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***Beyond the craft ghetto:
Harnessing creative industries to support
development***

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Abstract

Creative industries and the creative economy are relatively new fields in terms of study and analysis. Understanding of their relationship to international development is even more embryonic. Using a cross-disciplinary approach, this paper attempts to summarise some of the key areas of thought, highlighting why this is an important area for additional research. It focuses on specific initiatives where public policy might pro-actively support and influence the growth of a successful creative sector. The paper explores the importance of the digital revolution in enabling creative industries in developing countries to access global markets. It argues that the creative industries have the capacity to be a transformative influence through generating cultural confidence, which can impact on social and economic development.

Keywords: Creative industries, Creative economy, Culture, Innovation

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Introduction

This short paper is the beginning of a longer-term initiative: the 'Creative Development Project' (CDP) – a not-for-profit organisation based in the UK, established in partnership with the Brooks World Poverty Institute at the University of Manchester. Its primary purpose is to understand how the creative industries can support socio-economic development in developing nations.

The paper outlines the increasing recognition of the economic and cultural value of the so-called 'creative economy' in the developed world. It looks at how and why this focus on creativity is relevant to developing countries. The paper also explores why the digital revolution is of fundamental importance in relation to the creative industries in developing countries accessing global markets – and highlights that the shake-up of creative business models caused by digital technology can in fact benefit creatives from developing nations. In addition, it argues that the creative industries have the capacity to be a transformative influence in terms of generating cultural confidence, which can impact on social and economic development.

Creative industries and the creative economy are relatively new fields in terms of study and analysis. Understanding of their relationship to international development is even more embryonic. Using a cross-disciplinary approach, this paper attempts to summarise some of the key areas of thought, highlighting why this is an important area for additional research and focuses its findings on specific initiatives where public policy might pro-actively support and influence the growth of a successful creative sector.

As Cunningham *et al* (2008) put it:

'the harnessing of creativity brings with it the potential of new wealth creation, the cultivation of local talent and the generation of creative capital, the development of new export markets, significant multiplier effects throughout the broader economy, the utilisation of information communication technologies and enhanced competitiveness in an increasingly global economy'.

The importance of creative industries

There has been an increasing recognition in recent years of the significance of creative industries. Phil McKinney, who oversees the long-range technical strategy, research and development and innovation programmes for Hewlett-Packard, and who has been dubbed as Silicon Valley's 'Chief Seer' by California media, stated in 2007 that:

'...we are on the cusp of a change from the information economy to the creative economy. We've been through these kinds of changes before with the shift from agriculture to industrial to information and now to the creative economy.' (McKinney, 2007)

One of the early predictors of this rise in the importance of creativity – and its corollary relationship with the prosperity of a given place – was Richard Florida, in his book *The Rise of the Creative Class*. Cited by Harvard Business Review as the breakthrough idea of 2004, Florida (2004) described the growing importance of creative activity, and the influence of creatives, in shaping the modern culture and economy.

In a statement very relevant to those who might seek to encourage the potential of the creative economy in developing nations, Florida has highlighted his belief that:

'Every single human being is creative. The biggest challenge of the creative age is to lift the bottom up and encourage a prosperous, vibrant and sustainable community for all.'

The title of this paper, 'Beyond the craft ghetto', refers to an incident related by David Hulme of the University of Manchester's Brooks World Poverty Institute, who heard the term used by a local policy officer in West Ireland in the late 1980s. At that time, as part of its economic development plans, Ireland was seeking to support and develop its creative talent, but wished to move beyond the artisan/craft focused and traditional activity to embrace modern, forward thinking and economically meaningful creative activity.

Ireland was one of the first countries to recognise, a number of decades ago, the structural importance of the creative sector at a national level, with the introduction of a fairly unique tax regime for artists resident in Ireland (introduced in the 1969 Finance Act). This enabled all working artists to apply for tax exemptions on the income derived from their creative work.¹ With the challenges many developing countries face in terms of tax collection, this may not be a directly transferable concept to the development arena but it does illustrate how, nationally, recognition of the value of creative industries can help shape and support their development. Florida (2004) highlights Dublin as one of the leading international flagships of the creative economy.

