from the cross-country comparison that there is an above average rate of cultural employment in Poland (3.8%), in the Netherlands (3.5%), Sweden and Finland (3.3%).

Mayer (2007) investigated the change of cultural economy in his study which also refers to the cultural industry definition of the World Intellectual Property Organization which, based on the notion of Adorno and Horkheimer, classifies all areas here that produce cultural goods. In his view the factors used in private economy production mean cultural economy and the core areas consist of: music industry, film industry, creative arts, book markets, art markets, and broadcasting.

Söndermann (2009) impounded ten areas as listed in Table 3 which define, in addition to the previously described ones, also art markets and design related activities as separate groups, and some elements of the natural environment appear, like botanical gardens, nature parks, but also open stages and adventure parks as well.

Table 2 Sub segments of the cultural economy in Germany

<b>The subfields of cultural economy</b>	<b>The components of subfields</b>
Music industry	Musicians, composers
	Musician-and dance ensemble
	Music publisher
	Theater, opera, theatricals
	The other components of entertainment
	Trade instrument
Book market	Independent writers, poets
	Book publishers
	Retailers
Art market	Artists
	Art treasure trade and estimate
	Exhibitions and museum shops
Film industry	Actors
	Movie- and video filming
	Videotheques
	Movies
Broadcasting	Making and operating of Radio- and TV program
Performing arts	Actor (substantive)
	Artiste
	Theatre
	Theater and concert directors
	Theater, opera, theatrical
	Other artist
	Dance schools
Other units: circus, puppet-show	
Design	Industry design
	Product, fashion- and graphic design
	Communication and advertisement design
Architecture	House construction and interior designer
	Settlement, rural and regional planning offices
	Garden design and construction
Media	Journalist

	Correspondent and news editor offices
	Phonebook publisher
	Newspaper publisher
	Other publishers
Others	Restorer
	Libraries and repertories
	Memorials
	Botanical gardens, zoos, natural parks, amusement parks
	Amphitheatre (outdoor theater) and theme parks

Source: Söndermann, M. (2009)

## Hungary

The survey of the relation system of culture and economy became more and more popular in Hungary at around the turn of the millennium, and the interlacement of the basically adverse concepts has drawn increasing attention since then. Commercialisation of culture awoke the interest of representatives of different scientific fields, just as the unique constellation of occasional division and new merger of mass and high culture.

Commercialisation itself, as an economic process, naturally interested economists, hence micro- and macroeconomic aspects of culture already made the centre of analyses, just as international viewpoints or interdisciplinary approaches. Besides, economic interpretations of cultural branches made the basis of deeper analyses. Econometrics usually used the phrase ‘culture economy’ and dealt with the market effects of elements of traditional cultural infrastructure (Daubner, et al., 2002).

Among interdisciplinary sciences the geographical standpoint plays an emphasized role in the concept creation of cultural economy, since we achieve the new branch by investigating the individual elements impounded by cultural geography. These approaches usually enrich the concept, content of cultural economy through cultural infrastructure (Trócsányi, Tóth, 2002).

In the first Hungarian published book of studies cultural economy is interpreted as cultural product industry and cultural services (Enyedi, 2005), which includes rather market-based activities and has a higher creativity content and return on capital. The peculiarities and major elements of the branch, i.e. group of traditional cultural services, cultural product industry, culture related tourism, and also knowledge industry, are first demonstrated with the example of Budapest. As major components of product industry are named electronic media, traditional press, advertisements, marketing communication, publishing, event and visual industry, music, movie industry, software industry, fashion industry, design and architecture, higher education and research and development, and special hospitality. Others aim at the establishment of a more complex viewpoint, extending their investigation primarily on traditional cultural services. The university that represents knowledge economy and the students ‘keeping it alive’ give a large portion of cities’ population. Their consumption follows a unique structure that can exert an effect on the local economic actors, since their aim is to fulfil these special needs (as well). Based on this we can get closer to the special sub segments of cultural economy with the investigation of university students’ consumption patterns (Süli-Zakar et al., 2005).

