

# Hémecht

**Revue d'Histoire luxembourgeoise**

transnationale, locale, interdisciplinaire

**Zeitschrift für Luxemburger Geschichte**

transnational, lokal, interdisziplinär

**70. Jahrgang**

**2018**

**Heft 3**

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## Creative Luxembourg?

### From implicit debates on cultural industries to an explicit policy on creative industries in Luxembourg

#### Introduction

Since the 1980s, the concept of cultural industries has been increasingly put forward in public debates as a means to boost the economy and to protect and promote national industries. Its popularity and positive connotations are in stark contrast to the Marxist critique expressed by the Frankfurt School some decades earlier: in their seminal work *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, published in 1947, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno dedicated a chapter to what they called the “culture industry”, linking this to radio and television, which were seen as being deceptive, manipulative and the reason for “an idolization of the existing order and of the power by which technology is controlled”<sup>1</sup>.

Since the 1990s, cultural policies in a series of countries have been marked by a shift away from cultural industries towards the emerging concept of creative industries, as reflected in political debates and government policies. But if the notion of cultural industries was difficult to define<sup>2</sup>, the concept of creative industries is even more so. As vague as the notion might be, this ambiguity is actually convenient for policymakers: creativity, as Dave O’Brien accurately notes, “is hard to be against, it is a difficult idea to reject”<sup>3</sup>. Numerous scholars have examined the concepts of cultural and creative industries, attempting to identify their characteristics and to discern the differences between them. The cultural policy researchers Susan Gallo-way and Stewart Dunlop, in a review of definitions given by various commentators, argue that these were mostly based on the combination of several main criteria, i.e. “creativity, intellectual property, symbolic meaning, use value and methods of

<sup>1</sup> HORKHEIMER, Max and ADORNO, Theodor W., *Dialectic of Enlightenment. Philosophical Fragments*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002, pp. xviii-xix.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HESMONDHALGH, David and PRATT, Andy C., Cultural Industries and Cultural Policy, in: *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11/1 (2005), pp. 1-13.

<sup>3</sup> O’BRIEN, Dave, *Cultural Policy. Management, Value and Modernity in the Creative Industries*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2014, p. 6.

production”<sup>4</sup>. There is no single characteristic that can be used to describe creative industries and distinguish them from cultural industries, especially when the terms are used interchangeably or when cultural industries are part of the wider agenda of creative industries<sup>5</sup>. Nicholas Garnham and Stuart Cunningham link the discourse of creative industries to that of innovation and the knowledge society<sup>6</sup>, which would also embed them in economic policy. The researcher David Hesmondhalgh opts for a different view. He acknowledges that many policymakers and some academics have been using the term creative industries instead of cultural industries and does not ignore the development that has taken place in political discourse<sup>7</sup>. However, he continues to refer to cultural industries and includes in this concept a range of activities that, in some cases, policymakers and some academics might attribute to the creative industries instead: audiovisual industries, media, publishing, video and computer games, advertising, music, marketing and public relations, web design<sup>8</sup>. Observing that “many researchers have demonstrated great confusion” in trying to define cultural industries, Hesmondhalgh argues that the concept of culture needs to be seriously analysed when dealing with cultural industries. In fact, the underlying definition of culture in cultural industries is narrower than the anthropological definition of culture would suggest<sup>9</sup>.

Considering the above, it is important to bear in mind that both cultural and creative industries lack theoretical clarity, particularly in political discourse. In this paper, I will analyse the debates in Luxembourg on cultural and creative industries, both explicit and implicit. I will begin my study at the end of the 1960s, when Luxembourg’s cultural policy slowly began to evolve under a new ministry and in changing international, social and economic contexts. Luxembourg’s cultural policy has barely attracted the attention of academics, and even less that of historians. Cultural and creative industries, their discourses and their history are still a widely ignored research field. I would like to contribute to a first overview of this neglected aspect in Luxembourgish contemporary history, primarily by examining official documents produced by the (national) public authorities. I argue that in Luxembourg a shift from cultural industries (though mostly implicit in cultural policy) to a creative industries agenda has taken place, following and inspired by international trends. At the same time, this shift has not necessarily been accompanied by a clarification of what creative industries are, even if this area or parts of it have been progressively institutionalised.

For reasons of clarity, I will include a description of the general discourse on cultural policy and the historical context. Before I analyse the case of Luxembourg,

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<sup>4</sup> GALLOWAY, Susan and DUNLOP, Stewart, A Critique of Definitions of the Cultural and Creative Industries in Public Policy, in: *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 13/1 (2007), pp. 17-31, here p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> GALLOWAY and DUNLOP, A Critique of Definitions of the Cultural and Creative Industries in Public Policy (note 4), pp. 25-26.

<sup>6</sup> CUNNINGHAM, Stuart, Trojan Horse or Rorschach Blot? Creative Industries Discourse around the World, in: *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 15/4 (2009), pp. 375-386, here p. 376; GARNHAM, Nicholas, From Cultural to Creative Industries. An Analysis of the Implications of the “Creative Industries” Approach to Arts and Media Policy Making in the United Kingdom, in: *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11/1 (2005), pp. 15-29.

<sup>7</sup> HESMONDHALGH, David, *The Cultural Industries*, London: Sage, 2015<sup>3</sup>, p. 174.

<sup>8</sup> HESMONDHALGH, *The Cultural Industries* (note 7), p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> HESMONDHALGH, *The Cultural Industries* (note 7), p. 16.

however, I will present a short account of international trends in cultural and creative industries. My aim is not to suggest a new definition of either cultural or creative industries. This would be counterproductive in an analysis that is concerned with the evolution of both concepts and how they are used by public authorities. In view of the longer conceptual history of cultural industries and the more recent emergence of creative industries, however, I can propose a number of general characteristics that represent overall tendencies without reflecting the complexity of the discourses. Cultural industries, then, are related to mass production or simply destined to be consumed by a broader public, while creative industries cannot be separated from (economic) discourse on innovation, creativity and to some extent digital transformation. Depending on the context, creative industries constitute either an area of their own or an extension of the area covered by cultural industries to include not only entertainment/cultural products and artistic performances, but creative services provided to customers for which specific software skills are needed, such as in design or architecture.

### **Cultural and creative industries in an international context since the 1980s**

The 1980s saw the advent of cultural industries in public discourse around the world, but also on local and regional levels, as illustrated by the case of the Greater London Council (GLC) in the British context<sup>10</sup>. Although the GLC was a short-lived experience that was dissolved by the Conservative government in 1986, its influence was palpable in a number of local administrations in the UK. During the same period in France, the association of culture and the economy under French Culture Minister Jack Lang was an attempt to develop and support national cultural industries in order to reverse an economic downturn and contain the strong presence of American culture, especially in cinema and television. It was also closely connected to the idea of cultural exception, heavily defended by France during the Uruguay Round of the GATT negotiations<sup>11</sup>.

