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Title: Demystifying cultural intermediaries: Who are they, what do they do and where can they be found in England?

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Demystifying cultural intermediaries:

Who are they, what do they do and where can they be found in England?

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Abstract

The object of this paper is to reconceptualise cultural intermediaries and cultural intermediation in a way that may not only allow a coherent understanding of the various functions associated with these actors, but may also enable systematic empirical analyses of their effects on other cultural, social and economic phenomena. This paper employs a value chain approach to develop a typology of cultural intermediation that may enable a more systematic analysis of cultural intermediaries and cultural intermediation. It presents maps of cultural intermediation in England as well as the three major cities: London, Birmingham and Manchester.

Key words:
Cultural industries, cultural intermediation

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1. Introduction

It is often observed that ‘culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language’ (Williams, 1976, p76 in O’Brien et al., 2011). Pursuits of a synoptical definition of culture have however been argued to be futile, for ‘there is no theoretical clarification to be expected from a definition of ‘culture’’ (Goldstein, 1957, p1078). Rather, if theory construction is towards understanding the social world around us, it is the provision of explanations of cultural phenomena, social facts, that social science should concern itself with (Goldstein, 1957).

Be that as it may, since Bourdieu (1984) employed the term ‘cultural intermediaries’ to refer to new professions that helped reduce class distinctions by enhancing the consumption of ‘legitimate’ culture by the masses, a plethora of empirical inquiry employing the terminology indiscriminately ensued (Maguire and Matthews, 2012; O’Brien et al., 2011). Plausibly, theory development is blighted here not by the definition of cultural intermediaries *per se*, but by the ambiguity of the phenomena in question, i.e. the intermediation itself.

Against this backdrop, the object of this paper is to attempt to reconceptualise cultural intermediaries and cultural intermediation in a way that may not only allow a coherent understanding of the various functions associated with these actors, but may also enable systematic empirical analyses of their effects on other cultural, social and economic phenomena. This paper is organised as follows: Section 2 reviews the extant literature on cultural intermediaries and attempts to array and elaborate the concept of cultural intermediation and cultural intermediaries towards a less vagrant understanding of the same. Section 3 builds on this and employs a value chain approach to develop a typology of cultural intermediation that may enable a more systematic analysis of cultural intermediaries and cultural intermediation. Section 4 conjectures potential links between cultural intermediation and the wider community. Section 5 maps the geography of cultural intermediation in

England as well as the three major cities: London, Birmingham and Manchester. A conclusion is offered in Section 6.

2. Cultural intermediaries and cultural intermediation in the literature

In most of the applications where the ‘cultural intermediary’ designation is evoked, the pertinent agents appear to play the role of ‘cultural ambassadors’. Indeed, O’Brien et al., (2011) argue that the early usage of the term viewed cultural intermediaries as ‘ethnic diplomats’ (see also, Andres, 2011). As such, children of immigrants or 'third culture kids' who act as their mothers' cultural intermediaries due to their unique ‘hybrid subjectivity’ (Aitken, 2008), are cultural ambassadors for their host societies to the extent that they facilitate the consumption of the local culture they are born into by their foreign-born parents.

More perceptibly, teachers of immigrants (Gordon, 2006), medical translators and paraprofessional ethnic healthworkers (Esteva et al., 2006; Fuller, 1995), as well as interpretive and translative agents of various other kinds (Becker, 2011; Hilliard, 2010; Jun and Lee, 2012; Mellor, 2008; Parlevliet, 2011; Rubenfeld et al., 2007), can also be seen to serve as agents who intermediate to enhance optimal consumption either of cultural products or of other products (e.g. medical services) whose consumption must be complemented by a cultural product (language).

However, such ambassadorial services have also been employed as marketing tools where beyond merely enhancing the proper consumption of established cultural products by ‘foreigners’, the cultural intermediary acts to heighten the consumption of particular commercial products. Thus, for example, Whalen (2009) recounts how personalities of high repute, such as the historian Gaston Roupnel, played an important role in the marketing of

Burgundian wine which allowed the industry to not only survive and indeed in the wake of the French wine crisis at the turn of the twentieth century.

Crucially, intermediation efforts were firstly to draw attention to the unique qualities of Burgundian wines and secondly, through publications, fairs and festivals, to enlighten customers on the unique qualities of Burgundian wine and how best it could be consumed. Here, while cultural intermediaries are only identified as the key ambassadorial personalities, one may argue that the agents who carry out the cultural intermediation tasks of educating customers in fairs and festivals are also cultural intermediaries by virtue of their acts.

Indeed, while key personalities, such as sporting celebrities, have been regarded as cultural intermediaries when their persona is used in advertisements and the mass media (Naha, 2012), advertising practitioners have themselves also been conceptualised as cultural intermediaries (Cronin, 2004; Gee and Jackson, 2012; John and Jackson, 2011; Kobayashi, 2012; Soar, 2002). The later can readily be seen to be facilitators of consumption since they work for producers to help unpack the utility contained in the pertinent products for target consumers to not only know about the benefits inhered in the product but also how to consume it properly.

The related field of public relations also entails cultural intermediation (L'Etang, 2006; Schoenberger-Orgad, 2011), since it ensures that messages are received and interpreted, and therefore consumed, by the pertinent audiences suitably. More in line with Bourdieu's original construct, perhaps, the cultural intermediaries literature includes expert critics and commentators of literature and other artistic products (Doane, 2009; Mee and Dowling, 2003), as well as lifestyle advocates and consultants (Sherman, 2011; Truninger, 2011).

In all the foregoing applications, the underlying role the cultural intermediary appears to carry out is to facilitate the consumption of a given product, or to perhaps better

accommodate non-objectifiable cultural phenomena, a given ‘item’. Seemingly, the intermediary serves to link an item (product) - and not necessarily its producers - to new consumers, and to especially facilitate proper consumption. It is perhaps for this reason that cultural intermediaries have been argued to carry out a broadly pedagogic function (Maguire and Matthews 2010).

Indeed, the definition of culture notwithstanding, were one to assume that a useful criterion for an item to count as ‘cultural’ is that it is utilised (and therefore consumed) customarily by a given people, then any item (product, idea, etc) has the potential to be a cultural item. In this light, cultural items may not be limited to heritage, fine arts, beliefs, etc; any given item needs only but to cultivate ‘a shared way’, to be imbued with custom and symbolism, for it to be deemed cultural. In turn, cultural intermediaries act as consummate representatives of the society to which the cultural item pertains, and thus merely ensure the proper consumption of the cultural product by unsophisticated agents. Here, in line with Maguire and Matthews’ (2010) pedagogic view, cultural intermediaries can be seen to act as *acculturational intermediaries* who serve to increase the *cultural catchment* of a given cultural item.

This suggests further that once an item becomes a cultural item, by virtue of the custom and symbolism imbued in it, beyond the mere acquisition of the product, properness in the utilisation (consumption) of the item (product) in question becomes an important factor, not least because such culture is socially constructed or ‘consecrated’ (Kuipers 2012, p583) and therefore effectively becomes a peremptory norm once settled. It is instructive, further, that in its 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines ‘cultural content’ as ‘the symbolic meaning, artistic dimension and cultural values that originate from or express cultural identities’.

As such, any given item will constitute what may be termed an item's 'hard content', which may be thought to relate to the bare functionalities of the product, and 'cultural content' as above. Thus, a product like Champagne sparkling wine will have the bare alcoholic content and the cultural content the product has cultivated over time. This illustration also suggests that a given item's cultural content, e.g. symbolism and beliefs about the product, may be more important than its hard content, in part due to the institutional, and therefore peremptory, aspects of cultural content.

Hence, for new products whose associated culture is yet to be socially cultivated, the unique position of cultural intermediaries uniquely affords them the ability to exert 'a certain amount of cultural authority as shapers of taste and the inculcators of new consumerist dispositions' (Nixon and du Gay 2002, p497). Kuipers (2012) for example finds that transnational television programmes buyers exert varying levels of their personal beliefs and opinions towards the social construction of cultural value. Indeed, Bourdieu himself seminally asserted that cultural intermediaries are responsible for the 'production of belief' (Bourdieu, 1984, see also Maguire and Mathews, 2010). Here, a different type of intermediation emerges where cultural intermediaries can be seen to actually commandeer the otherwise social undertaking of cultivating and stipulating the symbolic meaning, customs and beliefs, and the criteria for properness associated with a given item.

Beyond merely facilitating the proper consumption of mature cultural products by new consumers as do *objective acculturational intermediaries*, agents coming between an incipient cultural item and its consumers can be seen to draw from their subjective 'expertise' to commandeer the cultivation of the beliefs, symbolic meanings and cultural values parts of the cultural content of such an item; the artistic dimensions part of cultural content are of course ascribed to the items' artists. These intermediaries are therefore *subjective*

culturational intermediaries who primarily concern themselves with the *culturing* of incipient cultural items, i.e. cultivating the *cultural content* of given cultural items.

To be sure, the cultural content of an item necessarily involves *a people* and the item. As such, culturing a given item is tantamount to establishing and instituting a new culture which entails by definition the establishment of at least a progenitorial people associated with the new item as 'natives'. Culturational intermediaries are argued to exert their influence in this context of the institution of a new culture while acculturational intermediation concerns itself with new consumers of established cultural products.

Thus, literary critics serve to influence the received cultural fundamentals of new literary works whereas language teachers and interpreters merely extend the catchment of proper consumption of the respective cultural product *as is*. Advertising on the other hand may harness the power of mass media to both serve to *culture* a given item multitudinously whilst simultaneously acculturating new consumers; in effect, propagating subjective cultural values and valuations as norms.

Indeed, Bourdieu's (1984) highlighting of the importance of the mass media may have biased the concept leading to a conception of 'old' and 'new' intermediaries hinged on the relevance of mass media (Hesmondhalgh, 2006). Further, owing, in part, to Bourdieu's (1984) invocation of such controversial subjects as legitimacy, the commercialisation of subjective dispositions, consumerism, and a new economy, 'the actual work of cultural mediation rather disappeared from view in these grand discussions of new worldviews and class structures, while the notion of 'cultural intermediaries' became diluted to refer to a wide variety of people working in advanced services' (Kuipers, 2012, p584).

The usage of the concept has thus been expanded to include cocktail bartenders (Ocejo, 2012), 'long-haired company freaks' (Powers, 2012), artiste and repertoire managers (Zwaan and ter Bogt, 2009), acquisition editors (Childress, 2012), retailers of 'retro' (Baker,

2012), and other agents that facilitate the production and distribution of artistic products (Haynes, 2005; Kuipers, 2011; Scott, 2012; Strandvad, 2009; Woo, 2012).

Indeed, apart from intermediating various stages of cultural production, straddling between the economic and the socio-cultural has been employed to conceptualise cultural intermediaries. Thus, for example, Woo (2012) finds that 'alpha nerds' such as owner-managers of gaming shops and other retailers of products of interest to 'nerds and geeks' are authoritative sources of information and opinion to the gaming community. Thus, they are involved in the circulation 'not only of commodities, but also discourses about their meaning' (p660). Here, apart from their bare economic function of availing the commodity for consumption, the retailer of cultural products can here be seen to also facilitate the proper consumption of the cultural content inhering in the pertinent cultural item; acculturational intermediation.

Further, Baker (2012) finds that retro retailers are highly endowed with cultural capital in spite of the conventional association of small-scale retailing with unsophisticated lower classes. She argues therefore that 'rather than a growth in new intermediary positions, there has been a gradual change in the practices involved in existing roles' (p637). Ocejo (2012) also makes similar observations about cocktail bartenders who in their modern professionalised occupations with esoteric knowledge 'use their cultural knowledge' to serve the 'right' drink based on an analysis of the customers' tastes and also 'educate customers about certain products, ingredients and flavour combinations' (p645).

Yet, in line with the traditional understanding of bartending as a low-status manual job, the vast majority of bartending and service work in retailing does 'not use cultural knowledge of their products to mediate between production and consumption, neither do they directly engage in the presentation and representation of the goods that they sell' (Ocejo, 2012, p645). For such reasons, critics of the cultural intermediation debate cite such

conceptual complexities arguing that ‘the lack of a common ‘hymn sheet’ has necessarily led to some confusion’ (Maguire and Matthews, 2012, p552), including whether the present prodigious usage represents a ‘broadening of scope, or a misapplication of terminology’ (O’Brien, Wilson and Campbell, 2011).

However, our discussion above suggests that in spite of the fact that many agents will carry out multiple roles, it is possible to abstract the particular *function* of cultural intermediation beyond the ostensible designation of the agent in question, as for example, a mere bartender, games or retro retailer, etc. Here, one only needs but to establish whether as a consumption intermediary the pertinent agent serves to contribute to the cultivation of the cultural content of a given product (subjective culturational intermediation) or to facilitate the expansion of the cultural catchment of an already established cultural item (objective acculturational intermediation).

