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**Cultural resources and creative industries in spanish
medium-sized cities¹**

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ABSTRACT

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In recent years, stress has been put on the relationship between cultural resources and creative industries and their ability to dynamise the economy and generate development processes. At the same time, much geographical research and some public powers and institutions have highlighted the role that medium-sized towns and cities can play by acting as intermediaries between large cities and rural areas. Seeking to combine these two theoretical reference frameworks, this article aims to analyse the presence of cultural resources and creative industries in Spanish medium-sized towns and cities. A typology of these towns and cities is also proposed based on these resources and industries.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE:

Recursos culturais
Indústrias-criativas
Cidades de médio porte
Espanha

RESUMO RECURSOS CULTURAIS E INDÚSTRIAS CRIATIVAS EM ESPANHOL CIDADES MÉDIAS. Nos últimos anos, o *stress* tem sido colocado sobre a relação entre os recursos culturais e indústrias criativas e sua capacidade de dinamizar a

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economia e gerar processos de desenvolvimento. Ao mesmo tempo, a pesquisa geográfica muito e alguns poderes e instituições públicas têm destacado o papel que pequenas e médias cidades podem desempenhar, atuando como intermediários entre grandes cidades e áreas rurais. Buscando combinar esses dois referenciais teóricos, este artigo tem como objetivo analisar a presença de recursos culturais e indústrias criativas em espanhol médias cidades. A tipologia dessas cidades é também proposto com base nestes recursos e indústrias.

PALABRAS-CLAVE:
Recursos culturales
Industrias creativas
Ciudades medias
España

RESUMEN RECURSOS CULTURALES E INDUSTRIAS CREATIVAS EN LAS CIUDADES MEDIAS ESPAÑOLAS. En los últimos años, se ha acentuado el interés por las relaciones entre recursos culturales e industrias creativas y su capacidad para dinamizar la economía y generar procesos de desarrollo. Al mismo tiempo, una importante parte de la investigación geográfica, de los poderes públicos y otras instituciones han destacado la potencialidad de las ciudades medias para actuar como intermediarias entre las grandes ciudades y las áreas rurales. Con la intención de combinar estos dos marcos teóricos de referencia, este artículo pretende analizar la presencia de recursos culturales e industrias creativas en las ciudades medias españolas. A este respecto, se propone una tipología de estas ciudades basada en este tipo de recursos e industrias.

1 Introduction

In recent years there has been a growing interest in the ability of cultural resources and the industries classified as creative to induce development processes, especially in the context of a world that is vulnerable to new forms of crisis in which uncertainties predominate over certainties and in which traditional socio-economic resources and certain activities have lost their strategic value and need to be restructured or replaced. In this context the creative industries, understood as an extension and expansion of cultural industries, in some areas, at least, seem to be demonstrating a certain capacity for generating new opportunities for socio-economic and territorial development based on an intangible resource, creativity, whose valorising depends, in the final instance, on the local ability to mobilise and attract activities that combine culture and market. It has thus been confirmed that the creative industries have become not only an interesting field of scientific debate, but also a target for public initiatives and economic business strategies.

Most of the research done into cultural resources and creative industries to date has focused on large cities, with special attention being paid to the creative clusters that exist in some of these (AMADASI; SALVEMINI, 2005; CURRIED, 2007; KNELL; OAKLEY, 2007; KARLSSON, 2011). Interest in the linkage between creative industries and urban space has therefore grown and use of the conceptual category of *creative city* has become generalised (LANDRY, 2000; HOSPERS, 2003; COSTA, 2008; FLORIDA, 2008). =

From this perspective the large city, therefore, maintains its role as the driver of social, economic and cultural change and creative activities have been confirmed not only as a topic of debate, but also as the target of public policies and of businesses' economic strategies.

However, in addition to the above, both geographical research and some institutions continue to stress the role that medium-sized towns and cities can play in territorial development processes by acting as intermediaries between large cities and rural areas (BALBO, 1997; BELLET; LLOP, 2004; EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 1999, etc.).

Nevertheless, cultural resources and creative industries are, paradoxically, not recurring or habitual content in analyses of medium-sized towns and cities.

By reason of these premises, the main objective of this article is to make advancements in the integration of these two lines of discourse: cultural resources and creative industries, on the one hand, and medium-sized towns and cities, on the other. At the same time, it should not be overlooked that the article forms part of a research programme on the relationship between the economy of knowledge and territory which has been ongoing since 2006 and which has already produced two projects financed by the Spanish government, one focusing on medium-sized cities and the other on the main urban agglomerations.

This aim is for this core objective to be achieved through other more specific goals, including:

- The consideration of the theoretical frameworks that underpin research on cultural resources and creative industries
- Using a methodology that enables the two fields to be related to each other
- The application of this methodology to the study of Spanish medium-sized towns and cities
- Analyzing the spatial behaviour of cultural resources and creative industries of medium-sized towns and cities
- Drawing up a typology of these towns and cities on the basis of these resources and industries.

It is important to highlight that, although the study focuses on medium-sized Spanish cities, the methodology used can also be transferred to other territorial contexts.

Despite the statistical sources available in Spain not being entirely suitable for the needs of research such as this, they are nevertheless adequate for an initial approach to be made to the topic. Very wide-ranging information has been used in this article. For the identification and study of cultural resources, the Spanish Government's Ministry of Culture registries on declared heritage were consulted, including museums, archives, libraries, foundations and cinemas, amongst other fields of interest. In addition to the foregoing, we have considered non-governmental associations and organisations, which are linked to creativity to a great extent, using a number of electronic sources (NGO regional records, telephone directories, etc.). For the study of creative industries, the data analysed comes from the register of inscriptions in the State public health and social benefits organisation (the Spanish National Health Organisation), which contains information about businesses and workers on the municipal scale.

