

**UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER**

Investigating Local Creative Industries Development Initiatives in England:  
Case Studies in Urban South Hampshire 2011-14

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Doctor of Philosophy

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This thesis has been completed as a requirement  
for a postgraduate research degree of the University of Winchester.

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## **DEDICATION**

For Charles Cullen, 1923-2013

**ABSTRACT**

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In recent years the creative industries have become a focus of policy and academic discussion across the world. However, much of the existing literature has concentrated on national perspectives or on social and economic regeneration strategies in large cultural cities while data and understanding at the local level is more limited. This thesis aims to help redress this imbalance by focussing on the smaller and less established context of Urban South Hampshire on the central south coast of England. Longitudinal case studies are used to explore two key research questions, firstly, what are the needs, motivations and experiences of people hoping to develop careers and businesses in the sector; and secondly, how can local initiatives and public sector interventions support creative industries development. While some guidance is available to assist local and regional decision-makers there are few studies which follow the evolution of specific interventions over time to evaluate their effectiveness and inform future sectoral strategies. Although the urban bias of the creative industries is well documented this thesis argues that under the right conditions and with the right policies and initiatives towns and smaller cities can offer a more welcoming, affordable and socially cohesive creative milieu in contrast to the highly competitive environments of major cities. Demand for specialist initiatives with a dual focus on nurturing creative practice as well as promoting enterprise and business skills is also highlighted. This is especially relevant at the cultural-end of the sector which is becoming increasingly exposed to market pressures in part due to recent cuts in public sector spending. The thesis also argues that creative individuals are seeking new spaces to exist within the sector which allow them a level of creative autonomy over their practice while also enabling them to develop sustainable careers and successful businesses.

Keywords: creative industries, creative workers, cultural policy, economic development



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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

This thesis is an investigation of local creative industries development initiatives and the creative practitioners who engage with them. It combines approaches from cultural studies and social sciences to address a gap in research into the micro-scale dynamics of creative industries development at local levels as well as a lack of in-depth longitudinal case studies which explore specific examples of local initiatives and public sector interventions to support start-ups and small businesses in the sector. The researcher argues that creative practitioners are looking for initiatives which nurture creative practice as well as promote enterprise and business skills and although the sector is often most concentrated in large cities local initiatives can help towns and smaller cities to become places which foster creative talent. Throughout the thesis 'creative industries' for pragmatic purposes refers to the definition used by the United Kingdom (UK) Government which recognises a range of economic activities concerned with the generation and commercialisation of creativity. Case studies of initiatives in Urban South Hampshire on the central south coast of England are used to make an original contribution to knowledge and understanding of local creative industries development strategies and the needs, motivations and experiences of creative practitioners. The case studies provide detailed empirical investigations which capture a unique insight into the complex dynamics at work in a particular geographical setting and offer findings relevant to policy-makers and other individuals or organisations interested in the creative industries and the working lives of creative practitioners in a local or sub-regional context.

**Table 1: DCMS creative industries sub-sectors as of 2014**

1. Advertising and marketing	6. IT, software and computer services
2. Architecture	7. Publishing
3. Crafts	8. Museums, galleries and libraries
4. Design (product, graphic and fashion)	9. Music, performing and visual arts
5. Film, TV, video, radio and photography	

Source: DCMS, 2014; 2015a; 2016

Over the past 20 years the creative industries (see Table 1) have become a focus of policy and academic discussion across the world and policy-making in the UK has been greatly influential where the sector emerged as a key aspect of national economic development during the New Labour Government of 1997 to 2010. The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) published a *Creative Industries Mapping Document* in 1998 and another in 2001 which aimed to provide a definition for the sector, highlight its economic importance and identify policy measures to promote its future development. Today the DCMS continues to

define the creative industries as ‘those which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property’ (2001, p.4). Economic estimates by the DCMS suggest employment in the sector and its contribution to national income has been growing at a faster rate than the rest of the economy.<sup>1</sup> Although the DCMS definition and research methodology are not without criticism, the creative industries as a policy discourse has since stimulated international debate and the success of the sector on a global scale, including its relative success during the recent economic downturn, continues to attract significant attention (for international comparative analysis of creative industries employment and the sector’s economic performance see Nathan et al, 2015; 2016). There are many studies which examine the policy and factors which shape the creative industries and there has been particular interest in the role of the sector in social and economic regeneration strategies in large cultural cities (and especially London in the UK which is at the heart of Britain’s creative industries sector, see Pratt, 1997a; Knell and Oakley, 2007; Chapain et al, 2010; Mateos-Garcia and Bakhshi, 2016). However, data and understanding at the local level in towns and smaller cities is more limited and this thesis aims to help redress this imbalance.

Much of the literature which explores the local and regional dimensions of the creative industries and the dynamics of the sector in different cities is informed by three key concepts. These include the post-industrial model of the ‘creative city’ which offers a liveable, vibrant and attractive ‘milieu’ and embraces creativity to solve infrastructural, economic and social problems (Hall, 2000; Landry, 2000), the understanding of creative human capital as an emergent ‘creative class’ and a new driver of economic development (Florida, 2002) and the mutually beneficial co-location of particular types of businesses and organisations which together contribute towards economic growth as industrial ‘clusters’ (Porter, 1998). However, attempts made by local and regional policy-makers to replicate a single strategic model for the creative city with the hope of attracting and retaining a creative class and nurturing the development of localised creative industries clusters have been heavily criticised (for examples see Oakley, 2004; Comunian and Mould, 2014). Subsequently in recent years researchers have been paying closer attention to the geography of the sector and the role of place specificity in considering how towns, cities and regions can have different profiles of specialisation (Pratt, 2004; Chapain et al, 2010; Bakhshi et al, 2015; Mateos-Garcia and Bakhshi, 2016). Others have

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<sup>1</sup> A report by the DCMS (2016) estimates Gross Value Added (GVA) of the creative industries in 2014 was £84.1 billion which equates to 5.2% of the UK economy. The report claims GVA of the creative industries increased by an average of 6% each year between 1997 and 2014 compared to 4.3% for the UK economy. The number of jobs in the creative industries is estimated to have increased by an average of 3.9% each year between 1997 and 2013 compared to 0.6% in the UK economy (DCMS, 2015a).

questioned what constitute the enablers and inhibitors of the creative industries at local and regional levels and what are the location determinates of creative workers and university graduates in cultural and creative disciplines (Brown and Męczyński, 2009; Chapain and Comunian, 2010, Hracz et al, 2011; Comunian and Faggian, 2014). The conditions of creative labour and the challenges and rewards of working in the sector have also begun to be examined in more detail (for examples see Oakley, 2009; Comunian et al, 2010; Comunian and Faggian, 2011; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011).

This thesis makes a new contribution to the study of the creative industries and offers three in-depth longitudinal case studies of local creative industries development initiatives and the creative practitioners who become involved with them. These case studies are used to address two key research questions: firstly, what are the needs, motivations and experiences of people hoping to develop careers and businesses in the sector; and secondly, what role can local initiatives and public sector interventions play in supporting creative industries development at the local and sub-regional levels? The case studies are specific to South Hampshire and therefore the data collection is restricted to a particular geographical setting, but they facilitate a unique and detailed investigation generating new knowledge and understanding of the micro-scale dynamics of creative industries development in its real-life context and employ multiple sources of evidence. Carried out between 2011 and 2014, the case studies include a creative industries business advisory service based in Portsmouth, a specialist workspace agency based in Southampton and an associate artist scheme at a local authority owned theatre in Eastleigh. The research methods included secondary data and documentary analysis, interviews, observations and surveys to identify both qualitative and quantitative trends. Whilst some guidance is available to assist local and regional decision-makers (for example see The Work Foundation, 2009) there are still few studies which follow specific interventions over time in order to evaluate their effectiveness and document the experiences of participating creative practitioners to inform future sectoral strategies and policy-making in smaller and less established context. This thesis fills that gap through a new micro-scale analysis of the creative industries.

It is widely recognised that the sector is typically composed of a substantial number of small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) and a smaller number of large and very large enterprises (DPA, 2002; Pratt 2004; Oakley, 2009; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). The three local initiatives attracted mainly start-ups and micro-businesses working at the 'cultural-end' of the DCMS model for the sector (predominantly, but not exclusively in crafts and design as well as performing and visual arts) and these are often thought to have less scope for growth and

profitability than the 'high-end' sub-sectors, such as those based around IT and media (see NESTA, 2006). Consequentially they have received far less attention in many studies of creative industries development which further adds to the distinctiveness of this thesis. It is important to note that the DCMS link the arts and activities largely associated with public sector subsidy and not-for-profit activity, with high-profile commercial industries and therefore the definition of creative industries and exactly what activities should be included has been disputed (Howkins, 2001; Florida, 2002; Garnham, 2005; Pratt, 2005; UNCTAD, 2008; 2010; Bakhshi, 2013a; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). In some countries the term is commonly reserved for only the for-profit activities – German language users have introduced usage of the term 'culture and creative industries' (or rather kultur- und kreativwirtschaft) which points separately to the not-for-profit and for-profit components (Söndermann et al, 2009; Pratt, 2012). By investigating existing local initiatives to promote the sector this thesis explores the perspectives of the development agencies and local authorities involved as well as the creative individuals and businesses they aim to support. Although the urban bias of the sector is well documented the case study findings suggest that under the right conditions and with the right policies and initiatives towns and smaller cities can provide a supportive environment for creative industries development (and particularly for start-ups and micro-businesses) as well as act as talent incubators for larger creative cities. They also demonstrate how local initiatives with a dual focus on nurturing creative practice as well as promoting enterprise and business skills have an important role to play in supporting the cultural-end of the sector, which is becoming increasingly exposed to market pressures in part due to cuts in public sector spending (see CEBR, 2013; Gov.UK, 2013; Lost Arts, 2015; Neelands et al, 2015). The thesis also recognises that creative individuals are seeking new spaces to exist within the sector which allow them a level of creative autonomy over their practice while also enabling them to develop sustainable careers and successful businesses focussed around their interests and skills.

The thesis is organised into seven chapters including this introduction followed by a literature review, methodology chapter, three case study chapters and the final conclusions. Chapter 2 introduces the broad literature which has tackled the often challenging relationship between art, culture and economics. It is important to recognise that prior to the wide use of the term creative industries commentators had first discussed the capitalist 'culture industry' and more recently the plural 'cultural industries'. The literature review examines the changing terminology and debates surrounding the commodification of art and cultural forms before turning its attention towards cultural and economic policy and the recent hype surrounding the creative industries. The chapter begins with one of the first accounts of art and culture

under capitalism by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer (1979) who linked industrial mass production at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the emergence of a new kind of commercial 'mass culture' which they feared was replacing traditional forms of art. Although the literature has since come a long way the idea of the culture industry still raises important questions concerning the relationship between creativity and enterprise as well as motives of art and motives of profit. More recently academics have discussed the passionate attachment many creative individuals have to their work and it has been suggested that for some the desire to work in their chosen field can be more motivational than economic rewards (Throsby, 1994; McRobbie, 2004). Later contributions from the fields of British cultural studies and political economy offered more sophisticated accounts of cultural production which recognised the arts sector and *multiple* cultural industries. During the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the arts and the cultural industries became increasingly linked to new strategies to regenerate post-industrial towns and cities. The final part of the chapter discusses how this contributed towards the gradual blurring of traditional distinctions between cultural and economic policy in the lead up to the launch of New Labour's national creative industries policy agenda which was influential on an international level.

Some of the key models and analytical frameworks which have been developed in attempts to refine the DCMS concept of creative industries are introduced in Chapter 3 and important contributions towards an understanding of the sub-national context in the UK are discussed before an outline of the methodology for this thesis. In recent years mapping exercises which use techniques from economic geography have analysed national business and employment data to assess the spatial dimension and regional performance (for examples see DPA, 2002; Pratt, 2004; De Propriis et al, 2009; Chapain et al, 2010; Bakhshi et al, 2015; Mateos-Garcia and Bakhshi, 2016). The chapter moves on to discuss the creative industries in the South East Region of England and then in South Hampshire. This chapter also considers some of the more recent research into the sector and its characteristics before explaining how this thesis uses longitudinal case study analysis to advance current knowledge and understanding. The case studies question how *local* creative industries initiatives can contribute towards the attraction and retention of a creative class and how they relate to wider creative city strategies, how they aim to support career and business development and how they might develop and change over time. By investigating the perspectives of creative individuals the thesis also explores creative labour, the motivations of people seeking work within the sector, how specialist initiatives may help to improve their career prospects, and what are the perceived benefits and restrictions associated with place.



The case studies are presented over three chapters and the first is the creative industries business advisory service based in Portsmouth. This case study involved the analysis of secondary qualitative and quantitative data relating to the service and its clientele as well as research interviews with the service providers. Chapter 4 offers a discussion of the different types of support which were on offer to clients, a longitudinal perspective of how the initiative changed over time, and a comparison and contrasting with an arts advisory service in nearby Winchester and Havant. All three case study chapters provide an analysis of what can be learnt about the needs of creative businesses; how the particular type of initiative can be understood within the context of a wider local creative economy that characterises towns and smaller cities; and considerations for models of best practice. The second case study of the workspace agency in Southampton is presented in Chapter 5. This initiative was founded as a voluntary arts organisation and has since grown to become one of the leading local creative industries development agencies in South Hampshire. This chapter presents findings from interviews carried out between 2011 and 2014 with one of the original co-founders and principal officer, complemented by relevant secondary data and documentary analysis. Four surveys during this period involving participants who were working in various creative practices across three specialist workspaces also provide valuable primary data on the practitioners' perspective. The last case study is that of the associate artist scheme at a theatre in Eastleigh presented in Chapter 6. A residency allowed the researcher to observe daily life at the cultural venue while also conducting a programme of interviews with past and present associate artists as well as the member of staff who coordinated the scheme in order to form a long-term perspective of the impacts on the career and business development of participants. This longitudinal process was complemented by relevant secondary data and documentary analysis.

The research for this thesis involved techniques which are often used in ethnography and produced findings which show that despite the metropolitan focus of the literature on creative cities, the creative class and industrial clusters there is potential for towns, smaller cities and sub-regions to play an important role in the creative economy. Their smaller size, affordability and less competitive marketplace when combined with strong sectoral strategies can offer a lot for creative people and especially those at an early stage in their careers (also see Hracz et al, 2011). However, this does not mean local creative industries strategies are appropriate everywhere – cultural and economic development initiatives should respond to clear demand and aim to capitalise on local and regional strengths. Chapter 7 presents the final conclusions and reflects on what can be learnt from the case studies about the needs, motivations and experiences of creative individuals and about creative industries development

at the local and sub-regional levels. The key players are identified as education providers, cultural and economic development agencies, local authorities, arts and cultural organisations, creative practitioners and businesses. Four important themes for supporting the development of the sector are highlighted including the provision of tailored business advice and creative mentorship; affordable workspace and specialist facilities; encouragement and endorsement for new talent from individuals and organisations with standing in the sector which can offer 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1993; 1996) which means that it is not only financial capital which is important; the promotion of supportive localised creative communities as well as wider industry networks and access to markets.

There have been many high-profile studies recently which have focussed on measuring the size and distribution of the sector (such as Mateos-Garcia and Bakhshi, 2016; Nathan et al, 2015; 2016) but the qualitative dimension is equally important and this is an area where more research is still needed. Qualitative data from the case studies establishes that there were creative individuals in South Hampshire seeking support from organisations which recognised both cultural and economic value in their work and these people were less likely to approach the more generic business support services available to them. This illustrates demand for specialist initiatives and highlights the value that many creative individuals place on being able to interact with like-minded people. When Adorno and Horkheimer developed their ideas about the culture industry they saw an opposition of creativity against commercialisation and argued that the latter was a destructive influence. Many of the people who participated in the case studies wanted to find a way to pursue a creative practice that they were passionate about while also making sure that they are able to earn a living (Throsby, 1994; McRobbie, 2000; Holden, 2007; Banks, 2007; Oakley, 2009). Participants described how they were looking to develop entrepreneurial skills – but their creativity was still not driven towards economic-only ends. This thesis asserts that specialist initiatives can play an important role in helping creative people to find a balance between seeking both cultural and financial capital from their work enabling them to be creative within a commercial system.

The Research Excellence Framework (REF, 2014) which is used to assess the research of UK higher education institutions defines 'impact' as 'any effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment or quality of life, beyond academia' (p.4). It is anticipated that the findings of this research will have a wider application and will be relevant not only to policy-makers and creative industries stakeholders in South Hampshire, but to others across different parts of the country and beyond. The case studies suggest that local initiatives and public sector interventions need to recognise that the

creative industries often do not fit traditional standard business models or labour conditions and should aim to address specific barriers to the development of the sector in their particular area. Other studies have shown portfolio careers, short term contracts, part-time working, multiple job holdings and self-employment are all characteristic of the sector (O'Brien and Feist, 1995; 1997; Pratt, 2004; Oakley, 2009). Specialist business advice and mentorship can be beneficial because people at the start of their career may not always understand the realities of work in the creative industries or how best to develop a business from their creative practice. Affordable workspace can also be valuable in helping new start-ups to access specialist facilities and leave the isolation of the home office or studio behind in favour of a shared professional environment where it is possible to communicate with peers and receive critical feedback. Creative entrepreneurs often work in partnerships, networks and clusters to acquire ideas, information, contacts and resources, but also for mutual support – shared workspaces and other 'creative hubs' like cultural venues which offer associate schemes can play an important role in supporting new talent and promoting a sense of 'creative community' (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999; Virani, 2015). The case studies illustrate that this can be empowering and help new people entering the sector to build their confidence, expand their networks and begin to establish themselves as creative professionals. This thesis argues that local initiatives and public sector interventions should act as facilitators and enablers of creative industries development while also aiming to promote a more welcoming, affordable and socially cohesive creative milieu as an alternative to the highly competitive environments of larger creative cities. However, it is crucial that decision-makers are realistic about the potential for their particular area and they carefully consider how their interventions might be justified and where they might be most effective.

## **2. ART, CULTURE AND ECONOMICS**

In recent years the relationship between art, culture and economics has received increasing attention in the fields of academia, business, media and policy-making. With the decline of manufacturing as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for many of the world's most advanced economies (with China being a notable exception) 'creative' and 'knowledge' industries are perceived to play an important role in a new economic model in contemporary capitalism. In the UK manufacturing is one of the largest sectors in the economy, however in 2010 the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS, 2010a; 2010b) claimed that the contribution of the sector as a percentage of GDP had fallen from 22% in 1990 to just over 11% in 2009.<sup>2</sup> The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) has monitored the UK's creative industries since 1998, producing economic estimates on their size and economic contribution. The DCMS (2010a) estimated that between 1997 and 2007 the sector grew by an average of 5% per annum compared to an average of 3% for the whole of the economy. Even as the global financial crisis hit, the creative industries performed relatively well. Gross Value Added (GVA) for the sector decreased by less than 1% between 2008 and 2009 while the total GVA for the UK decreased by 3% (DCMS, 2011).

Over the past century cultural commodity production has rapidly accelerated with the development of new technologies of reproduction. Moreover, in recent years digital media and the internet have transformed the ways we buy, sell and experience cultural forms, and like Gutenberg's revolutionary printing press they facilitate access to a seemingly unlimited supply of information and creative content (Briggs and Burke, 2005; Naughton, 2012). The turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century saw the connections between art and culture, and the world of commerce and industry, actively promoted with new claims of economic, social and cultural gain for individuals, communities and nations (for example see Smith, 1998; DCMS, 1998; 2001). Yet historically these connections have been frequently brought into question and the latter has been branded as a destructive influence (and perhaps most notably by critics such as Greenberg, 1961; Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979; Macdonald, 2011). Capitalism is animated by the creation of goods or services for profit at the expense of all other values and art and culture has often been a site of protest against this principle.

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<sup>2</sup> Manufacturing in many advanced economies has declined since the 1970s and service industries have grown substantially. It should be noted that available data on the contribution of the sector reflects how it has been defined and measured. Between 1984 and 2005 UK manufacturing employment fell steadily as many parts shifted to lower-wage economies (Harris, 2009; BIS, 2010a; 2010b). Published GVA figures were more erratic but ultimately fell £160 billion to £140 billion (2000 prices) but the trend in gross output was upwards, partly due to technological progress and inward Foreign Direct Investment.

This chapter provides a critical review of some of the existing literature which has tackled the difficult relationship between art, culture and capitalist economics and it is divided into two sections; the first explores debates surrounding the commodification of art and cultural forms, and the second focuses on state interventions, public policy and the recent hype surrounding the creative industries (which have been variously defined). The first section begins with Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer's (1979) pessimistic account of the capitalist 'culture industry' linking the new wave of industrial mass production at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to a new kind of 'mass culture' and the decline of 'serious art'. This section also documents important contributions from the fields of British cultural studies and political economy which began to emerge during the 1960s. Academics working within both these areas helped to broaden traditional understandings of culture as 'high art' and developed more sophisticated accounts of cultural production, demanding that a distinction between the arts sector and the plural 'cultural industries' was required to explain the diversity and complexity in the various dynamics at work. The second section of the chapter addresses the developments leading up to the launch of the 'creative industries' concept by Tony Blair's New Labour Government in 1997 and the national policy agenda to which this gave rise which continues to influence cultural and economic policy today. During the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the arts sector and the cultural industries became linked to new strategies to regenerate post-industrial towns and cities and the traditional distinctions between cultural and economic policy were becoming increasingly blurred. The second section explores the role of the arts sector and the cultural industries in the post-Fordist economy and considers their relationship with urbanity and the city. The chapter concludes with an introduction to the creative industries policy framework that New Labour claimed would bring the UK to the forefront of cultural innovation and economic competitiveness.

### **2.1. The problem of culture as commodity**

The origins of the term 'culture industry' are often associated with a radical left-wing critique of mass entertainment industries which began during the Second World War and developed over the following 20 years. The term was first used by members of the 'Frankfurt School' to express their disgust at the use of new technologies of reproduction for propaganda and mass ideological persuasion – what Walter Benjamin would later describe as the 'aestheticisation of politics' (Benjamin, 1979; 1999). Academics associated with the school proposed that in democratic countries such as America (where many of them had spent time in exile from Nazi Germany) the entertainment media including film, radio, music and magazines were

responsible for making the population politically docile and together had become a powerful ideological tool of the state and the capitalist class. It was whilst in America that Adorno and Horkheimer wrote their influential essay 'The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception' which was later published in 1947. The essay features in their book *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1979, ch.3) and asserts that art and culture had become increasingly standardised under the laws of capital – they argued that 'culture now impresses the same stamp on everything' (p.120). For Adorno and Horkheimer the rapid growth of cultural commodity production between the wars was a sure sign that the Fordist system of mass production and consumption had now entered the realm of 'culture'. A central theme explored in this essay and in Adorno's later writings on the culture industry (and most notably on jazz and popular music) was the notion that cultural production in the 20<sup>th</sup> century had been reduced to what resembled a factory line process and this threatened to end any sense of critical or authentic culture (Adorno, 1991; 2002).

The culture industry thesis gained a lot of ground during the post-war period and came to reflect a wider anxiety about the impact of mass, industrial and 'Americanised' culture (although mass culture and the popular arts were indeed a concern to American theorists too, for example see Rosenberg and White, 1957). This would lead to debates around a cultural policy to protect European cultural tradition and the founding of various national arts and cultural ministries and foundations across Europe (O'Hagan, 1998; O'Connor, 2010). But 'Enlightenment as Mass Deception' was not just about the threat that industrialisation posed towards art and cultural tradition, it was also about a fear of mass communication technologies and the power they could hold over a population. During the 1930s and 1940s academics at the Frankfurt School developed some of the first accounts in critical theory of the importance of media communications to fundamental changes in capitalist society since the classical theories of Karl Marx. Adorno and Horkheimer were critical of capitalism's new control over social life and 'Enlightenment as Mass Deception' was also part of a wider attempt to explain the recent economic and socio-political phenomena of the culture industry from within a broadly Marxist understanding of the structure of society.

### **The capitalist culture industry**

Classical Marxist theory expounded by Marx and Friedrich Engels during the 19<sup>th</sup> century held that human history was one of struggle between social classes and not the struggle to reach the heights of spiritual consciousness as Georg Hegel had previously proposed in his idealist work on dialectics (Hegel, 1969; Marx and Engels, 1970). Adorno and Horkheimer understood

Marx as a Hegelian materialist whose social theory revealed that the surface 'freedom' of modern society masked the intrinsic exploitation of capitalist production. Under capitalism society is characterised by economic structure in which social classes are established according to people's varying relationships to the means of production – a minority had the power of ownership and capital while the majority were workers with nothing to sell but their labour (Marx, 1990, ch.26). Marxist political doctrine proposed that in time the continued exploitation of the working classes would lead to a social revolution and a synthesis of the dissolution of the material basis of inequality. Thus within classical Marxist discourse capitalism was thought to be a key stage in a dialectic process bringing society closer towards freedom. However, Adorno and Horkheimer were much more pessimistic and claimed that capitalism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was not on the verge of collapse and would not bring society closer towards freedom, but rather moving further towards social integration and domination.

Their essay offered a critique of 'mass culture' as the product of a new culture industry which masked the domination and oppression in modern society as what the enlightenment had endeavoured to escape was reproduced on a more sinister level. The enlightenment had brought about the ideology of the utility of art which complemented mass production and they argued that this in turn would lead to mass deception. Under the pressure of commodification it was thought that popular culture had become part of a process to organise leisure time, abolishing the tensions caused by the relations of production whilst furthering the integration of society. For Adorno and Horkheimer mass reproduction and distribution industries including film, sound recording, print and radio broadcasting provided the technology and infrastructure to allow capitalist agendas to dictate cultural production. In the process the role of art as a site of exceptional creativity and as a form of critique of the world was becoming diluted as culture was absorbed into a new industrial system as the independent artist gave way to the culture industry. Adorno (1991, ch.3) would later suggest that the use of the term 'industry' should not be taken too literally – it referred more to the standardisation of cultural products rather than to particular processes of production. Nevertheless, with monopoly capitalism in full force they argued that cultural goods were no longer produced to meet human need or desire, but rather to be bought and sold on a market for profit. They argued that cultural commodity production was now controlled by the culture industry moguls who were answerable to capital, like Goebbels to Hitler (Huyssen, 1986; Adorno, 1991; O'Connor, 2010).

As commodification expanded it began to penetrate all aspects of cultural production and social life and for Adorno and Horkheimer this resulted in a standardisation of the goods being produced and passivity among consumers. Common exposure to the same media

communications, cultural commodities and activities manipulated the people's interests and provided easy amusement as a relief from working life. They wrote 'amusement under capitalism is the prolongation of work. It is sought as an escape from the mechanised work process, and to recoup strength to cope with it again' (1979, p.135). During the industrial revolution Marx developed his theories of the alienation of the labour process proposing that workers had become cogs in the manufacturing machine (Marx, 1988). 'Enlightenment as Mass Deception' draws parallels with the culture industry arguing that capitalism had now invaded the realm of 'free time' as the working classes became further integrated into the capitalist system. For Adorno and Horkheimer, liberal democratic states were moving further towards totalitarianism rather than the social revolution predicted by Marx and Engels.

The culture industry was perceived to be damaging for both the high arts and for traditional popular culture and it sought to imitate effects associated with both. Its products had to attract an audience and stimulate desire, but without encouraging reflection. High art lost its intrinsic meaning as its effects became programmed into the system and popular culture lost its element of resistance as it became more standardised and controlled than ever before. In his essay 'On Popular Music' (2002) Adorno provided a clear example of the distinctions he saw between high art and the culture industry. Here he condemned the popular jazz music of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century while paying tribute to the symphonies of Beethoven and what he referred to as 'serious art'. He claimed that 'A clear judgement concerning the relation of serious music to popular music can be arrived at only by strict attention to the fundamental characteristic of popular music: standardisation' (Adorno, 2002, p.437). Adorno believed that popular music conformed to core structures that had interchangeable components to conceal uniformity – thus it would not affect the musical 'sense' if any part of a piece of popular music was taken from its original context and combined with any other popular music. The details might be changed but the essential structure remained the same. In comparison, he argued that the quality of serious avant-garde music ensured that every detail belonged to a coherent totality.

In 'Enlightenment as Mass Deception' Adorno and Horkheimer argued that all products of the culture industry worked in a similar way to popular music and were created using basic structures with surface changes that provided them with a 'pseudo-individualisation'. The entrepreneurs of the culture industry created a market for their products through manipulative techniques and the masses were persuaded to buy and consume repeatedly similar cultural products. The term 'culture industry' was used as an expression of contempt for a system which cultivated false needs that were created and



satisfied by capitalism, ensuring the continued obedience of the masses to market interests. Corporate capitalism owned and controlled the new media production industries which Adorno and Horkheimer argued were used to restrict and control cultural life, suppressing the masses which in the Marxist model for historical development would be the instrument of revolution. This early account of art and culture under capitalism was extremely pessimistic and it suggests that in time both would become completely reduced to their exchange value. This position is certainly problematic as we shall see, but nevertheless the culture industry thesis recognised the huge changes that were taking place in the sphere of cultural production during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Adorno and Horkheimer provided one of the first explanations of cultural commodity production on a mass industrial scale and they highlighted the position of the cultural and media industries as major institutions in society with a variety of economic, political and social implications.

### **Cultural commodity production**

Walter Benjamin, who himself had some affiliation with the Frankfurt School, also noted how technological advances since the industrial revolution had transformed cultural production. In his essay 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' (1999, ch.9), first published before 'Enlightenment as Mass Deception', he discussed a historical shift away from original artwork as new forms of culture began to replace older and more traditional forms of art. Popular prints, photography, film and sound recordings could all be reproduced on a mass scale and widely distributed via the 'copy'. These new forms of culture would be fundamental to the development of the capitalist culture industry. In his essay Benjamin traced the history of techniques of mechanical reproduction used in art to illustrate how the advances which had been achieved by the 20<sup>th</sup> century transformed the ways in which art and cultural forms were created and experienced. He reminds us that commodity production has a long history (which dates back much further than capitalism) and in principle cultural objects have always been reproducible. He explained that 'Man-made artefacts could always be imitated by men' (p.212). However, the advances in techniques of *mechanical* reproduction as opposed to manual reproduction represented something new.

Benjamin begins with the early example of the Greeks and mechanical reproduction of bronzes, terra cottas and coins, but founding and stamping were the only processes that they had developed and all other works of art remained unique. Sometime later with the woodcut graphic art became mechanically reproducible for the first time, long before script became reproducible by print bringing about profound changes in literature and raising difficult

questions about the nature and value of intellectual property (Briggs and Burke, 2005). During the latter part of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Gutenberg's printing press created a new market in books and improvements in wood block printing and etching enlivened the market in prints. Benjamin moves on to the introduction of lithography at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and to the later advances of photography, film and sound recordings. By 1900 almost all forms of art could be mechanically reproduced and this caused a substantial change in their impact on the public. Yet he was much more optimistic than Adorno and Horkheimer and suggested that mass reproduction and distribution contributed towards widening access to culture which helped to free art from the 'mystification' of high culture.

However, Benjamin also argued that the 'aura' of original artwork, something that historically had always been celebrated, was lost in these new processes of reproduction and claimed that 'the presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity' (1999, p.214). Manual reproductions of original artwork had commonly been branded as forgeries and the original preserved its authority. The traditional emphasis on aura was now being replaced by a new emphasis on exhibition which allowed artwork to be experienced by a much wider audience. Benjamin argued that during the 20<sup>th</sup> century there had been a desire to bring things closer; to substitute the uniqueness of the original by accepting its reproduction and to experience original art by way of its likeness. He also observed that 'to an ever greater degree the work of art reproduced becomes the work of art designed for reproducibility' (ibid, p.215). As cultural commodity production expanded copies of original artwork could be reproduced on a mass scale and new cultural forms developed that were specifically designed for reproduction and distribution. New media technologies changed the very nature of art, but beyond this they also allowed new dimensions in art to become attainable. Photography and film have a complete emphasis on their reproduction and made images of the real world art objects in their own right, sparking fierce debate about their artistic value against more traditional forms of visual and performing arts.

For Benjamin the new media technologies which had come to dominate cultural production had an absolute emphasis on their exhibition which had made the work of art a creation which had a powerful potential to critique political and social reality. Throughout history art practices have had increasing opportunities for the exhibition of their products – for example, the portrait bust was more easily exhibited than the statue of a divinity that has its fixed place, and the canvas painting more easily exhibited than the mosaic or fresco that preceded it. As the opportunities for exhibition increased so too did the social and political significance of art. Like Adorno and Horkheimer, Benjamin recognised that the ability to

reproduce on a mass scale allowed initial investments to be recouped by volume sales and this could be a powerful incentive for production. However, he also suggested that the new media culture had the potential to cultivate more critical individuals who could judge and analyse their culture in new ways.

Similar claims were made about the printing revolution some 400 years earlier which brought knowledge and information outside of the regulated sphere of royal and religious authority ushering in the era of modern Europe. The printing revolution boosted literacy levels across populations as ancient and medieval texts became available to a much wider audience, producing fertile ground for new ideas. Despite attempts at regulation the print media came to be mainly organised around the market and the private and civic institutions that grew with it. Jürgen Habermas (1989), a pupil of Adorno, later outlined how the print media became the basis of a public sphere in 18<sup>th</sup> century Britain facilitating political and cultural debate among the emerging bourgeoisie. The public sphere between civil society and the state was made up of a range of institutions under the control of 'public opinion' and gradually expanded to include all parts of the population in modern democratic societies. It is the idea of the public sphere which has since formed the basis for the contestation and legitimation of political and socio-economic power over the last 250 years (Gripsrud et al, 2010; O'Connor, 2010). In his essay 'The Author as Producer' (1998, ch.9) Benjamin urged progressive artists and cultural producers to use the new techniques of cultural production to allow art to become a site of political enlightenment and discussion.

Throughout modern history techniques of mechanical reproduction transformed the dynamics of cultural production and consumption and made it possible (at some level) for the masses to become involved in politics and culture. Benjamin identified progressive new possibilities where Adorno and Horkheimer saw in cultural commodity production a system of standardisation and total manipulation. John Carey (1992) has suggested that right-wing intellectuals like T. S. Eliot, D. H. Lawrence and H. G. Wells were also troubled by the growing access to culture and its implications for the superior high arts more so than for the masses, claiming that the two were simply incompatible. But technological advances could not explain the rapid growth of cultural commodity production alone. As we have seen, Marx recognised that the changing social and economic structure of society had come to be configured around the need of capital to produce, distribute and sell commodities at a profit (Marx, 1990). The rise of new media technologies and the commodity economy changed art and culture and indeed many aspects of our society. In a variety of forms, art can now be experienced by different sections of society and cultural commodities have become an important part of our

everyday lives. Even high art that was once experienced only by the rich and powerful can be reproduced at little cost and made more accessible to a much wider audience. Original art can be experienced without the presence of the original and new cultural forms have developed with complete emphasis on their reproduction and distribution. A painting can be seen via print and a piece of music recorded and listened to in the context of one's own choosing; photography brings us images of the real world and film can be viewed in the cinema or home telling us stories and presenting information in innovative new ways. Moreover, digital media and the internet continue to bring us new possibilities that we are only just beginning to grasp. Technological innovations have been at the very forefront of revolutions in information, communications, consumerism and globalisation.

### **Art and the market**

Under the conditions set by the capitalist culture industry and its distribution apparatus Benjamin proposed that art had the potential to open up emancipatory avenues. But his optimism was met by the pessimism of Adorno and Horkheimer's total system which proposed that in time art and culture would be lost to the capitalist system. Adorno understood high art to be autonomous from the external purposes of the market, whereas Fredric Jameson (1991) would later argue that such 'critical distance' was simply not possible in the new space of postmodernism. Adorno did not deny the exchange value of high art but rather suggested that 'cultural entities typical of the culture industry are no longer *also* commodities, they are commodities through and through' (1991, p.86). His position was similar to that of the American art critic Clement Greenberg (1961) who provided one of the first definitive statements on the avant-garde and claimed (along with other members of the 'New York Intellectuals' including Dwight Macdonald, 2011) that true art resisted the artificiality of mass culture and was the opposite of 'kitsch'. Such ideas about the autonomy of art, exemplified by Bohemianism and 'l'art pour l'art' (art for art's sake), might be attributed to aesthetic notions of 'beauty' and the categorical separation of art from reality (for example see Kant, 1952; Schiller, 1967). However, whilst there has always been a certain level of resistance, from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards (and earlier in literature) the market had become the main mediator between artist and the public (O'Connor, 2010).

In his book *Culture* (1981) Raymond Williams questioned the freedoms and controls of the market and argued that it had essentially played a liberating role against more traditional forms of cultural dominance. Over time the market for art and cultural goods had extended beyond the local and national to a European and international scale, which gave artists and

cultural producers more social and financial space (they were no longer directly dependant on a patron). However, Williams recognised that market production led to 'new forms of cultural control and especially cultural selection' (p.104). Types of work that made a loss would be reduced or discontinued whilst those that generated profit expanded. Profitable production also involves minimalising production costs to maximise profit and Adorno and Horkheimer argued that this could compromise artistic integrity. However, the case studies for this thesis suggest cultural producers seek to find a space that negotiates a relationship between artistic or creative production and profit. Later stages of the market also involved planned marketing operations whereby particular examples of selected cultural forms were positively promoted whilst others would be left to make their own way. Williams suggested this became most noticeable in highly capitalised forms of production (popular newspapers, commercial cinema, the record industry, art reproduction and paperback books) so whilst buyers' choice was registered, this 'choice' operated within a largely pre-selected range.

Nevertheless, cultural production would never become a total system of art driven by volume sales as Adorno and Horkheimer had feared – the reality would always prove more complex. In *The Rules of Art* (1996) Pierre Bourdieu provided an account of a complex system of validation through which new artwork could achieve cultural status through a rejection of immediate economic returns. He discussed a more limited 'market for symbolic goods' (ch.3) whereby cultural producers could reject the economic rewards of speculative production and planned marketing operations in favour of symbolic power and high prestige, which in turn might later lead to economic success. Although their contrast cannot be made absolute, Bourdieu recognised two modes of cultural production that obeyed inverse logics. At one pole was the economic logic whereby production is attuned to profit and where cultural status slips accordingly – the culture industry. But at the other pole is a more restricted 'anti-economic' economy based upon accumulation of symbolic capital – 'a kind of "economic" capital denied but recognised' (p.142). In the long term symbolic capital awarded from the 'artistic field' that developed within the public sphere also had potential to lead to economic profits. Essentially Bourdieu recognised an opposition between two forms of capital – symbolic (or cultural) and financial. He recognised the power of both the market and also that of political organisations, educational institutions, journals, salons, galleries, theatres and music halls in their attempts to intervene against the market to protect cultural tradition.

This brings us to the marginal interventions, via new patronal and public funding, to reduce the role of the market in determining cultural production. The culture industry thesis came at a time when an emergent post-war cultural policy discourse in Europe had begun to

create distinctions between the subsidised and the commercial, and cultural and market value (whereas in America subsidy was a result of charitable foundations rather than cultural policy). The Arts Council of Great Britain, which was replaced by National Arts Councils in 1994, dates back to the 1940s when the Committee for Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) was established by Royal Charter. By the 1950s almost 100 organisations were receiving grants from the Arts Council including the Royal Opera House and Royal Court Theatre, in 1964 the first Arts Minister was appointed by Harold Wilson's Labour Government and by the 1970s grants were being awarded to over 260 organisations (ACE, 2010a). Justin Lewis (1990) has argued that 'a look at those bodies to which the Arts Council gives money is like looking at a directory of high art' (p.21). Public funding was often allocated to organisations that supported opera, ballet, poetry, orchestral music and theatre, and similar observations have been made by Robert Hewison (1997). But the Arts Council aimed to provide funding based on the extent of commercialisation, often responding to the cultural dominance of new media technologies and profit-governed market selection. Thus between the commercial and the subsidised there was a division between newer and more traditional forms of culture and also between the newer market dominant and more traditional means of production.

Arguments for state involvement with the arts have often been linked to national identity, cultural tradition, social cohesion and national prestige. Post-war cultural policy was not just about elite groups protecting high art from the capitalist culture industry; it was also about representing culture as a public good. The post-war policy discourse had its roots in the civilising process of the 19<sup>th</sup> century which saw the political legitimacy of the 'nation-state' in mass democracy linked to the promotion of national heritage sites, archives, and the building of public museums and art galleries (Anderson, 1991; O'Hagan, 1998; O'Connor, 2010). Britain's first purpose-built public gallery, Dulwich Picture Gallery, was opened in 1817 followed by the National Gallery in 1824 which was intended to be assessable to all social classes. The nationalisation of culture in many countries across Europe had a strong social-democratic element as the inherited culture of a nation was made available to the masses and was no longer restricted by the private property rights of the rich and the aristocracy. The turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century would see great changes as technological and business innovations brought a new wave of cultural production and consumption against the backdrop of compulsory education and growing spending power among the working classes combined with an increase in disposable leisure time (O'Connor, 2010; Pugh, 2012). These profound changes provoked a range of pessimistic and optimistic positions towards new media communications, to cultural commodity production and access to culture, and to the so-called rise of the masses.

## The new dynamics of culture

Following the Second World War 'Enlightenment as Mass Deception' had instigated a range of responses from British academics concerned with the 'massification' of culture and the organisational structure of the capitalist culture industry. Richard Hoggart (1958), who was perhaps one of the first academics to take the working classes seriously, was concerned by the 'Americanisation' of British popular culture and the breakdown of traditional working class communities as their distinctiveness was replaced by manufactured mass culture encapsulated by the record industry, the rise of television and the triumph of Hollywood. At the same time Raymond Williams (1958; 1961) developed his historical sociology of 'culture' both as art and also as a whole way of life, challenging established accounts by champions of elite culture like T.S. Eliot and F.R. Leavis. In his book *The Long Revolution* (1961) Williams described culture as 'a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour' (p.57). E.P. Thompson (1963) a few years later provided a detailed exploration of a variety of aspects of working class life and 'culture' during the transition to industrial capitalism at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Hoggart, Williams and Thompson, all contributed to an extension of our understanding of culture as a hierarchy of aesthetic value in art and literature to also include a more anthropological understanding of culture as a whole way of life.

During the 1950s and 1960s countercultural movements across Western Europe and America developed out of a variety of social and political debates which challenged established cultural hierarchies bringing a revival to ideas about the culture industry and mass media as a tool of social domination and oppression – exemplified by the Situationist International and Guy Debord's *The Society of the Spectacle* (1995). This brought new life to avant-garde debates about the opposition of art and authentic culture against the 'trash' of commercialisation. However, the new understanding of culture as a way of life was embraced by the emerging field of British cultural studies which produced an extensive body of work investigating working class youth culture during the post-war period; the generation caught between their traditional working class parent culture and the new system of mass consumerism in contemporary capitalism. In 1964 Hoggart founded the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham, which after 1968 was developed further under the direction of Stuart Hall. Later work from the Birmingham School rejected Hoggart's earlier concerns about the threat that mass culture posed towards the working class way of life and saw in 'subculture' new forms of resistance which displayed an active (rather than passive) engagement with commercial culture.

During the 1970s British subcultural studies brought new insights into the micro-politics of meaning making by exploring the process when the meanings carried by cultural products or 'texts' met the interpretations that consumers or 'readers' bring to them. Subculture in post-war Britain was different to the countercultural movements which sought to challenge the established social order. Distinctive social groups such as teddy boys, mods, skinheads and rockers were thought to be forms of cultural insubordination and symbolic expressions of rebellion displayed through the appropriation of commercial goods from popular culture that were reordered and recontextualised to communicate new and subversive meanings. Subcultures did not have formal political solutions to the class struggle and the drive of mass culture so insubordination and rebellion was worked out creatively within the less constrained but otherwise limited area of leisure. The appropriation of mass produced goods into subcultural style contradicted Adorno and Horkheimer's claims about the passivity of consumerism and revealed a two-way relationship whereby consumers could create their own meanings from cultural products in a process that Simon Frith (1998) later described as what we might call 'positive mass consumption'.

In *Resistance Through Rituals* (1993) Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson brought together a selection of essays on post-war youth culture by members of the Birmingham School first published in 1975. The contributors draw heavily on Antonio Gramsci's concept of 'homology' and Roland Barthes concept of 'bricolage'. Essays by Paul Willis and Dick Hebdige feature but it is perhaps their independent publications which provide the most developed explanations of these concepts in relation to subcultural studies. In his book *Profane Culture* (1978) Willis used the examples of the motor-bike boys and the hippies during the 1960s to describe how their cultural preferences (particularly around music and fashion) were intimately connected to the nature of their lives. Willis argued that there was a strong relationship between particular value systems and aspects of lifestyle that fitted together to form a homology. In *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (1979) Hebdige developed his interest in semiotics by exploring subcultural styles from the post-war period up to the 1970s including rastas, hipsters, beatniks, teddy boys, mods, skinheads, glam rockers and the punks. For Hebdige each group brought together a unique combination of commercial products to create a subcultural style generating new meanings which encoded an opposition to mass culture and the established social order indirectly and in a symbolic way through processes of bricolage.

The work on subculture during the 1970s demonstrated that cultural products were not simply accepted by the 'masses' and John Fiske later argued that all commodities, beyond their economic role in the generation and circulation of wealth are 'used by the consumer to



construct meanings of self, of social identity and social relations' (2010, p.9). From the late 1970s the examination of symbolic resistance in cultural studies was extended to include the reading and decoding of a broad range of cultural products to demonstrate how art and contemporary popular culture could still carry meaning that critiqued everyday life and various forms of social and political authority (McGuigan, 1992). However, the new academic field of cultural studies was not free from criticism. The political economist Nicolas Garnham (1990) argued that the focus on symbolic analysis within cultural studies was at the expense of a wider investigation into the Marxist concerns about the structures that shape our everyday lives and the economic organisation of the culture industry that impinged on the production and circulation of meaning. Garnham (1990) and Williams (1981) both agreed that the culture industry thesis was not only wrong to suggest that culture would become *completely* reduced to the needs of capital and the ruling class, but that it also did not provide a thorough explanation of the conditions under which culture was produced.

The political economy school began to emerge at a similar time to British cultural studies starting with investigations into political communication and broadcast media, which in the UK at the time was the responsibility of the Home Secretary rather than that of the Arts Minister and cultural policy (Lewis, 1990). Political economists recognised that culture was increasingly being produced as a commodity and thus subject to the logic and contradictions of the capitalist system. However, they also argued that a complete standardisation of cultural goods would not be able to satisfy consumer demand. British cultural studies had demonstrated how cultural commodities needed to serve both a material and 'cultural use' value to satisfy consumers' need for meaning and enjoyment. If audiences could use commodities to express that they are different from other people then demand was in fact highly volatile and far less predictable than Adorno and Horkheimer had believed it to be. In reality the market (or rather markets) in cultural goods displayed a constant and unpredictable demand for new and different products, which meant that there were limits to the standardisation of the culture industry. But beyond this perhaps one of the most important developments to come out of the work on cultural studies and political economy was the conceptual shift represented by the change in terminology from the culture industry to *cultural industries* (Hesmondhalgh, 2013).

The French media theorist Bernard Miège (1989) was an important contributor towards popularising the plural term. The culture industry thesis suggested all cultural production formed part of a unified field that obeyed the same logic, but Miège recognised that there were different models of realising exchange value that stemmed from the different

types of commodities that were being produced. He distinguished between editorial, press and flow models. The editorial produced goods such as books, recorded music and film, financed by direct sales to the end consumer. He explained that here in the economy of hits and flops producers must manage a catalogue of wide ranging products to ensure the statistical probability of achieving a hit. Much of the direct labour is subcontracted to freelancers, and producers manage the catalogue and distribution. The press model was that of newspapers and magazines which employ a large workforce to produce and rapidly distribute a single highly perishable product and here there was a need to manage subscription and advertising revenue. Finally, the flow model was characterised by broadcasting where a flow of products is packaged as a service and revenue comes from advertising and public funding. But there is also a fourth model too for cultural forms associated with exhibitions and performances which have a restricted audience which is charged an admission fee (O'Connor, 2010).

The development of a more empirically-based understanding of the dynamics at work in the production of culture also highlighted the problematic status given to creative labour in the culture industry thesis. Adorno and Horkheimer believed the loss of the independent artist to the new corporate model of the culture industry would bring an end to authentic culture as production moved out of patronage into production for the market. Williams (1981) discussed this process in the early 1980s and predicted that in time large cultural producers, particularly in the new media industries such as film, television and radio, would employ full-time salaried creative workers and the artist would become a corporate professional. This never became reality and today creative labour is often characterised by freelancing, short-term contracts and flexible working (Oakley, 2009). The creators of new cultural products rarely become employees on a salary and often work as freelancers or as part of a small firm contracted for a specific product (or products) over a specified period of time. On the contrary, to a greater extent creative labour has remained at the pre-Fordist 'artisanal' level and large cultural producers would come to use intermediaries, sometimes salaried and sometimes freelancers themselves, to link the pool of creative workers to larger corporate organisations.

## **2.2. Public policy and the creative industries sector**

By the 1980s the new academic field of cultural studies had put claims about the passivity of consumer culture to question and political economists were beginning to reveal the complexities of the culture industry, or rather the *cultural industries*, which involved a variety of sub-sectors each with different conditions of production and consumption, different ways of realising exchange value, of managing demand and creative labour, and different levels of

public and private investment. At the same time approaches to cultural policy in the UK were beginning to change. Traditional cultural policy had involved attempts by government to demystify the arts by using public funds to make them more relevant and accessible to a wider audience and to people from different socio-economic backgrounds. It was also recognised that public spending on the arts could contribute towards generating wealth, partly by stimulating tourism and the visitor economy, but free market arguments against the use of public money to support industry that the market has rejected and socialist arguments that the subsidised arts only benefit a minority, in political terms can sometimes be difficult for our representatives to refute.

In 1983 Nicholas Garnham (1990, ch.10) presented a paper to the Greater London Council (GLC) proposing that through a combination of market research, targeted distribution strategies and new forms of regulation the GLC could shift the economic activity around the cultural industries in a new direction that would benefit London's economy while also delivering a more democratic cultural policy based on audience demand. This strategy was never fully implemented but it highlighted the potential for the cultural industries to act as a tool for economic and social regeneration – an idea which gave rise to the discourse of culture-led urban renaissance which later played a prominent role in the 'creative industries' policy framework introduced by New Labour. But before this shift in cultural policy became visible in the UK the first major attempt to address the rise of the cultural industries in policy circles took place on an international level driven by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). UNESCO sponsored an international comparative research programme on the cultural industries which culminated in a conference where experts discussed the role of the cultural industries in the cultural development of societies (UNESCO, 1982). However, despite providing a basic definition and framework for cultural industries policy the research programme would have no direct impact on national policy in any of the advanced industrial nations (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005). Nevertheless, in the French Ministry of Culture the argument was being made that the majority of cultural products were now created by the commercial sector and this could not be ignored whilst the minority arts received all the attention (Lewis 1990; O'Connor, 2010). It was also becoming apparent that there was a need for the cultural industries to be protected under national policy to support them in competing against foreign (and in particular American) products.

In the UK the Arts Council of Great Britain had begun to subsidise the minority arts, embracing the principle 'culture for all' – and today 'achieving great art and culture for everyone' is a key strategic priority for Arts Council England (ACE, 2010b; 2011; 2013a). It has

frequently been argued that the arts have an inherent value that cultural policy would attempt to make more widely available (Mowlah et al, 2014; Carnwath and Brown, 2014). The Labour Party appointed Jennie Lee as the first Arts Minister in 1964 and in the White Paper, *A Policy for the Arts* (DES, 1965) she argued that the arts should be subsidised so they could be accessed by everybody. The Conservative Party and other parts of the establishment were also happy to endorse a policy that ensured the survival of national arts institutions and cultural heritage. However, Justin Lewis (1990, ch.4) has argued that in creating a cultural policy based on 'culture for all' there is a need to promote cultural value in those sectors that can be broadly designated as commercial as well as those that tend to be subsidised. He explains 'The virtue of the "cultural industries" framework is that it begins with popular cultural forms that are already part of people's lives' (p.50). The GLC between 1979 and 1986 has been widely credited with producing one of the first cultural industries strategies in the UK, over a decade before the cultural industries and the arts sector were brought together under the national 'creative industries' agenda. As consultant to the GLC in the early 1980s, Garnham played an important role in the development of the *London Industrial Strategy* (1985) and he argued that public investment and regulation should be used to promote quality, diversity and innovation in the products being produced by the cultural industries which had come to dominate the city's economy (Garnham, 1990).

### **Culture-led urban renaissance**

Garnham presented his paper *Public Policy and the Cultural Industries* (1990, ch.10) to the GLC's Economic Policy Group in 1983. He opened by stating that 'To mobilize the concept of the cultural industries as central to an analysis of cultural activity and of public cultural policy is to take a stand against a whole tradition of idealist cultural analysis' (p.154). Garnham was well aware of the perceived opposition between authentic art and commercial culture which has a long history, but the new approaches to culture developed within cultural studies and political economy had demonstrated that cultural value existed in both – the arts and goods produced by the commercial cultural industries could be understood in sociological terms as part of a system of the production and circulation of symbolic cultural forms. By focussing on the development of public sector expertise in audience research and marketing, and new forms of regulation for broadcasting, publishing and film, Garnham provided a model for a democratic cultural policy that also recognised the growing economic importance of the cultural industries. However, in considering this approach it is also important that one recognises the need for subsidy too, which is important in supporting the processes of innovation which can

develop when an artist or cultural producer creates what they want to rather than what it is thought the public wants to receive (O'Connor, 2010).

Nevertheless, Garnham recognised that during the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the majority of people looked to the market for their cultural fix in the form of goods and services and the success of the cultural industries presented new challenges and opportunities for policy-makers. He argued that public policy should use the market as a way of allocating resources and reflecting choice while also recognising the responsibilities of publicly funded culture. In reality Garnham's new ideas were never fully developed because the *London Industrial Strategy* was not fully implemented. Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government argued for the abolition of the GLC in the White Paper, *Streamlining the Cities* (DoE, 1983) and in 1985 the council was abolished by Local Government Act to end in 1986, after which its powers were devolved to the London Boroughs. At the time critics argued that this was politically motivated because the GLC (under Labour control since 1981) had become a powerful vehicle for the opposition against Thatcher's Government (Atkinson and Wilks-Heeg, 2000). A little more than a decade later New Labour under Tony Blair's leadership established a new London-wide government in the form of the Greater London Authority (GLA). However, following the abolition of the GLC the cultural industries agenda moved outside of the capital and took a new form in local economic development strategies as the predominantly Labour Party local political base intersected with the arts funding agencies.

Local authorities in Britain were being asked to deliver an economic development agenda in response to the recessions of the 1970s and 1980s based on the belief that manufacturing was finished and many of them struggled to develop strategies that would work with Thatcher's national imperatives and the mainly Labour local councils (O'Connor, 2010). By the late 1980s large metropolitan areas including Merseyside, Greater Manchester and South Yorkshire among others began to transform their visions for the future of their cities and in the process the arts sector and cultural industries began to move much closer to the centre of policy-making as a potential economic resource. Sheffield's local economic strategy set on addressing the de-industrialisation of the city was particularly influential in spreading the notion of local cultural industries policies and their programmes to move people off unemployment benefit and to promote economic recovery found a place for cultural projects (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005). By the early 1990s examples of the new found links between local economic policy and urban regeneration could be seen at work in cities across Western Europe where strategies were often centred on arts interventions, management of the cultural industries sector and flagship capital projects (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993).

Just a few years after the abolition of the GLC the Policy Studies Institute (PSI) in London produced a series of reports on the economic importance of the arts in Merseyside, Glasgow and Ipswich which were followed by a single report on Britain by John Myerscough (1988). The Arts Council had also begun to discuss the role of the arts in urban regeneration and the following year published its own report (ACGB, 1989). It was the PSI that were among the first organisations to use the term 'cultural industries' in publications that were widely read by arts managers, funders and policy-makers and later reference to 'the arts and cultural industries' began to appear more frequently (Evans and Shaw, 2004). This was representative of a breakdown of the opposition between the arts sector and the cultural industries as the distinctions between the subsidised and the commercial became less clear. In his report Myerscough (1988) covered a number of studies which evaluated the social benefits of arts interventions and he was also able to use a 'multiplier effect' to demonstrate how direct investment in the arts could lead to spending in other sectors of the economy, which in turn could enhance wealth and job creation. He also argued that investment in the arts could make places seem more attractive to citizens, businesses and investors. Britain's old industrial towns were facing difficult economic circumstances and the local government spend on the arts became increasingly linked to an agenda of developing new visitor attractions in the hope of increasing visitor spend and bringing new investment to local areas.

Peter Marcuse (1989), an American urban planning theorist, developed a concept of the 'city of quarters' where new urban social and spatial patterns reflected economic, cultural and symbolic hierarchies. Following an emerging American model of place promotion and new public-private partnerships the development of new cultural facilities in the UK became increasingly linked to other leisure, retail and office developments creating new 'cultural quarters' which would play an important role in the social and economic regeneration of post-industrial towns and cities (Bell and Jayne, 2004). The new discourse of culture-led urban renaissance in the UK developed outside of academia and national government circles, between local economic development agencies and the arts funding agencies through the intermediation of a small group of cultural consultants – one of the most well known of which was Charles Landry's Comedia. Local policies became much more about management of the cultural sector as a complex whole (including both the arts and the cultural industries) and its integration into the strategic vision of the city. It was from this emergent field of policy knowledge around urban renaissance that New Labour's creative industries policies began to take shape and the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century would see a canon of national reports and other publications from both Arts Council England and the new Department for Culture, Media and

Sport (DCMS) promoting the value of culture and its role in regeneration (for examples see DCMS, 1998; 2000a; 2001; 2004a; 2005; 2009; Reeves, 2002; ACE, 2003; 2006; 2007; Evans and Shaw, 2004; O'Brien, 2010).