Still, as Hesmondhalgh (2006) laments, modern conceptualisations of cultural intermediaries include the professionals in the artistic industry who play a content-adding role in the production of such cultural products. He contends that this is a misreading of Bourdieu (1984) since ‘in Bourdieu’s sense of the term, it is critics that act as cultural intermediaries in the recording industry’ (p226). Yet, taking the cultural content-adding approach and espousing the UNESCO definition of what constitutes cultural content, it is clear that while critics may play a key role as consumption intermediaries in shaping the symbolic meaning attached to a product for example, it is not implausible that all other the actors along the chain of production and distribution of artistic products, especially the originators, also play a crucial role in framing the cultural content of a given product.

As such, that cultural intermediaries include ‘any creative or cultural occupation or institution’, and therefore that ‘we are all cultural intermediaries now’ is ‘not entirely unwarranted’ (Maguire and Matthews, 2012, p552). Rather, one may argue that an interest in

the *function* carried out by the various agents along the value chain, rather than the agents *per se*, may help towards a typology of cultural intermediation. This may maintain conceptual clarity thereby allowing empirical inquiry to even accommodate the changing roles within traditionally understood occupations such as retailing (Baker, 2012; Ocejo, 2012; Woo, 2012).

3. Unwrapping cultural intermediation: A value chain approach

In all the empirical applications cited above, cultural intermediaries appear to facilitate or engage in the production, distribution and/or consumption of cultural products (which includes material cultural goods and services, as well as customs, behaviours and other cultural manifestations). In the preceding section, we also identified two perspectives to understanding cultural intermediation: the *cultural catchment* perspective and the *cultural content* perspective. The former views intermediaries simply as acculturational agents who help broaden the catchment of a given cultural item by facilitating the proper consumption or utilisation of the item's cultural content.

The latter approach however allows a more elaborate process of content-adding. Here, whilst one submits that consumption intermediaries may exert much power with respect to the cultural content of a given product owing to their proximity to consumers who ultimately institutionalise the item, other agents involved in the production and distribution of the product may also play important cultural content addition roles. Accordingly, we find it helpful to adopt a value-chain approach to generate different types of cultural intermediation and cultural intermediaries.

Indeed, it would appear that the value-chain approach is increasing gaining the favour of researchers in this area. An early advocate was Hartley (2004) who observes that, though 'banal' in business rhetoric, the value-chain approach may be useful in cultural

studies as well. Maguire and Matthews (2012, p552) also suggest that cultural intermediaries may be 'differentiated by their locations within commodity chains, and the actors and stages of cultural production that they negotiate with and between'. In his concentric circles model of the cultural industries Throsby (2008) also invokes a value-chain approach but adds that rather than tracing an idea 'from its origins through a value-adding process of production, distribution, and marketing to final consumption, in the concentric circles model, downstream functions such as distribution are represented as distinct industries in their own right, incorporating original creative ideas produced in the core into their production processes as intermediate inputs' (p150-1).

Here, it is clear that it is a dynamic value-chain model that provides the basis for static categorisation of the industries. This approach is also employed by The Work Foundation in their attempt to articulate the differences and relationships between 'core creative fields', cultural industries, creative industries and the rest of the economy (Reid, Albert and Hopkins, 2010). The supply chain framework is also adopted by Frontier Economics (2007) in the disaggregated definition of Creative Industries developed for UK's Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS).

Further, as Jeffcutt (2000, p126) observes, cultural and creative activities entail a 'convergence of formerly more discrete arenas of social-economic activity and understanding'. Thus, 'a core process is the management of creativity and innovation in complex knowledge flows; a cycle from the generation of original ideas to their realisation and consumption, (whether as performances, products or services)' (p124). This suggests that because of the relational complexity, and the 'soft' nature of the pertinent products' content, intermediation amongst the various involved parties is key. In fact, the concerted nature of the production, consumption and institutionalisation of cultural products necessarily makes

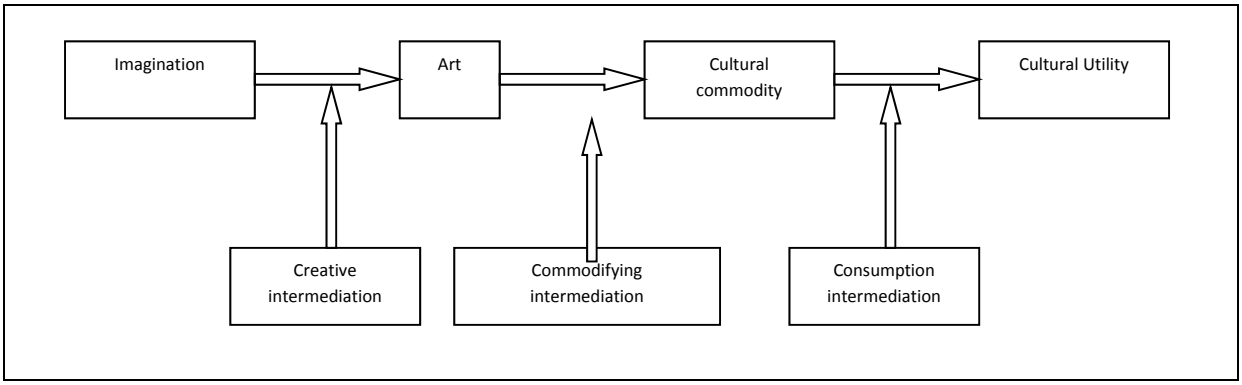
every involved party an intermediary of some form. As such, cultural intermediaries may be reliably discerned by their position on the value-chain (Maguire and Matthews 2012).

Usually, value-chains are employed to link producers and consumers. Thus, the chain starts with the producer and ends when the product reaches the consumer. However, as argued above, we suggest that the proper obtainment of cultural utility becomes an important consideration beyond the mere acquisition of the item. Thus, the cultural value-chain ends in earnest, not merely when the consumer acquires the product but when they properly consume the cultural content inhered in the product in question. Recall, further, that in the UNESCO definition espoused above, creativity and artistic dimensions make an integral part of cultural content.

Thus, one may conceptualise a cultural value-chain that commences with imagination and ends with utility. In turn, it is possible to install two nodes along this cultural value-chain where distinguishing features of (intermediate) outputs and the respective processes may be posited as represented in Figure 1 below. This produces three analytic categories as follows:

Firstly, creativity and imagination are the origins of any cultural product or any art form and as such they are to be appreciated separately from more systematised production. The translation of imaginative and artistic conceptions into objectified art forms necessitates *creative intermediation* which enables the form of art to be produced as a prototype or as a unique piece of art. In turn, commodifying the arts generates cultural commodities (goods or services) which may be acquired by consumers. This is enabled by *commodifying intermediation.* A commodity is here defined as a product available for exchange or acquisition by a (potential) consumer or user and is not necessarily limited to standardised mass-produced fungible goods although the connotation of that possibility is upheld.

Figure 1: A cultural value-chain and the intermediation process



Finally, to complete the cultural value chain, the commodity must be consumed. For cultural products, however, the obtainment of cultural utility and also how to properly consume the product in question is a crucial consideration as it is such that consummates the cultural production process. Hence, the role that *consumption intermediation* plays is also distinctly important as discussed in Section 2.

Normally, commodification entails the (mass) production and distribution of the product including retailing – the point at which the consumer obtains the commodity. One maintains, however, that insofar as there is an exchange of the cultural product towards consumption and utility, there is a commodity that derives from an art that itself originates from imagination. As such, the four points in our suggested cultural value-chain and the corresponding processes should apply generally as virtually all cultural items, products and services materialise through some form of exchange. Whilst this is readily perceptible when considering modern commercial products, one maintains that the same process should generally apply for cultural items that are not overtly commercial, such as a language.

Still, varying by the type of product or cultural item, this chain may be highly compressed or elaborately extended. Thus, live stand-up comedy, for example, may entail all four nodes on the cultural value-chain instantly. Further, while the processes of creation

(origination), commodification and consumption are integral to cultural production and consumption, the respective intermediaries are not.

Thus, in the live stand-up comedy example, whilst consumption will take place, at the live consumption instance, consumption intermediaries may not be present. As such, in the cultural catchment perspective, there may not be interpreters or translators for visiting consumers slow to get the local sarcasm, for example. Thus, their consumption of this cultural product will not be proper or optimal. Similarly, employing the cultural content perspective, the absence of critics as consumption intermediaries in the live comedy show to supplement (or supplant) the cultural content before it is consumed means that some cultural content (such as interpretive meanings of the performer's act) that could have been added to the product before it is consumed will be missing. It is appreciable, therefore, that the different types of cultural intermediation will different, but palpable, cultural effects.

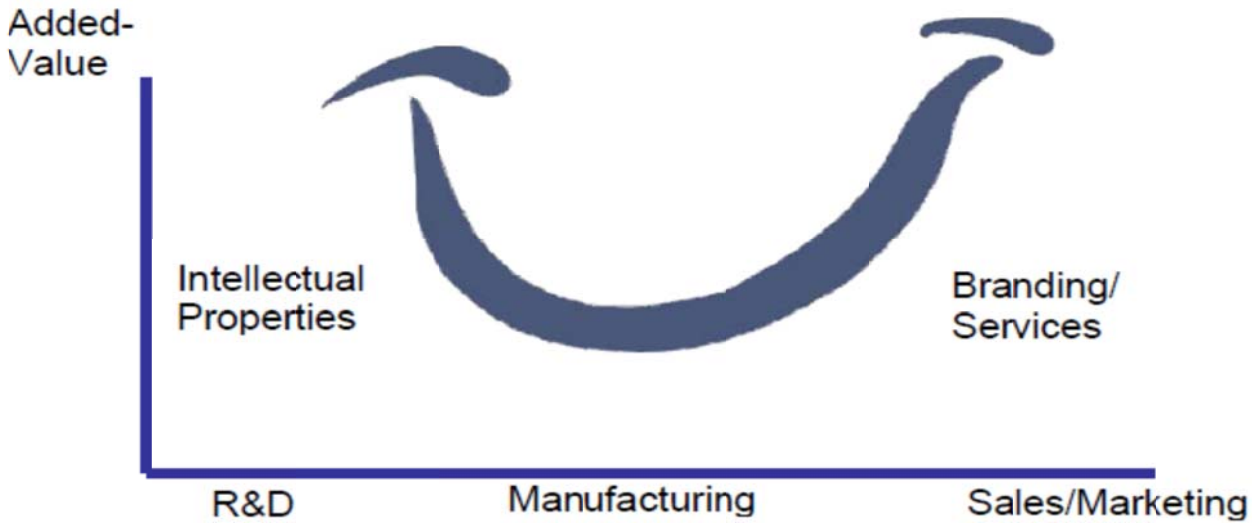
4. Impacts of cultural intermediation

The question of value-addition is one of the most fundamental issues in the value-chain analysis in business and economics. The prevailing view in this research is aptly illustrated by the so-called 'smiling curve' (Figure 2) developed by Stan Shih, the founder of Acer Computers, prior to his successful efforts at leading Acer from a contract manufacturer for IBM and Compaq to having its own globally competitive and highly innovative brand that focuses on high value-added activities (Shih, 2005; Bartlett and Ghoshal, 2000).

Espousing both the UNESCO definition of cultural content as the symbolic meaning, artistic dimension and cultural values, and the value chain approach to understanding cultural intermediation, cultural content addition may be argued to assume a u-shaped curve similar to economic value-addition (Figure 3). Thus, intermediation at the creative stage produces and

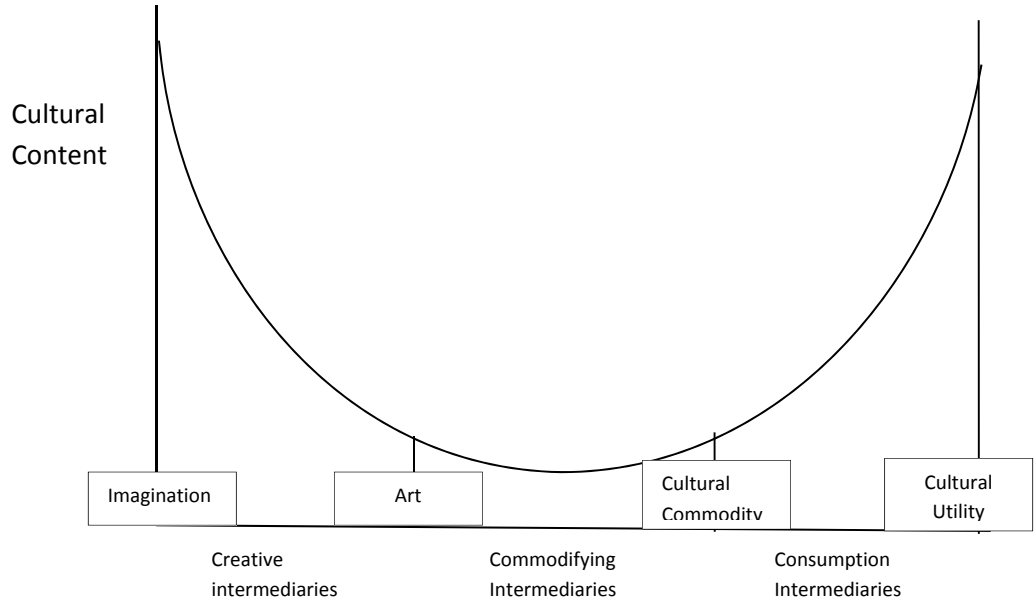
proffers much of the artistic cultural content with commodification merely serving to make the work of art thereof (broadly) available to consumers. Commodifying intermediaries do not therefore add much in terms of the artistic dimensions of the product or the symbolic meanings and cultural values attached to the product. The later content is added by consumers and consumption intermediaries who ultimately even institute a valuation of the artistic content proffered by the creatives at inception.