From the methodological point-of-view, as is usually the case for Spain, medium-sized towns and cities are analysed from a dual perspective. On the one hand, on the basis of size; for this, 20,000 to 250,000 inhabitants (349 municipalities) is regarded as medium-sized with three internal tiers being established: a) from 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants (229 municipalities); b) from 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants (76 municipalities), and c) from 100,000 to 250,000 inhabitants (44 municipalities). At the same time, given the importance that the location of towns and cities in urban systems or specific territorial areas has, the spatial distribution of the data has also been taken into account.

2 Theoretical approach to the cultural sector from different perspectives

Concepts: features and confusion

Cultural resources and products always have a symbolic and significant aspect to them that makes them different from others, but can the same be said of creative products? “To consume culture we must use our experience, our knowledge and, above all, our time, irrespective of whether it is a question of popular culture or ‘high culture’” (Prieto Rodríguez, 2010, 24) and this, with being important, is not always absolutely essential for creative products. For some authors the “creative industries – a term is being increasingly more accepted and adopted- have the vocation and the goal of generating intellectual property and making use of it” (ÁLVAREZ ARECES, 2010: 29).

It would also help to understand the different approach to cultural and creative activities that the unique and exclusive character of cultural products makes compared to creative products, in which this singularity is not so important. It is true that creativity always pursues a new image and message which seek, that it seeks to unveil an unknown product and to carry it forward through uncharted waters; but it is also true that singularity becomes less important faced with the opportuneness and competitiveness of this product. In other words, the cultural product, despite being influenced by the market, possesses a *meta value* that affords it a transcendental dimension that cannot only be measured by the parameters of the market. To a large extent, western cultural policies (with France at the head) have made of the cultural product an exceptional good which is essential for personal development, and this has legitimised its protection in the face of market valuations. The creative product, on the other hand, adapts to the markets, competes in them, and is more easily assimilated to the way in which cultural products are considered in the United States and other Anglo-Saxon contexts.

Along with the foregoing, a review of the interest in cultural and creative industries of institutions such as UNESCO and the European Union shows that the emphasis in both is put on purely mercantile aspects, as a result of which the confusion continues to exist. There does seem to be a certain ambiguity about the way the terms “cultural industries” and “creative industries” are used. Some authors state that this confusion might come from the “apparent delay on the part of economic theory in undertaking an analysis of the cultural sector” (PRIETO RODRÍGUEZ, 2010: 24), but the same could be said of the attitude of other social sciences in this respect, geography among them. One example of this is the way that they are conceptualised by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2006) and the European Union (2010) (Figure 1).

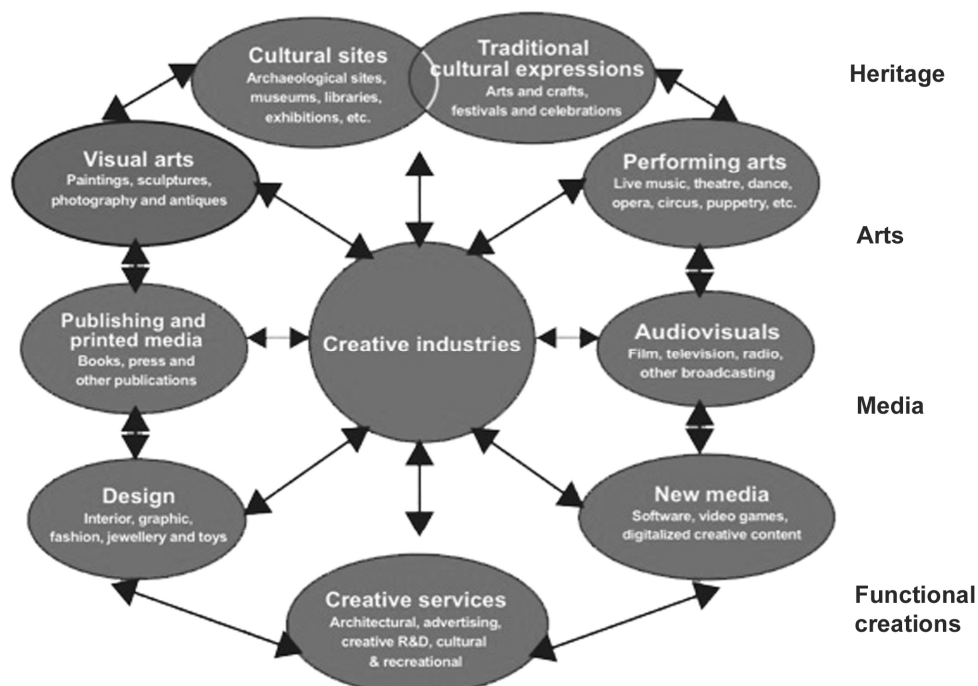
UNESCO (Understanding Creative Industries. Cultural Statistics for Public-policy Making, 2006)	EUROPEAN COMMISSION (Green Paper. Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries, 2010)
“The term cultural industries refers to industries which combine the creation, production and commercialization of creative contents which are intangible and cultural in nature... Cultural industries generally include printing, publishing and multimedia, audiovisual, phonographic and cinematographic productions as well as crafts and design.”	"Cultural industries" are those industries producing and distributing goods or services which at the time they are developed are considered to have a specific attribute, use or purpose which embodies or conveys cultural expressions, irrespective of the commercial value they may have. Besides the traditional arts sectors (performing arts, visual arts, cultural heritage – including the public sector), they include film, DVD and video, television and radio, video games, new media, music, books and press.
“The term creative industries encompasses a broader range of	“Creative industries are those industries which use culture as an input and have a

<p>activities which include the cultural industries plus all cultural or artistic production, whether live or produced as an individual unit. The creative industries are those in which the product or service contains a substantial element of artistic or creative endeavour and include activities such as architecture and advertising. In this article, these terms are used precisely and are not synonymous nor interchangeable”</p>	<p>cultural dimension, although their outputs are mainly functional. They include architecture and design, which integrate creative elements into wider processes, as well as subsectors such as graphic design, fashion design or advertising”</p>
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Source: UNESCO, 2006: 3; EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2010: 5-6.