France and the UK were not the only countries that developed a discourse on cultural industries. Outside Europe, this discourse featured in cultural policies in Canada, Australia and New Zealand<sup>12</sup>. During the 1990s, the idea of creative industries, replacing that of cultural industries, gradually entered the public policy arena. This was the case in the UK, for instance, under the New Labour government in the late 1990s, whose definition of creative industries was criticised by scholars; it was seen as “a political construct”<sup>13</sup>, and the point was made that all industries are “creative” in some sense.<sup>14</sup> The concept of creative industries emphasised intellectual property and the creative process, moving beyond industrial-scale production and manufacturing<sup>15</sup>. Australia has launched a series of initiatives in recent years, such as the Creative Industries Cluster Study, whereas New Zealand has been

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<sup>10</sup> HESMONDHALGH and PRATT, *Cultural Industries and Cultural Policy* (note 2), p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> GREFFE, Xavier and PFLIEGER, Sylvie, *La politique culturelle en France*, Paris : La Documentation française, pp. 38-39.

<sup>12</sup> HESMONDHALGH and PRATT, *Cultural Industries and Cultural Policy* (note 2), p. 4.

<sup>13</sup> PRATT, Andy, *Cultural Industries and Public Policy. An Oxymoron?*, in: *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11/1 (2005), pp. 31-44, here p. 32.

<sup>14</sup> O'BRIEN, *Cultural Policy* (note 3), p. 6.

<sup>15</sup> PRATT, *Cultural Industries and Public Policy* (note 13), p. 33.

supporting the creative economies as one of three sectors of the “new economy” in the Growth and Innovation Framework<sup>16</sup>. In the case of the Nordic countries, Peter Duelund identifies the period from 1985 to 1995 as a time of “economic instrumentalism”, characterised by stronger cooperation between the state and cultural industries to support economic growth<sup>17</sup>. In all these examples, support for cultural and creative industries was embedded in an economic agenda.

The European Union has also been paying increasing attention to the creative industries. In 1992, culture was recognised as a (limited) competence of the EU in the Treaty of Maastricht (article 128), though the imprecise wording was one of the reasons for a “prevailing ambiguity” in EU policies<sup>18</sup>. However, the European Union had already made efforts in this area before 1992, such as in television through the MEDIA programme launched by the European Commission, or with the European Capital of Culture initiative from 1985 onwards. In 2006, the European Commission’s Directorate-General for Education and Culture published the study *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, focusing on the cultural and creative sectors. This had the merit of trying to provide some definitions, though the use of similar concepts with different connotations also proved somewhat confusing. According to the schematic overview in the report (fig. 1), the “cultural sector”, which includes cultural industries (“industrial activities aimed at massive reproduction”) and core arts (non-industrial activities defined as “non-reproducible goods and services aimed at being “consumed” on the spot”), is defined differently from the “creative sector”, which encompasses “creative industries and activities” and “related industries” (a category which the report recognises as being “loose and impossible to circumscribe”)<sup>19</sup>. While creativity and innovation constitute two central aspects of the creative sector, the cultural sector seems to be regarded from the perspective of mass or industrial production. Though copyright plays a role in both sectors, the outputs of the creative sector “may include other intellectual property inputs (trademark for instance)”. The study therefore picks up on some of the characteristics that have been discussed, for instance, by Galloway and Dunlop. In 2014, the European Union launched the Creative Europe programme, to support “Europe’s cultural and creative sectors”<sup>20</sup>; this replaced the Culture and MEDIA programmes, which ended in 2013. Instead of treating cultural industries and creative industries as two distinct areas, the EU has opted to use the expression “cultural and creative sectors”, which avoids any possible ambiguities but, at the same time, covers a vast range of activities and production. The EU’s approach is one example in which cultural industries and creative industries coexist as concepts with different meanings. Unlike Hesmondhalgh’s definition, design and advertising, for instance, are not part of the cultural industries as defined by the EU.

<sup>16</sup> CUNNINGHAM, Trojan Horse or Rorschach Blot? (note 6), pp. 380-381.

<sup>17</sup> DUELUND, Peter, Nordic Cultural Policies. A Critical Review, in: *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 14/1 (2008), pp. 7-24, here p. 17.

<sup>18</sup> GORDON, Christopher, Great Expectations – the European Union and Cultural Policy. Fact or Fiction?, in: *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 16/2 (2010), pp. 101-120, here p. 104.

<sup>19</sup> Directorate-General for Education and Culture, *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, Brussels: European Commission, 2006, pp. 2-3.

<sup>20</sup> *Creative Europe*, URL: [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/about\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/about_en) (accessed on 27/12/2017).

## Delineation of the cultural & creative sector

Circles	Sectors	Sub-Sectors	Characteristics
<b>Core Arts Fields</b>	<b>Visual arts</b>	Crafts – Paintings – Sculpture – Photography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Non industrial activities</li> <li>• Output are prototypes and “potentially copyrighted works” (i.e. these works have a high density of creation that would be eligible to copyright but they are however not systematically copyrighted, as it is the case for most craft works, some performing arts productions and visual arts, etc).</li> </ul>
	<b>Performing arts</b>	Theatre – Dance – Circus – Festivals	
	<b>Heritage</b>	Museums – Libraries – Archaeological sites – Archives	
<b>Circle 1: Cultural Industries</b>	<b>Film and Video</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Industrial activities aimed at massive reproduction.</li> <li>• Outputs are based on copyright.</li> </ul>
	<b>Television and radio</b>		
	<b>Video games</b>		
	<b>Music</b>	Recorded music market – Live music performances – revenues of collecting societies in the music sector	
	<b>Books and press</b>	Book publishing – Magazine and press publishing	
<b>Circle 2: Creative Industries and Activities</b>	<b>Design</b>	Fashion design, graphic design, interior design, product design	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Activities are not necessarily industrial, and may be prototypes.</li> <li>• Although outputs are based on copyright, they may include other intellectual property inputs (trademark for instance).</li> <li>• The use of creativity (creative skills and creative people originating in the arts field and in the field of cultural industries) is essential to the performances of these non cultural sectors.</li> </ul>
	<b>Architecture</b>		
	<b>Advertising</b>		
<b>Circle 3: Related Industries</b>	<b>PC manufacturers, MP3 player manufacturers, mobile industry, etc ...</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This category is loose and impossible to circumscribe on the basis of clear criteria.</li> </ul> <p>It involves many other economic sectors that are dependent on the previous “circles”, such as the ICT sector.</p>

the cultural sector
  the creative sector

Figure 1: Delineation of the cultural & creative sector as shown in the 2006 EU report “The Economy of Culture in Europe” (p. 3).

### The case of Luxembourg: a non-existent policy until the 1970s

In Luxembourg, debates related to cultural industries, even without the explicit use of the term, can be traced back to the 1960s and 1970s. In 1969, the Department of Cultural Affairs was detached from the Ministry of National Education and assigned to a new ministry, but it was also merged with the Department of Religious Affairs<sup>21</sup>. This new administration was headed by Madeleine Frieden-Kinnen

<sup>21</sup> The official name was the Ministry of Cultural and Religious Affairs. In the following, I will stick to the shorter version of Ministry of Cultural Affairs.