Figure 2: Stan Shih's smiling curve



(Source: Shih, 2005)

Figure 3: Cultural content addition curve



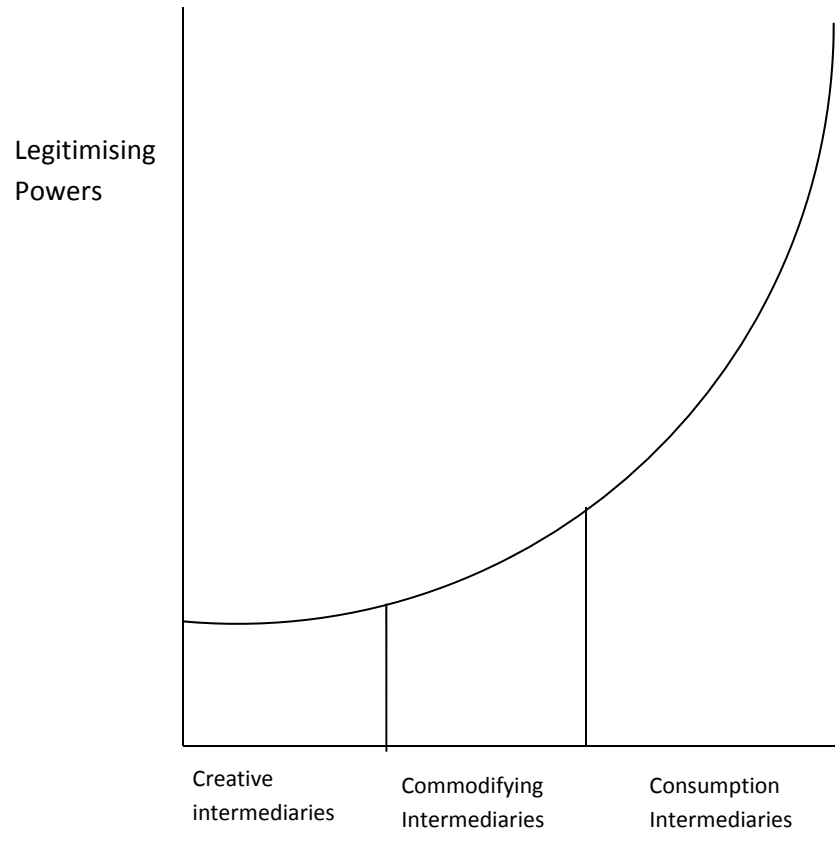
As alluded to above, the question of legitimacy is a crucial one with cultural products. While all intermediaries will in one way or another be involved in framing the legitimacy of the cultural products (i.e. influencing how products are perceived and practised), the cultural field, occupation, and position on the chain determines the level of impact an intermediary will have (Maguire and Matthews 2012). However, to the extent that cultural value is always socially constructed and consecrated (Kuipers 2012), then the legitimising powers of the various intermediaries progressively increase with proximity to the end consumers, the people.

Thus, *creative intermediaries* merely proffer an incipient cultural product for consumption and legitimisation by consumers. In determining what is made available for consumption based on their own value judgements, *commodifying intermediaries* can also be seen to have considerable legitimising and gate-keeping scope. It is however *consumption intermediaries* who wield the most legitimising power as they are able to influence the received perceptions, beliefs, associations and use of the respective cultural products

(Kuipers 2012; Nixon and du Gay 2002). It is no wonder then that advertising, PR, critical evaluations and other product reviews, and word-of-mouth communications amongst consumers are taken very seriously (in business) due to their scope in shaping the tastes and 'beliefs' associated with a given product or event.

Given the immensity of the legitimising powers held by consumption intermediaries, it is possible to see why most firms in today's dynamic economic world of global value-chains aim to keep control of the high value-added creative (innovation) activities as well as advertising and strategic communications. One may argue that in addition to seeking to accrue the benefits developing and patenting the 'hard' functionalities of an innovation, interest may also be in controlling both the formative artistic cultural content as well as the cultivation and legitimisation of favourable 'beliefs' about the product in society.

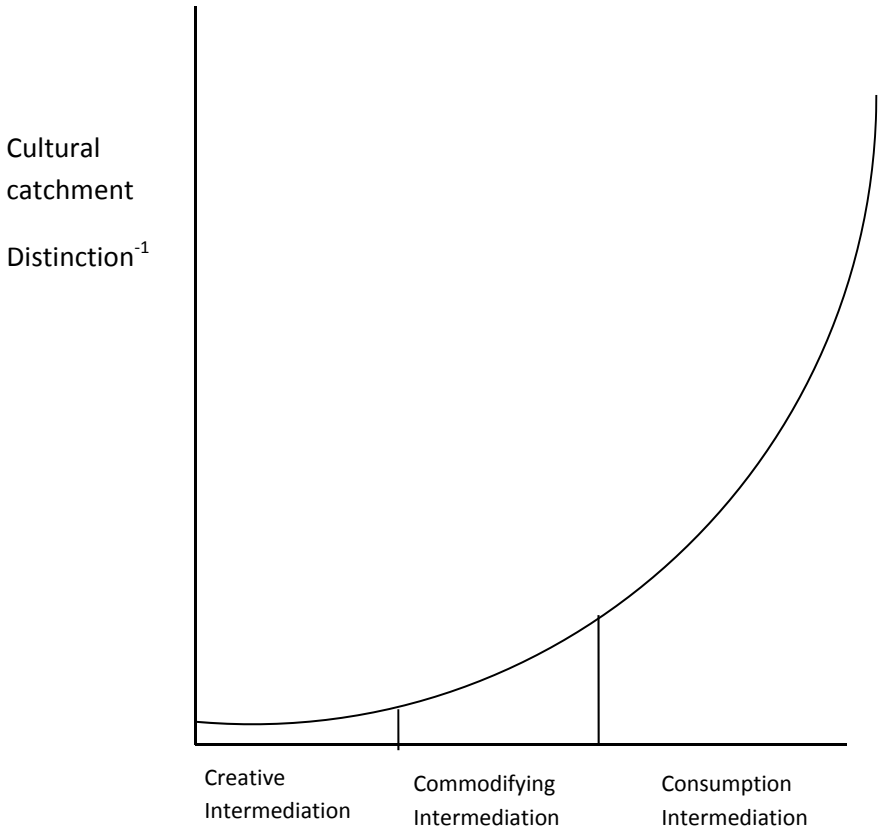
Figure 4: Cultural intermediaries and legitimising powers



Of course, given that culture is ultimately socially constructed and consecrated, the legitimising power of consumption intermediaries diminishes with time as the community of consumers of the respective cultural item assume their collective responsibilities. In turn, more objective value assessments and broader conventions will establish and the subjective power of the intermediary is eliminated. It may well be the case, however, that the subjective views of consumption intermediaries are institutionalised, and therefore objectified, in society which still eliminates the intermediary nonetheless.

Thenceforth, a customary production-consumption routine with respect to the item in question will ensue. Any new intermediation with respect to that cultural product will now be limited to merely enlarging the item's cultural catchment. Thus, commodifying intermediation will broaden the access to the product while consumption intermediation will ensure that the cultural product is consumed properly. For example, a naïve villager in a remote country may be able to purchase a bottle of champagne from a city supermarket but not know that champagne is culturally consumed during a celebration. For such a mature cultural product, therefore, increasing the number of consumption intermediaries or the level of consumption intermediation to cover the naïve countryman thereby enhances acculturation which increases the cultural catchment, i.e. extent of aptly cultured consumers, of the cultural product in question. The result of this is that the Bourdieusian distinction, with respect to the consumption of such a cultural product, is blurred.

Figure 5: Impact of cultural intermediation on cultural catchment and distinction



Consider, further, a situation where more than one cultural product is involved. Here, to start with, we have cultural multiplicity, i.e. a variety of cultural products. These maybe new creations enhanced by creative intermediation, and therefore incipient cultural products, or mature imports from other cultures made available through commodifying intermediation perhaps. Within the context of cultural multiplicity, should each of the respective cultural items have their cultural catchments expanded as posited above, what emerges is a scenario one might term *cultural plenitude* - a profusion of cultural products all with broad cultural catchments. In other words, multiculturalism without distinction or a multicultural people as opposed to multicultural places.

From this perspective, connecting communities entails the mutual extension of each other's cultural catchments by complementing commodifying intermediation with

consumption intermediation thereby creating overlapping layers of culture which effectively increases both the cultural breadth and depth of both the parts and the whole. These intermediation dynamics can be seen to avert the emergence of 'tribes' or cultural enclaves of like minded people (see for example, Kuipers, 2012). In addition, increases in creative intermediation proffer new cultural products, thereby enhancing cultural multiplicity, with commodifying and consumption intermediation in turn first consummating the item's cultural content before facilitating the expansion of the item's cultural catchment.

The argument put forward in the foregoing appears to also corroborate historical analyses of cultural dynamics employing the value-chain approach (Hartley, 2004). In the medieval times when literacy was 'hear only', the clergy can be seen to have made quite powerful consumption intermediaries as the few experts facilitating the consumption of theology. Moreover, there were few authorial works and low commodification of the text which meant that this 'hear only' intermediation only happened in churches or theatres (Hartley, 2004). This suggests that there would have been a low cultural catchment and high distinction.

This situation would change in the modern times (the period coinciding with popular sovereignty, industrialisation, the Enlightenment) (Hartley, 2004). A synoptic description of the goings-on in this epoch might be 'commodification'. With expansion of education to the masses, and therefore enhanced literacy, albeit 'read only' literacy (Hartley, 2004), even assistance with consumption could be commodified through the use of mass media to communicate to consumers. Such communication was of the 'to convince' nature and was therefore one-way. For instance, 'the modern citizen had to be able to read the newspapers, but not write for them' (Hartley, 2004, p136).

In this context, while massive commodification, including the massive commodification of the consumption intermediation,[1] will have increased cultural catchment and greatly diminished socio-cultural distinction, there would yet be a dearth of cultural products available for consumption attributable to the paucity of creative intermediaries. In the new economy, however, Hartley (2004) observes that 'the popular audience is achieving a 'read and write' capacity' (p136) and the 'mode of address' has changed to 'conversation'. The implication here is that the conversation not only allows individuals from different communities to connect, but also enables the generation of new cultural inputs that are in turn shared, thereby enhancing cultural plenitude.

The analytic categories of cultural intermediation advanced herein can thus be offered as a useful tool in unpacking complex cultural processes. Indeed, even as agents in the complex cultural economy carry out different functions as subtle multi-taskers (for example, Baker, 2012; Woo, 2012; Ocejo, 2012), one maintains that analytically, the posited functions and effects of the suggested cultural intermediation categories should robustly hold. In what follows, we adopt these analytic categories in an attempt to map the cultural intermediation economy in England.

5. Mapping cultural intermediaries

The literature that overtly employs the term 'cultural intermediaries' yields a variety of agents and professions.[2] These professions and their respective Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes are summarised in Table 1 below.

[1] The well known Calvinist marginal notes in the Geneva Bible make an excellent illustration of this.
[2] A search of the keywords 'cultural intermediary', 'cultural intermediaries' and 'cultural intermediation' on the 'Web of Knowledge' research service returned about 80 relevant articles.

Table 1: Cultural Intermediaries in the literature

SIC 2003	Description
22110	Book publishing
22150	Other publishing (e.g. photos, posters, reproduction of works of art)
52470	Retail sale of books, newspapers and stationery
52486	Retail sale in commercial art galleries
52630	Other non-store retail sale (e.g. by door-to-door sales persons, activities of retail auction houses)
63303	Activities of tour guides
63309	Other tourist assistance activities not elsewhere classified
72220	Other software consultancy and supply
72400	Database activities
74113	Solicitors
74141	Public relations activities
74149	Business and management consultancy activities not elsewhere classified
74402	Planning, creation and placement of advertising activities
74850	Secretarial and translation activities
74872	Speciality design activities
74879	Other business activities (e.g. business brokerage activities, consultants other than technical/engineering)
75230	Justice and judicial activities
80429	Other adult and other education not elsewhere classified
85321	Charitable social work activities without accommodation
91120	Activities of professional organisations
92111	Motion picture production on film or video
92119	Other motion picture and video production activities
92202	Television activities
92311	Live theatrical presentations
92319	Other artistic and literary creation and interpretation
92320	Operation of arts facilities
92341	Dance halls and dance instructor activities
92400	News agency activities
92629	Other sporting activities not elsewhere classified
93040	Physical well-being activities
93059	Other service activities not elsewhere classified
99000	Extra-territorial organisations and bodies

As discussed in Section 2, without an accepted definition or a systematic typology of cultural intermediaries, whilst the case study based nature of much of cultural intermediaries' literature identifies some form of cultural intermediation, the selection of the intermediaries or intermediation empirically observed is rather *ad hoc* and discretionary. Further, the list of sectors that emerges from the cultural intermediaries literature is clearly non exhaustive.