Iván Vitányi (2006) deals in his book of studies with the situation and role of Hungarian culture and with the contribution of Zsuzsa Hunyadi he devotes a separate chapter to the institutions of cultural institution system and community civilization, analysing demand-

supply side changes and tendencies of that. The author deals accentuated with the change in importance and forefront coming of cultural capital that becomes part of the common as an internal, manifested, institutionalized and practice becoming concept, and one of the determining forms of economic goods.

In 1977 the economic psychologist, István Magyari Beck established a new scientific field in the international literature called creatology. Since 2003 on he is already dealing with the Hungarian domestication of the concept ‘culture-economy’ already used by economists, and defines the post-industrial world as a knowledge-based and information society where information represents only a negligible part of culture. In his explanation the production, consumption and trade of culture has to be prioritized against information and based on the culture theory of Tibor Scitovsky – which considers culture solely as consumption good – he identifies culture with the commodification of one of the earlier non-material goods.

Philosopher Sándor Karikó (2006) argues that despite the several contradictions there are similarities between economy and culture, thus cultural capital can turn into economic capital – or/and reverse.

Several economics oriented studies, i.e. studies investigating both demand and supply side were born on the interpretation of cultural economy (Rechnitzer, 2007). The author demonstrates the characteristic processes of cultural economy by the production of cultural goods and tourism based on cultural values, additionally by the attendance and capacity of traditional cultural elements.

Thus the viewpoint represented by many authors which considers cultural economy as the ensemble of culture-related services and product industry seems to be defendable, and the spatial aspects of it primarily should be analysed along cultural functions and issues related to production of goods, trade, and consumption (Pirisi, et al., 2008).

When determining creative class and creative economy Bence Ságvári and Balázs Lengyel (2008) also define cultural branches, since these are the base of the investigated creative economy. In the past years were the two concepts spotlighted as synonyms in this context, however, chronologically cultural industries appeared first for the expression of marketable mass culture. Today these less market-oriented activities are decisively publicly financed institutions and state budget financed units (e.g. museum, library etc.).

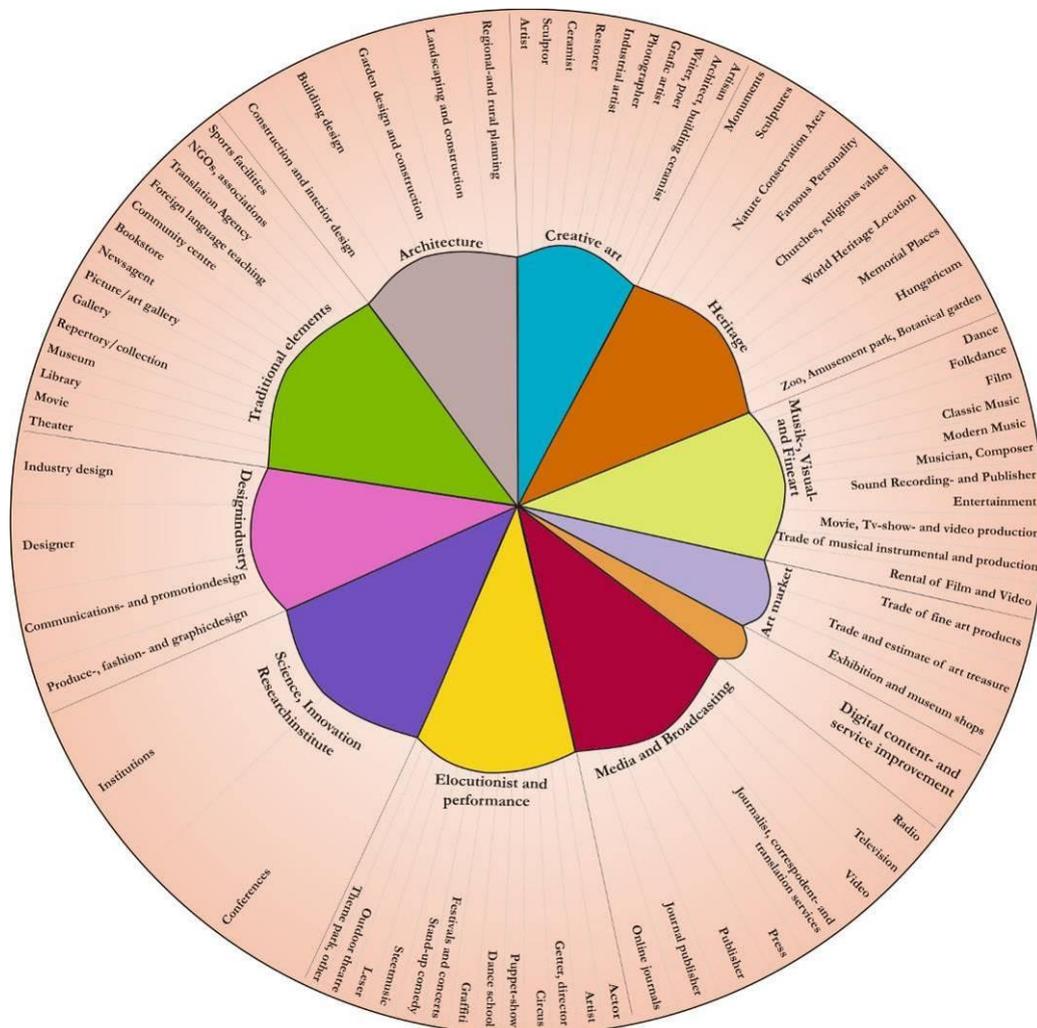
The investigation of spatial issues already appear in the above mentioned book (Enyedi, Keresztény, 2005), but Zoltán Kovács deals more in-depth with the city, and city structure peculiarities of the phenomenon (Kovács, 2009), who mainly agrees with the approach of Ságvári and Lengyel with the amendment that creative industry includes also copyright laws besides cultural economy, i.e. also information society, R&D, and financial consultancy belong here.