### **The new economy**

Tony Blair's victory for New Labour in the 1997 General Election represented not only a change in politics after a long period of Conservative power under Margaret Thatcher and John Major, but also a pragmatic change in national branding with the hope of bringing Britain into a new age in contemporary capitalism. The Department of National Heritage was restructured as the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and the cultural industries agenda was brought under national cultural policy for the first time. The newly established Creative Industries Task Force (CITF) brought together various Departments of State and industry representatives from film, music and other high-profile sub-sectors creating a political hype around 'Cool Britannia' that was to become associated with the New Labour Government. The CITF then started work with the DCMS to produce the *Creative Industries Mapping Document* (DCMS, 1998) which was later revised in 2001. The renaming of the cultural industries as 'creative industries' was widely perceived at the time as a political construct which brought together the arts and the cultural industries (and advertising, architecture, computer games, design, fashion and also software which proved to be the most controversial) under a new brand in an attempt to firmly establish the sector as a legitimate object of public policy and a crucial component of strategies to promote the UK's economic competitiveness in the new global 'information' or 'knowledge' economy.

By the late 1980s there had been a general shift in advanced economies around the world from manufacturing to service industries which emphasised close attention to customer needs (while in developing nations industrial production was expanding). There was a clear connection between this new model of economics and earlier developments in the cultural industries as changing patterns of consumption during the post-war period demanded an increased responsiveness to consumer markets and new innovations, creativity and flexibility. The Marxist geographer David Harvey (1990) argued that the new economics of postmodernity in late capitalism was about post-Fordism represented by a shift from the modern techniques of mass production to 'flexible specialisation' and decentralisation across production for smaller niche markets. Adorno and Horkheimer understood capitalist accumulation to be characterised not only by mass production but also by the culture industry's control over social life. Harvey discussed a new model of 'flexible accumulation' whereby the superstructural

elements of culture depended on the base which involved a number of characteristic changes in business practices. For New Labour the creative industries were cutting edge examples of what the new economy demanded and provided a template for others to follow.

As consumer markets became increasingly fragmented producers needed to find new ways to monitor these markets and to develop flexible production processes to respond to fast changing demand (Lash and Urry, 1994). These new dynamics had led to a rise in small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) and in different economic sectors interconnected companies and institutions began to develop informal networks in particular geographical locations that the American economist Michael Porter (1998) termed 'clusters'. He argued that clusters had the potential to generate competitive advantage within countries and across borders through pools of common knowledge and skills, flexible human resources, relations of trust and a sense of common goals. Advances in media communications and the re-regulation of international markets after the liberalisation of the 1980s meant goods and services were now operating on a more global level (Picciotto and Haines, 1999). Porter suggested that we might assume that more open global markets and faster distribution and communication would diminish the role of location in competition. However, he explained that 'The enduring competitive advantages in a global economy are often heavily local, arising from concentrations of highly specialised skills and knowledge, institutions, rivals, related businesses and sophisticated customers' (Porter, 1998, p. 90). Economic geographers have since become increasingly interested in the cities and metropolitan areas in which clusters have developed and policy-makers have questioned how their interventions might allow them to foster an environment that can nurture the development of clusters and stimulate economic growth.

In the new system to emerge out of the transition from a manufacturing-based economy to a service-based economy there was a shift from ideas about the nation-state and the unified national economic space of modernity towards more fluid and multi-layered spatial levels which reflected an increased awareness of a new dynamic and the intensity of global mobility. In his book *The Rise of the Network Society* (2000) first published in 1996 the Spanish urban geographer Manuel Castells claimed that as we moved from the industrial age into the information age power existed in networks. He argued that although companies and institutions are based in places the organisational logic is *placeless* and dependent on the 'space of flows' which characterised the new network society. Castells pointed to the increasing importance of a new global scale of exchanges that were built around interlocking networks and argued that in time media communications technologies (and the internet in particular) would allow for globalisation and the annihilation of space. Porter (1998) agreed



that this seemed to be a logical conclusion, but he suggested that location remained an important factor in achieving competitive advantage despite globalisation and the rapid changes in technologies and markets. Within locally embedded networks or clusters, groups of organisations in competition and collaboration thrived and the fruitful relationships that would develop were complemented by a shared local knowledge which gave a competitive edge because the particular characteristics of a specific cluster could not be easily transferred or replicated outside of its local conditions. To use an example from the cases studies conducted for this thesis, Eastleigh is a railway town which was developing a new cluster of start-ups and small businesses working in the creative industries sector – but a similar town with a similar strategy would offer its own unique characteristics and local conditions.

Harvey (1990) understood the new post-Fordist economy to be organised around a multitude of fast changing consumer markets and a proliferation of symbolic and informational goods and services which in turn had become important to new forms of social distinction and identity. Scott Lash and John Urry (1994) discussed the growth of symbolic consumption and the importance of ‘aesthetic reflexivity’. They suggested that goods, services, brands and even places carried a symbolic meaning which social actors could use to communicate aspects of the self to themselves and to other people. This was not a quality that was limited to ‘cultural’ products and it could be seen across many sectors ‘embodied in the “expressive component” of goods and services’ (p.6). Aesthetic reflexivity was a process of self-interpretation and realisation that both consumers and producers could respond to in the new economy of ‘signs and spaces’ which characterised the postmodern condition. For the cultural industries the shift to post-Fordism via the vertical disintegration of big corporate structures involved production and distribution becoming increasingly organised around clusters of SMEs and freelancers that displayed a more intuitive engagement with the rapidly changing cultural trends (Harvey, 1990; Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999). Justin O’Connor (2010) suggests that in this process ‘Cultural workers were no longer to be characterised as creatives crushed by the wheels of a corporate sector whose values they resisted as best they could; it was precisely these people who were in possession of the means to operate most effectively’ (p.37).

Creativity itself would also be considered as a crucial resource in the new economy – it was intuitive rather than calculative and linked to new thinking and new ideas upon which innovation could build (Bilton, 2007). O’Connor recognises that the emergence of ‘creativity’ as an essential attribute of the person can be traced back through the changing management literature of the 1970s and 80s and can also be linked to the notion of the ‘enterprising self’ which was a key image promoted by Thatcher’s Conservative Government via the Enterprise

Allowance Scheme (EAS). Although the EAS was not envisaged as a scheme for people starting new cultural businesses it attracted applications from a substantial number of 'creative people' and has an impressive alumni including among others the founders of Creative Records, the Earache record label for heavy-metal music and the Superdry fashion label (New Deal of the Mind, 2009). On a broader scale the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism also involved a new 'organisational culture' which was exemplified by the arts sector and the cultural industries. New management styles across a variety of economic sectors identified the need for shared values between management and the workforce allowing employees at all levels to participate in the company ethos (Ross, 2003; O'Connor, 2010).

### **Creativity and urbanity**

Adorno and Horkheimer's model of the culture industry focussed on the large corporations involved in cultural production and distribution, but freelancers and independent businesses had persisted even at the heart of the corporate sector. By the 1990s freelancers and SMEs represented a substantial part of overall employment in the cultural industries and they operated as clusters which were highly networked and often had links to larger national and transnational corporations (O'Brien and Feist, 1995; 1997; Pratt, 1997b). The largest and most productive clusters were generally centred on large metropolitan areas and Andy Pratt (1997a) used data from the Office for National Statistics (ONS) to show in 1991 approximately 66% of creative employment in Britain's cultural industries was located in cities and 50% in London. An increase in mapping exercises not only highlighted the importance of the city but revealed that at the local level the distinctions between the subsidised and the commercial, between economic and cultural activities and between motives of art and motives of profit were by no means clear-cut (O'Connor, 2010). Furthermore, the distinctions between local economic and cultural policy, and interventions in the arts sector and the cultural industries were also becoming increasingly interlinked and often formed part of a wider strategy of culture-led urban renaissance. The DCMS (2000a) would later advocate a cultural planning approach to local government recommending all local authorities in England should develop local cultural strategies to meet various economic and social objectives and this is discussed further in the next chapter. Cultural planning recognises a relationship between a broad set of activities and resources associated with culture, public policy and planning, rather than viewing culture as the responsibility of a single department (Gilmore, 2004).

The concentration of SME networks and clusters found in cities during investigations into the cultural sector and its value chains revealed close connections between creativity and

urbanity. Castells (1991; 2000) pointed to the city as a key node and command centre in the new information or knowledge economy and Harvey (1990) described how the post-industrial cities of the world would be transformed into centres of up-market cultural consumption. Porter (1998; 2000; 2008) built upon the work of the 19<sup>th</sup> century economist Alfred Marshall (2009) in developing his concept of localised clusters and he developed Marshall's use of the term 'atmosphere' to describe the qualities of place that could allow groups of organisations to develop a competitive edge. The desire to create the right environment brought together the strategies for culture-led urban renaissance with the new cultural industries policy discourse that developed during the 1980s and 90s. In his book *The Creative City* (2000) one of the leading cultural consultants Charles Landry provided a toolkit for urban innovators. He discussed the 'creative milieu' which he describes as 'a physical setting where a critical mass of entrepreneurs, intellectuals, social activists, artists, administrators, power brokers or students can operate in an open-minded, cosmopolitan context where face to face interaction creates new ideas, artefacts, products, services and institutions and as a consequence contributes to economic success' (p.133; also see Hall, 2000). For Landry public intervention through regulation and incentives regimes that help to foster a creative milieu went hand in hand with urban regeneration programmes to create a vibrant urban culture that could enhance civic pride and attract tourism, business and investment. The creative city was characterised by the development of new cultural venues and quarters, an emphasis on public space, new forms of public art, urban landscaping, alternative retail and large-scale architectural regeneration projects – for Landry this was 'the art of city making' (2006).

The clusters that developed out of the creative milieu in the arts sector and the cultural industries were thought to be particularly important because their links to the locality were not only economic but also cultural. The Work Foundation's guide to *Investing in Creative Industries* (2009) produced for the Local Government Association (LGA) stressed the impressive growth rate of the 'creative industries' and the potential for innovation, wealth and job creation – remember it was suggested that the sector grew by an average of 5% per annum between 1997 and 2007 compared to an average of 3% for the whole of the economy (DCMS, 2010a). The guide also suggested various ways in which the creative industries contribute towards social regeneration and place-making – and particularly those sub-sectors at the cultural-end of the spectrum (as opposed to those at the high-end such as software that push up the economic performance statistics). Allen Scott (2001) has argued that cities function as foci for creativity and innovation in economic and cultural affairs and in a similar way to Harvey (1990) he suggests that the success of local cultural economies can be seen in a revitalisation

of the public front of the city 'in the guise of shopping malls, restaurants and cafés, clubs, theatres, galleries, boutiques' (p.17). This local revitalisation is often linked to interventions to enhance local prestige, to increase property values and to attract investment and jobs.

In his book *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002) American economist Richard Florida introduced a new 'economic class' of people who add economic value through their creativity by creating 'meaningful new forms'. Florida's creative class is different to what one might expect because it is not limited to the cultural or 'creative' workers that we associate with the arts sector, the cultural industries or even the DCMS creative industries sector. Florida also includes scientists, engineers, academics and those working in financial services, the legal and health care professions, and business management. In this way his understanding of creative workers is similar to that of John Howkins (2001) in the UK and together their work presents a strong argument against New Labour's use of the term 'creative' to describe what is chiefly the arts sector and the cultural industries. However, important for us is that Florida suggests the creative class is attracted to those places that can offer 'abundant high-quality amenities and experiences, an openness to diversity of all kinds, and above all else the opportunity to validate their identities as creative people' (p.218). The recommendations that Florida suggested would attract a creative class are similar to those of the creative milieu and those which might encourage the development of localised clusters. The creative city with its vibrant contemporary culture and quality of life, education and research institutions, government agencies, networks and value chains, and indeed urbanity itself offers something crucial to 'creativity' and to the cultural industries. Strategies to attract cultural and creative workers are often instigated by government and involve a mix of subsidised and commercial activities closely linked with interventions in culture-led urban renaissance. In the case of the cultural industries we can understand the sector to be organised around at least two levels to which place is important. The first involves the large transnational corporations operating in the global economy which are often based in major world cities (like London, Berlin, Los Angeles, New York, Paris etc.) and the second involves the growing number of SMEs and freelancers that compete in what they hope will be a creative milieu in the towns and cities in which they hope to flourish (Grabher, 2001; Jeffcutt and Pratt, 2002; Scott, 2004).

### **New Labour's cultural legacy**

The profile of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) marked a new status for cultural policy and for the cultural industries in particular. The *Creative Industries Mapping Document* (1998) collated statistical data on 13 sub-sectors (now nine are recognised) which

together formed the 'creative industries' and identified policy measures to promote their future development. The sub-sectors were defined as 'those which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property' (DCMS, 2001, p.4). This definition, along with the use of the term 'creative' rather than 'cultural' has led to much debate but it allowed Tony Blair's Government to achieve a number of goals. Firstly, it had made it possible to link those parts of the arts sector which remain largely associated with Arts Council subsidy to the high-profile commercial cultural industries (such as music, film and broadcasting) under a new national cultural policy. Second, the inclusion of software as an additional sub-sector had made it possible for the DCMS to present the sector as a much larger and a more significant part of the economy than would otherwise have been possible and this helped to get some key spending plans pass the Treasury. Finally, the new creative industries policy framework outlined by Chris Smith (the first Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport) claimed to resolve the long-standing dilemma of social democratic cultural policy by eliminating the high and low distinctions between the arts sector and the cultural industries by supporting both and thus combining access with excellence (Smith, 1998).

Nicholas Garnham (2005) was sceptical of this new approach and argued 'the choice of the term "creative" rather than "cultural" is a shorthand reference to the information society and that set of economic analyses and policy arguments to which that term now refers' (p.20). The cultural industries framework that Garnham had developed for the GLC was an audience-orientated democratic cultural policy of infrastructural support. However, the DCMS creative industries framework was centred on the role of the creative worker in the new information or knowledge economy and sought to position the creative industries at the forefront of economic competitiveness. Garnham recognised that this policy agenda was primarily economic rather than cultural and it was driven by the strategic aim to develop the economic viability of those industries based on the exploitation of intellectual property. The creative industries framework allowed software producers and major cultural industries conglomerates to construct an alliance with smaller businesses and freelancers concerned with strengthening intellectual property rights and copyright protection to keep cultural and informational goods as commodities. Furthermore, the inclusion of software within the creative industries sector had allowed the DCMS to develop arguments for public support for the training of creative workers, similar to those arguments developed for the IT industry. If the creative industries were crucial to the new high-growth market for cultural products and services then there was a need for public support to ensure that there would be an adequate supply of creative

workers to ensure the UK's international competitiveness. Garnham suggested that this had wide reaching policy implications because these sorts of arguments increasingly drive education policy. For Garnham the new policy framework was not about democratic cultural policy, but economic competitiveness centred upon the creative worker and a celebration of the 'artist' as a model worker within the new economy.

Whilst the new terminology 'creative industries' itself has since remained remarkably accepted in policy circles at both national and international levels, there was never any explicit explanation of why this was changed and a number of commentators have recognised the difficulty in distinguishing what is 'creative' about this sector in relation to others such as science or business services, or indeed service industries in general, without some reference to a specific 'cultural' dimension (Howkins, 2001; Pratt, 2005; O'Connor, 2010; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). At the time the change highlighted a lack of consensus among politicians, researchers and academics as to a comprehensive definition or model for the sector and one must now be mindful of exactly what is being presented when reviewing reports that provide statistical data about employment and the economic performance of the cultural or creative industries sector. The rebranding of the cultural industries, the inclusion of the arts, the additional sub-sectors (advertising, architecture, computer games, design, fashion and software) and the focus on intellectual property rights all contributed to a lack of clarity as to the specificity and distinctiveness of the sector. As we have seen, both Howkins (2001) and Florida (2002) present a much broader understanding of what the creative economy should refer to. For Howkins the creative industries are all activities covered by intellectual property, ranging from the DCMS sub-sectors through to scientific and technical research and development. Similarly, Florida understands creativity to be an important attribute for professionals working across a range of occupations as well as those we might call 'cultural' creative workers.

David Hesmondhalgh (2013) agrees with Andy Pratt who argued for many years that creativity fails to define the DCMS concept of creative industries and he continues to define the cultural industries as the production and circulation of symbolic texts. The creative industries concept has brought the arts and the cultural industries together and Hesmondhalgh excludes the arts as non-industrial. Yet while they certainly command a substantial level of public subsidy it seems difficult to consider the production and circulation of symbolic texts without some reference to the arts. O'Connor (2010) also reminds us that the arts have many inputs and spill-overs into the cultural industries and they can also be highly commercial in particular areas, including contemporary art exhibitions, fine art auctions, opera and popular theatre. It is also difficult to conceive of the creative city or milieu without a

variety of activities centred on the arts. Hesmondhalgh also excludes the additional DCMS categories of fashion, design and architecture, suggesting that these involve the application of cultural or symbolic value to primarily functional goods and services. But as we have seen, a number of commentators have argued that functional goods and services and indeed a variety of aspects of everyday life can also be seen to hold symbolic and cultural meaning (Williams 1958; 1961; Lash and Urry, 1994; Fiske, 2010).

The problem of definition continues to be central to debates surrounding the cultural and creative industries. Definitions guide the researchers who map the sector and collate statistical information on its size and distribution. Definitions inform the policy-makers who make decisions about public sector interventions and where they should be targeted. But for some commentators a policy dilemma remains whichever approach to cultural policy we might consider. Garnham (2005) has questioned if a sub-sector of the creative industries is successful against the test of the market then why does it need support and if it is not successful then why does it merit support? Many of the high-profile reports published in the UK which have investigated the size, economic performance and distribution of the cultural and creative industries have used different models to define the sector and a range of research methodology have been employed (for example see DCMS, 1998; 2001; 2010a; 2010b; 2011, 2013; 2014; 2015a; 2015b; 2016; NESTA, 2006; Frontier Economics, 2007; The Work Foundation, 2007; De Propris et al, 2009; White, 2009; Chapain et al 2010; Creative Skillset, 2013; Bakhshi et al, 2013a; 2015; Mateos-Garcia and Bakhshi, 2016). The problem of definition and the tensions between art, culture and economics remain at the heart of debates surrounding the arts, the cultural industries and the creative industries.

### **3. INVESTIGATING LOCAL CREATIVE INDUSTRIES DEVELOPMENT**

The importance of the creative industries sector to Britain's future was a recurring theme for the Labour Party under Tony Blair and, from 2007, Gordon Brown, but the economic ground shifted very rapidly in the UK during Brown's time as Prime Minister. Nevertheless, the DCMS had already played a critical formative role in establishing an international policy discourse for how the creative industries should be defined and what their wider significance constitutes. Following Labour's electoral defeat in May 2010, the Conservative Party led by David Cameron (which did not win an absolute majority until May 2015) entered into a Coalition with the Liberal Democrats headed by Nick Clegg. Cameron, in his first major speech on the economy, stressed the need to support growing industries and (after aerospace, pharmaceuticals, high-value manufacturing, hi-tech engineering and low carbon technology) he recognised 'all the knowledge-based industries including the creative industries' (Number 10, 2010). It appeared that the UK Government would retain its commitment to developing the creative industries sector in its existing institutional form and Jeremy Hunt was the first Conservative MP to become Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport (and Olympics) and he was followed by Maria Miller, Sajid Javid and John Whittingdale before Karen Bradley was appointed by Cameron's successor Theresa May in July 2016.

The global financial crisis of 2008 had a dramatic impact on the UK economy, with the collapse and subsequent nationalisation of Northern Rock and the Royal Bank of Scotland (RBS), public sector debt was increasing significantly. The reaction was to introduce substantial reductions in Government expenditure, leading to cuts in creative industries spending – most notably the abolition of the Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) and the UK Film Council, as well as a sharp reduction in the funding awarded to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). In 2012 the hype surrounding the Royal Wedding of Prince William and Kate Middleton the previous year was still strong and the Queen's Diamond Jubilee and the London Olympics attracted unprecedented levels of international attention. The cross-Government 'Great Britain' campaign used the platform of the Games to maximise the economic impact of London 2012 and to promote everything that was great about Britain to a global audience (Great Britain, 2017). 'Creativity' was celebrated as part of the campaign and David Cameron praised Britain's 'extraordinary' creative achievements, urging foreign investors to support the UK's art, film, television, music and literature. But despite the spectacle of 2012 the announcement of the Government's decision in 2010 to abolish the RDAs within two years had raised concerns for some about the future of governance and economic development in the UK at the regional level (for examples see Bentley et al, 2010).



Following the publication of the first *Creative Industries Mapping Document* in 1998 the DCMS had recognised the need for a more explicit incorporation of a regional dimension to the creative industries development strategy and this coincided with a wider recognition of the limitations of centralism and the UK's focus on Whitehall with top-down 'one size fits all' policy prescriptions (Tomaney, 1999; 2000; Oakley, 2004; Pratt, 2004). The second *Mapping Document* (2001) and a new report entitled *Creative Industries: The Regional Dimension* (2000b) aimed to address this gap and came after the establishment of the Northern Ireland Assembly in 1998, the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh Assembly in 1999, and new forms of English regional governance which included the RDAs. This wider regionalisation agenda also led to the development of the Regional Cultural Consortia (RCC) which would work with the RDAs and the Regional Arts Boards (replaced by Regional Arts Councils in 2003 which were then restructured a decade later in response to 'Con-Dem' budget cuts) to develop new approaches to the delivery of publicly-funded cultural services<sup>3</sup>.

At this time significant creative industries networks were beginning to be identified in UK cities and regions (for examples see Jeffcutt, 2004; Pratt, 2004; Shorthose, 2004a; Roodhouse, 2006). However, the dilemma now facing the DCMS was how to respond to the growing tension between the Department's economic and cultural responsibilities and how to use the RCCs effectively as coordinating bodies (with no real resources to deploy) within a complex institutional playing field. The regional cultural infrastructure was later reviewed again by the DCMS and in 2009 the RCCs were replaced with partnerships between the Department's four key cultural agencies in each region, which included Arts Council England, Sport England, English Heritage, and the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (which was abolished in 2012). When the Coalition came to power it announced plans to replace the RDAs by April 2012 with smaller-scale voluntary partnerships between local authorities and businesses called Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs). Unlike the RDAs these would receive no funding from central Government and worked across smaller geographical areas. The LEPs would take on the responsibility for determining economic priorities and undertaking activities to drive economic growth and the creation of local jobs.

This chapter explores creative industries development in recent years at the regional, sub-regional and local levels in England and it is divided into three sections. The first highlights important contributions to current understanding of the regional context before discussing the

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<sup>3</sup> Arts Council England, the traditional home of arts and cultural policy, is directly funded by the DCMS but its policy-making function is independent. The establishment of the Regional Arts Councils in 2003 to replace the Regional Arts Boards was an attempt to address concerns about central control and a metropolitan basis for funding allocation (Pratt, 2004; also see Stark et al, 2013; ACE; 2013b).

South East of England and introducing the South Hampshire sub-region. The second considers the role of local initiatives and public sector interventions in the creative economy and highlights key issues facing academics, policy-makers and stakeholders. The final section details the research questions and methodology for this thesis and introduces the three case studies carried out in South Hampshire between 2011 and 2014. These included longitudinal investigations into a creative industries business advisory service in Portsmouth, a specialist workspace agency in Southampton and an associate artist scheme at a local authority owned theatre in Eastleigh. This chapter argues that greater knowledge and understanding of creative industries development at sub-national levels is needed and this will help to inform local decision-makers who are considering future interventions in the sector and questioning whether or not they are appropriate and where they might be most effective.

### **3.1. The regional context**

The first DCMS *Mapping Document* (1998) identified the creative industries as a large and growing component of the UK economy with an annual growth rate of 5% which was higher than any other economic sector. The creative industries employed over 1.4 million people and generated an estimated £7.5 billion in exports and a total of £60 billion in revenues per year which accounted for 5% of gross national income. In London the economic contribution of the sector was far greater than in other parts of the UK and here the creative industries were second only to financial and business services. This was not necessarily because England's capital had the best policy frameworks but because of a unique set of circumstances which gave this global city the competitive edge (see Knell and Oakley, 2007). Chris Smith (the first Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport), in his introduction to the second *Mapping Document*, recognised progress since the introduction of the new policy framework in 1997 and observed how now 'the special needs of these industries are reflected more in policy development at national, regional and sub-regional levels' and claimed 'The creative industries have moved from the fringes to the mainstream' (DCMS, 2001, p.3). Indeed, despite the criticism received over New Labour's approach to cultural policy and the definition and choice of sub-sectors included within the DCMS model, the creative industries as a policy discourse was itself a successful British export (Wang, 2008; Ross, 2009; Flew 2012).

The continuing work in developing the sector involved related policy being developed in areas such as education, entrepreneurship, trade and regional issues. But despite the use of the word 'mapping' in the title, neither of the two major reports on the creative industries produced by the DCMS included any maps. There was a need to establish meaningful datasets

that could make visible the regional status of the sector to inform prospective policy-making. The eight RDAs in England established in 1999 were required to develop regional strategies with the overall objective of improving economic performance. All Government Departments had to consider the regional dimension of their activities and for the DCMS this involved the development of the RCCs. Under the growing power and influence of the RDAs and their economic agenda (which also had to consider culture and tourism) the RCCs set about making their case relevant by promoting art, culture and the creative industries. The role of creative industries development in the work of the RDAs and the RCCs was then given a further boost when the DTI (2000) published a report on business clusters highlighting the role that creative industries clusters might play in regional growth. Recognising the need for data to support the strategic policy process, the regional agencies set about contracting the work out to a number of private consultancy services which produced their own regional mapping documents. Inevitably comparability was an issue and a further group of consultants Positive Solutions, Business Strategies, Burns Owens Partnership (BOP) and Andy Pratt were commissioned by the DCMS to create a regional cultural data framework which presented a template for all future data collection (refer to DCMS, 2004b). However, there were still other fundamental issues of concern for those agencies that wanted to engage with creative industries development regarding how the DCMS model for the sector should be interpreted and ongoing dilemmas related to the tensions between art, culture and economics.

**Table 2: DCMS original creative industries sub-sectors**

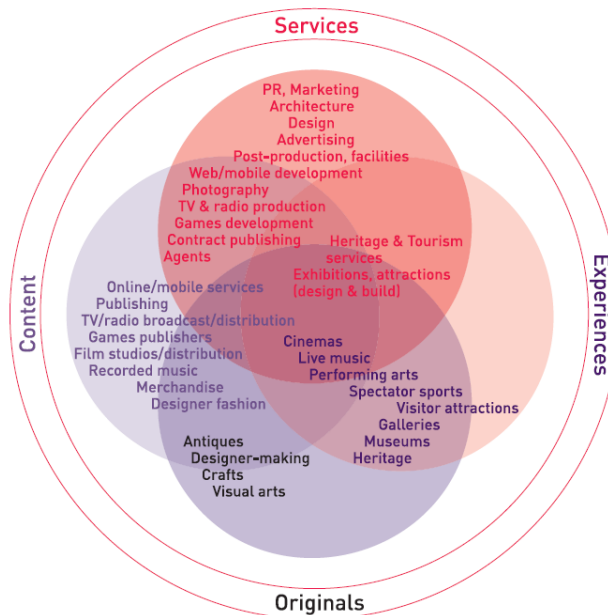
10. Advertising	15. Designer fashion	20. Publishing
11. Architecture	16. Film	21. Software
12. Art and antiques market	17. Interactive leisure software	22. Television and radio
13. Crafts	18. Music	
14. Design	19. Performing arts	

Source: DCMS, 1998; 2001

The DCMS had presented a 'list-based' approach for its model of the sector which used a cognitive rather than a geographical mapping of the original 13 sub-sectors (see Table 2, now nine sub-sectors are recognised) in terms of their average annual rates of growth, the number of people they employed and their contribution to exports and national income. The Australian media theorist Terry Flew (2002; 2012) has described this list-based approach as 'ad hoc' arguing that it was not clear what the underlying threads were that linked the sub-sectors together and similar claims have been made by other commentators too (for example see Howkins, 2001; Garnham, 2005; Pratt, 2005; O'Connor, 2010; Hesmondhalgh; 2013). Three of

the key analytical frameworks that were subsequently presented to UK policy-makers include those developed by the National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts (NESTA, 2006), The Work Foundation (2007) and Frontier Economics (2007). All three attempted to develop a more nuanced and coherent approach to understanding the creative industries as being multi-layered and internally differentiated.

**Figure 1: NESTA refined model of the creative industries**

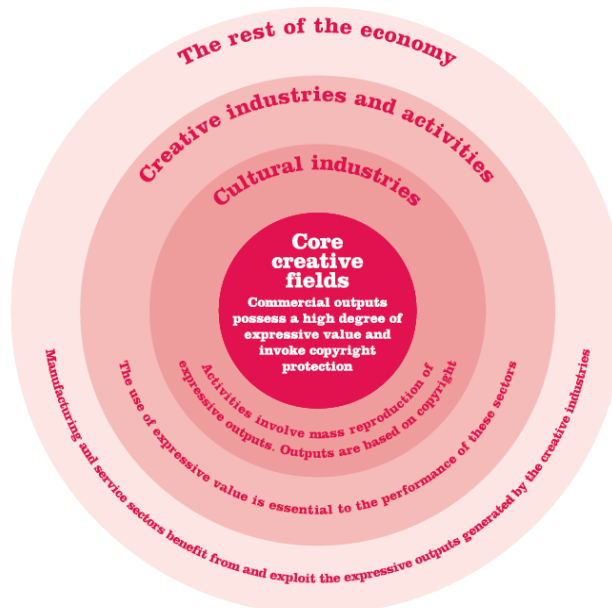


Source: NESTA, 2006, p.55

In the report *Creating Growth: How the UK Can Develop World Class Creative Businesses* (2006) NESTA (which moved out of the public sector to become an independent charity in 2012 using the name Nesta) developed an approach to measuring the performance of the creative industries which built upon the DCMS model by modifying the sub-sectors and highlighting the complex overlap which linked these together as part of a ‘creative ecosystem’ (see Figure 1). This refined model omits software (for artificially inflating the overall performance figures) and includes additions, such as heritage, tourism, visitor attractions and spectator sports. The approach is focussed on the commercial growth potential of creative businesses and commercially focussed innovation, understanding the creative industries to be organised around four interlocking but distinct groups: creative service providers, creative experience providers, creative originals producers and creative content producers. In developing this four-fold typology NESTA argued there was more scope for growth and profitability to be derived from the creative content producers and creative service providers than from the creative experience providers and creative originals producers. It was suggested

these two groups had a greater capacity to create, own and exploit intellectual property through the ability to reproduce and distribute content on a large scale. It was also suggested that there was a greater potential for employment growth too because within these two groups increases in demand were typically met by increases in staff. Unlike the DCMS model, this refined approach focussed on 'the creative industries as industrial sectors rather than a set of creative activities based on individual talent' (NESTA, 2006, p.54).

**Figure 2: The Work Foundation concentric circles model of the creative industries**



Source: The Work Foundation, 2007, p.103

The following year The Work Foundation published *Staying Ahead: The Economic Performance of the UK's Creative Industries* (2007) and in contrast to NESTA chose to differentiate the industries that produce and distribute creative content on the basis of the 'expressive value' of products and services (see Figure 2). The concentric circles model draws upon the work of Australian economist David Throsby (2001) and at the centre are the 'core creative fields' which include all forms of original creative product (for example the arts, elements of popular culture and also certain computer programmes), next are the cultural industries which attempt to commercialise these original creative products (including the *classic* list composed of film, television, radio, music, publishing and now also computer games) and finally there are the creative industries which mix original creative product with a certain functionality (such as architecture which creates buildings, advertising which has to sell, designer fashion which produces clothing and design which has to work). Beyond these are the wider parts of the economy which use creative input (such as design-led manufacturing

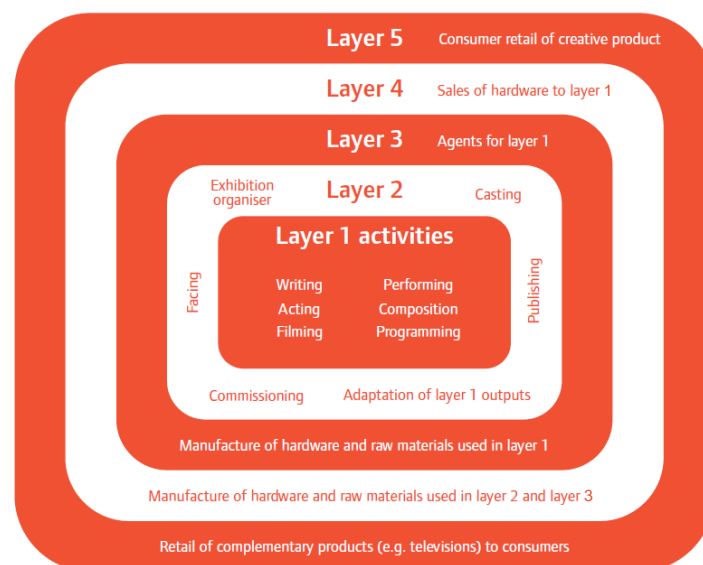
and service brands which sell an experience dependent on creative inputs). This model still uses the term 'creative industries' but attempts to avoid some of the problems of using creativity as the defining attribute for the sector by distinguishing them from the wider knowledge economy, which can be understood to involve origination and innovation in other areas too such as science, technology and business services (for example see Howkins, 2001; Florida 2002). 'Expressive value' (which is used to refer to aesthetic value, spiritual value, social value, historical value, symbolic value and authenticity value) is most undiluted within the core creative fields and mixed more with functionality as we move to the periphery. However, without the distinction between expressive and functional value this model appears to be used primarily to differentiate between the arts and the commercial cultural industries on the basis of greater aesthetic value, which is reminiscent of the arguments once made by Adorno and Horkheimer (1979). Nevertheless, this model was influential on an international level, and particularly in its uptake by the European Commission (2010).

The refined model of the creative industries developed by NESTA and the concentric circles model developed by The Work Foundation were both introduced at a time when the inherent tension in the DCMS concept of creative industries was becoming ever more apparent as to whether it was primarily an economic or cultural policy. The NESTA model takes the former approach and it was suggested this 'better reflects the perspective of private investors' (2006, p.55). The Work Foundation in contrast reasserts the centrality of the arts implicitly promoting public sector support for cultural excellence through the measure of expressive value, highlighting the ongoing tensions between art, culture and economics introduced in the previous chapter. The final model presented here is that developed by Frontier Economics (2007) for the DCMS. This was later adopted for a NESTA research programme (De Propriis et al, 2009; Chapain et al, 2010) which was one of the first attempts to map the UK's creative industries using techniques from economic geography to explore the spatial dimension and regional performance (for the most recent mapping of the UK's creative industries by Nesta see Bakhshi et al, 2015; Mateos-Garcia and Bakhshi, 2016).

The Frontier Economics model classifies businesses into different stages of a 'creative value chain' for each of the original 13 DCMS sub-sectors which begins with those activities that we might consider most creative and finishes with those related to the production of complementary inputs as well as retail (see Figure 3). If we take the example of publishing, then at Layer 1 we would see writing and at Layer 4 activities like the manufacture of paper and book binding, with retail outlets at Layer 5. The NESTA research programme which used this model aimed to improve the current understanding of the mechanisms through which the

creative industries contribute towards regional innovative performance and to inform the development of policy to support these linkages. The interim report *The Geography of Creativity* (De Propris et al, 2009) mapped the presence of creative firms across the UK using the Annual Business Inquiry (ABI) and the Inter Departmental Business Register (IDBR) and was informed by the concept of industrial clusters (see Porter, 1998; 2000; 2008). The final report *Creative Clusters and Innovation: Putting Creativity on the Map* (Chapain et al, 2010) presented the main findings and policy implications resulting from the mapping exercise, it explored the innovative performance of the creative industries both nationally and regionally, it looked at potential spill-overs from creative clusters and it also presented in-depth case studies of particular clusters in Cardiff, Manchester, Soho and Wycombe-Slough.

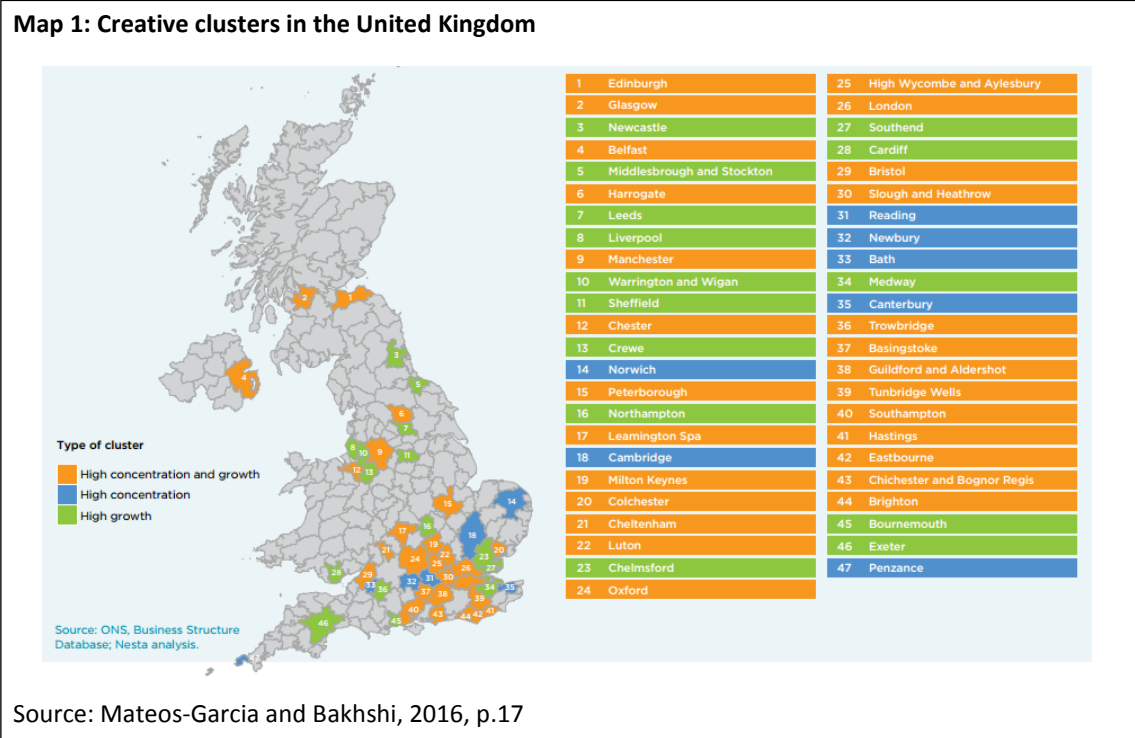
**Figure 3: Frontier Economics generic supply chain for the creative industries**



Source: Frontier Economics, 2007, p.30

It came as no surprise that the mapping confirmed London is at the heart of the UK's creative industries sector, dominating in almost all sub-sectors. However, the research team identified other 'creative hotspots' including Bath, Brighton, Bristol, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Guildford, Manchester, Oxford and Wycombe-Slough and there were other 'creative pockets' scattered across the UK, with the highest concentration outside of London in the South East of England. The analysis also revealed which sub-sectors appear to co-locate more frequently – for example, the mapping demonstrated that advertising and software firms often cluster near to each other; the same was apparent for music, film, publishing, radio and television businesses. Kate Oakley (2004) has argued that a standard approach for regional initiatives has

been an attempt to replicate a single strategic model for the creative city ‘rather than trying to understand the difference between the creative economy of Glasgow and that of Cornwall’ (p.73). For example, Mark Jayne (2004) and Jim Shorthose (2004b) as well as Roberta Comunian and Oli Mould (2014) have highlighted engineered approaches to developing creative cities which have achieved limited success. The NESTA research showed that different cities have different profiles of specialisation which provides some help in beginning to consider the importance of place specificity. The final report presented implications for future policy-making and argued ‘Having a better understanding of an area’s true creative strengths makes it easier to create the right conditions for further growth, and to avoid wasting money on poorly considered interventions’ (Chapain et al, 2010, p.5) Nesta’s latest mapping report *The Geography of Creativity in the UK* (Mateos-Garcia and Bakhshi, 2016) investigates the nine sub-sectors now recognised by the DCMS and uses a new ‘dynamic mapping’ methodology to identify 47 creative clusters in the UK (see Map 1) and the report illustrates that there are some clusters located in conurbations rather than creative cities.



### The South East of England

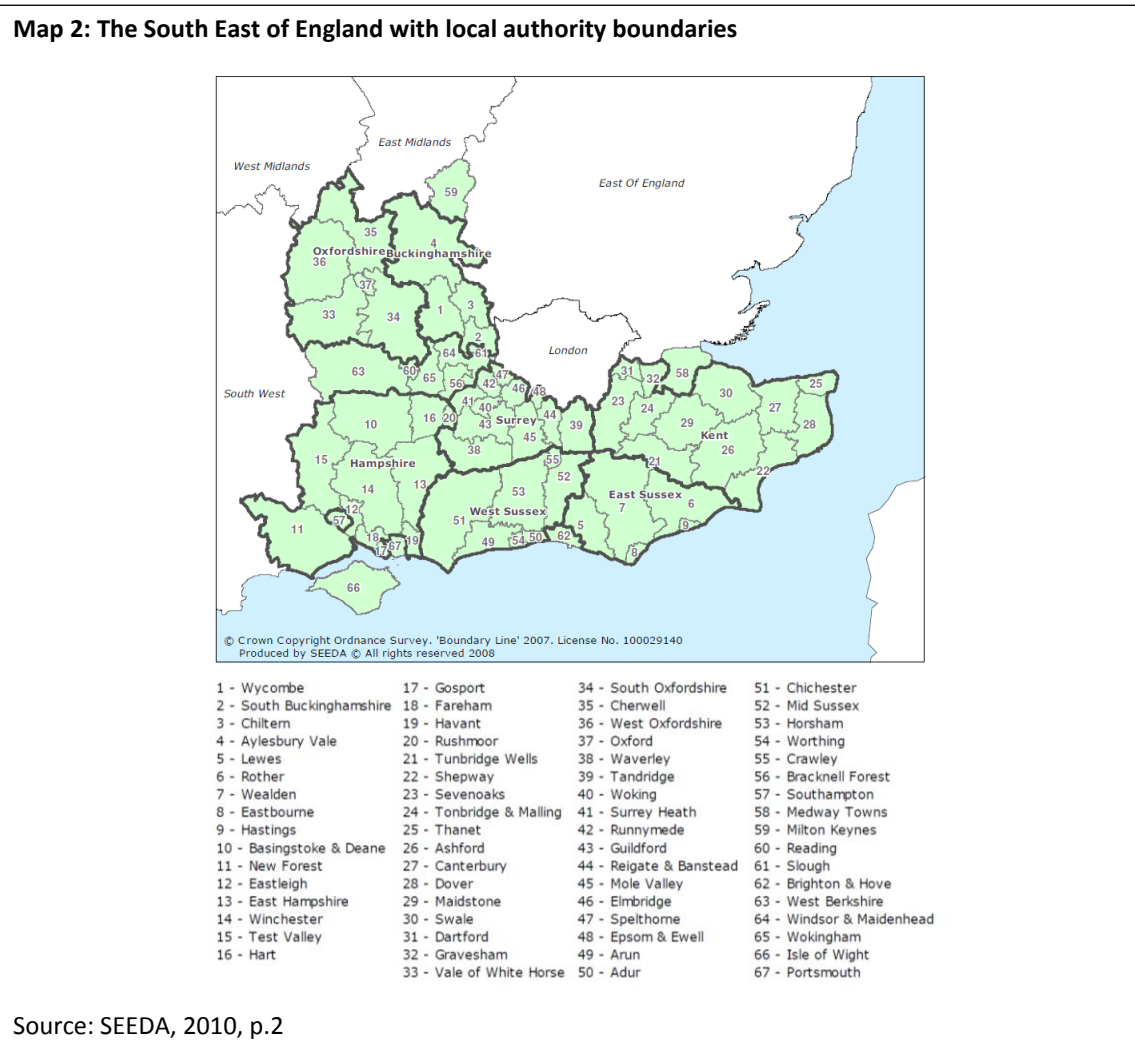
Andy Pratt (2004) examined how creative industries policy in the UK had begun to be resized from the national to the regional scale after the publication of the second DCMS *Mapping Document* and highlighted the importance of ‘production chain’ models (which is the approach



adopted by Frontier Economics). From a policy perspective there is clear value in using a systematic model for analysing each of the sub-sectors and Pratt explained that 'The richer understanding of the production process offered opens up the possibilities of identifying strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats, as well as an assessment of the sustainability of those activities' (p.24). Pratt (1997a) already introduced his own production chain model some years earlier called the Cultural Industries Production System (CIPS). He used this to provide an early investigation into the creative industries at the regional level in the South East of England and he described some of the issues arising from the dominant taxonomies of industries: Standard Industrial Classification (SIC). This system is used for all government data collection related to businesses and it uses codes to classify Value Added Tax (VAT) registered businesses to particular industries (and there is also a similar system for occupations). Pratt explained that this system had a mixed logic; partially based on final product classification (mostly for manufacturing) and partially based on activity classification (mostly for services). Moreover, he also observed that services were generally described in less detail, and had fewer unique classification categories than manufacturing, resulting in poor and imprecise data and a system not appropriate for analysing all of the contemporary industrial sectors – including the creative industries sector.

The industrial classification system has been revised several times in the UK since its introduction in 1948, and most recently in 2007 when a number of the SIC codes that were no longer relevant were removed, additional codes were added for new industries and others were moved around, split up, or aggregated with others (ONS, 2009). In 2010 the DCMS claimed that the latest revision of the SIC codes had allowed the Department to analyse the creative industries sector in more detail than had previously been possible, however there was now an issue of comparability between the more recent economic estimates and previous reporting which used the older outdated system of classification which Pratt had criticised (for example see DCMS, 2010b). The use of SIC codes, which are still not wholly appropriate for analysing all of the creative industries sub-sectors, remains an obvious criticism of the methodology for DCMS reporting and in 2013 the Creative Industries Council established under the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Government began to redress this issue (White, 2009; Bakhshi et al, 2013a; 2015; Creative Skillset, 2013; DCMS, 2013; 2014; 2015a; 2016; Mateos-Garcia and Bakhshi, 2016). Pratt (2004) explained that a common strategy for many researchers has been to carefully comb through the SIC codes for the activities which are most relevant and to recombine these as the creative industries sector. This was the method used for his investigation into the example of the South East of England and he regrouped the codes

in line with his production chain model in a similar way to how Frontier Economics and Nesta later developed their models for the sector which was adopted for the nation-wide research programmes (Chapain et al, 2010, Mateos-Garcia and Bakhshi, 2016).



At the time of Pratt’s investigation the South East RCC and the RDA (the South East England Development Agency or SEEDA) had already published a statement of cultural objectives and two regional economic strategies (SEEC, 2001; SEEDA, 1999; 2002). They had also co-commissioned an economic impact study for the creative industries undertaken by David Powell Associates, Pratt and Charles Landry’s Comedia, which he used to inform his investigation along with indicative interview and documentary research (DPA, 2002). The report confirmed that the South East was one of the major international centres for cultural and creative activity with a largely healthy symbiotic relationship with its neighbour London as well as easy access to European and international markets via the Gatwick and Heathrow Airports, Channel Tunnel and south coast sea ports. The region boasted an inheritance of

outstanding built and natural heritage and was found to be home to a substantial number of creative SMEs as well as a smaller number of large and very large creative enterprises (which is a typical composition of the sector). The report recognised the need for further research into connections between London and the South East, but together they represented what was referred to as 'one of the world's super regions' which in 2000 accounted for over 50% of all creative employment in England (although it should be noted that the UK is notoriously imbalanced in its economic activity across the regions). It was also suggested that many of the issues facing the creative industries in the South East were shared in common with London and these findings confronted the 'widely held myth' that the region suffers from its close location to one of the great global creative and cultural economic hubs.

Pratt claimed the South East Region does not represent a logical division of social, political or economic space because it forms a cordon that runs 270 degrees around London (see Map 2) and some commentators have argued that London and the South East, and also Hertfordshire and Essex, should be conceived as one functional region (see Simmie, 1994). Pratt commented that 'The logical case is that the whole of the South East corner of England functions as a travel to work area and an immediate economic hinterland for London' (2004, p.26). He suggested that one might expect that the South East would be under-represented in the creative industries and if the sector followed an industrial logic one might also expect that the activities concerned with high-prestige content origination would be concentrated in London with manufacturing inputs located in the outer South East Region, where land prices and labour are marginally lower. In reality content origination was well represented in both London and the South East and the creative industries were a major component of the South East economy and the number of creative workers in the region was substantial. The sector is characterised by a substantial number of very small businesses and a handful of larger enterprises and Pratt also reminds us that many businesses fall below the VAT threshold for compulsory registration and are therefore not represented in national statistics. Moreover, a report by Ancer Spa (2006) estimated that 80% of creative businesses in the South East were not VAT registered and suggested as a guidepost the number of non-VAT registered businesses is often double that of those which are VAT registered (also see DPA, 2003).

Pratt was also able to highlight other interesting characteristics of the sector including the high number of creative workers in casual, irregular or self-employment; and high levels of educational attainment (which might not be expected from a small firm, self-employed and freelance dominated workforce) with 30% holding an Undergraduate Degree or an equivalent

qualification, compared to 20% in the South East economy more generally.<sup>4</sup> He also identified several creative clusters including a computer games cluster in Guildford, a publishing cluster in Oxford and a new media cluster in Brighton. He concluded his case study by predicting that creative industries policy-making in the regions was likely to develop as an adjunct of economic policy and he suggested that the increasingly regional emphasis provided an incentive to explore a smaller-scale analysis of the creative industries. Pratt highlighted the need for further research which goes beyond an analysis of secondary business and employment data to explore the 'non-economic' and 'untraded' activity which is crucial to how creative clusters operate (such as pools of common knowledge, relations of trust between firms and a sense of common goals, see Porter, 1998; 2000; 2008) for which more qualitative rather than quantitative modes of investigation are required.

In 2006 SEEDA published its third and final regional economic strategy prior to the abolition of the RDAs. The report recognised the South East to be one of Europe's most successful regions, but this did not mean future success was assured. The strategy built upon the two previous strategies by responding to a new global context, by setting targets to ensure that success is more widely accessible and by identifying the importance of 'quality of life' as a competitive advantage. The Thames Gateway, Milton Keynes, South Midlands and Ashford represented four growth areas with a shared need to stimulate productivity and sustainable growth through investment in infrastructure to unlock their potential. However, other focal points were required and 21 towns and cities were identified as regional hubs (see Table 3) which represented a network of centres of economic activity and within these were eight major concentrations of economic growth potential referred to as 'diamonds for investment and growth' (see Table 4). The report suggested that these concentrations could act as catalysts to stimulate prosperity across wider areas and they had the potential for further sustainable growth through targeted investment in infrastructure. The 'diamonds' were areas of growth potential centred on either an urban core or a network of urban areas; and they played a leading role in the economic vitality of their broader sub-regions. In mapping the regional economy and presenting the various dynamics at work the report discussed the Greater South East (the South East, London and the East), London and the South East, and then the Inner South East, Rural South East, Coastal South East, and finally the growth areas, regional hubs and the diamonds for investment and growth.

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<sup>4</sup> Other characteristics have also been highlighted such as insecurity, inequality, exploitation and even self-exploitation in the creative workplace and the overall career difficulties and low economic rewards faced by graduates in some cultural and creative disciplines (Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Oakley, 2009; Comunian et al, 2010; Comunian et al, 2011; Abreu et al, 2012).

**Table 3: SEEDA regional hubs in the South East of England**

1. Ashford	7. Ebbsfleet	13. Milton Keynes	19. Southampton
2. Aylesbury	8. Guildford	14. Oxford	20. Tonbridge/Tunbridge Wells
3. Basingstoke	9. Hastings	15. Portsmouth	21. Woking
4. Brighton and Hove	10. High Wycombe	16. Reading	
5. Canterbury	11. Maidstone	17. Reigate/Redhill	
6. Crawley/Gatwick	12. Medway	18. Slough	

Source: SEEDA, 2006, p.41

**Table 4: SEEDA 'diamonds for investment and growth' in the South East of England**

1. Basingstoke	5. Oxford/Central Oxfordshire
2. Brighton and Hove	6. Reading
3. Gatwick Diamond	7. Thames Gateway Kent (including Medway and Ebbsfleet)
4. Milton Keynes and Aylesbury Vale	8. Urban South Hampshire (including Portsmouth and Southampton)

Source: SEEDA, 2006, p.42

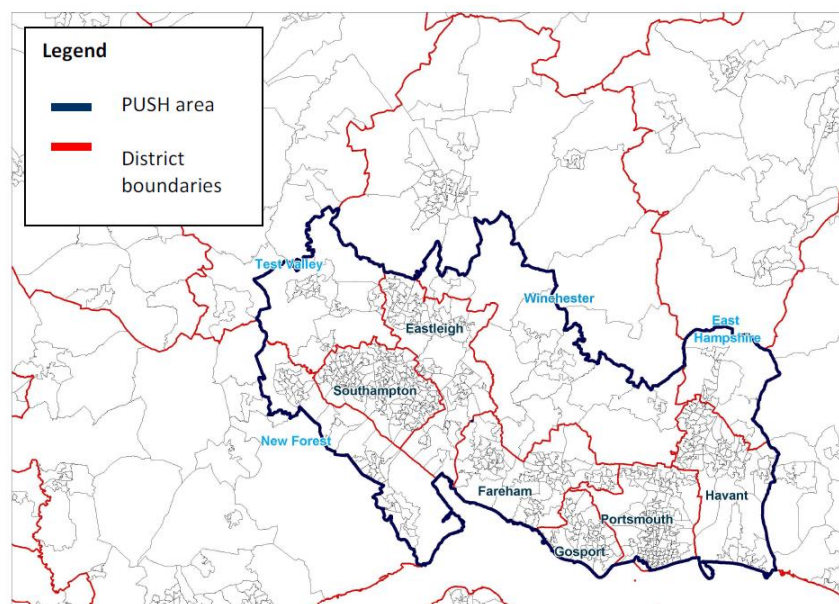
While the growth areas were designated for substantial expansion in employment and new development, the existing centres of economic activity (the regional hubs) would also provide a focus for accommodating sustainable growth in the South East, and the diamonds had been identified for their concentration of 'people, employment, built assets, knowledge, transport, networking, creativity, leisure, culture and diversity which give the potential to be economic catalysts for the region as a whole' (p.42). At the time of publication each of the diamonds were at a different stage in developing their plans and Urban South Hampshire was the most advanced, having developed an inclusive partnership of 11 local authorities called the Partnership for Urban South Hampshire (PUSH). The creative industries, culture and also sport all had important roles to play in the wider regional economic strategy and there was a dedicated section at the back of the report which addressed these areas, claiming that culture would be promoted as an economic catalyst and a key indicator in quality of life measures. Furthermore, new and growing businesses in the creative, cultural, leisure, sporting and visitor economy industries would be encouraged and supported, particularly in the growth areas, coastal towns and diamonds for investment and growth.

### **Urban South Hampshire**

Many evaluations of creative industries policy have focussed on the national perspective or on culture-led urban renaissance strategies in large cultural cities but this thesis is focussed on a smaller and less established context. The case studies in the South Hampshire sub-region (see Maps 3 and 4) explore creative industries development through an investigation into specific

local initiatives which have been instigated by or which have received assistance from the public sector with the aim of supporting creative practitioners and creative businesses at a 'grass roots' level. There is a now large quantity of data at the national level about the role of the sector in growth and economic development, but data and understanding at the local level is more limited and fragmented. The case studies provide a new insight into the micro-scale dynamics of the sector and offer a contribution to the limited knowledge available to local decision-makers about creative industries development strategies at the local and sub-regional levels. The South Hampshire sub-region was identified by SEEDA as a 'diamond for investment and growth' and was also selected as one of 29 'new growth points' in England by the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG, 2006) as part of a programme of funding and support to enable local communities to pursue large scale sustainable growth, including new housing, through a partnership with central government.

**Map 3: The South Hampshire sub-region with local authority boundaries**

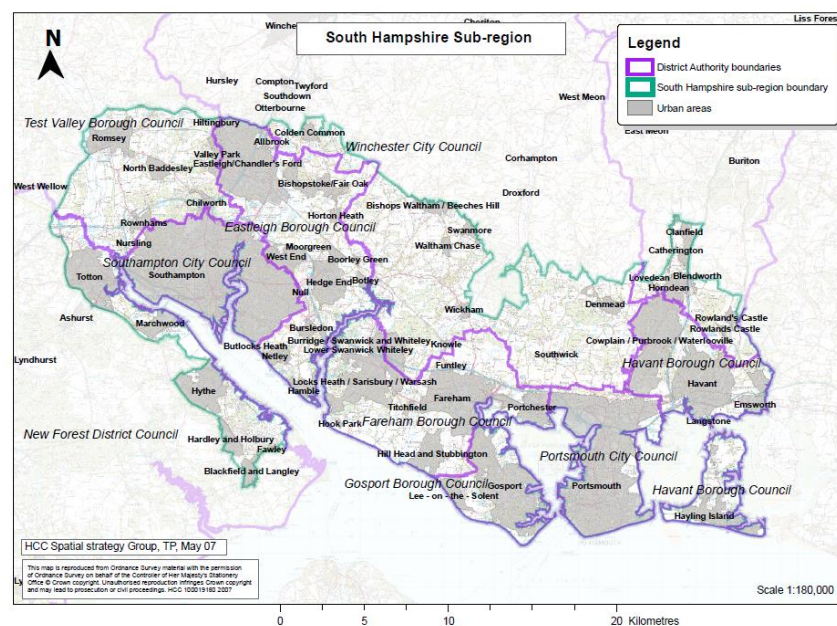


Source: Chapain, 2010, p.2

The boundaries of the sub-region do not fit neatly around those of all the local authority areas in South Hampshire but PUSH represented a partnership between Hampshire County Council, the unitary authorities of Portsmouth and Southampton; the borough councils of Eastleigh, Fareham, Gosport, Havant and Test Valley; the city council of Winchester and the district councils of East Hampshire and the New Forest. The partnership was formed in 2003 between the county council and six core local authorities and expanded in 2004 to include parts of the East Hampshire, New Forest, Test Valley and Winchester administrative areas.

