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JOINED UP CREATIVITY: CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND SCOTLAND'S URBAN AND RURAL CREATIVE ECONOMY

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Abstract. Central to Scotland's creative economy is Creative Scotland, the national agency, which sits within the broader context of creative and cultural provision. For the first time a corporate plan has been produced that includes working across the span of Scotland's Creative and Cultural Industries (CCIs) with a diverse range of partners. This paper focuses on the current status of Scotland's Creative Economy, particularly the little studied Creative Rural Economy. The paper then examines definitions, convergence on key issues and the move from list-based categorisation to more refined analyses. An international comparison including another creative rural economy is also attempted. Policy and practice is assessed with reference to the interconnectedness of creative nation, city, region, project, place and people alongside themes such as partnership, skills, infrastructure, design, spillovers and sector growth. Lastly, the unique needs of the Creative Rural Economy are highlighted as well as the requirement for dedicated business and support tools.

Keywords. Creative and Cultural Industries, Creative Rural Economy.

Introduction

When NVA transformed the dramatic natural land formation of The Old Man of Storr in Trotternish on the Isle of Skye through illumination and sound throughout the months of August and September in 2005 they created an intense and personal experience. For forty two nights this award winning installation The Storr: Unfolding Landscape brought an audience of six and a half thousand people, equipped with headlamps, guides and walking sticks on a strenuous walk to witness one of Europe's most dramatic and inspiring landscapes at midnight. The massed pinnacles and buttresses were illuminated while powerful soundscapes drifted down from the ridges above. As well as its cultural impact and economic impact on tourism, NVA, short for nacionale vitae activa, demonstrates several key things about the creative rural economy. First is that remoteness is no barrier to mounting significant creative projects. Second it is also quite literally a model of the experience economy in which, "work is theatre and every business a stage" (Pine and Gilmour 1999). Third, it is an example of the project economy (Lash 2011); in the case of NVA a core team of six people is variously expanded to suit the needs of individual projects by utilising the services of numerous freelancers, for example: lighting designers, musicians, sound engineers, film-makers and web designers. Fourth, at its core is a creative entrepreneur, Angus Farquar who, as well as creativity, possesses the leadership expertise and skills to develop and deliver such projects, in other

words, to sell the project to investors and external stakeholders, as well promote and market the experience. Fifth, there is a spillover effect on the tourism sector. Sixth, it is a potent form of branding. Crucially, the project is located within the Creative Rural Economy and not an urban context as is usually the case with CCIs.

Definitions

In a number of ways the Storr project represents the contemporary Creative Economy at whose heart are the CCIs that lie at the crossroads of culture, business and technology. What unifies these activities is the fact that they all trade with creative assets in one form or another. The notion of Creative Industries derived from the UK Government's Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) mapping exercise and definition (1998), which is: "Those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property." There are thirteen sub-sectors defined by the DCMS and these are: advertising; architecture; the art and antiques market; crafts; design; designer fashion; film and video; interactive leisure software; music; the performing arts; publishing; software and computer games; and television and radio. The term Cultural Industries is also used by some agencies, though this term relates to a more specific range of industries and can be regarded as a subset of the creative industries. In the UK the hybrid term, Creative and Cultural Industries is often used, for instance, by Creative and Cultural Skills, which is one of the UK's Learning Skills Councils (LSCs) and whose footprint includes: craft, design, cultural heritage, music, literature and performing and visual arts.

In this sense, Flew and Cunningham (2010) have described what they term "the struggle for definitional coherence" and underline challenges to the early list-based approach and the growing consensus around what should be core to the definition of the Creative Industries. For example, the UK's National Endowment for Science Technology and the Arts (NESTA 2006), has produced what it terms a "refined" model for the Creative Industries that includes:

- creative experience providers live theatre, opera or multimedia performers;
- creative content producers film and TV companies, computer and video games studios, fashion houses;
- creative service providers architecture practices, advertising agencies, design consultancies;
- creative originals producers visual artists, crafts people. NESTA maintains that this model provides for better targeting of economic growth as it separates out those who create Intellectual Property (IP). However, this illuminates another debate in a sector

dominated by micro-businesses, namely, what constitutes growth? In the context of the Creative Rural economy with its geographic and demographic constraints, this is particularly contentious.