In the conceptualisation advanced in this paper, cultural intermediaries are argued to pervade the creative and cultural economy with a functional categorisation determining the

particular type of cultural intermediation they may be argued to carry out. Thus, the starting point must be a definition of the entirety of the creative and cultural economy, i.e. industries whose products have overt cultural content. To construct this, the constituent sectors of the creative and cultural industries in the UK, as itemised by the DCMS (2001, 2011), Frontier Economics (2007) and the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), are aggregated (see Appendices 1 to 4). Since the DCMS and Frontier Economics sector lists are in SIC 2003, the construction is first done in SIC 2003.

In order to use the most recent data available and also capture the target sectors more precisely,[3] the aggregated list is then converted to SIC 2007 using the best fit correlation table between SIC 2003 and SIC 2007 provided by the UK Office for National Statistics (ONS) with further eyeballing applied to ensure only the relevant sectors are captured.[4] The typology proposed in Figure 1 is then applied to define the three types of cultural intermediaries. The resulting empirical definitions of the three types of cultural intermediaries are represented in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Empirical definitions of cultural intermediaries

SIC 2007 Code	SIC 2007 Description	Type of Cultural Intermediation
58210	Publishing of computer games	Creative
58290	Other software publishing	Creative
59111	Motion picture production activities	Creative
59112	Video production activities	Creative
59113	Television programme production activities	Creative
59120	Motion picture, video and television programme post-production activities	Creative
59200	Sound recording and music publishing activities	Creative
62011	Ready-made interactive leisure and entertainment software development	Creative
62012	Business and domestic software development	Creative
71111	Architectural activities	Creative

[3] As will be noted in Appendices 1 – 3, many distinct sectors shared the same code in the 2003 SIC classifications. This was ameliorated in the SIC 2007 codes.

[4] http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/classifications/current-standard-classifications/standard-industrial-classification/correlation-between-uk-sic-2003-and-2007.xls

71112	Urban planning and landscape architectural activities	Creative
71121	Engineering design activities for industrial process and production	Creative
71122	Engineering related scientific and technical consulting activities	Creative
71129	Other engineering activities	Creative
72110	Research and experimental development on biotechnology	Creative
72190	Other research and experimental development on natural sciences and engineering	Creative
72200	Research and experimental development on social sciences and humanities	Creative
74100	specialised design activities	Creative
74201	Portrait photographic activities	Creative
74202	Other specialist photography (not including portrait photography)	Creative
74209	Photographic activities not elsewhere classified	Creative
90010	Performing arts	Creative
90020	Support activities to performing arts	Creative
90030	Artistic creation	Creative
13100	Preparation and spinning of textile fibres	Commodifying
13200	Weaving of textiles	Commodifying
13300	Finishing of textiles	Commodifying
13910	Manufacture of knitted and crocheted fabrics	Commodifying
13931	Manufacture of woven or tufted carpets and rugs	Commodifying
13939	Manufacture of other carpets and rugs	Commodifying
13950	Manufacture of non-wovens and articles made from non-wovens, except apparel	Commodifying
13960	Manufacture of other technical and industrial textiles	Commodifying
13990	Manufacture of other textiles n.e.c.	Commodifying
14110	Manufacture of leather clothes	Commodifying
14120	Manufacture of workwear	Commodifying
14131	Manufacture of other men's outerwear	Commodifying
14132	Manufacture of other women's outerwear	Commodifying
14141	Manufacture of men's underwear	Commodifying
14142	Manufacture of women's underwear	Commodifying
14190	Manufacture of other wearing apparel and accessories n.e.c.	Commodifying
14200	Manufacture of articles of fur	Commodifying
14310	Manufacture of knitted and crocheted hosiery	Commodifying
14390	Manufacture of other knitted and crocheted apparel	Commodifying
15110	Tanning and dressing of leather; dressing and dyeing of fur	Commodifying
15120	Manufacture of luggage, handbags and the like, saddlery and harness	Commodifying
15200	Manufacture of footwear	Commodifying
16290	Manufacture of other products of wood; manufacture of articles of cork/ straw/plaiting materials	Commodifying
17110	Manufacture of pulp	Commodifying
17120	Manufacture of paper and paperboard	Commodifying
17220	Manufacture of household and sanitary goods and of toilet requisites	Commodifying
17230	Manufacture of paper stationery	Commodifying
17290	Manufacture of other articles of paper and paperboard n.e.c.	Commodifying
18110	Printing of newspapers	Commodifying
18129	Printing n.e.c.	Commodifying
18130	Pre-press and pre-media services	Commodifying
18140	Binding and related services	Commodifying
18201	Reproduction of sound recording	Commodifying

18202	Reproduction of video recording	Commodifying
18203	Reproduction of computer media	Commodifying
20302	Manufacture of printing ink	Commodifying
20510	Manufacture of explosives	Commodifying
20590	Manufacture of other chemical products n.e.c.	Commodifying
22190	Manufacture of other rubber products	Commodifying
22230	Manufacture of builders' ware of plastic	Commodifying
22290	Manufacture of other plastic products	Commodifying
23310	Manufacture of ceramic tiles and flags	Commodifying
23410	Manufacture of ceramic household and ornamental articles	Commodifying
23490	Manufacture of other ceramic products n.e.c.	Commodifying
23700	Cutting, shaping and finishing of stone	Commodifying
23990	Manufacture of other non-metallic mineral products n.e.c.	Commodifying
24410	Precious metals production	Commodifying
24540	Casting of other non-ferrous metals	Commodifying
25710	Manufacture of cutlery	Commodifying
25720	Manufacture of locks and hinges	Commodifying
25990	Manufacture of other fabricated metal products n.e.c.	Commodifying
26110	Manufacture of electronic components	Commodifying
26200	Manufacture of computers and peripheral equipment	Commodifying
26301	Manufacture of telegraph and telephone apparatus and equipment	Commodifying
26309	Manufacture of communication equipment other than telegraph, and telephone apparatus & equipment	Commodifying
26400	Manufacture of consumer electronics	Commodifying
26520	Manufacture of watches and clocks	Commodifying
26702	Manufacture of photographic and cinematographic equipment	Commodifying
26800	Manufacture of magnetic and optical media	Commodifying
28230	Manufacture of office machinery and equipment (except computers and peripheral equipment)	Commodifying
28990	Manufacture of other special-purpose machinery n.e.c.	Commodifying
30920	Manufacture of bicycles and invalid carriages	Commodifying
32120	Manufacture of jewellery and related articles	Commodifying
32130	Manufacture of imitation jewellery and related articles	Commodifying
32200	Manufacture of musical instruments	Commodifying
32401	Manufacture of professional and arcade games and toys	Commodifying
32409	Manufacture of other games and toys, n.e.c.	Commodifying
32990	Other manufacturing n.e.c.	Commodifying
33110	Repair of fabricated metal products	Commodifying
33130	Repair of electronic and optical equipment	Commodifying
33190	Repair of other equipment	Commodifying
33200	Installation of industrial machinery and equipment	Commodifying
41100	Development of building projects	Commodifying
41201	Construction of commercial buildings	Commodifying
41202	Construction of domestic buildings	Commodifying
42110	Construction of roads and motorways	Commodifying
42120	Construction of railways and underground railways	Commodifying
42130	Construction of bridges and tunnels	Commodifying
42210	Construction of utility projects for fluids	Commodifying
42220	Construction of utility projects for electricity and telecommunications	Commodifying
42910	Construction of water projects	Commodifying
42990	Construction of other civil engineering projects n.e.c.	Commodifying
43210	Electrical installation	Commodifying

43220	Plumbing, heat and air-conditioning installation	Commodifying
43290	Other construction installation	Commodifying
43310	Plastering	Commodifying
43320	Joinery installation	Commodifying
43330	Floor and wall covering	Commodifying
43341	Painting	Commodifying
43342	Glazing	Commodifying
43390	Other building completion and finishing	Commodifying
43910	Roofing activities	Commodifying
43991	Scaffold erection	Commodifying
43999	Other specialised construction activities n.e.c.	Commodifying
46130	Agents involved in the sale of timber and building materials	Commodifying
46160	Agents involved in the sale of textiles, clothing, fur, footwear and leather goods	Commodifying
46240	Wholesale of hides, skins and leather	Commodifying
46410	Wholesale of textiles	Commodifying
46420	Wholesale of clothing and footwear	Commodifying
46431	Wholesale of gramophone records, audio tapes, compact discs, video tapes	Commodifying
46439	Wholesale of radios and televisions; wholesale of electrical household appliances n.e.c.	Commodifying
46440	Wholesale of china and glassware and cleaning materials	Commodifying
46470	Wholesale of furniture, carpets and lighting equipment	Commodifying
46480	Wholesale of watches and jewellery	Commodifying
46491	Wholesale of musical instruments	Commodifying
46499	Wholesale of other household goods	Commodifying
46510	Wholesale of computers, computer peripheral equipment and software	Commodifying
46520	Wholesale of electronic and telecommunications equipment and parts	Commodifying
46730	Wholesale of wood, construction materials and sanitary equipment	Commodifying
46740	Wholesale of hardware, plumbing and heating equipment and supplies	Commodifying
47110	Retail sale in non-specialised stores with food, beverages or tobacco predominating	Commodifying
47410	Retail sale of computers, peripheral units and software in specialised stores	Commodifying
47421	Retail sale of mobile telephones	Commodifying
47429	Retail sale of telecommunications equipment other than mobile telephones	Commodifying
47430	Retail sale of audio and video equipment in specialised stores	Commodifying
47530	Retail sale of carpets, rugs, wall and floor coverings in specialised stores	Commodifying
47540	Retail sale of electrical household appliances in specialised stores	Commodifying
47591	Retail sale of musical instruments and scores	Commodifying
47599	Retail sale of furniture, lighting equipment and household articles (not incl. musical instruments)	Commodifying
47610	Retail sale of books in specialised stores	Commodifying
47620	Retail sale of newspapers and stationery in specialised stores	Commodifying
47630	Retail sale of music and video recordings in specialised stores	Commodifying
47640	Retail sale of sports goods, fishing gear, camping goods, boats and bicycles	Commodifying
47650	Retail sale of games and toys in specialised stores	Commodifying

47710	Retail sale of clothing in specialised stores	Commodifying
47721	Retail sale of footwear in specialised stores	Commodifying
47760	Retail sale of flowers, plants, seeds, fertilizers, pet animals and pet food in specialised stores	Commodifying
47770	Retail sale of watches and jewellery in specialised stores	Commodifying
47781	Retail sale in commercial art galleries	Commodifying
47782	Retail sale by opticians	Commodifying
47789	Other retail sale of new goods in specialised stores (not incl. commercial art galleries and opticians)	Commodifying
47791	Retail sale of antiques, including antique books, in stores	Commodifying
47799	Retail sale of other second-hand goods in stores (not incl. antiques)	Commodifying
47910	Retail sale via mail order houses or via Internet	Commodifying
47990	Other retail sale not in stores, stalls or markets	Commodifying
58110	Book publishing	Commodifying
58120	Publishing of directories and mailing lists	Commodifying
58130	Publishing of newspapers	Commodifying
58141	Publishing of learned journals	Commodifying
58142	Publishing of consumer and business journals and periodicals	Commodifying
58190	Other publishing activities	Commodifying
59131	Motion picture distribution activities	Commodifying
59132	Video distribution activities	Commodifying
59133	Television programme distribution activities	Commodifying
59140	Motion picture projection activities	Commodifying
61100	Wired telecommunications activities	Commodifying
61200	Wireless telecommunications activities	Commodifying
61300	Satellite telecommunications activities	Commodifying
61900	Other telecommunications activities	Commodifying
62020	Information technology consultancy activities	Commodifying
62090	Other information technology service activities	Commodifying
63110	Data processing, hosting and related activities	Commodifying
63120	Web portals	Commodifying
63910	News agency activities	Commodifying
63990	Other information service activities n.e.c.	Commodifying
64203	Activities of construction holding companies	Commodifying
70100	Activities of head offices	Commodifying
73120	Media representation services	Commodifying
74203	Film processing	Commodifying
78101	Motion picture, television and other theatrical casting activities	Commodifying
80200	Security systems service activities	Commodifying
90040	Operation of arts facilities	Commodifying
95120	Repair of communication equipment	Commodifying
95290	Repair of personal and household goods n.e.c.	Commodifying
60100	Radio broadcasting	Consumption
60200	Television programming and broadcasting activities	Consumption
70210	Public relations and communications activities	Consumption
73110	Advertising agencies	Consumption
74300	Translation and interpretation activities	Consumption
79901	Activities of tourist guides	Consumption
79909	Other reservation service activities n.e.c.	Consumption
85510	Sports and recreation education	Consumption
85520	Cultural education	Consumption
91011	Library activities	Consumption
91012	Archives activities	Consumption

91020	Museums activities	Consumption
91030	Operation of historical sites and buildings and similar visitor attractions	Consumption
91040	Botanical and zoological gardens and nature reserves activities	Consumption
93210	Activities of amusement parks and theme parks	Consumption
93290	Other amusement and recreation activities n.e.c.	Consumption

Towards generating a geography of creative and consumption intermediaries in the United Kingdom, using the 2011 data from the business register and employment survey, firm level employment data was gathered at the middle layer Super Output Areas (MSOA) level in England. Without a readily applicable weighting criterion, it is assumed for simplicity that all employees in the pertinent industries are intermediaries in the respective categories. It is recognised, however, that this is not strictly the case since, for example, accountants and administrative staff in advertising agencies may not carry out advertising-related tasks *per se*.