PUSH aimed to work with local partners and government agencies to ‘deliver sustainable, economic-led growth and regeneration to create a more prosperous, attractive and sustainable South Hampshire, which offers a better quality of life for all who live, work and spend their leisure time in the sub-region’ (PUSH, 2011). The creative industries sector was identified as an area where additional support and infrastructure was required to enable South Hampshire to retain creative practitioners and to develop their career and business potential by adopting a ‘business centred approach’ which recognised the support services required to help creative businesses flourish (PUSH, 2009; Pointer and Kerswell, 2009; DZT, 2010).

**Map 4: The South Hampshire sub-region with local authority boundaries and urban areas**



Source: PUSH, 2011

The sub-region is located 120 kilometres (km) south west of London and covers 573 square km with a population of over 1.01 million (Tochtermann et al, 2010). South Hampshire benefits from being an attractive area to live and to visit and is well connected to London and beyond by frequent train services, the M3 motorway and the A3, and internationally by Southampton Airport and the ports of Southampton and Portsmouth. The sub-region has a sizable coast line and is bordered by the New Forest and South Downs National Parks which contribute towards the attractiveness of the area as a place to live and for tourism. The two cities of Portsmouth and Southampton also have a rich and diverse cultural, heritage and environmental offer. Tochtermann et al (2010) in their report for the Centre for Cities describe the sub-region as an ‘interconnected city-region’ with commuting flows across administrative boundaries, with two main economic centres in Portsmouth and Southampton. With the

exception of Winchester (which is only partly within the sub-region) these were the two local authority areas with the highest average workplace based weekly earnings in 2009, but on other economic indicators the two cities performed less well. Portsmouth and Southampton had the second and third lowest employment rates in the sub-region in 2008 and the percentage of 'knowledge' and highly skilled workers in the two cities was below the regional average. However, not all the local authority areas underperformed the wider South East. Eastleigh and Gosport had employment rates which were above the regional average; the percentage of people employed in the private sector in Eastleigh, Fareham and Havant was above the regional average (whereas Gosport, Portsmouth and Southampton had a higher dependence on the public sector); Eastleigh and Portsmouth also had the highest net business formation per 10,000 residents in 2008 (ibid, p.9).

Tochtermann et al also noted that the sub-region had fared relatively well in the aftermath of the global financial crisis, when compared to other parts of the UK and other city regions. Between 2008 and 2010 the claimant count for Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA) in South Hampshire had risen 1.9 percentage points, relative to 2.1 for the whole of the UK (ibid, p. 13). Tochtermann et al provided several policy recommendations to promote economic growth, including strengthening the economies of Portsmouth and Southampton, and supporting core sectors which they identified as business services; retail; transport, logistics and wholesale; and areas of potential growth including marine, aerospace manufacturing and environmental industries. They suggested that the creative industries may be less likely to drive GVA growth in the future, but there were areas of strength as well as significant jobs growth and the sector contributed positively towards the quality of place in the sub-region which perhaps places a certain level of importance on the cultural-end of the sector. It was also recommended that stakeholders considered forming a Local Enterprise Partnership and in 2011 the Solent LEP was established, representing the economic hub anchored around the Isle of Wight, the cities of Portsmouth and Southampton, the M27 corridor and the Solent waterway.<sup>5</sup>

For PUSH the creative industries had an important role to play in both their economic and cultural development strategies for the sub-region (Pointer and Kerswell, 2009; DTZ, 2010). Caroline Chapain (2010), who was a collaborator on NESTA's nation-wide research programme, prepared a briefing note which showed that creative industries GVA in South Hampshire including the entirety of the East Hampshire, New Forest, Test Valley and Winchester administrative areas amounted at £2.2 billion in 2007 (for a briefing note on the

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<sup>5</sup> The Isle of Wight Council was later invited to join PUSH in 2013 so that the geographical boundaries would mirror those of the Solent LEP with the hope this would strengthen the relationship between the two organisations. For an economic assessment of the Solent Enterprise Zone see Clayton et al (2013).



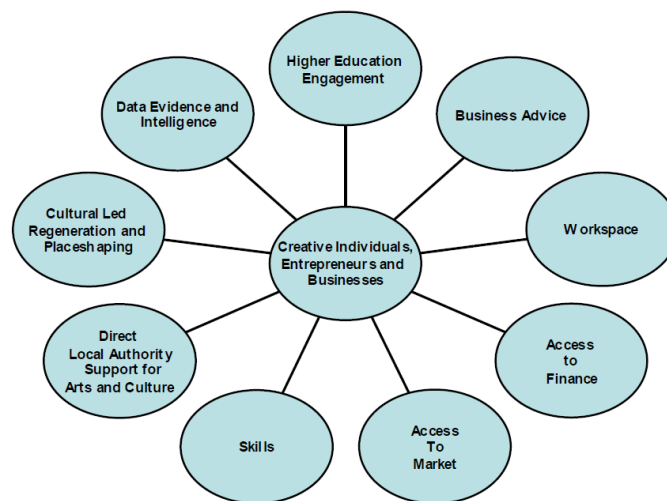
South East LEP areas see Chapain, 2012). This represented 10% of creative industries GVA in the South East and 3% in England. The rate of growth for creative businesses and jobs was also above regional and national averages. She identified key sub-sectors including architecture, visual and performing arts, software and digital media. Chapain also estimated there were 4,635 creative businesses in the sub-region accounting for 28,405 jobs – and if the entirety of all the South Hampshire administrative areas is considered these figures rise to 7,409 and 41,509 respectively. However, this does not account for non-VAT registered businesses and the job figures include those held by people who work for creative businesses in non-creative occupations (such as secretaries and accountants) but not those held by people who might be considered creative workers embedded within other types of businesses and organisations (including certain design businesses and local authority arts departments). It is likely however that some data on the ‘invisibles’ which elude national business and employment data is available at the local level.

Hampshire is home to four universities, including Southampton Solent University, the University of Southampton and the University of Portsmouth, with the University of Winchester just north of the PUSH boundary (and also Winchester School of Art which is part of the University of Southampton). These higher education institutions all offer Undergraduate and Postgraduate courses in cultural and creative disciplines and the further education colleges offer a range of relevant courses and Foundation Degrees. Each year there is a wealth of new graduates entering the job market or thinking about starting their own businesses. However, it was not clear what opportunities and initiatives best enabled the retention of these graduates and other creative practitioners and what role the public sector might play in supporting wider growth in the creative economy – and these are key questions addressed by this thesis. A number of reports at the local level had identified the need to improve the levels of graduate retention within South Hampshire (for example see SHIP, 2008; PUSH, 2009; Smith, 2009; DPA, 2010; DTZ, 2010) and it was estimated there were over 8,000 graduates in cultural and creative disciplines leaving the sub-region’s three universities each year and an additional 600 from the Faculty of Arts at the University of Winchester as well as many more from other disciplines which have an interest in the creative industries sector.

The PUSH *Framework for Creative Industries Development in South Hampshire* (2009) recognised the mutually supportive role of place-making, economic development and creative industries development in ensuring that the sub-region would be a great place to live, work and invest by 2026. It was argued that there was a need for a common vision between the PUSH quality places panel and economic development panel as well as all stakeholders in the

sub-region which should recognise the importance of the creative industries, not just on account of their economic growth potential, but also for the way they can enhance perceptions of place. The framework recommended a business centred approach to creative industries development responsive to the needs of creative individuals, entrepreneurs and businesses (see Figure 4). Moreover, with place-making, economic development and the creative industries all in mind, the PUSH local authorities were already major direct investors in creative activity (for examples see SHIP, 2008). Within the two decades prior to the completion of this thesis there had been major capital investment in urban regeneration and cultural infrastructure projects including Gunwharf Quays, Spinnaker Tower, Historic Dockyard, Kings Theatre and the New Theatre Royal in Portsmouth; the Discovery Centres in Winchester and Gosport; The Point, Swan Centre, Creation Centre, The Berry Theatre, The Sorting Office and Tec Hub in Eastleigh; and also West Quay and the various aspects of the new Cultural Quarter (including a new flagship arts complex) in Southampton.

**Figure 4: PUSH business centred approach to creative industries development**



Source: PUSH, 2009, p.3

### **3.2. Local initiatives and public sector interventions**

South Hampshire represented a geographical area in which there were a number of potential case studies for an investigation into local creative industries development initiatives. It has already been noted that much of the existing research into the creative industries in the UK (and indeed worldwide) has provided a macro-level analysis which has focussed on the key institutional structures and models of governance that facilitate and constrain the growth of this sector. In recent years sophisticated mapping exercises have gone a long way towards

beginning to assess the relevance of the sector in a regional context. Nevertheless, there is still a need for greater knowledge and understanding of the micro-scale dynamics and further research into the effectiveness of specific types of initiatives and public sector interventions to inform future sectoral strategies and policy-making in smaller contexts.

Back in the year 2000 the DCMS published *Creating Opportunities: Guidance for Local Authorities in England on Local Cultural Strategies*. Together with the report *Creative Industries: The Regional Dimension* (DCMS, 2000b) which moved beyond the statistics of the first *Mapping Document* to include qualitative interviews with stakeholders, this document was an important early landmark in attempts to bring the creative industries policy agenda to the local level. The value of partnership working within local areas was promoted alongside a cultural planning approach to local government. The DCMS recommended all local authorities in England should formalise and publish plans for the strategic development of their cultural and culture-related services. 'Culture' was recognised for its contribution to the well-being of people and communities as well as to social and economic regeneration and thus creative industries development had a part to play in many of the local cultural strategies that were published (including those by PUSH and local authorities in South Hampshire). The Local Government Act 2000 provided the legislative framework for the 'modernisation' of local authorities and made the promotion of economic, social and environmental well-being for local areas a statutory duty for the first time (LGA, 2002). Whilst strongly recommended, local cultural strategies were not statutory, but they were however incentivised as part of a new performance review under Best Value Performance Indicator BV114.

Another important publication for local creative industries policy-making has been The Work Foundation's *Investing in Creative Industries: A Guide for Local Authorities* (2009). In recognising that the sector had become increasingly cited as a source of future jobs, innovation and productivity, the guide was produced for the Local Government Association (LGA) to help local decision-makers to consider if the creative industries sector should be a priority for investment. The guide was targeted at elected councillors, chief executives, corporate directors, heads of economic development, cultural officers, planners and specialist partners. The potential benefits of investment in the sector were listed as productivity, jobs, innovation, regeneration and place-making. The guide recommended that local decision-makers should look to the evidence base about the different impacts and then review what outcomes might be most likely to be achievable given the particular characteristics of their local area. Investment in the creative industries was also promoted as a way in which local authorities might address some of the challenges they faced in relation to the recession.

Examples of strategic investment included stimulating innovation by supporting networks between creative businesses and related sectors; publishing e-bulletins to help co-ordinate the sector; converting vacant property into creative workspace (such as empty high street premises and historic buildings which are unsuitable for other purposes); encouraging cultural events or festivals to enhance the visitor economy and to attract tourism; and new flagship cultural developments linked to parallel programmes such as place promotion, economic development and other physical regeneration which can contribute towards place-making as well as attracting and retaining skilled workers and businesses (also see Myerscough, 1988; Landry, 2000; Florida 2001; DCMS, 2004a; Evans and Shaw, 2004).

The guide was divided into six sections which included an overview, the business case for investing in the creative industries sector, how to decide whether to invest, options for investment, case studies and additional resources. Three case studies were included in the report of Brighton and Hove, Creative Leicestershire and Kirklees and a further four case studies were available online as well as searchable database of over 40 shorter case studies covering a wider range of interventions and geographies. At the launch event in London, Sion Simon (Creative Industries Minister at the time) claimed that the sector had a significant future in the UK economy at both a local and national level and he explained that the guide was intended to push the creative industries up the economic agenda (Creative Economy Local Infrastructure, 2009). The Work Foundation's Chief Executive, Will Hutton also recommended that local government be honest about the potential of their specific locality and that they should aim to capitalise on local strengths.

### **Local cultural strategies and investing in creative industries**

To inform the selection of case studies for this thesis there was a need to develop an overview of existing creative industries development activity in South Hampshire and formulate a set of specific research questions relevant to this particular local context as well as the broader issues of concern for academics, policy-makers and stakeholders. Some preparatory activity (see Researcher Activity Log, Appendix I) began as early as 2009 and included attendances at academic conferences and key policy events; visits to some of South Hampshire's cultural venues; attendance at local industry events; and preliminary discussions about sponsorship with contacts at the University of Winchester and the Culture Unit at Eastleigh Borough Council who expressed an interest in supporting research into local creative industries development. In January 2011 a review was undertaken of information available at the local level in the form of local cultural strategies, economic development strategies, regeneration

strategies and other relevant literature published by local government as well as a review of online content. Following the publication of *Creating Opportunities* in 2000 it was found that PUSH and the majority of the local authorities had produced local cultural strategies in response to the DCMS guidance. These included PUSH (Pointer and Kerswell, 2009) Hampshire (HCC, 2003), Eastleigh (EBC, 2009a), Fareham (FBC, 2006), Gosport (GBC, 2004), Havant (HBC, 2005), Portsmouth (PCC, 2002), Southampton (SCC, 2002) and also Test Valley (TVBC, 2003) and Winchester (WCC, 2002) with the only exceptions being the two most rural administrative areas of East Hampshire and the New Forest.

The guidance issued by the DCMS implied that the Department did not wish to be prescriptive about the exact terminology that was used in defining the word 'culture'. However, according to the cultural planning approach to public policy this is usually defined as 'a way of life' and in terms of scope the following was suggested:

'Culture' should be taken to include arts, sports, libraries, museums, heritage, archaeology, archives, architecture, crafts, children's play, reading, parks, tourism, countryside, recreation, etc. Other activities such as, entertainments, design, fashion, food, media, visiting attractions as well as other informal leisure pursuits will also be part of at least some local cultural strategies. (DCMS, 2000a, p.6)

It was recommended that a broad and flexible definition should be adopted and evidently one that encompassed many different aspects of local authority provision. Jonathan Vickery (2007) argued that public policy lacked a coherent definition of culture and had an untheorised understanding of the relationship between culture and society. However, this broad scope is perhaps reflective (whether consciously or not) of the general shift in approaches to culture within many sociological paradigms following the work of influential thinkers such as Richard Hoggart (1958), Raymond Williams (1958; 1961) and E.P. Thompson (1963) who all contributed towards widening the definition of culture beyond the opposition between high and low to also include everyday meanings and practices. Abigail Gilmore (2004) notes that local cultural strategies by Leicester City Council (LCC, 2001) and West Sussex County Council (WSCC, 2002) both cite Williams and within the case study area Portsmouth City Council in more populist terms cite Brian Eno to the effect that 'Culture is what you do when you don't have to do it' (PCC, 2002, p.20) while Hampshire County Council suggested 'In its broadest sense culture is life – it is the sum of all those things that give context to and define our lives' (HCC, 2003, p.11). On the whole local cultural strategies avoided the traditional elitism of culture as high art and stressed the importance of other forms of cultural value and identity. However, culture was understood in terms of both leisure and work, and therefore the creative, cultural, leisure, sporting and visitor economy industries were all presented as key factors.

All of the local cultural strategies published in South Hampshire made reference to the wider cultural, heritage and environmental offer of their administrative areas as well as other quality of place attributes which might contribute towards making their locality an attractive place to live, work and visit – which in turn can be important in attracting skilled workers and businesses. Most strategies made direct reference to the creative industries and expressed intentions to support employment and business development in the sector and to champion its contribution towards the economic, social and environmental well-being of local people. However, investment priorities varied across the different areas and these intentions were addressed with different levels of resources and public sector support. A review of the local authority websites revealed public funding for arts and cultural venues across the sub-region which also included recent examples of capital investment in new developments (The Creation Space and The Berry Theatre in Eastleigh Borough for example – EBC, 2011a) as well as a range of local initiatives aimed at supporting artists and creative practitioners, although those with a specific focus on business development were more limited. Supporting growth in the creative industries was a theme also highlighted in other types of strategic planning documents including economic development strategies, arts strategies, town and city centre strategies as well as wider regeneration strategies (for examples see EBC, 2005; 2009b; Experian, 2007; HCC, 2006; PCC, 2011; SCC, 2007; 2008; WCC, 2006; 2010).

There were also recent examples within the sub-region of other major capital investment in flagship cultural developments linked to culture-led urban renaissance programmes to regenerate urban areas and stimulate economic growth (such as the ongoing Cultural Quarter development in Southampton – SCC, 2011). Nevertheless, the majority of the local initiatives and interventions were found to be at a more ‘grass roots’ level and focussed around support for artists, creative practitioners and small creative businesses. These included those managed by the local authority arts and culture departments such as arts grant schemes; artist residencies at cultural venues; arts and creative industries networks and e-bulletins; festivals and showcase events; and more generic business support from the economic development departments including business start-up grants, business advice and supported office space. There were also other organisations within the sub-region (many of which received funding or other support from local authorities and public sector agencies) which offered more specialised support including workspaces designed for creative businesses, artist studios and creative industries business advice.

The provision of support services targeted at artists, creative practitioners and small creative businesses is an important component of any creative industries development

strategy because freelancers and small businesses represent a substantial part of the sector. In his book *The Cultural Industries* (2013) David Hesmondhalgh points out that SMEs continued to grow in numbers even as cultural and creative corporations became larger and more dominant. Furthermore, in a process familiar from other parts of the economy, many larger creative firms outsource certain elements of production to a network of smaller businesses and freelancers allowing them to concentrate on core functions including financial operation, distribution and commissioning (Harvey, 1990; Lash and Urry, 1994). Start-up businesses and early-career freelancers in this sector (and particularly those working in the most intrinsically creative layers of the value chains) are also faced with potentially complex business and career development pathways which can differ greatly from other economic sectors and therefore they may benefit from specialist guidance and support.

Jane O'Brien and Andrew Feist's (1995; 1997) studies of employment in the arts and cultural industries during the 1990s provide an early example of research which used multiple data sources (including official national statistics and other independent studies) to show that portfolio careers, part-time working and multiple job holding are all characteristic of the sector. Furthermore, certain sub-sectors can also have an exclusionary nature and are heavily dependent on social networks for entry and advancement. Here all too often experience must be gained in low paid or voluntary first roles or work placements (such as 'runners' in the film industry, for example see Blair, 2001) which can greatly disadvantage those who do not have friends or relatives in these sub-sectors and those who simply cannot afford to work for free. Moreover, particularly in the case of 'artistic' work the problem of 'culture as commodity' outlined in the previous chapter can manifest itself in the tension felt by some creative workers between wanting, and indeed needing, to be paid for their work whilst simultaneously resisting the reduction of their art to a commodity (Banks, 2007). One must also remember that art has not always been understood as 'real work', but rather portrayed as fun, pleasure or vocation, but not always as labour (Abrams, 1953; Oakley, 2009).

Angela McRobbie (2004) has described the 'passionate' attachment that many creative people have to their work and Throsby (1994) has suggested that satisfaction and the desire to work in one's chosen field can be more motivational than economic rewards for some. Oakley (2009) has argued that much of the literature which has championed the creative industries sector and its potential for job creation, innovation and productivity can be criticised for neglecting these aspects of insecurity, precarious working conditions and low pay which also characterise certain parts of the sector (also see Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Comunian et al, 2010; Abreu et al, 2012). It is therefore crucial that local authorities and development

agencies which aim to support the creative industries recognise these issues and carefully consider who their interventions are targeting and why, as well as how they might have a positive impact on career and business development (and not just artistic development in the case of those activities at the cultural-end of the sector). Further research into existing local initiatives and public sector interventions will contribute towards improving knowledge and understanding of exactly who is accessing the support which is available, how it can affect career and business decision processes and what the potential impacts are, and what elements might be transferable in developing models of best practice for the future.

### **Art, culture and creative industries development**

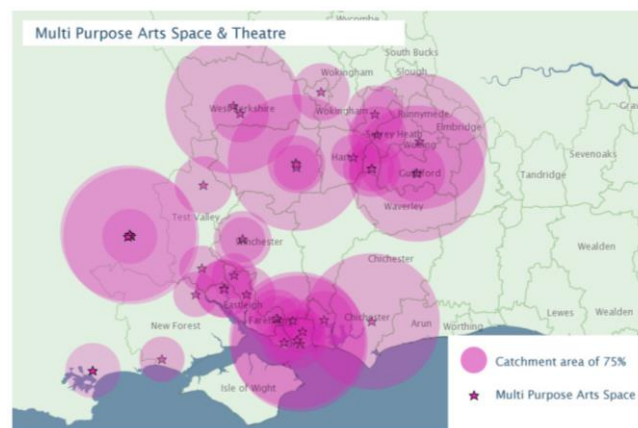
In 2010 PUSH and Hampshire County Council commissioned *The South Hampshire and Hampshire Cultural Infrastructure Audit* (Audiences South et al, 2010; 2011) which aimed to provide an evidence base for future cultural infrastructure planning by undertaking an audit of local authority owned, managed or supported cultural facilities. The audit recognised 44 arts facilities in the county and found that the spheres of influence for arts provision did not reflect administrative boundaries and included in the south, Salisbury (Wiltshire), Southampton, Portsmouth and Chichester (West Sussex) supported by Eastleigh and Winchester; and in the north, Reading and Newbury (both in Berkshire), Woking and Guildford (both in Surrey) supported by Basingstoke (North Hampshire) and Farnham (Surrey). Hampshire's arts facilities were found to be most concentrated in Basingstoke, Eastleigh, Portsmouth, Southampton and Winchester and these towns and cities were significant importers of visitors to cultural venues from surrounding areas (see Maps 5 and 6). The provision of production, rehearsal and education space followed a similar pattern (see Map 7). Almost all Hampshire residents lived in the catchment area of a large multi-purpose arts venue or theatre and an art gallery, with the only exceptions being those in more rural central parts of the county. All of the principal towns were served by medium or small-scale venues, although there were some 'cold spots' where populations were on the edge of catchment areas, including Bishops Waltham, Gosport, Locks Heath, Romsey, Stubbington and Warsash (all within the South Hampshire sub-region) and Alton, Bordon and Petersfield (all within the wider East Hampshire area).

A number of reports and strategy documents which addressed creative industries development in the wider county and the South Hampshire sub-region altogether appeared to show that the location of support services for artists, creative practitioners and small creative businesses shared a similar geography with that of local arts provision and urban areas. These connections between creative industries development, cultural infrastructure and urbanity



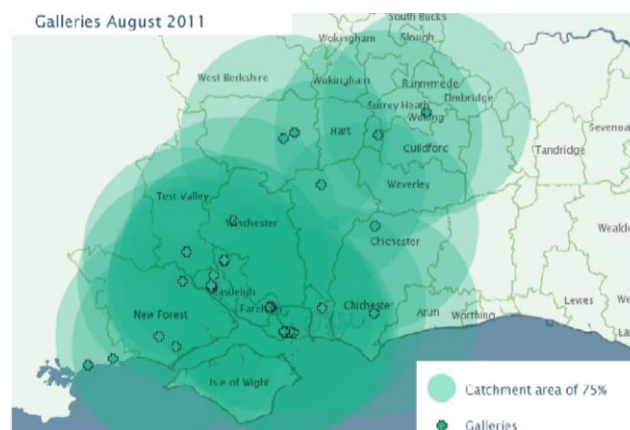
came as no surprise and Chapain (2010) had already found that creative businesses and creative jobs were most concentrated in the urban and semi-urban areas of the sub-region. These observations were further supported by a series of interviews with representatives from arts, culture and economic development departments at the local authorities as well as with representatives from local creative industries development agencies (see Appendix I and II). The local authorities themselves funded multi-purpose arts venues, theatres and art galleries; they commissioned new work; played an active role in promoting industry networks and they offered showcase opportunities at events, exhibitions and festivals (SHIP, 2008). Furthermore, at the time the unitary authorities of Portsmouth and Southampton had started work towards a PUSH bid to become UK City of Culture in 2013 which would have presented a high-profile opportunity to celebrate local culture and creative talent.<sup>6</sup>

**Map 5: Multi-purpose arts venues and theatres in Hampshire with catchment areas**



Source: Audiences South et al. (2011), p.41

**Map 6: Art galleries in Hampshire with catchment areas**



Source: Audiences South et al. (2011), p.41

<sup>6</sup> Derry/Londonderry in Northern Ireland became UK City of Culture 2013. Portsmouth and Southampton later united again in a bid to succeed Derry/Londonderry in 2017 but lost out to Hull.

**Map 7: Production, rehearsal and education space in Hampshire**



Source: Audiences South et al. (2011), p.42

The PUSH *Cultural Strategy* (Pointer and Kerswell, 2009) and *Framework for Creative Industries Development* (PUSH, 2009), which was informed by the guidance document produced by The Work Foundation (2009), both made mention of three particular supporters of creative industries development which were also highlighted by other reports and strategy documents published by various organisations with an interest in the local creative economy. The first was the Creative Industries Business Advisory Service (CIBAS) based at the University of Portsmouth. CIBAS was launched in 2006 by Arts Council England as one of three pilot programmes in the South East with the aim of providing an evolving programme of support through a range of services, including specialist business advice, mentorship schemes, training opportunities and networking sessions. The second was the arts charity 'A Space' which was originally founded as a voluntary organisation in 2000 by three fine art graduates from the Southampton Institute of Higher Education (now Southampton Solent University). A Space has since grown to become one of the leading creative industries development agencies in the sub-region offering opportunities to local creative people through exhibitions, events and the provision of affordable specialist workspace. The third was The Point, a theatre and contemporary arts centre owned and operated by Eastleigh Borough Council. The venue offers workspace for creative businesses as well as a state-of-the-art 'Creation Space' facility for the development of new performance work and an associate artist scheme which aims to nurture new creative talent. Other key supporters of the creative economy highlighted by PUSH included the Café Culture Network managed in partnership by Winchester City Council and the University of Winchester, as well as the South Coast Design Forum.

**Table 5: Examples of creative workspace in South Hampshire**

	<b>Location</b>	<b>Creative workspace</b>	<b>Website</b>
<b>South Hampshire sub-region</b>	Eastleigh	The Creation Space	thecreationspace.co.uk
	Eastleigh	The Point, Eastleigh	thepointeastleigh.co.uk
	Eastleigh	Sea Sky Art Studio (2012)	seaskydesign.co.uk
	Eastleigh	The Sorting Office (2013)	sorting-office.co.uk
	Eastleigh	Tec Hub (2014)	techub-eastleigh.co.uk
	Havant	Making Space	makingspace.org
	Havant	The Spring Art and Heritage Centre	thespring.co.uk
	Portsmouth	Art Space Portsmouth	artspace.co.uk
	Portsmouth	Cell Block Studios (2015)	cellblockstudios.tumblr.com
	Portsmouth	Innovation Space (2013)	innovationspace.org.uk
	Portsmouth	Hotwalls Studios (2016)	hotwallsstudios.co.uk
	Portsmouth	Neon Studios (2013)	neonstudiosportsmouth.wordpress.com
	Portsmouth	Portsmouth Enterprise Centres	portsmouth.gov.uk
	Portsmouth	Portsmouth Guildhall (2014)	portsmouthguildhall.org.uk
	Southampton	The Arches Studios	archesstudios.org.uk
	Southampton	Design Chapel	ichapel.co.uk
	Southampton	God's House Tower (in development)	aspacearts.org.uk
	Southampton	Red Hot Press	redhotpress.org.uk
	Southampton	Tower House (2011)	towerhouse.org.uk
	Southampton	Unit 11 Studios	unit11studios.wordpress.com
<b>Wider South Hampshire</b>	New Forest	Art Sway	artsway.org.uk
	Test Valley	Chapel Arts Studios	chapelartsstudios.co.uk
	Test Valley	Fairground Craft and Design Centre	fairgroundcraft.co.uk
	Test Valley	Project Workshops	project-workshops.co.uk
	Test Valley	Rum's Eg (2012)	hampshireartandcraft.org
	Winchester	Brassey Road Studio	brasseyroadstudio.co.uk
	Winchester	Cemetery Cottage	winchester.ac.uk
	Winchester	The Colour Factory	thecolourfactory.org.uk
	Winchester	The Yard Studios	theyardstudioswinchester.com

Source: Adapted and updated from DPA, 2010, Appendix I. The researcher's additions are shown in grey cells and creative workspaces established after January 2011 include the opening year.

The specialist business advisory service based at the University of Portsmouth was recognised in much of the literature which addressed creative industries development in South Hampshire and was selected as the first case study for this thesis (for examples see BOP, 2006; SHIP, 2008; Pointer and Kerswell, 2009; PUSH, 2009; Smith, 2009; DPA, 2010; Tochtermann et al, 2010). At the time CIBAS represented one of the most substantial investments in creative industries business support in the sub-region and was working with a wide range of artists, creative practitioners and small creative businesses from across Hampshire and beyond. A Space was selected as the second case study and this is one of just a few established artist-led initiatives in the county, which also includes Art Space Portsmouth (one of the longest running independent initiatives founded in 1980), Art Sway (New Forest) and Fairground Craft and Design Centre (near Andover). A review of creative workspace provision commissioned by PUSH and Hampshire Economic Partnership (DPA, 2010) recognised a number of specialist

workspace providers (see Table 5) but highlighted A Space for having a strong potential for growth in terms of both size and scope (also see Studio Providers Network South, 2017). The third case study selected was the associate artist scheme at The Point which offers a 12 month residency programme for graduate and early career performing arts companies. The Point was established in 1996 as one of the first capital Lottery projects and was converted from Eastleigh's former town hall and public library built in 1899 and 1935 respectively. The venue is now widely recognised as one of the leading examples of culture-led urban regeneration in the sub-region which has helped to give Eastleigh national prominence and contributed towards the vibrancy of the town and to the development of further projects to support the local creative economy (DETR, 2000; SHIP, 2008; EBC, 2009a; Pointer and Kerswell, 2009; PUSH, 2009; Knight, 2010; Spencer, 2011).

### **3.3. Research Methodology: Case studies in Urban South Hampshire**

The three case studies were conducted over an extended period between February 2011 and December 2014 to provide a longitudinal perspective on each of the three initiatives. The case studies offer a contribution towards the limited knowledge available to policy-makers and development agencies about creative industries development at the local and sub-regional levels. Their analysis is therefore not only relevant to stakeholders in South Hampshire, but to others working at these levels across different parts of the UK and beyond. Prior to the recession the sector was reported to be performing exceptionally well, but business failures and redundancies were inevitable which is why it is crucial now more than ever that strategies which incorporate the creative industries have the potential for success and that investment is worthwhile and can deliver sustainable benefits. Just a few months before work towards the case studies commenced Reid et al (2010) argued that the creative industries remained a 'powerful and exciting sector, with huge potential to play a central role in leading the UK out of recession' (p.42). Several years on and with continued austerity local areas are still faced with multiple calls for investment and ever tighter resource constraints and it is important that decision-makers can be confident that their strategic interventions have a strong rationale which considers local conditions and long-term benefits.

The guide to investing in creative industries produced by The Work Foundation (2009) presented a large number of 'snapshot' case studies covering a range of interventions and geographies (particularly noteworthy because it included small towns and rural areas as well as larger cities) in order to focus on the general principles which are relevant to making decisions about investment regardless of location and referred to concepts that are generally

applicable to local government in both England and Wales. This thesis now offers a more in depth and smaller-scale analysis of three particular examples of existing local initiatives and public sector interventions over a period of almost four years to explore the perspectives of the local authorities and development agencies involved as well as that of the creative practitioners and businesses they aim to support. While some guidance is available to support the development of new initiatives there are still few studies which follow specific examples over time to consider their impacts and wider policy implications. This longitudinal research into specific initiatives and the needs and experiences of people working in the creative industries presents a new insight into the micro-scale dynamics of the sector and is focussed around two separate but interrelated research questions.

1. What are the needs, motivations and experiences of people hoping to develop careers and businesses in the creative industries sector?
  - i. What limitations and difficulties do they face and how do they contend with the insecurity and risk which can characterise work in the sector?
  - ii. How do they negotiate the problem of 'culture as commodity' and how does this impact on their ability to develop sustainable careers and businesses?
  - iii. How do specialist local initiatives impact their business decision processes and can they help to improve their future career and business prospects?
  - iv. How do they interact with other actors in the local creative economy and what are the benefits and restrictions associated with place?
2. What role can local initiatives and public sector interventions play in supporting creative industries development at the local and sub-regional levels?
  - i. In what ways can they contribute towards attracting and retaining a 'creative class' of graduates and workers at the local and sub-regional levels?
  - ii. How do they relate to strategic models of the creative city and in what ways can they support the development of localised creative industries 'clusters'?
  - iii. In what ways do they support career progression and business development and what can be learnt about models of best practice?
  - iv. How do local creative industries development initiatives change and develop over time and what are the contributing factors?

It is important to recognise that case studies are bounded by time and activity, but the main benefit of this approach is that it allows the researcher to deal with the subtleties and intricacies of complex situations and to provide a micro-scale (rather than a macro-scale) analysis. Robert Yin, who is a well cited writer on the topic, defines a case study as an 'empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context' (2014, p.13). Furthermore, case studies encourage the use of multiple methods as well as the use of multiple sources of data (Denscombe, 2010). However, the point at which this approach is most vulnerable to criticism is in relation to the credibility of generalisations made from the findings which is why it was important to investigate more than one local initiative in more than one town or city in South Hampshire as well as to ensure that the data collection and analysis is informed by the existing literature. Negotiating access to a case study setting can also be a demanding part of the research process and access to documents, people and settings can generate ethical problems in terms of confidentiality. It can sometimes be hard for case study researchers to achieve their aim of investigating situations as they occur without any effect arising from their presence – it is possible the presence of the research can lead to the 'observer effect' and those being researched may behave differently from normal owing to the knowledge that they are being observed. To avoid this researchers may choose to spend time on site so that research participants become more comfortable with their presence as well as have only minimal interaction with the participants. This third section of the chapter outlines the methodology for this thesis and discusses the choice of research methods and the strategy individually for each of the three case studies.

To address the research questions it was necessary first to look to real examples of local creative industries development initiatives and the creative practitioners who become involved with them and then to develop responses informed by empirical evidence which build upon the existing literature. Collectively the research methods for the case studies aimed to identify themes and trends and included secondary data and documentary analysis involving the collation of existing data from multiple sources relating to the three case study initiatives, how they became established, how they operate, their outcomes, their successes and how they might be improved upon in the future. In addition to this, semi-structured interviews, observations and surveys were used to explore the needs, motivations and experiences of creative practitioners and to identify the different ways in which they engage with the initiatives and how the support available to them may help to develop their career and business potential. The two key research questions each demanded a slightly different analytical focus. The first is informed by literature which explores the relationship between art,

culture and economics (particularly Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979; Bourdieu, 1993; 1996) as well as studies of creative labour and creative careers (such as Throsby, 1994; McRobbie, 2004; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006; Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Oakley, 2009; Comunian et al, 2010; Abreu et al, 2012; Jakob, 2013). The second is informed more directly by literature which explores the influential concepts of the creative city (Hall, 2000; Landry, 2000), the creative class (Florida, 2002) and industrial clusters (Porter, 1998) as well as studies into the local and regional dimensions of the creative economy, creative industries development strategies and the location determinates of creative workers (for example Markusen and Johnson, 2006; Brown and Męczyński, 2009; Chapain and Comunian, 2010; Hracs et al, 2011; Chapain et al, 2014; Comunian and Faggian, 2014; Comunian and Mould, 2014; Virani, 2015).

This thesis was undertaken at the University of Winchester which is located just north of the PUSH sub-region within the wider South Hampshire area and was well placed geographically to support the case study research. The university plays an active role in the local creative economy and the Faculty of Arts produces approximately 600 graduates in cultural and creative disciplines every year. The faculty is also a supporter of the associate artist scheme at The Point and was able to help facilitate this particular case study. Furthermore, the Culture Unit at Eastleigh Borough Council expressed interest in supporting research into creative industries development and the local authority was already working with a postgraduate student at the University of Southampton to investigate Eastleigh as a case study of small town culture-led regeneration in the UK under the supervision of Roberta Comunian (see Knight, 2010). Some preparatory activity took place before the work towards this thesis commenced (see Appendix I) such as attendance at relevant events including the launch of The Work Foundation's (2009) guide to investing in creative industries and a seminar with Lisa De Propriis prior to the publication of the results of NESTA's nation-wide research programme to map the UK's creative industries (De Propriis et al, 2009; Chapain et al, 2010). Discussions had also taken place about sponsorship from the Faculty of Arts at the University of Winchester and the Culture Unit at Eastleigh Borough Council.

The Faculty of Arts kindly awarded funds to contribute towards some of the costs associated with the Research Degree programme and Eastleigh Borough Council offered sponsorship and a residency at The Point. This arrangement would allow for the use of an office and meeting room facilities at the cultural venue as well as access to networks and relevant events in exchange for undertaking case study research in Eastleigh and other related research activities on behalf of the local authority (*Arts Needs Survey for Eastleigh Borough*, see Spencer, 2011). Creative industries development played a central role in Eastleigh's

*Cultural Strategy* (2009a; 2015) and with the Head of Culture also a member of the PUSH quality places panel, Eastleigh Borough Council was able to act as a 'gatekeeper' and could facilitate introductions to key contacts at other local authorities and development agencies, including the Creative Industries Business Advisory Service (CIBAS) based in Portsmouth and the arts charity A Space based in Southampton (Bryman, 2012). This financial and in-kind support presented a number of unique opportunities but it must be noted that these types of relationship can sometimes risk introducing biases.

A common example is when the sponsor has a stake in the outcome of the research which may influence the methodology or the interpretation of the findings. Furthermore, the concept of 'reciprocity' popularised by American social psychologist Robert Cialdini (2006; 2009) suggests that a trait which is embodied in all human cultures is that people feel obliged to return favours offered to them and this can be exploited along with other principles of influence and thus whatever the agenda is for those involved, human nature may influence even the most ethical researchers. From a subjective point of view the Culture Unit at Eastleigh Borough Council wished to raise the profile of their work and hoped that their contribution and cooperation would result in case study findings which highlight where they have achieved success. However, the local authority also hoped to learn more about the needs of the sector and the longer term impacts of different types of local initiatives and interventions as well as how they might be improved – a similar position to the researcher. With this in mind it was anticipated that the risk of any issues which might arise with regard to the objectivity of the researcher was justified against the benefits – in particular access to information and networks as well as the opportunity to become immersed in the local creative ecology.

Some preliminary research activities took place following the discussions with the University of Winchester and Eastleigh Borough Council in order to consider the potential of the associate artist scheme at The Point for case study analysis (refer to Appendix I). This involved attendance at rehearsals and work-in-progress performances by associate dance and theatre companies as well as observations of workshops led by staff at the venue. A meeting also took place with members of staff and a group of the associate artists to present a summary of the proposed plan of work and to discuss whether or not these performing arts practitioners would be interested in participating in the research. Earlier in November 2009 the opening launch event for The Creation Centre at The Point was also attended – noteworthy because this was the UK's first fully residential Creation Space (a large devising and rehearsal space) on the same site as a professional theatre and contemporary arts centre. Other early research activities included visits to some of South Hampshire's other cultural venues as well



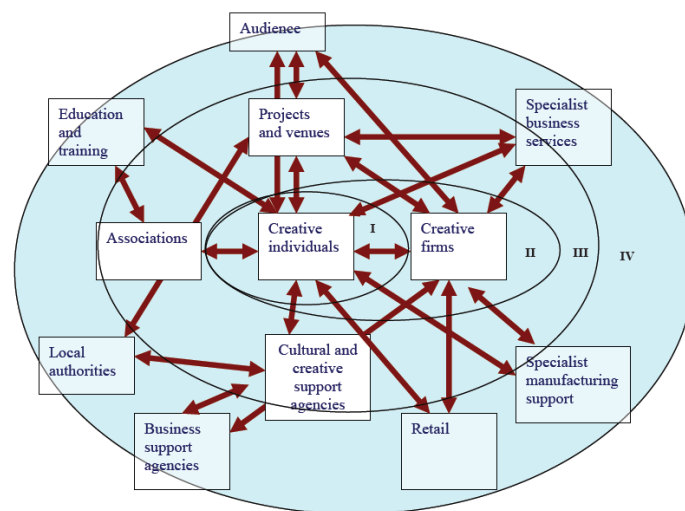
as observations of a PUSH and Hampshire County Council workshop at Winchester Guildhall prior to the publication of *The South Hampshire and Hampshire Cultural Infrastructure Audit* for which Eastleigh Borough Council was able to secure an invitation for the researcher to attend (Audiences South et al, 2010; 2011).

The three initiatives selected to be investigated as case studies for this thesis attracted mainly freelancers and micro-businesses working at the cultural-end of the sector. Many of those engaging with these support services could therefore be described using NESTA (2006) terminology as 'creative experience providers' or 'creative originals producers'. These activities are thought to have less scope for growth and profitability than the high-end creative industries sub-sectors. Moreover, Comunian et al (2011) in their study of the career opportunities of graduates across creative disciplines found that sub-sectors like advertising, architecture and publishing offer more job stability and higher economic rewards, while graduates in crafts, performing arts, film, television and fine art face greater uncertainty and poorer work conditions. It should also be noted that despite recent efforts (for example, Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Oakley, 2009; Comunian et al, 2010; Abreu, 2012) the conditions of creative labour still remain under-researched when compared to cultural or economic policy and other parts of the labour market. In recognition the case studies involved an investigation into the background and context of each initiative; the funding and partnerships which made each of them possible; their rationale, aims and objectives; the services provided; and the needs, motivations and experiences of the people accessing the support.

Some time ago Pratt (2004) argued that there was a need for further research into the politics and dynamics of creative industries clusters which can employ a systematic use of more qualitative techniques and primary modes of investigation (all three case study initiatives hoped to support local clustering). Chapain and Comunian (2010) recognise that many studies have focussed on measuring the size and distribution of the sector and Comunian (2008) claims these tend to overlook an increasing body of literature which suggests the importance of social networks to the development of the creative industries in particular locations. Jonathan Grix (2010) points out that a dependence on quantitative methods can risk leading to a neglect of the social and cultural context in which data is produced while qualitative methods can be more sensitive to such contexts. Chapain and Comunian (2010) demonstrate the value of case studies and qualitative techniques in their paper 'Enabling and Inhibiting the Creative Economy: The Role of the Local and Regional Dimensions in England'. Here they focus on the conditions which contribute towards competitive advantage using a 'knowledge pool' model to analyse interviews with creative workers to explore the connections between the creative

industries, location and regional infrastructure. Qualitative methods had an important role to play in the case studies for this thesis and insights from the knowledge pool approach were useful when considering the importance of place specificity, local conditions and the South Hampshire context. Chapain and Comunian explored the relations of the sector in Birmingham (West Midlands) and Newcastle-Gateshead (North East) by drawing upon their elaboration of the ‘creative knowledge pool’ model (see Figure 5) developed by the Centre of Urban and Regional Development Studies (CURDS, 2001) at Newcastle University which built upon Nick Henry and Stephen Pinch’s (2000) idea of the ‘knowledge community’.

**Figure 5: Chapain and Comunian’s model of the creative knowledge pool**



Source: Chapain and Comunian (2010), p.722

The research methods for the three case studies are detailed over the following pages and they combined a mix of both qualitative and quantitative techniques, including secondary data and documentary analysis; research interviews with the providers of the support services; surveys and interviews with artists and creative practitioners as well as observations of their work activities; visits to cultural venues, creative workspaces and events to better understand the dynamics at work in the creative economy of South Hampshire; and participation in industry and academic activities, including conferences, symposia and other events (see Appendix I). This longitudinal research involved techniques commonly used in ethnography and the researcher became immersed in the local creative ecology through the residency at The Point and by following the three initiatives and a group of artists, creative practitioners and small creative businesses over an extended period of time. The ontological position of this thesis is anti-foundationalist and constructivist seeking to contribute towards knowledge and understanding of the micro-scale dynamics of the creative industries sector which is

understood within economic, social and political contexts dependent on the actions of agents; whether this is individuals, companies, organisations, institutions or government. With an interpretativist epistemology this thesis not only considers the structural forces which influence the case studies and the agents involved, but also the perceptions of individual actors with regard to their role in society and their place in the creative economy.

### **Business advisory service in Portsmouth**

The aims of this first case study were to explore in what ways the Creative Industries Business Advisory Service (CIBAS) supported career progression and business development in the local creative industries sector as well as how the particular support services on offer might change and develop over time in response to various influencing factors. It would establish who were accessing this service as well as which types of support were most in demand in order to consider what this reveals about the challenges faced by people working in the creative industries and what lessons can be learnt about how local initiatives might be able to positively assist creative practitioners in negotiating some of these challenges. The researcher joined the CIBAS mailing list and subscriptions were made to other e-news services to keep abreast with the latest news from the sector and to provide context to the three case studies. A number of organisations and individuals with a stake in the local creative economy were also followed on popular social media platforms. The Director of CIBAS was approached in February 2011 and presented with a case study proposal and an interview was requested.

Following confirmation that CIBAS would take part in the research, the Director provided contact details for a Project Officer who would be available to meet to discuss the case study in more detail and to participate in an interview. The Director also provided copies of useful documents, including an evaluation of the service by external consultants (Audiences South, 2009) as well as a brief strategy document (CIBAS, 2011) and a number of short case studies of clients (CIBAS, 2009a and four additional unpublished case studies). The researcher also obtained a copy of an earlier external evaluation report by Burns Owens Partnership (BOP) commissioned by Arts Council England South East in 2007. This contained information about the context in which the service had first been established and also included evaluations of other CIBAS services in Hastings and Bexhill (in East Sussex) as well as rural Surrey which had since been discontinued. The BOP report together with the other documents informed the planning for the first interview which took place in March 2011.

The collation and analysis of relevant secondary data from evaluation reports as well as other existing qualitative and quantitative data relating to CIBAS proved highly valuable for

this case study and informed later discussions and conclusions in this thesis. Nevertheless, researchers must be mindful of how secondary data is interpreted and one should always carefully consider the author's purpose and the intended audience of any documents from which content is to be analysed (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; Grix, 2010). There was already some existing data available about the number of clients CIBAS was working with, their geographical distribution and what parts of the creative industries sector they were working in. For example, in the appendices of the BOP report there were extensive datasets about clients of the service, including reports from qualitative focus groups and quantitative data about their businesses, including sub-sector, business type and status, number of employees, length of time in business and turnover as well as data on individuals such as age, gender, ethnicity and disability self-assessments. However, in 2011 when the work towards this case study commenced this report was four years out of date and the more recent external evaluation had been published back in 2009. While this data is still useful there was a need to speak directly with a member of the team to establish what other relevant data might already be available and to carry out an interview to gain an insight into their perspective on the service, its aims and objectives, staff structure, clientele, funding and partnerships, how it had changed and developed over time as well as its role within the wider creative ecology of Portsmouth and South Hampshire. The interview was semi-structured with these themes in mind whilst also allowing a degree of flexibility for the pursuit of unexpected lines of enquiry should any other relevant themes arise (Gillham, 2009; Grix, 2010).

Before the interview the Project Officer was sent a letter, information pack and a consent form. This was part of the ethical considerations for this research and a process followed with all of the individuals who participated. It was important that all participants had a general understanding of the rationale, aims and objectives before they decided whether or not to take part. Furthermore, across each of the three case studies there were examples where this may have actively encouraged individuals and organisations to participate because they all had a stake in the future of creative industries policy-making at some level, either as artists, creative practitioners, creative business owners, staff at development agencies or as local authority officers. Following the interview CIBAS was able to provide more recent secondary data about clients of the service as well as a historical list of events including presentations, symposia, training, workshops and networking events and an activity report with details of the services on offer such as one-to-one business advice sessions, events, responses to general enquiries and a record of the number of subscribers to the e-news service. During the interview a new website was mentioned (CIBAS, 2012a) which was due to

be launched later in the year and this would be a new online resource for people working in the creative industries in addition to the existing CIBAS webpage (University of Portsmouth, 2011). Content from this website was also used to inform the case study along with other informational and promotional materials in the public domain.

After an analysis of the available secondary data and the interview with the Project Officer it was agreed that a second interview would take place further into the research programme in 2013 to allow the interviewee to reflect upon how the service may have developed and changed over time. The aim here was to establish a longitudinal perspective on the evolution of the service, but when the second interview was requested neither the Project Officer or the Director were still working for CIBAS which was now going through a period of transition. Fortunately the former Project Officer had taken on a new position at the University of Portsmouth (which provided office space and made a financial contribution to CIBAS) and continued to have some involvement with the service and was able to provide a follow-up interview. In addition a senior representative from the Research and Innovation Services Department, responsible for the university's partnership with CIBAS, also agreed to be interviewed and discussed how the service had developed and changed since it was launched in 2006 and where its future direction might lead.

During the interim period between the first interview and the follow-up interviews Winchester City Council and Havant Borough Council announced plans to commission a new arts advisory service to work across both administrative areas located north of Portsmouth. This presented a valuable opportunity to carry out additional research to look for similarities and differences between CIBAS and the new service to explore what more could be learnt about the needs of clients as well as alternative models of service delivery. An interview was requested with a senior representative from the Economy and Arts Department at Winchester City Council and this was arranged to take place several months after the new service was established to discuss its impacts so far and to also learn about other ways in which this particular local authority was working to support their local creative economy. The arts consultant who was awarded the commission was also contacted and kindly provided a copy of an activity log. In addition to enhancing the case study, the interview with Winchester City Council and the secondary data from the arts consultant also informed more general discussions in the later chapters of this thesis about local initiatives and public sector support for the creative industries. A further interview was also requested with a representative from the Arts and Heritage Department at Southampton City Council to gain an alternative local authority perspective and email correspondence as well as telephone interviews took place

with representatives from arts and economic development departments at other local authorities in South Hampshire (refer to Appendix I).

This first case study uses secondary data and documentary analysis as well as semi-structured interviews to explore how CIBAS aimed to support creative industries development; who were the clients and what were their needs and motivations; how did CIBAS contribute towards a local offer of a creative milieu; how had the service changed and developed over time; and what can be learnt from the experiences of this creative industries business advisory service about the challenges faced by creative practitioners and models of best practice for future initiatives to support the sector. The case study was also able to compare and contrast CIBAS with the newly established arts advisory service in nearby Winchester and Havant to discover more about what the limitations and difficulties are for creative practitioners in South Hampshire as well as how and why local initiatives and public sector interventions are implemented in the hope of nurturing the development of the creative industries at local and sub-regional levels. Moreover, the researcher attended relevant industry and cultural events throughout the time spent working towards this research to continually observe activity and new developments in the creative economy which informed all three case studies as well as the later discussions and conclusions in this thesis.

### **Workspace agency in Southampton**

The research into the arts charity and creative industries workspace agency A Space in Southampton, much like the case study of CIBAS in Portsmouth, involved semi-structured interviews complemented by relevant secondary data and documentary analysis to explore the role of this particular specialist support service in the local creative economy. In addition, valuable primary research was also undertaken to gain an insight into the experiences of the artists, creative practitioners and small creative businesses which use the various workspaces available on the agency's portfolio. Unlike the CIBAS clientele there was far less secondary data readily available about the residents at these workspaces and questionnaires were distributed to learn more about these individuals and their creative businesses as well as the role they believed A Space played in their career progression and business development. Members of staff at Eastleigh Borough Council, which acted as a sponsor and gatekeeper for this research, were able to facilitate an introduction with the Director of A Space and following an informal meeting an initial interview was scheduled for February 2011. The Director was given a letter, information pack and a consent form similar to that provided for the CIBAS Project Officer who was interviewed the following month.

The case study of A Space explores how this workspace agency was first established and how it had developed and changed over time since its founding in 2000 as a voluntary arts organisation. It investigated how the agency worked with partners at the local level to secure vacant buildings to be converted into public exhibition spaces for local artists as well as new workspaces for artists and other creative practitioners who paid affordable licence fees which were subsidised to help them to establish and grow their businesses. It questions what the role of specialist creative industries workspaces might be within the creative city or milieu, in what ways they may help to encourage the development and growth of creative clusters and contribute towards the attraction and retention of a creative class. The case study also explores the perspectives of individuals at the A Space workspaces on their experiences of working in the local creative economy to establish what can be learnt about career progression and business development in the sector as well as what factors might be important in developing models of best practice for policy-makers and development agencies which hope to support their local creative economy through the provision of affordable specialist workspaces. The first semi-structured interview with the Director was used as a means to learn about how and why A Space was first formed, its evolution over time as well as plans for the future development of the agency, all from the perspective of one of its co-founders and principal officer. The interview was also used to gauge the Director's thoughts and opinions on creative industries development in Southampton and the wider South Hampshire area and where A Space might be positioned within this broader context.

At the time of the first interview A Space was managing three different platforms through which the agency aimed to support the career and business development of local visual artists including a summer exhibition programme, a gallery space and artist studios. There were also plans to launch a new workspace in the coming months called Tower House which would be targeted towards practitioners working in other parts of the creative industries sector such as design, film and digital media. It was agreed that the Director and the researcher would meet again for a second interview during 2012 and the Director would also assist with the distribution of a questionnaire for residents at both the original artist studios which were known as The Arches and the new workspaces at Tower House. The period between the first interview and the second and the survey of residents was intended to allow adequate passing of time for Tower House to become established and for new residents to have moved in and spent some months working at the new space before completing the questionnaire. During this time and throughout the case study the researcher was able to browse the agency's websites (Art Vaults, 2008; Arches Studios, 2009a; A Space, 2011a), follow

their social media activity and undertake documentary analysis of literature published by both A Space and other relevant organisations (including for example SHIP, 2008; Smith, 2009; DPA, 2010; A Space 2011b). A number of art exhibitions curated by A Space and others at alternative venues as well as open studio events across South Hampshire were also attended to inform the development of this case study (see Appendix I).

Responses to a web-based questionnaire for the residents at The Arches and Tower House were collected during May and June 2012. The questionnaire was created using an online tool and a hyperlink was sent to the Director who forwarded this on to the residents (see Appendix III for a sample questionnaire). Online questionnaires can often receive a low response rate because potential respondents may consider them as 'junk email' and it was therefore anticipated that if the link was forwarded by the Director this may encourage a greater response rate than if the researcher contacted the residents direct (Bryman, 2012). The survey was carried out online in order to allow respondents to complete the questionnaire anonymously and at their leisure. It included an introductory statement followed by 20 questions and was designed to take approximately 15 minutes to complete because longer questionnaires can sometimes discourage respondents or result in them not allowing adequate time to consider their responses. It was important that each question was clear, unambiguous and easy to understand because if a respondent misunderstands a question then their response may be of little value and they are less likely to respond in the first place (Kumar, 1999; Grix, 2010). The web-based questionnaire also needed to be user-friendly and have a logical order to the questions.

The survey captured both qualitative and quantitative responses with a mix of open and closed questions related to the residents' personal circumstances, their creative business, their workspace at either The Arches or Tower House and their career ambitions for the future. At the time the survey was undertaken there were 25 residents across both workspaces. After two reminders from the Director the survey had only received a small number of responses. This was problematic because those who did respond are different to and may hold different views to those who did and therefore the aim was to collect responses from as many of the residents as possible. The researcher was informed that The Arches and Tower House would soon be open to the public as part of an open studios trail around Southampton which also included two other creative industries workspaces which were managed by other arts organisations. The researcher was invited to attend and was able to view the workspaces, meet with the residents and collect additional responses on hard copies of the questionnaire which resulted in a 60% response rate.



The second semi-structured interview with the Director took place around the same time the hyperlink to the web-based questionnaire was first distributed in May 2012. This time questions were asked about funding and business models, the legacy of the agency with regard to past residents who had left their workspace and moved on as well as questions about the future development of A Space. During the first interview the Director mentioned a new project that was being developed in partnership with Eastleigh Borough Council and this was discussed further and later a new workspace called The Sorting Office was officially launched in May 2013. With the support of Eastleigh Borough Council this presented an opportunity to extend the case study to include this new specialist workspace and the artists and creative practitioners who would become its first residents. A 1920s former Royal Mail sorting office in Eastleigh was leased by the local authority and following a conversion financed using a grant from PUSH the new workspace would be managed by A Space on their behalf. Further funding was awarded by Arts Council England and the facility also won a place on a new cross-border creative industries development programme called 'Recreate' which was funded by the European Union (EU) – altogether presenting an attractive offer to local up and coming arts and creative businesses in need of workspace. Both A Space and Eastleigh Borough Council agreed to assist and provided access to The Sorting Office and introductions to the residents as well as copies of relevant strategy documents, applications for funding and other useful reports. The researcher was also invited by A Space to observe meetings of the Studio Providers Network South which was established by the agency in August 2013 with the aim to start a new dialogue between creative industries workspace providers across Hampshire and the Isle of Wight (see Studio Providers Network South, 2014; 2017).

The researcher met Eastleigh Borough Council's new Programme Manager based at The Sorting Office alongside a newly appointed A Space Studio Manager. It was proposed that a similar survey to that at The Arches and Tower House was undertaken and this was later followed up on two occasions to begin to assess the impacts of the new workspace during its first year. The original web-based questionnaire was updated following input from both A Space and Eastleigh Borough Council, with minor amendments and additional questions related to annual turnover and profit (see Appendix IV for a sample questionnaire). In recognition of these additional questions which respondents may have felt more sensitive about answering the questionnaire included a brief introductory statement which explained the research was supported by the management team and would also be used to help improve their experience at The Sorting Office (Grix, 2010). It was therefore agreed that the results would be made available to both A Space and Eastleigh Borough Council prior to the

completion of this thesis to assist with their monitoring and reporting. An email hyperlink to the questionnaire was forwarded to the 15 new residents by the Programme Manager in June 2013 and with further encouragement from the Director of A Space the survey received a 100% response rate by July. The questionnaire included 26 questions and was designed to take approximately 20 minutes to complete. The first follow-up questionnaire was sent six months later in January 2014 and the second in July 2014 (see Appendix V and Appendix VI for sample questionnaires). Both follow up surveys received a 100% response rate and there was also a separate questionnaire for residents who left the workspace before the end of the case study (see Appendix VII).