from the Christian Social People's Party (CSV), the first woman in the history of Luxembourg to become a minister. In a context of social and technological changes, Frieden-Kinnen took a negative stance towards media and mass culture. She heavily criticised the consumerist society, "materialism" and the "intoxication" caused by "new communication technologies" such as television, radio or cinema, and saw the purpose of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs as creating a counterbalance by promoting spiritual and cultural values to the masses<sup>22</sup>. Though such a viewpoint is somewhat reminiscent of the Marxist critique by the Frankfurt School, it would certainly be wrong to assume that writers such as Adorno and Horkheimer influenced a conservative politician. Frieden-Kinnen never mentioned the concept of "culture industry". However, she speaks in one of her addresses of the "industries of sex, blood and dreams" and claims to be quoting the French Culture Minister André Malraux<sup>23</sup>. It is quite possible that she drew some of her cultural policy ideas from Malraux, though she certainly did not engage in a wholesale appropriation of his approach – she had no intention of building "maisons de la culture" or supporting cinema. Yet in both countries, culture was given a mystic, metaphysical quality. At the same time, the Luxembourg minister did not simply want to introduce the masses to high culture, which would be "foreign" to them, but believed that everyone should have the opportunity to participate in cultural activities<sup>24</sup>. How this should be done remained unclear, especially as Frieden-Kinnen insisted on not interfering in cultural and artistic life. When Frieden-Kinnen resigned in 1972, the Ministry of Cultural and Religious Affairs was disbanded and the Department of Cultural Affairs was integrated into the Ministry of State, but with its own State Secretary. This role was taken up by the future Prime Minister Jacques Santer (CSV). Santer had a much more positive view of the media and embraced the idea of democratisation, rendering culture accessible to all social classes<sup>25</sup>. Under Santer, Luxembourg clearly began following the French example with the democratisation of high culture.

In 1974, a centre-left coalition was formed, for the first time without the CSV. That year also marked a change in cultural policy. Robert Krieps (from the Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, LSAP) became Minister for National Education, which included the department for cultural affairs. For the first time, Krieps' ministry developed a coherent programme, strongly influenced by French<sup>26</sup> and German<sup>27</sup> developments, which I summarise with the expression 'new cultural policy' (NCP),

<sup>22</sup> Chambre des députés, 12<sup>e</sup> séance. 25 novembre 1969, in : *Compte-rendu de la session ordinaire de 1969-1970*, Luxembourg : Chambre des députés, 1969, pp. 707-708.

<sup>23</sup> Chambre des députés, 12<sup>e</sup> séance (note 22), p. 708. Frieden-Kinnen probably refers to a speech given by Malraux at the inauguration of the *Maison de la Culture* in Amiens in 1966, where he expressed his disdain for "sex, blood and death" as the "most terrible elements in a human being" (MALRAUX, André, Speech given on the Occasion of the Inauguration of the House of Culture at Amiens on 19 March 1966, in: AHEARNE, Jeremy (ed.), *French Cultural Policy Debates. A Reader*, London: Routledge, 2002, p. 716).

<sup>24</sup> Chambre des députés, 12<sup>e</sup> séance (note 22), p. 716.

<sup>25</sup> Chambre des députés, 17<sup>e</sup> séance. 29 novembre 1973, in : *Compte-rendu de la session ordinaire de 1973-1974*, Luxembourg : Chambre des députés, 1973, p. 1134.

<sup>26</sup> MARTIN, Laurent, La politique culturelle de la France depuis 1945, in : POIRRIER, Philippe (ed.), *Pour une histoire des politiques culturelles dans le monde 1945-2011* (Travaux et documents, 28), Paris : La Documentation française, 2011, pp. 241-263, here pp. 251-252.

<sup>27</sup> HEINRICHS, Werner, *Kulturpolitik und Kulturfinanzierung. Strategien und Modelle für eine politische Neuorientierung der Kulturfinanzierung*, München: C.H. Beck, 1997, pp. 28-30.

already used in Germany in the 1970s (“Neue Kulturpolitik”). As well as the democratisation of culture, Krieps added the idea of cultural democracy through the implementation of cultural activities (“animation culturelle”)<sup>28</sup>. All citizens, regardless of their social or ethnic background, should be able to participate in cultural activities. The objective was to develop individual potential and to encourage citizens to reflect critically on their own environment<sup>29</sup>. This new philosophy was also reflected by the organisational chart – the earliest one accessible to us (fig. 2). Cultural industries were absent from the department’s structure and missions.

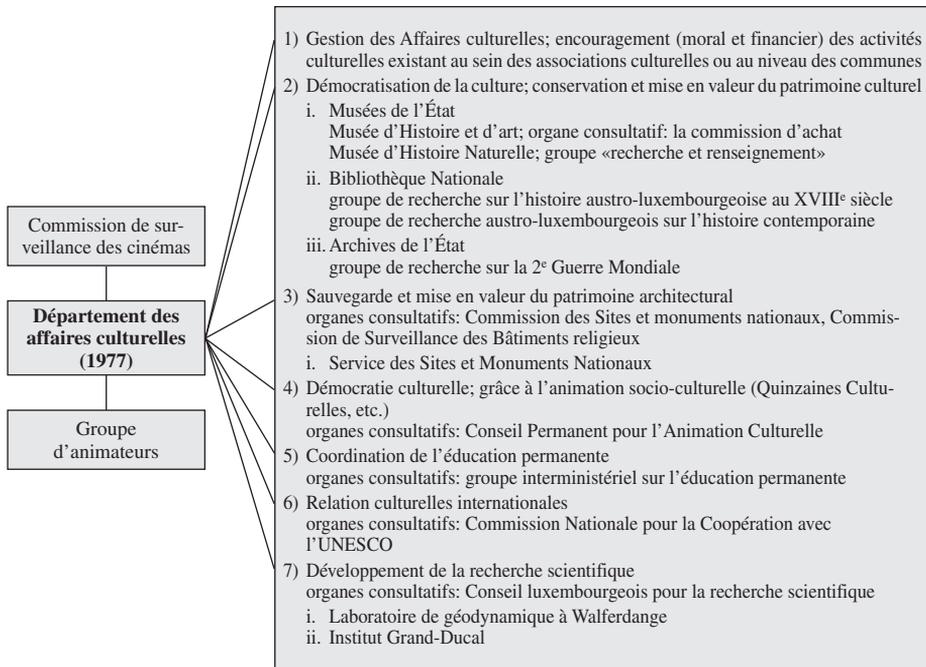


Figure 2: Organisational chart of the Department of Cultural Affairs within the Ministry of National Education (Based on the chart in: *Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Débats parlementaires sur le projet de budget 1978. Mémoire concernant les activités en 1977 et les projets pour 1978 du Ministère des affaires culturelles, Luxembourg : Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1977, pp. 11-12*).

For the ministry, cultural democracy played a key role in countering the “fatal effects of the market economy” (“les effets néfastes de l’économie de marché”) and the “monopoly of mass media” (“monopole des mass-media”)<sup>30</sup>. The latter were

<sup>28</sup> Ministère des Affaires culturelles, *Débats parlementaires sur le projet de budget 1976. Mémoire concernant les activités en 1975 et les projets pour 1976 du Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Luxembourg : Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1975.*

<sup>29</sup> Ministère des Affaires culturelles, *Débats parlementaires sur le projet de budget 1976* (note 28), pp. 45-49.

<sup>30</sup> Ministère des Affaires culturelles, *Débats parlementaires sur le projet de budget 1976* (note 28), p. 48.

not seen in a positive light, but unlike Frieden-Kinnen's total rejection, the NCP regarded the development of expertise to decode and use mass media as necessary<sup>31</sup>. Though the concept of culture was extended to new sectors, cultural industries were never explicitly mentioned in annual reports or in other publications of the ministry. In its 1975 annual report, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs examined the state of cultural life in Luxembourg, ranging from traditional institutions (archives, libraries and museums) to clubs and associations. Even sectors likely to be part of cultural industries such as music or cinema were not considered from an industrial perspective, mainly because Luxembourg was lacking a national industry in these areas. Cinematographic production, for instance, was barely noticeable – the official report lists only four professional producers and observes that most films are short films<sup>32</sup>. Yet in the objectives outlined in the document, nothing hints at a policy to develop cinematographic industries more specifically or cultural industries in general.