Figure 1. Cultural industries versus creative industries

For its part, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) classified creative industries into four large areas: heritage; arts; media and functional creations, which were then subdivided into specific sectors (Figure 2), but this classification has not served to fully clear up all the confusion between cultural and creative industries.



Source: UNCTAD, 2008: 14

Figure 2. UNCTAD classification of creative industries

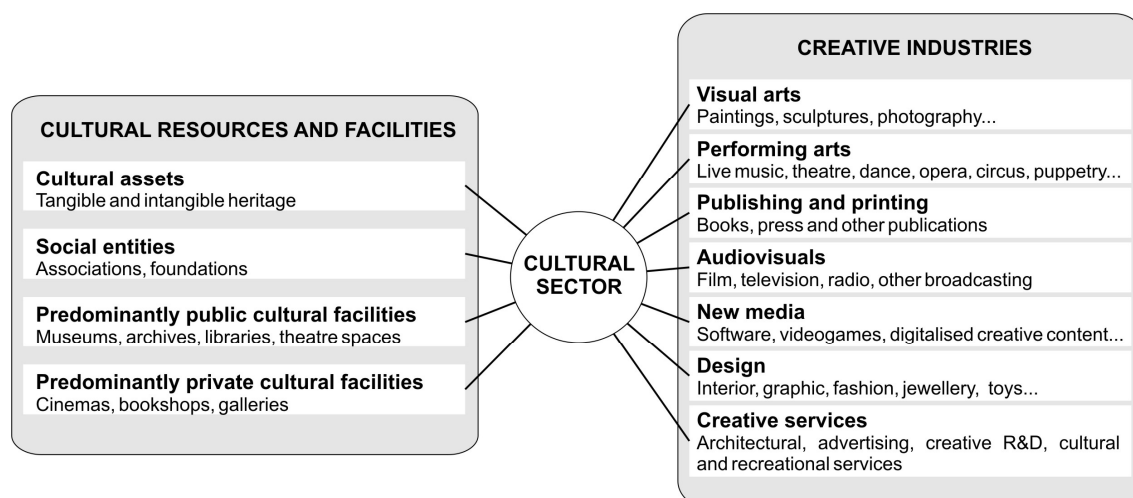
Cultural sector, creative industries, and socio-economic and territorial development

The ways in which culture has been understood have changed from the more restrictive traditional view linked to individual creativity, personal genius and the uniqueness of the artist to a different, more open perspective in which cultural goods are conceived as a collective resource of undoubtable interest whose dimensions and limits, and socio-economic and territorial effects remain unknown.

This last perspective is also linked to the renewed interest in creativity by the social sciences (LANDRY, 2000; CAVES, 2000; FLORIDA, 2002, 2005; COOKE, LAZZERETTI, 2008). Thus, along with the interest aroused in the economy of the cultural sector (THORSBY, 2001; GINSBURGH; THORSBY, 2006; HERRERO, 2011) there is also growing interest in the creative industries, due to their being considered essential for moving forward in development processes; nonetheless, there are also numerous authors who question this ability (BUSTAMANTE, ed., 2011).

It should therefore come as no surprise that there is a very lively ongoing debate on the subject. Some people start from the basis that “Creativity has entered the discourse of economics only as it may be the generator of innovation and hence the precursor of technological change” (THORSBY, 2001: 93). It is thus thought that the importance of the activity sectors linked to creativity “comes from the fact that they are incardinated in the new production and technology paradigm” (HERRERO, 2011: 181). In turn creative activities are understood from a wider perspective to be crucial for promoting the development of towns/cities and territories (BAYLISS, 2007; COOKE; LAZZARETTI, 2008; PRATT, 2008; EVANS, 2009; FOORD, 2009).

A combined summary is given of the two perspectives of the cultural sector in Fig. 3. A distinction is made between cultural resources and facilities, on the one hand, and creative industries on the other. There is no explicit relationship between these two approaches, or between their greater or lesser presence in territories or, more specifically, in towns/cities. However when their respective presences are related to each other, a typology can be established that enables the cultural sector to be characterised, and new public and private policies and intervention strategies defined.



Source: Prepared by authors

Figure 3. Two approaches to analysing the cultural sector

Recognising the importance of cultural resources and, more recently, of the creative industries in consolidating new economic models and structures that are sustainable, attractive and profitable (and more so in the current economic climate) has spurred the interest of institutions. A major trigger of the latter is often regarded as the United Kingdom’s Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), which in 1997 began to pay attention to what was then recognised as a new economic sector (DCMS, 1998 and 2001).

From that time on, the international institutions have paid increasing attention to this sector, as it was understood to show great promise in its competitiveness and capacity for generating employment. Thus, in 2002, UNESCO created the *Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity* with the aim of exploring new ways of using this

creative capacity to drive the development of sustainable cultural and creative industries; for this they relied on public-private associationism, the protection of intellectual property and the establishment of favourable legal and institutional frameworks. The intention was, therefore, to promote socio-economic dynamism alongside cultural diversity, reinforcing the capacity of this type of activity and driving its access to national and international markets.

The Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, passed in 2005, stresses this new perspective of cultural diversity which should not only be promoted as a legacy, but also as a product of contemporary creativity. In other words, one of the objectives that UNESCO wants to state is “to give recognition to the distinctive nature of cultural activities, goods and services as vehicles of identity, values and meaning” (UNESCO, 2005: 3). The Convention also directly links cultural expressions with creativity, as it defines the former as “those expressions that result from the creativity of individuals, groups and societies, and that have cultural content” (Ibid. 5). In this regard, it proposes that “measures [be taken] that, in an appropriate manner, provide opportunities for domestic cultural activities, goods and services [...] for the creation, production, dissemination, distribution and enjoyment of such domestic cultural activities, goods and services” (Ibid. 6).

