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The cultural and creative economy in Italy: Spatial patterns in peripheral areas

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Abstract

In this article, we analyse the structure of the Italian cultural and creative economy, focusing on peripheral areas. We highlight patterns of specialisation and spatial dependency through employment data and firms' data. In addition, we develop a novel data set by collecting data that use the least aggregated territorial unit, that is, Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics level 4 (from the French version Nomenclature des Unités territoriales statistiques); thus, we create a harmonised taxonomy of cultural and creative industries at a four-digit level. Our multi-step analysis highlights specific geographical patterns and a clear spatial organisation in inner areas. This study's results may benefit evidence-based policy-setting in the under-investigated context of culture-led development and the creative economy of peripheral areas.

JEL classifications: L8, R12

Keywords

Cultural and creative economy, cultural and creative industries, inner areas, periphery

Introduction

Cultural and creative industries (CCIs) have been identified more and more as driving factors of economic growth and local development. The prevailing policy discourse assumes that CCIs strongly contribute to growth across the whole economy. Recent estimations show that CCIs employ 7.5% of the European Union's (EU's) workforce and add around EUR 500 billion to its GDP (European Commission, 2012). Moreover, CCIs have been shown to significantly contribute to youth employment and resilience in the face of the 2007 economic recession (European Commission, 2010). By operating at the crossroads between the arts, business, technology and society, CCIs create spill-over effects in other industries (European Commission, 2012), as well positive outcomes in fields such as education, social inclusion and community life.

Therefore, CCIs have become a core, unavoidable issue in current discussions about economic

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development, social cohesion, urban regeneration and well-being that fall within a broad regeneration process fuelled by the so-called post-industrial transition. Indeed, the current capitalist context is increasingly marked by competitive relations between not only firms but also places (Leriche and Daviet, 2010). Territorial governments propose their specific cultural resources as competitive assets for the development of the local cultural and creative economy (Camagni et al., 2004; Jansson and Power, 2010).

Although the debate on the role of CCIs in fostering socio-economic development has spread globally over the last three decades, most studies are still conducted mainly at the country or regional level. In addition, even when studies focus on the NUTS-4 (Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics level 4 (from the French version Nomenclature des Unités territoriales statistiques)) level[1], most of their analyses have investigated metropolitan and urban systems. Due to both data constraints and an underlying assumption that cultural and creative activities are predominantly urban phenomena, far less attention has been paid to small and non-metropolitan centres.

However, peripheral areas have recently gained more attention and newfound centrality because of their quality of life. The COVID-19 pandemic has reiterated the need to rethink development in terms of sustainability and inclusiveness by focusing on decompressing the anthropic pressure on large cities in favour of small towns. Smaller municipalities may have much to offer in terms of lifestyles, air and food quality and human relations. Italy presents an interesting case study in this respect since it is characterised by a polycentric system with small towns and rural areas linked by a solid network of relations, as well as larger cities that attract people with more available public services. More remote, peripheral areas – historically deprived of many such services – have undergone a lengthy, steady period of abandonment in favour of urban areas. This shift has entailed high social costs in terms of hydro-geological instability, decay and soil consumption. Italian peripheral areas, however, are assumed to have great untapped natural, human and cultural capital, often neglected due to the hegemonic urban-centric approach placing more value in agglomeration economies as the one in other national contexts (Lang and Görmar, 2019). This capital is considered strategic in inverting such areas' depopulation while recovering and growing Italy's whole economic system (Barca et al., 2014; Compagnucci and Morettini, 2021).

The Italian policy agenda has strongly focused on these potential hidden local resources in peripheral territories by launching the 'National Strategy for Inner Areas' (SNAI).[2] Through this place-based intervention, the Italian government aims to trigger development processes in peripheral areas by leveraging local skills and the specific, traditional cultural products they produce. This strategy's objective is to reverse negative demographic trends and improve economic conditions through specifically targeted projects (Barca et al., 2014). Local development interventions are supported by a combination of all community funds, prioritising the following policy areas: territorial safeguarding, the valorisation of natural and cultural assets and sustainable tourism, agricultural business and production, renewable-energy supply chains, and handicrafts and local knowledge.

Among the key sectors to fostering local development in inner areas that have been identified is, therefore, the enhancement of natural and cultural resources – which are widely recognised as local assets for sustainable growth and drivers of income, jobs and wealth creation (MIBACT, 2016). Given the strong policy emphasis on the cultural and creative sector as a factor in reversing rural, peripheral communities' decline, understanding the creative economy's territorial patterns in which to embed local strategies is crucial. These patterns may, in fact, shape (hinder or boost) the potential success of peripheral areas.

We aimed to fill a wide gap in the empirical literature on the geography of peripheral creative economies, and our study expands on the seminal work on the Italian context by Bertacchini and Borrione (2013). Thus, we analyse the evolution of Italy's cultural and creative economy as a structure, unveiling cultural production systems' spatial and organisational patterns. We also investigate the geographical patterns of CCIs' localisation using (1) cluster analysis to group Italian CCIs by specialisation level and (2) spatial autocorrelation to detect place-based dependencies among different sectors. By leveraging

a novel data set at the least aggregated territorial unit (NUTS-4) and a four-digit level, this work's main contribution is the development of a harmonised taxonomy of CCIs that allows for a comprehensive understanding of the cultural and creative economy's spatiality in peripheral areas. On one hand, this work's main novelty lies in its use of a more granular, previously unexplored spatial unit that provides a finer lens with which to examine the geography of Italian CCIs. On the other hand, by examining local SNAI strategies' investments in cultural and creative sectors, we provide insights into the geography of the sectors' potential future trajectories in inner areas, as well as the extent to which these two geographies overlap.

With this article, thus, we ultimately aimed to contribute to the literature on peripheral areas' cultural and creative economy and provide evidence-based knowledge to guide Italian and EU policies that target this sector. The remainder of this article is structured as follows. In the section 'CCIs' local effects and spatial patterns', we review the literature on CCIs and local development. In the 'Methods' section, we describe our data sources and methodology. Then, in the section 'The geography of Italy's cultural and creative economy', we report our results and discuss our main findings. In the 'Conclusion' section, we conclude.

CCIs' local effects and spatial patterns

Despite CCIs' significant macroeconomic impact, the effects of CCIs' production on socio-economic performance are particularly evident at the local level of analysis (Cerisola and Panzera, 2022; Power and Scott, 2004; Pratt, 2004; Sacco and Crociata, 2013; Yang et al., 2021). The rationale for the geographical approach is that CCIs' productive system is itself historically and spatially conditioned (Lange and Schüßler, 2018; Le Blanc, 2010). Nevertheless, most academic contributions to the topic address quantitative, macro-level studies at the regional level (Crociata et al., 2018; Marrocu and Paci, 2010; Sacco and Crociata, 2013) or focus on firm-level analyses (Antonietti, 2015; Casprini et al., 2014; Stolarick and Florida, 2006).

Past and ongoing debates have been polarised concerning NUTS-2 as a spatial unit of analysis. Several findings have confirmed CCIs' role in increasing demand for highly educated workers, who exhibit high production rates and locally promote the diffusion of new ideas, innovation and knowledge. For instance, Boschma and Fritsch (2009) studied the creative classes' geographical distribution across seven European countries, finding a positive relationship between regional growth and different creative industries. At the NUTS-3 level, findings have highlighted a cluster dynamic in local production systems, based on different specialisations. Such patterns fit with Italian production systems' typical cluster structure. CCIs combine creative industry specialisations with a set of socio-territorial characteristics, which allow these sectors' concentration in specific contexts. Lazzeretti et al. (2008) proposed a taxonomy based on local labour-market boundaries to reflect the system of relationships between socio-economic processes and specialisation paths. Meanwhile, Cicerone et al. (2021) found that, in Italy's provinces, the relationship between employees' shares in CCIs and the probability of creating new sectoral specialisations is non-linear, indicating the need for CCI-led policies' achieving a critical mass in order to succeed.

Italy represents a useful case to highlight how CCIs' concentration and clusters' geographic polarisation strictly relate to degrees of technological-sector specialisation. This geographical characteristic of the Italian creative economy was well documented by Bertacchini and Borrione (2013), who showed that CCIs tend to spatially cluster, based on their specialisations. Particularly, content- and service-based creative industries are mainly concentrated in large cities in northern Italy, while craft-based production – which relates more to traditional sectors – is mostly in the south and highly innovative northern areas. To the best of our knowledge, notwithstanding CCIs' role, no other researchers have attempted to reveal CCIs' geography and roles in Italy. To date, the literature suggests that, while large metropolitan areas remain the most important loci of the traditional cultural and creative economy, craft-based sectors and creative design systems tend to be located in small, non-metropolitan centres (Bertacchini and Borrione,

2013). This intriguing finding merits further attention to peripheral areas, especially given the great lack of scientific knowledge on this and the sector's recent policy relevance in non-core territories.