The oil shock and the steel crisis in the 1970s did not spare the Grand Duchy. Total government spending on culture rose only slightly in absolute terms from 1974 to 1979 and even decreased when considered as a proportion of total public expenditure, from 0.44% in 1974 to 0.35% in 1979, because of the sharp rise in overall public spending and higher inflation rates. Yet the government did not seek new partnerships or sponsorship from industry. In the early 1970s, even before the crisis, a first attempt to develop patronage failed because of inappropriate tax frameworks. Frieden-Kinnen was actually relieved, as she feared that success would have led to a decrease in public funds for culture<sup>33</sup>.

### **Renewed interest in the audiovisual sector in the 1980s**

Whereas in the 1970s new approaches were introduced that had a lasting impact on cultural policy in Luxembourg, the 1980s saw an increasing interest in new sectors, especially the audiovisual industry. This development was by no means limited to Luxembourg. In France, for instance, the Culture Minister Jack Lang (1981-1986 and 1988-1993) extended the concept of culture to include a new range of sectors and activities such as rock music, graphic novels, the circus and photography<sup>34</sup>. At the same time, France was increasingly concerned with defending its cultural industries by promoting the idea of cultural exception, later replaced with the term 'cultural diversity' by UNESCO<sup>35</sup>. With his famous phrase "economy and culture – it's the same fight", Lang stressed that culture was not antithetical to the economy but could actually boost economic growth and create new jobs. According to Vincent Dubois, this also stimulated a policy of professionalisation<sup>36</sup>.

In Luxembourg, too, sectors such as cinema, photography and literature became increasingly influential in cultural policymaking. As well as traditional grants and

<sup>31</sup> Ministère des Affaires culturelles, *Débats parlementaires sur le projet de budget 1976* (note 28), p. 49.

<sup>32</sup> Ministère des Affaires culturelles, *Débats parlementaires sur le projet de budget 1976* (note 28), pp. 27-29.

<sup>33</sup> Chambre des députés, 19<sup>e</sup> séance. 24 novembre 1971, in : *Compte-rendu de la session ordinaire de 1971-1972*, Luxembourg : Chambre des députés, 1971, p. 1200.

<sup>34</sup> DUBOIS, Vincent, *La politique culturelle*, Paris : Belin, 1999, pp. 333-334.

<sup>35</sup> LOOSELEY, David, Notions of Popular Culture in Cultural Policy. A Comparative History of France and Britain, in: *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 17/4 (2011), pp. 365-379, here p. 372.

<sup>36</sup> DUBOIS, *La politique culturelle* (note 34), p. 349.

the introduction of national awards for the best achievements in photography and literature, the government created the Fonds culturel national (FOCUNA) in 1982, tasked with promoting business sponsorship and funding cultural projects via patronage. Unlike the first attempt in the early 1970s, this time the tax framework was adapted accordingly. The economic crisis and the difficult budget situation might have been reasons for establishing such a fund and finding new sources of funding, but in parliamentary debates these motives were not mentioned.

In its early days at least, FOCUNA's role in explicitly promoting cultural industries was not specifically highlighted. The first brochure presenting the new body, published by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, includes some aspects of cultural industries while highlighting the importance of culture in society and the role of the fund in boosting and preserving national heritage, without imposing limits on where the money should go:

“The donations should as a rule help to encourage and promote our cultural heritage. Financial contributions can do this in any field, ranging from plastic arts to music and literature, and can allow for research in science and technology or for the carefully planned restoration of our cities and villages. And of course real assets are always welcome [...]”<sup>37</sup>

The first (accessible) annual report produced by FOCUNA in 1988, integrated into the annual report of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, contains a table with the amount of money allocated to six different sectors, defined as follows:

- 1) Paintings, sculpture, architecture, photography, etc.;
- 2) Music;
- 3) Literature, publications, conferences;
- 4) Public entertainment (“animation”), theatre;
- 5) Sciences;
- 6) Audiovisual.

As well as this somewhat strange selection of categories – the first category is not clearly defined, photography is not included in the audiovisual category and “public entertainment” is part of the same category as theatre –, the sector with the most funds is music, making up 34.37% of the total amount. While the report notes a general positive trend, the audiovisual sector and the promotion of Luxembourgish films did not attract much interest in 1988<sup>38</sup>. Although patronage for the audiovisual sector was twenty times as high in 1989, this level could not be maintained in the following years<sup>39</sup>. Over the years, the categorisation has been modified and become more coherent. The fund has also regularly highlighted its role in supporting creativity.

In hindsight, the 1980s were characterised by a strong institutionalisation of the audiovisual sector. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs promoted the idea of an audiovisual

<sup>37</sup> In English in the original text. Ministère des Affaires culturelles, *Fonds culturel national*, Luxembourg : Ministère des Affaires culturelles, [n.d.], p. 8.

<sup>38</sup> Ministère des Affaires culturelles, *Rapport d'activité 1988*, Luxembourg : Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1989, pp. 193-201.

<sup>39</sup> In 1989 Luxembourg celebrated the 150th anniversary of its independence, which might explain this considerable rise, especially as the budget in 1990 was even less than in 1988 (Ministère des Affaires culturelles, *Rapport d'activité 1989*, Luxembourg : Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1990, p. 286).

collective memory and encouraged local authorities to create audiovisual archives<sup>40</sup>. The most ambitious project, however, was the establishment of a new cultural institution, the Centre national de l'audiovisuel (CNA). Its official missions were not limited to collecting and preserving audiovisual sources of different kinds; they also included raising public awareness about the use of media, producing audiovisual works and promoting Luxembourgish productions, compiling documentation on the usage and techniques of audiovisual tools and media and advising public authorities on managing archives and collecting sources<sup>41</sup>. Indeed, all the efforts previously made by the state and the Ministry of Cultural Affairs were now merged into the mission statement of one single cultural institution.

In 1989, the CNA produced a short documentary about a major exhibition organised to mark the 150th anniversary of Luxembourg's independence. The audiovisual sector as a whole played an important part in this anniversary. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs commissioned the production of a feature film, *Schacko Klak*, based on the novel by Luxembourg writer Roger Manderscheid that tells the story of a child in a village in Luxembourg during the Nazi occupation. An illustrated book was published, in collaboration with the CNA, on the life and people in the northern part of the country, *Liewen am Éislek (Living in Oesling)*, as a follow-up to the book *Liewen am Minett (Living in Southern Luxembourg, 1986)* about the south of Luxembourg marked by its industrial past. At roughly the same time, the international and especially European context was influencing Luxembourg's audiovisual policy. In 1990, a new fund dedicated solely to cinema and promoting Luxembourg film production was set up (today's Film Fund). One of the main reasons for this initiative was the European Year of Cinema and Television in 1988, which sparked public debates on the support of the audiovisual sector. Luxembourg was also a founding member of Eurimages and participated in various programmes including the EU's MEDIA 92. In 1994, Prime Minister Jacques Santer mentioned the "fledgling cinematographic industry" for the first time in a government statement<sup>42</sup>.