A final interview with the Director of A Space took place in August 2014 and questions were asked about the aims and objectives of the Studio Providers Network South as well as the future direction of the agency and the development of their various projects. In summary, this case study used secondary data and documentary analysis as well as primary semi-structured research interviews and surveys to explore how A Space works towards supporting creative industries development in Southampton and Eastleigh; who are accessing the workspaces the agency provides and what are their experiences of creative labour; what the role of A Space is within the wider local creative economy; how the agency has developed and changed over time; and what can be learnt from all this about the micro-scale dynamics of the sector and models of best practice for future initiatives. This case study considers the perspectives of both the service provider as well as a group of artists and creative practitioners across three specialist workspaces – including two launched during the case study period. A longitudinal narrative of the development of A Space as well as the three workspaces is established and the survey of residents at The Sorting Office together with supporting documentary analysis provides a valuable insight into the first year of a new workspace developed in partnership between an arts charity and a local authority. Adding a further dimension to this second case study The Sorting Office was part of the European Interreg IVA Channel Recreate programme between 2011 and 2015 which aimed to support economic regeneration and development as well as job creation through the creative industries in partner towns and cities across the South East of England and Northern France (for more information see Recreate, 2014).

### **Associate artist scheme in Eastleigh**

The final case study undertaken at Eastleigh's theatre and contemporary art centre The Point aimed to explore some of the impacts of the venue's associate artist scheme for graduate and early career performing arts companies. This would build upon an earlier dissertation by Peter

Knight (2010) completed under the supervision of Roberta Comunian at the University of Southampton which investigated Eastleigh as a case study of small town culture-led regeneration in the UK. Knight's dissertation presents an overview of some of the issues surrounding culture-led policy-making in Eastleigh and explored themes of culture, economic development, civic rebranding and creative industries development. Of particular interest for this thesis are the transcripts of the semi-structured research interviews that Knight conducted with members of staff from the Culture Unit and Economic Development Service at Eastleigh Borough Council as well as with four of The Point's associate artists which were used to inform the development of this case study. Knight's questions were centred around the economic and social impacts of culture, the creative industries sector and place-making, and the role of towns and smaller cities in providing a stepping stone for emerging artists and creative practitioners to launch prosperous careers in the UK's creative economy.

Following a pilot programme with a local theatre company, the associate artist scheme was launched in 2009 as a new business development programme which invested in emerging talent with the aims to encourage graduate retention and lead to the establishment of new creative start-up companies in South Hampshire (The Point, 2009a; 2009b). Since the venue opened in 1996 The Point positioned itself as an avid supporter of young and emerging contemporary artists, with extensive talent development programmes and participatory outreach work which involved more than 12,000 people every year. The Point also developed partnerships with higher education institutions and the University of Winchester in particular, and staff at the venue had become members of regional and national networks focussed on the development of young talent both artistic and managerial, and were increasingly working with artist support agencies on the nurturing of new talent. The associate artist scheme offers recent graduates and new companies the chance to work with a cultural venue and access a range of resources and expertise as well as production and performance opportunities. This case study was carried out over an extended period whilst the researcher was in residence at The Point and questions who is applying to take part and who is selected to become associate artists; it explores the realisation of the aims and rationale of the scheme; the ongoing relationship between the venue and its associates; as well as the contribution The Point makes towards the local creative ecology. Between 2011 and 2014 the case study followed the career progression and business development of 18 individuals and companies as part of an investigation into the long-term impacts of the scheme.

The Point is owned and operated by Eastleigh Borough Council which awarded sponsorship for this research and a residency at the cultural venue. This allowed the

researcher to become immersed in the creative ecology of South Hampshire and in daily life at The Point which benefitted this case study in particular. John Van Maanen and Deborah Kolb (1985) have suggested 'gaining access to most organisations is not a matter to be taken lightly but one that involves some combination of strategic planning, hard work and dumb luck' (p.11). The arrangement with Eastleigh Borough Council was a fortunate one which contributed towards the ongoing development of this research. In recognition the local authority was given access to the case study findings as well as a copy of the final transcript of this thesis. Alan Bryman (2012) in his guide to social research methods suggests that offering something in return can help to create a sense mutual benefit and trust and it was also agreed that a further complementary research project would be undertaken on behalf of the local authority entitled *Arts Needs Survey for Eastleigh Borough 2011* (Spencer, 2011). A similar survey had been carried out every five years since 1996 to gather data on the levels of local interest and participation in arts activities and to assess the borough's existing arts provision (Southern Arts, 1996; EBC, 2001; 2006). This involved collating 1,000 responses to a questionnaire from residents selected across the borough's local areas and across age groups as well as an audit of arts facilities and the local cultural infrastructure. The final report was used to inform the development of *Eastleigh Arts Strategy 2012-15* (EBC, 2012). In the appendices of the previous reports a shorter piece was included which focussed on a specific theme and this time this was the creative industries.

An overview was produced of the different ways Eastleigh Borough Council was working to support the local creative economy, which offers a further insight into the local authority perspective on creative industries development and provided context to the case study at the time when a new 'Creative Eastleigh' brand was being launched. The Culture Unit was keen for a list of contacts to be collated of local creative practitioners and businesses as well as stakeholders which was included in the report to serve as the beginnings of a new network around the Creative Eastleigh brand. The researcher brought together contact lists held by relevant members of staff and further contacts were added from the latest *Eastleigh Business Directory* (EBC, 2011b). In October 2010 invitations to a creative industries symposium were sent to 185 contacts on the list with aims to raise the profile of the sector, to provide a platform for discussion and to officially launch the network with the hope of bringing a new sense of cohesion to the sector. More than 60 attendees were given a short questionnaire to complete about themselves and their creative work (see Appendix VIII for a sample questionnaire). Only 22 responses were returned but the results demonstrated the potential for the network to act as a tool to collect data about creative workers in the borough

and wider South Hampshire which would not exclude the freelancers and non-VAT registered businesses which elude national business and employment data. The Culture Unit soon began to publish quarterly e-news updates to which new contacts were able to subscribe and later at a second symposium the following year a new website was launched with an option for users to add their profile to an online directory of 'creatives' allowing the researcher to build upon the dataset of creative practitioners and businesses throughout the time spent working towards this thesis (EBC, 2010; Creative Eastleigh, 2011a).

From 2009 when the associate artist scheme was first launched until December 2014 when the data collection for this case study was completed Eastleigh Borough Council had been awarded external funding from a number of different organisations to support the delivery of their associate artist scheme at The Point including Arts Council England, Esmée Fairbairn Foundation, Hampshire County Council and the University of Winchester. Eastleigh Borough Council granted access to a range of useful documents which included the proposal used to support the first funding applications (The Point, 2009a) as well as activity reports, newsletters, press releases and, of particular interest, the economic development and evaluation reports submitted to funders providing updates on the progression of the scheme (for examples see The Point, 2009b, 2009c; 2010, 2011a; 2011b, 2011c, 2011d, 2013a, 2013b, 2014a). Secondary data and documentary analysis played an important role in this case study alongside a programme of research interviews with past and present associate artists and the venue's Creative Producer conducted over a period of almost four years to develop a longitudinal perspective. Observations were also made of work-in-progress performances, research and development sessions, as well as previews and premieres of new shows developed by the theatre and dance companies which participated in the case study (refer to Appendix I). Furthermore, The Point invited the researcher to observe pitches made by applicants which had been shortlisted for the scheme on three occasions that new associate artists were recruited. Grix (2010) describes observations as 'snapshots of empirical reality' which are the chief technique of ethnographers who seek to understand the norms and practices of the people they are studying. These observations were used to complement the documentary analysis and the programme of semi-structured interviews.

Between 2011 and 2014 a total of 18 early career practitioners and companies participated in interviews for this case study. A further company which did not participate in any interviews also invited the researcher to observe their research and development sessions as well as the premiere of a new show which they created while associate artists at The Point. Subscriptions were made to e-news updates from a number of the past and present

associates, many of whom were also followed on social media platforms. The associate artists were initially enrolled on the scheme for 12 months but this was soon extended to become more flexible as the programme evolved in response to the needs of the creative practitioners and companies involved. After the 12 months many were given the option to become 'supported artists' which allowed mutually beneficial relationships between artist and venue to continue when a solo artist or company had become more established but could still benefit from additional support. The first of four sets of interviews for this case study took place between February and June 2011 and a total of 11 creative practitioners and companies participated. This included all of the associate artists enrolled in 2010, two which had become supported artists after developing a relationship with the venue before the scheme was officially launched, and one dance company which was enrolled in 2009. The remit of the scheme was also broadened in 2010 to include one digital media company which worked alongside the other associate artists. Here, The Point recognised an opportunity to experiment and to support an additional company whilst helping the performing arts practitioners to develop their engagement with online platforms (The Point, 2011d).

The interviews all involved a degree of flexibility and each varied according to the interests, experiences and views of the interviewees but also allowed for similar themes to be discussed with all of the participants so that the results could be compared and contrasted (Mason, 2002; Grix, 2010; Bryman, 2012). When analysing the results of any interview it is important to consider the potential issues which might arise from 'interviewer effects' (that is, how the personal characteristics of the interviewer, such as socio-cultural background or gender, may affect the answers that an interviewee provides) but often semi-structured interviews can empower participants because they are given the opportunity to recount their experiences through their own explanation. Lyn Richards and Janice Morse (2007) in their guide to qualitative research methods note that 'conducted well this type of interview offers a participant the opportunity to tell his or her story with minimal interruption by the researcher' (p.113). Only appropriate input was offered in the form of questions and explanations (when required) to minimise the risk that the interviewees would be influenced by the opinions and prompts of the researcher (Mason, 2002). During the first set of interviews questions were asked about the associates artists' interest in their creative discipline, their education and training, where they were living, how they found out about the scheme and why they applied, their expectations, their thoughts about the scheme so far, their experiences of setting up a new start-up company and whether or not they were working in any other additional employment. An interview was also conducted with the Creative Producer with questions

asked about the management of the scheme, how it had developed and changed since the pilot programme and what plans were being made for the future.

A second set of interviews took place just four months later between October and December 2011 to learn more about associate artists early on in the case study and to nurture the development of a rapport between the participants and the researcher (Valentine, 2005; Bryman, 2012). As the observations of their work-related activities and informal meetings at The Point became more frequent a longer period of time was allowed to pass before the third and then the final sets of interviews between October and November 2012 and then October 2013 and July 2014. A total of 12 creative practitioners and companies participated in the second set of interviews. Three new participants were asked similar questions to those during the first set and those who were participating in follow-up interviews were asked about the development of their company, if they were living in the same location, what projects they were working on, how their relationship with The Point and the other associate artists had developed or changed, what their thoughts were about the future direction of their company and whether or not they were working in any additional employment. A total of 13 creative practitioners and companies later participated in the third set of interviews and during the final set five participants were asked to reflect on their activities over the past few years. They were asked about which aspects of the scheme they thought were the most successful and which aspects could be most improved, as well as what were the key challenges they have experienced and how they negotiate the problem of culture as commodity – creating work they are passionate about whilst making sure they earn a living. The final interview of the case study was with the Creative Producer in December 2014.

The overview of the local creative industries sector published as part of the *Arts Needs Survey for Eastleigh Borough* (Spencer, 2011) used secondary data and documentary analysis to produce a summary of local creative industries development strategies in the borough as well as a directory of creative practitioners and businesses. Later with the launch of the Creative Eastleigh e-news service and website the researcher was able to work directly with the local authority to build upon the directory between 2011 and 2014 to gain a greater insight into the composition of the local creative industries sector without excluding freelancers or non-VAT registered businesses. A range of research methods were employed for the investigation into the associate artist scheme, including secondary data and documentary analysis as well as a series of semi-structured research interviews over an extended period of nearly four years with creative individuals and companies which had been enrolled on the scheme since it was first piloted in 2008. The case study was undertaken whilst in residence at

The Point and this was complementary to the ethnographic nature of this longitudinal research which also involved observations of associate artists' work-related activities and attendance at relevant events hosted by The Point. This case study establishes who is applying to take part and who wins a place on the scheme to become an associate artist; it explores the aims and rationale behind the scheme and the relationship between the venue and its associates; as well as the role The Point plays within the wider creative ecology of South Hampshire. It also considers which aspects of this model of support might be transferable to other cultural venues across different parts of England and the UK as well as what can be learnt from the experiences of the associate artists about creative workers and their attempts to form new start-up companies and to develop sustainable careers in the creative economy. The next three chapters present the findings from the three South Hampshire case studies followed by a final chapter which discusses the conclusions and policy implications arising from this thesis and considerations for future research.



#### **4. CASE STUDY 1: BUSINESS ADVISORY SERVICE IN PORTSMOUTH**

This chapter presents findings from a case study of the Creative Industries Business Advisory Service (CIBAS) based at the University of Portsmouth which was carried out between February 2011 and November 2013. CIBAS was first launched in January 2006 by Arts Council England as one of three pilot programmes in the South East of England working with higher education, local authority and cultural sector partners to provide an evolving programme of support for the creative industries sector in three strategic locations. The business support services on offer included specialist business advice, mentorship schemes, training opportunities and networking sessions. The Portsmouth service (later known as Creative Industries Business Advice and Skills) became well established in the creative ecology of the waterfront city and beyond and was recognised in a number of reports by key stakeholders which addressed creative industries development in South Hampshire (for examples see BOP, 2006; 2007; SHIP, 2008; Pointer and Kerswell, 2009; PUSH, 2009; Smith, 2009; DPA, 2010; Tochtermann et al, 2010). Between 2006 and 2012 the Portsmouth service claimed to have supported 'more than 600 artists and creative businesses with one-to-one advice and guidance. In that same period, more than 2,000 individuals accessed CIBAS training, networking and continuing professional development opportunities' (CIBAS, 2012b).

One of three initiatives investigated to improve current knowledge and understanding of the micro-scale dynamics of local creative industries development, this first case study explores how CIBAS supported career progression and business development in the creative economy of Portsmouth and wider South Hampshire. It looks at how the support services on offer developed and changed over time in response to various influencing factors, such as available funding or changing needs within the sector. It establishes who were the clientele and which types of support were most in demand in order to consider what this reveals about the challenges faced by people working in the creative industries as well as what can be learnt about how local initiatives are able to assist creative practitioners in negotiating some of these challenges. This case study involved secondary data and documentary analysis supported by research interviews with representatives from CIBAS and the University of Portsmouth to explore how the service was managed and delivered; who were the clientele and what were their needs; how the service evolved over time; how it contributed towards enhancing the local creative knowledge pool (Chapain and Comunian, 2010); and what can be learnt about models of best practice for future initiatives to support the sector.

The CIBAS service is also compared and contrasted against a more recently established arts advisory service commissioned by two local authorities in the nearby administrative areas

of Winchester and Havant. This new service was investigated as part of the case study to learn more about the role of specialist business advisory services within local creative economies and to find out more about the needs of clientele as well as the rationale behind local initiatives and public sector interventions to nurture and develop the creative industries sector at the local and sub-regional levels. This involved further documentary analysis supported by an interview with a senior representative from Winchester City Council. The researcher also attended relevant industry and cultural events throughout the time spent working towards this thesis to inform the development of this case study and those presented in later chapters. This complemented the other research activities and contributed towards the development of a comprehensive understanding of the creative economy of South Hampshire which provided context to the research design. This fourth chapter is divided into two sections and the first presents findings from the investigation into CIBAS and their clientele as well as a comparison and contrasting with the arts advisory service for Winchester and Havant. The second section explores how these findings relate to wider discussions concerning the business support needs of creative practitioners and small creative businesses, and the role of specialist business support services within local creative economies as well as considerations for models of best practice and implications for future creative industries policy-making.

#### **4.1. Creative Industries Business Advisory Service (CIBAS)**

Shortly after the launch of the Creative Industries Business Advisory Service (CIBAS) in three strategic locations across the South East of England between 2005 and 2006 it was claimed that this initiative represented 'the largest and most sustained investment that has been made in creative industries business support in the region to date' (BOP, 2007, p.5). Back in 2003 Arts Council England first piloted CIBAS in Kent in coordination with Business Link and other local partners and this followed similar projects which had been developed in Kent and Buckinghamshire funded by the former South East England Development Agency (SEEDA) with a number of local authorities and other agencies. Led by the Arts Council, the support was targeted at sole traders and small businesses working in visual arts, performing arts, crafts and literature rather than high-growth creative industries sub-sectors such as software, computer games and electronic publishing (although these were not excluded). The programme in Kent was discontinued in 2006 and Arts Council England South East launched three further CIBAS pilot programmes in Surrey, East Sussex and Hampshire. It is well known that the South East is one of the UK's wealthiest regions but these pilot programmes were intended to benefit areas of relative disadvantage. Surrey was considered to be disadvantaged by rural isolation,

Hastings and Bexhill in East Sussex included areas of multiple deprivation and Portsmouth in Hampshire was an urban regeneration area.

The three pilot programmes were initially financed by Arts Council England South East and the Phoenix Fund which was administered by the Small Business Service (SBS) funded by the former Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) with the aim to encourage enterprise in disadvantaged communities or in groups which were under-represented in terms of business ownership. Each of the three CIBAS pilot programmes were delivered from within a different institutional setting and located within different socio-economic circumstances. In rural Surrey the pilot programme was hosted by a cultural venue named Farnham Maltings and it built upon an existing support service provided by a full-time business advisor for artists and craft-makers and a 'supporting artists' project which were funded by the independent grant-making organisation Esmée Fairbairn Foundation. A part-time CIBAS Business Advisor was based at the venue between 2005 and 2006 after which funding from the Arts Council continued to support CIBAS activities delivered through the Esmée Fairbairn post up until 2007 when the service was discontinued (although it should be noted the venue continues to offer its own programme of support for artists and craft-makers). The second pilot programme in the seaside towns of Hastings and Bexhill was managed by the economic development team at Hastings Borough Council with additional support from a number of partners at the local level. A part-time CIBAS Business Advisor was hosted by the local authority's Arts Development Department for eight months during 2006 after which this programme was also discontinued. The third CIBAS pilot programme was that hosted by the University of Portsmouth with additional support from the University College for the Creative Arts (now the University for the Creative Arts), South Hampshire Enterprise Gateway and a number of local partners.

The CIBAS pilot programme in the historic maritime city of Portsmouth was based at the new 'Purple Door' facility on Guildhall Walk which was a public, private and voluntary sector partnership and a place where external organisations and businesses can meet with the university to develop new partnerships and collaborative projects. The delivery period for this third pilot programme was January to October 2006 after which further funding from Arts Council England South East was awarded up until 2010, with ongoing support from the Research and Knowledge Transfer Department at the University of Portsmouth (now Research and Innovation Services) and other partners allowing for a continuation of the service thereafter. Since 2006 a variety of different projects were developed by the Portsmouth team involving a range of clients and partners such as small businesses, local authorities, government agencies, business support services, arts and cultural organisations, further and

higher education institutions, informal networks and community groups. With an amended title for the continuation of the service 'Creative Industries Business Advice and Skills' (CIBAS) and the tagline 'championing creative enterprise' this pilot programme developed into a longer-term intervention and was able to expand in terms of the staff team, the outputs and the geographical reach of its services. Nevertheless, during the course of the case study CIBAS was substantially reduced and has since entered into a period of transition and its future now remains unclear. This first section of the chapter introduces the support services on offer and the clientele that were accessing them before presenting a longitudinal perspective of CIBAS between 2006 and 2013 as well as a comparison and contrasting with the arts advisory service in Winchester and Havant.

### **Services and clientele**

The initial Arts Council pilot programme in Portsmouth was delivered by a single CIBAS Business Advisor with the support of an Administrator but up until October 2012 the ongoing service had a core team composed of a Director, a Business Advisor and a Project Officer. Between 2009 and 2010 a further Business Advisor was also recruited to work across two other higher education institutions at the University of Winchester and Southampton Solent University as an extension to the Portsmouth service. The main medium of support was private one-to-one sessions that small companies, sole traders and freelance practitioners could book with a member of the team to receive specialist creative industries business advice. Also on offer were a series of networking and training events, a comprehensive e-newsletter and a new website that was launched in 2012 complete with online training, news items, event listings and profiles on featured artists and creative businesses (CIBAS, 2012a). During the summer of 2012 the CIBAS team also offered a specialist access to finance scheme to support new business start-ups and business growth (see CIBAS, 2012c).

Before the popular one-to-one sessions there was an initial diagnostic process, after which a member of the team assessed the client's needs in preparation. The advice offered was then tailored to the individual client and aimed to assist them in defining their objectives and priorities, to help them create action plans and in some cases to offer signposting towards other relevant services and training opportunities. These sessions were in high demand and the Project Officer, during an interview in March 2011, commented 'it [the preparation] is very time consuming and on an average week it is a good bulk of the work – we always have a waiting list for the one-to-one sessions' (Appendix II, interview 9). This particular service had also been popular across all three of the Arts Council's pilot programmes and an external

evaluation by Burns Owens Partnership (BOP, 2007) recognised the value of administrative support with the booking and diagnostic process to allow Business Advisors time to focus on preparation for the sessions. The Project Officer also described some of the features of the website (which was still in development at the time of the interview) which aimed to make information more readily available to potential clients. The Project Officer hoped this would relieve some of the demand for one-to-one sessions and help make the service more manageable. An internal activity report made available for this research shows that between 2010 and 2011 the team responded to 699 enquiries and provided specialist business advice at 127 one-to-one sessions.

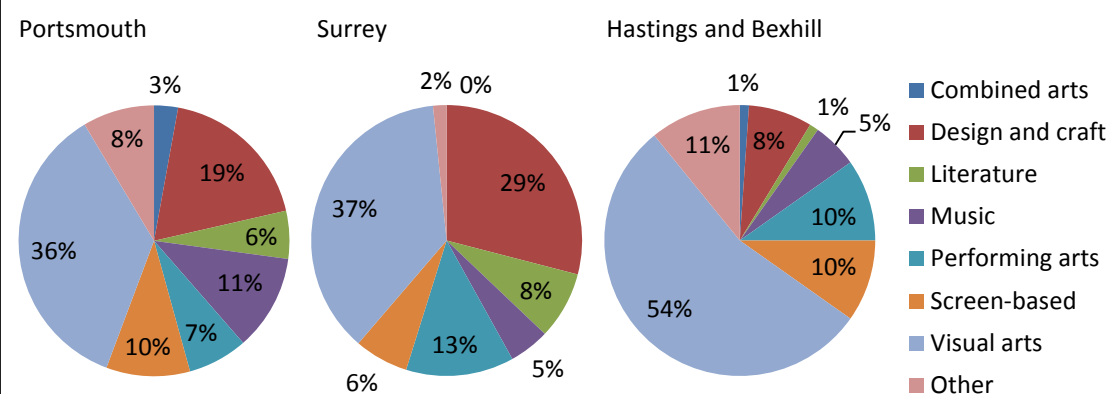
The events managed by CIBAS involved a mix of networking sessions, showcases and both sector and non-sector specific training, covering a range of topics such as marketing, finance and project management. A full events listing from 2006 to 2011 made available for this research shows the events included presentations, networking sessions, exhibitions, industry showcases, continuing professional development workshops and a three-day business start-up course. An external evaluation by Audiences South (2009) concluded that a review of all the internal evaluation reports produced by CIBAS as well as findings from 22 independent interviews with current and past clients suggested that the events were well received and provided important training and networking opportunities which had been a key success in developing many of the clients' businesses. However, it should be noted that there was no further existing data available about the longer-term impacts of the events programme. The listings also showed that the majority of the events took place in Portsmouth and South East Hampshire and later as CIBAS began to develop new partnerships and projects additional events were programmed in other parts of the county. However, Audiences South suggested that this may have put strain upon the delivery of services as more clients began to seek support from a wider geographical area than resources could permit.

Complementing the one-to-one sessions and the events was the *Creative News* e-newsletter which in 2011 had a mailing list of 1,417 subscribers which the Project Officer explained were 'predominantly UK, predominantly Hampshire, but some international' (Appendix II, interview 9). The mailing list was relatively large when compared to other popular e-news services in South Hampshire, like those published by local authorities including Southampton's *SHAPE Mail-out*, Winchester's *Arts News* and Eastleigh's *Creative Eastleigh E-news* which had between 400 to 600 subscribers each. This may have been in part due to the geographical reach of CIBAS services which extended beyond local authority boundaries. The *Creative News* service was also supported by a Twitter account which in 2012 had 920

followers. The most recent online service was the website launched at the beginning of 2012 and this widened the availability of CIBAS services across the UK with 'how to guides' on a range of topics, from setting up in business and protecting intellectual property, to making the most out of social media and branding. Users could access these guides and contact the team online to ask questions and to seek advice. The website also clearly outlined the services on offer, with one-to-one business advice, continuing professional development and networking sessions targeted at creative practitioners and small creative businesses; one-to-one sessions targeted at students, graduates and start-ups; and bespoke services including presentations, mentorship, network building, events and workshops targeted at education providers, local authorities and creative organisations (CIBAS, 2012a).

Across all three of the Arts Council's pilot programmes a large number of clients attending the one-to-one sessions were working in visual arts, design and craft, music and performing arts (see Figure 6). In the appendices of the BOP (2007) evaluation report there were several datasets about clients of the pilot programmes presented which showed that the majority were sole traders, with only a small number working in creative businesses which employed more than five people (and confirms data showing that smaller businesses make up a substantial part of the creative industries sector – DPA, 2002; Pratt 2004; Oakley, 2009; De Propriis et al, 2009; Chapain et al, 2010; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Details of business turnover and profit proved more difficult for BOP to obtain and data was only collected for 18% of the clients across all three of the pilot programmes. BOP recognised that this may have been due to 'clients being unwilling to divulge turnover, or the business is still at an early stage and does not yet have annual figures for income' (2007, p.22). For those who did provide data their turnover was very low, which is not uncommon for small businesses working in these particular sub-sectors (NESTA, 2006). The Portsmouth pilot programme, unlike those in Surrey or Hastings and Bexhill, attracted clients at varying stages of their business development, ranging from new start-ups to those who had been in business for ten years or more. In Surrey as well as Hastings and Bexhill the majority of clients were start-ups or those which had been in business for between one and five years. It is likely the programme in Surrey attracted a higher percentage of early career practitioners because there were a large number of clients aged between 18 and 30 years old. In Hastings and Bexhill this coupled with a large number between 41 and 50 suggests a higher percentage of clients seeking a career change or hoping to develop a creative interest into a sustainable business. In Portsmouth the age range was more varied and the gender split was fairly even, while in Surrey as well as Hastings and Bexhill around 60% of the clients were female.

**Figure 6: Practice breakdown for the CIBAS pilot programmes**



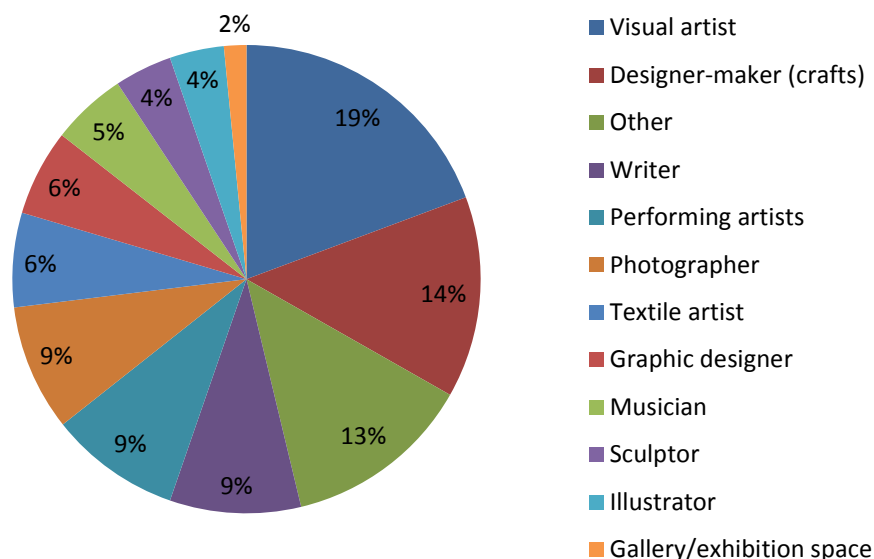
Source: Adapted from BOP, 2007, Appendix 4

In March 2011 the ongoing Portsmouth service was able to provide a more recent client practice breakdown for 906 people for whom they held details for in November 2010 (see Figure 7). Here the client monitoring differed slightly from that of the pilot programmes and a broader range of categories was used. However, it can clearly be seen that the service continued to attract high numbers of people working in visual arts, design and craft, music and performing arts, but also a high number of creative writers, photographers, textile artists and graphic designers. Within the 'other' category there were clients working in sound design and even creative landscape design and catering which are outside of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) definition for the creative industries sector, although these numbers were minimal. The varied age range and length of time in business for clients of the Portsmouth pilot programme (see BOP, 2007, Appendix 4) suggests that there was no single point of access to the support on offer (for example after graduation) and the Audiences South (2009) report also confirmed that the ongoing Portsmouth service continued to meet with clients at different stages of their careers. While there were students, graduates, start-ups and those looking to develop an existing business, there were also clients who were returning to work and others with ambitions for a career change.

It is important to note here that both the BOP and Audiences South reports recognised a large number of clients who had defined themselves as 'artists' rather than 'businesses' and their aims and objectives sometimes differed from those of sole traders and smaller businesses working in other economic sectors which may access business support programmes more frequently (see Throsby, 1994; Holden, 2007; Banks, 2007; Oakley, 2009). There were a high number of clients which approached both the pilot programmes as well as

the ongoing Portsmouth service with the aim to sustain their creative practice rather than to develop or expand it. Many of these clients worked additional part-time jobs to supplement their income and they wanted to develop a more sustainable creative career that would allow them to pursue their practice without the need for other sources of financial support.

**Figure 7: Practice breakdown for the CIBAS service between 2006 and 2010**



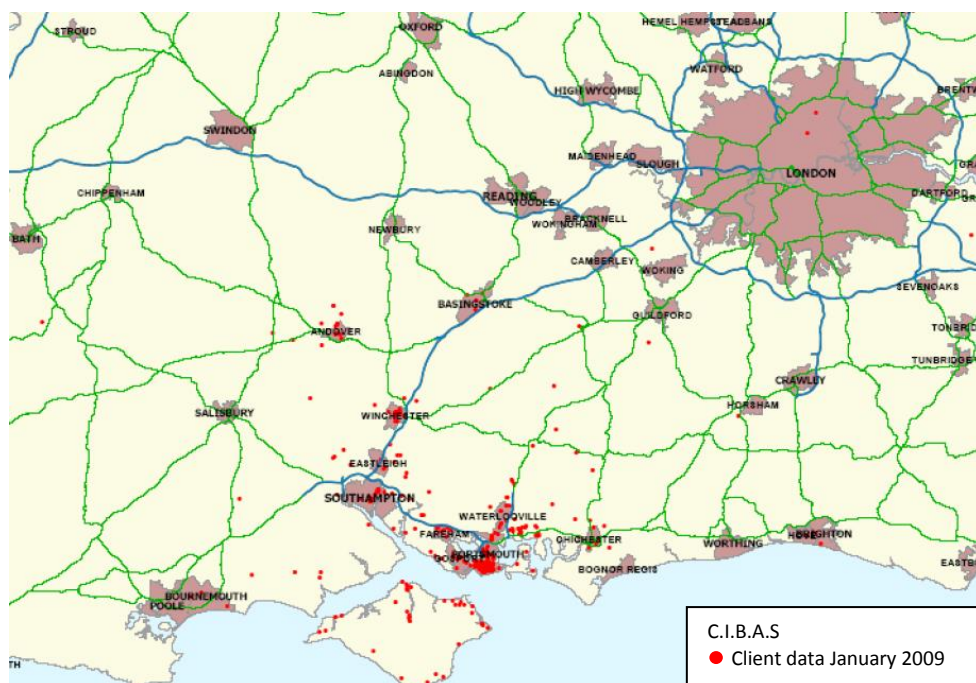
Source: Data provided by CIBAS in March 2011

A series of focus groups with clients from the three pilot programmes undertaken as part of the BOP (2007) evaluation found that many of those who defined themselves as artists rather than businesses did not identify financial profit as a key indicator of success and did not want to be seen as ‘in it for the money’ (also see Throsby, 1994). Audiences South (2009) also confirmed that business practice was often understood foremost as a way to create sustainability for their art form rather than to establish and grow a commercial enterprise, highlighting ongoing tensions for some between aesthetic practice and economic activity. Clients frequently emphasised that other business advisory services did not ‘understand’ artists and this was key in defining a market for the CIBAS service. Audiences South recognised that many clients valued the approach taken by the team who treated them ‘as artists and not generic businesses’ (2009, p.12). The team was made up of dedicated advisors with experience of working in the arts and the creative industries. A CIBAS sector action plan document produced for the South Hampshire sub-region claimed ‘many creative businesses do not fit traditional, mainstream business models and have not accessed existing business support services’ (2009b, p.6). However, whilst there were indeed a large number of clients with



ambitions only to secure adequate income to allow their creative practice to become their sole occupation, there were also a smaller number of clients who clearly defined themselves as ‘creative businesses’ with a desire for growth and expansion. The geographical distribution of clients of the Portsmouth service was mapped by Audiences South and can be seen below (Map 8). As one might expect there was a large concentration of clients accessing the service from Portsmouth and the immediate surrounding areas, with smaller numbers from the Isle of Wight and also Southampton, Winchester and Andover where other CIBAS projects and events had been delivered as extensions to the Portsmouth service. There were also a handful of clients who were from further afield including locations such as Frome in Somerset, Hartley in Kent, Brighton in East Sussex and London.

**Map 8: Geographical distribution of CIBAS clients in 2009**



Source: Audiences South (2009)

### **A longitudinal perspective between 2006 and 2013**

The Portsmouth CIBAS service was first established as part of a wider regional initiative led by the Arts Council and therefore began by working to particular aims and objectives complementary to the mission and strategic framework of the national development agency for the arts (for a recent strategy document see ACE, 2013a). Whilst some commentators might argue that all of the Arts Council’s activities contribute towards the development of the

creative economy, CIBAS can perhaps be best understood as part of a particular strand of work involving national and regional projects, programmes and support mechanisms to encourage growth in England's creative economy (for more examples see BOP, 2006; Fleming and Erskine, 2011). Out of the three Arts Council CIBAS pilot programmes the Portsmouth service was the only one which developed into a longer-term intervention and was able to continue even after its Arts Council funding was reduced and eventually cut altogether. The pilot programme in Hastings and Bexhill hosted by the local authority had experienced difficulties engaging the local artistic community in business development and was discontinued in 2006. The following year the pilot at the cultural venue in Surrey was also discontinued despite additional funding applications being made to support a continuation of the service. In Portsmouth however CIBAS had initially been deemed a success and between January 2006 and November 2013 when this case study was completed the service had been backed by several different organisations which all considered it to be a worthwhile investment.

It is important to recognise that the organisations which finance an initiative always hold a level of influence over how it is managed, resourced and delivered and many of the changes to the Portsmouth service during the seven year period can be largely attributed to changes in the way that CIBAS was funded. The initial pilot programme was hosted by the university and in November 2013 a senior representative from the Research and Innovation Services Department explained:

Our role in CIBAS 1 [the Arts Council pilot programme] was really only as a host and CIBAS was funded wholly by the Arts Council and we gave them a base and some infrastructure and had no control ourselves or any say in what they did. I think we may have been represented on the steering committee... CIBAS 1 to a certain degree was very externally driven, however as CIBAS 1 turned into CIBAS 2 and 3 and as the Arts Council funding changed, the relationship between CIBAS and the university changed. (Appendix II, interview 42)

The role of Arts Council England South East in establishing the three pilot programmes goes some way towards explaining why this creative industries business advisory service was targeted more towards freelancers and small businesses working at the cultural-end of the DCMS sector and those which are more commonly associated with Arts Council subsidy. It also provides some explanation as to why a number of artists had approached the Hastings and Bexhill pilot programme as a prospective funding body rather than as a business support service (BOP, 2007). These people are likely to have associated the programme with the Arts Council's more traditional role as a provider of subsidy and investment in arts and cultural projects. The ongoing service in Portsmouth would later engage more directly with other parts of the sector through the events programme (most notably digital media, filmmaking, video

games, graphic design and web design) but the practice breakdown for clientele attending one-to-one business advice sessions remained fairly consistent. The three Arts Council pilot programmes had also been part-funded by the DTI's Phoenix Fund and had a strategic focus on tackling disadvantage as a requirement and this was dropped after the fund ended. The BOP evaluation report argued 'education and welfare policies are a more appropriate means of dealing with disadvantage than small business help' (2007, p.24).

Although the Arts Council continued to provide a level of support to the Portsmouth service after the other two pilot programmes were discontinued, the university soon began to take on a more active role in the management of CIBAS. As the Arts Council funding was reduced the university became more accountable at a strategic level and was able to secure additional funds from the former South East England Development Agency (SEEDA) before the support from several key partners was later discontinued (including core funding from the Arts Council in 2010). For a short period of time the future of the service seemed unclear with no core financial partner but then substantial funds were awarded from the Partnership for Urban South Hampshire (PUSH) secured with an agreement that CIBAS would continue to expand their work beyond Portsmouth and South East Hampshire to support creative enterprise across the South Hampshire sub-region (CIBAS, 2009b). By 2012 the available funds had again become greatly reduced and this resulted in significant impacts including staff redundancies and a reduction in the support services available to clients. CIBAS had started out with one Business Advisor supported by an Administrator and at its peak the staff team included the Director, two Business Advisors and the Project Officer. The second Business Advisor who was working between the University of Winchester and Southampton Solent University left the team in 2010 and the position was not re-recruited. For a short while an existing member of the team spent one day a week travelling to these areas, but the Project Officer explained that this 'did just become unmanageable' (Appendix II, interview 9). Later in October 2012 the remaining Business Advisor and the Project Officer were both made redundant and redeployed to other positions at the University of Portsmouth.

This left the Director without a team which presented a number of challenges. However, the online presence was maintained, the website continued to be updated and the e-newsletter was still published periodically. During a follow up interview in November 2013 the former Project Officer explained 'I continued to support [the Director] sort of unofficially and it was becoming apparent that CIBAS really still needed a lot of support' (Appendix II, interview 41). The events programme was discontinued until additional funds could be secured and the Director continued to offer one-to-one business advice sessions, although this became

a paid-for service for external clients and free only to Portsmouth students and recent graduates. The university became the core financial supporter and subsequent changes were made to complement to the strategic priorities of the higher education institution. The university provided core funding to allow the service to continue supporting its students and graduates but there was an expectation that the Director would seek out additional external funding to enable a continuation of the outward facing services to support the wider sector. The representative from the Research and Innovation Services Department explained:

Basically what had to happen was for the university to provide funding to keep CIBAS going because we saw a benefit for our students in keeping the service and the university supports creative business engagement as well as business engagement in its broadest possible sense. But all the decisions we have made with regard to CIBAS have been financial. We shared values and interest in this sort of activity but our level of interest in what CIBAS actually delivered changed depending on the amount of funding and who was funding what and when funding became available... However, the final business model was that they would provide creative industries focussed support for students and graduates but they also had a requirement to generate income from external providers to support the external creative clients... It did get to a stage where the university could no longer support it at the level it was being funded and we therefore had to reduce the resources available to CIBAS... It got to a point they weren't bringing in enough external funding and there wasn't enough out there for the service to be sustainable in the way that it had first been set up. (Appendix II, interview 42)

Later in 2013, not long before this case study was brought to a close, CIBAS entered into another period of transition when the Director left the employment of the university to pursue a new opportunity and the position was not re-recruited. At this time the higher education institution was working towards a number of other projects to support business development and engagement and it was decided that the support on offer would be further reduced until a suitable opportunity was presented to re-launch the CIBAS service. The website and online presence was maintained by the former Project Officer who had the relevant knowledge and expertise and the Research and Innovation Services representative clarified that the university was now trying to 'keep the brand alive' so if additional funding becomes available there is already an existing infrastructure and a reputation to build upon. The Student Enterprise Team provided more generic business advice and support to students and graduates across academic departments and they were also working towards a new 'Innovation Space' project which involved the acquisition of physical space in the city to be converted into supported workspace for graduate, start-up and growth businesses (University of Portsmouth, 2013). The new Innovation Space due to be launched in 2015 was called Cell Block Studios and this project would see the dilapidated Victory Gate Cell Block in Portsmouth Historic Dockyard converted into a centre for arts and creative businesses. Planned as part of the Cell Block Studios project was the provision of tailored business support for the resident

artists and companies and it was anticipated that this may present an appropriate opportunity for a CIBAS re-launch. In discussion about the provision of business support at Cell Block Studios and as part of the wider Innovation Space project the Research and Innovation Services representative suggested:

I think there is a need for delivery with a certain language and in a particular way for different sectors and in particular the creative sector. However, I also see that other sectors benefit from the approach we have for the creative industries. For example, we have another business support scheme we run and [the Director of CIBAS] delivered a CPD unit on marketing from a creative perspective but within a non-creative environment and that was incredibly well received. I think people are used to receiving standard business support and by throwing something in designed for the creative sector – a focus on USP, vision statements and things which come more easily to creative people and which are often their starting point – and then giving this to people who often start with the cash flow forecast was useful and they found it beneficial to look at things from a different perspective. I would like to see more crossovers whereby we take elements of creative industries business support to non-creatives and also the other way around. I mean the creative industries need to understand cash flow and therefore bringing in an accountant who doesn't talk in creative industries terms can be useful in helping them to understand what will work and what won't. (Appendix II, interview 42)

Here, the interviewee raises several interesting points about creative industries business support which will be addressed in the second half of the chapter. However, in November 2013 when this case study was completed it remained to be seen exactly how CIBAS might be re-launched or developed and it was also unclear as to what services may or may not be available to the wider sector and to those not directly associated with the university. Nevertheless, it was clear that between 2006 and 2013 there was a correlation between many of the most significant changes to the service and changes in the core funding as well as peaks and troughs in the availability of funding for creative industries development projects in South Hampshire. For six years before the university became the core financial backer CIBAS had maintained a similar service which supported students and graduates as well as the wider creative industries sector through specialist business advice and support. But by the end of 2012 when the core funding was no longer provided by a development agency for which supporting enterprise in the wider creative economy was the key priority then the service inevitably changed direction towards a model which reflected more the university's responsibility towards its students and graduates.

Prior to this shift some of the biggest changes which had been made to improve the CIBAS service over time included an expansion in the provision of one-to-one business advice sessions and events outside of Portsmouth and South East Hampshire, new online services which aimed to widen access to sector specific information and advice, and the launch of a specialist access to finance scheme to support new business start-ups and business growth.

The CIBAS team had found that the one-to-one sessions were in constant high demand and for a short period new partnerships allowed for an additional Business Adviser to be recruited and it was later anticipated that new online services might benefit the wider creative community whilst also helping the team to better manage the demand for their time. The new website was developed in consultation with clients, academics, businesses and partner organisations and aimed to provide relevant information and online training which would address many of the topics that were most frequently discussed during the one-to-one sessions. The former Project Officer explained that this included general information about starting a new business and how to register with HM Revenue and Customs as well as set items on marketing and funding, including information about Arts Council grants and other information tailored to specific sub-sectors of the creative industries and to specific opportunities:

It did become quite a good resource and we got a lot of the things that we covered with pretty much every client online so perhaps new clients could then come to us at a later stage in their development rather than us needing to talk to them about the basics. It didn't really have a knock on effect in terms of time management because the demand was still there, but at least people felt more equipped and supported if we were unable to see them when they wanted to be seen. (Appendix II, interview 41)

Another new service which was developed to improve the CIBAS offer was a specialist access to finance scheme which was launched during the summer of 2012. Clients could apply to borrow between £2,000 and £10,000 to be used in any way that supported 'potential business start-up and growth, such as working capital, buying stock, rents and other expenses, business development (such as marketing) and equipment, including fixed assets' (CIBAS, 2012c). The loan could also be used as matched funding in bids for grant funding. The ability for arts and creative businesses to access finance is a topic which has been widely debated by both Government and stakeholders in recent years. Stuart Fraser (2011) has argued in his report to the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS) and the DCMS that a significant barrier for the creative industries is that business owners in some sub-sectors are more likely to feel discouraged to apply and accept loan offers than those in other sectors with similar risk profiles. This remains a wider issue for policy-makers and stakeholders to address but it appears that in some cases sector specific finance schemes may well encourage more creative industries business owners to apply for finance.

### **Comparison with an arts advisory service in Winchester and Havant**

During the time that the researcher was working towards this case study a new arts advisory service was commissioned by two local authorities in the nearby administrative areas of

Winchester and Havant which presented an opportunity to undertake a comparison and contrasting. The specification issued by Winchester City Council in partnership with Havant Borough Council provided this summary:

This commission seeks to provide a professional arts development and support service on a pilot basis from October 2011 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 2012 for the Winchester City Council and Havant Borough Council districts. This service will support a range of people, including arts professionals, organisations and residents who require advice and information about any aspect of the arts or creative industries. (WCC, 2011, p.1)

With the historic city and former Anglo-Saxon capital of England as the principal urban centre, residents and visitors to the Winchester administrative area have access to theatres, galleries, festivals and events and the creative industries sector is recognised as a significant contributor to the local economy through architecture, design, film production, fine arts, literature and performing arts (WCC, 2010; 2011; 2014; Appendix II, interview 29). Havant's cultural offer and creative economy is different and here the local authority focusses primarily on community arts and culture as a way to enhance quality of life for local people. Havant Borough Council also invests in The Spring Arts and Heritage Centre as well as more directly in the creative industries sector through their support to the development agency 'Making Space' which offers affordable studios and education space for artists and designer-makers as well as an associate scheme. In different ways both local authorities are working at a strategic level to sustain and develop activities around the arts and the creative industries through funding, support and collaboration with partners. The new commission would initially fund a trial period to allow them to test the effectiveness of an externally-provided service after many years of in-house provision. The two local authorities were beginning to work more closely together and were keen to progress shared services. Individuals and organisations in the private, public or voluntary sectors with appropriate expertise and capacity to deliver the service were invited to bid for the commission.

The two local authorities had no preconceived view about what type of provider they would award the commission to but the successful bidder was expected to have relevant knowledge and skills. This included working knowledge of professional arts practice; practical experience of working within at least two arts disciplines; an understanding of national and regional arts funding sources; the further and higher education sectors; local arts scenes and the creative economy; as well as excellent communication and organisational skills (WCC, 2011). The commission was awarded to a freelance arts consultant and at the end of the trial period the arts advisory service was reviewed by the two local authorities and considered to be a success. The arts consultant's activity log for the trial period was made available for this

research and shows that the main medium for support was one-to-one sessions that artists, arts organisations and creative businesses could book to receive specialist advice. Topics most frequently discussed during the sessions included the Arts Council's Grants for the Arts, other sources of funding and fundraising opportunities, business and professional development and also marketing and promotion. The consultant also offered strategic advice to both of the local authorities with regard to the arts and the wider creative industries sector and attended meetings on their behalf with key stakeholders, including education providers as well as various arts and creative industries organisations.

For a short period of time between 2009 and 2010, prior to the commission for the Winchester and Havant service, there had been a CIBAS Business Advisor working between the University of Winchester and Southampton Solent University which provided some creative industries business support to the area. However, it is important to note that the new arts advisory service was a different type of initiative, despite some similarities in the support services provided. The new service was a local authority provision while CIBAS in Winchester and Southampton was an extension to the Portsmouth service and delivered from within a higher education environment. In addition CIBAS had a strategic focus on creative industries business development while the new arts advisory service also aimed to support other types of arts activity as well as community arts organisations. The new service did not have the same online presence either, although Winchester City Council does manage an e-news service and works in partnership with the University of Winchester to develop the 'Café Culture Network' which serves both as a mailing list as well as a database of local artists, creative practitioners and businesses who are regularly invited to industry networking events. Nevertheless, both advisory services were managed by individuals with professional experience in the arts and the creative industries, both used one-to-one sessions as their main medium of support with some similarities in the queries clients brought to them and both engaged for the most part with those working at the cultural-end of the creative industries sector.

The Portsmouth CIBAS service did receive some support from individual local authorities as well as substantial funding from a local authority partnership (PUSH). However, it was the University of Portsmouth which had been a key collaborator from the beginning and eventually became the core financial backer. It was at this stage that many of the outward facing CIBAS services were reduced or discontinued until additional external funding could be secured. The new arts advisory service was established in a different context and local authorities have a different role to play from that of higher education institutions in the creative city or milieu (Hall, 2000; Landry, 2000). Winchester City Council took the lead on the



arts advisory service and the *Winchester District Economic Strategy 2010-2020* claims the five biggest sectors in the local economy are 'public service, knowledge and creative, land-based, tourism and retail' (WCC, 2010, p.5). The strategy also highlights four key factors for success in developing the creative economy in the future which includes measures to improve graduate retention from the University of Winchester and Winchester School of Art (part of the University of Southampton); promoting local creative industries business networks; providing and protecting a range of business premises which are both suitable and affordable for creative start-up businesses; and the provision of appropriate training, skills development and advice. When asked during an interview in April 2012 what the role of a local authority should be in supporting their local creative economy a senior representative from the Economy and Arts Department responded:

I can tell you how we see our role at Winchester City Council, but I can't necessarily speak more widely. It's potentially quite a philosophical question. As far as Winchester City Council is concerned we very much see ourselves as a sort of facilitator if you like. We're there to help get things going and make sure that people are meeting the right people to get their projects going and hopefully get their business up and running if that's what they want to do. I think we're a catalyst and facilitator and not necessarily an organisation that's going to be the lead on lots of different projects. We don't run any of the festivals that we have in the city, but we're very supportive of them and you know we'll do our best to make things happen if we think that it is a good thing for the city or our district – I mean generally we do. There's a great value and a great economic value to all these things apart from other benefits in terms of the individuals that get involved and what it can do for them. So, Winchester City Council is very much a facilitator of all these things. (Appendix II, interview 29)

The same question was also later put to a representative from the Arts and Heritage Department at Southampton City Council during another interview for this thesis which was carried out in June 2012 with the following response:

I think it's got to be a mixture really. I think one of the worst things that could happen is if an organisation like a local authority tries to stamp its corporate agenda on the situation. I think that can happen and I don't think that Southampton is one of those organisations. I think the role of a local authority should be to facilitate... But I also think it's about clearing any barriers... I think it should be that sort of role and a behind-the-scenes type of role in a sense to clear the way. Rather than being like a big corporate entity that tries to bulldozer a scheme through that they want to see happen, it needs to be a bit reactive in that the authority recognises a scene that's starting to develop that needs some help and performs almost an invisible role but a crucial role. (Appendix II, Interview 31)

As these comments suggest, local government can act as a facilitator to support creative industries development where appropriate, but it is important that the local authority in question responds strategically to the local conditions and characteristics of their particular administrative area (Oakley, 2004; The Work Foundation, 2009; Chapain et al, 2010). Public interventions always need to be carefully considered and creative industries policy will not be

appropriate for all local authorities. However, where there is good potential they can play a crucial and active role by working with local partners and representatives from the sector. Likewise, higher education institutions such as the University of Portsmouth which provided a home for CIBAS also have an important (but different) role to play in creative industries development. Caroline Chapain and Roberta Comunian (2010) in their paper which introduces their model of the creative knowledge pool explain that higher education institutions bring new people to a particular place, they produce graduates who will enter the job market and they provide specialist expertise. They recognise that higher education institutions play a crucial role in linking people to place because students who develop positive personal connections to a particular place while they are studying may then stay after graduation to look for work or to form a start-up business in the same town or city and others may return later in life. Charles Landry (2000) and the American economist Richard Florida (2002) have also both discussed the potential for creative clusters to develop in close proximity to universities which are able to develop mutually beneficial relationships with the sector (also see Comunian and Gilmore, 2015). The local authority may be involved in these dynamics too but they have their own role to play which should enable local people, local businesses and other stakeholders to capitalise on local strengths while also attracting new people, business and investment to their administrative area.

#### **4.2. Specialist business support services and creative industries development**

The CIBAS service in Portsmouth and the arts advisory service in Winchester and Havant were different types of initiative and each was established within a different context and under a different set of circumstances, although both provided specialist business support services to arts and creative businesses. The Audiences South (2009) evaluation of CIBAS identified a number of potential outputs for clients of the service which included improved confidence and business practice, access to training and networking opportunities, new collaborations with other artists and creative businesses, commissions and grant applications, the discovery of new business models and the creation of new or improved business plans. However, whilst many of the clients had a number of interactions with the service, there were also a large number who attended just a single one-to-one business advice session or a single event and without follow up interaction or feedback CIBAS had a limited ability to reflect upon the impacts of the service on the career and business development of their clients. Moreover, the popular one-to-one sessions offered creative industries business advice tailored to individual needs, but few clients were supported in the actual implementation of any of the advice that

was given. CIBAS also had insufficient resources to assess the quality of any new business plans created as a result of these one-to-one sessions or to follow up training sessions in detail with individual clients to assess how they had responded.

**Table 6: Comments about the CIBAS service from a selection of clients in 2009**

Client	Comments
Arts practitioner and entrepreneur who developed a centre for practitioners of skilled decorative crafts such as gilding and plasterwork.	I certainly would not be where I am now without CIBAS. They have given me lots of practical advice. I do really believe that they are extremely important for artists... I've been to other business support services and I haven't found them as helpful... I felt that their advice wasn't tailored to me in a way that CIBAS was, it was more generic, whereas this was more specific... I just think they understand arty people.
Film and video artist who successfully delivered a large-scale project involving a short film and a live art video installation.	CIBAS has had an impact on my financial situation, in relation to completing a piece of artwork with high aspirations. Consequently, I feel that my profile has been raised, more artistic opportunities have come my way... CIBAS has helped me understand how to get a bigger project underway and offered me wider regional contacts. Historically, I have felt that Portsmouth is something of a splintered network, although I feel that organisations such as CIBAS help to build bridges between these diverse groups, individuals and institutions... CIBAS helped me to move forward by putting me in contact with different people, raised my profile and furthered my development as a practicing artist.
Arts and education practitioner who worked with early years to further education and then contributed towards various teaching resources for the school curriculum.	They're great. Very communicative. They provide a wide range of events. I really do think it's great having them in the city... I think for me CIBAS has given me the opportunity to be part of a network in Portsmouth, which I hadn't had before... I feel very lucky as a creative practitioner, my income now feels very secure and since I've been freelance my income has gone up quite radically. I think CIBAS has helped by opening up different contacts and networks.
A textiles designer who worked as a costumier for theatre and TV and relocated to Europe to work as a designer and tutor before returning to the UK several years later.	I was able to go to CIBAS and say "I think I could set up my own business because at the moment there are no jobs. I know that I am proactive in everything, but I don't know where to channel my energies"... After the initial meeting I felt completely inspired and proactive, it just made me feel that there were possibilities.

Source: Data provided by CIBAS in March 2011

In the same year that the Audiences South evaluation was published CIBAS compiled a report entitled *Case Studies: Four Creative People* (2009a). This short document presents findings from four case studies of past clients, all of whom made positive comments about the service. This was not an evaluative document but rather it presented examples of how different clients had benefitted from the service. A photography graduate had received advice

about copyright law and embarked on a career as a freelance photojournalist; a 3D design graduate received advice about creating a business and marketing plan; a graphic designer was supported through a career change to become a self-employed printmaker and illustrator; and a visual artist who received advice about how to register as self-employed had established a her own creative business. In March 2011 four further case studies which have not previously been published were made available for this research and a selection of the clients' comments can be seen on the previous page (see Table 6).

Although these case studies will have been brought together in order to promote the service they demonstrate that there were examples of clients giving positive feedback and who considered CIBAS to be a valuable local resource for the creative industries which brought a sense of coherency to the sector. Longitudinal survey work with a sample of clients could have been used to collect data on some of the outputs that are more amenable to quantitative approaches, such as the number of clients who had sought out new collaborations, or those who had received new commissions or made successful grant applications. Nevertheless, attributing causality can be challenging because improvements in a client's performance might be attributable to a variety of factors. In evaluating the impacts of the Arts Council pilot programmes BOP (2007) opted for a series of focus groups at the beginning and end of each programme to gain an insight into the clients' perspective. BOP claimed that the short term nature of the pilot programmes was problematic and the focus group in Portsmouth expressed a desire for follow up support, concluding that 'although stronger individual approaches and more robust business models are now being developed, the need for a long term engagement is still keenly felt' (2007, p.20). Audiences South (2009) used case study interviews with individual clients and found that the majority felt they had benefitted from their interactions with CIBAS, although this report also stressed the importance of follow up support, stating that business advice should not be a 'one-off intervention'. It was recommended that 'CIBAS actively encourage previous clients to return to further develop their working' (p.15). This second section of the chapter will now explore what can be learnt from the experiences of CIBAS as well as the arts advisory service about the needs and motivations of creative businesses, the role of specialist business support services within local creative economies and considerations for models of best practice for future initiatives.