Although urban environments are more likely to tap CCIs' potential, this territorial level seems irrelevant for some CCIs. For instance, according to Dellisanti (2023), different stages of CCIs' production should be considered to justify the focus on non-major urban areas.[3] Indeed, by definition, not all CCIs are extensive activities that would be better located in large urban areas, where they would benefit from industrial and general diversity. As in many other domains, CCIs suffer from an unacknowledged, pervasive 'urban bias' (Sorensen, 2009) in both scholarly research and policy documents (Bennett et al., 2015). Drawing on ideas of city-led agglomeration economies, these resources have generally considered culture and creativity as essentially urban phenomena. Most studies have theorised and empirically investigated CCIs in big cities that have increasingly and overtly sought to reinvent themselves through culture, creativity and cosmopolitanism, pursuing urban transformations and global competition. That their subsequent models or logic are universally relevant is implicitly assumed.

Key urban economics literature has suggested that some functions are structurally concentrated in major urban areas (Capello et al., 2022). According to the seminal work by Jane Jacobs (1969) and the more recent work by Florida (2002), cities provide essential elements to the CCIs, namely many opportunities for interactions between different people and organisations, the infrastructure and networks necessary for technological development to take place, critical mass of highly skilled individuals and so on. As maintained by some scholars, researchers have tended to look for culture and creativity in fairly obvious places (i.e. big cities; Brandano and Urso, 2023), they have found it there and they have theorised about CCIs '*as if their subsequent models or logic were universally relevant everywhere*' (Gibson, 2010: 3). However, as research in the field of geography of innovation shows, peripheral regions may also offer a more attractive environment for small- and medium-sized firms to innovate (Eder, 2019; Eder and Trippl, 2019). Empirical studies in this stream of literature show that innovation could be (differently) driven from peripheral regions. Petrov (2012) found that social capital and community efforts favoured successful innovation in the Canadian periphery. Fitjar and Rodríguez-Pose (2011) found that the innovative capacity of Norwegian peripheral regions does not result from agglomeration, but rather from other cognitive proximity. Yet, other scholars have noted, analysing non-core places – mostly while relying on qualitative methodologies, such as case studies (Gibson, 2002, 2010; Gibson and Connell, 2007; Kneafsey, 2001; Power and Jansson, 2008; Waitt and Gibson, 2009) – that the periphery matters in studying and assessing the role of the CCIs.

Further explorations of CCIs beyond major cities, in physically peripheral regions and areas with low population levels, are needed more than ever to explain how CCIs emerge from small, rural and remote areas (Gibson, 2010) and contribute to the social, economic and technical fabric peculiar to those localities. In this context, fine-grained (sub-regional) data analysis that exploits quantitative methods is even more crucial since it can elucidate CCIs' remote, small geographies and allow for some generalisable reflections at the country level. Filling gaps in the literature concerning cultural and creative economies' shapes and locations, beyond large cities, was precisely our research objective, and it is this article's main contribution.

Methods

Classification model

Conceptually and empirically robust statistical classification of CCIs is a key starting point to identify the cultural and creative economy's size, performance and dynamics. For those who seek to develop a comprehensive policy scheme to support this economy, such a classification has been lacking. Moreover, the wide range of related and competing terms are not neutral: they are embedded in political and policy-related debates (O'Connor, 2010). The consequences of specific definitions of CCIs merit attention since they define the legal and budgetary scope of policymakers' actions. Furthermore, the rationale for such classifications should be considered. They should support evidence-based

decision-making, allow comparisons over time between policies and spatial units of analysis, and help increase transparency and accountability. Here, as in the work of Bertacchini and Borrione (2013), we use industrial classification systems to define the Italian CCIs, which span four categories: (1) core creative arts and cultural heritage, (2) cultural industries, (3) creative industries and (4) related industries (see Appendix 1). Operationally, we adopted the industry classification of a harmonised system provided by Eurostat's (2018) taxonomy. As recommended in the document 'The Economy of Culture in Europe' (KEA European Affairs, 2006), this classification can suitably approach the cultural and creative economy's complex patterns, as well as both CCIs' production structures and policies explicitly targeting economic activities' spatial allocation. The industry-based approach includes all workers of an economic sector, whether they produce cultural and creative content directly or indirectly.

This model faces some limitations due to a possible underestimation of creative activities in non-creative sectors (Markusen, 2010; Markusen et al., 2008). However, at the same time, it presents an opportunity to identify relevant causal links. Based on the 'concentric circle model' proposed by Throsby (2008), it offers the advantage of emphasising creative ideas' and cultural goods' origins in core creative and cultural activities and these ideas' outward diffusion through a series of layers or concentric circles. It also explains that the proportion of cultural to commercial content decreases when moving away from the model's centre. Hence, the industry-based approach we use can usefully detect CCIs' spatial distribution. A worker-based definition of CCIs would better fit the aim to measure CCIs' impacts on regional growth (which is beyond the scope of the current work).

To analyse Italian CCIs' geographical structure and evolving patterns, we used the most recent available employment data (year 2017) at the territorial unit (the NUTS-4 level).[4] Employment data were collected from the Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) at a four-digit level, following the ATECO 2007 classification – the national adaptation of the European Commission's NACE Rev. 2 nomenclature. Our spatial unit of analysis is local labour systems (2011 LLSs), comprising 611 units.[5] More specifically, data at NUTS-4 were matched with respective LLSs using corresponding matching tables.[6] As Lazzeretti et al. (2008) explained, LLSs offer a suitable lens through which to analyse CCIs' geographical patterns since their boundaries are based on the social and economic relations within a territory, rather than administrative relations. LLSs reflect local economies as closely as possible (O'Donoghue and Gleave, 2004). Moreover, they may detect the polycentric structure of cultural and creative clusters that comprise contiguous LLSs. The use of a larger geographical scale – for instance, the provincial (NUTS-3) level, which includes 107 territorial units – would not have afforded us descriptive accuracy in identifying urban and inner areas. On the contrary, the use of a smaller unit of analysis – such as the municipal level, with 8092 territorial units – might have created statistical noise (Bertacchini and Borrione, 2013), preventing the identification of CCIs' main geographical patterns of specialisation.

Geographical patterns: methodology

To assess patterns in specialisation and spatial dependency, for each of the four cultural and creative economy categories, we computed location quotients (LQs). LQs are a well-known method mostly applied to identify territorial specialisations since they can capture spatial agglomerations independently from a unit's dimension (Vom Hofe and Chen, 2006). They have also been used to measure CCIs' specialisations relative to national averages in several European countries (García et al., 2003; Bertacchini and Borrione, 2013; Boix et al., 2016; Cruz and Teixeira, 2015; Lazzeretti et al., 2012; De-Miguel-Molina et al., 2012).[7] An LQ is defined as

$$LQ_{ij} = \frac{E_{ij} / E_i}{E_j / E} > 1 \qquad (1)$$

where E_{ij} is the number of employees in CCI i ($I = 1, \ldots, 4$) in LLS j ($j = 1, \ldots, 611$), E_i is the total number of employees in CCI I, E_j is the number of employees in LLS j and E is a country's total employment. An $LQ > 1$ indicates that employees' concentration in CCI domain i and LLS j exceeds the national average; hence, the LLS is specialised in that specific domain.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of CCIs': LQ specialisation across Italian LLSs (2017).

	Non-specialised	Specialised			Highly specialised			Total LLSs with LQs > 1	Per cent of LLSs (%)
	No. of LLSs, *n*	LQ range	No. of LLSs, *n*	Mean	LQ range	No. of LLSs, *n*	Mean		
1. Core industries	497	1–1.700	84	1.24	>1.700	30	2.87	114	18.70
2. Cultural industries	547	1–1.167	34	1.08	>1.168	30	1.53	64	10.50
3. Creative industries	559	1–1.230	22	1.09	>1.230	30	3.58	52	8.50
4. Related industries	487	1–1.840	94	1.33	>1.840	30	3.38	124	20.30

CCI: cultural and creative industry; LQ: location quotient; LLS: local labour system.
Source: Authors' own elaborations.

To further analyse Italian CCIs' spatial distribution and, subsequently, consider local strategies in the SNAI areas, two complementary approaches were adopted. First, we performed a cluster analysis. We focused on the aggregated LQs of the four disaggregated CCI sectors across LLSs to identify spatial trends and detect urban and inner areas with similar specialisation levels.

Through our second approach, we performed a spatial autocorrelation analysis to detect neighbouring CCIs. This procedure followed the work of Bertacchini and Borrione (2013) and entailed using two measures based on a spatial weight matrix that tracked all the contiguities across the 611 LLSs. Following those authors' methodology, we first conducted a global Moran's I test as a general measure to detect the association between CCIs' co-LQs throughout the country. Then, we checked the local indicators of spatial association (LISA), which were computed through a local Moran index based on a contiguity criterion (Anselin, 2010; Bertacchini and Borrione, 2013).