### **The 1990s and 2000s: From national identity to culture as a trademark**

From the 1990s onwards, debates about national identity and promoting Luxembourg internationally became more and more dominant, while state expenses for culture skyrocketed and reached their highest level in 2006, representing 1.41% of the total government budget (fig. 3). Given the ongoing European integration process, fears were expressed that the small Grand Duchy might be "swallowed up" by its larger neighbours in an ever-closer union<sup>43</sup>. At the same time, the annual reports of the Ministry of Culture praised the country's multicultural society and the fact that Luxembourg resembled a smaller version of Europe as a whole. Luxembourg was represented at

<sup>40</sup> See for instance : Ministère des Affaires culturelles and Service Information et Presse (eds.), *Mémoire collective audiovisuelle. Documentation locale*, Luxembourg : Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1985.

<sup>41</sup> Loi du 18 mai 1989 portant création d'un Centre National de l'Audiovisuel, in : *Mémorial A* 31 (1989), p. 586.

<sup>42</sup> Chambre des députés, 2<sup>e</sup> séance. 22 juillet 1994, in : *Compte-rendu de la session extraordinaire de 1994*, Luxembourg : Chambre des députés, 1994, p. 50. Traditionally, the government statement is made by the Prime Minister after the formation of a new government, presenting the programme for the coming legislative period.

<sup>43</sup> Such fears were openly expressed in the annual reports of the Service des Sites et Monuments Nationaux, an administration set up to preserve and protect national heritage.

international festivals and fairs, organised exhibitions in other countries and created infrastructures to facilitate the exportation of cultural goods, such as music:LX in 2011. The travelling exhibition *Imago Luxemburgi*, launched in Amsterdam in June 1991, depicted Luxembourg as a meeting place for different cultures, not merely a financial place, but also a country with its own cultural identity<sup>44</sup>. The Luxembourg pavilion at the World Fair in Sevilla in 1992 was a mere continuation of this discourse. The audiovisual sector occupied a prominent place. The catalogue of the pavilion came up with a rather misleading, contrived notion of continuity in the history of images in Luxembourg from medieval times to the present, claiming that in the Middle Ages “the monks of Echternach drew and painted the most beautiful illuminations of Europe” and seeing this as a precedent for the country’s present audiovisual industry<sup>45</sup>.

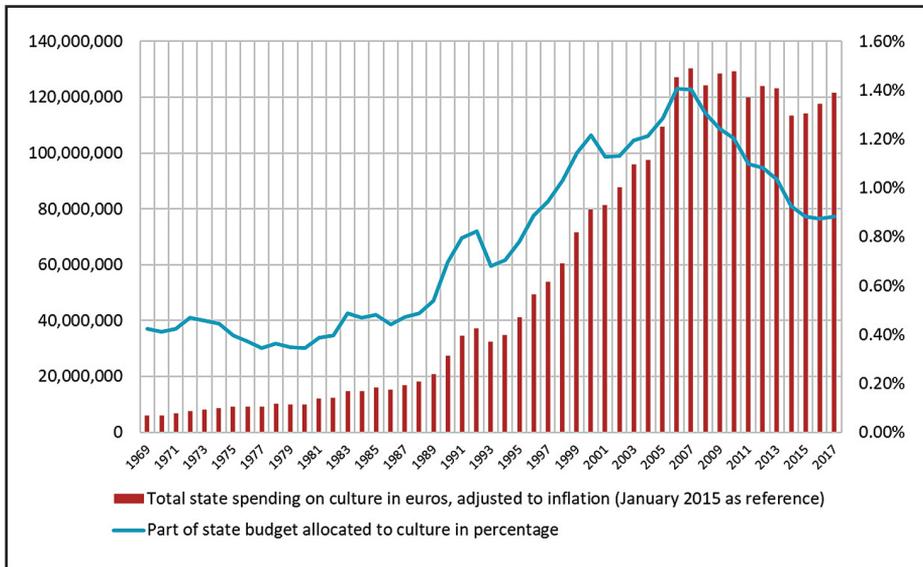


Figure 3: Graph showing the government spending on culture from 1969 to 2017. The numbers are based on the yearly state budgets as voted by the Chamber of Deputies.

The choice of Luxembourg as European Capital of Culture in 1995 and 2007 helped disseminate and consolidate discourses about the multicultural society, culture as an economic factor, cultural infrastructures and Luxembourg’s image. At the same time, the Ministry of Culture was developing policies to support Luxembourg literature and Luxembourgish, the national language since 1984, by setting up councils and institutions, for example the *Conseil national du livre* (National Book Council, CNLi) and the Centre national de littérature (National Centre for Literature, CNL) in the 1990s.

<sup>44</sup> Ministère des Affaires culturelles, *Rapport d'activité 1990*, Luxembourg : Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1991, p. 15.

<sup>45</sup> TRAUSCH, Gilbert and Ministère des Affaires culturelles, *Imago Luxemburgi. An Exhibition Presented by the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg at the Nieuwe Kerk Amsterdam on the Occasion of the Luxembourg Presidency of the European Communities 12th-30th June 1991*, Luxembourg: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1991, p. 3.

Following the French example of ‘grands projets’<sup>46</sup>, the Luxembourg government extended the country’s cultural infrastructure and built flagship institutions such as the Museum of Modern Art (MUDAM) – a misleading title as it actually exhibits contemporary art – located in Kirchberg, a district of Luxembourg City that is home to various European institutions. This cultural institution, was one of many that were featured in the exhibition *Les équipements culturels du Luxembourg: Réalisations et grands projets (1985-2000)* which was presented abroad, for instance in Paris in 1997.

This cultural policy was designed to improve the image of the country, which has often elicited criticism for the unethical practices of its financial centre. Some of these projects may very well illustrate the concept of “cultural policy as display” used by Raymond Williams and further analysed by Jim McGuigan, based on “economic reductionism” or “national aggrandizement”<sup>47</sup>. Indeed, both aspects have been part of Luxembourg’s cultural policy since the 1990s. In 2014, the government moved a step further and launched a nation-branding project, with the aim of creating a national profile through marketing techniques that could be used to promote the country more effectively abroad<sup>48</sup>. This profile was characterised by three main values: reliability, vitality and openness. The project culminated two years later in the unveiling of a new logo: the word “Luxembourg” with a large “X”, using the colours of the Luxembourgish flag (red, white and blue) and followed by the slogan “Let’s make it happen”<sup>49</sup>. Though the nation-branding project was not an initiative of the Ministry of Culture, culture is part of the nation-branding discourse, as can be seen on the official page *Inspiring Luxembourg*.<sup>50</sup> It mentions the creative industries and links them to the economy, creativity and innovation<sup>51</sup>; the logo is used in official publications and on the government’s web pages. The official website for the European Year of Cultural Heritage in Luxembourg, for instance, also features the logo (fig. 4).<sup>52</sup> The nation-branding project can itself be considered as an illustration of the services offered by the creative industries. The material provided on the *Inspiring Luxembourg* page includes videos, photos and publications that can be freely downloaded. For the marketing campaign, the Inspiring Luxembourg committee commissioned the production of the animated short movie *Let’s Make It Happen* (2017) by ZEILT productions,<sup>53</sup> the Luxembourg-based company that made the Academy Award-winning short film *Mr Hublot* (2013). In practice, however, the nation-branding initiative does not seem to have a noticeable impact on the cultural sector, as it mainly targets the economic sector, including tourism. The Ministry of Culture has not launched initiatives specifically related to the project.