Over recent years, the importance of the creative sector has now become an established, internationally recognised fact. A 2007 European Parliament report states that:

'The cultural and creative sectors foster creativity and contribute to innovation in other sectors of the economy...They also act as a multiplier in local development as they constitute a powerful catalyst for attracting tourists, are of strategic importance for growth and employment in cities and regions and have significant social impacts at local level in terms of social regeneration and social cohesion.' (European Union. European Parliament, 2007)

The report goes on to highlight figures from Hendrik van der Pol (2007) which show that in 2003 European creative industries provided 2.6 percent of EU GDP and provided 5.6 million jobs – the equivalent of 3.1 percent of EU employment, higher than the employment provision in the chemical and plastic industries (2.3 percent), or the food industries (1.9 percent). It also states that creative industries in the EU grew 8.8 percent per annum between 1996 and 2005, growing 12 percent faster than the overall EU economy. In clear recognition of how policy makers are taking creativity seriously, the European Union designated 2009 the Year of Creativity and Innovation. According to figures from UNCTAD (2008), mirroring the success in the EU, global trade in creative goods and services surged to US\$445.2 billion in 2005 from US\$234.8 billion in 1996. Such trade grew at an unprecedented average rate of 8.7 percent a year from 2000 to 2005.

¹ See <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/ireland.php?aid=426> (accessed 22 September 2010).

Among EU member states, the UK has been one of the countries at the forefront of seeking to develop and exploit its comparative advantage in the creative economy. UNCTAD identifies it as one of the world's top ten creative goods exporters (UNCTAD, 2008). The UK's Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS),² in a clear attempt to focus policy efforts on those businesses with economic substance, defines creative industries as

'...those activities 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'.

Based on this approach the UK government identifies Creative Industries as including:

- Advertising
- Architecture
- Crafts and designer furniture
- Fashion clothing
- Film, video and other audiovisual production
- Graphic design
- Educational and leisure software
- Live and recorded music
- Performing arts and entertainments
- Television, radio and internet broadcasting
- Visual arts and antiques
- Writing and publishing.

The DCMS strategy, 'Creative Britain' (UK DCMS, 2008), outlines the UK government's focus on the importance of the creative economy. It quotes then Prime Minister Gordon Brown:

'In the coming years, the creative industries will be important not only for our national prosperity but for Britain's ability to put culture and creativity at the centre of our national life.'

Creative Britain's stated aim is 'to move the creative industries from the margins to the mainstream of the UK economy'. Talent, innovation, business growth and intellectual property – key drivers of success in the creative industries – are all supported by the strategy. With £70 million targeted spend attached to the strategy's aims, the strategy is a clear statement of the UK government's intent to see the country's creative industries grow domestically and globally.

Without denigrating traditional crafts – there is clearly a place for promoting and protecting traditional crafts and culture – in terms of focusing on maximum potential for job creation and social impact, this paper encourages, through the Creative Development Project and other development research activity, an emphasis on those industries highlighted by the UK strategy. These areas of contemporary economic relevance can clearly have the greatest potential for positive change.

As Europe's highly successful creative economies demonstrate (in addition to the UK, Italy, Germany, France, Spain and Belgium are all in the top ten exporters) there is potentially real value for developing

² <http://www.culture.gov.uk/> (accessed 22 September 2010).

nations seeking to promote their contemporary culture and creative industries. UNCTAD has already recognised this fact and in its 2008 *Creative Economy Report* stated:

‘ the interface among creativity, culture, economics and technology, as expressed in the ability to create and circulate intellectual capital, has the potential to generate income, jobs and export earnings while at the same time promoting social inclusion, cultural diversity and human development.’

This is not to say that there are not more cautionary perspectives to consider. Cultural critics such as Theodor Adorno (1981) have warned of the dangers of a ‘culture industry’ and its potential to reduce the ability of culture to support critical thinking, instead encouraging passivity; Zizek (1992) talks of a ‘cultural capitalism’, driven purely by economic imperatives, which negates the capacity of culture as a source of empowerment. If social, as well as economic, development is a goal of any creative industries/cultural development strategy, the need to consider how best to preserve ‘authenticity’ and a genuine cultural ‘voice’ is a vital, if complex, consideration.

Creative industries and the developing world

The rise of the creative economy is not, and should not be, a trend that can only benefit developed nations. The Creative Development Project has been established to meet Richard Florida’s stated challenge for the creative age to ‘encourage a prosperous, vibrant and sustainable community for all’ on an international level.