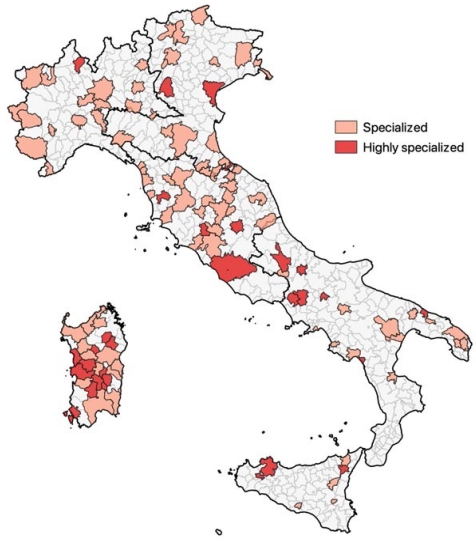
To identify these spatial patterns, we then classified all Italian LLSs according to their specialisation in the four different domains (Appendix 1).[8]

The geography of Italy's cultural and creative economy

CCIs' spatial patterns

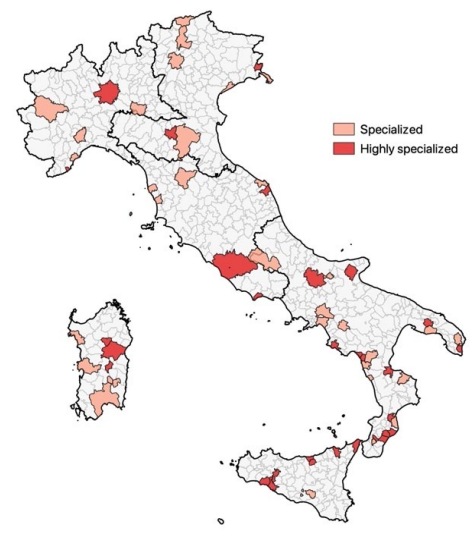
Our analysis of each LQ for each CCI (Table 1) and its spatial visualisation across Italian LLSs (Figures 1–4) show that CCIs' geographical employment patterns differed substantially across the four groups. This analysis follows the methodology of Cruz and Teixeira (2015), who measured agglomeration patterns in Portuguese creative economies' specialisations. This method entails the use of the classical cut-off LQ value of 1 (above the national average), distinguishing between non-specialised, specialised and highly specialised LLSs. LLSs with LQs below the national average (<1.00) are 'non-specialised'. LLSs with LQs above 1.00 but below the value corresponding to the 95th-percentile LQ are 'specialised'. Finally, LLSs with LQs above the 95th-percentile LQ are 'highly specialised'. Table 1 displays descriptive statistics of the LQs for each identified specialisation class across all four CCIs domains. Notably, specialisation levels (LQ > 1) vary across the CCI categories.

Furthermore, to better interpret the spatial patterns of CCI specialisation while also accounting for peripherality, we applied the OECD list of functional urban areas (FUAs) to Italy,[9] assessing the urban dimension of the LLSs for each CCI domain by macro-area: the Northwest, the Northeast, the Centre, the South and the Islands. The OECD defines FUAs as spatial units comprising a city (or core) and its commuting zone. The OECD developed an internationally harmonised FUA classification with four size classes: small areas (populations of 50,000–100,00), medium-sized areas (100,000–250,000), metropolitan areas (250,000–1.5 million) and large metropolitan areas (> 1.5 million). For our research purposes, we grouped FUAs with fewer than 50,000 inhabitants into a fifth class that we called 'peripheral areas'. Methodologically, the use of FUAs to



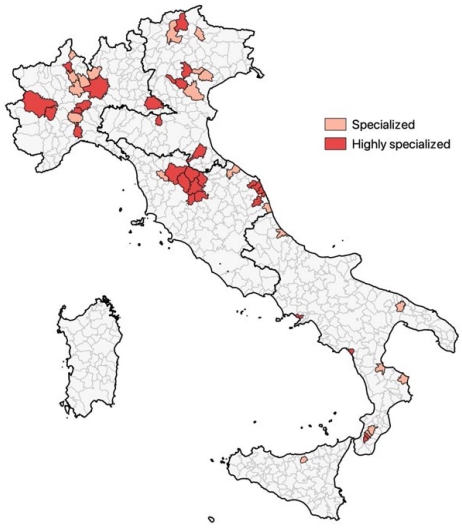
Core industries		Large	Metro	Medium	Small	Peripheral	Total
Specialised	Northwest	1	1	3		11	16
	Northeast		3	5		9	17
	Centre		2	2		17	21
	South			1	1	11	13
	Islands		1	1		15	17
	Total	1	7	12	1	63	84
Highly specialised	Northwest					1	1
	Northeast		2			1	3
	Centre	1				3	4
	South					8	8
	Islands		1			13	14
	Total	1	3	0	0	26	30
Specialised + highly specialised (LQ >1)		2	10	12	1	89	114
Total LLSs		4	21	42	12	532	611
LLSs with LQs > 1 / total LLSs		50%	48%	29%	8%	17%	**19%**

Figure 1. Core industries' patterns of specialisation by LLS in Italy (2017).
The FUA's category of LLSs that are specialised (LQs > 1) in core creative and cultural heritage.



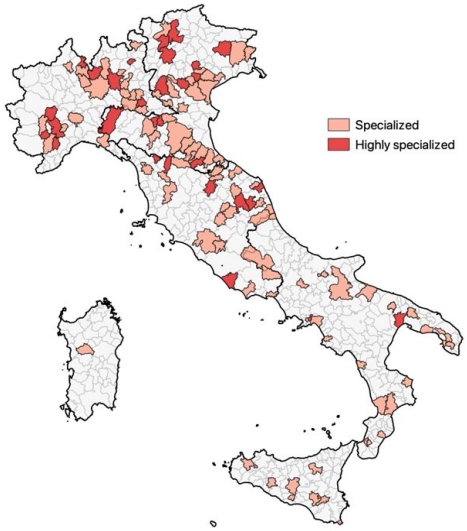
Cultural industries		Large	Metro	Medium	Small	Peripheral	Total
Specialised	Northwest	1		1		2	4
	Northeast		2	3		2	7
	Centre		1	2		1	4
	South		1	1		11	13
	Islands		1			5	6
	Total	1	5	7	0	21	34
Highly specialised	Northwest	1				1	2
	Northeast					1	1
	Centre	1				2	3
	South				1	13	14
	Islands		1			9	10
	Total	2	1	0	1	26	30
Specialised + highly specialised (LQs > 1)		2	3	6	7	1	64
Total LLSs		4	21	42	12	532	611
LLSs with LQs > 1 / total LLSs		75%	29%	17%	8%	9%	**10%**

Figure 2. Cultural industries' patterns of specialisation by LLS in Italy (2017).
The FUA's category of LLSs that are specialised (LQs > 1) in cultural industries.



Creative industries		Large	Metro	Medium	Small	Peripheral	Total
Specialised	Northwest			3		3	6
	Northeast		1	2		2	5
	Centre					4	4
	South			1		5	6
	Islands					1	1
	Total	0	1	6	0	15	22
Highly specialised	Northwest	2				6	8
	Northeast			2	1	3	6
	Centre		1	1		10	12
	South					4	4
	Islands						0
	Total	2	1	3	1	23	30
Specialised + highly specialised (LQs > 1)		2	2	9	1	38	52
Total LLSs		4	21	42	12	532	611
LLSs with LQs > 1 / total LLSs		50%	10%	21%	8%	7%	**9%**

Figure 3. Creative industries' patterns of specialisation by LLS in Italy (2017).
The FUA's category of LLSs that are specialised (LQs > 1) in creative industries.



Related industries		Large	Metro	Medium	Small	Peripheral	Total
Specialised	Northwest	1		4		13	18
	Northeast		5	3	1	15	24
	Centre					20	20
	South		1	3		19	23
	Islands					9	9
	Total	1	6	10	1	76	94
Highly specialised	Northwest		1	1		7	9
	Northeast		1	4	1	6	12
	Centre		1			6	7
	South					2	2
	Islands						0
	Total	0	3	5	1	21	30
Specialised + highly specialised (LQs > 1)		1	9	15	2	97	124
Total LLSs		4	21	42	12	532	611
LLSs with LQs > 1 / total LLSs		25%	43%	36%	17%	18%	**20%**

Figure 4. Related industries' patterns of specialisation by LLS in Italy (2017).
The FUA's category of LLSs that are specialised (LQs > 1) in related industries.

classify LLSs' urban dimensions is suitable since the boundaries of both territorial units are based on travel-to-work flows and since both units retain the name of the core city to which a workforce commutes. The share of the population within the two corresponding units is correlated (Spearman's correlation coefficient: 0.858; $p = 0.000$).