International Comparison

In terms of the global interpretation of Creative Industries, Canada and the province of Ontario offer an interesting comparison to Scotland and the UK. It is especially interesting because on the one hand it draws upon Florida's widely disseminated work on the Creative Class (2002) whilst on the other focussing on the capabilities that further creativity. Thus, Ontario has adopted a concept of the Creative Economy that considers the economy in accordance with the work people do to encompass "creative occupations", thus adding scientists and technologists to designers and artists. Nonetheless, in Canada, whilst the Creative Economy is seen as pervasive, it is identified as being concentrated in a number of businesses that are categorised as Creative Industries (2010). So, the Ontario definition of the Creative Industries is similar to that of the DCMS (with the exception of Business Consulting, Engineering, Marketing and Public Relations) ostensibly making a comparison possible. Importantly, like Scotland, Ontario is seeking to build geographic advantage by harnessing the creative potential of its citizens.

In that sense, based on Florida and Martins' (2009) identification of three sets of skills that "creative workers" draw upon, namely; analytical skills, social intelligence skills and physical skills, Ontario-based economic development agencies have refined these into a set of analytical and social intelligence skills (2010). Analytical thinking skills are related to art directors and engineers, for example, whilst social intelligence skills are linked to occupations that focus upon the management of people such as film directors and marketing managers. As Florida and Martin admit (2009 ibid) while these skills are important components of creativity-oriented occupations, all occupations have a requirement for these skills. However, according to their research, the higher an occupation is on the analytical index, the more it pays, thus, allowing an analysis to be made in terms of the perceived financial value of creative skills across Canadian provinces or US states and by extension, Scotland and the UK. For critics of Creative Industries the Canadian approach might be evidence of the empirical weakness of the theoretical analyses it propagates (Garnham (2005), although such critiques are more often based on a weakening of the case for the arts as opposed to economic arguments. For others it is evidence of Florida's prescient analysis of the need to focus on the talent deficit and the fact that advanced nations have been living beyond their capacity to generate talent and have been borrowing to fuel growth and prosperity (Florida 2005, 2010).

A further increment in terms of helping to contour the sector and its economy comes from a European Commission study (EC 2006). Where this is useful is in defining the culture sector as "nonindustrial", producing non-reproducible goods and services that are consumed on the spot – exhibitions, concerts, festivals. This is the arts field – visual and performing arts - as well as heritage. In the creative sector culture becomes a "creative" input in the production of non-cultural goods, largely through design – fashion, interior, games, and product. Thus, creativity becomes a source of innovation. This links with the influential Cox Review (2005) prepared for HM Treasury, which clearly underlines the connection between creativity, innovation and design. A succession of European strategy documents have since attempted to underpin the role of the sector from unlocking their wider economic and social potential (EC 2010) to the Amsterdam Declaration (2010) and the establishment of a European Creative Industries Alliance and the European Innovation Union (EC 2011). Thus, there is a sense at the European level at least, of concerted action on Creative Industries.

Creative Scotland

Likewise, the Scottish Government has identified Creative Industries as a key priority area (2009) and established a Scottish Creative Industries Partnership (SCIP) chaired by Creative Scotland whose recently published Corporate Plan (2011) outlines the strategic role of SCIP, especially the national coordination of the various stakeholders. Scotland is probably unique in seeking to integrate the breadth of the Creative and Cultural industries in terms of policy and delivery. Creative Scotland appears to regard definitions as at least problematic; the agency's Corporate Plan talks of investing in the "Cultural Economy" and simultaneously promoting social objectives and the responsibility to stimulate growth in the "economy of culture and the creative industries", the latter through SCIP. In this respect Scotland is nevertheless in line with contemporary European strategy in recognizing the key drivers, namely: the need to put the right enablers in place, increasing the capacity to experiment; using local and regional development as a global launch pad; and moving towards a creative economy by catalyzing the spill-over effects of CCIs on a wide range of economic and social contexts (2010 ibid).

A review of the recent literature for the Scottish Government has highlighted the importance of formulating a definition of the creative sector that is relevant to the context in which it is to be applied and which enables analysis to consider what is of interest to a particular policy setting (Carr 2009). To this end, research suggests that approaches based on the wider concept of the Creative Economy (which includes the Creative Industries) may be able to overcome some of the perceived limitations. Contemporary

with this review, the Scotland's Creative Industries Partnership Report (2009) and a Scottish Government Key Sector Report (2009) were published; signposting the way for the establishment of Creative Scotland in 2010.