Based on the literature and field studies, nowadays those enterprises are classified to cultural economy that are mainly market- and profit-orientated, deal with the creation, publishing, production, spreading and distribution. As country- or system-specific peculiarity it can also include elements of traditional cultural infrastructure which are decisively financed by the state or municipality, at the same are inevitable economic actors based on their size and cultural role. We cannot neglect the civil organizations and foundations which gain on strength and open connection to the non-profit field. This quaternary branch is usually dominated by one-man, i.e. micro- and small enterprises which go back to their roots and occasionally provide manufacture-like services, i.e. produce goods. But similarly belong to this sector those service providers who utilize the possibilities provided by information communication or even the more and more diverse, most significant branch of (e.g. cultural) tourism.

Based on the above mentioned, the sub segments and elements of cultural economy can be differentiated as it is shown in Table 4. We added to the German interpretation and to the EU-

accepted subareas Hungarian peculiarities, i.e. cultural units that are related to knowledge economy and innovation, and we slightly re-structured the elements as well. Goods production on the traditions of handicrafts has a significant past and merits in Hungary, thus handicrafts – bookbinder, leather worker, potter etc. – can play a significant role among the sub segments of the new branch – just as intellectual, natural and material heritage and unique – only for Hungary typical special (heritage) – goods, it is called Hungaricum. The relevant activity of the church has to be mentioned also due to its culture shaping and carrying role; and one cannot forget world heritage sites, which mean one of the bases of cultural tourism. Universities and research institutes which mean the background and base of the already several times mentioned knowledge economy also make autonomous subareas that can be interpreted as primary fields of innovation. Above their strictly comprehended educational and research function, universities play in our view an accentuated role also in the practice and dissemination of culture, hence also this decisively public sector can be classified into the concept of cultural economy.