While the concept of the creative economy is recent and still evolving, it reflects the idea that creative assets can generate economic growth, job creation and export earnings, while at the same time promoting social inclusion, cultural diversity and human development. Reflecting an understanding of the importance of this in development terms, the UNCTAD XI ministerial meeting in Sao Paulo in 2004 called on the international community to help developing countries ‘foster, protect and promote their creative industries’.

With the increasing importance of the creative economy, and in light of the economic and social potential that creative industries have, it is crucial that developing countries participate fully in the creative future. There are also a number of reasons why the creative economy offers a real opportunity to nations that in other fields have struggled to compete in the global marketplace.

One of the key advantages many developing countries have is that in a lot of cases there already exists a thriving culture industry. By engaging and sharing in best practice in relation to supporting and nurturing these creative talents, it is possible that this thriving culture can be a genuine export that both provides employment and generates cultural confidence. Authentic, place-distinct creativity is not something that can easily be replicated by outside commerce.

Creative businesses are often SMEs and, in many cases, do not present the same capital investment challenges that competing in other areas of the economy does. In addition, the dominant economic structures and gatekeeper functions, as outlined in Richard Caves’ (2003) pioneering book, *The Contracts Between Art and Commerce*, have been somewhat undermined by the fast paced changes brought by the digital revolution. This has created space for the smaller creative and innovator to access markets previously restricted by these carefully managed gatekeeper functions.

The one infrastructure challenge that does exist – and needs to be met – is adequate access to digital technology and communications: not an insurmountable one by any means – and something that the UK government's Department for International Development (DFID) is currently seeking to address in supporting the creation of a Central Africa broadband network.

The UNCTAD *Creative Economy Report* (2008) is one of the first major international development publications to recognise the potential that creative industries could play in supporting developing economies.

In addition to highlighting the global significance of the creative economy, the report highlights the success that China, as the world's leading exporter of creative goods in 2005, India, with its movies and software, and the Republic of Korea, with digital animation, have had. These emerging economies have already embraced the creative economy's potential. However, the report goes on to show that, despite the opportunities, many developing countries are not yet able to harness their creative capacities for development, due to a combination of external and internal constraints. The report lists a series of clear challenges facing the developing world:

- the lack of a clear framework for understanding and analysing the creative economy as a basis for informed, evidence-based policy-making;
- the unusual organisational characteristics of the creative economy that call for country-specific rather than generic policies;
- the lack of institutional capacity to support development of the creative industries in the developing world, particularly in the protection and enforcement of intellectual property rights; and
- the fact that the developed world has enormous 'first mover' advantages in the field of creative goods and services, making it more difficult for developing countries to compete in global markets for these products.

That is not to say that there are no success stories. According to a May 2005 report released by the Nigerian Copyright Commission, the Nigerian film/video industry (aka Nollywood) generated over US \$200 million in exports sales between 1992 and 2005 (quoted by Sagnia 2005). Success stories like Nollywood tend to be very specific to the unique circumstances of the culture where they are born.

Films made in Nigeria have a unique advantage in reaching their core market – their core market is Nigerian. People wish to see themselves reflected back through cultural expression – and no-one can do this in the same way as the culture itself. In addition, Nollywood, collectively, took specific advantage of changes in technology to embrace emerging, low-cost video cameras to deliver low budget films³. The industry has also benefited from the burgeoning number of television channels available to screen its work.

Nollywood does however face challenges. Paul Obazele, president of the Association of Movie Producers, has been quoted as saying:

³ <http://www.nigeralfilms.com/> (accessed 5 October 2010).

'...the Nigerian Copyright Commission is a joke. The truth is that the Government has only paid lip service to this industry. Film-makers here in Nigeria are becoming serious and need support.

'There is [only] so much we can do with the private sector alone – we need Government to provide the structure and environment in which the industry can flourish.'

However, despite the stated need for greater support and structure, this private sector led industry has risen to become Nigeria's second largest employer after the federal government. And, crucially, it is completely owned and operated by entrepreneurial Nigerians, who run all aspects of the industry. Nollywood is a clear example of the unique potential the creative industries have to offer genuine empowerment.

Keith Nurse (2005), writing specifically about small island developing states (SIDS), highlighted tourism as an example of an industry, significant in many emerging economies, that may have supported employment but has 'historically generated low levels of local value-added and is subject to strong external control by transnational tour operators, hoteliers and airlines'. Nurse believes these trends signal that SIDS economies need to find 'new and more sustainable sources of employment, exports and growth'.