In close succession, again for the first time, a Creative Sector Skills Action Plan, instigated by SCIP was prepared (2010). It brought together Scotland's main public sector organisations to contribute their expertise, and advise on future opportunities for strengthening Scotland's creative industries. The purpose of this plan was to provide an industry-informed framework against which better support for more targeted skills and learning in Scotland's creative sector could be prioritised. This will be achieved by: fostering a step-change in the way in which learning and skills for Scotland's creative employers and practitioners are supported; clarifying routes to funding skills and learning that satisfy the needs of the sector; and supporting extreme collaboration across all partners and stakeholders. The role of Scotland's universities - the primary source of talent for the creative economy – has also been highlighted (2011). Amongst its key findings are that employability and entrepreneurship are growing areas of focus for higher education and universities can be an important provider of continuing professional development for the creative industries as well as the need for greater collaboration between universities and skills and training providers.

Against that background the detailed targets and impacts of Creative Scotland's plan attempt to enunciate national outcomes with partnership as a high priority driver in order to promote "the unique contribution that different places, local authority areas and sub-regions play in a Creative Scotland". Therefore, in addition to promulgating a holistic approach to creativity and culture, national policy is also committed to developing Scotland's creative urban and rural economies as well as the necessary underpinning education and training. Hence the need for a progressive evaluation that encompasses city, region, and place and the creative projects and people which animate them.

Creative City - Glasgow

Glasgow's post-industrial transformation has been well documented over two decades, for example: (Myerscough 1988), (MacDonald 2002, 2005). In what became a global phenomenon, the transformation of cities by design and cultural regeneration, Glasgow, through its reign in 1990 as European Culture Capital, used creativity and design to define a decade. The timing was crucial. Helped by Roger Hargreave's graphics and the marketing acumen of its civic leadership, Glasgow, once the Second City of the British Empire, commenced its long and painful journey from the gloom of its industrial past with the renowned *Glasgow's Miles*

Better campaign in the mid-Eighties and one of the biggest urban ground shifts in history. With its associated inward investment and cultural strategies – the Garden Festival, the opening of the Burrell Collection (a landmark building predating Bilbao's Guggenheim and its so-called "effect" by a decade) - that campaign secured the 1990 European City of Culture crown and created a virtuous circle of design creativity, including the 1996 International Design Festival, leading to the prize of UK City of Architecture and Design 1999 and the opening of the Lighthouse as Scotland's Centre for Architecture, Design and the City.

Glasgow has been a model, with its momentum building techniques copied elsewhere. The place marketing that started with the Glasgow's Miles Better campaign and was the multiplier effect in City of Culture carried through to the 1996 and 1999 city design festivals. One of the most important staging posts for Glasgow as Creative City was its reign on the eve of the Millennium as UK City of Architecture and Design. In that context, developing a reputation for innovation linked to the creative economy accelerated with the Lighthouse – the £12.5 million conversion of Charles Rennie Mackintosh's former Glasgow Herald building. As well as being about cultural tourism it also sits on the crossover from cultural consumption to cultural production. The Lighthouse with its mix of exhibitions, events, education, design into business and creative industries' network, sits on the commercially active side of the artseconomy equation, establishing a new business model and tools for the creative sector.

Glasgow's investment in its cultural and creative infrastructure has continued with the riverside of the development the BBC by English architect David Chipperfield, which is also home to many "indies" and the new Riverside Museum designed by Zaha Hadid; Trongate 103 which houses numerous cultural enterprises; Film City, again a conversion of a heritage building, to support screen industries; to the Briggait, a former fish market building that now contains sixty artists' studios and office space for a similar number of creative businesses. The latter also houses the Cultural Enterprise Office (CEO), which provides support to start-ups on a Scotland-wide basis. The City's infrastructure has been enhanced with a substantial virtual resource, Central Station, a social media network for the Creative Industries. Research points to these developments contributing to Glasgow being one of the most creative places in the UK (Myerscough 2011). Importantly, Creative Scotland and the theme of partnership is woven through all of these initiatives.