<sup>46</sup> MARTIN, *La politique culturelle de la France depuis 1945* (note 26), p. 256.

<sup>47</sup> MCGUIGAN, Jim, *Rethinking Cultural Policy*, Maidenhead: Open University, 2004, p. 61.

<sup>48</sup> COMED, *Le Luxembourg. Profil d’un pays*, Luxembourg : Comité de coordination interministériel Nation Branding, 2015, accessible at : <http://www.inspiringluxembourg.public.lu/fr/outils/publications/nation-branding/nation-branding/index.html> (accessed on : 06/06/2018).

<sup>49</sup> *Inspiring Luxembourg. Luxembourg’s Signature*, URL: <http://www.inspiringluxembourg.public.lu/en/outils/signature-logo/index.html> (accessed on 06/06/2018).

<sup>50</sup> *Inspiring Luxembourg*, URL: <http://www.inspiringluxembourg.public.lu/fr/index.html> (accessed on 06/06/2018).

<sup>51</sup> *Inspiring Luxembourg. Creative Luxembourg*, URL: <http://www.inspiringluxembourg.public.lu/fr/outils/luxembourg-stories/creative-luxembourg/index.html> (accessed on: 06/06/2018).

<sup>52</sup> *Année européenne du patrimoine culturel*, URL: <https://patrimoine2018.lu/> (accessed on 06/06/2018).

<sup>53</sup> The movie can be watched and downloaded at <http://www.inspiringluxembourg.public.lu/en/outils/videos/il-video-witz-en-long/index.html>.

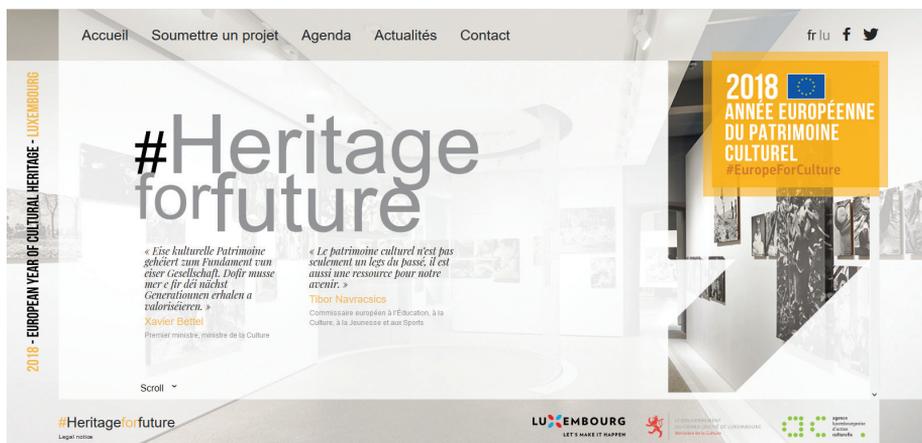


Figure 4: Main page of the European Year for Cultural Heritage in Luxembourg ([patrimoine2018.lu](http://patrimoine2018.lu)) with the nation-branding logo at the bottom [last access: 7 June 2018].

In many countries, the 1990s and 2000s were characterised by a rhetoric of national identity that emphasised cultural industries and the economic benefits of culture. Notwithstanding the differences owing to national contexts, this was the case for the Nordic countries<sup>54</sup>, France, Australia<sup>55</sup>, the UK and Germany<sup>56</sup>. Luxembourg was no exception: the view was that culture should play a part in creating jobs and attracting tourists. The latter was one argument presented by the government for building the controversial MUDAM<sup>57</sup>. In 2015, the liberal Prime Minister and Culture Minister Xavier Bettel stressed the importance of culture for improving the country's competitiveness<sup>58</sup>.

In 2000, for the first time, the annual report published by the Ministry of Culture mentions “industries of culture” in a French translation of the government statement by Prime Minister Jean-Claude Juncker (CSV) in 1999, without providing a clear definition<sup>59</sup>. However, the Luxembourgish transcript in the parliamentary records does not even mention the term<sup>60</sup>. One explanation could be that Juncker simply crossed this part out of his live speech to the parliament, although pos-

<sup>54</sup> DUELUND, Nordic Cultural Policies (note 17), p. 17.

<sup>55</sup> CRAIK, Jennifer *et alii*, Paradoxes and Contradictions in Government Approaches to Contemporary Cultural Policy. An Australian Perspective, in: *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 9/1 (2003), pp. 17-33.

<sup>56</sup> FUCHS, Max, *Kulturpolitik*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2007, pp. 121-122.

<sup>57</sup> FEHLEN, Fernand, Euroballet und „Drei Eichen“. Die nicht-existierende Kulturpolitik des Luxemburger Staates, in: *Forum* (November 1991), pp. 3-8, here p. 6.

<sup>58</sup> DUSCHINGER, Annette, Kultur wird Chefsache. Maggy Nagel geht: Marc Hansen wird Wohnungsbauminister, Guy Arendt Kultur-Staatssekretär, in: *Lëtzebuurger Journal* (17.12.2015), p. 9.

<sup>59</sup> Ministère de la Culture, de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche, *Rapport d'activité 2000*, Luxembourg: Ministère de la Culture, de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche, 2001, p. 7. In the absence of a definition, it is not clear whether “industries of culture” (“industries de la culture” in the original French text) are synonymous with ‘cultural industries’. I only use “industries of culture” in the current context to be as close as possible to the original text.

<sup>60</sup> Chambre des députés, 2<sup>e</sup> séance. 12 août 1999, in: *Compte-rendu de la session extraordinaire de 1999*, Luxembourg: Chambre des députés, 1999, p. 76.

sible motives for this remain unknown. The Ministry of Culture lacked clear commitment to the development of cultural or creative industries, though it did not ignore the subject. In 2005, when Luxembourg held the presidency of the Council of the EU, the Ministry of Culture, Higher Education and Research organised a seminar on the topic *A European policy in favour of cultural industries*. The official press release presented the music and publishing industries as two “innovative” and “competitive” sectors of the European economy. The Minister of Economy at the time, Jeannot Krecké, was a guest speaker at the event. In his presentation, he defined the cultural industries as comprising “sectors uniting the creation, production and marketing of cultural products and services”, strongly emphasising the intellectual property aspect. He also noted that these sectors should be supported when cultural identity is at stake<sup>61</sup>.

Four years later, the European Year of Creativity and Innovation in 2009, a European Commission initiative, did not seem to have any noticeable impact on Luxembourg. The annual report by the Ministry of the Economy mentions this Year of Creativity and Innovation, yet the only specific event listed in the document is a Week of Creativity and Innovation organised as part of the annual Autumn Fair in Luxembourg<sup>62</sup>. The European Year and the Week of Creativity and Innovation also appear in the report by the Ministry of Culture. The latter cooperated with Luxinnovation, the national agency for research and innovation, and with the Ministry of Education. However, aside from pointing out that some projects took place under the label of the European Year and that the country’s cultural players were involved in the Week, the report does not go into detail<sup>63</sup>.