### **Understanding the needs of creative businesses**

Both CIBAS and the arts advisory service worked for the most part with clients at the cultural-end of the creative industries sector and with people who may well be less likely to approach

more generic business support services (BOP, 2007; Audiences South, 2009; CIBAS, 2009b; Fraser, 2011). The cultural-end sub-sectors which offer creative experiences and creative original products to the market (or rather markets) are also considered to have less scope for growth and profitability than creative content producers and creative service providers at the high-end (see NESTA, 2006 and refer to Chapter 3). CIBAS (2009b) claimed many arts and creative businesses do not fit traditional, mainstream business models and this may provide some explanation as to why many of their clients had not approached other existing business support services. Audiences South (2009) also found that a number of CIBAS clients had emphasised during interviews that they felt other business advisory services did not understand their work. The majority of clients of the Arts Council pilot programmes as well as the ongoing Portsmouth service were sole traders and representatives from small businesses with only a few which employed more than five people. Small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) make up a substantial part of the overall sector and therefore small business support is an important part of creative industries development strategies. Both CIBAS and the arts advisory service demonstrate demand for specialist business support services at the local and sub-regional levels to support the South Hampshire creative economy and there were examples of feedback from clients who valued the guidance and support they had been given (BOP, 2007; Audiences South, 2009; CIBAS, 2009a). Moreover, in the aftermath of the global financial crisis of 2008 initiatives to encourage new start-ups, self-employment and the growth of existing businesses has become increasingly important as a means to tackle unemployment by generating new opportunities (see Brinkley and Holloway, 2010).

Another factor which may serve to support the case for specialist creative industries business support (and particularly at the cultural-end of the sector) is the ongoing tensions between art, culture and economics still apparent in the principles held by some artists and creative practitioners regarding aesthetic practice and commerciality. Historically the connections between art and culture and the world of commerce have frequently been challenged and perhaps most notably by Adorno and Horkheimer (1979) who were influential in their contribution towards modernist and avant-garde debates about the opposition of art and authentic culture against the standardisation of commodity production. Both the BOP (2007) and Audiences South (2009) evaluations recognised a large number of CIBAS clients who defined themselves as artists rather than businesses and who did not identify financial profit as a key indicator of success – these clients strived for symbolic or cultural capital over financial gain (Bourdieu, 1993; 1996). Nevertheless, it is clear that generating a profit is essential for anyone hoping to develop a sustainable career or to establish a business from

their creative practice without the need to rely on additional employment or other sources of financial support. During the interviews for this case study the representative from Research and Innovation Services at the university suggested 'the creative industries need to understand cash flow' (Appendix II, interview 42) and the representative from Winchester City Council commented 'If nothing else, artists need to engage in business skills for art to be sustainable' (Appendix II, interview 29). There were also a number of CIBAS clients who made comments about how they appreciated being treated as artists and not as generic businesses and therefore specialist arts and creative industries advisory services might be better placed than other existing business support services to assist artists and creative practitioners to find a market for their work and reach a happy compromise between creating the work that they want to create whilst also generating an appropriate income.

The main medium of support offered by CIBAS and the arts advisory service was one-to-one advice sessions with an advisor who had expertise in business as well as professional knowledge and experience of working in either the arts or the wider creative industries sector. It is likely that this gave many of the clients a sense of confidence in the service which was being provided for them and this was not always the case with more generic services. One client of the Portsmouth service commented 'I've been to other business support services and I haven't found them as helpful' and she continued to explain 'I felt that their advice wasn't tailored to me in a way that CIBAS was, it was more generic, whereas this was more specific' (see Table 6). The activity report provided for the arts advisory service in Winchester and Havant also included examples of feedback and one client described how it was useful to speak with an advisor who understood what he was trying to achieve and who had previously worked with other clients facing similar challenges, commenting 'It was great to speak to someone with enthusiasm and the capacity to share the experiences and challenges of others in a similar situation to myself'. One-to-one sessions were popular across all three of the CIBAS pilot programmes and the ongoing service in Portsmouth as well as the arts advisory service in Winchester and Havant. This suggests many artists and creative practitioners value being able to speak directly with an advisor and the representative from Winchester City Council suggested that 'people of all different sectors like to be able to look somebody in the eye and get advice that way' (Appendix II, interview 29).

When the new CIBAS website was launched at the beginning of 2012 the Portsmouth team endeavoured to include information and online training to address many of the topics most frequently discussed during the one-to-one sessions, including queries regarding starting up a new business, strategic planning, marketing, funding and access to finance. The arts

advisory service also received similar queries from clients which highlights these topics as some of those which many arts and creative businesses (particularly start-ups and smaller businesses) might benefit from additional support. The new website widened the availability of CIBAS services with specialist online guidance and support, but the former Project Officer in discussion about the one-to-one sessions explained that 'It didn't really have a knock on effect in terms of time management because the demand was still there' (Appendix II, interview 41). Although more information was available online which could help the prospective clients to feel more confident there were still lots of people seeking one-to-one advice. The Winchester City Council representative suggested 'I think online information can be very useful... However, sometimes when you're dealing with an issue you just can't get to grips with you just need to sit down and have a chat with someone' (Appendix II, interview 29).

It is clear there was demand for the CIBAS service and for specialist arts and creative industries business support more generally with a large number of clients, good attendance figures for the events programme, a sizable mailing list for the e-news service, and a waiting list for one-to-one sessions. The comments made during the focus groups and interviews for the BOP (2007) and Audiences South (2009) evaluations as well as those which formed part of the internal evaluation process (for examples see CIBAS, 2009a) suggest that many clients valued the way that the service was delivered. Clients also valued the events which were specifically targeted at artists and creative practitioners, providing valuable opportunities for network building and the development of informal support groups which can lead to new collaborative projects which are crucial for the development and growth of creative clusters. Nevertheless, when one tries to analyse the direct economic impacts of the CIBAS service in order to consider the benefits for the local and sub-regional economy the evidence is much scarcer. Audiences South (2009) did however identify examples of financial impacts upon individual clients, including successful grant applications and new commissions which had been secured following one-to-one sessions, as well as examples where advice about pricing or business planning had 'clearly' benefited clients' businesses.

It has already been noted that there were a significant number of CIBAS clients who did not approach the service with new ideas or skills with the primary intention of transferring these to a wider commercial market. If the aims were more often to assist creative practitioners into sustainable careers rather than to focus on commercial growth and innovation then quantitative data on trends in business turnover or job creation may be inappropriate as a sole means of measuring success and particularly in the short term. Further interaction with small companies rather than individuals, as well as a greater focus on the high

growth sub-sectors of the creative industries (and the digital industries particular) could be more likely, if successful, to have a sustained impact on the economy, through generating employment, rather than sustaining self-employment. Nevertheless, the creative economy is comprised of a wide range of activities across the various sub-sectors which can have a variety of economic and broader social impacts (for examples see Myerscough, 1988; ACGB, 1989; Landry, 2000; DCMS, 2004a; Evans and Shaw, 2004; ACE, 2007; The Work Foundation, 2009; BOP, 2012; Mowlah et al, 2014; Carnwath and Brown, 2014). Policy-makers and development agencies should recognise that different interventions will be required for different parts of the creative economy and also for different locations across the country.

### **Business advisory services and local creative economies**

The study of creative industries development at the level of the town, city or sub-region has been dominated by the model of the creative city and by the creative clusters paradigm which focusses on the mutually beneficial co-location of particular businesses and organisations that can contribute towards economic growth. In recent years it has been argued that local policy-makers and development agencies need to pay closer attention to an area's true creative strengths to implement successful creative industries development strategies and there has been criticism of more generic 'one size fits all' models of support for the sector (for examples see Oakley, 2004; The Work Foundation, 2009; Chapain et al, 2010; Chapain and Comunian, 2010; Comunian and Mould, 2014). Decision-makers need to consider local conditions and they should be realistic about the potential for their particular area and aim to capitalise on local strengths. A creative industries business advisory service can be an important initiative which helps to enable a local creative economy to flourish if there is demand for this type of support service and if it is delivered effectively. But if prior to implementation neither the need nor the demand has been identified then there is the risk that the service will have little impact and might later be deemed a waste of money and resources.

There are few existing studies which offer a detailed exploration into the dynamics of the sector within a specific locality to better understand the strengths and weaknesses of the local creative economy ecosystem and to help identify appropriate policy measures. However, Chapain and Comunian's (2010) research into the dynamics of the sector in Birmingham and Newcastle-Gateshead is a good example of work which begins to address the local and regional dimensions in more detail and they offer a conceptual tool which complements insights from the clusters approach on the competitive advantage of businesses with a knowledge pool model approach which is focussed on individuals. They argue that their model



of the creative knowledge pool (see Chapter 3 for diagram) recognises that clustering plays an important role in creative industries development whilst also seeking to understand the relationships between creative individuals, their activities and place (also see Henry and Pinch, 2000; CURDS, 2001). Chapain and Comunian explore these relationships along four separate but interrelated dimensions. Firstly, they suggest that the personal attachment and 'social embeddedness' of creative individuals plays a crucial role in linking activity in the creative industries and place. If we take the example of higher education institutions (introduced earlier in the chapter) then those students at the University of Portsmouth who enjoy what the city has to offer and those who make new friends and other local contacts will be more likely to stay after graduation to look for work or to form a new business. This personal dimension relates broadly to the role of soft location factors, which might include urban regeneration projects or investment in infrastructure, and their role as enablers for the attraction and retention of a creative class. The second dimension relates to the operational advantages and disadvantages of a particular place. For example, working outside of London (and yet still only an hour and a half away by train or car) can enable creative practitioners to be more distinctive and 'bigger fish in a smaller pond' as well as offer lower overheads and running costs for businesses, although there could also be less opportunities and consequentially new talent may not always be sufficiently exploited.

The third dimension relates to networks and both the CIBAS e-news service and the events programme played an important role in coordinating the sector and promoting network building and a sense of 'creative community' in Portsmouth and wider South Hampshire. A mix of institutional and informal networks are crucial for the free flow of ideas and for fulfilling the need for structural advice and business support as well as connecting businesses with their local and regional markets. The final dimension in Chapain and Comunian's model is that of the local and regional infrastructure and its role as an enabler or inhibitor of creative industries development. For example, the presence of the University in Portsmouth with its Faculty of Creative and Cultural Industries is certainly an enabler of the creative economy in South Hampshire and so too are the relevant departments at Southampton Solent University, the University of Southampton and the University of Winchester. Furthermore, the specialist provision of CIBAS in Portsmouth and the arts advisory service in Winchester and Havant is also an important factor which highlights that local organisations have demonstrated a commitment to supporting the development of their local creative economy.

When the CIBAS Project Officer was asked during the first interview for this case study in March 2011 which sub-sectors of the creative industries were thought to be showing signs

of growth and clustering in Portsmouth the interviewee highlighted the large number of visual artists and designer-makers approaching the CIBAS service (Appendix II, interview 9). The Project Officer also suggested the number of people in Portsmouth working in other sub-sectors including theatre, creative writing, video games and film may also be on the increase. These comments were speculative but one can already begin to identify connections between these sub-sectors and local factors which can be understood to be enablers of the creative economy, such as the presence of the New Theatre Royal and the reopening of The Kings Theatre in 2008; the launch of a new initiative from the development agency New Writing South to support creative writers across the South East of England in 2011; the University of Portsmouth's connections with TIGA (the trade association representing the UK games industry) and the use of the BBC Big Screen in the Guildhall Square to showcase work by students and graduates. Chapain and Comunian (2010) encourage researchers, academics, policy-makers and stakeholders to consider how the local and regional dimensions interact with the creative economy. This is particularly important because despite years of regional policies many areas outside of London still struggle to compete with the capital in the development of the creative industries and have yet to realise their full potential.

The Arts Council CIBAS pilot programmes were launched in three different locations across the South East where the local economy, population, infrastructure and creative industries sector all have very different characteristics. It has already been noted that new programmes to support creative industries development should be carefully considered and that it is important there is a clear need and demand for the proposed initiative. The pilot programmes were part-financed by the DTI's Phoenix Fund which had a strategic focus on encouraging enterprise in disadvantaged communities or in groups under-represented in terms of business ownership. However, it should be noted that tackling disadvantage and encouraging growth in local creative economies are two very different objectives. One of the major evaluations of the Phoenix Fund argued it is 'unrealistic to assume that there are large numbers of people experiencing deprivation who will be best assisted by enterprise policy directly' (Centre for City and Regional Studies, 2006, p.3). The issue here is perhaps not so much a failure of enterprise policy but rather the wider individual and institutional barriers to social inclusion which might be better addressed by education and welfare policies. Nevertheless, Portsmouth was an urban regeneration area and both Hastings and Bexhill had areas of multiple deprivation, but this was not the case in rural Surrey.

The institutional setting of a cultural venue in rural Surrey is likely to have helped towards defining a clientele for this particular pilot programme. The BOP (2007) evaluation

recognised that the CIBAS objectives complemented the broader ambitions of the cultural venue where the setting, specialist knowledge, physical and human resources were readily available to add value to the programme. In a rural setting with a relatively affluent population, the role of CIBAS was to provide a focus for activity and network density for creative practitioners who could otherwise become easily isolated. However, this pilot programme was situated outside of large institutional support structures and sub-regional investment priorities which in time would contribute towards the Arts Council's decision to withdraw funding. In Hastings and Bexhill the host organisation was the local authority and it was highlighted that a significant number of clients had mistaken this pilot programme to be a prospective funding body rather than a business advisory service. There were many 'hobbyists' (including those who had moved to the area to pursue their artistic interests and who were in part lured by relatively low housing costs) and only a small number of clients interested in developing their creative skills into a sustainable business. BOP recommended that in the most economically deprived of the three areas future services should involve a longer-term intervention with strong relationships between programme partners and a set of aims and objectives which are clearly defined to potential clients. It was also noted that although there was a relatively well established artistic community in Hastings and Bexhill, CIBAS struggled to develop what the Business Advisor described as a 'lifestyle culture' into an entrepreneurial one. The programme experienced difficulties engaging the local artistic community in business development but BOP did suggest that there could be other opportunities to target future services in the area at young people.

The external evaluations by BOP (2007) and Audiences South (2009) both found that the location at the University of Portsmouth appeared to present the most stable and supportive environment for a CIBAS programme. In Portsmouth, CIBAS was integrated with other university services and there was also access to additional physical, human and financial resources which in some circumstances may prove more difficult for a cultural venue or a local authority to provide. Both reports also suggested that a university setting may present a greater potential for the development of partnerships with a wide range of local creative industries and economic development stakeholders. The location at Purple Door in the city centre allowed the programme to engage with the artistic community and the wider creative industries sector, but also offered the potential to have a focus on graduate entrepreneurship to help bridge the gap between education and industry while working towards improving levels of graduate retention in the city. The experiences of the Arts Council pilot programmes and the ongoing CIBAS service in Portsmouth demonstrate that a clearly identifiable

educational or cultural space may be a preferable location for a creative industries business advisory service. But as we have seen even the Portsmouth service encountered problems which in time would lead to a reduction in the support available to prospective clients. Nevertheless, institutional settings which offer other relevant facilities and expertise are likely to have shared interests and may be able to bring added value to the service. Different models will be better suited to different locales and to different local creative economies as well as to different strategic organisations and stakeholders which may choose to work together to promote creative industries development.

### **Considerations for models of best practice.**

Research into the experiences of existing support services allows us to reflect upon the different types of support that a specialist creative industries business advisory service should offer and begin to identify considerations for models of best practice. The one-to-one sessions with a dedicated advisor proved popular across all of these initiatives and face to face interaction can help to instil greater confidence in future business practice – particularly at the cultural-end of the sector and for early career practitioners, start-ups and smaller businesses which accounted for the majority of clients in the examples discussed in this chapter. However, it is important that providers carefully consider how the service is resourced because demand could be high and preparation for the sessions can be time consuming if advice is to be appropriately tailored to individual clients (who could be working in one or more of a number of different sub-sectors). Providers should also consider encouraging their clients to return for follow up sessions where it is agreed that this could be beneficial. This will offer further support and guidance as well as provide opportunities to document case studies of their progress which will be useful for the monitoring and evaluation of the initiative. In cases where the demand is high the development of complementary online services can prove to be a valuable investment and a means to widen the availability of specialist support, with access to online training and advice to cover many of the topics most frequently discussed during one-to-one sessions. Regular e-news bulletins can also help to coordinate the sector and an events programme can play a crucial role in network building which is crucial for promoting business clustering and nurturing a sense of creative community.

The success of any service will inevitably rely heavily upon the business advisors themselves, with a mix of knowledge and skills relevant to both good business practice as well as the creative industries sector more specifically. The advisors who possess an understanding of local economic development priorities as well as the local creative economy will be more

likely to be able to work strategically to see that the service becomes embedded into the local policy landscape. This will allow for the service to be both responsive to client demand whilst also being able to develop key priorities, which may include small business growth or graduate retention for example, but these will differ from place to place. A more strategic approach is also likely to prove an advantage when the time comes to bid for support from development agencies and stakeholders to help finance the service. Longer-term commitments will always be preferable to short-term funding where there is a strong case for the provision of a creative industries business advisory service. Short-term commitments can often be problematic because new initiatives need time to become established in the local creative ecology and to adapt in order to best serve the needs of local practitioners and businesses. If a new initiative is unable to secure a longer-term commitment then there is only a limited amount of time before the provider must turn their attention towards searching for new funding rather than delivering the service. Whilst no organisation will want to see their investment wasted on an intervention which is failing to meet its aims and objectives it is also important that a realistic timeline is granted in which to assess this.

In addition to the risk of an abrupt closure to the service if new funding cannot be secured another issue which can arise from a reliance on short-term funding commitments is that the pressure to secure new investment may lead to bids being made to organisations which have slightly different priorities and conflicting expectations and this could contribute towards a lack of clarity about the ongoing aims and objectives. Different partners will also require different levels of monitoring in order to justify their contributions and with multiple funders this can easily translate into a lengthy reporting process. For example, while speaking about one of the supporters of the ongoing CIBAS service in Portsmouth the Project Officer commented ‘they are very, very exact about the reporting; a little bit too much at times’ (Appendix II, interview 9). All of this can contribute towards added pressure for the delivery team and therefore a carefully considered intervention with clear aims and objectives as well as longer-term funding secured from partners with shared values will always be beneficial and offer the most potential for success. Nevertheless, it is also important to consider other sources of income and both BOP (2007) and Audiences South (2009) suggested in areas where the client base is relatively affluent and the long-term sustainability of a service is at risk then it could be possible to develop a paid-for or part paid-for service. In cases where this is not appropriate then training and events could still carry a modest fee and bespoke packages can be pitched to local stakeholders including education providers, local authorities, development agencies and other arts or creative organisations.

The Arts Council CIBAS pilot programmes, the ongoing service in Portsmouth and the arts advisory service for Winchester and Havant all attracted for the most part clients working at the cultural-end of the creative industries sector and the majority were sole traders and small companies. These advisory services all offered business support as well as ‘pre-business’ support in some cases which assisted clients in pursuing the commercial potential of their artistic or creative practice. However, the economic outputs for this type of business support service rarely become apparent immediately and they can also be difficult to measure which limits these initiatives from accessing funds from investors looking for immediate economic returns. The clientele were also those who may be less likely to approach more generic business support services and particularly those with concerns about the relationship between aesthetic practice and commerciality (Throsby, 1994; BOP, 2007; Banks, 2007; Holden, 2007; Audiences South, 2009; CIBAS, 2009b; Oakley, 2009; Fraser, 2011). Whilst specialist creative industries business support can be sensitive to the needs of these clients, this is not to say that other types business support services should not cater more for arts and creative businesses which demonstrate potential for commercial growth and innovation.

In discussion about business finance schemes NESTA have argued in their *A Manifesto for the Creative Economy* (Bakhshi et al, 2013b) that generic schemes should not discriminate against creative businesses and they recommended the Creative Industries Council should publish and distribute investor-friendly data about the sector to support the development of a thicker market for risk finance. Sector and non-sector specific support services as well as what skills different economic sectors can learn from one another also needs to be considered further with regards to training and continuing professional development and this was raised by the representative from the University of Portsmouth when discussing the future direction of the CIBAS service (Appendix II, interview 42). A specialist business advisory service is just one possible intervention to support the sector and the interviewee went on to discuss the need for both sector and non-sector specific training as well as insights from other industries in relation to a new programme attached to a supported workspace project for arts and creative businesses due to be launched in 2015. The need for affordable and appropriate workspace for arts and creative businesses as well as training was also highlighted by the representative from Winchester City Council who commented ‘There’s definitely a lot of demand and the two things that we’re always being told are needed by representatives of the creative industries are workspace and also training and skills development – and particularly business skills’ (Appendix II, Interview 29). The next chapter moves the discussion forward to explore the dynamics of a different type of local initiative by presenting findings from a case study of the

specialist creative industries workspace agency based in Southampton and considers what more can be learnt from this example about creative industries development at the local and sub-regional levels.

## **5. CASE STUDY 2: WORKSPACE AGENCY IN SOUTHAMPTON**

To further explore the micro-scale dynamics of local creative industries development this chapter now focusses on a different type of local initiative and presents findings from a case study of the Southampton-based creative industries workspace agency 'A Space' carried out between February 2011 and August 2014. Founded as a voluntary arts organisation in 2000 and a registered charity since 2010, the agency aims to provide 'opportunities for emerging artists to make new work, develop their careers and for audiences in Southampton and the surrounding regions to engage with high quality artistic experiences' (A Space, 2013). Unlike the Creative Industries Business Advisory Service (CIBAS) in Portsmouth and the arts advisory service for Winchester and Havant, A Space developed out of an artist-led initiative rather than a public sector intervention. In the introduction to an *A Space Position Paper* (2011b) the chair of the board of trustees described the organisation as 'for creatives, by creatives'. A Space had grown over the years to become one of the leading creative industries development initiatives in South Hampshire offering opportunities to artists and creative businesses through exhibitions, events, talent development bursaries and affordable specialist workspaces.

A review of creative workspace provision commissioned by the Partnership for Urban South Hampshire (PUSH) and Hampshire Economic Partnership (DPA, 2010) had recognised a number of specialist workspace providers but highlighted A Space for having a strong potential for growth in terms of both size and scope. Indeed, the agency had grown since its founding and the publishing of the 2010 review and also continued to launch new creative industries development platforms throughout the course of the case study between 2011 and 2014. During an interview in February 2011 the Director of A Space explained that a key strategic priority for the organisation as it made the transition to become a registered charity was to grow the local infrastructure for the creative industries through the provision of affordable specialist workspaces (Appendix II, interview 8). This chapter explores the role of specialist workspaces in the development of local creative economies and it is framed around a discussion of the case study research into A Space and their workspace portfolio. The chapter questions how workspace provision can form part of wider strategic models for the creative city and how it can help to attract and retain a creative class, support business incubation and clustering, and enhance the local creative ecology and economy (Porter, 1998; Hall, 2000; Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002; Chapain and Comunian, 2010).

The case study of A Space involved in-depth qualitative interviews with the Director carried out in February 2011, May 2012 and August 2014 complemented by relevant secondary data and documentary analysis to develop a longitudinal perspective of the



agency's work over time. In 2012 a survey was undertaken with questionnaires completed by 15 out of the 25 residents who at the time were based across two A Space creative workspaces in Southampton. The results provide an insight into the working lives of the people who use these workspaces as well as how their access to them may help to support their ongoing career and business development. The first of the two workspaces was launched in 2005 and is targeted primarily at those working in visual arts including painters, illustrators and sculptors. The second was launched in 2011 and targeted at designers, filmmakers, digital media specialists and other creative practitioners requiring more traditional office space rather than an artist studio. Plans for a third workspace were discussed during the first interview with the Director and this new facility was later officially launched in May 2013.

The new workspace is targeted at designer-makers and craft artists and is located in nearby Eastleigh, a medium-sized town situated between Southampton and Winchester along the M3 corridor. A Space were contracted by Eastleigh Borough Council to assist with the day to day management of the facility which at the time was part of a new European-funded programme to promote economic regeneration and job creation through creative enterprise (see Recreate, 2014). Three surveys were carried out with the residents between 2013 and 2014 to learn about their experiences of working in the local creative economy and to assess what impacts the new facility had on their career progression and business development during its first year. All 18 artists and creative practitioners who made successful applications to join the workspace during the case study period participated. Between 2011 and 2014 the researcher also attended exhibitions and industry events organised by A Space as well as a number of open studio events across South Hampshire which provided context to the case study research (see Appendix I). This chapter is divided into two sections and the first presents the case study findings through a discussion of the three workspaces and their residents; a longitudinal perspective of the development of A Space since its founding in 2000 up until 2014; and finally an investigation into the impacts of the new workspace in Eastleigh on its residents during the first year. The second section questions what can be learnt about the micro-scale dynamics of creative industries development as well as the needs, motivations and experiences of people working in the sector. The chapter concludes with considerations for models of best practice for future creative industries workspace initiatives.

### **5.1. A Space Arts 'Growing Creative Communities'**

Before A Space launched their workspace projects the organisation started out as a voluntary support service for local artists established by three fine art graduates from the Southampton

Institute of Higher Education (now Southampton Solent University). As a recent graduate the co-founder who later became the organisation's Director had been working in a number of makeshift studios in and around the city including a room above a restaurant, a garage and a workspace at the back of an antiques shop. The shop landlord owned a number of empty units in the Northam Road area of Southampton and in 2002 agreed to an arrangement whereby the three graduates could use one of the units rent free and in return they would set up an exhibition space for emerging artists and contribute towards regenerating the area. Speaking about the Northam Road Gallery during the interview in February 2011 the Director explained that the desire for an exhibition space grew out of their 'frustration that there were no galleries in the city for emerging artists' (Appendix II, interview 8). It was at a private view of one of their early exhibitions where the future Director met a contact from the heritage department at Southampton City Council and this led to the development of a number of creative projects at historic sites around the city. During the summer of 2004 A Space staged an event called Art Vaults which allowed the public to access Southampton's medieval vaults underneath the old town walls to view temporary exhibitions by local artists. The event, which celebrated both heritage and contemporary art, was well attended and the following year the local authority provided funding to support a second Art Vaults programme which attracted approximately 13,000 visitors (Art Vaults, 2008; SHIP, 2008).

Although two of the co-founders had since left the organisation, A Space made a successful funding application to the independent grant-making organisation Esmée Fairbairn Foundation. This marked an important development for A Space which for the first time was able to pay the remaining co-founder a salary as Director. With two successful summer exhibitions in the vaults and the gallery at Northam Road, the Director was able to begin discussions about the longer-term use of other local authority owned sites – one of which was the 800 year old landmark Bargate Monument which had been vacant and closed to the public for some time. After gaining permission to move into this iconic building, A Space spent a year raising funds before receiving an award from the former South East England Development Agency (SEEDA) to work with English Heritage to develop the interior of the monument into a contemporary art venue. The Bargate Monument Gallery opened in 2006 and the project at Northam Road was relocated to the city centre. The following year A Space hired its first paid Exhibitions Officer and a part-time Administrator. During the second interview in May 2012 the Director claimed that over six years the gallery had been visited by more than 120,000 people (Appendix II, interview 30). At the same time that work was underway to develop the interior of the Bargate the funding from SEEDA also allowed A Space to work with the City Council to

identify a further site to be converted into artist studios to complement the gallery and begin to develop an infrastructure for emerging artists in Southampton.

The Director explained 'We realised that there was a clear need for a gallery space in the city, but there was just as much demand and need for studio space' (ibid). The Arches Studios opened in 2005 offering affordable workspace to local artists at previously empty storage arches underneath the city's Central Bridge near to the former Southampton Terminus. In 2010 A Space became a registered charity with the new tagline 'growing creative communities' and the following year they opened their second studio complex at Tower House in the Old Town Quarter. This 19<sup>th</sup> century building attached to the medieval God's House Tower had been vacant for 12 months at a cost of approximately £10,000 to the local authority. With funding from Arts Council England and support from the City Council as well as PUSH, A Space was able to create a new workspace to complement The Arches. The third workspace was launched a few years later in 2013 after Eastleigh Borough Council secured a lease on a vacant 1920s former Royal Mail sorting office which was converted using grant money from PUSH, with further funds secured from Arts Council England and a European Union (EU) cross-Channel programme co-financed by Interreg and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). This first section of the chapter introduces the three workspaces before presenting a longitudinal perspective of the development of A Space between 2000 and 2014 followed by a discussion of the impacts of the new workspace in Eastleigh on its residents during the first year.

### **Workspace portfolio and residents**

Artists and creative practitioners hoping to acquire a unit at either The Arches or Tower House in Southampton or The Sorting Office in Eastleigh were required to first submit an application form which would be assessed by a selection panel. Successful applicants were then invited to attend an informal interview before a decision was made. While talking about this process at The Arches the Director of A Space said 'the entrance level is about demonstrating that you engage with your practice, that this is your career, this is your profession' (Appendix II, interview 8). A Space recognised that many emerging artists are unable to work full-time on their creative practice and rely on other part-time employment to supplement their income. This was also found to be common among early career artists accessing the CIBAS service. However, whilst this was accepted, artists applying for a residency needed to be able to demonstrate that they were focussed and motivated and that they had some form of business plan. The director explained that 'It's not so much about a portfolio viewing – we do ask to see

examples of their work and we ensure a level of quality – but it's driven more by the resident's desire to make a business out of their practice'.

The Arches Studios was launched in 2005 to 'give emerging artists a base from which to develop and grow their practices, whilst also providing Southampton with a new cultural dynamic; one of assisting creative talent at a grass roots level' (Arches Studios, 2009b). The conversion of four empty storage arches underneath Southampton's Central Bridge was intended to contribute towards the city's creative economy and improve the infrastructure available to people pursuing a career at the cultural-end of the creative industries sector. Each resident paid a single affordable monthly sum which covered their use of a designated workspace, business rates, electricity, broadband internet and management fees. The residents had access to their designated workspace 24 hours a day, seven days a week and there was also a large workshop and exhibition space available for hire. The location at Central Bridge may have presented an unlikely setting for artist studios due to a lack of natural light and the Director admitted 'If you could design studios from scratch you would not put them in an archway with no natural light, but as countless other examples through history have proved, artists will flourish in the most unlikely of circumstances' (Appendix II, interview 8). During the survey of residents undertaken in 2012 there were some comments made about the lighting but overall feedback on the studios was very positive (for a sample questionnaire see Appendix III). A visit to The Arches confirmed that the residents had a sizable space in which to work with each of the 24 separate units partitioned off from the next. There was a shared kitchen and toilet facilities, a heating system for the winter months and there was a good level of artificial lighting. The flooring was concrete throughout and all of the internal brick walls had been painted white to maximise the light.

In contrast to this very practical space suitable for activities such as painting, sculpture, crafts and large-scale installation work, Tower House was launched in 2011 offering ten individual rooms more suitable for desk and screen-based work. This second workspace allowed A Space to build upon the infrastructure that they were developing for local people working in the creative industries by catering for creative originals producers as well as creative content producers and creative service providers too which are thought to have more scope for growth and profitability (see NESTA, 2006 and refer to Chapter 3). There was broadband internet and optional landlines available, a shared kitchen and toilet facilities, as well as a larger shared area with sofas and a boardroom-style table used for networking and informal meetings. A Space also relocated their own offices from a small space inside the Bargate into a larger room at Tower House. The agreements between A Space and the

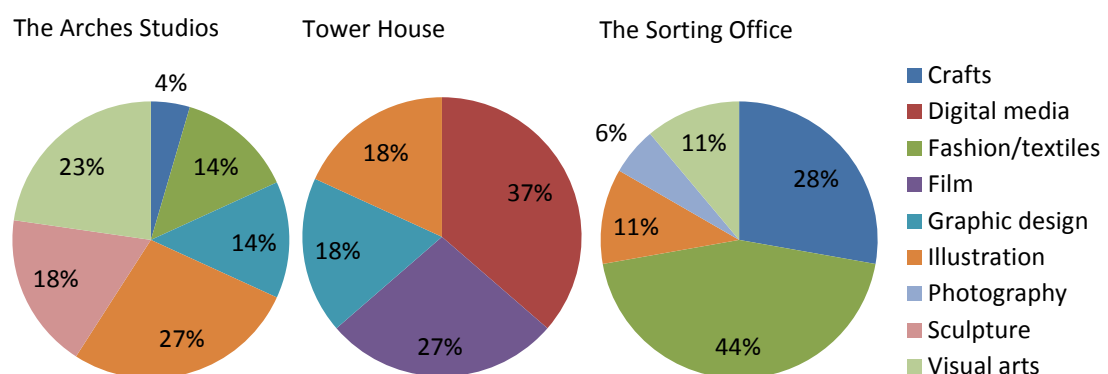
individual residents were similar to those at The Arches – access to a designated workspace was offered in exchange for payment of an affordable all-inclusive monthly fee. The contracts covered a period of 12 months but were designed to be flexible so both A Space and the resident were able to terminate the agreement with one month's notice. This gave the agency power to cancel a contract if there was need to do so but more importantly it gave the residents peace of mind so if they needed to leave their unit or if their business failed they would not be stuck with a lengthy contract. The Arches and Tower House were both examples of culture-led urban regeneration in action whereby vacant buildings had been identified and converted into new spaces for artists and creative practitioners providing them with a supportive environment in which to establish and grow their businesses.

The Sorting Office in Eastleigh was launched in 2013 and this was the result of a new collaboration between A Space and Eastleigh Borough Council to create a specialist workspace for designer-makers and craft artists. Inside the converted former Royal Mail sorting office, which was filled with natural light from large windows and skylights, there were 13 individual workspaces, three private lockable units and a hireable production house suitable for larger projects as well as workshops, exhibitions and events. There was broadband internet, on-site car parking, a shared kitchen and toilet facilities, and an office which was used by Eastleigh Borough Council and A Space staff. The local authority had recently been awarded a place on a European economic development initiative which aimed to nurture and grow the creative economy in towns and cities across England and France and stimulate new cross-Channel collaborations (Recreate, 2014). This allowed Eastleigh Borough Council to offer residents at The Sorting Office a comprehensive package of benefits which included a bursary scheme, mentorship and training, funded trips and exchanges as well as the services of a dedicated Programme Manager who was recruited to co-ordinate Eastleigh's engagement with the European initiative and to help the new residents to establish and grow their businesses. The contracts between Eastleigh Borough Council and the residents were similar to those used by A Space at both The Arches and Tower House. The Sorting Office was an Eastleigh Borough Council project and the local authority contracted A Space to take on an advisory role and to provide an operations and facilities management service for the building.

In February 2011 when this case study began A Space was managing one specialist creative industries workspace at The Arches Studios before Tower House opened just a few months later and then after a further two years The Sorting Office was launched in 2013. By the time this case study was completed A Space were managing three workspaces targeted at artists and creative practitioners working across a range of different sub-sectors of the creative

industries (see Figure 8). Residents at The Arches were mainly working in illustration, visual arts and sculpture; at Tower House they were working in digital media, film and graphic design; and at The Sorting Office they were working in fashion and textiles as well as crafts, illustration and visual arts. In 2012 more than half of the residents at The Arches and Tower House participated in a survey for this thesis which showed most had found out about A Space through word of mouth or a recommendation from a friend or colleague. Only a small number had previously applied for specialist workspace elsewhere and the majority applied because they were unable or did not wish to work from home, or because they wanted to be part of a 'creative community' – and this motive was shared by residents working at the cultural-end of the sector as well as those working in practices broadly considered to be more commercial. One resident explained that he wanted to be able to work 'without the distractions of being at home' and another commented 'the community aspect is very appealing and being around other creative people can be very inspiring' (Appendix III, respondent 3 and 8).

**Figure 8: Resident practice breakdown at The Arches Studios, Tower House and The Sorting Office**



Source: The Arches Studios and Tower House data provided by A Space in May 2012. The Sorting Office data provided by Eastleigh Borough Council in June 2013.

Working from home to reduce overheads is not uncommon for smaller businesses and the majority of residents who responded to the survey were sole traders or pre-start-ups (meaning they had not yet registered as self-employed with HM Revenue and Customs) and none were part of a business that employed more than five people. Their length of time in business varied, with some having been in business for less than one year and some that had been in business for ten years or more, with ambitions to develop or expand their operation. In addition to their creative work many of the residents also worked in other part-time employment and this ranged from roles such as a bar tender or shop assistant to arts

administration and teaching at schools, colleges and universities. Data provided by A Space in May 2012 showed the gender split was fairly equal across both workspaces with 52% male and 48% female. The survey also found that the age range of those who participated was varied, but the majority were in the categories 18 to 30 and 31 to 40 years of age. Almost all of the residents were educated to degree level or above and the majority lived in Southampton, with just a few commuters from nearby towns and villages. When asked about their career ambitions several stated that they wanted to exhibit their work more often, build up clientele, gain more commissions and sell more of their artwork and other products or services. One resident commented that she would like to 'grow a more sustainable business' and another commented 'I want to secure a reliable source of income so I can work full-time on my creative business' (Appendix III, respondent 7 and 12). Other residents wanted more opportunities to work on collaborative projects and one resident at Tower House was hoping to further develop his work with international clients.

The first of three surveys which received responses from all of the residents at The Sorting Office was carried out during the summer of 2013 and found that most of them had learnt about the new workspace via Eastleigh Borough Council and A Space marketing or by word of mouth (for a sample questionnaire see Appendix IV). Like those at The Arches and Tower House, many applied because they were unable or did not wish to work from home and because they wanted to be part of a community of creative industries professionals. One resident explained 'Having worked alone at home I wanted to be part of an artistic community, for mutual support and inspiration' (Appendix IV, respondent 9). It has been suggested that through their social lives and the networks that form as a result artists and creative practitioners engage in new forms of community or 'network sociality' (as well as traditional narrative sociality) which mix work and play and can become important to their career and business development (Wittel, 2001; Lingo and Tepper, 2013). Specialist workspace initiatives can reinforce and strengthen creative communities by bringing people together and providing a focus for activity. Here, all of the residents were sole traders or pre-start-ups and many also worked in other part-time employment. This ranged from working at a supermarket or office to working in education as tutors, art technicians and learning support assistants. All of the residents were female at this time and the age range was varied, although the majority were in the categories 31 to 40 and 41 to 50 years of age. This suggests that some may have been pursuing a change of career or perhaps returning to work after starting a family. Much like The Arches and Tower House almost all of the residents were educated to degree level or above and high levels of educational attainment are characteristic of the sector (Pratt, 2004;

Oakley, 2009). The majority of the residents lived in Eastleigh Borough and all of them lived within Hampshire. One resident commented 'I am aiming to make the transition from my current job [office administrator] to making a living using my creative skills' and another 'I want to become more businesslike and focussed' (Appendix IV, respondent 5 and 13). Many of the residents, at The Arches and The Sorting Office in particular, were working in disciplines which for some can represent a form of resistance to mass production and the dominance of capitalism whereby achieving symbolic or cultural capital can be more motivational than financial rewards (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979; Greenburg, 1961; Bourdieu, 1993; 1996; Jakob, 2013). Nevertheless, residents across all three of the workspaces recognised the need to engage in business practice to develop sustainable careers.

#### **A longitudinal perspective between 2000 and 2014**

Before The Arches Studios, Tower House and The Sorting Office were launched A Space started out in 2000 as a voluntary arts organisation which offered new exhibition opportunities to emerging artists in Southampton. Exhibitions were first staged at the Northam Road Gallery and then as part of the seasonal Art Vaults programme which was key in establishing a reputation for the organisation. The first Art Vaults exhibition in Southampton's medieval vaults was in 2004 when A Space was still managed on a voluntary basis and the Director described the 'slightly punk, DIY aesthetic around it' (Appendix II, interview 8). Art Vaults was staged three more times and in 2014 there were still ambitions to run this programme again in the future. A report on the impacts of cultural investments in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight commissioned by local authorities and Arts Council England South East recognised the 'fusion of contemporary art with a heritage building and the ability of Southampton residents to "reclaim" this historic space, combined to make the shows a great success' (SHIP, 2008, p.39). Art Vaults marked the beginning of a working relationship with Southampton City Council which allowed A Space to access other local authority owned sites. It was also after the success of the first Art Vaults that A Space was able to secure substantial grant funding to develop new projects and begin to pay key members of staff.

The launch of the Bargate Monument Gallery in 2006 resulted in an enhanced profile for A Space and the artists and creative practitioners they were working with. The small contemporary art gallery inside the Grade I listed medieval monument featured a rolling programme of exhibitions which were managed by A Space, with some involving external curators from organisations such as Southampton City Art Gallery and Southampton Solent University. The Bargate Monument Gallery created new opportunities for emerging artists to



showcase their work which distinguished A Space and their exhibition programmes from the larger and more established Southampton City Art Gallery (which has a 'Designated Collection' of national importance, see ACE, 2014) and also the University of Southampton's John Hansard Gallery. The opportunities that A Space created as part of their exhibition programmes were for showcasing only and the Bargate was not a commercial gallery and similarly Art Vaults was not an art fair where visitors came to buy. In 2009 other types of event were also staged at the Bargate and BMG Live was launched which involved A Space working with local promoters to deliver music and performance events featuring local talent as well as international touring acts. The Bargate had capacity for an audience of 80 providing an intimate performance space within an unusual setting, complementing the visual arts programme and bringing new audiences to one of Southampton's most famous historic buildings.

The relationship that A Space developed with the City Council allowed them to use grant funding from SEEDA to begin the conversion of The Arches around the same time as the Bargate. The proposals for longer-term use of these sites offered a chance for the City Council to make a saving on some of the ongoing costs associated with the empty buildings while also bringing them back into use and supporting the local creative economy. In return A Space was granted use of the buildings with little or no rent. One arch was converted first offering seven artist studio spaces and later in response to high demand three further arches were converted providing a total of 24 individual units and a large workshop and exhibition space. The Arches created a new hub for small arts and creative businesses and this type of initiative can be an important part of wider creative industries development strategies because small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) account for a large part of the overall sector (DPA, 2002; Pratt 2004; Oakley, 2009; De Propriis et al, 2009; Chapain et al, 2010; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Workspace initiatives can also see previously empty buildings become a focus for activity strengthening creative communities which can bring a variety of economic and broader social impacts to local areas (Myerscough, 1988; Landry, 2000; DCMS, 2004a; Evans and Shaw, 2004; ACE, 2007; The Work Foundation, 2009; Elson, 2011; BOP, 2012; Mowlah et al, 2014; Carnwath and Brown, 2014). In the last chapter the role of local government as a facilitator was discussed and here the City Council recognised shared goals and mutual benefits by helping A Space to achieve their ambitions. Local authorities can support creative industries development in a variety of ways and should respond strategically to local conditions and capitalise on local strengths (Oakley, 2004; The Work Foundation, 2009; Chapain et al, 2010).

In 2010 A Space became a registered charity and formed an inaugural board of seven trustees, who with the Director devised the first official strategic plans for the agency

‘focussed on growing both operational capacity and organisational reach’ (A Space 2009; Smith, 2009). The decision was taken that whilst A Space would continue to offer exhibition programmes it was business incubation and affordable workspace provision that would become the number one priority. In 2011 the second workspace at Tower House was launched in another vacant local authority owned building. Tower House complemented The Arches and both were made possible by the City Council providing affordable leases and the conversion and fitting out costs were met by grant funding. Both workspaces were managed in a way which allowed them to support themselves financially once they had become established and they did not require further grants or regular funding for day to day operation. In 2012 the fees paid by residents covered one third of the agency’s annual costs with the remainder met through grant funding and management contracts. The Director explained ‘The way we want to go in the next three to five years is more and more away from having any kind of grants that help pay our core costs and to therefore build up the surpluses, the management contracts and those types of activities’ and he continued ‘It’s a mixed economy and it’s one we’re trying to make more sustainable by generating more of our own income’ (Appendix II, interview 30). This approach put A Space in an advantageous position allowing them to become more entrepreneurial than other organisations which rely more heavily on regular funding and which may have less manoeuvrability if funding is withdrawn. Staffing costs since 2005 were met through a mix of funding awards, management contracts and other income with the most substantial funding award made by the Esmée Fairbairn Foundation.

The collaboration with Eastleigh Borough Council at The Sorting Office involved a new management contract which benefitted the agency a number of ways. It broadened the range of artists and creative practitioners they were working with; it enabled them to expand geographically outside of Southampton; they became involved with a European-funded programme for the first time; and they were able to hire a new full-time Studio Manager whose time would be divided between The Arches, Tower House and The Sorting Office. The reputation that A Space was developing within the local creative ecology also resulted in smaller management contracts to deliver public art projects. During the final interview for this case study in August 2014 the Director explained that ‘Southampton City Council was involved because in their cut backs they lost their Public Art Officer who would have worked with developers to fulfil Section 106 agreements and the City Council put the developers in contact with us’ (Appendix II, interview 45). A Space was awarded management fees to write and distribute briefs, to shortlist applications from artists, arrange for designs to be signed off and to oversee the process through to installation. This was not part of the A Space business plan

but it came about by chance and the agency was happy to oblige. Another separate strand of work which brought in additional funding from the Arts Council was a talent development bursary scheme launched in 2012 and a temporary additional member of staff was later hired to manage the second round of the programme during 2013.

The lease on the Bargate Monument ended in December 2012 and this was not renewed by the local authority. A Space shifted their attention to the Grade II listed God's House Tower which adjoins Tower House. In 2014 the future long-term use of the Bargate had still not been decided but in the meantime it continued its legacy as a gallery and was hired by Southampton Solent University for seasonal exhibitions in partnership with A Space. In August 2014 a substantial funding application was submitted to the Heritage Lottery Fund with a proposal to develop the interior of God's House Tower into a new arts and heritage space to be launched in 2016. A Space secured the use of this building in the same way as the Bargate, The Arches and Tower House with support from Southampton City Council. God's House Tower was previously home to the Museum of Archaeology which closed after 50 years in 2011 and had since been vacant. The proposed new venue would include a contemporary art gallery, a hireable performance and events space, a café bar and a retail area selling work by local artists and creative practitioners. The Director said this new venture was 'about developing a building which has income streams' (Appendix II, interview 45). The Bargate was secured on a rent free lease with the fitting out costs financed by grant funding, but there was no additional income to meet the running costs or marketing which had to be covered by A Space. The Director explained 'It will be a really significant step forward and we wanted to move on from the Bargate and develop what we did there but make sure that there are funding streams in place'. The strapline for the new proposal was 'contemporary visions of arts and heritage' and subject to a successful funding bid this would be the largest project A Space had undertaken in its 14 year history. By 2014 the agency was approaching the stage where it would be required to become VAT registered and a consultant was hired to assist with correspondence between A Space and HM Revenue and Customs.

Key to the success of A Space as a creative industries development agency was their strategic approach and recognition from the outset that they were part of the local creative ecology and a wider group of organisations in South Hampshire with the shared goal of stimulating growth in the creative economy (Hall, 2000; Landry, 2000; The Work Foundation, 2009; Elson, 2011). A Space had identified gaps in provision and needs within the sector at the local level and were able to capitalise on opportunities as they arose and continued to learn from their experiences as they moved forward and developed new projects. In their 2009

position paper *The Way Forward* (Smith, 2009) A Space presented an ambitious strategy to bring together a range of stakeholders to support creative industries development which they called CINA (or Creative Industries and New Artists). Although not all aspects of this strategy would become a reality it presented a sophisticated approach. CINA recognised key stakeholders including the PUSH partnership, local authorities, statutory organisations like SEEDA and the Arts Council, education providers, economic development agencies, arts organisations and creative industries networks and groups. A Space recognised the need for a cohesive and systematic approach claiming it would be 'essential to unify local and sub-regional cultural and economic development agendas' (p.4). The second position paper published after A Space became a registered charity (A Space, 2011b) described the agency's ambitions to develop 'next stage' specialist workspaces for mid-career artists and creative practitioners, to open a retail outlet for their residents, create new professional development opportunities and launch a new public exhibition space.

Some of these ambitions were met through the talent development bursary scheme as well as the collaboration with Eastleigh Borough Council and others could be realised at God's House Tower. In 2013 A Space launched the Studio Providers Network South with support from PUSH and the Arts Council bringing together 14 specialist workspaces across Hampshire and the Isle Wight which supported more than 300 artists and creative practitioners (Studio Providers Network South, 2014; 2017). A Space had achieved a lot since its founding in 2000 as a voluntary arts organisation and although staffing levels had fluctuated over the years the team remained relatively small. The Director commented 'Yes, we're ambitious... I think it's about aligning the level of human resources with the projects – we need to be able to make sure we can fund what is genuinely needed to make the projects happen' (Appendix II, interview 45). At the time of the last interview in August 2014 the team was comprised of the Director, Studio Manager and a part-time Administrator as well as the board of trustees. However, God's House Tower could bring additional permanent staff. The Director explained that there was still potential to develop further partnerships with other local organisations with shared goals and to generate additional income by offering consultancy services to other agencies. A Space continued to innovate and assert their role as a leader in their field with a focus on the long-term sustainability and development of their activities.

### **The impacts of a new workspace on its residents during the first year**

The Arches Studios, Tower House and The Sorting Office all aim to support the development and growth of local arts and creative businesses through the provision of affordable specialist

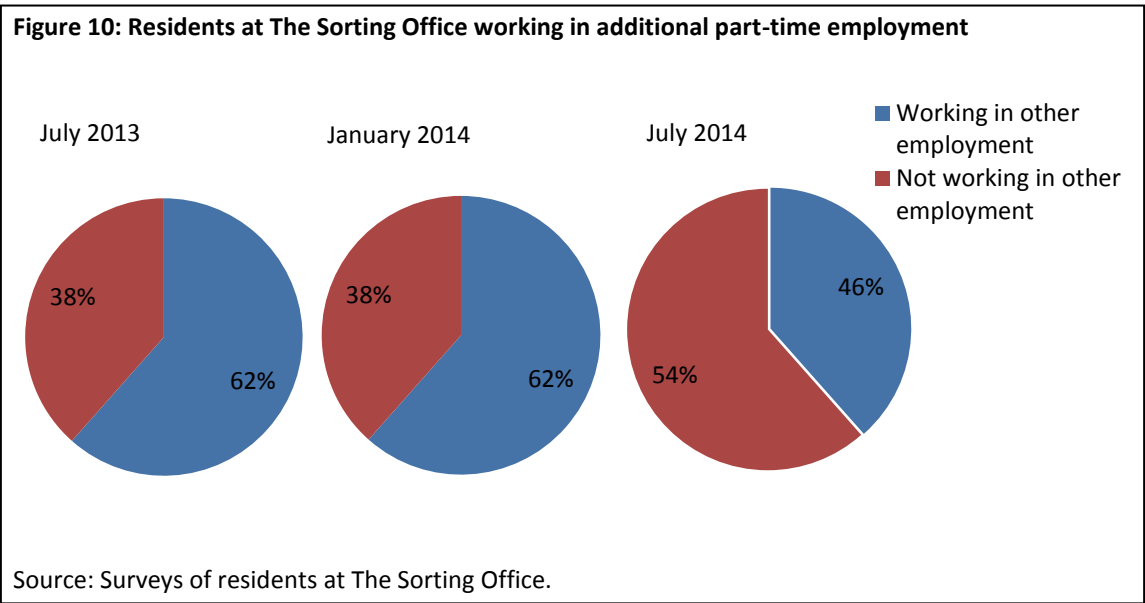
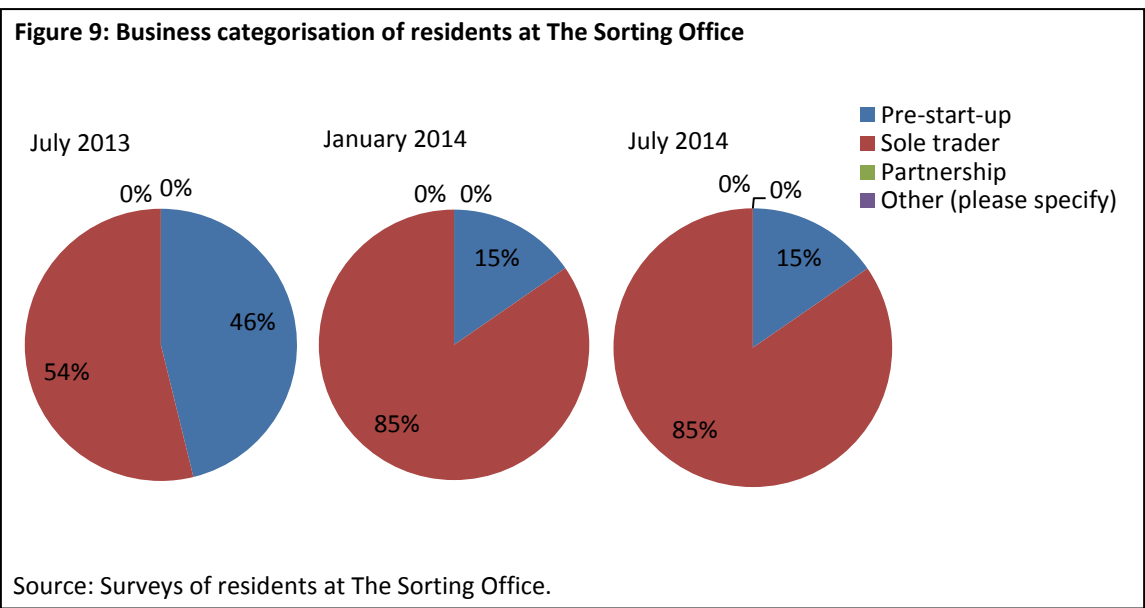
workspaces. As part of the survey carried out in 2012, residents at The Arches and Tower House were asked if they believed that they had benefited from using their workspace and all the respondents answered 'Yes'. Many of the residents made comments about how access to these workspaces allow them to operate their businesses away from their homes within an affordable and productive environment shared by a community of creative industries professionals. For one graphic designer the benefits were 'Having a separation between work and home, receiving advice from others, meeting new friends and learning about new skills' and an illustrator commented 'Without the workspace I don't think I would be doing what I am now – it has provided me with the space and facilities to improve my trade' (Appendix III, respondent 3 and 7). These specialist workspaces for the creative industries not only provide space for small businesses but they also play a key role in promoting networking which supports the development of creative communities.

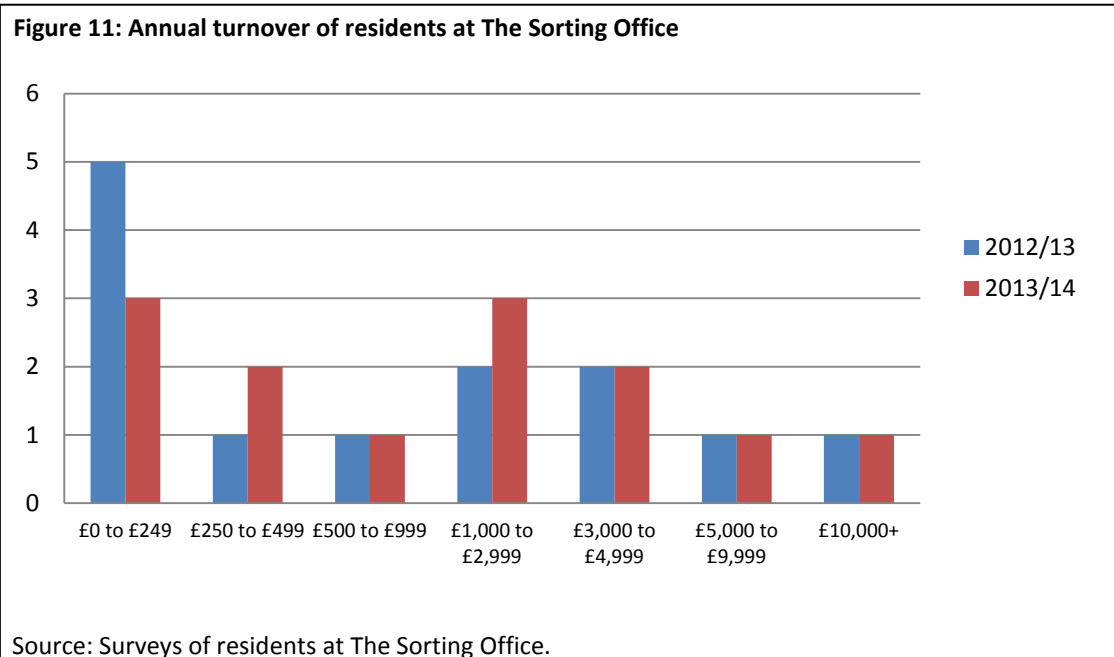
Between 2013 and 2014 three further surveys were carried out at The Sorting Office in Eastleigh as part of a longitudinal study to explore the impacts of this new workspace on its residents during the first year (for sample questionnaires, see Appendix IV, V and VI). The first survey took place soon after The Sorting Office was officially launched and the new residents had moved into their individual units, the second survey took place six months later and the final survey after a further six months. The results of the first survey showed many of the residents had applied for workspace because it presented them with an affordable option for working away from home within a professional environment. A designer of fashion and home décor accessories explained:

It will allow me to fully concentrate on my projects and expand my ideas. To be able to have all my materials within reach will allow my work to flow. There are so many distractions at home. My workspace was my kitchen table which isn't ideal. I had to keep packing everything away so to have a permanent workstation would allow me to give my full concentration to succeed in the transition from being a creative artist in my spare time to working as a full-time artist and building a business which I can grow. (Appendix IV, respondent 5)

For many of the residents who had previously worked from home, access to an affordable workspace allowed them to escape the isolation of working alone, create a psychological distinction between their work life and their home life, work more efficiently and build up their confidence. One of the new residents who works as a historical costumier claimed 'It has enabled me to separate my work from my home life and has given me new confidence' (Appendix IV, respondent 13) and similar comments were made by residents at all three of the A Space specialist workspaces. The networking opportunities that were on offer at The Sorting Office as well as the business development support available as part of the European-funded

programme were also key factors in many of the residents decisions to apply. A small number of the new residents had relocated from other creative workspaces and the owner of a luxury leather accessories label who was planning to launch a new business had moved from The Arches in Southampton. The Sorting Office was closer to her home which reduced her commuting time and cost, the business development support would be valuable in helping to launch her new business and she would also be around other designer-makers rather than visual artists. During the final interview for this case study the Director suggested that The Sorting Office had allowed A Space to ‘shuffle things around a little bit’ and he continued ‘It allowed us to see The Arches, Tower House and The Sorting Office as more discipline specific’ (Appendix II, interview 45).