The European Commission’s 2004 Communication to the European Parliament and the Council of Europe on the Role of European Standardisation in the framework of European Legislation and Policies stated the need for increased standardisation in legislation and procedures in new fields, considering cultural and creative services as suitable for this progress in standardisation. Subsequently, it emphasised the ability of creative industries to strengthen local economies and contribute to towns’/cities’ competitiveness (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2010a). It is interesting to highlight the proposal made by the European Union in this last respect. The EU considers the need to exploit the potential that the creative and cultural industries have in this area and has prepared a Green Paper with a view to sparking debate on the necessary requirements to drive their development and reinforce their role as catalysts of innovation and structural change (EUROPEAN UNION, 2010b).

Relation between creativity and urban environments

As already alluded to in the introduction, creativity has initially had a greater presence in large cities, but it can also be seen in other types of urban environments. UNESCO does not restrict itself to focusing on these types of towns and cities, but includes towns and cities of other sizes in its *Creative Cities Network* programme, which has been running since 2004. The objective of this programme is “to connect cities who want to share experiences, ideas and best practices aiming for cultural, social and economic development [...] to ensure their continued role as centres of excellence and to support other cities” (UNESCO, online). Nevertheless, the methodology used by this institution focuses on drawing up a non-systematic list of cities linked to specific creative sectors.

There are also more recent definitions for considering creative cities although they have not resulted in specific programmes such as the above. This is the case of the proposal made by Menchén Bellón (2008), who offers a model of a creative city as one that defines its own urban model, that creates an atmosphere that favours the creation of social networks, that encourages the confluence of cultures, that ensures its population’s access to the new information and communication technologies and that sets itself up as a place that is open to innovative plans and programmes. Other authors have conceived the creative city from other perspectives, understanding that its capacity for attraction is determined by technology, talent and tolerance (Florida, 2002b).

In light of what has been presented to date, the relationship between creativity and culture becomes an attractive field for research, given the capacity that cultural resources would seem to have for generating social development and creative industries for stimulating the economy and thus contributing to facilitating integrated development processes. Interest becomes even greater for medium-sized towns and cities, given the revalorising of the role that they play in territorial development processes.

Bearing all these approaches in mind, the territorial behaviour of the cultural sector in Spanish medium-sized cities is analysed empirically in the following pages, with a special focus on cultural resources and creative industries.

3 Cultural resources and facilities in medium-sized Spanish towns and cities

A range of qualitative indicators linked to cultural resources and facilities have been used to analyse cultural resources in medium-sized Spanish towns and cities. On the one hand, their declared heritage (*Assets of Cultural Interest, which is the highest level of protection for heritage in Spain*) and the basic forms of social entity (associations, non-governmental organisations and foundations) have been used to characterise their most basic cultural and social resources. On the other hand, as far as facilities with cultural links are concerned, archives, museums and libraries have been taken into account as those that predominate in public property, and bookshops, cinemas, and galleries as being more associated with private property.

The choice of these resources and facilities is directly linked to the availability of municipal information sources and records, as previously remarked in the Introduction. Given the limited amount of institutional information available, it was necessary to turn to unofficial sources, such as telephone directories, which offer standardised data for the whole of Spain.

Socio-cultural resources

Cultural property has an important presence in all Spanish medium-sized towns and cities, and the lower their population tier, the greater the presence, in relative terms (Table 1); in fact, the presence of *Assets of Cultural Interest*, a legal status with the highest degree of protection, in towns/cities of between 20,000 and 50,000 inhabitants, almost triples that of towns/cities of 100,000 to 250,000 inhabitants. And it should not be forgotten that a large part of Spanish provincial capitals fall into this tier, most of them being having a notable historical tradition and a not inconsiderable presence of cultural resources. This shows the relative importance that these resources have in many towns and cities in the bottom tier, where the nature of the recognised cultural heritage reflects their historical significance; although this has not prevented many of them seeing their positions diminished in the hierarchy of the urban system during almost the whole of the 20th century, although they have continued to retain a range of potentialities, including their historical buildings.

In addition, the very intense growth of Spanish metropolitan agglomerations over various decades has not contributed to a similar growth in the recognition of the cultural assets in the municipalities located within them. It must be borne in mind that in most cases these are small towns with no historical relevance worth highlighting, but which have grown as a by-product of the residential demands of these metropolitan agglomerations' central municipalities.

For its part, structuring a civil society based on non-profit-making organisations with social and cultural goals is a fundamental aspect in determining a territory's social maturity, but also an important condition for generating attractive contexts for creative activities. In Spain, there are good representations of associative will and presence of foundations in medium-sized towns and cities with those in the highest tier offering greater data (Table 1). There is an apparent very small presence of

cultural associations and non-governmental organisations, which depend on the will of individuals to come together, in bottom tier municipalities, although they have a greater presence in provincial capitals and municipalities with larger populations (despite there always being a much greater presence of cultural associations). In the case of foundations, which depend on the will of certain companies or social groups to create an institution with some specific objective in mind, there is no great presence in municipalities of between 20,000 and 50,000 inhabitants, and they are more significant in those in the middle tier of between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants.

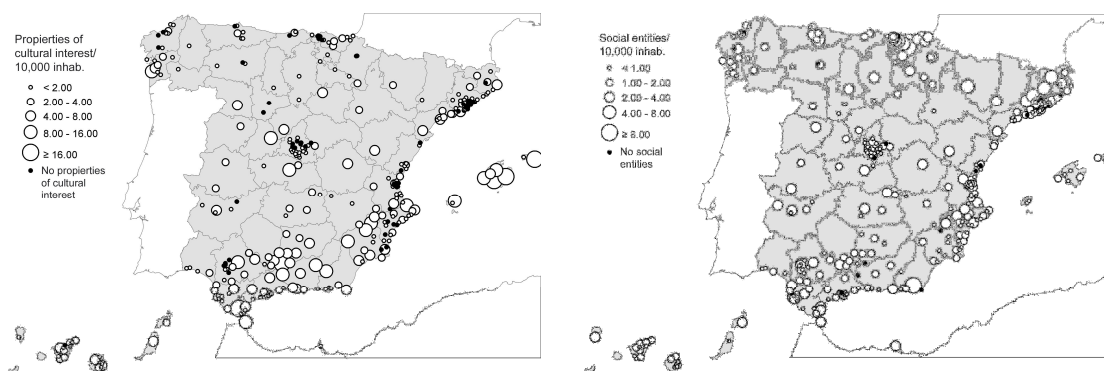
Table 1. Socio-cultural resources in Spanish medium-sized towns and cities (2010)