Further, of the three types of cultural intermediaries, the analysis that follows only considered creative intermediaries and cultural intermediaries. There are two reasons, conceptual and empirical, why commodifying intermediaries are left out. Firstly, in light of the discussion in Sections 2, 3 and 4, the cultural impact of commodifying intermediaries (in terms of cultural content addition, legitimising powers, and cultural catchment and distinction) is minimal, especially compared to that of consumption intermediaries. Secondly, empirically, given the rather uniform ubiquity of commodifying industries across the country, e.g. retail sale of clothing, the fact that commodification jobs may on the whole have only a minor cultural dimension, and again the difficulty of allocating employees in the same industry into the different analytic categories, no meaningful results with respect to mapping cultural intermediation would be expected from the commodifying intermediaries category.

To obtain the number of creative or consumption intermediaries in each locality (the SOAs), we aggregate the employment figures of the various sectors that constitute the

respective intermediary category as per Table 2 above. Location Quotients (LQs) are then computed for each MSOA by comparing the share of the pertinent jobs in a given locality against the national share of the respective jobs. LQs therefore indicate the density of the respective intermediation jobs in the local economy compared to the density of the same at the national level. As such, LQs below one indicate that the share of the pertinent jobs in a given locality is equal to or lower than the share of the same jobs at the national level. For LQs above one, the higher the LQ, the higher the share of the respective intermediaries in a given locality relative to that observed at the national as a whole, indicating therefore the significance of the pertinent jobs in the local economy compared to the nation as a whole. Figures 6-21 present the findings.

As Figure 4 shows, the density of consumption intermediaries in Super Output Areas in England is dotted fairly evenly across the map. Although analogous to irregular 'leopard spots', there is no obvious regional imbalance in the country. Indeed, less than 10% of English MSOAs report an LQ that is higher than 2 (only 2.3% of SOAs have an LQ of higher than 5). Still, 14% of MSOAs do not have a single consumption intermediary in their area. In fact, even with localities that have extremely high densities of consumption intermediaries, highly concentrated representations in rather disparate consumption intermediation activities is found. For example, in the MSOA with the highest consumption intermediaries LQ, a locality in Staffordshire Moorlands, 62% of local employment is attributable to just one sector in the consumption intermediation category, namely activities of amusement parks and theme parks. A locality in Hounslow is second in consumption intermediaries LQ, with almost half its workforce working in television programming and broadcasting, while a Surrey locale, at third, has advertising activities accounting for 48% of local employment.

Figure 6: Consumption cultural intermediaries in England by Location Quotient

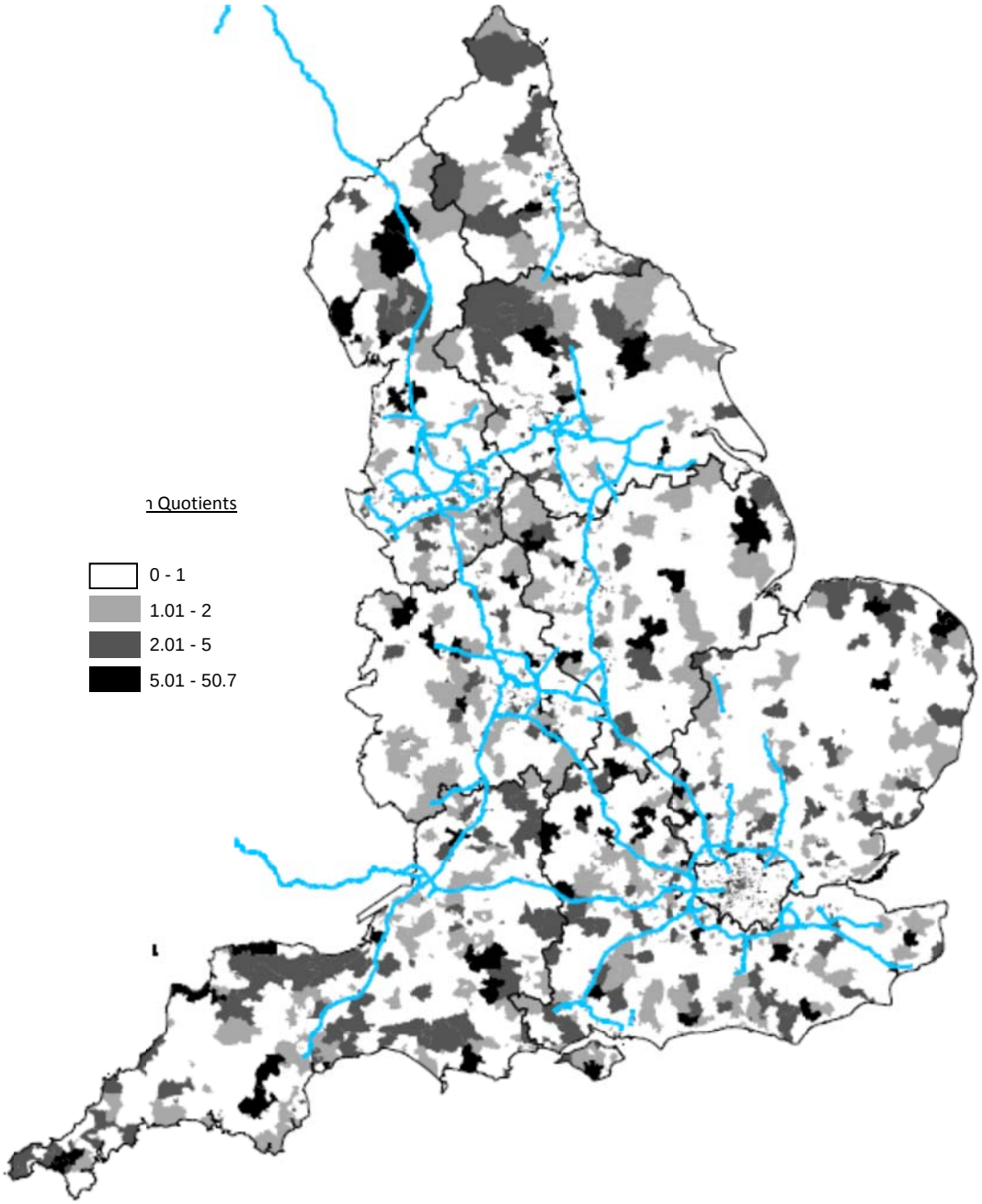


Figure 7: Consumption cultural intermediaries in London

Figure 8: Consumption cultural intermediaries in Birmingham

Figure 9: Consumption cultural intermediaries in Manchester

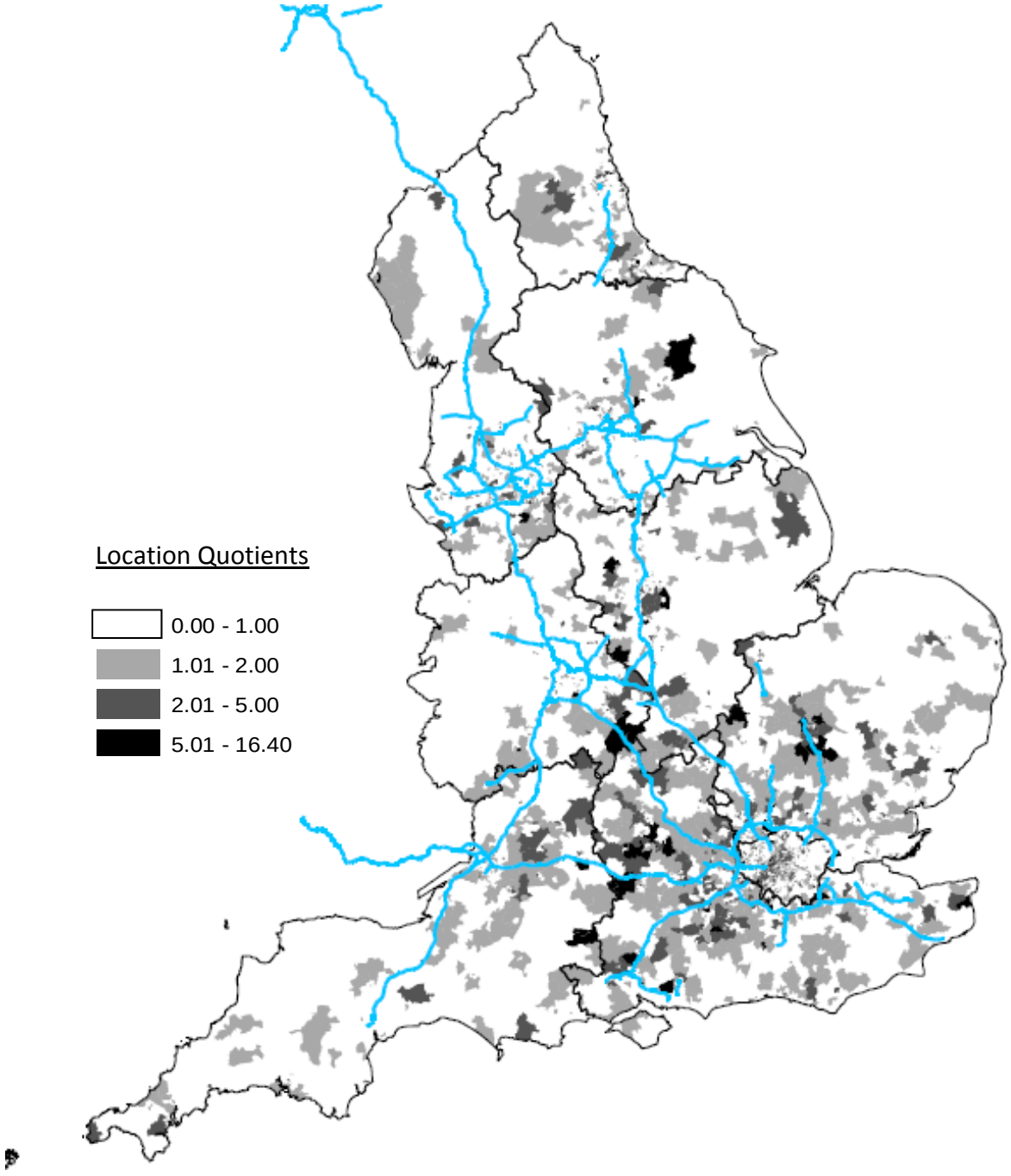
As expected, London shows several dark spots suggesting high densities of consumption intermediaries relative to England as a whole. Television broadcasting around Brent, Hammersmith and Fulham adds to the heavy presence of the same in nearby Hounslow, while radio, public relations and museums pervade the Westminster area. There is also substantial advertising activity in several localities in London and key national landmarks, such as the national archives in Richmond and the British Library at St. Pancreas also emerge on the map.

Around Birmingham, the leading locale appears to be near Cannon Hill Park and is characterised by significant employment in museum activities. Other highly performing areas are towards Solihull and appear to have high employment in advertising activities. In Manchester, advertising and television are dense in the Salford area with radio, public relations, amusement activities and museums also contributing significant shares of local jobs.

In terms of creative intermediation, unlike the ‘leopard spots’ characterising the location of generic consumption intermediation in England, as Figure 10 shows, arid tracts on much of the English map daubed with dark patches in London and the home counties bear out a ‘botched bleach’ phenomenon. Indeed, about 80% of MSOAs with an LQ of above five are from the South of England, mostly the South East.

Still, owing to a high density of jobs in engineering and natural sciences research, Macclesfield locale reports the highest LQ for creative intermediaries. In more overtly cultural sectors like performing arts and artistic creations, amidst the expected London ascendancy, Birmingham, Newcastle, and Salford have some representation in the top ten MSOAs by absolute numbers. Nevertheless, within London, there appears to be a rugged diagonal creativity range across London that seemingly bypasses much of the East End.