Figure 4 Sub segments and potential components of cultural economy in Hungary

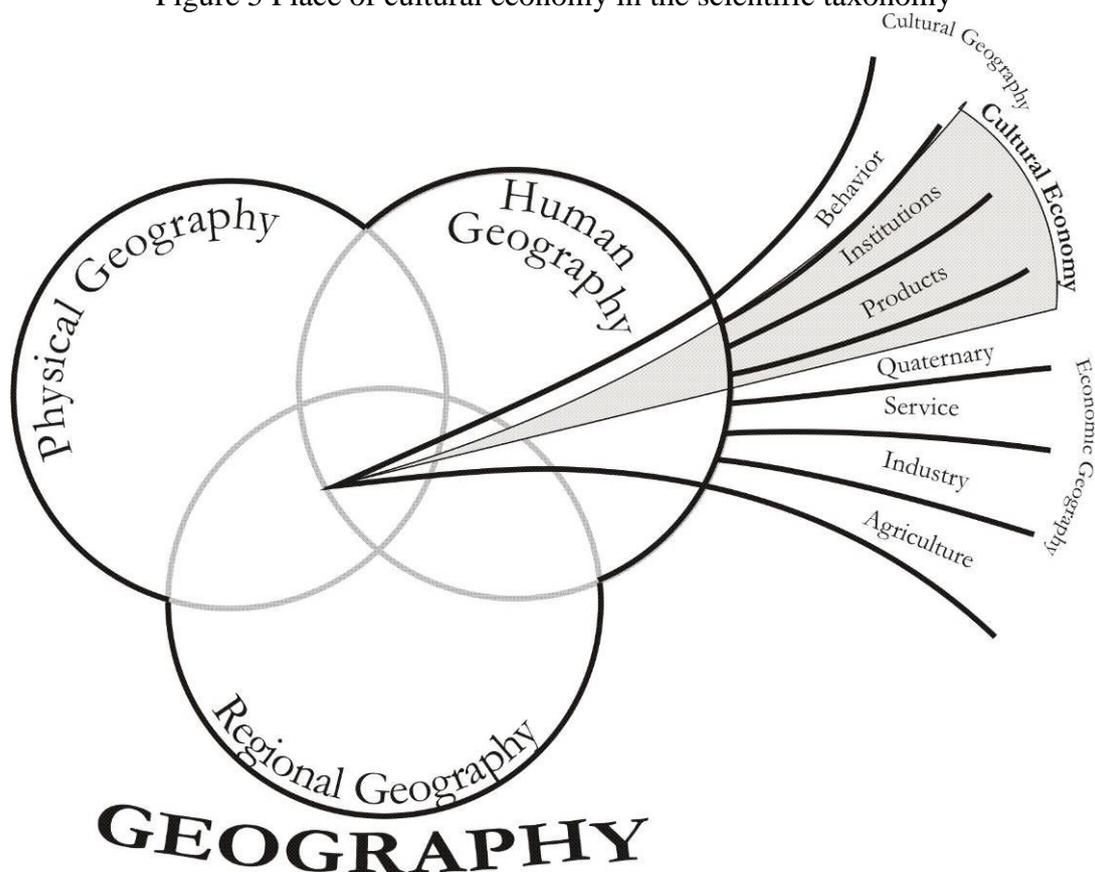


Edited by the authors

## Summary

We face serious difficulties by defining the content of cultural economy, since this phenomenon appears in different times, with different roles and composition in the (socially-economically) differently developed areas of the world. The characteristics can be as much dependent on the content of culture interpreted in the given space and environment as on the economic milieu, thus the interpretations widely correlate with the characteristics of economy and culture. The revolution of info-communications of the past two decades largely rearranged the earlier spatial connections as well, questioning also the city hegemony typical for the branch. The system specific peculiarities (e.g. superposition of post-industrial and post-socialist transformation) require individual – wider than ever before – interpretation.

Figure 5 Place of cultural economy in the scientific taxonomy



Based on Trócsányi, A. – Tóth, J. (2002), edited by the authors

A composition of spatial interpretation of economy and culture can serve as a background for the geographical approach of cultural economy. This means in case of economy the economic geography, focusing on spatial aspects of that, while the analysis of spatiality of culture is a task of cultural geography. The spatiality, spatial interaction system of the economic branch of our investigation, also its interrelations to space, its conditions and consequences related to physical or regional geography are all challenges for geography as well.

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