Population	<i>Assets of Cultural Interest</i> / 10,000 inhab.	Socio-cultural organisations		
		Cultural associations / 10,000 inhab.	NGOs/ 10,000 hab.	Foundations / 10,000 inhab.
20,000 - 50,000	3.00	1.36	0.01	0.04
50,000 - 100,000	1.81	1.29	0.05	0.13
100,000 - 250,000	1.29	1.70	0.29	0.10
Total medium-sized towns and cities	2.03	1.47	0.13	0.09

Source: *Registry of Assets of Cultural Interest* and *Registry of Foundations*, Ministry of Culture. Telephone directories. Prepared by authors.

The spatial distribution of resources and socio-cultural entities per every 10,000 inhabitants (Fig. 4) offers different realities in the Spanish medium-sized towns and cities. There is a greater presence of *Assets of Cultural Interest* in localities in regions that have played a prominent role in the past. Towns and cities in the south (Ubeda, Carmona, Ronda, etc.) and south-east, (Orihuela, Alcoy, Játiva) and the interior (Toledo, Ávila, Zamora, etc.), stand out on the map.

Compared with this reality, which basically corresponds to the role that the town/city played in the past, socio-cultural entities (cultural associations, NGOs and foundations), which have a greater link with territories' current capacities for generating structured social networks at the present time, have a relatively less concentrated importance in the Spanish regions and also stand out less in the interior. To the contrary, Catalonia and the Basque Country, which have relatively few cultural resources per every 10,000 inhabitants, have towns and cities with a very high rate of citizen participation in socio-cultural organisations (Fig. 4).



Source: Registry of Assets of Cultural Interest and Registry of Foundations, Ministry of Culture. Telephone directories. Prepared by authors.

Figure 4. Socio-cultural resources per every 10,000 inhabitants in Spanish medium-sized towns and cities (2010)

Cultural facilities

As can be seen in Table 2, the average number of facilities by size of municipality is not hugely different in this type of town/city. At the same time, there is no pattern that relates any of the three categories of medium-sized towns and cities identified to a higher or lower number. What does stand out, however, is that there are higher numbers of predominantly private cultural facilities, such as bookshops and cinemas.

In this last respect, there are no great contrasts regarding the numbers of predominantly public cultural facilities between the different sized medium-sized towns and cities, but there are more significant differences between towns and cities with different sized populations with respect to predominantly private facilities. What is worthy of note in this case is the behaviour of the libraries and bookshops which are representatives of the same segment of the cultural sector but have predominantly public and private characters, respectively; although the difference between them favours bookshops in towns and cities of all sizes, it is less noticeable in medium-sized cities with smaller populations (Table 2).

Table 2. Number of cultural facilities in Spanish medium-sized towns and cities (2010)

Population	Predominantly public facilities			Predominantly private facilities		
	Museums/ 10,000 inhab.	Libraries/ 10,000 inhab.	Archives/ 10,000 inhab.	Art Galleries 10,000 inhab.	Bookshops/ 10,000 inhab.	Cinemas/ 10,000 inhab.
20,000 - 50,000	0.27	0.47	3.39	0.13	1.03	1.09
50,000 - 100,000	0.28	0.37	3.76	0.18	1.10	1.57
100,000 - 250,000	0.22	0.32	4.04	0.20	1.37	1.26
Total medium-sized towns and cities	0.25	0.39	3.74	0.17	1.18	1.28

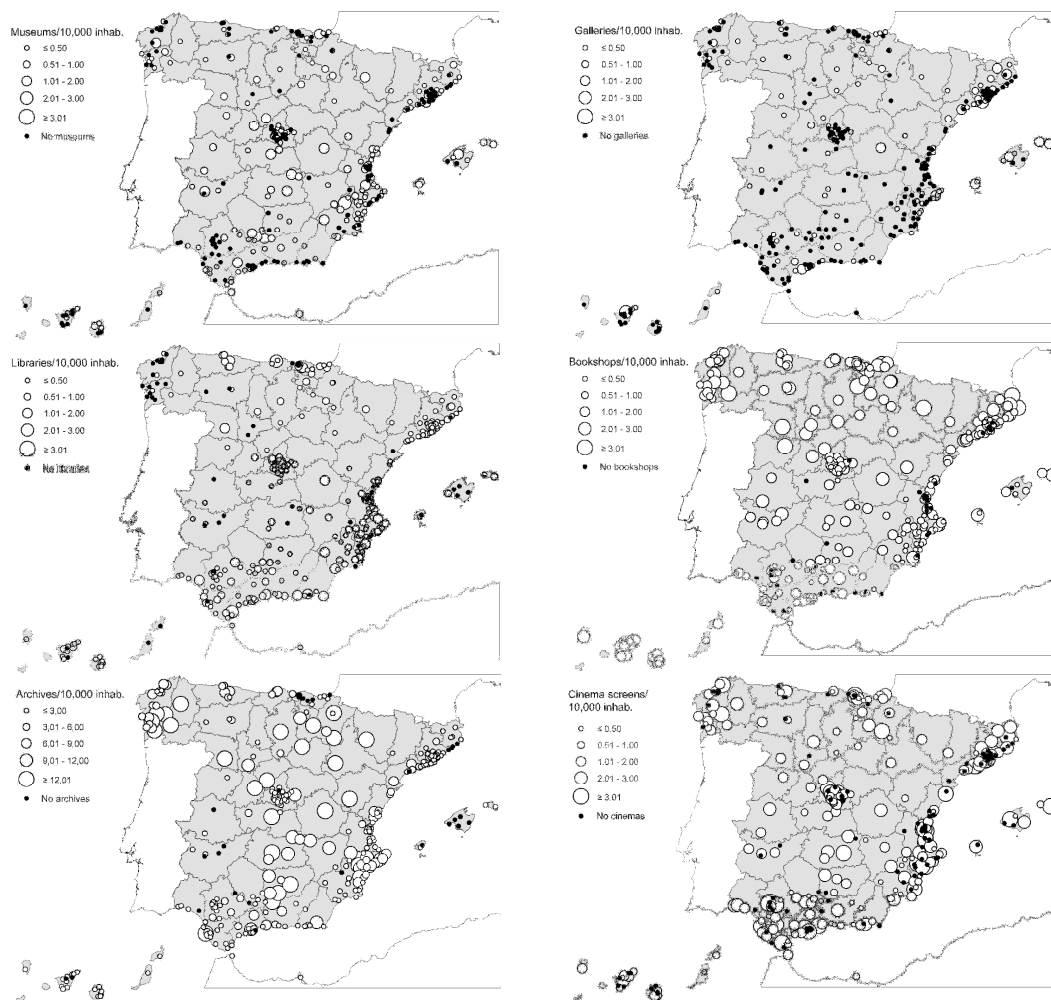
Source: Ministry of Culture registry of archives, museums, libraries and cinemas (online). Directory of bookshops and art galleries in telephone directories. Prepared by authors.