The Sorting Office has a total of 16 individual units and at the time of the first survey all but one of these units was in use. The 15 new residents moved into the workspace in March 2013 ahead of the official launch in May and responses to the first questionnaire were collected in June and July. Eight of the new residents listed themselves as sole traders and seven as pre-start-ups. At the time of the third and final survey one year later in July 2014 there were 13 of the original 15 remaining. Only two had not yet registered as self-employed because they were still experimenting with their creative practice and developing their business plans and the others had all done so within six months of the start of their residency (see Figure 9). In January 2014 when the second survey was undertaken two of the original residents would soon be leaving – one to pursue higher education and another was moving home and would be unable to commute. A young man working in fashion design was offered one of the vacant units and later two women working in ceramics and contemporary jewellery also made successful applications and moved into the remaining spaces which brought The Sorting Office to full capacity. When speaking about The Arches and Tower House the Director explained that there were many different reasons why a resident might choose to leave their workspace. These included a need for additional space or specialist facilities in order to support the development of a growing business as well as others such as concerns caused by financial pressures, a change of career or a change in personal circumstances like moving home or starting a family (Appendix II, interview 30).

In July 2013 the majority of residents who had listed themselves as pre-start-ups and some who listed themselves as sole traders were also working in other part-time employment

to help secure a regular and reliable income. At the time of the first survey eight of the 15 residents were working in additional employment and one year later some had been able to reduce their part-time hours and three had reached a stage where it was now financially viable for them to leave their additional employment altogether to focus on their creative practice (see Figure 10). For some of the residents who continued to work in other jobs to supplement their income these were complementary to their creative practice, such as teaching art or craft within an education setting, while three of the residents continued to work in an office environment. Of the 13 residents who had moved into The Sorting Office before the first survey and who were still using their workspace at the time of the final survey four had been able to increase their annual turnover, five maintained a similar level and four had actually decreased. However, despite one of the residents struggling to maintain a regular income, two had changed the direction of their businesses and one had closed one business and launched a new venture which goes some way towards explaining this. All of the businesses were creative originals producers and their annual turnover was low (see Figure 11). Nevertheless, the businesses were still at an early stage in their development and many displayed potential to increase their income in the future. It should also be noted that creative originals producers often do not generate the high turnovers we might expect from creative content producers or creative service providers (NESTA, 2006).

In the first year of this new specialist creative industries workspace the majority of residents had moved beyond the pre-start-up stage of developing a new business and had registered as sole traders with HM Revenue and Customs. More than half of the residents were working full-time on their creative business and some of those who had relied on additional part-time employment were able to reduce their hours or leave these jobs altogether. Some of the residents had increased their annual turnover, while others maintained a similar level and some had experienced a reduction linked to their decisions to change the direction of their businesses. These factors are some of the obvious markers for monitoring the impacts of The Sorting Office upon the career and business development of the residents over time. However, there were many other important outputs achieved during the first year which all contribute towards the potential for the residents to achieve future success. These include improved business confidence, access to training and networking, new collaborations with other artists and creative practitioners, the discovery of new business models and the creation of new or improved business plans. The Sorting Office became home to a new cluster of small creative businesses working together in the same building and supporting one another with their professional and business development (Porter, 1998; 2000;



2008; Chapain et al, 2010). When asked what was the best aspect of working at The Sorting Office a resident who creates unique handcrafted jewellery responded:

The atmosphere – the support and encouragement from all the other residents as well as the office staff. It is fantastic to work in such a creative environment. We may all be working on different businesses and projects but we work well together and we share information. (Appendix V, respondent 15)

Another resident who works as a contemporary stained glass artist shared similar views and when responding to the same question explained:

Interactions with other artists in the studio has inspired my own practice and is a constant motivation. My studio space feels very comfortable to me now and enables me to be in the right frame of mind for creative work. I also really enjoy being part of an artistic community and it has been a great confidence booster. (Appendix V, respondent 14)

The residents at The Sorting Office also had access to one-to-one specialist business advice from the Programme Manager employed by Eastleigh Borough Council and topics most frequently discussed included business plans, marketing and social media, website development, costing and pricing as well as how to approach potential buyers. Residents could also apply for bursaries as part of the European initiative to help cover the costs associated with exhibiting at events or trade fairs as well as attending training and networking events. There were also funded trips to visit partner organisations in France planned for the future which would allow the residents to test new markets. This type of financial support can be beneficial for start-ups and smaller businesses which may struggle to cover the costs themselves. One of the residents working in textiles commented:

I went to the Print Fair in London and this is where I met the person who printed my fabric samples. This has been a big step for me – this where I want to take my business so it was very important. I also went to Birmingham to the Textiles Show and I found this to be a really interesting show and I met many of the textile artists that I follow. It was good for networking and for seeing how other textile artists display their work, run a workshop and deliver a presentation. This is a show I am interested in applying to take part in myself, so it was really good to go and have a look. I am very grateful that the European programme has given me the opportunity to go to these events. (Appendix VI, respondent 3)

As part of the European-funded programme Eastleigh Borough Council and A Space were able to offer their own in-house training too led by members of staff as well as external facilitators. This included workshops on branding, managing websites and social media as well as how to sell at trade events and art fairs. The residents were also encouraged to participate in local events including a designer-maker fair with exhibitors from the cross-Channel partnership as well as open studio events creating opportunities to engage with the local

community and the wider public, gain feedback on their work and sell their products and services. To assist with promoting the residents and the European initiative the Borough Council recruited a dedicated Press Officer whom many residents recognised to be helpful in raising their profile. New collaborations between creative industries hubs in Eastleigh had also taken place, including for example, research and development for a new dance show involving a choreographer at The Point working with a costumier from The Sorting Office (for more examples see EBC, 2014a). The survey questionnaires asked the residents what they believed to be their biggest achievements since acquiring their workspace and the responses highlighted increased confidence, further development of their creative practices, improved business planning and an enhanced profile via press coverage, engagement with online platforms, attendance at events and meeting new contacts. A progress review by A Space (2014) also claimed sales had increased for 90% of the residents, all had made significant improvements to their websites and social media engagement and 12 of the residents had made changes to improve their brand identity.

## **5.2. Specialist workspaces and creative industries development**

The provision of affordable specialist workspace can play an important role as part of the local and sub-regional support infrastructure for creative industries development when managed effectively and where there is adequate demand from the sector. The examples of The Arches Studios, Tower House and The Sorting Office illustrate how these types of initiative can support business incubation across different sub-sectors of the creative industries and encourage the development of 'micro-clusters' of small creative businesses and activity focussed around a building or a collection of buildings in a particular town, city or sub-region. The concept of the creative city or milieu and its increasing usage in recent years has been greatly influenced by works from Charles Landry (2000; 2006) and also Peter Hall (2000). As part of his toolkit for urban innovators first published 17 years ago Landry (2000) stressed the importance of schemes to encourage new business development but there are still few in-depth longitudinal case studies available of specific examples, how they operate and what their impacts might be – and particularly outside major cities. In his discussion of towns and smaller cities Landry used the example of the 'Creative Town Initiative' in Huddersfield during the 1990s and made reference to the Hothouse Units set up to bring together SMEs working at the high-end of the creative industries sector within a conducive environment. Huddersfield was developing older industrial space and these units would be available to start-ups, equipped with first class facilities and serviced by an advisor. It was from here that the wider

role of creativity in urban regeneration moved from the margins to the mainstream and in 1999 Richard Caborn (Minister for the Regions at the time) chose Huddersfield to deliver his keynote speech announcing the launch of the Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) in England. Caborn gave national endorsement for the Creative Town Initiative which in a short time saw Huddersfield become a centre of excellence for creativity. Landry, the founder of cultural consultancy group Comedia, explained:

Creative people and projects need to be based and to sell their products and services somewhere. Creative cities need places in which to test ideas, pilot products and exhibit and sell work. A creative city requires land or buildings at affordable prices, which as a rule are in urban fringes or areas whose patterns are changing, such as former ports and industrial zones. Cheap spaces reduce financial risk and therefore encourage experimentation. Typically older industrial buildings are re-used as incubator units for new businesses, as artist studios, or as centres for design. (Landry, 2000, p.231)

The Arches, Tower House and The Sorting Office as well as the Bargate Monument Gallery and the Art Vaults exhibition programmes are all recent examples of how empty buildings have been brought back into use to support SMEs working mainly at the cultural-end of the sector. The Director of A Space described this process as ‘cultural reanimation’:

It’s about taking on these buildings and bringing them back to life with cultural activity and this could definitely work in other towns and cities too and I’m sure there are examples. I think if you look at our projects, from The Arches and Bargate in Southampton to The Sorting Office in Eastleigh, it has all been about culturally reanimating these buildings. For these projects there’s a need for an organisation with an interest in this area and there’s also the need for the council or whoever owns the building to want to work with them. It needs to be a genuine partnership. (Appendix II, interview 45)

The longitudinal case study of A Space provides an insight into three specific examples of affordable specialist workspace initiatives and how they promote creative industries development in Southampton and Eastleigh as well as wider South Hampshire. The case study engaged with the people using these workspaces and explored their experiences of developing their creative practices and their businesses as well as how A Space collaborates with different partners and how the agency has developed and changed over time. This enables us to use empirical evidence to examine the micro-scale dynamics creative industries development and support decision-makers at the local and sub-regional levels to make informed decisions about their interventions in the sector. This second section of the chapter questions what can be learnt from the experiences of A Space and the residents at the three workspaces about the limitations and difficulties faced by artists, creative practitioners and small businesses hoping to make their way in the creative economy. It considers how the provision of affordable

specialist workspace can help to boost new business development and help towns, cities and sub-regions to attract and retain a creative class by contributing towards the growth of localised creative industries clusters and the development of creative communities (Porter, 1998; 2000; 2008; Florida, 2002; Lingo and Tepper, 2013). This section of the chapter also questions how affordable specialist workspace initiatives can form part of wider strategic models of the creative city or creative milieu and how they can become key enablers of the creative economy (Hall, 2000; Landry, 2000; 2006; Chapain and Comunian, 2010). The chapter concludes with considerations for models of best practice and implications for future creative industries policy-making.

### **Understanding the needs of creative businesses**

As we have seen many of the residents at The Arches Studios, Tower House and The Sorting Office who participated in the case study suggested that the reason they had applied for specialist creative industries workspace was because they were unable or did not wish to work from home or because they wanted to be part of a community of like-minded professionals. While working from a home studio or office is common among start-ups and small businesses in the creative industries many of the residents made comments about why they felt that this was not suitable for them. Some suggested that this was simply not practical because they did not have adequate space and several residents described their frustration at needing to tidy their work away at the end of a session at home because they did not have a dedicated area in which to work. Earlier in this chapter there is a comment by a designer-maker at The Sorting Office who had previously worked from home at her kitchen table. An illustrator and sculptor at The Arches also described how working at the studio was more convenient because at the end of the day he could 'leave it in a mess and go home' (Appendix III, respondent 7). Cultural geographer Jenny Sjöholm (2014) has explored the role of workspaces as a personal archive, a space for self-directed construction and usage, storage for records and resources, a space which reflects the identity of the artist or creative practitioner – and an environment difficult to construct in a more temporary space. Other comments were made about how working from home was thought to be isolating and demotivating with lots of distractions.

While there are many creative industries professionals who choose to work from home and find this arrangement to be both satisfactory and beneficial there is clearly demand for specialist workspace which is accessible to start-ups and smaller businesses. The A Space workspaces in Southampton and Eastleigh present an affordable option for working away from home within a professional environment. Having access to a space in which to run a business

and network can help artists and creative practitioners to make new connections and take their businesses to the next stage or in new and unexpected directions. At The Sorting Office there were several examples of residents who had progressed their businesses by making changes to their product or by developing their practice to target new markets following discussion with fellow residents and staff employed by the local authority and A Space. The supportive environment and a sense of community helped to boost the confidence of the residents in both their creative practice and in their ability to manage a successful business. Residents had opportunities to share ideas and seek advice and there was also potential to collaborate on new projects. A resident at The Arches working in fashion and illustration commented 'I have personally benefited because I feel associated with a group rather than alone as a self-employed artist working from home' and a filmmaker at Tower House suggested 'the support and sense of community that comes with shared occupancy with other creative companies and individuals is enriching' (Appendix III, respondent 1 and 13). Many start-ups and small businesses begin by working from home until they are able to secure a sustainable income, but the provision of affordable workspace enables those who desire a separation between their home life and their work life to achieve this at an earlier stage and provides them with a business postal address and a professional space to meet with clients, colleagues and collaborators. Specialist workspaces also offer networking and professional development opportunities which are not as easily accessible to those who work alone at home. The physical space provides a focus for activity and the informal networks that can develop both within and around these buildings play a key role in nurturing the development of localised clusters and an ecology which supports business incubation and growth (Porter, 1998; 2000; 2008; Chapain et al, 2010; Chapain and Comunian, 2010).

The residents at the A Space workspaces were a mix of individuals and small teams with businesses predominately at the cultural-end of the creative industries sector – similar to the clientele of the CIBAS pilot programmes and the longer-running service in Portsmouth as well as the arts advisory service for Winchester and Havant. In the previous chapter it was suggested that some small business owners in the creative industries (and at the cultural-end of the sector in particular) may be less likely than those in other sectors to approach generic business support programmes. There were examples of CIBAS clients who believed that advisors at non-specialist services would not understand their work (BOP, 2007; Audiences South, 2009; CIBAS, 2009b; Fraser, 2011). These people may also be less likely to apply for non-specialist workspace such as that provided at serviced office buildings and business centres. For visual artists and designer-makers these spaces are often unable to facilitate their practice

and creative practitioners working in other areas such as design, digital media or film may also prefer spaces shared with other people working in complementary disciplines or where they can access specialist equipment or facilities. Furthermore, commercial property is often unaffordable for start-ups and smaller businesses in the creative industries sector unless the associated costs can be shared with others as part of a co-working initiative. Only a few of the residents at The Arches, Tower House and The Sorting Office had previously applied for workspace elsewhere and for those who had these were other affordable workspace initiatives that were targeted specifically at the creative industries.

Nearly all of the residents at the A Space workspaces who participated in the surveys made positive comments about being surrounded by other creative industries professionals and about having access to a workspace that they believed was appropriate for their practice. All three buildings can be accessed 24 hours a day, seven days a week and this is important for those who work in other employment as well as those who for other reasons need to work during the evenings or at weekends. There is broadband internet which is essential for almost all businesses and each building has a shared kitchen and toilet facilities for the residents' comfort. The Arches and The Sorting Office are practical spaces for artists and designer-makers with additional sinks which can be used for work purposes, hard floors which are easy to sweep or mop clean and plenty of wall space to hang artwork or pin documents. The Sorting Office also has a high quality printer, a range of power tools and accessories as well as a screen-printing facility – all of which provides residents with access to equipment they would otherwise need to purchase individually. Tower House is a little different and here is an environment suitable for desk and screen-based work – although it is a more relaxed setting than one might expect from a standard office building or business centre. Tower House also has a shared area which can be used for meetings. The Arches has a large separate unit and The Sorting Office has a production house. These two multi-purpose spaces are suitable for large-scale projects like sizable pieces of artwork, sculpture or theatre set building. They both have large doors which open directly to forecourts allowing big structures to be moved in and out of the buildings. These spaces as well as the shared area at Tower House are also used for events and public workshops which are useful income generators for the residents and a means to engage with their local markets and the community by offering exclusive and interactive experiences (Hracs and Jakobs, 2014).

Residents across all three of the workspaces shared many common goals including gaining more opportunities to exhibit their work, building up their clientele, securing more commissions and selling more of their artwork or other products and services. They hoped to

establish their brand and develop stronger business models during their residencies, increase their profits and grow more sustainable creative enterprises. These ambitions were shared with many of the CIBAS clients as well as some of those accessing the arts advisory service for Winchester and Havant. These particular services offered tailored one-to-one business advice which is not always available as part of a programme attached to an affordable workspace initiative like The Sorting Office. However, many agencies which provide specialist workspaces are able to offer some level of business support, such as organising networking events and training or simply by signposting to other services. During the CIBAS one-to-one sessions clients often sought advice about the process of starting a new business or about strategic planning, marketing, grant funding and access to finance. The arts advisory service in Winchester and Havant received many similar queries which highlight these topics as some of those where start-ups and small businesses in the creative industries sector might benefit from additional support. Residents at The Sorting Office benefitted from access to one-to-one specialist business advice from the Programme Manager employed by Eastleigh Borough Council and here the topics most frequently discussed included business plans, marketing and social media, website development, costing and pricing as well as how to approach potential buyers. As with clients of CIBAS and the arts advisory service there were examples of residents who clearly recognised value in being able to speak directly with an advisor. The Audiences South (2009) evaluation of CIBAS stressed the importance of follow up support and although The Sorting Office was unable to support the larger numbers of clients that CIBAS could the 16 residents received ongoing mentorship during their residencies and were supported in the implementation of any advice that was given.

A large number of the residents at The Arches, Tower House and The Sorting Office were sole traders working alone but there were also small teams too. The aim for many was to develop a sustainable business from their creative practice and they were not likely to rapidly expand their operation, generate huge profits and create substantial new employment. Thus it is important we remember the creative economy involves a wide range of activities across the different sub-sectors with a variety of economic and wider social impacts (for examples see Myerscough, 1988; ACGB, 1989; Landry, 2000; DCMS, 2004a; Evans and Shaw, 2004; ACE, 2007; The Work Foundation, 2009; BOP, 2012; Mowlah et al, 2014; Carnwath and Brown, 2014; CEBR, 2015). Nevertheless, with 50 individual units these affordable specialist workspaces provide an important stepping stone for local start-ups and small businesses working in the creative industries. There were examples of residents who made the transition from the pre-start-up stage to being registered self-employed sole traders. There were also

examples of residents who had previously relied on other employment who were able to leave these jobs to concentrate full-time on their creative business. In the last chapter it was highlighted that there were CIBAS clients who defined themselves as 'artists' rather than 'businesses' which reminds us of the problem of culture as commodity and the opposition between symbolic or cultural capital against financial gain (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979; Bourdieu, 1993; 1996; BOP, 2007; Audiences South, 2009). Whilst many of the residents described themselves as artists and considered the aesthetic quality of their work as well as symbolic and cultural capital to be very important to them, they also recognised their role as new business owners. This pragmatic compromise allows artists and creative practitioners to pursue their practice while also developing a business focussed around their particular interests and skills – allowing them to be creative within a commercial system. One of the residents at The Sorting Office admitted 'I am rubbish at the business side of things and need help to think in a more business-like way' (Appendix V, respondent 13). Another of the residents explained 'Because of The Sorting Office I now consider myself to be a professional artist' and a third 'My biggest achievement since becoming a resident is that I now have a business' (Appendix V, respondent 2; Appendix VI, respondent 3).

Progress was not always fast; it takes time and hard work to establish a new business, but the supportive environment that specialist workspaces are able to offer can help to speed up the process in many cases. The examples of The Arches, Tower House and The Sorting Office illustrate that creative people working across a range of different practices are seeking support to help them develop sustainable businesses. This is particularly relevant today with ongoing austerity programmes around the world and in the UK under the Coalition and then the Conservative majority Governments of David Cameron and Theresa May. The cultural-end of the creative industries sector is more exposed to market pressures as the public sector retreats. Artists and creative practitioners are seeking new spaces to exist within the creative economy which still allow for a level of creative autonomy to enable them to reach a balance between pursuing their practice and earning a living. As part of the selection process applicants needed to have a high quality artistic or creative product and they also needed to demonstrate their ambition to establish a new business or develop an existing business. If successful then they would gain access to a specialist space in which to work within a supportive environment shared with other creative industries professionals who could empathise with both the challenges of developing their practice as well as running a business. Affordable specialist workspaces can provide start-ups and small businesses with a place to work which can accommodate their creative practice while also encouraging business



development and networking. The support from fellow residents as well as complementary professional development programmes with a dual focus on both creative skills and business skills can help increase levels of confidence and determination to succeed.

### **Specialist workspaces and local creative economies**

Martin Elson, in his guide to *Investing in Creative Communities* (2011) published by the National Federation of Artists' Studio Providers (NFASP) and Arts Council England, argued local planning authorities should take account of the needs of local artists and creative practitioners for affordable specialist workspace when considering new development and regeneration proposals in their areas. Where there is demand he advocates that affordable specialist workspace initiatives could help to stimulate new business start-ups as well as the growth of existing businesses which are looking for somewhere to base their operation where they can network with like-minded professionals and those with shared interests from other sectors. In this useful and concise guide for planning and regeneration professionals Elson claims that such initiatives can be an important part of wider economic development and regeneration strategies 'whether in the inner city, within new greenfield urban extension schemes or in rural areas' (p.5). He explains that new creative industries workspaces can add vitality and interest to areas by occupying sites where other industries have declined and can also be the chosen re-use option for vacant buildings as well as empty retail or office units. The Work Foundation's *Investing in Creative Industries: A Guide for Local Authorities* (2009) similarly argued that the presence of a physical infrastructure, where this responds to genuine business demand, can have a significant impact upon local areas.

The Work Foundation claim that although research into the impacts of creative industries workspaces is mixed and varied there is some evidence to suggest artists and creative practitioners value and benefit from sharing space through access to business opportunities, new ideas, information and social contact. The survey work with residents at The Arches, Tower House and The Sorting Office certainly upholds this assertion in many cases. The guide also claims that artists and creative practitioners are attracted to towns and cities which offer a portfolio of dedicated spaces for learning, networking, exhibition, sharing tools and workspace. This type of physical infrastructure is an essential component of the creative city or milieu playing a key role in the attraction and retention of a creative class and supporting cluster development (Porter, 1998; Hall, 2000; Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002). The Work Foundation referenced a report by the American economists Ann Markusen and Amanda Johnson (2006) which explores dedicated spaces for the creative industries in Minnesota and

the Twin Cities of Minneapolis-Saint Paul. Using a mix of survey work and qualitative interviews with founders, directors, staff and users, Markusen and Johnson found that beyond formal training many artists and creative practitioners work in relative isolation and in the early career stages often lack expensive tools and equipment which could benefit their work. They also found that emerging talent may not always understand how best to develop a business from their creative practice and need to be able to communicate with peers and mentors to receive encouragement and critical feedback. Markusen and Johnson argued that if there is nowhere for artists and creative practitioners to go for help then there are likely to be fewer of them and the quality of their work is likely to suffer.

Caroline Chapain and Roberta Comunian (2010) have also used interviews with artists and creative practitioners as well as other actors from supporting agencies to explore what factors enable and inhibit the creative economy in Birmingham and Newcastle-Gateshead. Their creative knowledge pool approach to analysing the local and regional dimensions of the creative industries uses four layers to explore relations between the development of the sector and place, from creative individuals at the core, to businesses and networks, development agencies and the wider context of the urban and regional environment as well as the general supporting agencies and other services. This approach seeks to understand the relationship between creative individuals and place, the employment and work opportunities that place can offer, the development initiatives actively engaging with the sector (which may include specialist business support services as well as workspace programmes for example) and the larger non-cultural regional infrastructure which are also important in supporting the creative economy. Chapain and Comunian suggest their multi-layered approach can be 'used as an analytical tool to unfold the different nature of interactions and actors participating in the creative knowledge pool in any chosen context' (p.721). This allows researchers to build upon the model of the creative city and the creative clusters paradigm by learning more about the dynamics of the sector in a particular town, city or sub-region through an exploration of the different interactions and relations within the sector.

The model of the creative knowledge pool is not linked to any specific scale and therefore it recognises the undefined geographical context of creative clusters where it is possible to find examples of smaller concentrations of businesses within a particular building, larger concentrations in specific areas of towns and cities as well as more abstract regional relationships where boundaries are more difficult to define (Martin and Sunley, 2003). Chapain and Comunian place individuals at the centre of their model, highlighting the importance of qualitative research into the experiences and opinions of people working in the sector. Rather

than considering only the clustering dimension of businesses they focus on the wider system that enables and supports creative individuals in a specific local and regional context. They also illustrate how personal attachment and 'social embeddedness' plays an important role in the location of creative individuals. For example, some people prefer to live and work in the town or city where they grew up or where they went to college or university and others are attracted to a particular local scene or areas with culture-led urban regeneration programmes or new public investment in infrastructure. A critical mass of creative individuals and a vibrant leisure and cultural offer can also be key enablers in the attraction and retention of a creative class as well as operational advantages – in Birmingham and Newcastle-Gateshead the lower overheads and running costs characteristic of a location outside of London and the South East is one such advantage. Good connectivity, networks and access to regional, national and international markets are important factors too. In the case of South Hampshire the presence of four universities offering courses in cultural and creative disciplines is significant and Southampton Solent University has the fourth highest number of creative (or 'bohemian') students in the UK (Comunian and Faggian, 2011; 2014). However, the personal and social attachment of these creative individuals to the sub-region as well as the work and employment opportunities on offer will affect the levels of graduate retention.

South Hampshire benefits from being an attractive area to live and to visit with good transport links to London and beyond as well as internationally by Southampton Airport and the south coast sea ports. The interconnected city region, with its two main economic centres in Southampton and Portsmouth and with Winchester nearby, has a population of over 1.01 million and is home to a substantial student body (Smith, 2009; Tochtermann et al, 2010; Comunian and Faggian, 2011; 2014). Initiatives to support graduates in the transition from university to the work place and others to support start-ups and small businesses are particularly important for the sub-region. A Space recognises the need to create more opportunities for the local creative community as well as to improve graduate retention which they understood to be a 'key attribute to creating both a thriving economy and community' (Smith, 2009, p.14). The provision of affordable specialist workspace can be a strong enabler in the attraction and retention of a creative class by providing opportunities for artists and creative practitioners at the early stages of their careers. However, the numbers of people who benefit from these initiatives are limited to some extent by the number of work units available, although hireable facilities and an events programme can support more creative individuals as well as promote wider network building including connections with the community and local markets. The provision of specialist workspace demonstrates a level of

commitment to growing the creative economy in a particular place which may also encourage and support other complementary activity. As we know, new initiatives should always be carefully considered and the model of the creative knowledge pool could be a valuable tool for investigating specific geographical contexts to inform strategic planning at the local and regional levels (The Work Foundation, 2009; Chapain et al, 2010; Chapain and Comunian, 2010). A formal consultation process with stakeholders and people working in the creative industries will also help local development agencies and policy-makers to identify needs within the sector and the levels of demand for particular types of initiative.

A Space was founded as a voluntary arts organisation by local graduates who recognised a need for exhibition opportunities and workspace for emerging artists and creative practitioners in Southampton. Their aims complemented the local authority's long-term plans towards becoming an 'international city of culture' recognising the need to 'support the creative industries as an important part of the local economy' (SCC, 2008, p.23). During an interview in June 2012 a representative from the City Council explained 'a focus for developing the creative industries in Southampton would be to retain graduates as much as possible and that's why the work of A Space is so valuable' (Appendix II, interview 31). Their exhibition and workspace projects are good examples of culture-led urban regeneration whereby vacant buildings have been brought back into use to support the local creative economy. Further work is required at a strategic level to improve graduate retention and the infrastructure for creative industries in the city but local stakeholders hope the new programme around Southampton's cultural quarter as well as other investments as part of the city centre master plan for renaissance will have a positive impact (SCC, 2011; DLA, 2013). However, Comunian and Oli Mould (2014) warn that commercial and economic power play a key role in larger-scale interventions and smaller creative producers, local needs and long-term goals sometimes risk being squeezed out. In Eastleigh support for arts and creative businesses was considered a priority for the cultural and economic development of the town which expanded around wagon and carriage works during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (EBC, 2009a; 2012; Spencer, 2011). A Space worked with Eastleigh Borough Council to develop The Sorting Office which became one of a growing network of creative industries hubs in the town which also includes flagship cultural venue The Point and more recently a co-working space for digital, games, film and technology businesses called 'Tec Hub' launched in 2014.

For a local authority of its size Eastleigh Borough Council has a relatively large culture department which has developed a strong reputation for high quality arts provision and innovative creative industries development programmes at The Point (which became one of

the Arts Council's National Portfolio Organisations in 2015). Prior to the launch of The Sorting Office several vacant offices adjoined to The Point were reopened as affordable workspaces for small creative businesses and were soon at full capacity. Local demand for the provision of affordable creative workspace is also highlighted by the local authority's arts needs survey which is carried out every five years and involves the analysis of 1,000 questionnaire responses from residents selected demographically across the borough (Southern Arts, 1996; EBC, 2001; 2006; Spencer, 2011). Eastleigh Borough Council enlisted the expertise of A Space to assist with the development and ongoing management of The Sorting Office which became part of a joint portfolio including the other creative industries hubs in Eastleigh as well as The Arches and Tower House in Southampton. The Sorting Office greatly benefitted from being part of a European initiative to grow the creative economy in towns and cities across England and France.<sup>7</sup> Many of the EU member states face comparable issues in their economic and cultural development to those facing the UK. Strong economic foundations in manufacturing have been challenged as production moved to other parts of the world creating new global production networks and leading to de-industrialisation in particular cities, regions and nations. However, the creative industries have performed remarkably well and have grown at a faster rate than the general economy (MKW, 2001; KEA, 2006; EU, 2013). Although there are significant definitional and policy dilemmas surrounding the creative industries across member states examples of culture-led urban regeneration programmes and initiatives to support business start-ups and job creation can now be found throughout the EU.

The provision of affordable creative industries workspace can help to support new start-ups which may otherwise struggle to develop a sustainable enterprise without access to an appropriate and affordable place to work which can also offer networking and professional development opportunities. Affordable workspace provision (and particularly where there is a formal professional development offer) can help to speed up the progression of new start-ups and growing businesses. However, this is just one type of initiative which can support the creative economy and help to improve the levels of attraction and retention of talented artists and creative practitioners. It has already been noted that these initiatives are limited to some extent by the number of individual work units available which is why other business support services which help greater numbers of people are important too – and a specialist business advisory service is a good example. There are also other ways that workspaces can be managed which may increase the number of creative industries professionals who benefit

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<sup>7</sup> The UK voted 51.9% to 48.1% to leave the EU in June 2016 and therefore similar opportunities to apply for funding and to work with other European nations in this way may not be available in the future.

from them. For example, Tec Hub in Eastleigh operates a membership system whereby small businesses working from a home office or other premises on a day-to-day basis can book specialist co-working office space, meeting rooms and collaboration spaces by the day, week or month to suit their needs (Tec Hub, 2014). Members also have the option to use Tec Hub as their professional postal address as well as their registered company address. Furthermore, the development time for new creative businesses is difficult to gauge which can be problematic for those workspaces which operate a residency model rather than a membership model. These spaces need to encourage their residents to aspire to develop their businesses to the level at which they can progress to commercial premises or other 'next stage' workspaces to make way for new residents. If there is demand across a number of affordable specialist workspaces for start-ups and small businesses this may in turn allow local authorities and development agencies to build up a case for investment in new workspaces with better facilities to support mid-career practitioners and growing businesses.

### **Considerations for models of best practice**

The review of creative workspace provision in South Hampshire by David Powell Associates commissioned by PUSH and Hampshire Economic Partnership (DPA, 2010) argued successful workspace strategies require both a supply of appropriate spaces (in the right locations, affordable, with appropriate terms, facilities and support) as well as the right management skills and judgements required to make these spaces attractive to creative businesses (also see Landry, 2000; The Work Foundation, 2009; Elson, 2011). The review suggested 'skills to develop, market and manage are as important as the buildings and spaces in which activity takes place' (p.33). Specialist workspace initiatives should address specific industry needs, offer flexible terms, appropriate facilities and a range of networking and peer to peer activities to foster a sense of enterprise and community. While certain sub-sectors of the creative industries require dedicated workspace for practitioners, others can benefit from 'hot desk' and co-working spaces which accommodate more people and provide access to specialist facilities. The review recommended local authorities consider demand in their administrative areas and their wider sub-regions as well as feasibility and opportunities for specialist creative industries workspaces in site disposals, planning briefs and development frameworks:

Councils that are successful in encouraging the growth of the cultural and creative sectors in their areas tend to demonstrate clear leadership and co-ordinated working across departments and across different areas of professional expertise. These councils exercise their influence and powers as property owner, planning and licensing authority, and through strategic planning, procurement, partnership brokerage and direct commissioning. (DPA, 2010, p.37)

Local authorities can be an enabler and facilitator of creative industries development by recognising the presence and potential benefits of the creative business community, by actively promoting creative industries sector uses for hard to let properties and by working closely with local arts and creative industries organisations and networks as well as education providers and economic development platforms such as Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs). It is crucial that the public sector at the local and sub-regional levels can communicate effectively at different tiers and with neighbouring authorities as well as with other agencies which have specialist knowledge and interest in the creative industries in order to develop strategic interventions for their particular areas. In 2012 the PUSH local authority partnership launched Creative Network South to represent 'organisations in the private, public and education sectors working together to support the development of the creative economy, improving employment and entrepreneurship in the sub-region' (Creative Network South, 2012). Networks which stimulate dialogue between different stakeholders in the creative economy promote partnership working and can help to unify local and sub-regional cultural and economic development agendas. Key stakeholders include local government, development agencies, education providers, arts and creative industries organisations and networks, creative businesses and cultural venues. Where there is demand for specialist workspace clear and confident leadership at a strategic level is needed to encourage regeneration and property professionals to understand and promote good practice and flexibility in working with the creative industries sector.

While the provision of affordable creative workspace could be considered as part of a new build development the examples of The Arches Studios, Tower House and The Sorting Office all involved the conversion and fitting out of existing buildings which had been vacant for some time. Each of these locations was characterful in style and the case study of A Space illustrates how bringing vacant iconic, distinctive or heritage buildings back into use as specialist workspaces for the creative industries can attract attention not just from artists and creative practitioners, but also from local people and others with an interest in the building. This was found to be advantageous when hosting public events such as workshops or open studios which can help to establish the facility within the local creative ecology and the local community. While discussing The Sorting Office the Director of A Space commented 'There is just a buzz about that building and the public want to come in and look around' (Appendix II, interview 45). The same was found to be true of cultural venues too and the historical significance of the Bargate Monument in Southampton added to the attraction of this contemporary art gallery for visitors and the Director explained 'if you leave the door open for

five minutes people want to come in' (Appendix II, interview 30). Heritage buildings can be subject to strict regulations and listed buildings cannot be demolished, extended or altered without special permission from the local planning authority – often in consultation with English Heritage. However, the combination of arts and heritage presents many opportunities and this twin offer was also central to the more recent project at God's House Tower. Other vacant property may also be suitable to be reopened as creative industries workspaces including former industrial buildings as well as empty offices or retail units.

The case study also highlights that just as important as the need to identify demand and to secure an appropriate site is the need for the right skills and expertise among the team responsible for developing and managing a new specialist workspace initiative. Successful workspaces can enhance the infrastructure for artists and creative practitioners in a particular place, but the configuration of the space and the facilities provided need to be carefully considered and should respond to identifiable needs. Any new initiative which aims to impact on the local creative economy should also avoid attracting applications from hobbyists. A clear marketing campaign and a formal application process should allow managers to be selective and respond to applicants who demonstrate the desire and potential to develop a business. A Space had already grown a network of artists and creative practitioners by the time they started working with Southampton City Council and other partner organisations to develop their first workspace at The Arches Studios. The team's expertise as well as their reputation as a creative industries development agency then grew further over time as they developed new and more ambitious projects.

A Space was founded in response to a perceived need for improvements in the business support available to emerging artists and creative practitioners and aimed 'to deliver a dynamic infrastructure constructed from diverse spaces available to creatives and the public' and 'to build a creative community, stimulating the identity and economy of the region' (Smith, 2009, p.7). The Sorting Office in Eastleigh was launched eight years after The Arches and the local authority enlisted the expertise of A Space to assist with the management of the workspace. The involvement of an arts or creative industries organisation in the development of affordable workspace provision is likely to help raise awareness of new initiatives among artists and creative practitioners more quickly. These organisations are also likely to possess a good level of understanding of local needs within the sector. An advisory board should also be considered as a way to inform the development and ongoing management of any new initiatives and this could involve representatives from cultural and economic development



agencies as well as local authorities and higher education institutions and individuals with expertise in business, property, planning, marketing and law.

Any new specialist workspace targeted at start-ups and small businesses will need to offer flexible terms and affordable fees in order to attract applications. Gaining access to an affordable building is key to developing a sustainable business model which is why hard-to-let properties and those owned by local authorities can often present the most viable options. Negotiating an affordable lease is more likely where a property has been vacant for some time at a cost to the landlord or where the property is owned by the local authority and its re-use can contribute towards wider strategies for cost saving, economic development and urban regeneration. Elson (2011) has suggested that once the conversion and fitting out costs have been accounted for those workspaces which can accommodate a very high number of residents are more likely to be able to develop a business model based around an expectation of high levels of occupancy. However, in many cases long term investment, funding awards and other sources of income will be essential (for example, through hireable facilities, event space, an onsite café or retail area). Different types of workspace and specialist facilities are required for different sub-sectors of the creative industries but residents from The Arches, Tower House and The Sorting Office all emphasised the importance of location, 24 hour access, broadband internet, value for money and the opportunity to be part of a creative community. This last point highlights the value of shared areas where residents can network, collaborate and be inspired by one another. The case study revealed that for many of the residents the sense of community was a significant factor in their decisions to apply. When asked what aspect of their workspace could be most improved some suggested that they might benefit from larger and more adaptable individual units as well as further communal equipment and specialist facilities to support their practice.

The business incubation period for emerging artists and new start-ups in the creative industries varies greatly and this can be partly dependent on the business development opportunities available to residents. Furthermore, some are likely to be working in other additional employment limiting the amount of time they can spend at the workspace. Regular reviews with residents are likely to be more beneficial than enforcing a set residency period. The Director of A Space explained:

When we set up The Arches we were thinking that the residents would need about three years of incubation time and after this they would be ready, but we realised that the development time for these people, particularly for someone who is a visual artist, is certainly longer than this and in reality it's almost an undefined amount of time. (Appendix II, interview 30)

Tower House had only been open for a year at the time of the first survey in 2012 but the residents at The Arches who participated had varying lengths of time in residency, ranging from less than a year to a maximum of seven years for those who acquired their workspace when the studios first opened. The *A Space Position Paper 2011* (A Space, 2011b) confirms that in 2010 the average residency was five and a half years. During the interview in May 2012 the Director had discussed the need for the 'next stage of studio spaces' to be developed in South Hampshire to allow new residents to move into The Arches and Tower House to test their business plans and develop their practises before moving to a facility which is 'bigger, better or more appropriate' (Appendix II, interview 30). He argued there was a need for new specialist creative workspace provision for artists and creative practitioners who are at a more advanced stage in the development of their businesses and without this there would not be a clear pathway for successful creative businesses in the sub-region. At the final interview in August 2014 (after the launch of The Sorting Office and during the planning for the new arts and heritage venue) the Director commented 'once God's House Tower is set up I will refocus my energies on progression studios because I think this is the next step now that we have workspaces for emerging talent and A Space as well as other organisations have started to develop the infrastructure in the sub-region.' (Appendix II, interview 45).

This chapter has explored the micro-scale dynamics of creative industries development through a discussion of the findings from a longitudinal case study of A Space and their workspace portfolio. The chapter has aimed to build upon and nuance what existing literature can tell us about specialist workspace provision and how it can form part of wider strategic models for the creative city and how it can help to attract and retain a creative class as well as support business incubation and clustering (Porter, 1998; 2000; 2008; Hall, 2000; Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002; Chapain and Comunian, 2010). The case study shows how affordable specialist workspaces for the creative industries can be more than just places to work – they provide a focus for activity they bring artists and creative practitioners together and help to reinforce and strengthen 'creative communities' which contribute towards the local creative ecology and economy (Wittel, 2001; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Markusen and Johnson, 2006; Lingo and Tepper, 2013). By hosting events these spaces can also play an important role in making connections between creative industries professionals and their local markets as well as the wider public by offering exclusive and interactive experiences like workshops and open studios (Hracs and Jakobs, 2014). These spaces play a vital role in advancing careers and incubating talent by supporting artists and creative practitioners to develop sustainable businesses focussed around their interests and skills. This is particularly important at the

cultural-end of the sector which in recent years has become increasingly exposed to market pressures due to cuts in public sector spending on the arts, culture and creative industries (for example see CEBR, 2013; Gov.UK, 2013; Lost Arts, 2015; Neelands et al, 2015). The support provided by the networks that develop within and around these spaces combined with complementary professional development programmes can help artists and creative practitioners to be creative within a commercial system and move closer towards reaching a balance between pursuing their practice and earning a living.

## **6. CASE STUDY 3: ASSOCIATE ARTIST SCHEME IN EASTLEIGH**

The two previous chapters have presented findings from longitudinal case study research into the role of specialist business advisory services and affordable workspace provision in developing the creative economy in South Hampshire. For the most part these initiatives engaged graduates, start-ups and small businesses at the cultural-end of the creative industries sector. It was found that the workspaces provide a focus for activity and act as hubs for 'creative communities' in which artists and creative practitioners develop their practices, expand their networks, establish their businesses and make new connections with their local markets and the wider public. This sixth chapter now presents findings from the final case study of an associate artist scheme at a cultural venue called The Point carried out between February 2011 and December 2014. The venue was established in 1996 as one of the first capital Lottery projects and was converted from Eastleigh's old town hall and public library before being further developed in 2009. The Point combines late Victorian and Edwardian charm together with contemporary design and is home to a 312 seat theatre, studio theatre, dance studio, café bar, offices, conference facilities and purpose-built Creation Space – a large devising and rehearsal room with attached accommodation (the first of its kind in the UK on the same site as a professional theatre and arts centre). The venue is recognised as a leading example of culture-led urban regeneration in the sub-region which has contributed towards the vibrancy of the town and to the development of further projects to enhance the local creative ecology and economy (DETR, 2000; SHIP, 2008; EBC, 2009a; Pointer and Kerswell, 2009; PUSH, 2009; Knight, 2010; Spencer, 2011).

In July 2014 the Arts Council announced that The Point would become a National Portfolio Organisation (NPO) from April 2015 in recognition of its role as a leading venue for contemporary performance. The associate artist scheme was piloted in 2008 and later became established as an innovative new programme which invested in emerging talent by helping artists and creative practitioners to develop sustainable careers. The scheme offers a residency programme for individuals and small companies specialising in contemporary performance, theatre and dance, providing them with the opportunity to develop a mutually beneficial relationship with a cultural venue and gain access to resources and expertise as well as production and performance opportunities. Since 2010 the scheme has also supported a smaller number of associate artists specialising in digital media. It was claimed the scheme 'bridges the gap between training and industry' (The Point, 2015). This chapter explores this final case study and considers what can be learnt about how cultural venues can support artists and creative practitioners by providing access to facilities, expertise and networks as

part of associate artist schemes. It looks at how these initiatives can enhance a venue's role within the local creative ecology, support the development of the local creative knowledge pool, attract and retain new talent, and support the growth of localised creative industries clusters (Porter, 1998; Hall, 2000; Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002; Chapain and Comunian, 2010). The case study investigated who was applying to the scheme and which applicants were recruited; it explored the relationship between the venue and its associate artists as well as how the initiative changed and developed over time. It also sought to understand the experiences of people who have been enrolled on the scheme and how it may have impacted upon their career progression.

The case study was undertaken over a period of three years and 11 months to provide a longitudinal perspective. A total of 30 one-to-one and group interviews were carried out at various intervals involving 18 artists and creative practitioners as well as interviews with the venue's Creative Producer in 2011 and 2014 (for a full list of interviews, see Appendix II). Other research methods included secondary data and documentary analysis as well as observations of rehearsals, previews and premieres of new performance work by the associates and attendance at local industry events (refer to Appendix I). Subscriptions were made to e-newsletters from participating individuals and companies whose work was also followed on the social media platforms Facebook and Twitter. During the case study the researcher was in residence at The Point which was complementary to the ethnographic nature of the investigation. This allowed the researcher to become immersed in the creative ecology of South Hampshire and in daily life at the cultural venue. This chapter is divided into two sections and the first introduces the programme of support for associate artists and presents a long-term perspective of the scheme and a discussion about the impacts on business development and career progression. The second section considers what can be learnt from this case study about the business support needs of emerging artists and creative practitioners, the wider role of associate artist schemes within local creative economies and which aspects of this model of support might be transferable to other cultural venues across different parts of England and the wider UK.

### **6.1. Centre for contemporary performance at The Point, Eastleigh**

The Point is owned and managed by Eastleigh Borough Council which for a local authority of its size has a relatively large culture department with a strong reputation for high quality arts provision and creative industries development initiatives. The local authority employs approximately 500 members of staff at various sites supporting a local population of 122,000

people and a diverse range of businesses (EBC, 2014b). The culture department has over 30 permanent members of staff, 20 casuals, 40 freelancers and 40 volunteers. Eastleigh's administrative boundaries were created in 1974 and for many years it was thought that the regional arts centres and facilities outside of the borough would provide adequate arts provision for local people. However, in 1990 following discussions between council officers, arts groups, education providers and residents it was agreed that there was a need for more local provision. A single arts officer was recruited and then soon after other arts-related posts were required and an Arts Unit was established as a dedicated department within the local authority before The Point was later opened in 1996.

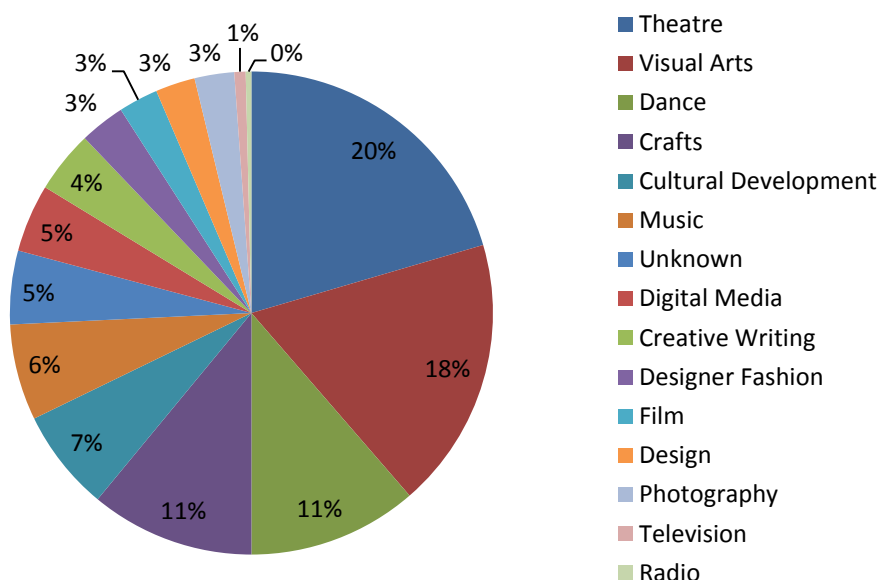
The department continued to grow in response to local needs and was repositioned as the Culture Unit in 2009 (Southern Arts, 1996; EBC, 2001; 2006; Spencer, 2011). The same year Eastleigh's first cultural strategy (EBC, 2009a) was published outlining how the Culture Unit would take a leading role in delivering an innovative cultural agenda, which included new priorities focussed on culture-led urban regeneration and growing the creative economy (for the latest strategy see EBC, 2015). The Point was Eastleigh's flagship cultural venue but with support secured from regional, national and European funders the local authority has invested in other cultural facilities too, including a new theatre in another of the borough's key towns as well as specialist creative industries workspaces. Peter Knight, in his dissertation *Investigating Eastleigh as a Case Study of Small Town Cultural and Creative Regeneration in the UK* (2010) suggested these types of investment 'combine in providing Eastleigh with some of the best cultural facilities in South Hampshire if not for any similar sized local authority area around the country' (p.81). In 2010 a creative industries network was established and by 2014 this included 507 contacts of which 264 were based in the borough and it also included 192 arts and creative businesses located in the borough (see Figure 12).

Back in 2000 the former Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) produced a report on urban renaissance in the South East of England and used Eastleigh as a case study of how the arts can be used to increase the attractiveness of place. Historically the town had expanded around locomotive works during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and over time the railway industry declined but the area continued to grow, benefitting from good transport links and close proximity to Southampton and the south coast which attracted a range of industries. The report suggested Eastleigh had become a 'fairly typical suburban town' and claimed 'it is in the field of arts that Eastleigh has made striking progress' (p.59). The Point was praised as an 'imaginative and important' development which has helped to transform the image and reputation of the town. A statement about the venue on The Point website reads:

We place our audiences at the heart of everything we do, enriching lives through inspirational experiences. A regional powerhouse for contemporary dance, theatre and combined arts, The Point presents bold, innovative and inspirational work. Through residencies in our world-class Creation Space and our trail-blazing Associate Artist Scheme, we support artists to develop new work and reach new audiences. We specialise in programming risk-taking contemporary performance. Our programme of professional dance, theatre, comedy and film attracts the very best of British and international artists to the region. Engaging thousands of participants each year, we teach skills, raise aspirations and inspire the next generation, developing Eastleigh as a creative community. (The Point, 2014b)

The report claimed ‘Since The Point opened the image of Eastleigh has changed for the better, showing that the arts – like other components of the life of a town – can make a place distinctive and attractive’ (DETR, 2000, p.61). The Point became established as a regional arts venue and centre for contemporary dance and is now developing its national and international reputation while maintaining its role as a cultural hub for the local community.

**Figure 12: Practice breakdown of Creative Eastleigh Network members based in Eastleigh Borough**



Source: Data collated by Paul Spencer and Eastleigh Borough Council between 2010 and 2014

### Programme of support for associate artists

In 2006 The Point launched a two-year creative associate programme to explore how a cultural venue (rather than a development agency) could provide focussed support for three emerging contemporary dance companies to help them lay the foundations for sustainable careers. This led to a 12 month pilot programme for the associate artist scheme in 2008. The scheme targeted performing arts graduates and aimed to make ‘a serious investment in emerging

talent, creating an enlivening context for the development of new work and providing a strong incentive for graduating artists to remain in the region' (The Point, 2009a). A local theatre company participated in the pilot and the support involved three main strands including artistic development, business development and company development (The Point, 2009b). The artistic strand involved access to rehearsal space, technical support and opportunities to gain feedback on work-in-progress and stage performances at The Point as well as assistance with organising a promotional tour. The business strand involved office space, support with business planning, funding applications, marketing, press and administration. The final company development strand involved help with identifying relevant training opportunities and new income streams through education and community workshops as well as commissions, and support with recruitment as the company expanded and hired a part-time administrator as well as freelance actors, workshop facilitators, set designers and photographers.

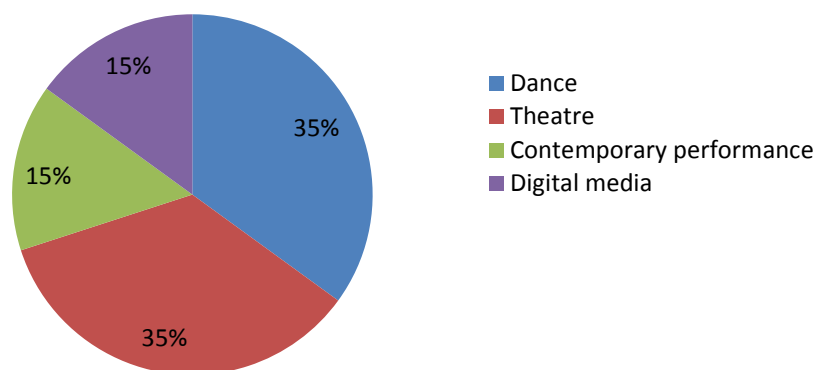
The creative associate programme was considered to be a successful endeavour and The Point had helped two of the emerging contemporary dance companies to consolidate their organisational infrastructures and achieve Regularly Funded Organisation (RFO) status from Arts Council England, while the third dance company secured their first Arts Council grant and were able to sustain their artistic practice without the need to seek unrelated supplementary employment. All three companies had seen their profiles strengthen which resulted in increased tour bookings and greater audience numbers as well as increased demand for their work at both national and international levels. During an interview in March 2011 one of the former creative associates described the programme as 'an amazing opportunity' and a 'springboard' which had allowed them to compete in the industry (Appendix II, interview 14). A member of the theatre company which participated in the pilot for the associate artist scheme explained 'The Point's offer was space, advice and being championed among their networks' (Appendix II, interview 24). The team at The Point then enlisted the expertise of a Creative Producer to launch the associate artist scheme during the same year that the state-of-the-art Creation Space was opened. During an interview with Peter Knight in July 2010 the Head of Culture at Eastleigh Borough Council said of the new scheme:

We offer access to space up to an agreed value – they might want to use the Creation Space because they're working on a new show or they might want to use the Studio Theatre. They get to use well equipped space plus technical support which they may not otherwise be able to afford. They get marketing and press support, we set up scratch nights so people can see their work, we introduce them to producers and other cultural venues, we help them with funding applications and if they are capable we will pay them to deliver some of our community projects... We also help them to develop their creative practice and they get a lot of feedback on the quality of their work from their peers, from our specialists and from people we bring in to work with them. (Knight, 2010, Appendix VII, interview 3)



The team at The Point often emphasised the ‘ladder of opportunity’ offered by the venue whereby a child could join one of the creative classes and then as a young person join the youth theatre or youth dance company, later be guided towards vocational training and then return with a visiting company or as an artist making work in the building (The Point, 2009c). The associate artist scheme and the Creation Space attracted aspiring artists as well as established professionals to the venue which was growing its reputation and its potential to ‘make a significant impact on the development of artists and of new work, not only in the borough and the wider region, but nationally’ (ibid, p.18). One aim of the associate artist scheme was to attract and retain graduates and talented creative professionals by providing new opportunities. Recent graduates gravitated towards London and the UK’s major cities while many others settled for work in other sectors in spite of their training and education in creative disciplines (SHIP, 2008; The Point, 2009a; PUSH, 2009; Smith, 2009; DPA, 2010; DTZ, 2010; Comunian et al, 2010; Comunian and Faggian, 2011; 2014). The Point set out to identify and retain promising graduates and early career creative individuals and companies by offering support to help them achieve artistic excellence and develop the skills they needed to forge sustainable careers. It was argued that ‘the creation of supported environments and coherent structures will allow artists to develop their practice and will ensure the formation and sustainability of new creative communities outside of our major cities’ (The Point, 2009a).

**Figure 13: Practice breakdown of associate artists at The Point between 2009 and 2014**



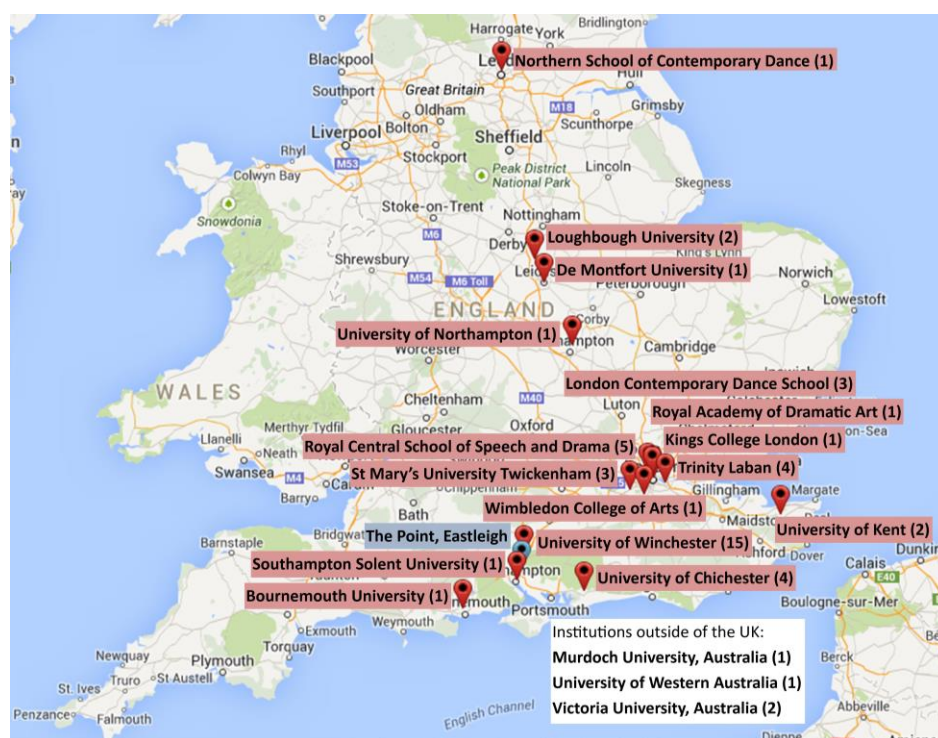
Source: Data provided by Eastleigh Borough Council in December 2014

The scheme typically recruited recent graduates or companies within their first few years of making performance work together. However, there were a few exceptions including among others, a dancer who was not a recent graduate but who had recently begun to choreograph her own work, and a dance practitioner who already had a national reputation for

her work in the youth and education sectors who wanted to establish a new professional touring dance company. The majority of the associates were working within the broad categories of contemporary performance, theatre and dance but there were also a smaller number working in digital media (see Figure 13). During an interview at the end of this case study the Creative Producer commented 'I think one of the strengths of the scheme is that it's multi-disciplinary' (Appendix II, interview 46). The work of the associate artists was varied and they were not in direct competition with one another but there were still opportunities for them to collaborate with each other on creative projects. The first associate artist specialising in digital media was recruited to support the other associates by helping with their branding, website development and media content while they benefitted from access to clientele and the opportunity to develop their professional portfolio. The Creative Producer went on to explain 'It's morphed a little bit now because the newer digital associates are more artistically led – for example, they might be looking at how dance can influence games design or how theatre might help them understand visuals. It's about cross-fertilisation'.