With reference to core creative arts and cultural heritage, we identified 114 specialised LLSs in Italy (18.7%, see Table 1) that were heterogeneously distributed across the national territory (see Figure 1). A concentration was observed in the Centre region, with specialised LLSs located in the well-known industrial districts of the Third Italy,[10] and on Sardinia, where specialisation is mainly linked to fixed heritage (such as archaeological sites). Half of the national LLSs that were classified as large and metropolitan areas specialised in core industries beyond the national average (50% and 48%, respectively), versus 29% of medium-sized LLSs, 8% of small LLSs and 17% of peripheral LLSs. In the country's Centre–North, specialisation is more pronounced in the large and metropolitan areas of Milan, Brescia, Bologna, Modena, Rimini, Florence, Perugia, Venice, Verona and Rome, as well as medium-sized urban areas (see Figure 1). In the South, the core specialised industries are mainly located in the peripheral areas of Campania and Puglia; on the Islands, specialisation appears in metropolitan and medium-sized urban areas (Cagliari, Palermo and Sassari), as well as peripheral areas. More generally, in examining the geography of core creative and cultural heritage, we observed a North–South divide – especially by size class from metropolitan to medium-sized classes, which are more concentrated in the North. Specialised peripheral LLSs are more evenly distributed across the national territory.

Cultural industries are characterised by producing cultural goods aimed at mass reproduction, mass dissemination and exports. This sector comprises 64 specialised LLSs in Italy (10.5%, see Table 1). Figure 2 shows that specialisation is more equally distributed among metropolitan and medium-sized LLSs and only slightly more concentrated in the Centre–North (especially in Rome, Florence, Milan, Turin, Bologna and Modena). Interestingly, however, peripheral specialised and highly specialised LLSs in this sector exhibited a North-versus-South pattern but favoured the South. Indeed, these LLSs are largely concentrated in the South and on the Islands, accounting for three-quarters of the specialised peripheral LLSs and more than four-fifths of the highly specialised peripheral LLSs.

Creative industries' production processes use culture as an input to produce goods that serve functional purposes. This sector had the fewest specialised LLSs among the CCIs in Italy (52 of 611, see Table 1) and a greater geographical imbalance between the North and the South. The specialisation patterns show a concentration of specialised medium-sized LLSs in the North, while peripheral specialised LLSs are more evenly distributed (see Figure 3). Remarkably, the spatial concentration of highly specialised creative industries is evident in the Centre of the country, especially compared to peripheral LLSs of the Marche region's and Tuscany's manufacturing districts. Creative industries are the only CCI sector in which the Islands do not specialise almost at all. In the South, the only relevant LLSs are localised in the medium-size urban area of Pescara and a few peripheral areas. This result confirms creative industries' geographical localisation in more densely populated areas of the North and the Centre (Bertacchini and Borrione, 2013; Lazzeretti et al., 2008), with few exceptions in the South. Importantly, a peculiar aspect is that the creative industries' geographical localisation in the Centre's industrial districts does not overlap with the localisation of related industries or core industries. This finding seems to imply some heterogeneity in the localisation patterns across the four different CCI domains.

Both cultural industries and creative industries had higher economic weights, representing 24.9% and 41.7%, respectively, of the CCIs' total employment (see Appendix 2). These sectors also have the fewest specialised LLSs, showing a tendency to spatially cluster (see Figures 2 and 3). This is also evident when simultaneously examining ranges in the variation of LQ values for the four sub-sectors and the related numbers of specialised LLSs (see Table 1). This result suggests important geographical differences across the CCI categories.

Finally, the related industries perform activities that support the creative economy's different production chains. They are the CCIs with the most specialised LLSs at 124, accounting for 20.3% of the

total LLSs (see Table 1). Spatially, their LLSs are heterogeneously distributed across the national territory (see Figure 4). We observed a particular geographical concentration in the metropolitan areas, as well as the medium-sized urban areas of the North. Veneto, Lombardy, Marche and Emilia-Romagna contained the most specialised LLSs (half of the total). Echoing our findings on the core and creative industries, related industries' geographical specialisation in the Centre – especially Emilia Romagna and Marche – corresponds with the Third Italy. Like creative industries, these industries are not present in Sardinia because of their nature. These activities mainly produce for other sectors. Therefore, they are located more in the Centre–North, which highlights their strong manufacturing focus. Interestingly, specialised LLSs are also located in medium-sized urban and peripheral areas of the South, especially in Puglia and Campania.

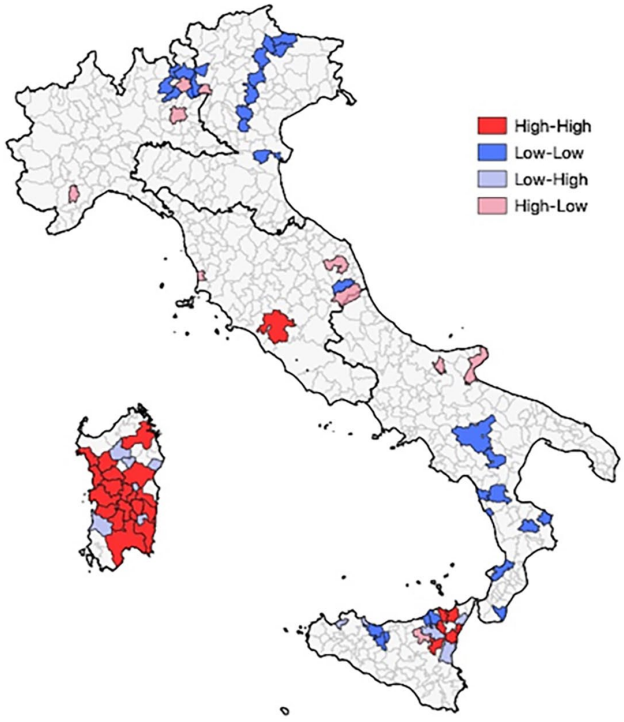
CCIs' spatial dependence

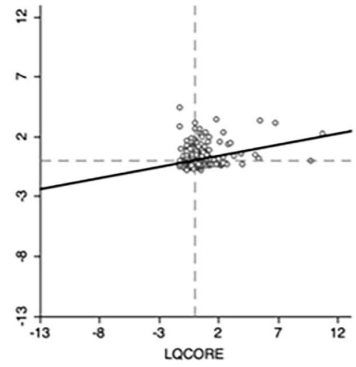
Our analysis of spatial dependence followed the work of Bertacchini and Borrione (2013), and we used two measures based on a spatial weight matrix that tracked contiguities across 611 LLSs: the Global Moran Index, a general measure of CCIs' association throughout the country, and the LISA. The LISA maps helped us detect potential neighbouring effects in CCIs' geographical patterns. In other words, it tells us whether significant spatial autocorrelations ($p > 0.05$) of LLSs with high (low) LQ values are surrounded by LLS with low (high) values in the four domains of the cultural and creative economy. First, we saw that the spatial autocorrelation of LQ values in core industries and cultural industries was positive at 0.184 and 0.125, respectively (see Figures 5 and 6). This finding means that, for these two sectors, the values of neighbouring positions tend to cluster together. The local spatial association indicator for core industries (see Figure 5) shows a particular concentration of high–high (LQ) LLSs in Sardinia and sometimes in Sicily. Notably, the related table reveals that this autocorrelation is mainly present in peripheral areas – except for the Islands, where it also occurs in metropolitan areas. This finding suggests that, in more remote contexts (such as LLSs located in inner areas on islands), core industries are more likely to cluster in order to compensate for their small dimensions and isolation. This result seems to suggest that, while MAR externalities could be exploited in the small peripheral areas of Sardinia, in the Northeast, Northwest and South, core industries may benefit from diversification-related externalities.

By contrast, for cultural industries (see Figure 6), spatial dependence was observed in the North (and the Northeast in particular), in metropolitan to medium-sized areas (only for the Northern macro-regions) and, more widely, in peripheral areas. Moreover, this sector – which exhibits the second-highest spatial autocorrelation, as mentioned above – is mostly characterised by LLSs with low LQ values that are surrounded by neighbouring LSSs with this same feature. The cultural industries in the small peripheral areas of the Northeast seem more liable to benefit from diversification externalities. Conversely, MAR externalities could play a relevant role in the South and for three Central LLSs.

However, for the creative industries (see Figure 7) and related industries (see Figure 8), the Moran's I values were lower but still positive, at 0.038 and 0.047, respectively. This finding seems to suggest that neighbouring areas are more likely to share dissimilar LQ values (high–low or low–high). In fact, both sectors tend to show higher concentrations of dissimilar spatial associations in the Centre–North, where LLSs with low LQ values are surrounded by neighbouring LLSs with high values. In both sectors, this spatial association occurs mainly in peripheral areas, but it is also present in urban areas. For creative industries, as Figure 7 shows, this autocorrelation is also present in medium-sized areas in the Centre; for related industries, spatial dependency occurs in metropolitan and medium-sized LLSs in the North, as well as small Central areas. Notably, related industries are the only CCI sector to show some spatial dependency in large metropolitan areas (see Figure 8). These findings reflect similar patterns as those previously detected in terms of MAR versus diversification externalities; the former is potentially exploitable in the small, peripheral areas of the Centre and North, while the latter may be exploitable in the South and on the Islands.