The territorial distribution of the various cultural facilities analysed reveals other dialectics and contradictions, not only linked to the medium-sized towns and cities' population volumes, but with the own particular logics of the different territories and facilities (Fig. 5).

The territorial coverage of museums is uneven as their existence and distribution are linked more to heritage resources and their acknowledgement. So it is interesting the lack of museums on the no-central spaces of main urban agglomerations and in coastal conurbations. Art galleries, on the contrary, while being much less abundant, have a greater presence in these types of places.

As far as libraries are concerned, the fact that they are basic cultural facilities favours a more balanced presence in medium-sized towns/cities as a whole, with large numbers in many municipalities with smaller populations (Fig. 5). By comparison, bookshop distribution highlights the fact that they are relatively much more important in the north and north-east of Spain. -

Finally, the facilities with the greatest per person ratio are archives and cinemas. The former are much more abundant inland and in cities with greater population volumes. The latter, on the other hand, have a greater presence in metropolitan areas and in the largest cities, as well as on the southern and eastern coasts (Fig. 5).



Source: Ministry of Culture register of archives, museums, libraries and cinemas (online). Directory of bookshops and galleries. Telephone directories. Prepared by authors.

Figure 5. Cultural facilities per 10,000 inhabitants in Spanish medium-sized cities (2010)

In view of the analysis of cultural resources and facilities in Spanish medium-sized towns and cities, it can be acknowledged that there is no single logic governing their distribution. In each separate case the logic is imbued with the historical circumstances and socio-economic dynamics of the specific city and territorial area.

It is therefore rejected that the size of a city or the fact that it is situated in socio-economic successful territories, such as metropolitan areas, has a generally greater impact on the spatial distribution of cultural resources or facilities.

On the one hand it is evident that Assets of Cultural interest and facilities such as museums have direct links with cities with a marked historical character. However, in some cases, such as the south or the island territories, there does seem to be a greater difference between the numbers of these.

Other resources, such as socio-cultural entities, seem to be much more sensitive to the ability and dynamics displayed by certain territories to generate social participation structures.

A similar relationship with socio-economic structures and trends seems to be reflected in the distribution of private facilities, such as bookshops, which are significantly more abundant in relative terms in the northern half of Spain. On the other hand, similar types of public facilities, such as libraries, are more homogeneously distributed.

Finally, other private facilities such as cinemas do follow a clear distribution pattern with strong links to metropolitan areas and urban conurbations, which is related to the tendency towards multiplexes that has dominated in recent years.

4 The creative industries in Spanish medium-sized cities

As was commented in the Introduction, the information on the creative industries comes from the registry of inscriptions in the State health and social benefits organisation. It should be stated that in the case of the creative industries, the analysis of related companies and workers is conditioned by the way in which the data is grouped. This prevents some activities, such as design and architecture, for example, being differentiated between. However, the information is adequate for this first approach to determining how these activities are distributed throughout the territory on the municipal scale.

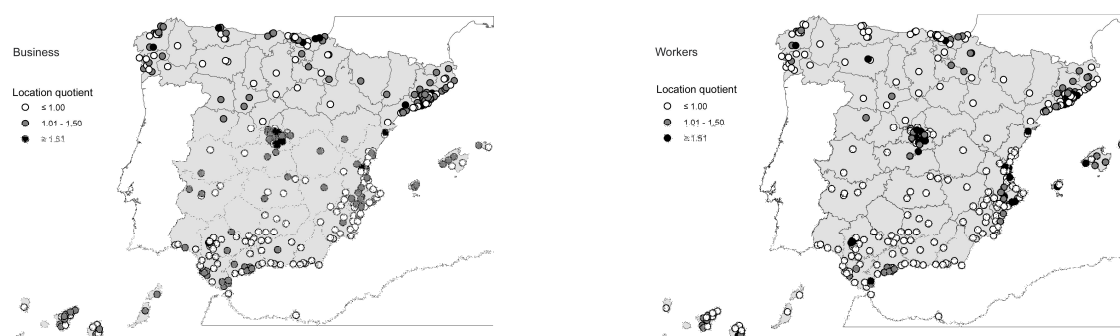
As can be seen in Table 3, there are no differences worthy of mention in the proportional weight of companies and workers with links to the creative industries in Spanish medium-sized towns and cities. However, the way that these industries evolved between 2000 and 2006 –that is, the period immediately preceding the economic crisis, which therefore enables the analysis to be less distorted by the effects of the downturn- indicates a stepping up of these industries in these towns and cities; specifically, in towns and cities of between 20,000 and 100,000 inhabitants. Be that as it may, there are above national average increases in the numbers of both the companies and workers linked to these activities in medium-sized towns and cities. This would appear to be especially interesting, in principle, from the perspective of territorial development (Table 3).