Between 2009 and 2014 a total of 20 solo artists and companies involving 44 artists and creative practitioners had been recruited as associate artists at The Point following a competitive application process. For the majority this involved a 12 month period of engagement after which many continued to have a more informal longer-term relationship with the venue as 'supported artists'. All but one of these individuals was educated to degree level or above and high levels of educational attainment are characteristic of the creative industries sector (Pratt, 2004; Oakley, 2009). The associate who did not pursue higher education had turned down a scholarship to take on a new employment opportunity before launching her own company and was later awarded an honorary university fellowship in recognition of her work advocating social change through dance. Altogether the associate artists had alumni status at 16 universities and conservatoires across England – and one theatre company had core members with undergraduate and postgraduate qualifications from three higher education institutions in Australia (see Map 9). Not all of the solo artists and companies had found themselves working in South Hampshire sub-region specifically because of the opportunities available to them at The Point. However, there were several examples of associates who had relocated to participate in the scheme which made a positive contribution towards the attraction and retention of graduates in the sub-region. The institution with the highest number of alumni to be awarded a place on the associate artist scheme was the University of Winchester where the Faculty of Arts worked in partnership with The Point to provide opportunities for their students and graduates.

**Map 9: Universities and conservatoires where associate artists at The Point have alumni status**



Source: Google Map with data provided by associate artists at The Point between 2011 and 2014

The solo artists and companies that were recruited on the associate artist scheme benefitted from guidance and mentorship from the Creative Producer as well as the venue's Artistic Director and staff in the marketing, arts development and technical departments. During an interview in June 2011 the Creative Producer explained:

Strategically it's about trying to create a community of interest around theatre and dance practice and it's about trying to create a hub of activity that acts like a magnet for more activity to happen. From The Point's perspective being linked to successful artists is a key. We want to support excellent work and we want to have a close relationship with those artists and support them on their journey. One of our goals is for The Point to have national significance in terms of nurturing artists and producing great practitioners. (Appendix II, interview 18)

The associate artists also had access to office space and meeting rooms as well as rehearsal, production and performance facilities. They had regular contact with fellow associates and the venue's other supported artists as well as facilitated access to regional networks and showcases. In addition they were also able to engage with other activity at The Point including the professional dance and theatre programmes, specialist training sessions with business advisors and established artists visiting the Creation Space, and they could present their performance work at the venue with full technical support. By presenting their work as part of

informal sharings or professional performances the associates gained feedback from staff and patrons as well as the general public and invited guests, which often included regional and national promoters, funders and potential co-producers.

### **A longitudinal perspective between 2009 and 2014**

Support from a range of participating and funding partners enabled The Point to make a commitment to the development of emerging artists and creative practitioners as well as to the attraction and retention of new talent in South Hampshire. The venue launched its associate artist scheme with support from Arts Council England, the University of Winchester, Hampshire County Council and the Culture Unit as well as the Economic Development Service at Eastleigh Borough Council. Over a decade ago Andy Pratt (2004) predicted policy-making for the creative industries at the regional level was likely to develop as an adjunct of economic policy and the example of the associate artist scheme presents clear economic as well as cultural objectives. Over time the need to gather evidence of the economic impacts became increasingly important when reporting to partners and securing future investment. Regular economic development reports detail the number of solo artists and companies benefiting from the scheme, core membership for each company, additional employment opportunities generated, key networking achievements and collaborations as well as the total amount of grants and sponsorship awarded. These reports stress the importance of the economic outputs but also the cultural outputs of enabling associate artists to improve their creative practice and develop their business and entrepreneurial skills while based within the sub-region. Also included in these reports were details of the performance work created by the associates and their target markets, the audience figures for their tours and their involvement in professional, educational and community projects.

Ongoing support since the pilot programme from Eastleigh Borough Council, the University of Winchester and Hampshire County Council played a key role in enabling The Point to secure core funding from the Arts Council for the first three years of the scheme. This also supported other new activities at the venue including specialist training for young choreographers and a programme of intensive engagements for creative professionals with internationally established visiting artists at the new Creation Space. Endorsement from a range of different partner organisations as well as a growing reputation for nurturing the development of artists would later help The Point to secure further core funding from the independent grant-making organisation Esmée Fairbairn Foundation. Together with additional support from the Arts Council and other partners this new funding would allow for a

continuation of the scheme and the Creative Producer post for a further three years and supported the venue's ongoing work with artists and engaging new audiences. The Point hoped to be able to further develop the cultural offer of the sub-region and this would involve supporting new commissions and artist residencies, extending the existing associate artist scheme and disseminating best practice (Creative Eastleigh, 2012). Speaking during the interview in 2011 the Creative Producer talked about some of the new benefits this funding could bring for their associate artists:

In some ways it's been frustrating for me because I have no access to funds that we can award to the associates – all of our support is in kind. For example, if I thought a company needed to see someone in Scotland who could mentor them we don't have the capacity to help them do that... The other thing is that we don't have any commissioning money. If we could have given one of the associates £500 when they started work towards a new performance piece it would have really speeded things up – they may have got a creative mentor in earlier or had some away days with a set designer or something to get that process moving and to get the level of excellence up faster. I think the Esmée Fairbairn grant could help to deal with these issues. Often if you give an artist £500 then other money starts to come in, but if you have nothing it's hard to get started. (Appendix II, interview 18)

This suggests that economics is still important to artistic and cultural activity which rarely exists completely outside of economic relations (branded by some as a destructive influence, for example see Greenberg, 1961; Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979; Macdonald, 2011). The majority of the associate artists experienced some success in securing investment in their performance work during the first three years of the scheme and guidance from staff and the endorsement from the venue had played a key role. Support from the Creative Producer included advice on business plans, funding applications, administration and company infrastructure as well as artistic engagement in their rehearsal process. Nevertheless, the ability to co-commission work by the associates was an important development. During the interview in 2014 the Creative Producer suggested 'I think the recent successes in leveraging funds from external sources owes a lot to the fact that we have been able to give commissioning money to the associates' (Appendix II, interview 46). Although financial contributions were modest in many cases they demonstrated the venue's confidence in their associate artists. It is important to note here that many organisations which award grants for artistic and cultural projects often look more favourably on those which also have other sources of investment. This proved to be the case not just for the associate artists and their performance work but also in The Point's securing of core funding from Arts Council England and the Esmée Fairbairn Foundation.

After the first three years of the scheme The Point (2011d) produced an evaluation report to reflect on the successes as well as lessons learnt and thoughts for the future. This highlighted the potential benefits of access to commissioning funds as well as monies to bring

in external mentors to work with the associates. In addition the report recognised the value of linking the scheme to other activity at the venue and claimed 'The combination of creation space with attached accommodation, office space, artistic mentorship and business support is unique to any other scheme in the South East of England' (ibid, p.8). During the pilot programme and the first three years of the scheme the staff at the venue had found that the level of engagement needed to be more flexible to suit individual artists and creative practitioners and should not be set out at the start. Furthermore, it was clear that the associate artists who lived local to the venue were those who engaged more fully in the range of opportunities available to them. The report also highlighted that four other venues in the South of England had approached The Point and requested advice about how they might establish their own associate artist schemes and the example in Eastleigh was discussed at several regional conferences. Each year the number of applications had increased and more were received from further afield including London, Kent and Yorkshire. During the final interview for this case study the Creative Producer was asked to describe the most substantial changes to the scheme over the past five years:

I think we are now more responsive to the artists and we have our eye on the climate in terms of the wider ecology of independent artists. It's about how we can best benefit our cohort and how we can identify where they fit in the ecology and how we can mitigate the competition. Strategically we've tried to pick companies which don't compete with each other and if you look at the breadth of artists, generally they don't conflict and we try to provide space for each of them to exist in their entirety. Obviously they do have opportunities to collaborate but it's become more about fine tuning the cohort. I think that's one way the scheme has developed over time. I also think our networks have really progressed and we're strategically very well networked for both dance and theatre and that's helped the progression of our artists. For example, associates have been picked up by other initiatives that potentially they wouldn't have been picked up for if they hadn't been here. It's also about making sure that we don't restrict them from taking up new opportunities. I think that's another way the scheme has developed – we've got more of a reputation and our artists are able to move on to other exciting opportunities elsewhere in the country. (Appendix II, interview 46)

Over time the scheme became less prescriptive in terms of the objectives set for the associate artists as well as the activities that they were expected to participate in at the venue. The scheme had become much more responsive to their individual needs and the staff were much more aware of the dynamics of their associate artists and supported artists as a whole group. As the reputation of the scheme and the venue developed The Point was able to recognise more clearly its place within the regional and national support infrastructure for individuals and companies working in performing arts. While not all of the associates may have chosen to become supported artists after completing the scheme and continue to be based in the South Hampshire sub-region, Eastleigh and The Point had played an important role in their

professional and artistic development. The Creative Producer moved on to describe a shift in the culture of the venue among the staff team:

A fundamental benefit is that the culture in the building has changed over the last five years and I think staff really understand artists now and particularly independent artists and how they need to work and what their demands are. I think the culture within the building was more limited before but having the artists coming in and the staff seeing their work and interacting with them has really impacted on the culture of how The Point works. In terms of organisational development that's really important... I feel that there's a real sense of familial love towards artists here, a sense of embracing those people and an understanding that it's good for both parties. (Appendix II, interview 46)

This dynamic was recognised by the associate artists too and the Artistic Director of a local dance company which participated in the scheme during 2011 commented:

The whole staff team support what I do... It's priceless really and this whole place, from the staff on the box office to the Director who is helping me with my tour as well as the technical team, it's just there right through the building. That's what's so strong about the scheme because it's not just a pocket of activity happening at the venue – it involves the whole building. Everyone accepts the associates and it's fully integrated. (Appendix II, interview 39)

Similar comments were also made during a group interview in October 2013 with three core members of a contemporary theatre company who relocated from London in 2010 to participate in the scheme. This company had since continued their relationship with The Point as supported artists while also pursuing other opportunities elsewhere in the country and the Director explained:

All of the staff were behind the associate artist scheme so you don't feel that you are separate from the building, you feel part of it and they are also empowered by the Artistic Director to be able to help you. It's become part of what they do at the venue – they help and support you and the relationship between artist and venue develops. We've always felt that we could ask anyone in the building for help and they would have given us advice. For a successful scheme I think the staff team needs to be behind it and it needs to be engrained in the building. (Appendix II, interview 40)

This commitment to supporting the development of artists and creative practitioners together with a commitment to engaging new audiences would later play an important role in helping The Point to achieve NPO status as part of the Arts Council's national portfolio funding programme between 2015 and 2018. This was a landmark achievement and the Creative Producer explained 'we're not just a receiving house for productions – we have really invested in the creative community and the development of artists' (Appendix II, interview 46). Much like the specialist creative industries workspace agency discussed in the previous chapter, key to the success of The Point and its associate artist scheme was the strategic approach and

recognition from the outset that this was part of a wider infrastructure for promoting artistic excellence and stimulating growth in the creative economy. At the time this case study was brought to a close the venue would soon be recruiting four new associate artists and one new digital associate artist and hoped to attract applications from solo artists and companies working in dance, aerial performance and theatre for children and families – all part of the recent programmes at The Point and its Creation Space as well as sister venue The Berry Theatre in nearby Hedge End. The first year of the scheme attracted 25 applications for just four places and in recent years this has more than doubled to over 50 applications.

### **Exploring the impacts on the careers of artists and creative practitioners**

The associate artist scheme at The Point offers a model for the support of emerging solo artists and companies working in the creative industries. It aims to encourage graduate attraction and retention and lead to the establishment of new creative enterprises working in performing arts and a smaller number working in digital media. A report on the outputs (The Point, 2011a) achieved after the first three years revealed that by 2011 the creative associate scheme, pilot programme and the associate artist scheme had altogether supported 14 start-ups and early career solo artists and companies, most of which had between one and three people as the core workforce and employed additional freelancers which created opportunities for a further 92 artists and creative practitioners. These freelance roles included performers, set designers, lighting designers, technicians, musicians, administrators and workshop facilitators. Some of the associates also offered apprenticeships and work placements. The initial creative associate programme had supported three dance companies and the pilot had supported one theatre company – by the end of this case study in December 2014 the associate artist scheme had supported the development of a further 20 solos artists and companies with a combined core workforce of 44 and created over 150 additional freelance opportunities.

The scheme was always intended to have artistic and creative outputs as well as economic outputs and was designed to enable the associate artists to develop their work with support and encouragement from artistic role models, peer review and audience response as well as allow them to become part of a 'creative community' which offered social and cultural capital. Becoming part of a community was a big part of the appeal – and this was similar for the specialist workspaces in Southampton and Eastleigh too. A shared sense of community can be empowering and enable artists and creative practitioners to build their confidence, expand their networks and establish themselves as creative professionals. The scheme provided access to rehearsal rooms and supported the associates with the development of their work which



was often presented as a preview or premiere at The Point before being showcased at industry platforms (with several associate artists performing at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe – one of the largest arts festivals in the world) or being taken on regional or national tours. By the second year of the scheme The Point had also developed a new model for allowing their associates to curate work by other emerging solo artists and companies as part of their own scratch nights at the venue. These events enabled the associates to become programmers, to network with new talent from other parts of the country and to create opportunities for others to test their material with a live audience. This developed a three-way artistic engagement between the associate artists, visiting performers and audiences.

**Table 7: Key quotes from associate artists on artistic support provided by The Point**

Interviewee	Comments
Artistic Director of a contemporary dance company speaking in March 2011 (Appendix II, interview 10)	Working with the Creative Producer has just been fantastic... When we had the premiere of our new show here at the start of our tour, the support from the venue was just – it was worth more than money and it was just amazing!
Artistic Director of a political theatre company speaking in April 2011 and November 2011 (Appendix II, interview 16 and 25)	We were expecting mainly rehearsal and performance space from the scheme but what we actually got in the end was an amazing mentorship programme. I would say that without this scheme we would be about two years behind where we are now. It's all down to staff at The Point working with us artistically as a company and helping us with the business development side of things too.
	I think being able to perform at The Point's Associates Showcase was really great because it allowed us to think about who we are when we're on stage... There was audience feedback too which was really helpful. We are very grateful for the opportunity to perform our new show properly in front of the public. It gives you a real sense of who you want to be and who you are artistically. It puts your work under a critical eye, so it's really helpful.
Artistic Director of a dance company for children and young audiences speaking in May 2011 and October 2011 (Appendix II, interview 17 and 19)	The advice and support from the team at The Point has been fantastic and we have been able to share our work-in-progress performances throughout the year and get feedback. It's helped us to grow as a company.
	Without this scheme I wouldn't have had the contacts to bring in an artistic mentor for my company – and a mentor of such high calibre too. I had ideas about different people who could have come and had a look at our work and we have friends in the dance field that would always happily come in and share their opinions. However, the Creative Producer has such a vast network of really high calibre contacts so we were able to find someone to work with us and provide their input – that really helped us.

Co-founder of a theatre company specialising in devised performance and education speaking in November 2011 (Appendix II, interview 27)	The Artistic Director and the Creative Producer have spent quite a bit of time working with us in the rehearsal room and I think that was really important for us to have that professional development opportunity... They have given us an insight into the professional world by working with us intensively on a one-to-one basis. That was a real turning point for our company.
Member of a collaborative performance company speaking in November 2012 (Appendix II, interview 34)	With the associate artist scheme we are getting artistic feedback on what we are making from people who are experienced producers and directors and also feedback from the wider staff at The Point who can offer a variety of views from perspectives which are varied... That's very valuable to be able to get that in a building and to be able to draw on that at short notice in order to help with our development... We have been able to rehearse here and get feedback from the Creative Producer... We have also shown work to other associate artists. These opportunities have allowed us to get feedback and reflect on our performance – so that is very valuable. We've met other companies based here and had very informal conversations with them – there is something valuable in that and being part of a creative community.
Artistic Director of a dance theatre company speaking in November 2012 (Appendix II, interview 39)	At our scratch performance and we gave out an audience questionnaire with three open questions to see what the responses would be and we also did a post-show talk too where people could make comments and ask questions. Something that I found very different about the post-show talk at the premiere was that I was much happier with the performance while at the scratch I was asking the audience loads of questions. That feedback at the scratch really helped us to develop the show.

**Table 8: Key quotes from associate artists on business support provided by The Point**

Interviewee	Comments
Producer and performer for a theatre company speaking in March 2011 and December 2011 (Appendix II, interview 11 and 28)	There's this credibility that we've been given as a company because we are associated with The Point and we would have never been given that if we were just out on our own.
	Because everyone here has more expertise than us I think they can see where we could reach professionally but we don't always see that ourselves. It's good to have expert eyes on that because they have seen other companies develop and they have more of an overview.
Solo performance artist speaking in March 2011 (Appendix II, interview 12)	The support in actually setting up the company has been really valuable. Things like business support, admin, support with funding applications, ways of promoting my work and marketing... For me the most beneficial thing has been the business help because that was just a different world to me.

Co-Artistic Director of a contemporary dance company speaking in March 2011 (Appendix II, interview 14)	It's just been incredible because when you're starting out and trying to make artwork you don't always know how to run a business and sometimes you don't even realise that is what you are trying to do... As soon as we had The Point's name behind us we found getting conversations going with potential partners, supporters and collaborators was so much easier... I'm really on a huge learning curve because business isn't really my thing at all. The arts side is what I do but I am now becoming much better at understanding business and how to run a company.
Choreographer speaking in October 2011 (Appendix II, interview 22)	I'm an associate artist at The Point and I can put that in my blurb and things – that does something for people who don't know me. It's like a stamp of approval or affirmation. It shows that I'm affiliated with this organisation and it helps people to believe in you on some level. It changes how people engage with me.
Member of a collaborative performance company speaking in November 2012 (Appendix II, interview 34)	In terms of marketing and PR there are resources here at The Point that we can draw on which includes advice and also actually getting something done for us. For example, we have been able to reach quite a wide range of national press contacts for the micro-festival we are curating... I think also that another really important thing is that The Point is linked to other venues, which is useful for us in terms of reaching, by word of mouth or by formal programmes, other venues and being noticed by other programmers.
Co-founder of a digital media and design company speaking in November 2012 (Appendix II, interview 37)	The support from all of the staff who have knowledge of how the creative industries work is really valuable. I think because they have been able to pass on some of their knowledge and share their experiences then the associate artists have been able to grow much quicker... The Point offered us really good contacts and a client base through the other associates artists as well as other artists using the building which has been extremely valuable for us.
Artistic Director of a dance theatre company speaking in November 2012 (Appendix II, interview 39)	I've got a really good relationship with the Creative Producer who without I really don't think I would be anywhere near where I am now if I'm completely honest. She champions my work and in my moments of vulnerability she's there to help with a decision or to deal with something difficult. I think it's quite rare for that sort of relationship to exist through an association. I mean I do a lot on my own but I feel that she really gets what I'm about. She is really just great and supports all the associates in this way.

Source: Interviews with past and present associate artists at The Point between 2011 and 2014

As well as supporting the associates with the development of high quality artistic and creative work (for which many were awarded industry accolades) the scheme also aimed to hone their business skills and business credibility so that their work could become more sustainable. The scheme helped them to develop their portfolios as well as design and deliver education and community projects, it taught them the discipline of working to deadlines, provided valuable endorsement from a cultural venue and gave them opportunities to develop new work and learn how a creative enterprise really works in practice. The associates also developed their entrepreneurship – for example, a contemporary dance company identified a gap in the market for high quality dance work for primary schools and developed a portfolio of performances and workshops with support from The Point and access to the venue's local networks. In their first year the company worked with eight schools in Hampshire and delivered 64 workshops, 40 curriculum-based sessions and 50 after school dance club sessions which engaged over 3,000 children. When the company later advertised for a new dancer they received applications from more than 70 professional dancers from across the UK as well as Italy, Spain and France. The Artistic Director commented 'I thought we would get a good response regionally but to have received applications from Europe is staggering... I feel very proud that we are making a name for ourselves and can attract such a wonderful response' (Creative Eastleigh, 2011b).

The associates were also supported in seeking sponsorship and investment for their work, much of which came from the Arts Council, but there were other organisations too and examples where associates launched successful crowdfunding campaigns and patron schemes. A progress report produced for the Esmée Fairbairn Foundation (The Point, 2014a) states that since 2009 the associate artists had altogether raised over £350,000 and it was claimed this was 'undoubtedly due to the added value of being based in a venue' (p.4). The most recent figure available at the end of this case study was £630,000 which also included some of the additional funding secured by The Point for the delivery of the scheme (Creative Eastleigh, 2014). Endorsement as well as financial support from the venue contributed towards the associates' successes but they also attended funding workshops and had access to specialist one-to-one advice and guidance. For many of the associates their first funding application was the most challenging after which they improved with experience and were able to secure greater sums of money. The process of preparing their first application allowed them to learn how to write about their work and present clear objectives for their artistic and creative projects. Many recognised that achieving successful funding applications early on would allow their companies to progress more quickly and one of the associates explained:

If we had left university and formed the company but not been awarded a place on this scheme we would have still tried to put in an Arts Council application. However, we wouldn't have known how to write it, the right kind of language to use or how to structure it. It would probably have been all over the place so we wouldn't have been successful and therefore would need to resubmit and try again. It could have been a really long process but we would have kept trying until we got it right. Here we have been taught how to write a funding application and I don't know where else we could have got this type of focussed support. It's saved us so much time and will allow our work to move forward much faster – it's been a huge benefit and a confidence booster. (Appendix II, interview 16)

The comprehensive range of support on offer at The Point clearly contributed towards the success of the associate artists in achieving high quality work, establishing new creative enterprises and securing substantial investment from external sources. The Point provided the associates with cultural and social capital while also supporting them in reaching a balance between achieving symbolic and financial capital from their creative work (Bourdieu, 1986, 1993; 1996). Nevertheless, even with the support of the associate artist scheme the process of starting out as an independent artist or creative practitioner and establishing a new company presents a range of challenges (which are discussed further in the second section of this chapter). High levels of commitment and determination are essential and there were examples of associates which had lost core company members who left to pursue other opportunities or alternative career choices. These examples were few however and all 20 of the associate artists between 2009 and 2014 completed the scheme – including those for which the core membership of their company had changed.

A substantial challenge facing all the individuals enrolled on the scheme was how to earn a living while establishing their position as a new solo artist or company. Many found themselves relying on additional part-time employment to supplement their income and this was a common trend among artists and creative practitioners across all of the case studies for this thesis – and particularly at the cultural-end of the creative industries sector and during the early stages of a new venture. A member of a theatre company on joining the scheme said 'I think finance is one of the hardest things to deal with' (Appendix II, interview 11). It takes time to experiment and discover the right business model. For those working in contemporary performance, theatre and dance this often included income generation through commissions, touring performance work and delivering education or community projects as well as securing other income through grants and sponsorship. For those working in digital media the priority was to build a client base for their services – and working directly with fellow associates and meeting clients via The Point's networks meant that the first digital associates did not need to seek supplementary employment.

The one-to-one and group interviews however revealed many of the past and present associate artists were employed in additional part-time positions while participating in the scheme. For some this involved working at offices, cafés and bars as well as tourist attractions. For others this involved additional roles which were more complementary to their creative practice such as working as a freelance performer, workshop facilitator, or delivering education projects in schools, colleges and universities or working part-time for an arts organisation. Towards the end of their time on the scheme or in the first few years which followed many of them became more established as solo artists and companies and were able to spend less time working in unrelated jobs. They could focus more of their time on independent projects as well as relevant freelance work and in some cases gained additional employment in professional part-time roles which supported their ongoing individual development. Part-time working, multiple job holding and portfolio careers are all characteristic of the creative industries sector so these dynamics are not unusual (O'Brien and Feist, 1995; 1997; Oakley 2009). The Point offered paid work to their associate artists where possible and also used them as a pool of skilled creative professionals who they could employ on a part-time, casual or freelance basis as opportunities became available. For example, a theatre company which took part in four interviews for this thesis between March 2011 and October 2013 had three core members who had each worked in a range of additional part-time, casual and freelance positions (see Table 9).

At the time this case study was brought to a close 17 of the 20 associate artists which had been enrolled on the scheme between 2009 and 2014 were continuing to develop their creative enterprises as solo artists or creative companies. The four remaining had decided to pursue other opportunities to further progress their careers and build upon the skills and experiences they had gained during their time at The Point. Two core members of a contemporary theatre company decided to follow alternative career pathways; one was now working as a freelance actor and continued to work on various projects at The Point while the other gained full-time employment as a youth theatre director at another cultural venue. The two members of a contemporary performance company had also pursued different opportunities; one as an independent performance artist and the other moved to Berlin and worked as a painter and portrait artist. Finally, the two co-founders of a digital media company also progressed their careers in different ways; one gained full-time employment as a multimedia programmer and the second continued to work as a freelance graphic designer and digital media specialist – and also joined the advisory board for a professional dance company and fellow former associate artist of The Point.

**Table 9: Additional employment and freelance roles for members of a theatre company**

	<b>At time of interview in March 2011</b>	<b>At time of interview in December 2011</b>	<b>At time of interview in November 2012</b>	<b>At time of interview in October 2013</b>
<b>Director/ Performer</b>	Freelance assistant theatre director  Freelance workshop facilitator  Casual teaching assistant	Freelance workshop facilitator  Freelance youth theatre facilitator (The Berry Theatre)	Freelance assistant theatre director  Freelance youth theatre facilitator (The Berry Theatre)  Casual teaching assistant	Freelance assistant theatre director
<b>Producer/ Performer</b>	Freelance workshop facilitator  Part-time bar tender  Part-time café bar assistant (The Point)	Part-time assistant theatre programmer (The Point)  Freelance youth theatre facilitator (The Berry Theatre)	Part-time assistant theatre programmer (The Point)  Freelance youth theatre facilitator (The Berry Theatre)	Freelance theatre and dance producer
<b>Production Manager/ Performer</b>	Freelance workshop facilitator  Part-time café bar assistant (The Point)	Freelance workshop facilitator  Freelance youth theatre facilitator (The Berry Theatre)  Casual technician (The Point)  Part-time café bar assistant (The Point)	Freelance workshop facilitator  Freelance youth theatre facilitator (The Berry Theatre)	Freelance workshop facilitator  Freelance actor and performer

Source: Appendix II, interview 11, 28, 35 and 40.

## **6.2. Cultural venues and creative industries development**

The case study of the associate artist scheme at The Point illustrates a range of different ways that individual cultural venues might be able to support the development of artists and creative practitioners at the local and sub-regional levels. Following the model of The Point in Eastleigh, they could offer access to their facilities, expertise and networks as well as audiences and peer review, provide valuable endorsement for new talent and they could integrate the mentorship and nurturing of promising solo artists and creative companies into the everyday life of their venue. Those cultural venues which are able to provide these different types of support have the potential to enhance their role within the local creative milieu and creative knowledge pool by helping to attract and retain talent and encouraging

creative industries clustering (Porter, 1998; Hall, 2000; Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002; Chapain and Comunian, 2010). Where there is adequate demand from the sector cultural venues can become an integral part of the local and sub-regional support infrastructure for creative industries development by offering schemes to support both artistic practice and creative enterprise. Caroline Chapain and Roberta Comunian (2010) have explored the local and regional dimensions of the creative economy and its enablers and inhibitors. Their qualitative research involving 167 interviews with creative people in Birmingham and Newcastle-Gateshead shows that the presence of cultural venues can be one factor among many which in combination can positively impact upon an area's ability to attract and retain creative talent. This view is supported by the creative city, creative class and clusters paradigms too and it has been widely recognised that cultural venues contribute towards quality of place and provide opportunities for local people as well as artists and creative practitioners. If cultural venues implement programmes which support creativity and enterprise then they further enhance their role as enablers of the wider creative economy.

The Point serves as a strong example of the role that a cultural venue might play within a small town or borough as well as within a wider sub-region of interconnected urban areas like South Hampshire. The first section of this chapter has introduced the case study of associate artist scheme at this local authority owned cultural venue. The arts and the creative industries were well supported by Eastleigh Borough Council as part of the quality of place and regeneration agendas and contributed towards making the borough more distinctive and attractive for residents and visitors (DETR, 2000; SHIP, 2008; EBC, 2009a; 2012; 2015; Pointer and Kerswell, 2009; PUSH, 2009; Knight, 2010; Spencer, 2011). The first section has discussed the programme of artistic and business mentorship on offer and explored how the initiative developed and changed over time. The dual focus on supporting both creative practice and creative enterprise was key in attracting applications from emerging solo artists and creative companies from across the country as well as attracting support from a range of participating and funding partners. Over time the scheme became integrated into the everyday life of the venue and later contributed towards The Point's success in achieving NPO status from Arts Council England. Finally, the first section has considered the impact on the careers of those people on the scheme who were supported through the challenges of starting out as an independent artist or creative practitioner and establishing a new company.

The second section of this chapter now moves the discussion forward by considering what can be learnt from this case study about the needs of creative businesses and it builds on the findings presented in the first section as well as in the previous two chapters. It is



important to note here that the associate artists were expected to register their creative enterprise with HM Revenue and Customs by the end of their time on the scheme – due to the nature of their creative work they would become registered as either a sole trader or business partnership, or as a charity or community interest company. This section of the chapter also looks at what can be learnt from The Point about the role that associate artist schemes can play within local creative economies, including the longer-term legacy that might be attributed to them and how former associate artists continue to interact with the venue after they complete the scheme. The chapter concludes with considerations for models of best practice which are drawn from the case study and looks at which aspects of this model of support might be transferable to other cultural venues across England and the wider UK.

### **Understanding the needs of creative businesses**

When the artists and creative practitioners who participated in interviews for this case study were asked why they had applied to join the associate artist scheme at The Point many of them explained how they wanted to find a way to continue with their creative practice but needed help to develop a sustainable career within the creative industries sector. Many of the associate artists started working as solo artists or formed a company during education or training and were now seeking support with making the transition to become independent artists and creative practitioners. The Artistic Director of a theatre company explained ‘The reason we started up the company was because we decided not to do what everybody else was doing, which was to go to London and audition – we wanted to create our own work’ (Appendix II, interview 7). Many expressed their desire to take ownership or control of their creativity rather than subordinating it to the vision of others. The majority were working in contemporary performance, theatre and dance and stated they were looking for artistic mentorship and business support, endorsement from an established cultural venue or arts organisation, access to specialist facilities and workspace as well as marketing and technical support. There were a smaller number of associates specialising in digital media and one commented ‘I was looking for a job in either graphic design or web design for about a year’ and continued ‘The only interviews I got were for jobs that were based two hours away or even further afield so the obvious solution was to go ahead with starting our own company’ (Appendix II, interview 15).

All of the case studies for this thesis have highlighted demand for specialist support services across various sub-sectors of the creative industries in South Hampshire. For those working in performing arts, Eastleigh Borough Council and The Point recognised:

Many small performing arts companies, existing, emerging and new encounter the same issues: How to fund administrative and marketing support as well as offices and rehearsal space? How to design and deliver mutually beneficial participatory projects without specialist knowledge and experience? How to meet the right people? How to get opportunities to showcase new work to potential venues and then how to produce, promote and tour this new work? And how to do all of this while ensuring there is enough money for the company members to survive? (The Point, 2009a)

For the associate artists the desire to work in their chosen field was strong and they were passionate about their creative practice – these individuals and companies now wanted to develop sustainable livelihoods at the cultural-end of the sector which would require their commitment and determination to achieve success (Throsby, 1994; McRobbie, 2004; NESTA, 2006; Oakley 2009; Comunian et al, 2011). As independent artists and creative practitioners they would need to find the right balance between making their own work that they were passionate about while also making sure they were able to earn a living – they needed to balance creative and economic imperatives. One interviewee said ‘We would never make a show just because we knew it would sell – we’ll make a show because it means something to us and to our audiences’ (Appendix II, interview 16). The case study of the Creative Industries Business Advisory Service (CIBAS) discussed in Chapter 4 found there were clients who strived for symbolic or cultural capital over financial gain and many defined themselves as artists rather than businesses (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979; Bourdieu, 1993; 1996; Audiences South, 2009). Nevertheless, an understanding of business practice was essential in order for their work to become sustainable and the associates were encouraged to recognise their role both as creative people and business owners. The case studies of CIBAS and the workspace agency A Space presented in Chapter 5 show that the topics most frequently discussed with advisors included business start-up tips, marketing and social media, costing and pricing, strategic planning, funding and access to finance – and the associate artists at The Point also sought advice on similar topics.

**Table 10: Key quotes on challenges experienced by associate artists at the start of their careers**

Interviewee	Comments
Artistic Director of a theatre company speaking in February 2011 (Appendix II, interview 7)	Finance is always a problem. We’re all very lucky because we are paid full-time now and we’re all reasonably secure... By the end of the first year after setting up the company we were earning a wage. It wasn’t a brilliant wage but I was determined that we shouldn’t have to work like five other unrelated jobs and all of that. I was quite determined, and I still am now, that we need a strong business model and an artistic strategy for the company... We should be able to make money from our work.

<p>Solo performance artist speaking in March 2011 (Appendix II, interview 12)</p>	<p>My main challenge has been trying to get my website going, figuring out my business model and then starting my new project... My focus has been on getting everything set up rather than trying to generate income straight away. I know that's really important but I want to get it right... Luckily I have another job that I'm managing to squeeze into my schedule and that's keeping me going at the moment.</p>
<p>Co-Artistic Director of a theatre company speaking in November 2011 (Appendix II, interview 24)</p>	<p>The thing we've found most difficult was, and always has been, how to convert art into money... I think a lot of people find it difficult to marry the two – the art and the entrepreneurship... During the first three or four years I worked in a café... Time can be managed but what I found difficult was head space. You're a certain person when you're at that café and when you leave you only have a set amount time before you have to go back and be that person again. It's difficult in the gaps to be an artist.</p>
<p>Co-founder of a theatre company specialising in devised performance and education speaking in November 2011 (Appendix II, interview 27)</p>	<p>I think when you are starting a new theatre company initially the hardest thing is situating yourself and understanding who you are artistically and then the financial difficulties come later. You don't expect money to be coming in straight away and accept that you'll have to do a lot of work for free and put in a lot of your own spare time... I think it's about finding enough things that generate income while making sure you don't compromise your artistic integrity too much... I think as a new artist you can sometimes feel like a bit of a fraud because you may be spending more of your time working in a completely unrelated job in order to live and survive.</p>
<p>Member of a collaborative performance company speaking in November 2012 (Appendix II, interview 34)</p>	<p>Earning a living is difficult. There are few people who earn a living entirely through their performance work. To be honest with you, if you spend a week with us and you see our daily practice and you see just how much of our energy is for running our projects you would be hard pushed to see where in that time we could be taking on other work, but of course we do. I think that you're either in it or you're not. I genuinely don't think that you can have a part-time job and also run a theatre company with all your energy. I think something has to give and if you are truly passionate about your work then it would be the part-time job that you will probably have to give up eventually or you will see that it's just not sustainable and you stop making work.</p>
<p>Producer and performer for a theatre company speaking in October 2013 (Appendix II, interview 40)</p>	<p>Money and time! You have to be prepared to be poor for a bit and to work additional non-creative part-time jobs. It can be a big problem and that's one reason why it's good for regional venues to support artists because outside London it's not so expensive to live... People can be a challenge too for a new company. Everyone has to be up for it and we've lost some of our company members along the way but we're still going strong. You need to be sure that you've got the right people as you move forward.</p>

Source: Interviews with past and present associate artists at The Point between 2011 and 2014

When asked what were the main difficulties they had experienced when starting out as an independent solo artist or creative company many of the past and present associate artists mentioned income generation and financial management. It is not unusual for artists and creative practitioners to need to work in other additional employment during the early stages of a new venture – but this puts pressure on creative workers in terms of time management and can sometimes cause confusion or conflict in how one perceives their professional identity. This is why initiatives that provide artistic mentorship as well as business support are an important part of creative industries development strategies at the cultural-end of the sector because they celebrate creativity while promoting enterprise. Moreover, in Chapter 4 it was suggested that some small business owners in the creative industries may be less likely than those in other sectors to approach generic business support programmes because it was perceived that the advisors would not understand their work (BOP, 2007; Audiences South, 2009; CIBAS, 2009b; Fraser, 2011). Much like clients of the CIBAS service and the residents of the specialist workspaces managed by A Space, the associate artists were looking for specialist support from an organisation which understood their creative practice as well as appropriate business models and how to negotiate the challenges of working in the sector. For example, CIBAS (2009b) argued that many arts and creative businesses do not fit traditional, mainstream business models which may provide some explanation as to why many of their clients had not approached other business support services available to them. Speaking about the associate artists and income generation as well as additional employment the Creative Producer at The Point explained:

I think what's come to light in the last couple of years is that a portfolio career as an artist is the only one you can have and it would be naïve to think that one can just do their art and live off of it at the moment. Something we promote is that it's fine to have other jobs and it doesn't mean that you're compromising your identity as an artist. If you can teach, if you can lecture, do workshops, work in the café then all of these things can be part of making a living as an artist. Sometimes people think that there's a linear pattern to a career as an independent artist but there isn't. Once you graduate you need to think about what you need to do in order to make it work. (Appendix II, interview 46)

In addition to business support and artistic mentorship to help guide promising emerging artists and creative practitioners the encouragement from staff and fellow associate artists participating in the scheme was clearly valuable. Being associated with a cultural venue also provides social capital and access to networks as well as professional development opportunities which are not as easily available to those working alone. Cultural venues provide a focus for activity and, much like the workspaces managed by A Space, the sense of community and the informal networks that develop both within and around these buildings

can play a key role in nurturing the development of localised clusters and an ecology which supports creativity and enterprise (Porter, 1998; 2000; 2008; Chapain et al, 2010; Chapain and Comunian, 2010). Access to workspace and specialist facilities was also beneficial for the associate artists because this can often be unaffordable for new solo artists or creative companies without some form of subsidy or in-kind support provided by a cultural venue. All of these different types of specialist support are valuable to those hoping to develop sustainable careers as independent artists and creative practitioners because they aim to alleviate some of the challenges they face and contribute towards bridging the gap between education or training and industry.

**Table 11: Key quotes from associate artists on workspace and facilities at The Point**

Interviewee	Comments
Artistic Director of a theatre company speaking in February 2011 (Appendix II, interview 7)	We are obviously drawn to the space at The Point because what they have here is phenomenal – the access to the Creation Space and accommodation is priceless.
Choreographer speaking in March 2011 (Appendix II, interview 13)	Being able to access the Creation Space was a big part of the appeal of the scheme for me because the people I work with live all over the country... The opportunity to come here to The Point and have onsite accommodation and rehearsal space so we can come together to work and then disperse again is really appealing.
Artistic Director of a dance theatre company speaking in October 2011 and November 2012 (Appendix II, interview 20 and 39)	Just being able to walk into this building and use a desk is quite life changing for me because I previously did all of my admin from home. Now when I go home I don't work. I feel like I have more of a home life which I never knew existed. I have a distinction between my work life and my home life.
	There's something about working in this building that allows you to feel comfortable in your art... Having an association with this building offers me a support network that you don't get if you're isolated somewhere outside of that. It's very valuable... I always know that when I need to focus I can come here and when I need that network of support I can come here.
Solo performance artist speaking in July 2014 (Appendix II, interview 43)	Being able to use the spaces at The Point is really valuable – you just wouldn't be able to afford it as a new artist without support. Starting up something without any money is really difficult. Being based in a building and being able to book the various spaces is great. The Point gives you the room and the time to play. It's so important and I think any associate artist here is really fortunate to have that opportunity. Not just associates or new artists actually, but any artist will benefit from time and space to play. It might be about developing an idea or a group of artists exploring how they work together.

Co-founder of a digital media and design company speaking in July 2014 (Appendix II, interview 44)	For us it was important that we could be in a place with other creative people and we were able to collaborate with them. I think a problem for a lot of emerging digital businesses is that they are set up in someone's bedroom or in a generic office building and there are fewer opportunities to meet potential clients. The Point offered us really good contacts and a client base through the other associates and artists using the building.
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Source: Interviews with past and present associate artists at The Point between 2011 and 2014

Cultural venues can provide artists and creative practitioners with a place where they are able to experiment and develop new work and by offering opportunities as part of associate artist schemes they can demonstrate their endorsement for new talent. This endorsement translates into cultural capital and can help associate artists to build their confidence and begin to identify themselves as creative professionals. A member of a theatre company said 'Having a venue and a building where you feel at home is really valuable and this gives you a lot of confidence when you're starting out' (Appendix II, interview 40). Cultural venues can provide a place for new independent solo artists or creative companies to base themselves where they have a business postal address and access to professional space in which to work and meet with clients, colleagues and collaborators which all contributes towards raising their profile. The combination of business support, artistic mentorship, specialist workspace and facilities as well as endorsement can be extremely valuable at the start of their careers. However, as solos artists and creative companies become more established and the demand for their work increases they are likely to need more personnel to develop a stronger infrastructure for themselves which can be difficult to finance.

To support talented mid-career artists and creative practitioners struggling to progress to a stage where they can increase the size of their core team the Creative Producer suggested 'In the future I would like to pursue the idea of creating a producers hub here at The Point in Eastleigh where we might have two or three dedicated producers working between three or four companies' and then continued 'I think at the moment we are able to offer advice to mid-career artists, we have our residency programme at the Creation Space and we can co-commission a piece of work, but in terms of providing an infrastructure for mid-career artists here I don't think we have that yet – and this is where there is a gap in provision' (Appendix II, interview 46). A producers hub would allow The Point to offer support to solo artists and companies which are at a more advanced stage when they are becoming successful but are still not able to employ dedicated producers or administrators to help with tasks like administration, marketing, tour booking and writing funding applications.

## **Associate artist schemes and local creative economies**

Pratt (2004) provided an early exploration of the creative industries sector at the regional level in the South East of England and suggested the logical case was that the region would function as a 'travel to work area and an immediate economic hinterland to London' (p.26). However, in reality the South East was found to be one of the major international centres for cultural and creative activity with a largely healthy symbiotic relationship with its neighbour London (DPA, 2002; Pratt, 2004). Substantial creative industries clusters have been identified across the UK but there is imbalance among the regions – London and the South East dominate accounting for 43% of creative employment between 2011 and 2013 (Chapain et al, 2010; Bakhshi et al, 2015; DCMS, 2015b). A solo performance artist who participated in The Point's associate artist scheme commented 'I feel that there are still problems for artists who are not based in London and somehow it feels like you're missing out on stuff' (Appendix II, interview 43). Nevertheless, this does not mean that there is not a role to be played by smaller and less established contexts and this further highlights the need for improvements in the support infrastructure for artists and creative practitioners across different parts of the country – and outside of London in particular (Bakhshi and Windsor, 2015). Cultural venues are enablers of the creative economy and where there are programmes which nurture artistic practice and creative enterprise they can contribute towards improving the support infrastructure for the sector which helps towns, cities and sub-regions to attract and retain talent and encourage creative industries cluster development (Porter, 1998; Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002).

The same solo performance artist later discussed Eastleigh and the South Hampshire sub-region and explained 'There is much more of a sense of community here and there are also a lot of things which aren't appealing about London too'. Research into the local and regional dimensions of the creative economy by Chapain and Comunian (2010) in Birmingham and Newcastle Gateshead and their subsequent model of the creative knowledge pool illustrate how the relationship between creative people, their activities and place can be understood along four separate but interrelated dimensions. These include personal attachment to place and social embeddedness of individual artists and creative practitioners; the employment and work opportunities a place can offer as well as the operational advantages and disadvantages; institutional and informal networks which provide business support and access to markets; and the wider local and regional infrastructure which supports the creative economy such as public policy, education providers, transportation systems and sectoral strength and critical mass. The Canadian geographer Brian Hracz and his colleagues Jill Grant, Jeffry Haggett and Jesse Morton have explored the ways in which creative people consider the economic and social dynamics of

place in making their location choices (Hracs et al, 2011). Their qualitative research with musicians in Toronto and Halifax reveals that although the former has been at the centre of the Canadian music industry for many decades smaller city-regions are able to offer more affordable and socially cohesive scenes compared to the highly competitive scenes of larger cities where it can be more difficult for them to find an affordable place to live and work. It is suggested 'In Halifax, the city's smaller size and the less competitive marketplace produce a more welcoming environment for incoming musical talent' (p.379). One can argue that there are similarities to be seen here with London and South Hampshire – the capital city has advantage in size and opportunity yet it can be intensely competitive and presents a difficult work environment for emerging talent.

Furthermore, Allen Scott (2006) has argued that although creative industries clusters are often concentrated in large cities 'there are also many small and specialised creative agglomerations all over the world' (p.9). During an interview with Peter Knight the Head of Culture at Eastleigh Borough Council explained:

We're known in London and people do come out of London to use our facilities. We're working with London-based organisations, but people will also come from even further afield... I think we realise that even with all the great work we do here we are not going to be able to attract or maintain long-term relationships with really, really big artists – but if we can support artists at the start of their careers and then they take off then I think that sends out a positive message. It sends out a message about how we are nurturing new talent. Perhaps if they are successful they may go to London, New York or Berlin but they are taking our name with them and we hope we can maintain a relationship with them and invite them back to our venue at a later date. I believe that we are making a contribution to extending the retention of talented creative people in our area. (Knight, 2010, Appendix VII, interview 3)

Some of the solo artists and creative companies which became associate artists at The Point were surprised that such an opportunity was available to them in South Hampshire and the Artistic Director of a theatre company explained 'Here we get artistic mentorship and business support as well as access to specialist workspace that's right on our doorstep' (Appendix II, interview 7). The Artistic Director of a dance company also commented 'When we started working on our application for the scheme it sounded really exciting and something that I hadn't really heard of outside of London' (Appendix II, interview 17). On developing the rationale for the scheme prior to its implementation it was argued that emerging artists and creative practitioners in the sub-region were 'discovering that the infrastructure within which to develop their work is weak and as individuals they are rarely equipped for the complex business mechanisms by which their work may be produced, toured and marketed' (The Point, 2009a, p.3). The associate artist scheme enabled The Point to make a contribution towards the attraction and retention of new talent through specialist support and by offering opportunities



which artists and creative practitioners would otherwise seek elsewhere. The scheme also increased the range of performance work that was being created locally which generated additional employment opportunities and brought financial return to venues and local areas from ticket income and secondary spend. Many of the solo artists and creative companies enrolled on the scheme developed their own education and outreach programmes which benefitted communities and they became role models for young creative people including members of local youth theatre and youth dance companies. Many of the associate artists expressed their personal attachment to The Point and the sub-region and many continued to have a more informal relationship with the venue after they had completed the scheme. Much like the musicians in Toronto and Halifax there were examples of past and present associate artists who recognised that while there are fewer opportunities outside major cities there can be more supportive and collaborative social dynamics to be found and a greater sense of civic capital – that is interpersonal networks and solidarity within a community based on shared identity, expectations or goals tied to a specific locality or region (Wolfe, 2009).

**Table 12: Key quotes from past associate artists on their continuing relationship with The Point**

Interviewee	Comments
Artistic Director of a contemporary dance company speaking in March 2011 and November 2011 (Appendix II, interview 10 and 26)	We are actually moving the whole company to Winchester to be closer to The Point and also because we are now working more with the University of Winchester... We have always been very proud to be associated with The Point and we tell people about our connections to the venue all the time because it's our company's creative home.
	I am coming back to The Point and organising an evening of dance work because I want to give something back because they give us so much. I think it has to be a two-way street. You can't take and not give anything back. That's also why I try and come to other events at The Point and show my face because I think it's important to show my support.
Director and performer for a theatre company speaking in November 2012 and October 2013 (Appendix II, interview 35 and 40)	We're keen to keep in contact because it was The Point that took the risk with us in the first place and we moved down here and I feel really engrained in the life of the building. We love The Point and so even if it's from a distance we want to be able to keep the relationship going and we want to contribute to the venue in one way or another. We want to have a think about that as a company and how we can positively work with The Point in the future.
	We still put The Point on all our promotional material. The logo comes with us wherever we go... We always tell people the company was born at The Point and it's an amazing venue. I feel some ownership over the place because of the time we've spent here and I feel proud of The Point.

Co-founder of a theatre company specialising in devised performance and education speaking in November 2012 (Appendix II, interview 38)	I think the best thing about the relationship with The Point and the people there is that it is genuine and we have known them for years now. I think we've always had a good working relationship... It's our local venue too so we want to continue that relationship. It's where we cultivated our company's name so we're keen to keep that connection if we can.
Producer and performer for a theatre company speaking in October 2013 (Appendix II, interview 40)	It definitely feels like we are ready to stand on our own two feet now. We've continued as supported artists at The Point but our contact with the Artistic Director and the Creative Producer is much less than before... Although we will all be living in London soon I think we still see ourselves as from Eastleigh because the company was born here.

**Table 13: Key quotes from associate artists on Eastleigh and the South Hampshire sub-region.**

Interviewee	Comments
Choreographer speaking in March 2011 (Appendix II, interview 13)	I feel that in terms of my choreographic work it's been much easier for me to be supported outside of London... It's more anonymous in London and unless you're exactly what a certain person is looking for then you can be around for years and still not really get acknowledged – it's also much trickier to even get a meeting with someone. I feel like I have a more personal relationship with The Point... It's been great and I think that I actually prefer to be in a smaller place.
Co-founder of a digital media and design company speaking in October 2011 (Appendix II, interview 23)	We've come to realise that Eastleigh is a pretty good place for business and the networks we've had access to have been really beneficial. Our eyes have really been opened with regard to how many creative people are working in the Eastleigh, Winchester and Southampton area... I didn't realise there was so many just in Eastleigh. It's allowed us to start-up our business and stay in the local area.
Producer and performer for a theatre company speaking in December 2011 and November 2012 (Appendix II, interview 28 and 35)	When I think about our long-term future we may want to be in London at some point. However, we are involved in so many different education and community projects in the local area in addition to our performance work that we wouldn't want to leave. We feel engrained in the local area.
	Being here geographically has massively influenced the work that we've made and it would have been different if the company had its home in another place. When I think about the work we've made over the past few years it's been really influenced by Eastleigh and Winchester and the surrounding areas. It's also been influenced by The Point and the people there like the staff and the other associates.

Source: Interviews with past and present associate artists at The Point between 2011 and 2014

This chapter has recognised that endorsement from a cultural venue can be extremely valuable to emerging solo artists and creative companies in helping to raise their profile and gives them social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1993; 1996). The Point's Creative Producer commented 'I think the endorsement is hugely beneficial' and later continued 'After they complete the scheme they will always have an association with the venue and I think the idea that this is their creative home is really important' (Appendix II, interview 46). The solo artists and creative companies also helped to raise the profile of the venue as a centre for creativity. The successes of the associate artists are a testament to the value of the scheme as a local initiative to support emerging talent and this generates new interest in the venue, the town and the wider sub-region. The focus on graduate retention was also an important dynamic and the Artistic Director of a theatre company on becoming an associate artist explained 'University taught me about art and how to be artistic but I don't feel it taught me how to find work or how to set up a company' (Appendix II, interview 16). Another interviewee claimed 'For me the scheme was so important in helping me with the transition after leaving university and it allowed me to find my place in the arts industry' (Appendix II, interview 43).

Many of the associate artists remained in contact with their university or conservatoire following graduation and some returned as performers or as guest lecturers or speakers and others continued to receive informal advice and guidance from their past tutors. Nevertheless, there is a role for cultural venues to nurture the development of promising graduate artists and creative practitioners and to help them advance in their careers. The University of Winchester was a supporter of the associate artist scheme and the Creative Producer explained 'I think their role as an organisation is really important because they spot potential talent in their final year of undergraduate studies or when they are starting a postgraduate degree and we rely on that intelligence and we try and engage with those people at the local level' (Appendix II, interview 46). Where there is a focus on improving the levels of graduate retention in a particular area then cultural venues can work closely with higher education institutions to extend the support available to artists and creative practitioners and provide opportunities which may help those who wish to continue to live and work in a given town, city or sub-region. This is particularly relevant outside of major cities where recent graduates may leave if they perceive there to be a lack of opportunities available to them.

### **Considerations for models of best practice**

Cultural venues which offer schemes which address specific industry needs can play an important role as part of the support infrastructure for creative industries development across

different parts of England and the wider UK. Those cultural venues which identify significant local demand and can develop a strong case for the implementation of new initiatives to encourage growth at the cultural-end of the sector are those most likely to attract support from a range of participating and funding partners. Growth at the cultural-end of the sector also attracts investment from funders like Arts Council England and other grant-making organisations which in part at least provide economic support that does not drive creativity towards economic-only ends – this can be important in supporting processes of innovation within particular creative practices as well as in helping to finance education and community projects which promote social regeneration (DCMS, 2004a; Evans and Shaw, 2004; ACE, 2007; Mowlah et al, 2014; Carnwath and Brown, 2014). New initiatives should always respond strategically to local conditions and aim to capitalise on local strengths as well as bring together partners with shared goals where there is potential for different types of organisations to collaborate. In South Hampshire the associate artist scheme at The Point not only addressed the need for more opportunities outside of London and the UK's major cities so that more people have the chance to build a career within the sector but it also responded to the local need for improvement in the levels of attraction and retention of new talent and graduates in cultural and creative disciplines (PUSH, 2009; Smith, 2009; DTZ, 2010; Comunian and Faggian, 2011; 2014; Bakhshi and Windsor, 2015).

At the end of this case study the Creative Producer at The Point was asked to give a summary of the most valuable types of support that can be provided for individuals and companies leaving education or training and hoping to begin a successful career as independent artists and creative practitioners working in performing arts:

I really think it's about providing them with opportunities to learn practical skills which are not always focussed on at university level. It's also about flagging up opportunities so that the artists can become entrepreneurial rather than just artists. They need to know how to talk about their work, they need to know the basics of marketing, how to write about their work so they can apply for funding, where their work sits within the arts ecology, they need to be able to think about their audience and who their work is for. It's about providing a supportive environment so that they are not working in isolation and are able to look outwardly and think about where their work can sit in society. I think we enable artists to develop sustainable careers because we try to teach them these skills. (Appendix II, interview 46)

Many of the solo artists and creative companies who participated in the scheme stressed the importance of the Creative Producer's role as their main contact at the venue. The Artistic Director of a contemporary dance company commented 'I think there needs to be a sole person involved who mentors the associate artists and who is responsible for the direction of the scheme – without that role the venue could probably still offer support but it would be

much harder for the associates to work with the building and the staff in the same way' (Appendix II, interview 17). It was not just access to the building which was important but also the support of a dedicated member of staff. Cultural venues can offer access to facilities, expertise and networks as well as audiences and peer review and this was all coordinated by the Creative Producer who welcomed new associates, introduced them to the building and the staff team and provided ongoing mentorship. The success of any associate artist scheme or a similar initiative will inevitably rely heavily upon the person or persons responsible for its delivery. These people must have a good understanding of the relevant creative industries sub-sectors, such as dance, theatre and contemporary performance at The Point, and an understanding of the cultural and economic development priorities at the local, sub-regional and regional levels and will be an advantage. They also need to identify how the initiative can complement the existing work of the venue as well as exactly what types of support can be offered and to whom – for example, the majority of associate artists at The Point were working in performing arts but a further opportunity to work with a smaller number of associates working in digital media was also identified. The Creative Producer had previously worked as a performer and an artistic director as well as a university lecturer and workshop leader, and had experience of managing cultural and creative projects. The Creative Producer was dedicated and ambitious, providing coherence and structure to the scheme which made a clear offer to its prospective applicants while also being responsive to the needs of the individual solo artists and creative companies which made successful applications.