The current subsection's geographical analysis shows that, in the North and the Centre, CCIs'



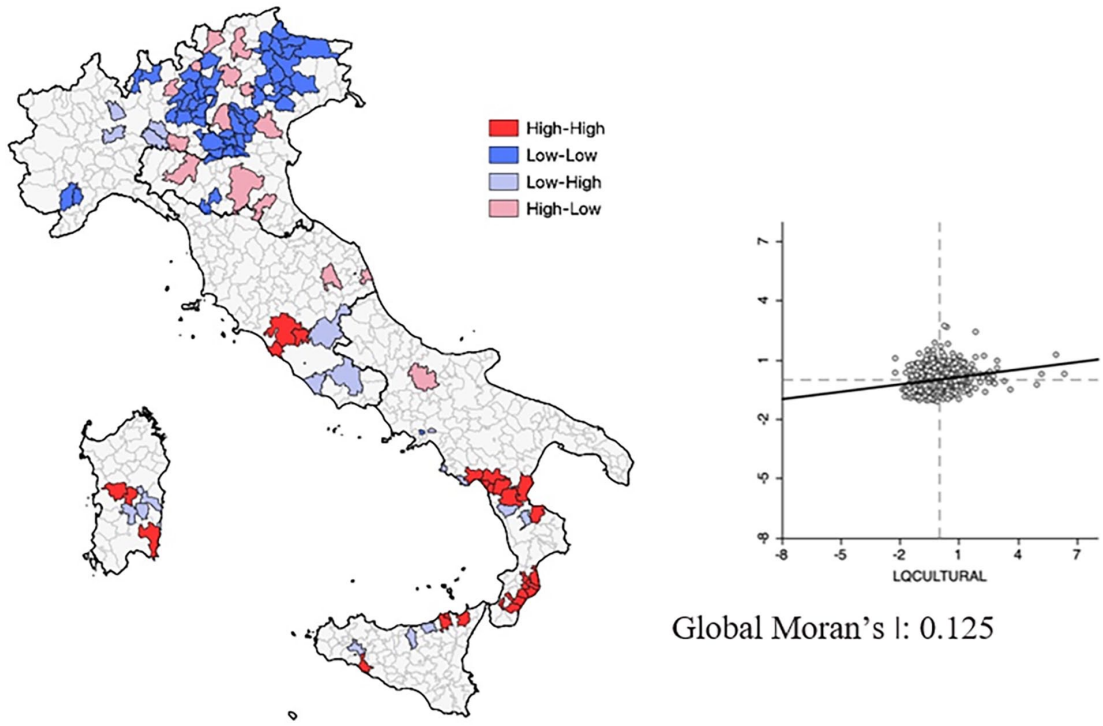


Global Moran's I: 0.184

	Northwest>>>				Northeast				Centre				South				Islands				Total
LQ: Spatial association	LL	LH	HL	HH	LL	LH	HL	HH	LL	LH	HL	HH	LL	LH	HL	HH	LL	LH	HL	HH	
	4		**3**		**12**		**1**		**1**		**3**	**1**	**9**		**2**		**4**	**11**	**1**	**25**	**77**
Large																					0
Metropolitan			1															1		1	3
Medium					1								1								2
Small																					0
Peripheral	4		2		11		1		1		3	1	8		2		4	10	1	24	72

Figure 5. Local and global indicators of spatial association for core industries by LLS in Italy (2017).
Number of LLS per macro-area with spatial associations: low–low (LL), low–high (LH), high–low (HL), high–high (HH).

specialisation is more spatially clustered in metro and medium-sized urban areas – especially concerning high specialisation. On the contrary, spatial dependency analysis shows higher autocorrelation in the peripheries, especially in the Northeast and for core and cultural industries. Meanwhile, in the Centre, spatial autocorrelation seems present in medium and small-sized urban areas, as well as in the peripheries. In the South, CCIs' specialisation and spatial dependency are more equally distributed in medium-sized and peripheral areas, except for related industries, which show almost no spatial dependency. Finally, on the Islands, the areas that show more clusters of CCI specialisation are almost exclusively peripheral, especially concerning the core industries in Sardinia. Spatial dependence is, instead, significant in both peripheral and metropolitan areas – with the sole exception of cultural industries, which show almost no significant spatial autocorrelation.

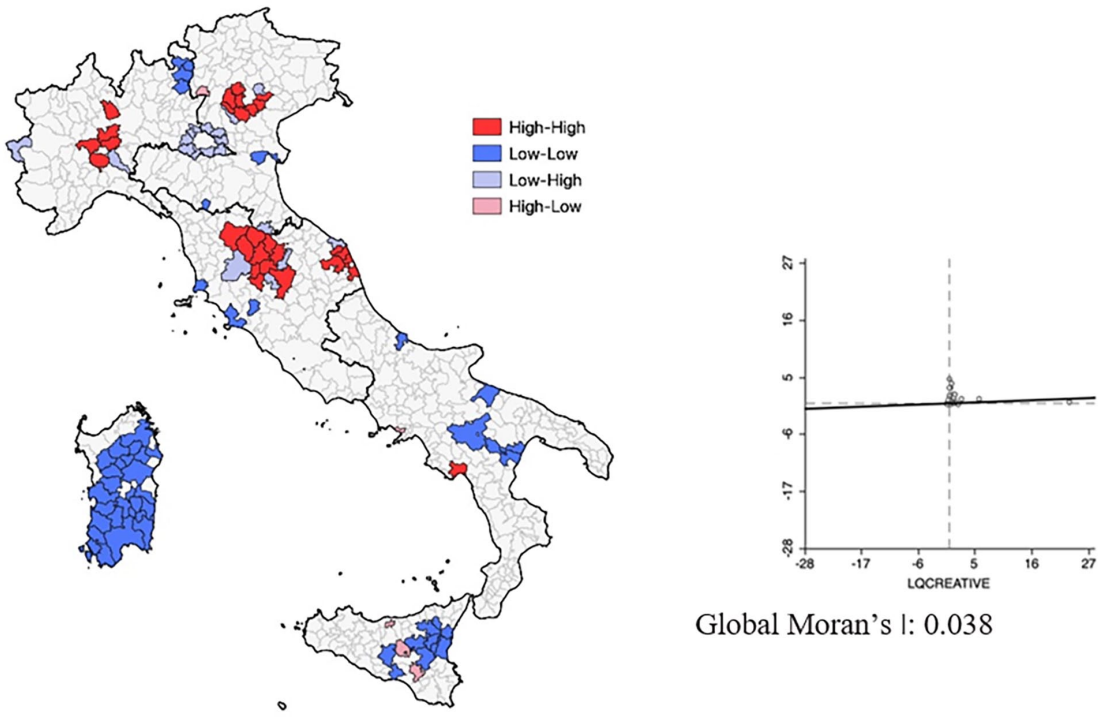


	Northwest				Northeast				Centre				South				Islands				Total
LQ: Spatial association	LL	LH	HL	HH	LL	LH	HL	HH	LL	LH	HL	HH	LL	LH	HL	HH	LL	LH	HL	HH	
	18	**4**	**3**		**35**		**9**			**3**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**17**		**7**		**7**	**115**
Large																					0
Metropolitan	1						4														5
Medium			1		3		2														6
Small															1						1
Peripheral	17	4	2		32		3			3	2	3	1	5		17		7		7	103

Figure 6. Local and global indicators of spatial association for cultural industries by LLS in Italy (2017).
The number of LLSs per macro-area with spatial associations: low–low (LL), low–high (LH), high–low (HL), high–high (HH).

Thus, our geographical analysis reveals that the cultural and creative economy's specialisation and spatial concentration are not only characteristic of large or metropolitan urban areas or the wealthiest regions in the country's Centre–North. Rather, they are also present in the peripheries, in the South and on the Islands.