Creative Project: Celtic Connections

Festivals are an important part of Scotland and Glasgow's creative economy as well as being a priority for Creative Scotland. They also

provide a key to understanding the characteristics of the project economy. In another first Creative Scotland has collated a programme of all of Scotland's 280 annual festivals. One of the most important is Celtic Connections. Established in Glasgow in 1994 it features 1,500 artists with 300 events in 14 venues across the city, over 18 days. Apart from the cultural dimension to this international music festival it includes educational outreach and an International Showcase. The latter is important for industry development, as is the tourism impact. In 2011 there were 101,625 attendances with 25% overnight stays with a direct economic impact of over £4.5 million on Glasgow and over £3.5 million on Scotland.

Quite literally, Celtic Connections networks Scotland's urban and rural music segments, especially the Gaelic world, as well as making connections to international events like Interceltique and Celtic Colours. Crucially, in terms of the rural creative economy, Celtic Connections links to Fèisean nan Gàidheal, Pròiseact Nan Ealan and the Highlands-wide Blas Festival. In fact, Celtic Connections is a good example of the creative/cultural ecology. For some this means the subsidised arts feeding the commercial arts, the voluntary arts and the amateur arts, thus ensuring creativity permeates everywhere. For others, like Howkins (2009), it means the borrowing, sharing and developing of ideas. Certainly Celtic Connections has created new synergies allowing performers and musicians to come together to create new work. At the same time it has stimulated academic research. It has also spawned new commissions and created content for MG Alba, a partnership with BBC to broadcast its Gaelic TV Channel. In addition to its TV audience, through BBC iPlayer, MG Alba has notched up over 1,000,000 downloads, a substantial contributor to which, in one way or another, has been Celtic Connections.

Creative entrepreneurship and creative entrepreneurs are seen as pivotal within the Creative Economy by bridging the gap between artists and consumers (Newbiggin 2011). In that vein Creative entrepreneurship is a permeating feature of Celtic Connections with exponents like Capercaillie's Donald Shaw, Gaelic singer Julie Fowlis and Blaizin Fiddles' Aidan O'Rourke. All three variously intertwine performance, production, promotion, and cultural leadership and project management, coming together with different creatives at different times in different places to develop and deliver particular commissions or projects. What is significant is that all three prosper in the creative rural economy and use their talents and expertise to support others to do the same.

Creative Region – Highlands and Islands

The Highlands and Islands, which is both a local authority area and an economic region, covers most of Scotland geographically. A

recent report on the area (HIE 2010) has indicated that its Creative Industries employ 13,285 people, in 1,670 creative businesses, generating £189m in GVA with £559m turnover per annum. Of those businesses 72% employed less than 5 people and 51% had a turnover of less than £100,000. The challenges for the area are therefore: extreme fragmentation and distance from market; problems of scale and the need to network microbusinesses; finance, especially for research and development; the supply chain and the need to understand the ecology of the area's Creative Industries.

What is striking about the Sectoral Strategy for the area is its recognition of the connective role of Gaelic, especially MG Alba and Feisean nan Gaidheal but interestingly, at the same time, the need for design-led innovation and spillovers. This has led in the latter sense to identifying priorities such as: strengthening communities; Life Sciences in terms of personalisation of product and services; Renewables, including procurement: Universities and new models and methodologies; Business services like new home-working opportunities; Tourism and its promotion; and Food and Drink linked to events, festivals and international initiatives. In turn these coalesce into strategic targets such as: growing the sector by 26% by 2017; idea development, distribution and networking; focussing on innovation skills development; integration with other sectors; festivals; and partnership with Scottish Government and Creative Scotland. Without saying so as such the Highland strategy empathises with that of rural Ontario and current European policy in the sense of seeking to promote creativity more widely both economically and socially.

Creative Place – Shetland and Orkney islands

Mareel will be the UK's most northerly creative industries centre, which is due to open in late 2011 and is a good example of Highlands and Islands' joined-up strategy. The £12 million building designed by Gareth Hoskins Architects, is situated in a prominent quayside area in Lerwick next to the new Shetland Museum and Archives. Mareel will have two cinema screens, a live performance auditorium, rehearsal rooms, a recording studio, education and training spaces, a digital media production suite and a cafe bar with free Wi-fi. It is a hugely important project for Shetland, culturally, educationally and economically. It will create 52 full time jobs and help with positive effects on population, especially the retention of young people. It is also intended to also raise the profile of Shetland and the Highlands and Islands internationally. UHI will deliver music and sound engineering courses and there is a multi-media production suite for film, TV, web design and digital arts. As well as providing a significant community asset in the remotest part of the UK, Mareel will also provide a supportive environment for the

islands' creative entrepreneurs, particularly in terms of internationalisation and promoting creative businesses in a global marketplace.