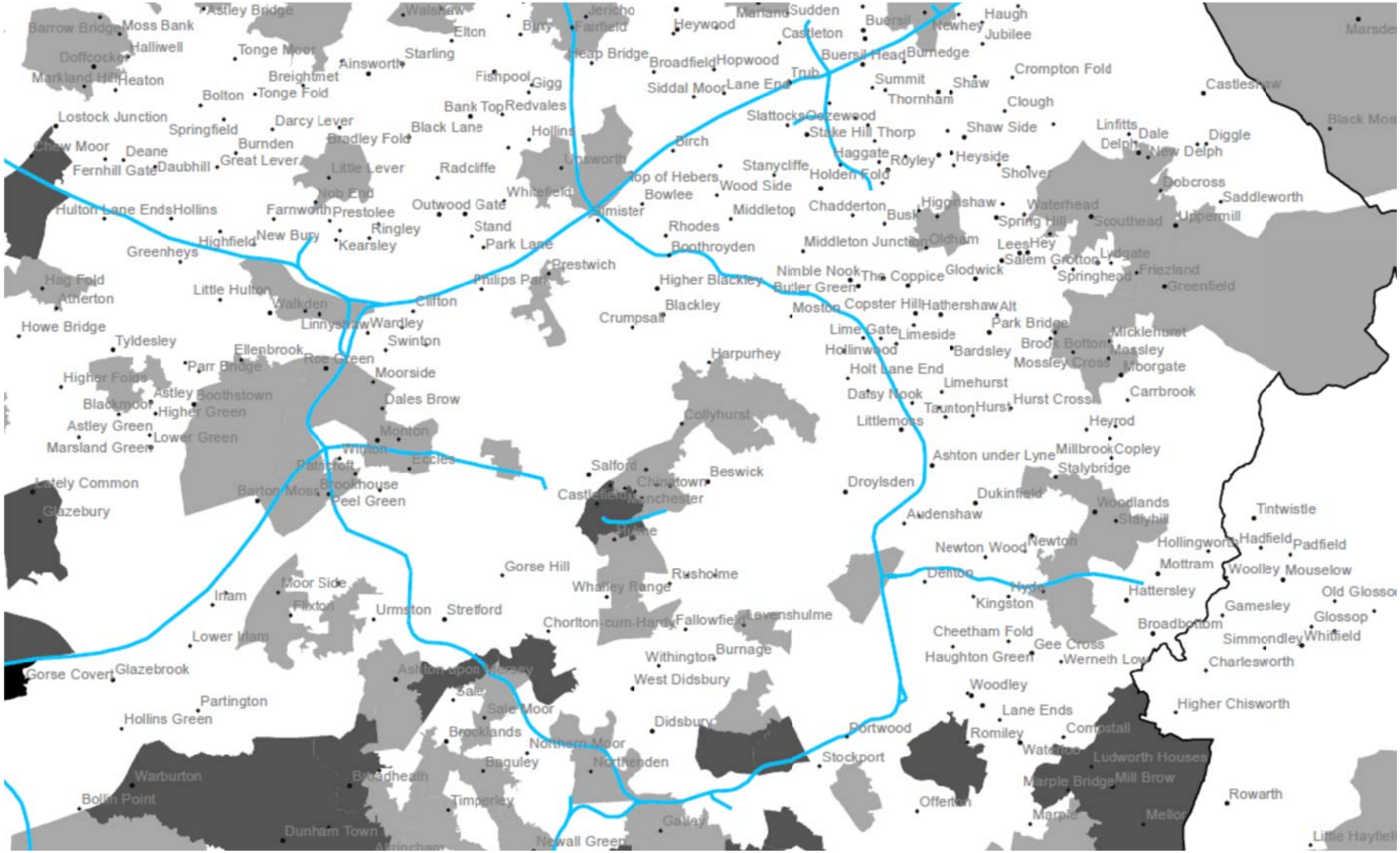
Figure 10: Creative cultural intermediaries in England by Location Quotient



<u>Figure 11: Creative cultural intermediaries in London</u>

Figure 12: Creative cultural intermediaries in Birmingham

Figure 13: Creative cultural intermediaries in Manchester



As Figures 12 and 13 indicate, both Birmingham and Manchester appear to be relatively bleached of creative intermediaries. There is a modestly dense representation, however, in entertainment software, business software, engineering design and consultancy, architectural activities, engineering research, motion picture production, and performing arts. Manchester on the other hand has a strong presence in television related activities.

Thus far, the main variable employed in our analysis is Location Quotient which, as described above, captures how the ratio of the pertinent jobs in a given locality compares against the ratio of the same jobs at the national level. Measuring concentration phenomena, Location Quotients are therefore contingent upon the structure of both the rest of the local economy and the national economy in general. For example, in big cities with a high representation of other job types, cultural intermediation will be subdued. This may suggest then that a smaller place with a smaller number of cultural intermediates but a smaller active labour force will have higher cultural intermediation than the former. This is clearly fallacious as LQ would only tell us that cultural intermediation is important to the local economy more than it is at the national level with no clear indication of how much cultural intermediation is actually carried out in the locality relative to peer localities. What may be helpful, rather, is a method that compares the localities directly with respect to the variable in question only. In the present case, the fact medium layer Super Output Areas in the UK are designed to each have about 7,500 inhabitants on average greatly enables this direct comparison.

As such, we propose to construct a new variable that we term ‘Location Portion’. This simply captures the sheer share of the respective intermediaries a locality has out of the totality of the respective intermediaries in the country. Here, it would be easy to make more straightforward conjectures or further questions. For example, a locality with the highest portion of creative intermediaries of all creative intermediaries in the country should be

expected to have more cultural products, *ceteris paribus*. Similarly, that a locality equal in size to others accounts for a larger 'portion' of intermediaries than those other localities is itself an interesting finding that one might want to explore towards discerning why that would be the case.

In the present case, Location Portion (LP) is calculated in basis points (ten thousandths) given the high number of localities (6781 MSOAs) to which the intermediaries are apportioned. As Figures 14 - 17 show, the results are in line with what might be expected. Location Portions appear to be distributed in a centripetal fashion around key urban areas. Further, where this pattern does not hold, the pertinent idiosyncrasies are discernible. For example, a big attraction, such as a major amusement park, in the respective area.

In terms of creative intermediaries, Figures 18 – 21 reinforce the picture depicted by the LQ approach in Figures 10-13. The Location Portions findings indicate that creative intermediation is not merely subdued by a stronger broader economy; in fact, there is an absolute dearth of creative intermediaries in England outside of London and the Home Counties. It is noteworthy, further, that the top 10 Location Portions in this intermediation category are all in the Central London area and that these top 10 localities have representative employment in virtually all the component sectors. Recall that in the LQ approach a single dominant sector in the locality would be enough to afford LQ ascendancy at the national level.

In Birmingham, creative intermediation can be seen to be concentrated in well known spots in the City Centre area, around Solihull and in Warwickshire further afield. City spots also appear to be well diversified with performing arts, engineering and software development registering a strong presence. Manchester's creative hot spots are also clustered near the centre and are just as diversified with the flagship presence of Salford's television industry adding to the bite.