Having outlined the geography of CCIs in Italy, we then examined their spatial patterns by urban gradient, paying special attention to their specifics in peripheral areas. Policy-wise, a closer look at these patterns at a more granular level may reveal the extent to which this geography of specialisation interacts with the sector's geography of strategic investment in the scope of SNAI. This possibility is especially intriguing because most of the strategic planning areas involved in SNAI rely on the cultural and creative sector as the main driver of local developments. Research- and policy-wise, filling the current gap in the knowledge on the characterisation



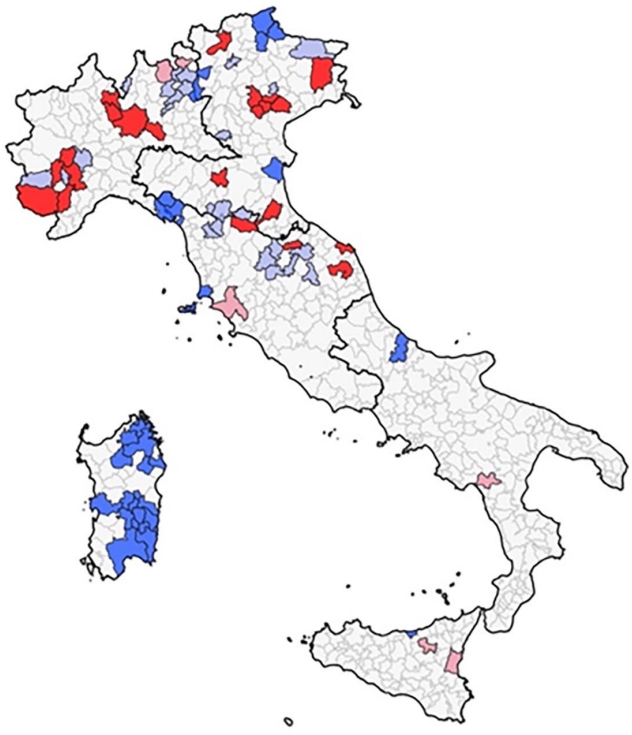
	Northwest				Northeast				Centre				South				Islands				Total
LQ: Spatial association	LL	LH	HL	HH	LL	LH	HL	HH	LL	LH	HL	HH	LL	LH	HL	HH	LL	LH	HL	HH	
	4	**9**		**5**	**3**	**6**	**1**	**8**	**3**	**4**		**16**	**6**		**1**	**1**	**37**		**3**		**106**
Large																					0
Metropolitan												2					2				4
Medium				1				1		1		1	2								5
Small																					0
Peripheral	4	9		4	3	6	1	7	3	3		13	4		1	1	35		3		97

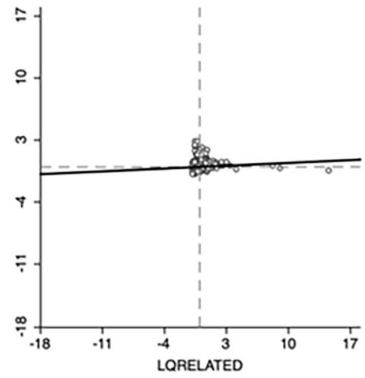
Figure 7. Local and global indicators of spatial associations for creative industries by LLS in Italy (2017).
The number of LLSs per macro-area with spatial associations: low–low (LL), low–high (LH), high–low (HL), high–high (HH).

and spatial organisation of the cultural and creative economies in the Italian inner areas seem therefore to be even more salient.

The Italian national strategy for inner areas and the geography of policymaking in the cultural and creative sector

The Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas was launched in 2014. The aim of this place-based policy is to halt the demographic decline and enhance the potential to endogenously develop territories in response to slow-burning dynamics. Although rich in important natural and cultural resources, these areas have suffered long-standing marginalisation and depopulation since the 1950s. The strategy pursues its main goal through two interventions: (1) improving the quality and quantity of essential services for citizens and (2) promoting development projects that exploit local resources. As we explained





Global Moran's I: 0.047

	Northwest				Northeast				Centre				South				Islands				Total
LQ: Spatial association	LL	LH	HL	HH	LL	LH	HL	HH	LL	LH	HL	HH	LL	LH	HL	HH	LL	LH	HL	HH	
	1	**10**	**2**	**9**	**6**	**6**		**9**	**4**	**9**	**1**	**4**	**1**		**1**		**19**		**2**		**84**
Large				1																	1
Metropolitan								1									1		1		3
Medium	1	1		1				3		1		1									8
Small									1		1										2
Peripheral		9	2	7	6	6		5	3	8		3	1		1		18		1		70

Figure 8. Local and global indicators of spatial associations for related industries by LLS in Italy (2017).
The number of LLSs per macro-area with spatial associations: low–low (LL), low–high (LH), high–low (HL), high–high (HH).

in the section 'CCIs' local effects and spatial patterns', one opportunity for this second goal is the enhancement of natural or cultural capital, a category which encompasses cultural and creativity-based interventions. This enhancement might be extremely important since culture and creativity are often uncritically assumed to be easy paths to development – via tourism, for instance – especially in peripheral areas pursuing urban-centric models. Policymakers have turned to 'fast policy' (Peck, 2005), which Pratt (2009) has called 'Xerox policy-making', describing policies that are simply copied with little or no variation from one place to another and without acknowledging different social and economic contexts (Imperiale et al., 2021). This approach is also often adopted in the local strategies conceived for the SNAI project areas, as Punziano and Urso (2016) have shown. Moreover, this is even

more interesting currently because recent years' renewed interest in the culture-driven revitalisation of small, remote towns and villages in Italy has been massively intensified by the COVID-19 pandemic. A widespread (and sometimes rhetorical; see Barbera et al., (2022)) emphasis on these small places (typically with preserved cultural heritage) as ideal locations for remote work, enabling professionals (especially artists and creative people) who reside in big cities to relocate to more pleasant environments, has extensively proliferated. Small towns and villages across the country have started investing in initiatives that aim to attract new residents, especially digital nomads.

In locations such as inner areas, culture and creativity may represent crucial assets that are likely to underpin broader processes of endogenous development – provided that they draw on and enhance local resources and are not top-down interventions. From a policymaking perspective, exploring the predicted shares of investments in these assets by SNAI project area may be relevant, examining two geographies: the geography of specialisation (vocation) and the geography of investments in the cultural and creative sectors within local strategies (vision). Furthermore, Imperiale et al. (2021) have called for more contextual research on peripheral areas since it can offer novel insights into CCIs' local patterns and contribute to a better, evidence-based explanation of CCI policymaking because their sustainability depends on several factors. Imperiale et al. (2021: 4) explain, 'Contextual research could help to identify serving better policy design, being aware that CCIs present some peculiarities and that "copying" or "one size fits all" approaches might not work in this field'.

Methodologically, due to homogeneity, we performed such an analysis only on the 'pilot area' of each region (for a total of 20 pilot areas). The SNAI 'project areas' total 72, but progress in strategic-plan construction is highly heterogeneous across these areas. Subject to the first such analyses, all pilot areas completed strategic planning design, and complete information about the financed projects is available (consolidated in the approved Framework Program Agreement).[11] We computed the percentage of investments in culture and creativity out of the total funds allocated to the local development axis. This approach allowed us to consider the strategic choices of the first Italian areas that were called to design their own strategies to address the demographic decline, as well as the roles they assigned to particular assets, which might prove crucial to their future development. The case for investigating policy investments in the context of local economic specialisations is especially important for regions that are falling behind. In these areas, the local labour market is often weak and insufficient to implement a culture-led strategy that could serve as a cornerstone of local development.

Figure 9 shows that investments in culture and creativity are higher in Central-Southern Italy, excluding the Islands. Interestingly, the areas along the Apennines (particularly in Tuscany, Campania, Abruzzo and – to a lesser extent – Marche and Lazio) seem to rely heavily on these sectors to stop their population declines.

Example policy interventions in the cultural and creative sectors of Italy's inner areas

Acknowledging the important embeddedness of the cultural and creative economy, which relies on place-based tangible and intangible resources, we identified cases in which the SNAI pilot areas were specialised in the cultural and creative sector (as we previously identified), disentangling the four CCI domains (see Figure 10). This approach indicated the SNAI development strategies' place-sensitiveness when focusing on culture. It might also inform the future monitoring of policy interventions' efficacy, highlighting whether the cultural and creative sector may be a viable option for revitalisation in non-specialised contexts or whether it must draw on an already specialised economic system as a growth lever. Some intriguing results emerged.