Table 3. Companies and workers associated with creative activities

Businesses					
Population	2000	2006	2000-06 (%)	% of total no. of companies, 2000	% of total no. of companies, 2006
20,000 – 50,000	5,191	6,588	26.91	2.09	2.41
50,000 - 100,000	4,594	5,556	20.94	2.50	2.48
100,000 - 250,000	6,743	7,716	14.43	2.58	2.58
Total medium-sized towns and cities	16,528	19,860	20.16	2.38	2.49
Spain	37,925	44,035	16.11	2.12	2.34
Workers					
Population	2000	2006	2000-06 (%)	% of total no. of workers, 2000	% of total no. of workers, 2006
20,000 - 50,000	48,661	64,389	32.32	2.59	2.57
50,000 - 100,000	48,311	63,412	31.26	3.06	2.97
100,000 - 250,000	61,308	78,447	27.96	2.41	2.43
Total medium-sized towns and cities	158,280	206,248	30.31	2.64	2.62
Spain	383,937	470,057	16.11	2.52	2.50

Source: Spanish National Health Organisation registry of businesses and workers, 2000 and 2006. Prepared by authors.

Quotients for creative industry business and worker locations have been used to qualify the above analysis (Figure 6). Only 4.01% of towns/cities have a location quotient of over 1.5, which shows that these activities are still not very important for the economies of Spanish medium-sized towns and cities. Moreover, the territorial distribution of the towns/cities with significant quotients, where the sector is relatively significant, shows a marked tendency towards concentration; basically in the main metropolitan areas (Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia). However, even though the spatial behaviour is very similar, there are fewer towns/cities that have high location quotients when numbers of workers are analysed (Fig. 6).



Source: Register of businesses and workers affiliated with the Spanish Social Security programme, Spanish National Health Organisation 2006, Prepared by authors.

Figure 6. Location quotient for business and workers in creative industries (2006)

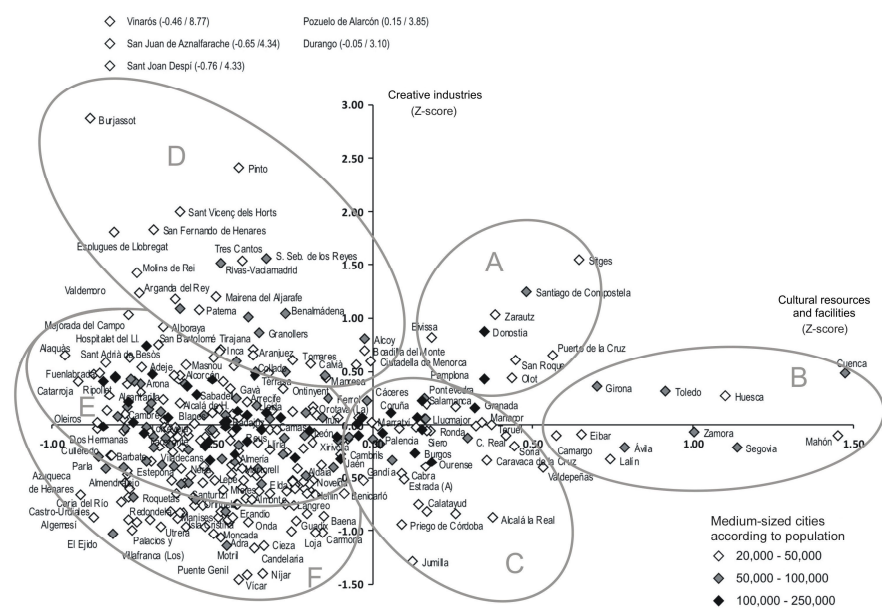
Contrary to what has been commented about cultural resources and facilities, the creative industry analysis has indeed shown that the dynamic economies of

metropolitan environments do have a greater influence, and even more so in the case of employment, which is a measure not only of a trend towards concentration in metropolitan municipalities, but also of the importance that this employment has there.

This is endorsed by the situation in other cities, many of them located in the interior of the Spanish mainland, which, as provincial and regional capitals, favour the presence of companies in this line of business, although they do not play such an important role in employment.

5 Typology of Spanish medium-sized cities according to the presence of cultural resources and creative industries

We aim to respond to the stated objective of devising a typology of medium-sized towns and cities by addressing cultural resources and creative industries jointly. The methodological instrument used was the typification of the values analysed by conversion to an indirect score or a z-score. This enabled us to establish the relative position of each municipal score compared to medium-sized towns and cities as a whole. Two measurements were obtained using the average of the z-scores: one for cultural resources and facilities, and the other for the creative industries. Both measures were used to prepare a dispersion graph which identified six different categories of medium-sized towns and cities in Spain (Figure 7). Each of the identified types can also be characterised on the basis of the socio-economic, historical, and territorial logics shared by the majority of the cities in them.



Source: Prepared by authors.

Figure 7. Typologies of medium-sized cities according to their cultural resources and creative industries

A) *Towns and cities with a balance of cultural resources and creative industries.* This category contains only a small number of towns and cities, nine altogether, with higher than average scores in both cultural resources and creative industries. There are two autonomous community capitals on the list (Pamplona and Santiago de Compostela) and two World Heritage Sites (Santiago de Compostela, as above, and

Eivissa). The other places in this category are San Sebastián-Donostia and other localities with a marked tourist character (Zarauz, Puerto de la Cruz, Sitges, etc.).

B) *The heritage town/city with an average presence of creative industries.* This is a type of town/city with acknowledged architectural heritage which does not usually exceed a population of 100,000 inhabitants. For the most part the towns and cities included in this group are provincial capitals (Gerona, Huesca, Cuenca, etc.) and it even contains one regional capital (Toledo, capital of Castile-La Mancha).