Nurse argues that:

'there is a window of opportunity given the rise of the digital economy and the increasing commercialisation of the arts...cultural industries may offer more sustainable development options since they draw on the creativity and enterprise of local artists and communities. It is also argued that the cultural industries play a dual role in that it is an economic sector with growth potential and an arena for identity formation.'

Speaking specifically about reggae and Jamaica, Nurse goes on to state that:

'It is conservatively estimated that the music industry employs 15,000 people and controls 15-20% of the US\$300 million in reggae music sales. In addition, reggae is one of the main elements in Jamaica's destination branding...'

Reggae, many years before Nollywood, is an early example of a developing nation expressing itself with a cultural confidence that still reverberates today. Like Nollywood, it involved the establishment of locally owned structures of production and distribution. And, like Nollywood, the primary audience were from the same background as the creators. Only with reggae, the music's appeal moved beyond its initially local audience and the Caribbean diaspora to become a phenomenon with truly cross-over appeal.

Nurse argues that there is a real opportunity for creatives, which applies beyond SIDS, in that there is an increasing demand among audiences for 'authenticity', as people actively seek to experience 'true' cultural products from outside the world of mainstream entertainment. However, for creative industries, which are often fragile and high risk, to reach their full potential in developing countries, they need a supportive environment in which to flourish.

In a report for the International Network for Cultural Diversity (INCD) on 'Strengthening local creative industries and developing cultural capacity for poverty alleviation', Burama K Sagnia (2005) outlines a number of areas, identified by UNCTAD, that need to be addressed to enhance the competitiveness of the creative industries in developing countries. These range from improving the regulatory environment and improving business support for creative SMES, to ensuring that the technology is in place to ensure that entrepreneurs in developing countries can compete globally.

Whilst many of the UNCTAD issues highlighted by Sagnia (2005) are still relevant, as outlined below, digital technology, in shaking up traditional ownership and distribution models does mean that creatives from developing countries are perhaps playing against a deck that is less stacked than it once was.

Creativity and the digital revolution

No study of creativity, and no plans to harness creativity's potential, can fail to recognise, and need to embrace, the impacts of the digital revolution. The interface between digital innovation and creativity will be a key focus for the Creative Development Project. Innovation in technology unlocks the capacity for being creative in new ways and brings new ways of accessing and benefiting from global markets.

However, ongoing research is required, as in addition to the opportunities on offer from the digital future, there also needs to be a recognition of the challenge to traditional creative economy models that it brings. Banks et al. (2002) highlighted in their study on 'Defining and managing creativity in new media' that, if there is to be institutionalised support for creative entrepreneurs in this brave new world, there still needs to be a more 'detailed understanding of the role of creativity'.

In response to the publication of an interim report on the UK's digital economy, *Digital Britain* (UK DBIS, 2009), Charles Leadbeater (2009) published online an article entitled 'The Digital Revolution – the coming crisis of the creative class'. Leadbeater highlights how 'high fixed cost, industrial era business models will suffer, perhaps especially in the media and cultural industries'.

The incumbents in these industries have been under pressure for a number of years from 'the web...eating away at their business models'. However, what is bad news for the established creative class does mean that creatives entering the international market are entering a dynamic situation where established interests are less stable.

Leadbeater goes on to state that 'Mutual media is growing all over the place serving the niche communities and interests.' It is perhaps this trend that can most directly benefit creatives from developing economies, as it means those with a specific interest in what they do, even if it is small at first, can coalesce around their creative activity. For Leadbeater it is in the number of smaller creative entities – 'pebbles' as he describes them – where we will see real growth in the future.

This could be good news for smaller creative enterprises and artists in developing countries, but only if a minimum level of digital infrastructure is in place. And it does not mean that there are not challenges connected with copyright, piracy and establishing new revenue models, but the important point is that there are opportunities: and the stranglehold of established interests has been weakened.

Beyond economics: creative industries, civil society and culture

Creative industries and their cultural output have a unique capacity to engage, inspire and create involvement and action. In terms of affirming identity and giving the dispossessed a voice, a healthy cultural industry can support and promote genuine socio-political dialogue and awareness: holding politicians and other power structures to account, as well as inspiring engagement.