First, the SNAI project areas that most invest in culture are located in LLSs that are specialised in the core heritage-based sector (e.g. activities supporting the arts and related facilities, which are linked to museums, historical sites and buildings, and similar visitor attractions; see Appendix 1). Inner areas have been widely recognised as rich in cultural heritage despite often being poorly maintained. Therefore, in

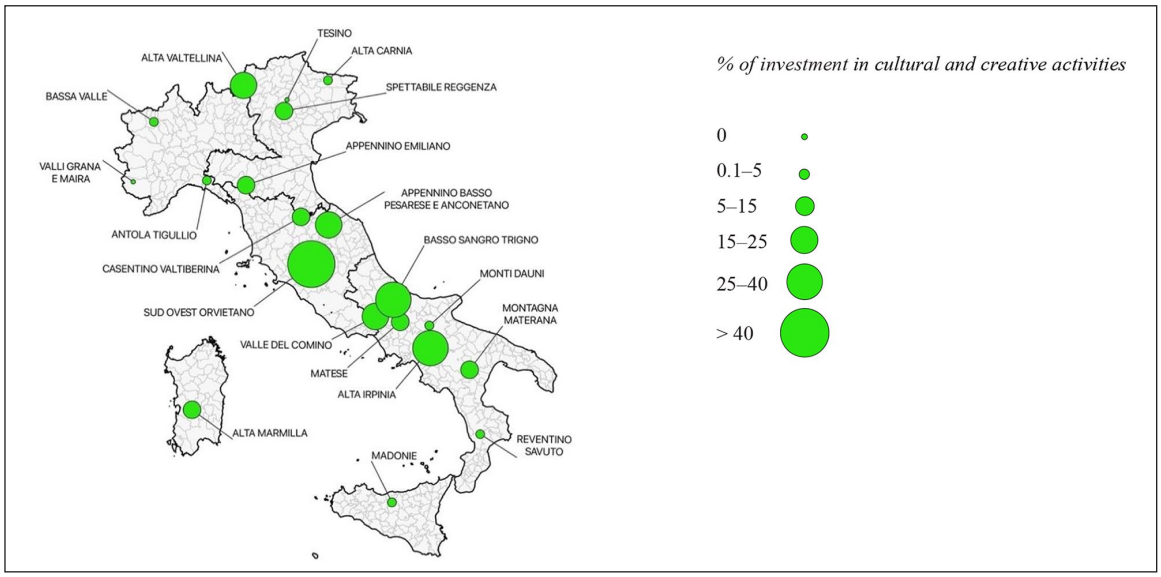


Figure 9. The share of investments in cultural and creative activities in the total investment for the local development axis of strategies for SNAI pilot areas.
Source: Authors' own elaborations.

this case the new SNAI initiatives may rely on a fertile ground of specialised LLS and of historic-cultural assets to be valued. After scrutinising the strategic plan of the area that is investing the most in culture and creativity (Sud Est Orvietano, a specialised LLS in the first CCI domain), we noted – for instance – the following expected interventions:

- Support for cultural, tourism-based and creative enterprises that operate by exploiting and economically enhancing inner areas' cultural and natural attractions, following a sustainable approach
- Cultural attractions' technological and multimedia development using immersive technologies
- The recovery and functionalisation of some peri-urban archaeological areas that are relevant to historical-archaeological-cultural interests.

Second, other interesting projects that strongly rely on existing local resources are in place in Alta Irpinia, which falls into the same core heritage-based domain (see Figure 10). Among these projects, some seek tangible and intangible networking to create and consolidate a unitary cultural offering and initiative that encourage the transfer of specialised local knowledge to young people and generational turnover in craft activities by creating a workshop system and implementing internships that promote new entrepreneurship. Conversely, we observed that the SNAI pilot areas pursuing culture-based strategies mostly do not overlap with LLSs specialised in the two domains of proper cultural and especially creative industries. This finding is unsurprising after more closely examining the activities included in the taxonomy (see Appendix 1). They are more industry-related and differ from the initiatives foreseen within the SNAI scope, which are more related to event organisation, the recovery of historical memories of craftsmanship, handicrafts classes or creative residences for artists. When considering the final domain, we again observed a greater overlap between the SNAI pilot areas with investments in culture-led developments and LLSs specialised in related industries, mainly printing services, media and the press. This applies to Sud Est Orvietano, which is strongly investing in multimedia products and services to enhance its cultural heritage. Or to the pilot area in Lazio region (Valle del Comino, see Figure 10) that included the optimisation of promotional means (via

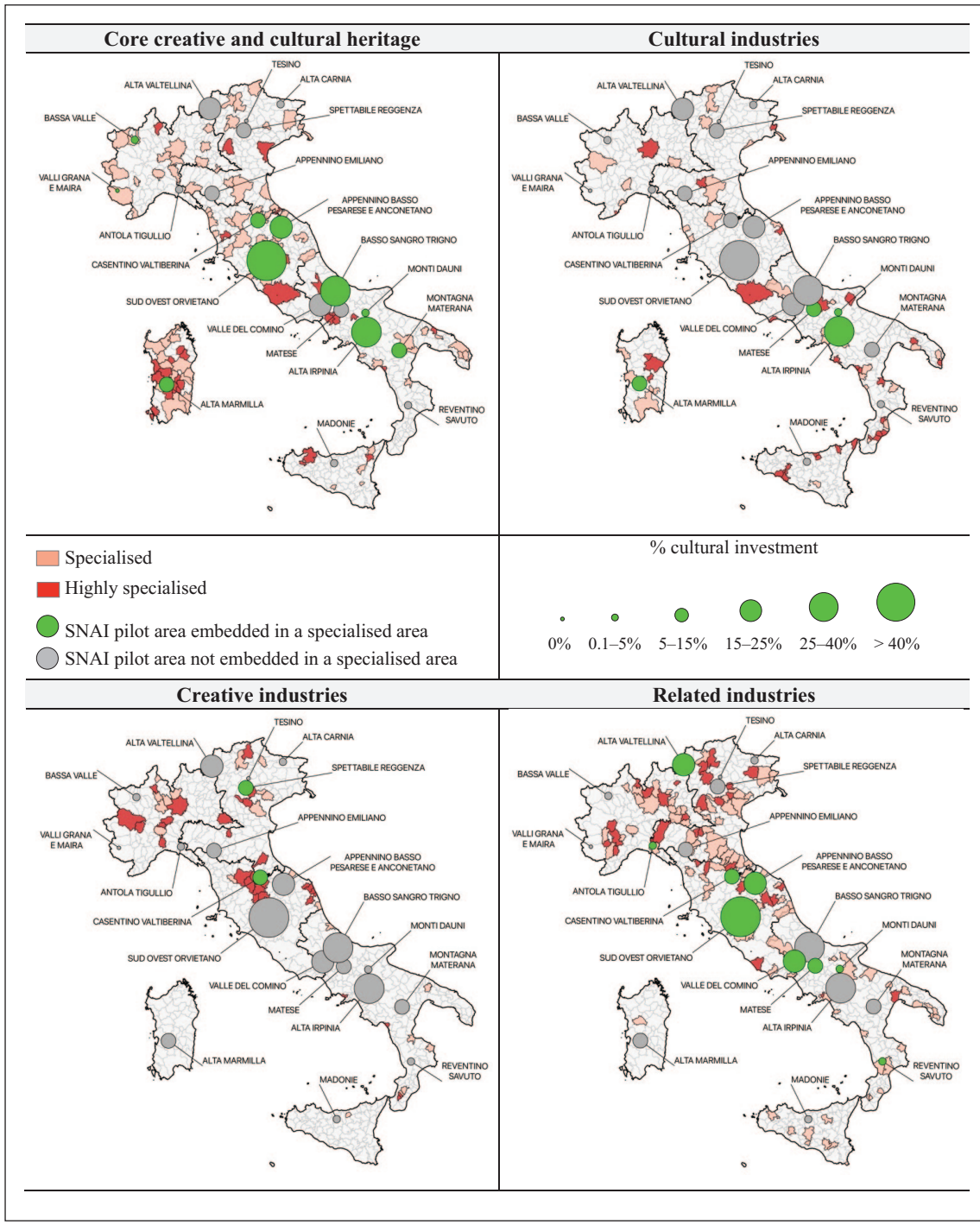


Figure 10. Specialisation in culture and creative activities for the local development strategies of SNAI pilot areas and CCIs' patterns of specialisation (by LLS in Italy, 2017).
Source: Authors' own elaborations.

contracting with audio video services) and the realisation of materials for media in its strategy: photos, videos and a web platform, suggesting that the development project would rely on the existing local economic activities.

The first SNAI areas' investments in culture and creativity, in some cases, seemed to draw on local economic systems that already specialised in the sectors. In other cases, they signalled a search for completely new growth paths through the cultural and creative economy. This will become evident once the local SNAI strategies start exerting their effects. Currently, policy-wise, this *ex ante* appreciation of culture-based local strategies' context-sensitivity will help interpret their future outcomes, potentially informing new policies that aim to revitalise small and remote depopulation areas. Thus, this will contribute to the debate on policies' place-sensitivity through evidence-based reflections, which has been gaining momentum among scholars and policy-makers since the national Recovery and Resilience Plans across Europe. These plans will be particularly challenging for peripheral municipalities. In terms of research contributions, this study has provided novel, empirical knowledge on the geography of CCIs in Italy across the country's macro-regions and along the urban gradient. Thus, this study paves the way for future research – and possibly econometric analyses – that can delve into identifying the local determinants that foster the culture or creativity sector in non-core areas, allowing it to thrive without proper agglomeration economies.

Conclusion

Against a backdrop of a pervasive policy narrative revolving around the revitalisation of rural, peripheral areas through culture and creativity, sometimes considered as a panacea to reverse their demographic and economic decline, much scientific knowledge still needs to be produced. So far, we do not have conclusive evidence to provide policy guidance and support interventions in this direction with a specific focus on marginal territories. In the literature, most explorations into these areas have been based on qualitative methods and single-case studies, making generalisable reflections difficult. Quantitative analyses on this topic, however, have rarely been conducted at the sub-regional level for an appreciation of the urban versus non-urban dimension in the spatiality of CCIs.