From 2000 to 2014, the Ministry of Culture collected statistics on cultural activities in Luxembourg and included them in a separate chapter in its annual reports. In this context, cultural industries as such are explicitly mentioned for the first time in 2006. The importance of culture for economic growth is also highlighted: “De facto, every economic policy now comprises, directly or indirectly, a cultural dimension.”<sup>64</sup> The report distinguishes between cultural industries (the music industry, publishing, the audiovisual sector) and creative industries (architecture and advertising)<sup>65</sup>, thus reapplying the differences made in the EU study from 2006 (fig. 5). Yet the document merely provides general statistics and does not go into further detail.

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<sup>61</sup> Service information et presse, François Biltgen et Jeannot Krecké au séminaire “Une politique européenne en faveur des industries culturelles” (20/04/2005), accessible on: *Le gouvernement luxembourgeois*, URL: [https://gouvernement.lu/fr/actualites/toutes\\_actualites/articles/2005/04/20krecke\\_biltgen\\_industriecult.html](https://gouvernement.lu/fr/actualites/toutes_actualites/articles/2005/04/20krecke_biltgen_industriecult.html) (accessed on 06/06/2018).

<sup>62</sup> Ministère de l’Economie et du Commerce extérieur, *Rapport d’activité 2009*, Luxembourg: Ministère de l’Economie et du Commerce extérieur, 2010, p. 205.

<sup>63</sup> Ministère de la Culture, *Rapport d’activité 2009*, Luxembourg: Ministère de la Culture, 2010, p. 39.

<sup>64</sup> Own translation. Ministère de la Culture, de l’Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche, *Rapport d’activité 2006*, Luxembourg: Ministère de la Culture, de l’Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche, 2007, p. 258.

<sup>65</sup> Ministère de la Culture, de l’Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche, *Rapport d’activité 2006* (note 64), p. 260.

Approche axée sur la Création de la richesse		
<b>Activités économiques relevant du champ culturel</b>	<b>Champ traditionnel de l'art</b>	<b>Patrimoine</b> : Monuments historiques et patrimoine architectural, patrimoine archéologique, archives, bibliothèques et musées
		<b>Arts visuels</b> : Arts visuels traditionnels (peinture, sculpture), photographie, design et autres formes pluridisciplinaires des arts visuels
		<b>Arts du spectacle</b> : danse, théâtre, autres arts du spectacle (pantomime, cirque), acteurs pluridisciplinaires des arts du spectacle (salles de spectacle, festivals)
	<b>Industries culturelles</b>	<b>Industrie de l'édition</b> : édition/vente du livre et de la presse (presse quotidienne et hebdomadaire, revues culturelles)
		<b>Industrie de la musique</b>
		<b>Audiovisuel</b> : cinéma, radio, télévision, vidéo, enregistrements sonores
	<b>Industries créatives</b>	<b>Architecture</b>
<b>Publicité</b>		

- **Chiffre d'affaire**
- **Emploi**

**Evaluation économique de questions transversales :**

- Droits d'auteurs et propriété intellectuelle ;
- Mécénat et sponsoring culturel.

**Quelques statistiques sur l'Industrie de l'édition**

- 23 éditeurs de livres, 10 éditeurs de journaux et 43 éditeurs de revues et périodiques pour un chiffre d'affaire de **150 millions d'euros** (hors TVA) (\*).
- La vente de livres, journaux et revues concerne 117 entreprises pour un chiffre d'affaire de **200 millions d'euros** (hors TVA) (\*).

(\*) Source : données 2004

Les activités économiques relevant du champ culturel représentent environ 1,8% de l'emploi salarié national, soit un total de quelque 3.500 emplois.

Figure 5: Division of the cultural field between the “traditional field of arts”, the cultural industries and the creative industries as published in the Ministry of Culture’s 2006 report (p. 260).

The new coalition government between the Democratic Party (DP), the LSAP and the Greens that took office in 2013 introduced the notion of creative industries for the first time. When the portfolios of the ministries were defined in 2013 during the formation of the government, the creative industries were assigned to the Ministry of Culture. The latter’s activity report from 2014 lists among its objectives the “development of the creative industries and the creation of jobs and cultural activities, which now constitute an important part of Luxembourg’s GDP”<sup>66</sup>. In the government statement made by Prime Minister Xavier Bettel in 2013, the creative industries were also mentioned, but the commitment of the government remained vague: “We will also be backing the sectors of the media, satellites, audiovisual production and what are referred to as the creative industries”<sup>67</sup>. The creative industries were not precisely defined. The notion was therefore surrounded by an ambiguity already observed in other countries. Furthermore, the creative industries were detached from audiovisual production on a discursive level. This distinction is also institutionalised within the government: the audiovisual fund is placed under the responsibility of the Ministry of State whereas the creative industries come under the responsibility of the Ministry of Culture.

<sup>66</sup> Own translation. “Développement des industries créatives, la création d’emplois et d’activités culturelles lesquelles représentent d’ores et déjà un pourcentage important du PIB au Grand-Duché.” (Ministère de la Culture, *Rapport d’activité 2013*, Luxembourg: Ministère de la Culture, 2014, p. 9).

<sup>67</sup> BETTEL, Xavier, Déclaration sur le programme gouvernemental 2013 (10/12/2013), accessible on: *Le gouvernement luxembourgeois*, URL: [https://gouvernement.lu/fr/actualites/toutes\\_actualites/discours/2013/12-decembre/10-declaration.html](https://gouvernement.lu/fr/actualites/toutes_actualites/discours/2013/12-decembre/10-declaration.html) (accessed on 06/06/2018).

## The shift to creative industries

In Luxembourg, the inclusion of creative industries in political discourse, regardless of their definition, represented nothing less than a novelty, despite the fact that in other countries they had already been part of public policy for years. Australia played a pioneering role in this respect when its government published the Creative Nation report in the early 1990s. In the UK, the concept was introduced into public policy for the very first time by the New Labour government in 1997<sup>68</sup>. Unlike countries such as the UK or Australia, however, the Luxembourg government has not produced a policy document on creative industries. But the concept of cultural industries, which was rarely used in debates and official publications, has been supplanted by that of creative industries, with a broad definition potentially including cultural industries as defined by the EU in its 2006 report.

Nicholas Garnham has analysed the shift from cultural to creative industries and links this development to the information society and issues about intellectual property<sup>69</sup>. Taking this analysis as a basis, we can note that Luxembourg has passed a series of laws on intellectual property. The first one explicitly mentioning copyright originally dates back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Luxembourg government adopted just one law in this area, passed in 1972 and extending copyright<sup>70</sup>. This was replaced by a new law in 2001 including software<sup>71</sup>. Indeed, since 2000, there has been a proliferation of legislative texts related to copyright and intellectual property, most of them referring to or transposing international conventions or EU directives. The official rhetoric considers intellectual property as playing a major role in economic development. Luxembourg has been investing increasing efforts in developing an ICT sector and attracting new companies, using the argument of a safe environment for intellectual property<sup>72</sup>. The strengthening of copyright laws has therefore been taking place at the same time as a growing interest in creative industries. The international context promoted this development, with international copyright laws in the 1990s<sup>73</sup> and the EU pushing for the development of information-based economic activity<sup>74</sup>. Furthermore, Luxembourg has been aiming to create a favourable tax environment for intellectual property rights, managed within the Ministry of Economy, through fiscal measures<sup>75</sup>.