In the United States, funds such as the Soros supported Sundance Documentary Fund and the creation of companies like Participant Media, represent a concerted effort to counteract mainstream cultural hegemony and inspire civil society engagement – supporting a creative sector which increases, rather than limits, critical thinking and social involvement.

Participant, established by one of the ebay founders Jeffrey Skoll in 2004, has explained its purpose by saying:

'Participant believes that a good story well told can truly make a difference in how one sees the world. Whether it is a feature film, documentary or other form of media, Participant exists to tell compelling, entertaining stories that also create awareness of the real issues that shape our lives. The company seeks to entertain audiences first, then to invite them to participate in making a difference.'⁴

Indeed, in development terms Lewis, Rodgers and Woolcock (2008) have argued that fiction writers do a greater job of encouraging engagement and understanding around development issues than any number of academic reports.

Civil society has a close symbiotic relationship with culture that is the complete opposite to the traditional topdown propaganda dictated by a centralised government. In what this report's author describes as 'the democratisation of creativity', ensuring that a society provides the capacity for individuals from all backgrounds to create helps to devolve power and promote self-confidence among communities, which may in other ways be marginalised. The fact that creative output (and the act of being creative) has the capacity to inspire others is why creative industries have a unique appeal as a profession to would-be change makers.

CDP advisory board member Ruth Daniel, a record company director and social entrepreneur, organised the music industry event she founded, UnConvention, to take place in India in 2009 – the first time it had taken place outside the UK in its seven-year history. The event was described as 'the first initiative to bring independent musicians from across India to one forum'. It looked at issues connected to generating a successful music industry – and the industry's cultural importance. The event's evaluation report stated that:

'If there were evident truths of UnConvention India, they were simply that music underpins social change, informs opportunity and development and gives voice to a generation and population often struggling to be heard.' (Daniel, 2009)

⁴ http://www.participantmedia.com/company/about_us.php (accessed 5 October 2010).

Few would argue that the creative sector, whether it is music or other forms of cultural expression, have this power. In his pioneering cross-disciplinary study, *Barrio Logos*, Raul Homero Villa (2000) highlighted how culture and art have been a unifying force for generating community confidence among California's marginalised Chicano/Mexican communities. In the US documentary 'Strange Fruit', and elsewhere, the role of the protest song and other counterculture movements are well documented⁵.

Nicanor Perlas (2003), in *Shaping Globalization*, argues that global civil society is itself a cultural institution wielding cultural power, and shows how, through the use of its distinct power, it can advance agendas in the political and economic realms of society without compromising its identity.

Perlas seeks to promote an understanding of 'culture' as a third dimension of society, alongside the more easily defined political and economic segments. He shows how civil society and progressive individuals are demonstrating the effectiveness of this new understanding to ensure that globalisation benefits the poor.

One organisation that has been established to ensure that independent, self-determined culture is protected and promoted is the International Network for Cultural Diversity (INCD). INCD is a worldwide network of artists and creators, cultural non-governmental organisations and professional cultural associations, academics and others working to counter the adverse effects of economic globalisation on arts and culture.

Since its formation in 1998 and founding meeting in 2000, the focus of INCD's advocacy has been on building support for the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions. However, from the beginning, INCD also recognised that achieving greater cultural diversity requires the development of cultural capacity and creative industries and more balance in the global exchange of cultural goods and services.

INCD states on its website⁶ that: 'INCD believes that diverse cultures and artistic expressions can and must thrive in a world of global marketplaces and rapidly changing media technologies.'

In fact, over recent years, there has been an increasing international recognition of the need to address the cultural dimensions of globalisation. The 2005 'Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions' adopted by UNESCO seeks to 'strengthen the five inseparable links of the same chain: creation, production, distribution/dissemination, access and enjoyment of cultural expressions, as conveyed by cultural activities, goods and services' (Unesco, 2005). Although looking at economic issues, also of central importance in the convention is the notion of cultural self-determination – something that a vibrant creative sector is central to achieving. The convention follows on from the work of UNESCO's 'Global Alliance' initiative, piloted in 2002, which aimed to 'promote cultural diversity by strengthening the capacity of cultural industries to produce and distribute goods and services and help them gain access to national and international markets'⁷.

⁵ <http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/strangefruit/protest.html> (accessed 22 September 2010).