Against this backdrop, by presenting a fine-grained analysis that empirically examined the rationale for different spatial units in the Italian case, our article helps fill the gap in the literature on CCIs' geography, and we paid particular attention to the country's non-core areas. The sector's different domains show a heterogeneous geography, which challenges the taken-for-granted belief that the cultural and creative economy is essentially an urban or metropolitan phenomenon. Contrary to such expectations, beyond CCIs' well-known tendency to agglomerate in large urban centres – especially in the North and Centre and, hence, along traditional patterns[12] – specialised peripheral LLSs in core industries are more evenly distributed across the country. In the South and comparatively large numbers of highly specialised LLSs in the islands. When considering proper cultural industries, the geography of specialisation in peripheral areas reverses the historical dichotomy, with higher concentration in the South. Creative industries are the sub-sector, which more clearly follows the expected trend of agglomeration in more densely populated LLSs of the North and the Centre of the country and the same holds for related industries. This offers relevant policy implications for the development of marginal areas, where culture-led growth strategies may either support the renewal paths of declining manufacturing districts (as is the case for the Third Italy) or foster the creation of new development paths (as seems to be the case in Southern peripheral LLSs). Relatedly, the final part of this article focused on inner areas' strategies as part of a national policy to address their decline. While we have shown that some specialisation in the cultural and creative economy also occurs in more peripheral areas, and that many of the investigated strategic planning areas are investing in this economy, whether these marginal areas can transform their cultural and creative projects into development potential by leveraging localised, distinctive resources remains to be seen. Due to these areas' limited dimensions, another challenge pertains to possible territorial alliances through a supra-local logic. For this reason, the SNAI experience might be

significant also for the development of the CCIs. Moreover, the inner areas that will succeed are likely those that can link their CCI options to a territory's complementary characteristics, conceiving distinctive, recognisable offerings. Thus, our analysis offers a glimpse into peripheral areas' potential to pursue culture-led development, which might redraw the geography of the cultural and creative economy. In this geography, remoteness and smallness – which have long been marginalising factors – can become assets that enable places to gain new centrality. As for the contribution of our findings to the development of the wider academic research on CCIs, the quantitative analysis provided in this work could pave the way to reflect upon their social and economic spillovers in non-urban areas across Italy (and Europe as well). For instance, linking the peculiar geography of CCIs in non-urban areas with other territorial structural characteristics could be the base for measuring the impact of localised cultural and creative economy on societal well-being and sustainability. Moreover, the localisation patterns and the spatial dependence of CCIs are the first step to go deepen, for instance, in assessing the innovation potential of non-urban CCIs and to provide evidence of how CCIs could be beneficial in driving innovation in other economic (as well non-economic) sectors.

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Notes

1. As specified by Eurostat, the NUTS level 4 correspond to the system of local administrative units (LAUs), also known as municipalities.
2. Inner areas are defined as territories substantially distant from centres that provide essential services (education, health and transport), possess a wealth of key environmental and cultural resources and, yet, are characterised by depopulation. They cover around 60% of Italy's surface, accounting for almost 24% of the country's total population.
3. See the new classification of CCIs proposed by Dellisanti (2023) to disentangle the different stages of CCI production.
4. The number of NUTS-4 territorial units collected from the ISTAT is 69,281.
5. Detailed information is available at https://www.istat.it/it/files//2014/12/nota-metodologica_SLL2011_rev20150205.pdf.
6. Municipal employment data for 2017 were first matched with the corresponding 2011 municipalities and then grouped by LLS. Detailed information about territorial and administrative changes – the modification of territorial districts, the establishment of new territorial units and denominational changes – used to convert the 2017 and 2011 municipalities were provided by ISTAT at https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/6789. Municipalities' correspondence to LLSs is presented at https://www.istat.it/it/informazioni-territoriali-e-cartografiche/sistemi-locali-del-lavoro.
7. Generally, the use of an LLS approach could be regarded as overestimating specialisation benefits and underestimating urbanisation benefits; here, however, LLSs represent the finer spatial unit of analysis to identify specialisation processes in peripheral areas which could otherwise not be estimated.
8. Appendix 2 shows the respective employment values for each of the four-digit CCI activities in 2017.
9. As a reference, we used the November 2020 version of the OECD FUAs. Italy comprised 17 small areas, 42 medium-sized areas, 21 metropolitan areas and four large metropolitan areas.
10. The regions comprising the Third Italy are Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany, Veneto and Marche.
11. All approved Framework Program Agreements (Accordi di Programma Quadro [APQ]) for each region are available at https://www.agenziacoesione.gov.it/strategia-nazionale-aree-interne/strategie-darea-e-governance/.
12. That is, the North–South divide and the Third Italy.

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Appendix 1

Cultural and creative industries (CCIs): NACE Rev. 2 codes at the four-digit level.

1. Core creative arts and cultural heritage	
74.2.0	Photographic activities
74.3.0	Translation and interpretation activities
90.0.1	Performing arts
90.0.2	Support activities for performing arts
90.0.3	Artistic creation
90.0.4	Operation of arts facilities
91.0.1	Library and archives activities
91.0.2	Museums activities
91.0.3	Operation of historical sites and buildings and similar visitor attractions
91.0.4	Botanical and zoological gardens and nature reserves activities
2. Cultural industries	
47.6.1	Retail sale of books in specialised stores
47.6.2	Retail sale of newspapers and stationery in specialised stores
47.6.3	Retail sale of music and video recordings in specialised stores
58.1.1	Book publishing
58.1.2	Publication of lists and mailing lists
58.1.3	Publishing of newspapers
58.1.4	Publishing of journals and periodicals
58.1.9	Other publishing activities
59.1.1	Motion picture, video and television programme production activities
59.1.2	Motion picture, video and television programme post-production activities
59.1.3	Motion picture, video and television programme distribution activities
59.1.4	Motion picture projection activities
59.2.0	Sound recording and music publishing activities
60.1.0	Radio broadcasting
60.2.0	Television programming and broadcasting activities
63.9.1	News agency activities
77.2.2	Renting of video tapes and discs
3. Creative industries	
32.1.2	Manufacture of jewellery and related articles
32.2.0	Manufacture of musical instruments
58.2.1	Publishing of computer games
71.1.1	Architectural activities
73.1.1	Advertising agencies
74.1.0	Specialised design activities
4. Related industries	
18.1.1	Printing of newspapers
18.1.2	Other printing
18.1.3	Pre-press and pre-media services
18.1.4	Binding and related services
18.2.0	Reproduction of recorded media

Note: The creative industry ‘publishing of computer games’ (NACE code 58.2.1) has shifted from ‘rare’ to ‘non-existent’ over the last years. Since 2015, this category is no longer available.

Appendix 2

Cultural and creative industries (CCIs): Employment data in 2017.

	Number of employees 2017 (annual average values)	Per cent over total of employees in CCIs (%)
1. Core creative arts and cultural heritage	81,792.95	16.60
Photographic activities	19,299.15	3.92
Translation and interpretation activities	10,097.61	2.05
Performing arts	13,069.19	2.65
Support activities for performing arts	10,566.66	2.14
Artistic creation	16,397.42	3.33
Operation of arts facilities	1572.00	0.32
Library and archives activities	2384.42	0.48
Museums activities	1863.17	0.38
Operation of historical sites and buildings and similar visitor attractions	5507.11	1.12
Botanical and zoological gardens and nature reserves	19,299.15	0.21
2. Cultural industries	122,739.14	24.91
Retail sale of books in specialised stores	10,628.38	2.16
Retail sale of newspapers and stationery	36,771.84	7.46
Retail sale of music and video recordings	917.03	0.19
Book publishing	9213.62	1.87
Publication of lists and mailing lists	708.68	0.14
Publishing of newspapers	8932.01	1.81
Publishing of journals and periodicals	9955.80	2.02
Other publishing activities	1487.14	0.30
Motion picture, video and television programme production activities	16,080.98	3.26
Motion picture, video and television programme post-production activities	2361.63	0.48
Motion picture, video and television programme distribution activities	1282.35	0.26
Motion picture projection activities	5801.04	1.18
Sound recording and music publishing	1725.17	0.35
Radio broadcasting	2804.07	0.57
Television programming and broadcasting	11,173.83	2.27
News agency activities	2218.90	0.45
Renting of video tapes and discs	676.67	0.14
3. Creative industries	205,507.50	41.71
Manufacture of jewellery and related articles	27,158.12	5.51
Manufacture of musical instruments	1995.79	0.41
Architectural activities	69,727.45	14.15
Advertising agencies	55,313.96	11.23
Specialised design activities	51,312.18	10.41
4. Related industries	82,669.43	16.78
Printing of newspapers	1673.84	0.34
Other printing	65,556.96	13.31
Pre-press and pre-media services	7801.30	1.58
Binding and related services	7164.43	1.45
Reproduction of recorded media	472.90	0.10
Total	492,709.02	

Source: Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (ISTAT), Rome.