Figure 14: #Consumption cultural intermediaries in England by Location Portion

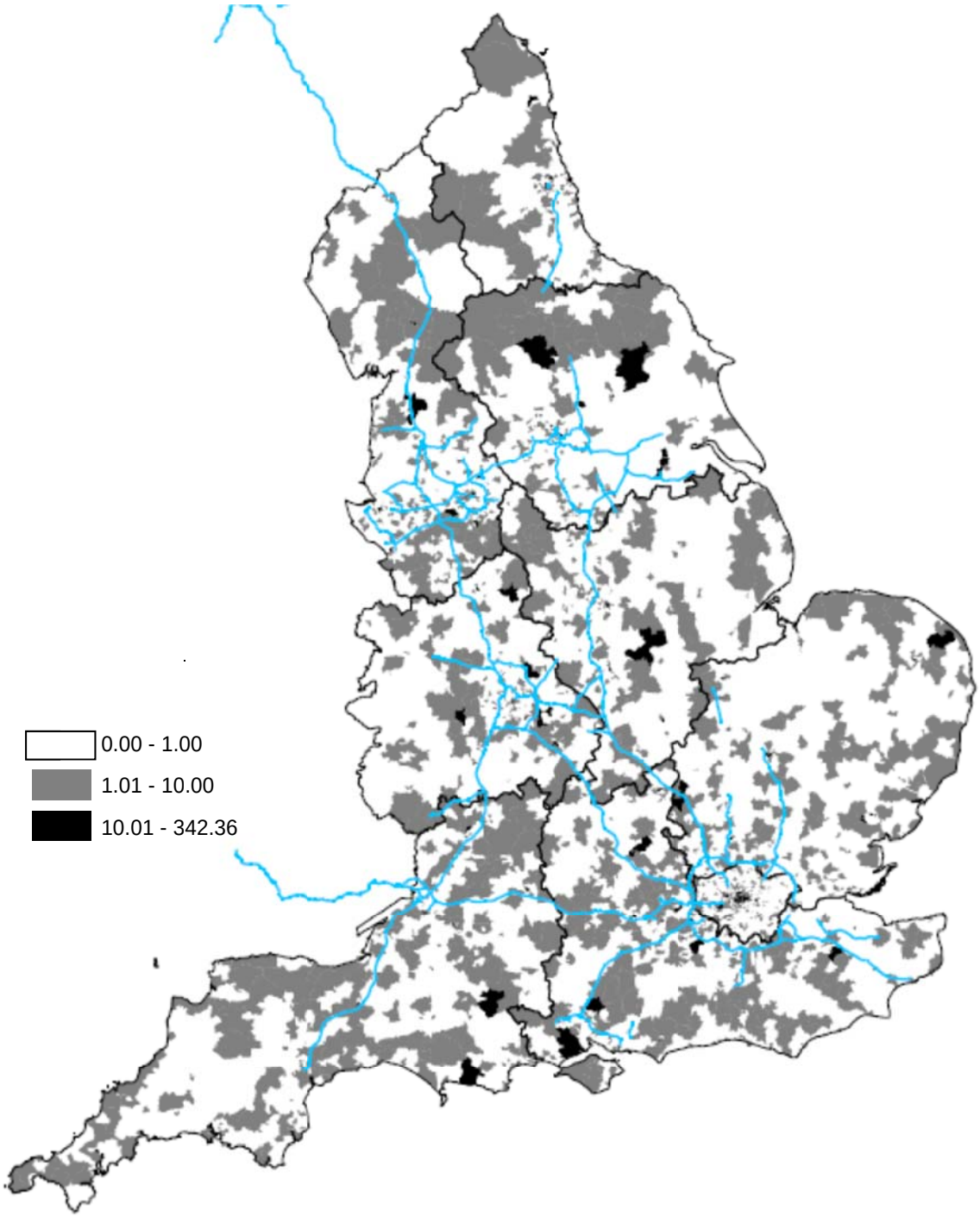


Figure 15: Location Portion of consumption cultural intermediaries in London

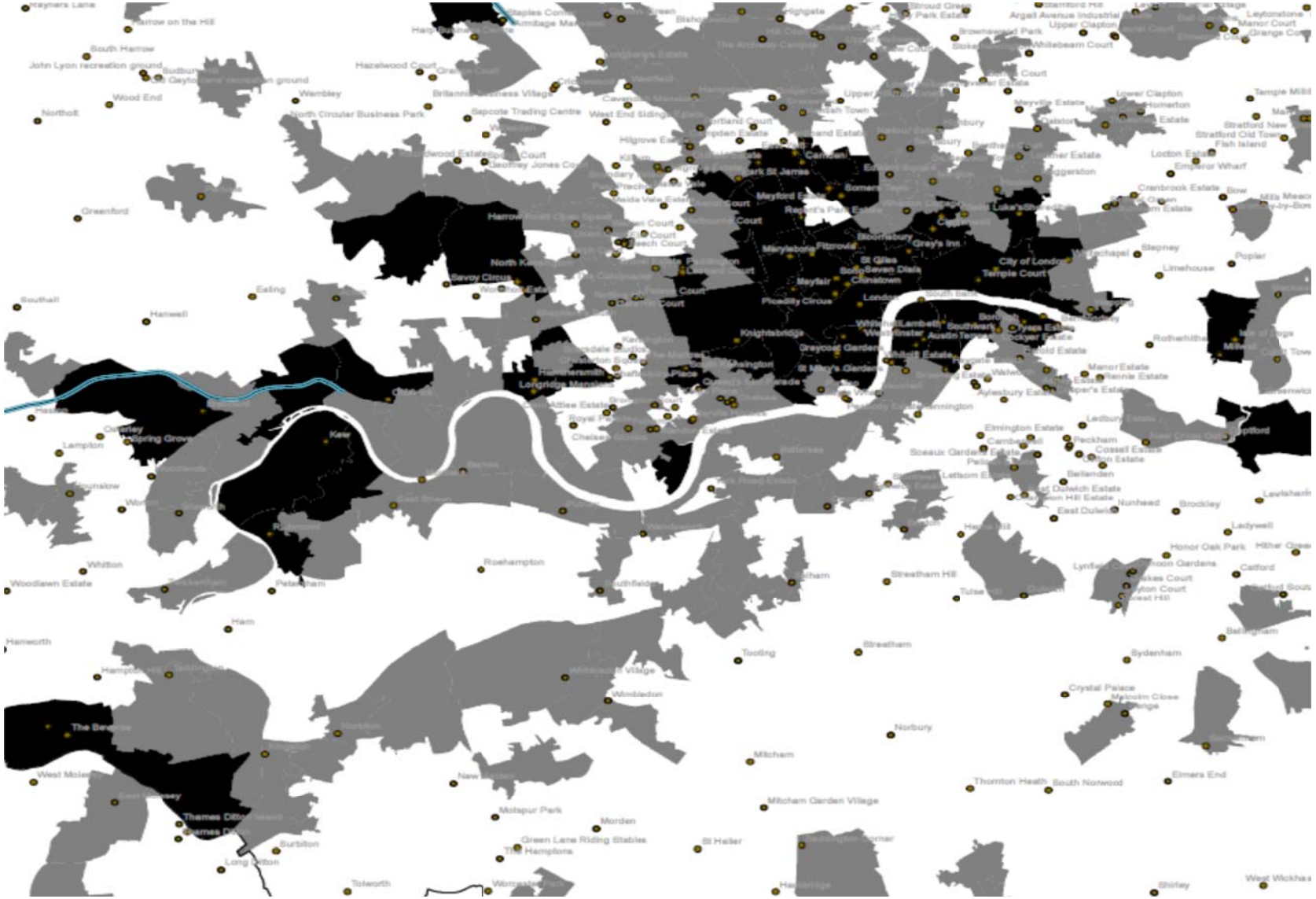


Figure 16: Location Portion of consumption cultural intermediaries in Birmingham

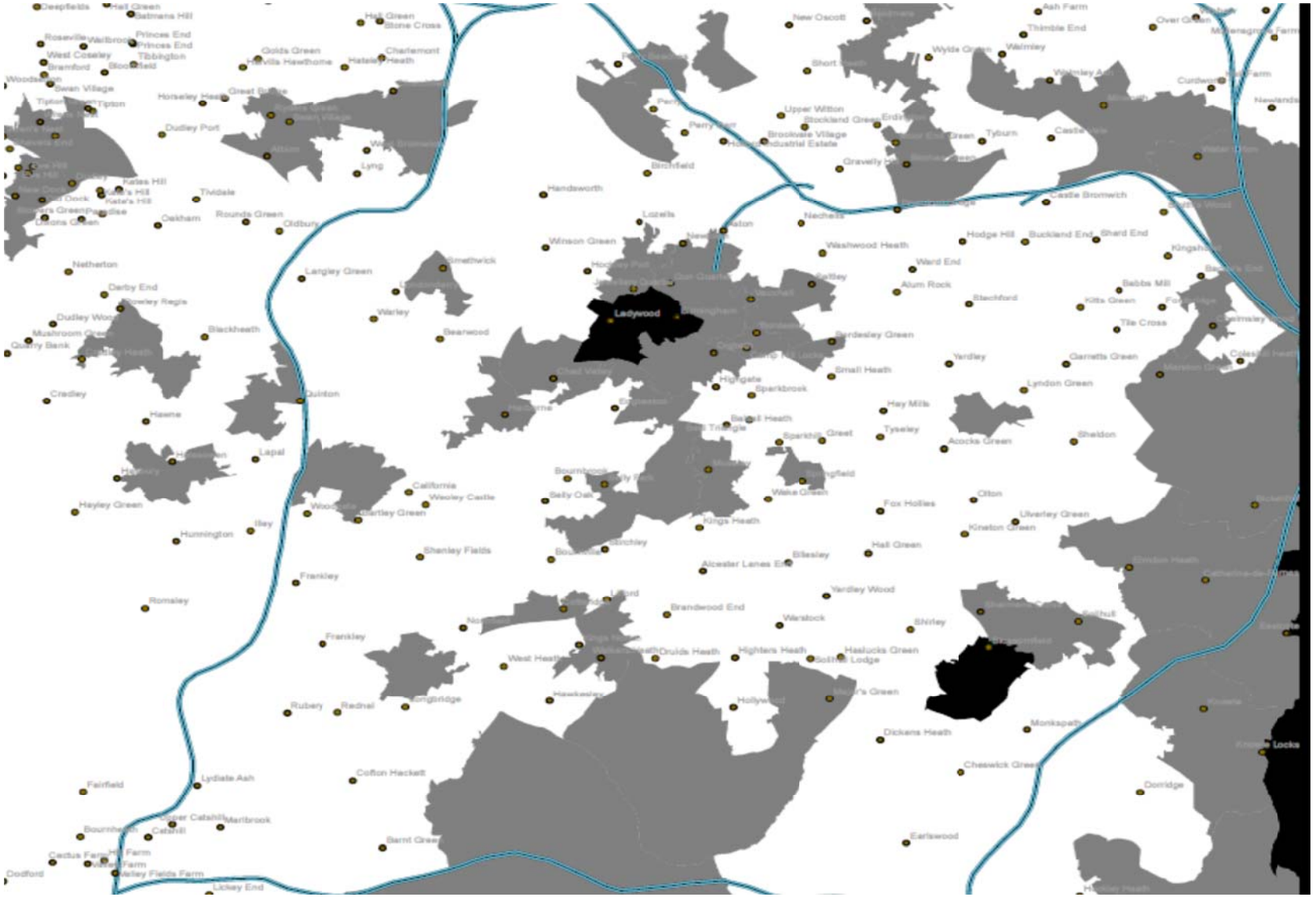


Figure 17: Location Portion of consumptional cultural intermediaries in Manchester