The first specific project to develop and support creative industries was initiated by the Ministry of the Economy, when it announced in June 2016 that a new cluster

<sup>68</sup> HESMONDHALGH and PRATT, *Cultural Industries and Cultural Policy* (note 2), p. 4.

<sup>69</sup> GARNHAM, Nicholas, From Cultural to Creative Industries. An Analysis of the Implications of the “Creative Industries” Approach to Arts and Media Policy Making in the United Kingdom, in: *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11/1 (2005), pp. 15-29.

<sup>70</sup> Loi du 29 mars 1972 sur le droit d’auteur, in: *Mémorial A* 23 (1972), pp. 810-816.

<sup>71</sup> Loi du 18 avril 2001 sur les droits d’auteur, les droits voisins et les bases de données, in: *Mémorial A* 50, pp. 1042-1056.

<sup>72</sup> Intellectual Property, in: *The official portal of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg*, URL: <http://www.luxembourg.public.lu/en/investir/propriete-intellectuelle/index.html> (accessed on 08/06/2018).

<sup>73</sup> HESMONDHALGH, *The Cultural Industries* (note 7), p. 160.

<sup>74</sup> O’BRIEN, *Cultural Policy* (note 3), p. 42.

<sup>75</sup> KAUFHOLD, Lex, La propriété intellectuelle – un enjeu économique pour le Luxembourg, in: Forum (March 2011), pp. 52-54, here p. 53; Reyland, Pierre, En neie Wirtschaftszweig (30/04/2018), accessible on: *Radio 100komma7*, URL: <https://www.100komma7.lu/article/wessen/schutz-an-opwaertung-vun-erfindungen> (accessed on 08/06/2018).

for creative industries would be added to the existing clusters set up under the Luxembourg Cluster Initiative launched in 2002<sup>76</sup>. The kick-off event took place in January 2017. This cluster would encompass a sector consisting of around 2,200 companies, 59% of which operate on a sole trader basis<sup>77</sup>. That the Ministry of the Economy is more committed to creative industries than the Ministry of Culture reveals how important they are seen to be for the Luxembourg economy. According to Luxinnovation, the creative industries cluster encompasses 12 industries, listed on the presentation page as follows: “architecture (engineering/town planning); crafts and manufacturing; visual arts; films and audiovisual; design; fashion design; gaming; marketing and communication; literature; digital media and publishing; performing arts and music”<sup>78</sup>. This seems to be the most extensive application of creative industries in Luxembourg to date and, taking Hesmondhalgh’s definition of cultural industries, a synonym for the latter. Contrary to what was suggested in Xavier Bettel’s government statement of 2013, the audiovisual sector is explicitly part of the creative industries.

On a local level, a creative hub called 1535° has been set up in Differdange, a town in southern Luxembourg, on a former industrial site, with the aim of attracting start-up companies and artists working in the creative industries. When the project with the provisional name KreatifFabrik (“Creative Factory”) was first debated in the town council in November 2012, it was seen as a pioneering project in Luxembourg that was inspired by examples in other countries. The concept of “creative economy” was broadly defined to include architecture, advertising, software development and design, similar to the loose definition used by the British Department for Culture, Media and Sports<sup>79</sup>. The *KreatifFabrik* is also intended to increase the attractiveness of the industrial town. The hub would therefore be a Luxembourg-based example of creative industries being involved in urban regeneration<sup>80</sup>.

## Conclusion

In this paper, I have summarised the general developments in political discourse and policies related to cultural industries and, subsequently, creative industries. At international level, such debates have become increasingly common in recent decades. Following this trend, though with some delay, Luxembourg also experienced a major paradigm shift concerning its attitude towards creative industries, even if the definition of cultural and creative industries has always lacked some clarity.

At the end of the 1960s, mass media were viewed negatively and considered to be irreconcilable with cultural policy. This attitude changed over the course of the 1970s, when cultural policy was increasingly seen as an important tool to develop

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<sup>76</sup> Un Cluster pour industries créatives au Luxembourg! (16/06/2016), accessible at: *Le portail officiel du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg*, URL: <http://www.luxembourg.public.lu/fr/actualites/2016/06/16-creative-cluster/index.html> (accessed on 08/06/2018).

<sup>77</sup> MULLER, Christian, Ein Netzwerk für die Kreativität, in: *Tageblatt* (01/02/2017), p. 2.

<sup>78</sup> Luxembourg Creative Industries Cluster, in: *Luxinnovation*, URL: <https://www.luxinnovation.lu/cluster/luxembourg-creative-industries-cluster/> (accessed on 06/06/2018).

<sup>79</sup> O’BRIEN, *Cultural Policy* (note 3), p. 42.

<sup>80</sup> Similar discourses have also been seen in other countries, such as the UK (HESMONDHALGH, *The Cultural Industries* (note 7), p. 170).

the expertise needed to decode media, even if the latter were still not placed in a positive light. The concept of culture was extended to new sectors such as cinema, but without mentioning cultural industries. From the 1980s onwards, the state and the Ministry of Cultural Affairs actively developed the audiovisual sector by creating new institutions and structures such as the Centre national de l'audiovisuel, which also played a major role in the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Luxembourg's independence, and setting up an audiovisual fund. Such developments were actively promoted at European level. As in other countries, such as France, the division between economy and culture was loosened and the government encouraged patronage via the FOCUNA, created in 1982. Efforts were invested in developing a film industry, named as such for the first time in the 1990s. Culture was increasingly considered as having economic benefits, yet at this point the concept of cultural or creative industries remained absent from public debates and no official documents about this issue were produced.

In the 2000s, "industries of culture" were mentioned for the first time in the annual reports produced by the Ministry of Culture, without a clear definition. Notions such as creativity and innovation emerged in political debates and Luxembourg made efforts to strengthen its intellectual property legislation. When the new coalition government came to power in 2013, creative industries were integrated for the first time into official policy objectives. They became a responsibility of the Ministry of Culture, but quite revealingly, the Ministry of the Economy has actually played a more active role in promoting creative industries, establishing a new cluster in 2017. Such policies were implemented at both local and national level, as the example of the 1535° creative hub illustrates. The nation-branding project, mainly targeting the economic development of Luxembourg, includes the creative industries.

As explained at the beginning of this essay, defining cultural and creative industries is a challenging task. The case study of Luxembourg demonstrates the ambiguity of these concepts. At the same time, cultural policy in Luxembourg cannot be isolated from the European and international contexts, as the development of the audiovisual sector in the 1980s shows. Luxembourg has never developed a cultural industries policy as such, but it has remained implicit via the promotion and institutionalisation of specific sectors that could be ascribed to cultural industries. Since the 2000s, things have developed more rapidly. Luxembourg has developed a fiscal and legal framework for intellectual property rights. While the cultural industries were previously occasionally mentioned in a handful of documents, the creative industries were turned into an explicit policy focus by the 2013 coalition government. The creative industries acquired an extensive definition. Unlike at the EU level, cultural industries and creative industries have not coexisted as two distinct concepts (except for the 2006 report of the Ministry of Culture), but the latter replaced the cultural industries in official speeches and documents produced by the government or associated agencies. As in other countries, the creative industries have been linked to economic growth, innovation and creativity.

Fabio SPINELLI is a PhD candidate at the Center for Contemporary and Digital History of the University of Luxembourg. His thesis deals with the cultural policies of the Luxembourg governments in the 20th century. He would like to thank Sarah Cooper for her helpful comments and her thorough proofreading.