⁶ <http://www.incd.net/incden.html> (accessed 22 September 2010).

⁷ http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=24478&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (accessed 5 October 2010).

It was the UNESCO's 1996 report, 'Our Creative Diversity', which set international discussion on the path that was to lead to the 2005 Convention. In that report, as highlighted by Sagnia (2005), UNESCO outlined a series of complex questions that required further understanding:

- (a) What are the cultural and socio-cultural factors that affect development?
- (b) What is the cultural impact of social and economic development?
- (c) How are cultures and models of development related to one another?
- (d) How can valuable elements of traditional culture be preserved and combined with new forms? and
- (e) What are the cultural dimensions of individual and collective well-being?

Despite the establishment of the 2005 convention, many of these questions are still very much alive and would still benefit from additional research. UNCTAD's 2008 report is clear that cultural issues have to be considered carefully alongside any efforts to bolster the creative industries:

'...it is clear that policy in these areas should undoubtedly be regarded as part of an overall domestic policy strategy that encourages and supports the creative economy.'

Public policy

The fact that the UK government, among others, has spent such effort to construct a strategic framework to support creative industries and innovation through digital media, underlines their belief in its capacity to provide economic growth and jobs.

International efforts, such as the UNESCO Global Alliance initiative, and the 'Creative Africa' project, also show an emerging consensus around the capacity for agencies to impact positively on the development of creative industries in developing countries.

Creativity is an arena where, with the right support and enablement, businesses from developing nations can compete on a level playing field, creating jobs and inspiring cultural confidence. However, much still remains to be done in ensuring a central role for creative industries in the principles, strategies, policies and plans of development agencies, as well as allocating significant resources to economically and socially important arts and culture initiatives to enhance their growth and development.

Nurse (2005) makes a series of concrete recommendations, which he argues can ensure that SIDS can maximise the opportunity offered by the creative economy. These include developing proactive policies relating to investment in the cultural sector, increasing the amount of locally produced content, improving access to finance, developing the business skills of creative entrepreneurs, supporting the capacity of digital distribution, and generally improving research and the partnership frameworks to support and promote the creative sector.

Many of these recommendations, combined with the issues UNCTAD have identified (listed by Sagnia, 2005), serve to focus attention on where action is needed.

The Creative Development Project – priorities for further research

The Creative Development Project (CDP) is a newly established social enterprise (CIC) based in the UK. It is a partner initiative with the University of Manchester's Brooks World Poverty Institute. The CDP is dedicated to harnessing the capacity of creative industries to support social and economic development, primarily in developing countries. Through a carefully targeted research agenda, the CDP is seeking to explore further some of the themes developed in this paper to more effectively address the challenges the creative industries face in developing countries.

In an attempt to ensure that effort is targeted to achieve the greatest impact, the work of the CDP will be specifically focused on three key areas: economic development, social engagement and civil society. These are areas where creative industries can be/ have traditionally been supported through public policy interventions and where there is the possibility of bringing about tangible and measurable results.

It is clear more research is needed to look in more detail at how and why the success stories such as Nollywood have worked. What could be replicated, what could be done differently, and to what extent can and should public policy interventions maximise the economic and social potential of such culturally and economically important movements? A series of case studies that drill down to individual business stories can provide lessons for policy makers and creatives that would be extremely beneficial.

Building on the suggestions of Nurse (2005), a more detailed study of the implications of the shifting business and distribution models created by the digital revolution needs to take place. How can this be leveraged to support the creative industries in developing economies – how might a digital platform designed to support creative content and/or industries, reaching an international market, be most effective? This should also tie in with more general research on current export successes of creative businesses from developing countries and an improved understanding of what the barriers are to market, both in terms of practical hurdles and cultural receptiveness. Sectoral studies would also be of benefit as the distribution models and commercial and cultural challenges are often very different for businesses from different sub-sectors of the creative economy.

In terms of the creative industries and civil society, greater research into how culture has influenced social change in developing nations would help create a clearer picture of how public policy interventions might support a more vibrant civil society – one that is more engaged and inspired. There is also more work needed on understanding the effectiveness of creative industries and their power to connect with hard-to-reach communities.

The founders of the Creative Development Project believe that the potential of the creative economy, specifically through the creation and support of a vibrant creative industries sector, to enable transformational change in developing countries is currently under-researched and little understood. That needs to change.

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