Figure 18: #Creative cultural intermediaries in England by Location Portion

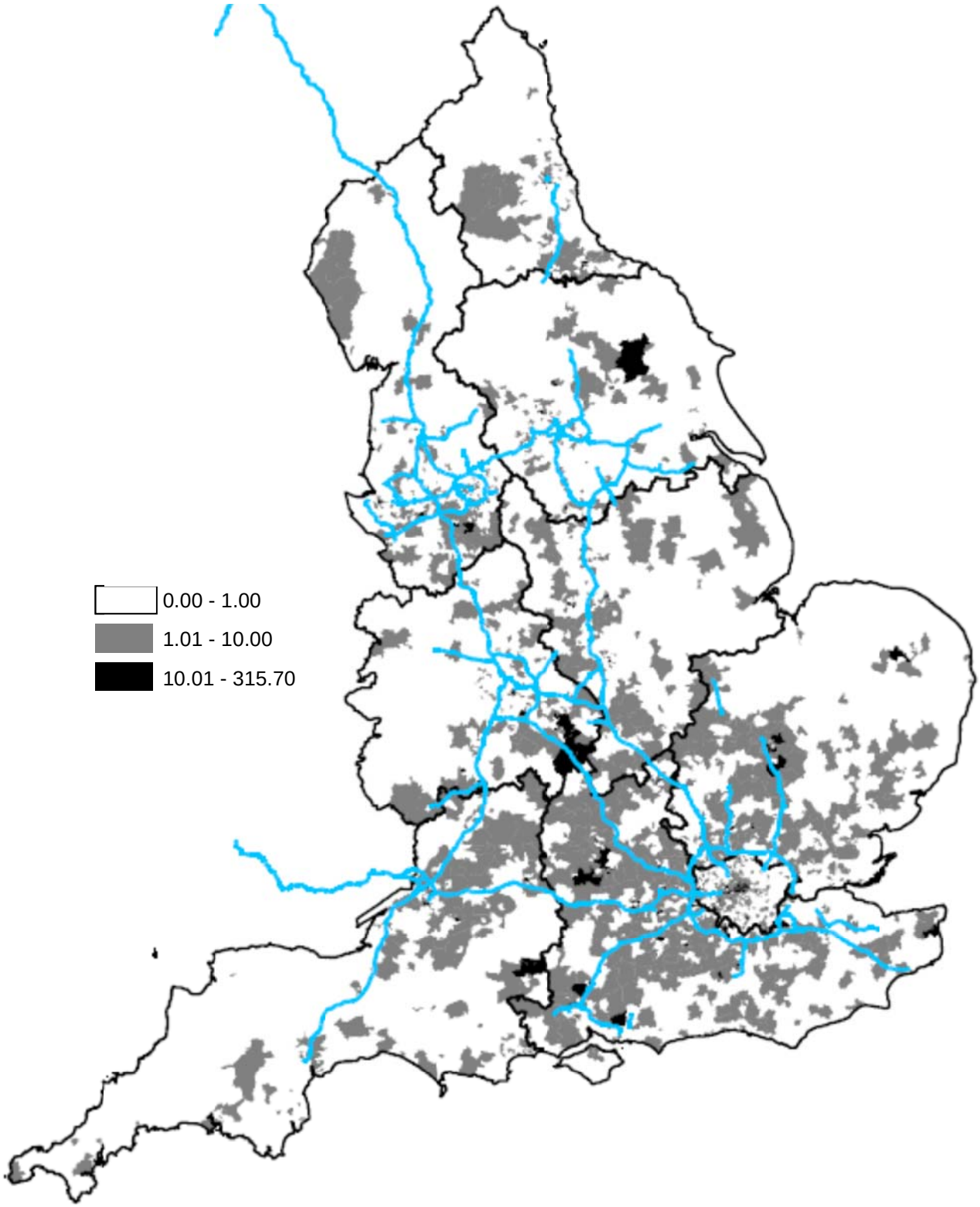


Figure 19: Location Portion of creative cultural intermediaries in London

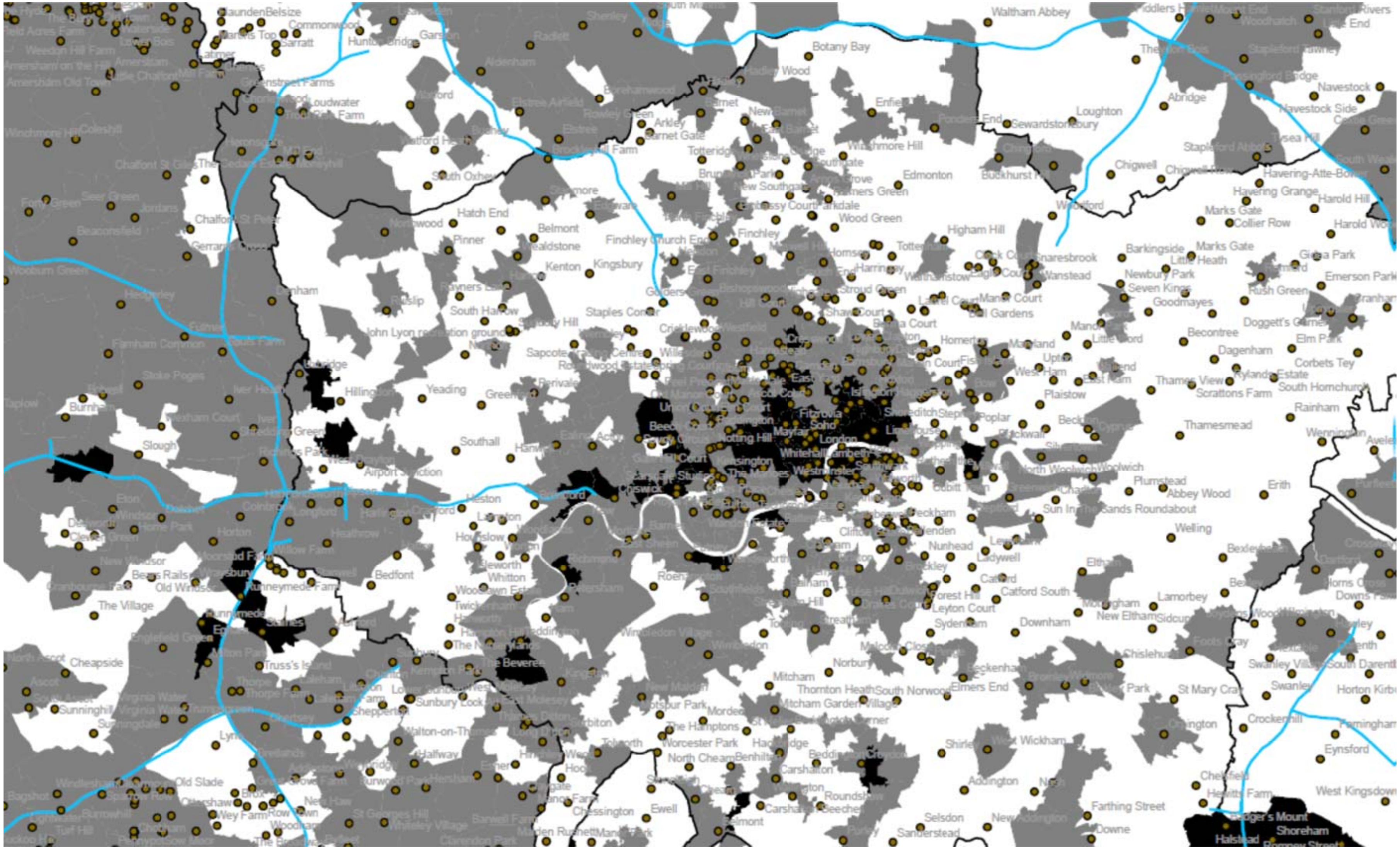


Figure 20: Location Portion of creative cultural intermediaries in Birmingham

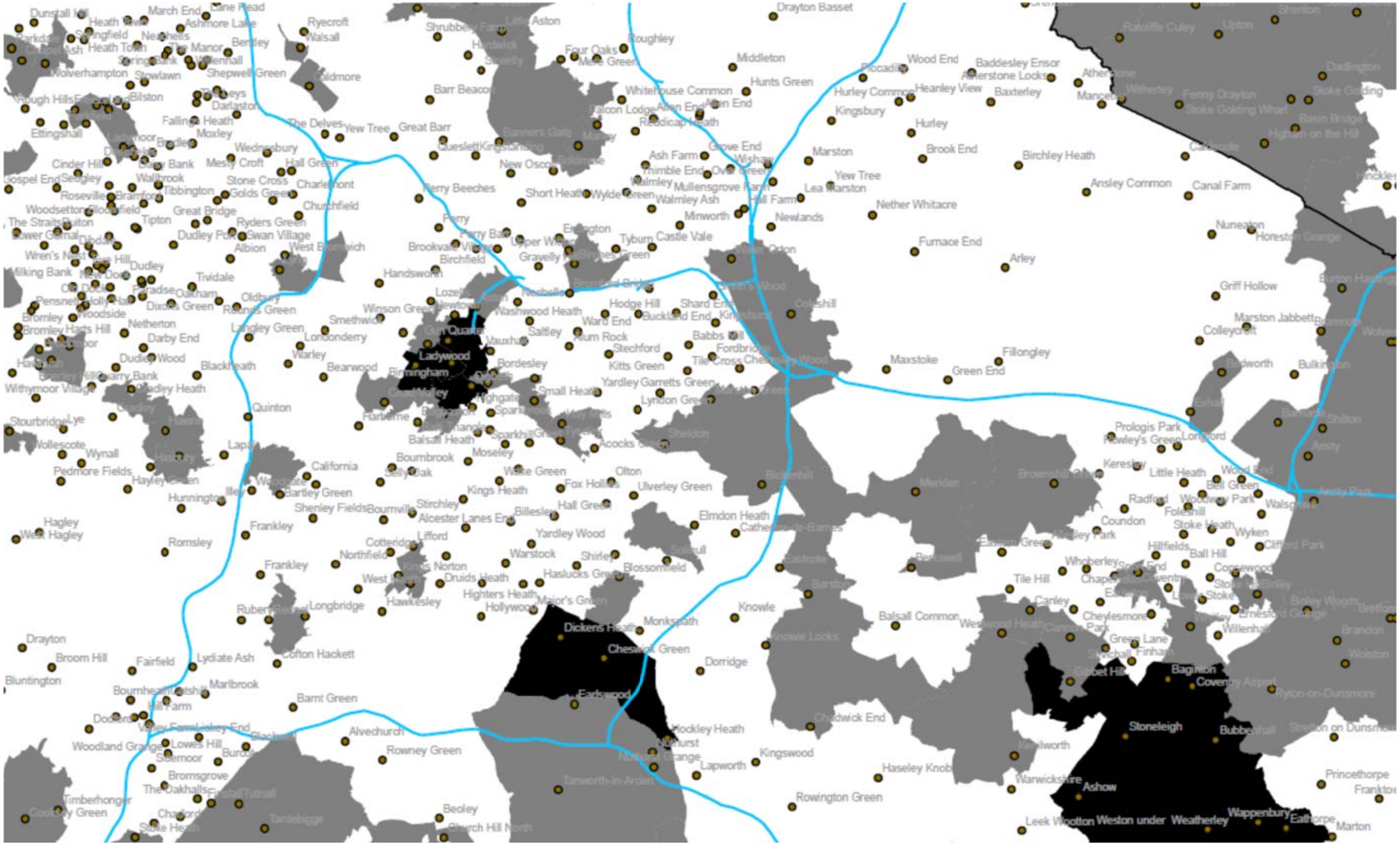
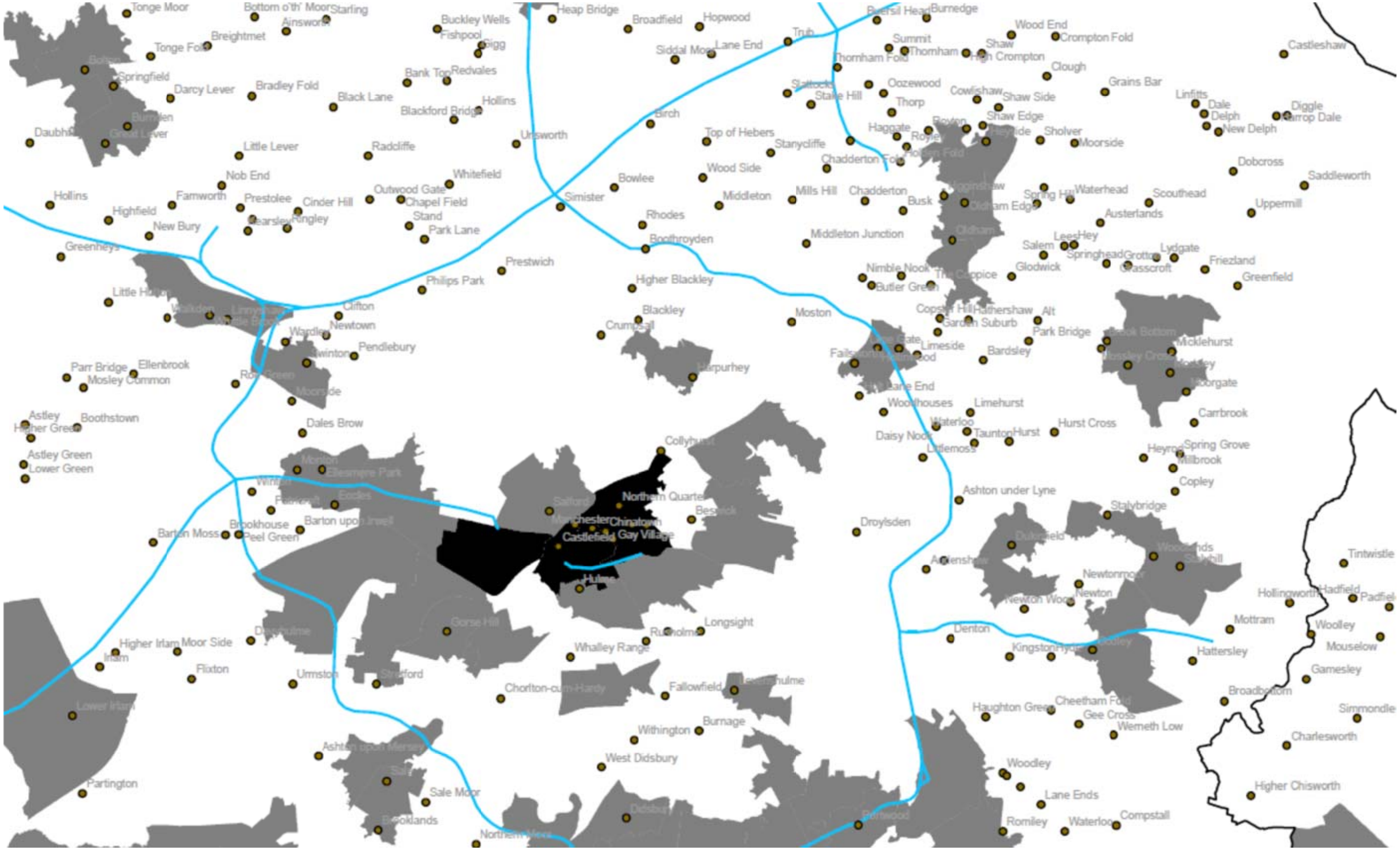


Figure 21: Location Portion of creative cultural intermediaries in Manchester



6. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to reach a better understanding of what cultural intermediaries are, their role and their contribution of cultural activities. Mostly treated and developed within the sociological and cultural studies academic realm, the concept of cultural intermediaries has yet to be crystallised in a manner amenable to research from a business and economics perspective. The paper addresses the latter and suggests that a useful way to understand cultural intermediaries is to section their functions by employing a cultural value chain approach, assuming that cultural activities can be hypothesised as a process with intervening intermediaries facilitating the creation, commodification and consumption of cultural products.

We design a cultural value chain with cultural, commodifying and consumption intermediaries that act as gatekeepers or facilitators along the process that takes a form of art from being created to being consumed. This theorisation enables us then to operationally draw on the well-known classification of cultural and creative industries to construct a taxonomy of creative, commodifying and consumption intermediaries and to map them for England.

Our findings suggest that as a generic category, consumption intermediation appears to be fairly evenly distributed across England. However, a decomposition of the constituent sectors indicates that rather than the enhancement of a multiplicity of cultural products, many localities across England have overrepresentations in particular sectors. Indeed, only London appears to have a variety of consumption intermediaries in an array of sectors and this is also found not to characterise certain parts, especially the Eastern parts of London. On the whole, in the leading English cities, London, Birmingham and Manchester, connecting communities through broad consumption cultural intermediation appears to be City centre only phenomenon. There is perhaps then a policy debate to be had there on ways in which broader

consumption intermediation may be encouraged if the objective is towards more connected communities through broader cultural consumption.

When it comes to the actual creation of incipient cultural products to be commodified and instituted and later extended to outsiders, there appears to be a dearth of creative intermediaries in most of England working towards this. Only London and the South East of England have these sectors as important parts of their local economies (high LQs) which plausibly allows them to grow to become almost exclusively responsible for new products in England.

Yet, it may the case that rather than new products to be created, it is the cultural catchment of existing products that may need to be expanded. Indeed, a significant number of consumption intermediaries work in advertising and the media and as such enhance the consumption of cultural products indirectly and remotely. In fact, it may yet be the case that localities with high representations of consumption intermediaries may not themselves be connected locally if the work of these intermediaries is through the mass media.

These are effects that the present methodology may not be able to investigate due to the nature of the data. Consider, for example, ethnic restaurants where consumption intermediaries, almost literally, are readily perceivable but not easily captured by our aggregated data as such. Besides, given that agents in the creative and cultural sector will usually carry out more than one intermediation role, apportioning weights to the various intermediary categories is problematic. These challenges notwithstanding, it is hoped that the exposition and empirical findings advanced herein will serve to contribute towards the cultivation of a more comprehensible and consensual approach to understanding and analysing these complex cultural dynamics.

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Appendix 1a: AHRC Classifications of cultural and creative industries (2007 SIC)

Cultural promotion & preservation	
Museums, galleries, libraries & archives; Heritage services	
91011	Library activities
91012	Archive activities
91020	Museum activities
91030	Operation of historical sites and buildings and similar visitor attractions
91040	Botanical and zoological gardens and nature reserve activities
Arts & antiques markets	
47781	Retail sale in commercial art galleries
47791	Retail sale of antiques including antique books, in stores
Archaeological work	
72200	Research and experimental development on social sciences and humanities
Exhibitions & festivals	
82301	Activities of exhibition and fair organizers
93290	Other amusement and recreation activities
Creative activities	
Music and performing arts	
90010	Performing arts
Visual, literary & graphic art; craft	
90030	Artistic creation
74202	Other specialist photography (not including portrait photography)
74203	Film processing
74209	Other photographic activities (not including portrait and other specialist photography and film processing) n.e.c.
Video & computer games	
62011	Ready-made interactive leisure and entertainment software developmen
Architecture; Engineering design	
71111	Architectural activities
71112	Urban planning and landscape architectural activities
71121	Engineering design activities for industrial process and production
62012	Business and domestic software development
Design and fashion	
74100	Specialised design activities

Creative communications	
Advertising, branding & 'experience economy'	
73110	Advertising agencies
73120	Media representation
Publishing & printed media	
58110	Book publishing
58120	Publishing of directories and mailing lists
58130	Publishing of newspapers
58141	Publishing of learned journals
58142	Publishing of consumer, business and professional journals and periodicals
58190	Other publishing activities
58210	Publishing of computer games
58290	Other software publishing
Film, television, radio, 'new media' & other broadcasting	
59111	Motion picture production activities
59112	Video production activities
59113	Television programme production activities
59120	Motion picture, video and television programme post-production activities
59131	Motion picture distribution activities
59132	Video distribution activities
59133	Television programme distribution activities
59140	Motion picture projection activities
59200	Sound recording and music publishing activities
60100	Radio broadcasting
60200	Television programming and broadcasting activities
Internet, social networking & other new media	
63120	Web portals
Creative interfaces	
Creative interactions with business	
82301	Activities of exhibition and fair organizers
82302	Activities of conference organizers
82990	Other business support service activities n.e.c.
Creative R&D with science & technology	
72110	Research and experimental development on biotechnology
72190	Other research and experimental development on natural sciences and engineering
72200	Research and experimental development on social sciences and humanities

Cultural production alongside new technologies	
Ethical interactions with technological advances; Regulation	
84120	Regulation of the activities of providing health care, education, cultural services and other social services, excluding social security
Intellectual property	
69109	Activities of patent and copyright agents; other legal activities (other than those of barristers and solicitors) n.e.c.
77400	Leasing of intellectual property and similar products, except copyrighted works

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