For example, in the neighbouring island of Orkney international design company Tait and Style design and produce fabrics, which are retailed throughout Europe and Asia. Orkney is not generally thought of as one of the world's fashion centres, but it does have a tremendous pool of traditional skills, like needle punching that Tait and Style draws upon. As well as exploring the possibilities of Fair Isle and other knitting techniques, the company works with traditional knitters in the neighbouring Shetland Islands. Tait & Style has developed a reputation for innovative and unique fabrics, and for collaborations with other designers – one is Donna Wilson a graduate of northerly Gray's School of Art, who was 2010 UK Designer of the Year. Tait and Style have also worked with Conran, Marithé and François Girbaud, Commes des Garçons, John Galliano, Dior, Shirin Guild, Givenchy, Kenzo and John Rocha.

Nurturing craft-based enterprises like Tait and Style are crucial to the remote creative economy and the company is a model of elevating indigenous human and material resources to a high level of design in which community identity is prime. Growth in Tait and Style's case is through collaboration and international networking. But remoteness and an emphasis on craft that takes its inspiration from the local environment need not be a barrier to business development and growth in terms of scale. Sheila Fleet Jewellery, also based in Orkney, employs fifty people and is expanding. The company sells through its own outlets and major department stores throughout the UK; likewise, long-established Orkney jeweller Ortak, which in 2010, turned over more than £8 million. Crafts, inseparable from design, play a crucial role in the Creative Rural Economy. Its focus on skills – on making – renders its graduates and practitioners valuable in the post-global economic crisis as the examples above seek to demonstrate. Evidence of this is provided by a study by NESTA (Bakshi 2008), which shows how art school graduates contribute to innovation both within the arts and the wider economy. The research found that these graduates possess the attitudes and skills that are conducive to innovation and that they also see themselves as brokers across disciplines. Central to the findings were experimentation and openness to new ideas, skills that are prized in the crafts, and which are valuable in the Creative Economy.

Conclusion

The Scottish Government has set a target for the Creative Economy which is to grow by 26% by 2015. Similarly, Highlands and Islands has pitched a target of 26% by 2017. Key to that growth is a

number of factors, not least understanding the creative ecology in which Creative Industries operate. Instrumental in that sense is encouraging research that focuses on creative entrepreneurs themselves, their experiences, activities and interactions. Intertwined with this, festivals and the project economy hold out numerous opportunities provided growth is construed in a way that is relevant to the ecology of the sector. This means appreciating growth in relation to the project economy alongside conventional business development as well as understanding the interaction between creative experience, content and service providers as identified by NESTA. Also crucial is promoting Creative Industries' spillovers into other areas of the economy. Highland and Islands identification of possible targets ranging from medical devices to social enterprise is useful in this respect. Encouraging such extreme collaboration requires a particular kind of training and development, one that is customised to the creative industries such as providing a matching-making service, design-driven innovation workshops, open innovation, industry networking and innovation camps and events.

This paper was predicated on the developmental journey of Creative Industries towards the Creative Economy and moving from an appreciation of the urban context to what it is that makes the Creative Rural Economy distinctive. It eschewed criticism of the ideological roots of the Creative Industries in favour of an incremental analysis of the evolution of the sector and its definition and redefinition to accommodate emerging economic realities. In that sense it has appeared that geography is important and it is salient that Creative Scotland's strategy also includes the contribution of place to the Creative Economy as a crosscutting objective. Creative Entrepreneurship also arose as central, linked to skills and professional development customised to the particular needs of the sector. And, it may be in this latter respect as well as encouraging overspills, that the broader Canadian categorisation of creative professions linked to Florida and Martins' (2009) identification of three sets of skills; analytical, social intelligence and physical, are worthy of consideration. Infrastructure also is absolutely essential, as is tailored support and judicious public intervention. And, of course, all of this needs strategic national coordination. Joined up creativity is the key.

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