C) *The heritage town/city with a low presence of creative industries.* Included in this group are around fifty towns/cities with a relatively large cultural substratum, albeit less than in the previous category, and a scant presence of creative industries. These are places that have not been capable of taking advantage of their resources to accelerate change and economic renewal processes. Among them there are some provincial capitals (Corunna, Palencia, Pontevedra, Soria, etc.) in a slightly more favourable situation, and once again some of these are listed as World Heritage Sites (Cáceres, Granada, Salamanca, Burgos, Teruel etc.). The places in the worst situation are those that serve as district capitals but which have not moved, or have not been able to move the development of their creative industries forward (Alcalá la Real, Caravaca de la Cruz, Calatayud, Jumilla, Priego de Córdoba, etc.).

D) *Towns/cities with a notable presence of creative industries and few cultural resources.* There are some thirty towns/cities that do not stand out for the relative importance of their heritage resources but which, nonetheless, can count on a certain presence of creative industries. Metropolitan areas are included to a large extent, especially around Madrid (Pozuelo de Alarcón, Pinto, San Fernando de Henares, etc.) and Barcelona (Sant Joan Despí, Sant Vicenç del Horts, Esplugues de Llobregat, etc.), but also around Valencia (Burjasot, Paterna), Seville (Mairena del Aljarafe, San Juan de Aznalfarache, Tomares), Malaga (Benalmádena) and Bilbao (Durango). This is confirmation that the presence of creative industries in Spain is a reality that affects urban agglomerations to the greatest extent.

E) *Towns/cities with an average presence of creative industries and few cultural resources.* This is the category that contains the highest number of towns/cities and where it is difficult to make out basic common patterns. This category includes provincial capitals (León, Almería, Lleida, etc.) and some municipalities included in the Madrid and Barcelona metropolitan areas that have populations that easily exceed 100,000 inhabitants (Hospitalet de Llobregat, Alcorcón, Terrassa, Alcalá de Henares, etc.). Some large district towns of a different socio-economic type also stand out (Elda, Irún, Reus, etc.) and certain tourist resorts (Nerja, Estepona, Blanes, San Bartolomé de Tirajana).

F) *Towns/cities with a low presence of creative industries and a shortfall in cultural resources.* As in the case of the previous category, this type includes a wide range of municipalities. Among those that stand out are some towns/cities that have experienced large economic or residential growth in recent decades (Los Palacios and Villafranca, Lepe, Castro-Urdiales, Níjar, Motril, etc.). Most of these are located in the south of Spain and there is a predominance of towns/cities with populations that do not exceed 50,000 inhabitants.

An overview of these six city types and their cultural resources and creative industries upholds the hypothesis that there is no direct and unequivocal link between these two facets of the cultural sector. Similarly, the territorial distribution of the towns and cities with a greater number of cultural resources does not coincide with that of those with a greater presence of creative industries.

It is interesting to reflect on the behaviour of towns and cities that form part of metropolitan agglomerations. Whilst a large part of the cultural resources are concentrated in the central cities (which are not included in this study because of the size of their populations), the creative industries are more widely scattered around the metropolitan areas.

Nor should it be forgotten that non-metropolitan medium-sized cities have their own cultural resources and have been capable of developing creative industries. Some of these have even managed to achieve a certain balance between their cultural resources and their creative industries.

6 Final considerations

Cultural resources and the creative industries could be helping to shape more dynamic and competitive territories that are more conducive to driving development processes.

Towns and cities are the places where cultural resources and the creative industries are concentrated. This is not a phenomenon only found in the largest of these (where their relative importance is plain to see). However, but can also be observed in cities in other urban tiers. In the case that concerns us, i.e., medium-sized cities, they act to reinforce their central territorial role as a place that ensures that services are properly distributed throughout the territory as a whole.

As a territorial resource, the medium-sized city in Spain was an under-exploited and little studied component of the country's urban system until just a few decades ago. It can be said that during the 19th century and a good part of the 20th, except for provincial capitals, the history of the medium-sized town/city has been limited to a process in which they have lost their socio-economic pulse; the impoverishment of their intellectual capital due to a 'brain-drain' to urban spaces on a higher tier, and functional simplification. However, during the second half of the 20th century, a good number of medium-sized towns/cities associated with the country's metropolitan areas and more urbanised spaces (Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Seville, Bilbao, etc.) rallied; although growth in these towns and cities was more quantitative (demographic) than qualitative (services, socio-cultural resources, etc.). Notwithstanding, the consolidation of a decentralised model during recent decades under the current Spanish autonomous region system has helped to breathe new life into non-metropolitan medium-sized towns and cities. This has contributed to mitigating in part the socio-economic and population concentration process, and therefore, to rebalancing the territory to a certain extent.

With respect to the different tiers of medium-sized city, it should be pointed out that those with over 100,000 inhabitants present similar behaviour with respect to creative industries. Those in the intermediate tier (50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants) present a wide variety of circumstances, although they do score higher than average with respect to industries of this type. Finally, towns in the bottom tier (25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants) display the greatest variety of behaviours and, in general terms, the cultural sector is much less present in them in the case of both resources and creative industries.

With regard to the typology established, broadly-speaking, two different patterns can be made out. On the one hand, the fact that some towns and cities are provincial or district capitals has an influence on the development of the cultural sector, especially as regards cultural resources. On the other hand, the concentration of creative industries in towns and cities in metropolitan areas should be highlighted.

To conclude, no general formula can be said to exist for explaining the development of the cultural sector in Spanish medium-sized towns and cities with respect to either cultural resources or creative industries. And it does not seem that a causal relationship can be established between the two categories. Their behaviour varies from one city to another depending on their population tier, the position that they occupy in the urban system, the territorial areas where they are located, their past histories, their socio-economic structures, and the ability of their local agents to drive their valorisation and growth. It therefore not only seems interesting, but essential for specific analyses to be carried out from the perspective analysed here to enable knowledge of the behaviour of each of the towns and cities to be examined in greater detail. This would then allow public institutions to design suitable strategies in each

circumstance not just to move development processes forward in an integrated way, but to enable these processes to be extended to the rest of the territory.

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