The combination of artistic mentorship and business support together with access to office, rehearsal and performance space was greatly valued by the associate artists and helped them lay the foundations for sustainable careers. During their time on the scheme the associates were given the opportunity to fully participate in the life and work of The Point and over time the initiative became embedded into the daily life of the venue. The associates were encouraged to become part of a supportive creative community focussed around the venue which included the staff team, past and present associate artists, visiting artists, audiences and various partners and collaborators which created a strong sense of civic capital (Wolfe, 2009). They were able to establish and grow their own professional networks through their association with The Point and many of them also developed new friendships. These professional and personal connections to both The Point and to Eastleigh and South Hampshire are significant. Julie Brown and Michał Męczyński (2009) have argued that 'life events' such as where one starts their first 'career' job or where they have connections through colleagues, family or friends can often be the 'triggering factors' in location choices for creative workers

while quality of place factors should be considered as the 'steering factors' (also see Florida, 2002; Chapain and Comunian, 2010). The experiences of the associates during their time at The Point and in Eastleigh and the wider sub-region play an important role in their decision making process regarding where they choose to live and work after they complete the scheme. Many of the associates continued to have a more informal relationship with the venue and several others which moved away from the sub-region returned on occasion to present new performance work or to run workshops or engage with other local cultural and creative projects. The Creative Producer explained:

I think that a sense of belonging and a sense of home and community are all really beneficial and have contributed to our successes with the associate artist scheme. I've talked to staff at other venues and I think some of them struggle to have that sense of creative community around their buildings in terms of emerging new talent. When I return to The Point I see that it's really quite vibrant... I think we have been very fortunate and we've had the funding to develop something which appears quite structured and through my role I act as the main point of contact – we have a scheme and we have a Creative Producer. In other venues in other towns they may well have the desire to invite artists in but there needs to be a clear offer to attract them. I think we have a clear offer but we are also responsive to the artists and aim to develop meaningful relationships with them. (Appendix II, interview 46)

In order to develop successful associate artist schemes cultural venues need to make a commitment to artists and creative practitioners. While the details of what a particular venue can offer will vary greatly, those schemes which focus on new talent will need to provide a supportive environment in which their associate artists can experiment, learn new skills and grow in confidence, all while being able to access specialist facilities and workspace which they may not otherwise be able to afford during the early stages of their careers. There is also a need for professional mentorship to focus on the development of creative practice and creative enterprise so that the associates' work can become more sustainable. There should be a mix of structured elements, which may include scheduled seminars or presentations of work-in-progress performances for example, as well as more informal support which is responsive to individual needs. The ability to offer commissioning money or other paid work where this is possible can also help the associates to build confidence in their creativity and professionalism as well as demonstrate the venue's endorsement of their work which should be championed among wider networks providing social and cultural capital. The cultural venue should aim to nurture and empower their associate artists and act as enablers and facilitators in their development so that when they leave the scheme they are able to progress to the next stage of their careers. A producer and performer for a theatre company commented 'After the associate artist scheme we stayed on as supported artists and it does feel like The Point is our home, but I think we now have enough connections and we're having conversations with

various different organisations so I feel confident about the future' (Appendix II, interview 35). On the future of the scheme and the recruitment of new associate artists the Creative Producer at The Point commented:

Now that we have developed our reputation we get quite a lot of applications from London and further afield, which is great, but from experience we know that artists do need to physically be here. I think that's why The Point is unique because some other venues may have associate artists as a badge on their website rather than a real relationship. The only way a real relationship can develop is if you have time together. It will be really interesting to see who is out there and who is looking at The Point as a potential place to call home. We will be pushing for participation with the life of the building and interaction with the staff team and the community which surrounds us. If anything, for me that will become more important this next year and I want to try and introduce whoever approaches us to the local community a little bit more – introduce them to the local history and the local geography of the area and find a bit more of an understanding about what it is to be based in Eastleigh and how that can inform being an artist. (Appendix II, interview 46)

The longitudinal case studies presented in this thesis have explored the micro-scale dynamics of creative industries development by focussing on three different types of initiative which aim to support the development of the creative economy in South Hampshire. The case studies provide empirical evidence which can be used to help build upon and nuance what existing literature tells us about local initiatives and public sector interventions and how they can form part of wider strategic models for the creative city or milieu and how they can help to attract and retain a creative class as well as support business incubation and clustering (Porter, 1998; Hall, 2000; Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002; Chapain et al, 2010; Chapain and Comunian, 2010). For the most part these initiatives engaged graduates, start-ups and small businesses at the cultural-end of the creative industries sector. The case studies highlight several key themes where many artists and creative practitioners have requested advice and support, including business planning, marketing and promotion, funding and access to finance as well as creative mentorship. This illustrates that cultural and creative activity does not exist outside of economic relations and these initiatives play a key role in helping them to be creative within a commercial system. This is particularly important at the cultural-end of the sector which is becoming increasingly exposed to market pressures due to cuts in public sector spending (for example see CEBR, 2013; Gov.UK, 2013; Lost Arts, 2015, Neelands et al, 2015). Artists and creative practitioners are seeking new spaces to exist within the creative economy which allow for a level of creative autonomy but enable them to reach a balance between pursuing their practice and earning a living. The case studies also demonstrate demand for affordable specialist workspaces and facilities. Creative workspace initiatives and cultural venues can offer this and can also bring artists and creative practitioners together and help to reinforce

and strengthen 'creative communities' which contribute to the local creative ecology and economy (Wittel, 2001; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Markusen and Johnson, 2006; Lingo and Tepper, 2013). In towns and smaller cities they can become incubators for emerging talent as well as arts and creative enterprises in locations which may offer more welcoming, affordable and socially cohesive creative communities in comparison to the highly competitive environments of larger cities – they can provide a stepping stone for emerging artists and creative practitioners to launch their careers.



## **7. CONCLUSIONS**

This thesis responds to a gap in research into the micro-scale dynamics of creative industries development at local levels as well as a lack of in-depth longitudinal case studies which explore specific examples of local initiatives and public sector interventions to support start-ups and small businesses in the sector. The case studies presented in the previous three chapters and the mix of both qualitative and quantitative data they have produced are specific to South Hampshire and thus limited to a particular geographical setting. However, the case studies offer a unique and detailed investigation into local creative industries development to produce findings relevant to policy-makers and other individuals or organisations interested in the creative industries and the working lives of creative practitioners in a local or sub-regional context. Characteristically case study research emphasises depth of study rather than breadth of study, multiple sources rather than a single research method as well as relationships and processes rather than only outcomes and end-products – the aim is to illuminate the general by looking at the particular (Denscombe, 2010). The thesis offers a new and original contribution to the study of the creative industries which has focussed on two key research questions. Firstly, what are the needs, motivations and experiences of people hoping to develop careers and businesses in the sector; and secondly, what role can local initiatives and public sector interventions play in supporting creative industries development at the local and sub-regional levels? This concluding chapter discusses how these research questions have been enlightened by the findings of the three case studies.

The review of existing literature on the relationship between art, culture and economics presented in Chapter 2 highlighted the historical, conceptual and linguistic journey from the 'culture industry' to 'cultural industries' and 'creative industries'. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer's (1979) early pessimistic account of the culture industry was one of the first theorisations of art and culture under capitalism and together with other members of the Frankfurt School they argued that industrial mass production at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had led to the emergence of a new kind of mass culture which they claimed posed a serious threat to art and cultural tradition. Later contributions from the fields of cultural studies and political economy offered more sophisticated accounts of culture and multiple forms of cultural production (Hoggart, 1958; Williams, 1958, Thompson, 1963; Miège, 1989; Garnham, 1990, Lewis, 1990; McGuigan, 1992, Hall and Jefferson, 1993; Frith, 1998). Academics working within these areas argued that the complexity in the various dynamics at work in the production of culture demanded a distinction between the arts sector and the plural (rather than singular) commercial cultural industries. During the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the arts

sector and the cultural industries became linked to new strategies to regenerate post-industrial towns and cities. The cultural industries were recognised for their economic potential while it has consistently been argued that the arts have an inherent cultural value which benefits individuals and communities, but also that they stimulate tourism and the visitor economy (Myerscough, 1988; ACGB, 1989; Landry, 2000; DCMS 2004a; Evans and Shaw, 2004; ACE, 2007; The Work Foundation, 2009; BOP, 2012; Mowlah et al, 2014; Carnwath and Brown, 2014; CEBR, 2015). It was from the emergent discourse around culture-led urban renaissance that creative industries policies began to take shape (for example see DCMS, 1998; 2001; Smith, 1998). In the United Kingdom (UK) the policy framework controversially brought together the arts and the commercial cultural industries and other sub-sectors which the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) collectively define as activities ‘which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property’ (DCMS, 2001, p.4). Whilst this definition and the use of the word ‘creative’ rather than ‘cultural’ has stimulated much debate, the term has remained remarkably accepted in policy circles at both national and international levels (Howkins, 2001; Garnham, 2005; Pratt, 2005; 1997a; Ross, 2007; Wang, 2008; UNCTAD, 2008; 2010; Flew, 2012; Hesmondhalgh, 2013).

There are now many high-profile reports which present quantitative data on the size, economic performance and distribution of the creative industries which have used a variety of models to illustrate the specificity and distinctiveness of the sector and a range of research methodology (for example see DCMS, 1998; 2001; 2010a; 2010b; 2011, 2013; 2014; 2015a; 2015b; 2016; NESTA, 2006; Frontier Economics, 2007; The Work Foundation, 2007; De Propris et al, 2009; White, 2009; Chapain et al 2010; Creative Skillset, 2013; Bakhshi et al, 2013a; 2015; Nathan et al, 2015; 2016; Mateos-Garcia and Bakhshi, 2016). A large amount of data is available at national levels to highlight the role that the creative industries might play in growth and economic development but data and understanding at the local level is more limited. Many evaluations of creative industries policy focus on national perspectives or on large cultural cities and to redress this imbalance this thesis has explored the micro-scale dynamics of the sector within a smaller and less established context. This chapter reflects on the case study findings in South Hampshire and establishes that whilst Adorno and Horkheimer’s (1979) theories around the culture industry recognised the growing influence of new technologies and the drive of capitalism upon cultural production the suggestion that art and culture will become completely reduced to its exchange value is still overly pessimistic. Even as the public sector retreats under austerity and as the cultural-end of the sector

becomes increasingly exposed to market pressures, artists and creative practitioners are seeking new spaces to exist in the creative economy which enable them to reach a balance between pursuing a creative practice which they have a passion for and earning a living – this was an ambition for many creative individuals working in Portsmouth, Southampton and Eastleigh. The case studies indicate that specialist local initiatives are most effective when they respond strategically to their local and regional context and that they can play a key role in helping artists and creative practitioners to achieve cultural *and* financial capital from their creative work (Bourdieu, 1993; 1996; McRobbie, 2000; Oakley, 2009; Chapain and Comunian, 2010). This final chapter also demonstrates how despite the metropolitan focus in much of the literature on creative cities, the creative class and industrial clusters towns, smaller cities and sub-regions can compete in the creative economy by capitalising on local strengths and by offering a more welcoming, affordable and socially cohesive creative milieu in contrast to the highly competitive environments of larger cities.

### **7.1. Artists, creative practitioners and cultural work**

Since the promotion of economic, social and environmental well-being for local areas became a statutory duty for local authorities in England under the Local Government Act 2000, many more towns, cities and sub-regions over the past 17 years have considered the potential benefits of strategic investment in the creative industries sector as a way to promote productivity, job creation, innovation, regeneration and place-making (DCMS, 2000b; LGA, 2002; Gilmore, 2004; The Work Foundation, 2009). The local authorities in South Hampshire are no exception. However, examples from around the world of standardised attempts to replicate a single model for the creative city or milieu with the hope of attracting and retaining a creative class and nurturing the development of new creative industries clusters have been heavily criticised – it has been recommended that decision-makers be realistic about the potential for their particular area and play to local creative strengths (Porter, 1998; 2000; 2008; Landry, 2000; 2006; Florida, 2002; Oakley, 2004; Chapain et al, 2010; Chapain and Comunian, 2010; Comunian and Mould, 2014). Andy Pratt and Thomas Hutton (2013) have argued that the relative success of the sector during the recent economic downturn shows ‘the creative economy is not simply a “good time” candy-floss’ (p.93). However, they propose that widespread mimicry of successful cities should be replaced by ‘patient policy’ and commitment to experimentation and recognition of locally-contingent factors that militate against the utility of generic policy templates. Furthermore, greater attention to the conditions of creative labour will assist decision-makers in formulating new interventions which address key challenges

faced by local creative practitioners. Kate Oakley (2009) has highlighted that much of the literature which champions the creative industries can be criticised for failing to recognise insecurity, precarious working conditions and low pay which characterise certain parts of the sector (also see Pratt, 2004; Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Comunian et al, 2010; Abreu et al, 2012). Pratt and Hutton (2013) suggest that some would argue there is a need for a new social regulation to deal with the problems of social and economic burnout of creative workers, although such sentiments do not chime with the predominately neo-liberal and positive outlook for the creative economy. This is the first of two sections in this final chapter and it provides a discussion of the relationship between creativity, cultural capital and commercialisation as well as identifies needs within the creative industries sector with reference to the findings of the South Hampshire case studies.

### **Creativity, cultural capital and commercialisation**

The case studies presented in this thesis provide empirical evidence which can help to build upon and nuance what existing literature tells us about local initiatives and public sector interventions to promote creative industries development. The case studies also enable us to learn more about the experiences and motivations of creative workers. For the most part the local initiatives engaged graduates, start-ups and micro-businesses at the cultural-end of the creative industries sector. Small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs), self-employment and freelancing represent a significant part of overall employment in the sector and therefore small business support should have an important role to play in sectoral strategies (DPA, 2002; Pratt 2004; Oakley, 2009; De Propriis et al, 2009; Chapain et al, 2010; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). A recent report by the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacturing and Commerce (Dellot, 2015) argues that the micro-business community in the UK is booming and it is contributing towards productivity, innovation and job creation. The client practice breakdown for the Creative Industries Business Advisory Service (CIBAS) showed a large number of people working in visual arts, design and craft, music and performing arts as well as a high number of creative writers, photographers, textile artists and graphic designers. The three specialist workspaces managed by the arts charity 'A Space' are each targeted at different creative practices. At The Arches Studios the residents were working in illustration, visual arts and sculpture; at Tower House they were working in digital media, film and graphic design; and at The Sorting Office they were working in fashion and textiles as well as crafts, illustration and visual arts. The associate artist scheme at The Point provides opportunities for solo artists and creative companies working in contemporary performance, theatre and dance as well as a

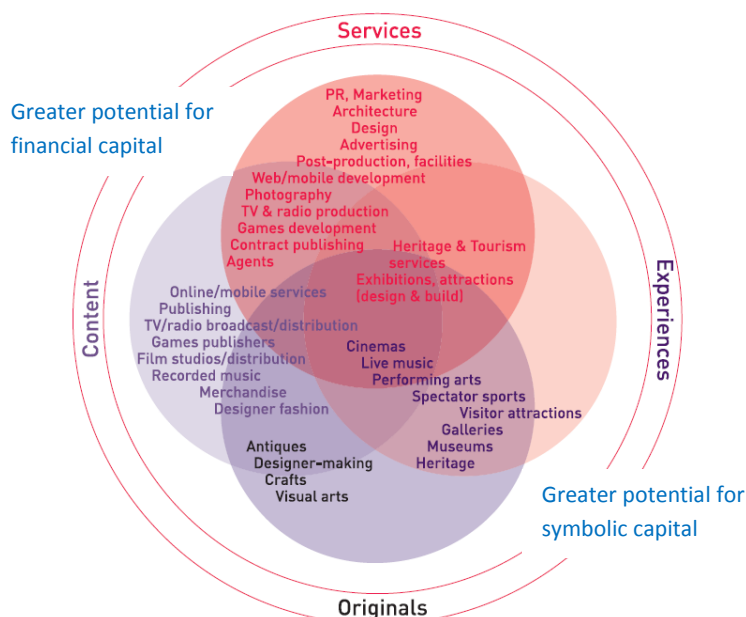
smaller number working in digital media. Angela McRobbie (2004) has described the passionate attachment many creative people have to their work and David Throsby (1994) has suggested that satisfaction and the desire to work in one's chosen field can be more motivational than economic rewards. Many of the artists and creative practitioners who participated in the case studies were looking to find a balance between pursuing a creative practice that they were passionate about while also making sure they are able to earn a living.

In Chapter 3 the refined model of the creative industries developed by NESTA in 2006 was introduced (see Figure 14). This was one of the first alternative analytical frameworks presented to UK policy-makers in response to the DCMS concept of creative industries. It focussed on the commercial growth potential of creative businesses and commercially focussed innovation, understanding the creative industries to be organised around four interlocking but distinct groups, including creative service providers, creative experience providers, creative originals producers and creative content producers. This is a useful four-fold typology and it was argued there is more scope for growth and profitability to be derived from creative content producers and creative service providers than from creative experience providers and creative originals producers. It was suggested these two groups have greater capacity to create, own and exploit intellectual property through the ability to reproduce and distribute content on a large scale. It was also suggested there is a greater potential for employment growth because within these two groups increases in demand are typically met by increases in staff. Among the artists, creative practitioners and small businesses which participated in the case studies there were examples of all four, but a larger number of creative experience providers and creative originals producers. For some these activities represent a resistance to mass culture and the dominance of capitalism whereby symbolic or cultural capital can be more motivational than financial gain – although in some cases symbolic power and high prestige can also lead to financial success (Bourdieu, 1993; 1996).

Whether it be a visual artist creating an original piece or artwork which is one of one; or a designer-maker creating an original product which is reproduced, but only as part of a limited run; a digital media company choosing which type of clients they want to work with and which ones they do not; or a theatre company creating performance work to be presented to live audiences during a professional tour – for many artists and creative practitioners these types of activities demonstrate their desire to retain a level of autonomy and resist the impacts of mass culture and contemporary capitalism on their creative and 'cultural' work (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979; Greenburg, 1961; Bourdieu, 1993; 1996; Jakob, 2013; Hracs and Jakob, 2014). If we take the example of craft which is particularly relevant at The Sorting Office,

Doreen Jakob (2013) has discussed how the rediscovery of craft as practice, lifestyle and consumer market has brought about opportunities for many ‘crafters’ to start their own business and transform their passion into profession. In recent years this has been encouraged by numerous blogs, forums, articles, books, TV and radio. However, there is a disconnect between the ideology of craft and capitalism – while capitalism seeks the efficiency of mass production techniques their work embraces the slowness of unique handmade production (also see Greenhalgh, 2003; Stevens, 2011; Jakob, 2013).

**Figure 14: Adapted version of NESTA refined model of the creative industries**



Source: NESTA, 2006, p.55. The researcher's additions are shown in blue.

The problem here is that in order to develop a sustainable career craft artists must explore additional options for revenue generation beyond that of the making and selling of exclusive handmade products alone. Jakob suggests that they may consider hosting craft workshops, working at a craft boutique, organising craft events, providing craft business consultancy, publishing profitable blogs or books, taking corporate sponsorship or running their own craft supply business. Multiple sources of income were found to be common among many of the artists and creative practitioners who participated in the case studies – with some during the early stages of their career relying on part-time employment which had little or no relevance to their creative practice in order to supplement their income. As we know, portfolio careers, part-time working and multiple job holdings are all characteristic of the creative industries which already presents a range of challenges for people entering the sector (O'Brien and Feist, 1995; 1997; Pratt, 2004; Oakley, 2009). Nevertheless, there were many examples of

people pursuing creative practices which resist mass production and the drive of capitalism whilst they were also seeking to develop sustainable livelihoods. Handmade and artisan production can be appealing as a form of self-fulfilment and authenticity – and there are consumers too who resist the standardisation of mass culture and who desire products which offer symbolic and cultural value, exclusivity and opportunities for creative expression and self-actualisation (Lash and Urry, 1994, Frith, 1998; Fiske, 2010).

Brian Hrac and Jakob (2014) have explored the example of exclusive and interactive experiences offered by independent musicians and craft artists arguing that ‘experiences’ can be used as standalone products to help supplement and promote their goods or services and to cater to evolving consumer demands. Research by Hrac and Jakob shows that consumers value exclusive experiences for their symbolic properties and interactive experiences attract consumers who want to develop and express their own creativity. Examples of such events from the South Hampshire case studies which support these claims include open studios and trade fairs like those held at the A Space workspaces, premieres of new performances presented to audiences at The Point, private views of new art exhibitions and creative skills workshops or live demonstrations across all disciplines. Exclusive and interactive experiences can help to develop consumer appreciation for a particular creative practice and can also create an enhanced value and connection that consumers feel towards both the practice and the producer, which in turn can lead to greater sales. Hrac and Jakob suggest ‘Consumers are drawn to these experiences because they are considered more authentic, facilitate creativity and self-actualisation and result in a ‘story’ that can be converted into social and cultural capital’ (p.13; also see Gilmore and Pine, 2007).

Recent research by Daniel Fujiwara, Paul Dolan and Ricky Lawton (2015) suggests that most creative occupations have higher than average levels of life satisfaction, worthwhileness and happiness than employment in general, although they also found that creative occupations can have higher levels of anxiety. They found creative jobs may impact positively on subjective wellbeing through job characteristics like autonomy, competence and freedom, but can cause anxiety due to inequality, instability, long hours and poor pay. Finding a balance between pursuing a creative practice and earning a living can be difficult – despite the economic credibility of the creative industries sector as a whole, which it is claimed contributes nearly £10 million per hour to the UK economy (DCMS, 2016). Some creative practices, like those pursued by the associate artists at The Point who were working in contemporary performance, theatre and dance, are commonly associated with public investment. Cultural policy derived from the Frankfurt School doctrine promotes public sector support for the arts as a public good

rather than an economic intervention – but creative industries strategies usually blur the boundaries between cultural and economic policy (Pratt, 2005; 2012). More recently lottery funding and tax incentives have diversified the sources of public investment in the arts, although grant funding from the Arts Council has reduced by 29.4% in real terms from 2010 to 2015 (Neelands et al, 2015). Over the past 20 years those accessing public investment have been encouraged to also seek additional sources of finance, including income generation as well as private and philanthropic investments which requires an entrepreneurial spirit. There were examples of artists and creative practitioners across all three of the South Hampshire case studies who were seeking new spaces to exist within the creative economy which allowed them a level of creative autonomy over their work but also enabled them to be rewarded financially and to develop sustainable careers.

### **Identifying needs within the creative industries sector**

The creative industries sector is not a total system of goods and services driven by volume sales as Adorno and Horkheimer would have feared. The reality is far more complex and the creative economy agenda obscures the traditional distinctions between cultural and economic policy, the subsidised and the commercial, cultural and economic activities and motives of art and motives of profit. The case study of CIBAS shows examples of clients who defined themselves as ‘artists’ rather than ‘businesses’. Many of these clients did not identify financial profit as a key indicator of success and business practice was understood foremost as a means to create sustainability for their creative endeavours rather than to establish and grow a commercial enterprise (BOP, 2007; Audiences South, 2009). Nevertheless, there were other clients too who clearly defined themselves as ‘creative businesses’ with a desire for commercial growth and expansion. Pierre Bourdieu (1986; 1993; 1996) discussed the complex system of validation through which creative work can achieve cultural status through a rejection of the immediate economic rewards of speculative production and planned marketing operations in favour of symbolic power and high prestige. Although their contrast is not absolute, Bourdieu highlighted two modes of cultural production – one whereby production is attuned to economic capital and another which is a more restricted economy based upon the accumulation of symbolic and cultural capital. High quality creative work is often awarded prestige and recognition within its field which can assist career progression and also lead to economic success. For example, making a successful application to join The Arches Studios, Tower House or The Sorting Office or joining the associate artist scheme at The Point all comes with a certain level of cultural capital for the artists, creative practitioners and small businesses involved.



The case studies for this thesis have highlighted several key themes where many artists and creative practitioners request advice and support. These include general business start-up advice, business planning, marketing and promotion, costing and pricing, funding and access to finance as well as creative mentorship. This highlights these themes as some of those which many arts and creative businesses (and particularly start-ups and smaller businesses) may benefit from additional support. This suggests that in contrast to ideas about the autonomy of art exemplified by Bohemianism and 'l'art pour l'art' (art for art's sake) cultural and creative activity does not exist outside of economic relations. Thus the local initiatives and public sector interventions investigated for this thesis play a key role in helping artists and creative practitioners to be creative within a commercial system. This is particularly important at the cultural-end of the sector which is becoming increasingly exposed to market pressures in part due to cuts in public sector spending (for example see CEBR, 2013; Gov.UK, 2013; Lost Arts, 2015; Neelands et al, 2015). The case studies also highlight the value of one-to-one support from advisors and mentors who understand both creative practice as well as business practice. The case studies suggest that some small business owners in the creative industries are less likely than those in other sectors to approach generic business support services. For example, there were CIBAS clients who believed advisors at non-specialist services would not understand their work (BOP, 2007; Audiences South, 2009; CIBAS, 2009b; Fraser, 2011).

Beyond specialist business support (and pre-business support) to enable artists and creative practitioners to pursue the commercial potential of their artistic or creative practice, the case studies highlight demand for access to specialist facilities and affordable workspaces. Just as there were examples of people approaching CIBAS looking for business advice tailored to the creative industries, there was demand for other types of specialist support. The case studies show that some artists and creative practitioners are much less likely to apply for non-specialist workspaces such as those provided at serviced office buildings and business centres. For visual artists, designer-makers and performers these spaces are unable to facilitate their practice and creative practitioners working in other areas such as design, digital media or film may also prefer spaces which are shared with others working in complementary disciplines or where they can access specialist equipment or facilities. In many cases commercial property is unaffordable for start-ups and smaller businesses working in the creative industries unless the associated costs can be shared with others as part of a co-working initiative. Only a small number of residents at The Arches, Tower House and The Sorting Office had previously applied for workspace elsewhere and for those who had these were other affordable workspace initiatives that were targeted at the creative industries.

When the residents were asked why they had applied to A Space many explained that they were either unable or did not wish to work from home, or they wanted to be part of a supportive 'creative community' – and this motive was shared by residents working at the cultural-end of the sector as well as those working in practices broadly considered to be more commercially focussed. When the solo artists and creative companies who participated in the associate artist scheme at The Point were asked why they had applied to the cultural venue the majority claimed they were looking for artistic mentorship and business support, endorsement from an established arts organisation, access to specialist facilities and workspace as well as marketing and technical support. For many who participated in the case studies the decision to work independently was a way of taking ownership and control of their creativity rather than subordinating it to the vision of others (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006). However, starting an independent arts or creative business presents a range of challenges. Oakley (2009) explains that one way creative workers manage the risk and uncertainties of work and the psychological cost of that uncertainty is through networks – and this is also important in relieving the sense of isolation felt by some artists and creative practitioners who usually work alone.

Charles Leadbeater and Oakley (1999) have argued that the idea of the entrepreneur as a 'lone inventor' is utterly misleading and in reality they work in partnerships, networks and clusters, both to acquire ideas, information, contacts and resources, but also for mutual support. For example, in addition to the one-to-one sessions, the CIBAS service also organised training and networking events, and published a regular e-newsletter which helped to bring a sense of coherency to the sector and promoted a shared sense of creative community. Workspace initiatives like those launched by A Space and cultural venues like The Point also have an important role to play because they bring artists and creative practitioners together in a particular place. Creative industries 'hubs' like The Arches, Tower House and The Sorting Office as well as The Point provide access to social capital and reinforce and strengthen communities of artists and creative practitioners, contributing to the development of the local creative ecology and economy (Bourdieu, 1986; Wittel, 2001; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Markusen and Johnson, 2006; Lingo and Tepper, 2013).

When asked what were the main difficulties they had experienced when starting out as an independent solo artist or creative company many of the past and present associate artists at The Point mentioned income generation and financial management. Moreover, there was demand for support with developing sustainable business plans across all three of the case studies for this thesis. Together the case studies also show that it is not unusual for artists and creative practitioners (across a range of different sub-sectors) to work in unrelated

additional employment during the early stages of a new venture – but this can create pressure in terms of time management and can also cause confusion or conflict with how one perceives their professional identity. However, when a successful application is made to join a specialist workspace initiative or an associate artist scheme they receive an endorsement from the organisation providing the support and this translates into cultural capital. This can help to build their confidence as they begin to identify themselves more as creative professionals. Initiatives that provide creative mentorship as well as business support are an important part of creative industries development because they celebrate creativity and enterprise. The CIBAS clients, the residents at the creative workspaces managed by A Space, and the associate artists at The Point were all looking for specialist support from organisations which understood their creative practice and could help them to negotiate the challenges of working in the creative industries sector and develop strong business plans and sustainable careers.

## **7.2. Creative industries development at the local and sub-regional levels**

The study of creative industries development at the level of the town, city or sub-region has been dominated by the model of the creative city or milieu and the creative clusters paradigm which focusses on the mutually beneficial co-location of businesses and organisations that can contribute towards growth in the economy. Local authorities, development agencies and other decision-makers at these levels need to consider their local conditions and aim to capitalise on their local strengths (Oakley, 2004; The Work Foundation, 2009; Chapain et al, 2010). In South Hampshire the creative industries have been identified as one of the fastest growing sectors in the economy and the sub-region benefits from being an attractive area to live and to visit with good transport links to London and beyond as well as internationally (PUSH, 2009; Chapain, 2010; Clayton et al, 2013). The interconnected city region, with its two main economic centres in Southampton and Portsmouth and with Winchester nearby, has a population of over one million and is also home to a substantial student body across four higher education institutions at Portsmouth, Southampton, Southampton Solent and Winchester (Smith, 2009; Tochtermann et al, 2010; Comunian and Faggian, 2011; 2014). With thousands graduating in cultural and creative disciplines every year initiatives to support graduates in the transition from university to the work place and others to support new start-ups and small businesses are strategically important for South Hampshire. Recently the Solent Local Enterprise Partnership (Solent LEP, 2014) has highlighted supporting new businesses, enterprise and ensuring small and medium sized enterprise (SME) survival and growth as one of six key objectives. Historical economic strengths include marine, aerospace and defence, advanced manufacturing, engineering,

transport and logistics – and the digital and creative industries and the visitor economy have been increasingly recognised as strategic sectors in recent years.

The creative industries and the wider creative economy tend to have an urban bias and London is very much at the heart of the sector in the UK (Pratt, 1997a; Knell and Oakley, 2007; Chapain et al, 2010; Mateos-Garcia and Bakhshi, 2016). Nevertheless, Allen Scott (2006) has argued that although creative industries clusters are often concentrated in large cities there are examples of small and specialised creative agglomerations all over the world. In South Hampshire it was found that the location of support services for artists, creative practitioners and small creative businesses shared a similar geography with that of the local arts provision and urban areas. Caroline Chapain (2010) also found that creative businesses and creative jobs were most concentrated in the urban and semi-urban areas of the sub-region. Chapain together with Bastian Lange and Krzysztof Stachowiak (2014) have suggested that there are opportunities for cities of medium size to foster the creative industries and to promote themselves as creative cities, especially if local and regional policy-makers take this agenda forward. However, their existing economic roles regionally and nationally, and their related attractiveness and creative demand are all key factors. With reference to the South Hampshire cases studies this second section of the chapter establishes that towns, smaller cities and sub-regions can compete in the creative economy by capitalising on their local strengths and by offering more welcoming, affordable and socially cohesive creative communities in contrast to major cities. This section of the chapter discusses the attraction and retention of creative talent and highlights the importance of creative spaces for creative communities.

### **Attracting and retaining creative talent**

Chapain and Roberta Comunian (2010) have argued that in order to understand the local and regional dimensions of the creative economy we must not only consider the clustering of particular types of businesses and organisations but also focus on the wider system that enables and supports creative individuals. Chapain and Comunian's creative knowledge pool model (see page 81) offers a multi-layered analytical tool to explore the relations between creative industries development and place through the perspective of creative individuals and in the process identify enablers and inhibitors of the creative economy in a given geographical context. They argue that to understand the local and regional dynamics of the sector there is a need to consider the personal relationships between creative individuals and place, the employment and work opportunities that place can offer, the development initiatives actively engaging with the sector and larger non-cultural regional infrastructure which also support the

creative economy. The case study of CIBAS and the comparison with the arts advisory service for Winchester and Havant suggests that creative industries development initiatives which demonstrate an understanding of local economic development priorities and the dynamics of the local creative economy are much more likely to become embedded into the local policy landscape. This will allow the initiative to be responsive to demand whilst also developing key priorities, which may include small business growth or graduate retention for example. Furthermore, key to the successes of both A Space and The Point is the strategic approach of these two organisations and their recognition from the outset that they are part of a wider local and regional infrastructure to support creative industries development, promote artistic excellence and stimulate growth in the creative economy.

Chapain and Comunian also suggest personal attachment and ‘social embeddedness’ plays an important role in the location of creative individuals. Julie Brown and Michał Męczyński (2009) have argued that ‘life events’ such as where someone starts their first ‘career’ job or where they have connections through colleagues, family or friends can often be the ‘triggering factors’ in location choices while quality of place factors should be considered as the ‘steering factors’. A good example is the sense of loyalty that the associate artists felt towards The Point and to Eastleigh and wider South Hampshire even after they had completed the scheme. In the case of South Hampshire the presence of four universities offering courses in cultural and creative disciplines is again significant. Chapain and Comunian recognise that higher education institutions bring new people to a particular place, they produce graduates who enter the job market and they provide specialist expertise. Students who develop positive personal connections to a place while they are studying are more likely to stay after graduation to look for work or to form a start-up business and others may return later in life. Charles Landry (2000) and Richard Florida (2002) have also both discussed the potential for creative clusters to develop in close proximity to universities which can develop mutually beneficial relationships with the sector (also see Comunian and Gilmore, 2015).

This thesis has also discussed the role that local government can play as a facilitator and enabler of creative industries development, but public sector interventions always need to be carefully considered and creative industries policy will not be appropriate for all local authorities. However, where there is demand they can play a crucial and active role by working with local and regional partners and representatives from the sector. Chapain, Lange and Stachowiak (2014) have discussed top-down and bottom-up policy approaches. They warn that top-down approaches influenced by recognition of the importance of the creative industries can have limits if national priorities change (the change in UK Government since 2010 for

example). Bottom-up approaches are influenced by existing local or regional conditions which give rationale to formulate sectoral policy. While focussing on existing sub-sectors and using local assets can prove successful, approaches to 'import' new sub-sectors can help to create a more diversified creative economy. However, they warn that imported sub-sectors may struggle to survive over the longer-term if they do not already have a strong presence locally and their development might be impeded by the duration of existing funding and support structures. Chapain, Lange and Stachowiak argue 'the importance of history and local assets advocates a rejection of a "one-size-fits-all" solution in supporting local development through creative city policies' (p.124). They suggest that specific local institutional set-ups and socio-spatial embeddedness of creative sub-sectors seems to be of high relevance in this process. Comunian and Oli Mould (2014) also warn that commercial and economic power can play a key role in top-down larger-scale interventions and smaller creative producers, local needs and long-term goals sometimes risk being squeezed out.

While many artists and creative practitioners are attracted to large cities (like London, Berlin, Los Angeles, New York, Paris etc.) where it is often thought that there will be more opportunities available to them this does not mean that there is not a role to be played by towns, smaller cities and sub-regions. Working outside of London in South Hampshire enabled artists and creative practitioners to be more distinctive and 'bigger fish in a smaller pond' as well as offered lower overheads and running costs for businesses – and London is still less than an hour and a half away by train or car. However, creative people already in the sub-region may still leave if they perceive there to be a lack of opportunities available to them (SHIP, 2008; The Point, 2009a; PUSH, 2009; Smith, 2009; DPA, 2010; DTZ, 2010; Comunian et al, 2010; Comunian and Faggian, 2011; 2014). Others may also decide to settle for work in other sectors in spite of their training and education in creative disciplines and therefore new talent may not always be sufficiently exploited. Nevertheless, it was found that CIBAS in Portsmouth attracted clients from across Hampshire and there were also some clients from further afield including locations in Dorset, East Sussex, Kent, Somerset, Surrey and London. The workspaces which are managed by A Space in Southampton and Eastleigh respond to local demand for affordable specialist facilities – and Ann Markusen and Amanda Johnson (2006) have argued that it is clear that if there is nowhere for artists and creative practitioners to go then there are likely to be fewer of them and the quality of their work is likely to suffer. The associate artist scheme at The Point in Eastleigh has attracted applications from local solo artists and creative companies as well as others from different parts of the UK and beyond, although the majority were from Hampshire, London and the South East of England.

Hracs and his colleagues Jill Grant, Jeffry Haggett and Jesse Morton have explored the ways in which creative people consider the economic and social dynamics of place in making their location choices (Hracs et al, 2011). Their research with musicians in Canada reveals that although Toronto is at the centre of the Canadian music industry smaller city regions like Halifax can offer more affordable and socially cohesive scenes compared to the highly competitive scenes of major cities where it can be much harder for them to find an affordable place to live and work. Back in England there are similarities to be seen with the relationship between South Hampshire and London. The smaller size and less competitive marketplace offer a more welcoming environment than London for some. In particular there were examples at The Point of past and present associate artists who recognised that while there are often fewer opportunities outside major cities there can be more supportive and collaborative social dynamics and a greater sense of civic capital (Wolfe, 2009). The smaller context of South Hampshire is able to support strong interpersonal networks and solidarity within communities of artists, creative practitioners and other actors in the creative economy. The local initiatives and public sector interventions investigated as case studies for this thesis contribute towards the attraction and retention of new talent. However, not everyone who engages with these initiatives stays in South Hampshire for the longer-term, but often those who leave still remain in contact with their local networks and may continue to collaborate. Moreover, the case studies demonstrate that towns, smaller cities and sub-regions can play an important role in the creative economy by providing a more supportive environment and a stepping stone to help emerging artists and creative practitioners to launch their careers.

### **Developing creative spaces for creative communities**

Under the right conditions and with the right policies and initiatives it is possible for smaller places to compete in the creative economy and to attract and retain creative talent as well as to act as incubators for major cities. The case studies for this thesis demonstrate how specialist advisory services, the provision of affordable creative workspaces and associate artist schemes offered by cultural venues can act as enablers of local creative economies where they respond to demand and are able to nurture creative practice and enterprise. The main medium of support offered by CIBAS was one-to-one sessions with an advisor, but their events and online services also helped to coordinate the sector, raise its profile and promote network building. The Arches Studios, Tower House and The Sorting Office as well as The Point are all physical spaces which are a focus of activity for communities of artists, creative practitioners, small businesses, creative economy stakeholders and the wider public. This type of physical

infrastructure has been recognised as an essential component of the creative city or milieu (Porter, 1998; Hall, 2000; Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002). They are identifiable creative spaces which contribute towards quality of place as well as the local support infrastructure for the creative industries. Research by Markusen and Johnson (2006) undertaken in America suggests that beyond formal training many artists and creative practitioners can work in relative isolation and in the early stages of their careers often lack access to professional workspace and expensive tools or equipment which could benefit their work. They also found that emerging talent may not always understand how best to develop a business from their creative practice and need to be able to communicate with peers and mentors to receive encouragement and critical feedback – and the case studies for this thesis support these findings. A Space and The Point in particular show how creative spaces can act as hubs for supportive and collaborative communities in which artists and creative practitioners develop their practices, expand their networks and establish their businesses.

Tarek Virani (2015) has recently explored the scarce literature on ‘creative hubs’ and suggests that although this term is in wide use within policy circles, its actual meaning is not always clear. Through the use of ethnographic research into creative hubs in London and consolidation of existing literature Virani suggests that although they take on a number of different physical, spatial, organisational and operational manifestations creative hubs can be understood to have four primary characteristics:

First, they provide both hard and soft services ‘tailored’ to creative industries sector SMEs, including micro-businesses; second, they are aimed specifically at early stage creative SMEs and micro-businesses; third, they are facilitated by trusted managers who retain a number of important roles such as managers, curators and network builders; and fourth, they have become critical to the existence of the local creative economy because they provide the tools necessary to sustain a business. (Virani, 2015, p.22)

For Virani the creative hub is a putative model for providing mainly business support in a local context for the creative industries. They offer opportunities for talented emerging artists and creative practitioners to develop their skills and grow their business but at an affordable rate whilst taking advantage of the benefits of being co-located. He recognises that a sense of community is vital for creative hubs which provide a co-working environment and thus it is important that those who are allowed into the space are able to complement each other in a number of ways – there were examples of creative individuals at the A Space workspaces and at The Point who felt that the support and encouragement from their peers was one of the main benefits. Furthermore, the South Hampshire case studies also highlight the importance of a dual focus on both creative practice and business practice – particularly for creative hubs



targeting those working at the cultural-end of the sector who may strive for symbolic or cultural capital over financial gain. While CIBAS provided one-to-one support, events and online services, the creative workspaces managed by A Space and the cultural venue The Point continue to offer access to specialist facilities and expertise as well as social and cultural capital which can assist career progression (Bourdieu, 1986 1993; 1996). These examples of creative hubs have been able to foster an environment which reinforces and strengthens a sense of creative community while helping independent artists and creative practitioners to find the right balance for them between pursuing the practice that they are passionate about while also making sure that they are able to earn a living.

The arts charity A Space is an example of an artist-led initiative which has grown to become one of the leading creative industries development agencies in South Hampshire for the provision of specialist workspaces. A Space has developed strong relationships with local government in Southampton and Eastleigh through shared goals to promote economic and cultural development as well as urban regeneration. Their work illustrates how bringing vacant iconic, distinctive or heritage buildings back into use as creative spaces can attract attention not just from artists and creative practitioners, but also from local people and others with an interest in the building by hosting regular public events. Workspace initiatives can also see previously empty buildings become a focus for creative activity which can bring a variety of economic and broader social impacts to local areas (Myerscough, 1988; Landry, 2000; DCMS, 2004a; Evans and Shaw, 2004; ACE, 2007; The Work Foundation, 2009; Elson, 2011; BOP, 2012; Mowlah et al, 2014; Carnwath and Brown, 2014). The three workspaces managed by A Space were targeted at different sub-sectors demonstrating how the arts charity has been able to develop a transferable model. Successful workspace initiatives require a supply of appropriate spaces (in the right locations, affordable, with appropriate terms, facilities and support) as well as the right management skills and judgements to make them attractive to creative people (Landry, 2000; The Work Foundation, 2009; DPA, 2010; Elson, 2011).

The associate artist scheme at The Point is an initiative which was launched by a local authority owned cultural venue which is already recognised as a leading example of culture-led urban regeneration (DETR, 2000; SHIP, 2008; EBC, 2009a; Pointer and Kerswell, 2009; PUSH, 2009; Knight, 2010; Spencer, 2011). This is a different type of creative space to those managed by A Space and presents a strong case study of how cultural venues can enhance their role as enablers of the creative economy by implementing new programmes which promote creativity and enterprise. During their time on the scheme associate artists were given the opportunity to fully participate in the life and work of The Point. The associate artists were encouraged to

become part of a supportive creative community focussed around the venue which included the staff team, past and present associate artists, visiting artists, audiences and various partners and collaborators which created a strong sense of civic capital (Wittel, 2001; Wolfe, 2009; Lingo and Tepper, 2013). A shared sense of community can be empowering and enable artists and creative practitioners to build their confidence, expand their networks and establish themselves as creative professionals. Much like the A Space workspaces the venue was a focus for activity and the informal networks that develop both within and around these buildings can play a key role in raising the profile of the sector and nurturing the development of localised clusters or hubs and an ecology conducive to creativity and enterprise (Porter, 1998; 2000; 2008; Chapain et al, 2010; Chapain and Comunian, 2010; Virani, 2015).

This thesis has argued that policy-makers and decision-makers should consider the local and regional dimensions of the creative economy before implementing local initiatives or public sector interventions to support creative industries development. This will allow them to be responsive to local needs and build on local strengths rather than simply trying to replicate successful creative cities. Learning from case studies is an important part of the process and this is why the chapters which present findings from the South Hampshire case studies each include a section which considers best practice. They should use the existing evidence base and then review what action is most likely to be beneficial given the particular characteristics of their local area. The examples of CIBAS, A Space and The Point not only to address the need for more opportunities outside of London and other major cities so more people have the chance to build a career within the sector but also respond to the local need for improvement in the levels of attraction and retention of new talent and graduates in cultural and creative disciplines (PUSH, 2009; Smith, 2009; DTZ, 2010; Comunian and Faggian, 2011; 2014; Bakhshi and Windsor, 2015). New initiatives can also benefit from bringing together partners with shared goals where there is potential for different types of organisations to collaborate, both to help secure funding and investment and also to improve outputs.

The findings of this thesis illustrate that in contradiction to neo-liberal ideals there is a complex interaction between private and public investment and publicly-funded organisations can be a powerful stimuli for both economic as well as cultural development. All the different types of specialist support provided by the local initiatives and public sector interventions discussed in this thesis can be valuable to those hoping to develop sustainable careers as independent artists and creative practitioners because they aim to alleviate some of the challenges they face and contribute towards bridging the gap between education or training and industry. There are four key areas of support which the case studies highlight as important

including tailored business advice and creative mentorship, affordable workspaces and specialist facilities, endorsement and cultural capital, and finally, access to networks and social capital (including localised creative communities) and access to markets. They also highlight the key players in creative industries development at local and sub-regional levels as education providers, local authorities, development agencies, arts and cultural organisations and creative businesses. In today's cash-strapped climate securing investment to promote the benefits of growing the creative economy (whether intrinsic, economic or social) is becoming increasingly challenging as pressure on public resources grows. Yet the case studies suggest although many emerging artists and creative practitioners are looking to develop their entrepreneurial skills, creativity is still not driven towards economic-only ends as Adorno and Horkheimer's culture industry thesis predicted. Yet, neither is it a matter of *l'art pour l'art*. The case studies found many examples of creative individuals (particularly at the cultural-end of the sector) who are looking for specialist support from organisations which understand their motivations and their desire to maintain a level of creative autonomy over their work while also developing a business focussed around their particular interests, skills and practice – enabling them to be creative within a commercial system.

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## **GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS**

ABI	Annual Business Inquiry
ACE	Arts Council England
ACGB	Arts Council of Great Britain
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BIS	Department for Business, Innovation and Skills
BOP	Burns Owens Partnership
CCCS	Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies
CEBR	Centre for Economics and Business Research
CEMA	Committee for Encouragement of Music and the Arts
CIBAS	Creative Industries Business Advisory Service
CID	Creative Industries Division
CIPS	Cultural Industries Production System
CITF	Creative Industries Task Force
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
CURDS	Centre of Urban and Regional Development Studies
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DoE	Department of the Environment
DES	Department of Education and Science
DETR	Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions
DLA	David Lock Associates
DPA	David Powell Associates
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
EAS	Enterprise Allowance Scheme
EBC	Eastleigh Borough Council
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
EU	European Union
FBC	Fareham Borough Council
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
GBC	Gosport Borough Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GLC	Greater London Council
GLA	Greater London Authority



GVA	Gross Value Added
HBC	Havant Borough Council
HCC	Hampshire County Council
IT	Information Technology
IDBR	Inter Departmental Business Register
JSA	Job Seekers Allowance
LCC	Leicester City Council
LEP	Local Enterprise Partnership
LGA	Local Government Association
NESTA	National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts
NFASP	National Federation of Artists' Studio Providers
NPO	National Portfolio Organisation
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PCC	Portsmouth City Council
PSI	Policy Studies Institute
PUSH	Partnership for Urban South Hampshire
RBS	Royal Bank of Scotland
RCC	Regional Cultural Consortia
RDA	Regional Development Agency
REF	Research Excellence Framework
RFO	Regularly Funded Organisation
SBS	Small Business Service
SCC	Southampton City Council
SEEC	South East England Cultural Consortium
SEEDA	South East England Development Agency
SHIP	Southampton, Hampshire, Isle of Wight and Portsmouth
SIC	Standard Industrial Classification
SME	Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
TVBC	Test Valley Borough Council
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VAT	Value Added Tax
WCC	Winchester City Council
WSCC	West Sussex County Council

## **GLOSSARY OF KEY RESEARCH TERMS**

**Creative career:** The progress and collective actions taken throughout a person's working life when it involves a creative practice or employment within the creative industries sector or wider creative economy. A career usually refers to an occupation, jobs held, titles earned and work accomplished over a long period of time. Short term contracts, part-time working, multiple job holdings, self-employment and high levels of educational attainment have all been found to be characteristic of creative careers (for example see O'Brien and Feist, 1995; 1997; Pratt, 2004; Oakley, 2009; Sapsed et al, 2015).

**Creative city:** The increasing usage of this term in recent years is mostly due to influential works by Peter Hall (2000) and Charles Landry (2000) although it can be dated back to the 1980s (Chapain et al, 2014). It refers to a post-industrial city with a strong creative economy, diverse and inclusive arts and culture, and which offers a liveable, vibrant and attractive 'milieu' and embraces creativity to solve infrastructural, economic and social problems. The concept has been used by policy-makers in strategies to promote community well-being as well as urban economic sustainability through creative initiatives and industries.

**Creative class:** An emergent socio-economic class identified by Richard Florida (2002) as a new driver of economic development for post-industrial cities which includes knowledge workers, intellectuals and artists. The creative class represents a shift away from traditional agriculture and industry-based economies and refers to a new 'economic class' of people whose job it is to create 'meaningful new forms' and who add economic value through creativity and innovation. The creative class creates new ideas, new technology and new creative content.

**Creative economy:** For John Howkins (2001) the creative economy is about 'how people make money from ideas'. It refers to economic systems whereby value is based on novel imaginative qualities rather than the traditional resources of land, labour and capital. The concept of creative economy is different to that of the creative industries which is limited to specific sub-sectors and it usually refers to creativity throughout the whole of the economy.

**Creative industries:** The United Kingdom (UK) Government played a critical formative role in establishing an international policy discourse for how the creative industries should be defined and what their wider significance constitutes (DCMS, 1998; 2001; 2014; Wang, 2008; UNCTAD, 2008; 2010; Flew, 2012). The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) defines the creative industries as 'those which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and

which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property' (DCMS, 2001, p.4). Despite popularising the term, a major criticism of the DCMS definition is the bringing together of largely not-for-profit activities with high-profile commercial industries (Pratt, 2005; Söndermann et al, 2009; Pratt, 2012; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). The DCMS sub-sectors include advertising and marketing; architecture; crafts; design; film, television, video, radio and photography; information technology, software and computer services; publishing; museums, galleries and libraries; music, performing and visual arts.

**Creative knowledge pool:** Caroline Chapain and Roberta Comunian's (2010) elaboration of a model developed by the Centre of Urban and Regional Development Studies (CURDS, 2001) which builds upon Nick Henry and Stephen Pinch's (2000) idea of the 'knowledge community'. The creative knowledge pool is a tool which can be used to understand the local and regional dimensions of the creative economy through investigating the relationships between creative individuals, their activities and place. The model can highlight enablers and inhibitors of the creative economy and includes four layers from creative individuals at the core, to businesses and networks, development agencies and the wider context of the urban and regional environment as well as the general supporting agencies and other services.

**Creative labour:** This refers to the employment conditions and issues facing creative workers. Short term contracts, part-time working, multiple job holdings and self-employment are all characteristic of the creative industries sector (see O'Brien and Feist, 1995; 1997; Pratt, 2004; Oakley, 2009; Sapsed et al, 2015). Insecurity, inequality, exploitation and even self-exploitation as well as the overall career difficulties and low economic rewards faced by workers in some parts of the sector has also been highlighted (Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Oakley, 2009; Comunian et al, 2010; Comunian et al, 2011; Abreu et al, 2012). It has been recognised that many creative workers have a passionate attachment to their work and it has been suggested that for some the desire to work in their chosen field can be more motivational than economic rewards (see Throsby, 1994; McRobbie, 2004).

**Creative milieu:** A place which contains the necessary requirements in terms of both hard and soft infrastructure to generate a flow of ideas – a milieu can be a building, a street, an area or neighbourhood, a city, sub-region or region. Charles Landry (2000, p.133) describes a creative milieu as 'a physical setting where a critical mass of entrepreneurs, intellectuals, social activists, artists, administrators, power brokers or students can operate in an open-minded,

cosmopolitan context where face to face interaction creates new ideas, artefacts, products, services and institutions and as a consequence contributes to economic success’.

**Culture industry:** A term popularised by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer (1979) which has been used to refer largely (but not exclusively) to the audio-visual industries which rapidly expanded during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Adorno and Horkheimer argued that these advances promoted capitalist agendas and ‘mass culture’ and that they were a threat to real or ‘authentic culture’. Policy derived from this position has aimed to protect high art forms like literature, music, performing and visual arts through state support as a public good to ensure that the fast-paced growth of the culture industry would not lead to economic values replacing cultural values. The concept sees an opposition between creativity against commercialisation and the latter is thought to be a destructive influence. Although the literature has since come a long way the culture industry thesis still raises important questions concerning the relationship between creativity and enterprise as well as motives of art and motives of profit.

**Cultural industries:** Building upon Adorno and Horkheimer’s culture industry later accounts of cultural production recognised the arts and *multiple* cultural industries. Bernard Miège (1989) was an important contributor towards popularising the plural term. The culture industry suggested all cultural production formed part of a unified field that obeyed the same logic, but Miège recognised that there were different models of realising exchange value that stemmed from the different types of commodities that were being produced.

**Cultural capital:** Although their contrast cannot be made absolute, Pierre Bourdieu (1996) recognised two modes of cultural production that obeyed inverse logics. At one pole was the economic logic whereby production is attuned to profit and where cultural status slips accordingly, but at the other pole is a more restricted ‘anti-economic’ economy based upon accumulation of symbolic capital – ‘a kind of “economic” capital denied but recognised’ (p.142). In the long term symbolic capital can also lead to economic success. Essentially Bourdieu recognised two opposing forms of capital – symbolic (or cultural) and financial. Cultural capital can refer to an individual’s knowledge, skills and achievements but also institutional recognition and prestige such as awards, endorsements and positive reviews or testimonials as well as other accolades or associations.

**Graduates in cultural and creative disciplines:** Sometimes referred to as creative graduates, creative class graduates or bohemian graduates, this term refers to university graduates in cultural or creative disciplines which are associated with the creative industries or wider

creative economy. Researchers have explored the career prospects of graduates in different cultural and creative disciplines as well as their migration and the geography of cultural and creative education (for examples see Comunian et al, 2010; 2011; Comunian and Faggian, 2011; 2014; Abreu et al, 2012; Comunian and Gilmore, 2015).

**Industrial clusters:** Geographical agglomerations of businesses which collaborate and compete with each other and which have links to other actors in the location (such as universities). Michael Porter (1998) recognised the rise of informal networks of interconnected companies and institutions in particular geographical locations. He introduced the term and argued that clusters have the potential to generate competitive advantage through pools of common knowledge and skills, flexible human resources, relations of trust and a sense of shared goals. In the context of the creative industries and the wider creative economy the terms creative cluster and creative industries cluster are also used (some notable studies include Molotch, 1996; Newman and Smith, 2000; Pratt, 2000; Moss, 2002; Rantisi, 2002; Turok, 2003; Pollard, 2004; Julier, 2005; Scott, 2005; Chapain et al, 2010; Mateos-Garcia and Bakhshi, 2016).

## Appendix I: Researcher activity log

	Conferences, symposia and seminars
	Industry events
	Research degree and supervisory meetings
	Research interviews
	Other research activities

Date	Location	Description
27/01/2009	Eastleigh	Observation of Lila Dance Company's sharing of <i>Tracker</i> at The Point Theatre prior to their London premiere.
18/06/2009	Eastleigh	Meeting with Eastleigh Borough Council about PhD sponsorship and research residency at The Point.
09/07/2009	London	Local Government Association launch of <i>Investing in Creative Industries: A Guide for Local Authorities</i> at The Work Foundation.
22/10/2009	Southampton	The Geography of Creativity, research seminar with Dr Lisa De Propriis at the University of Southampton.
12/11/2009	Eastleigh	Opening of The Creation Centre at The Point, the UK's first fully residential Creation Space on the same site as a professional theatre and contemporary arts centre.
27/11/2009	Eastleigh	Observation of workshop for associate artists enrolled in September 2009 at The Point's Creation Space.
18/12/2009	Eastleigh	Observation of Lila Dance Company's sharing of work-in-progress <i>Agon</i> following their mentorship from Italian choreographer Simona Bertozzi at The Point's Creation Space.
22/12/2009	Winchester	Research degree interview at the University of Winchester.
02/02/2010	Eastleigh	Meeting with the associate artists enrolled in September 2009 at The Point to talk about case study research.
04/02/2010	Winchester	Research and Knowledge Exchange Symposium 2010 at the University of Winchester.
09/02/2010	Winchester	Meeting with the University of Winchester about research funding from the Faculty of Arts.
23/02/2010	Eastleigh	1 <sup>st</sup> research supervisory meeting at The Point.
10/03/2010	Eastleigh	Observation of workshop for associate artists enrolled in September 2009 at The Point's Creation Space.
22/03/2010- 23/03/2010	Southampton	Poster presentation at International Conference on Higher Education and the Creative Economy at the University of Southampton.
25/03/2010	Eastleigh	Lila Dance Company's <i>Triple Bill</i> , featuring <i>Agon</i> , a reworking of <i>Tracker</i> and <i>Here, Still Here, Still</i> at The Point Theatre.
15/04/2010- 16/04/2010	Winchester	Poster presentation at the International Conference on Community Arts in Higher Education at the University of Winchester.
07/05/2010	Winchester	Observation of Seedsew Performance Company's research and development performance for their show <i>Our Euphoria</i> at Winchester Discovery Centre.

08/05/2010	Winchester	Observation of Shady Jane Theatre Company's sharing of <i>Sailing On</i> at the University of Winchester Performance Gym.
17/05/2010	Winchester	Observation of Seedsew Performance Company's research and development performance for their show <i>Our Euphoria</i> on the roof of St. Edburga Building at the University of Winchester.
20/05/2010	Eastleigh	The Point's Associates' Showcase, featuring Seedsew's <i>Our Euphoria</i> , Udifydance Company's <i>All For a Few</i> , Shady Jane's <i>Sailing On</i> , Lost Banditos' <i>As Loud as Silence Can Sing</i> at The Point Theatre.
02/06/2010	London	Advancing the Arts: How Arts and Cultural Organisations Innovate, NESTA launch event for the report <i>Culture of Innovation</i> .
07/06/2010	London	The Future of Cultural Work Conference, organised by The Open University and Kings College London.
28/06/2010	Eastleigh	Meeting with University of Southampton MA (Res) Creative Cities student to talk about his research into small town culture-led regeneration in Eastleigh.
07/07/2010	Eastleigh	Observation of The River People Theatre Company's sharing of <i>Little Matter</i> at The Point's Creation Space.
23/07/2010	Eastleigh	Observation of pitches made by applicants shortlisted for the Artist Quarters Associate Scheme at The Point (for enrolment in September 2010).
10/08/2010	Eastleigh	Meeting with Eastleigh Borough Council about the <i>Arts Needs Survey for Eastleigh Borough</i> .
26/09/2010	Winchester	Visit to the Theatre Royal Winchester.
07/10/2010	Eastleigh	Co-organiser and speaker at Eastleigh Borough's 1 <sup>st</sup> Annual Creative Industries Symposium at The Point.
10/10/2010	Southampton	Visit to The Mayflower Theatre.
02/11/2010	London	A "Golden Age"? Reflections on New Labour's Cultural Policy and its Post-Recession Legacy, Cultural Trends International Conference at University College London.
29/11/2010	London	Critical Mass: Growing Creative Clusters, event at NESTA.
02/12/2010	London	Living in Cultural Metropolis: The Future of the Creative Sectors in London, seminar at City University London.
03/12/2010	Winchester	South Hampshire and Hampshire Cultural Infrastructure Audit, workshop at Winchester Guildhall.
10/12/2010	London	Who Fits in the Creative World? Higher Education and the Arts and Cultural Sector, seminar at London Metropolitan University.
20/12/2010	Winchester	2 <sup>nd</sup> research supervisory meeting at the University of Winchester.
25/01/2011	Eastleigh	Meeting with the Director of A Space Arts at Eastleigh Civic Offices to talk about case study research.
03/02/2011	Winchester	Speaker at the Research and Knowledge Exchange Symposium 2011 at the University of Winchester.
14/02/2011	New Forest	Telephone interview with the Business Development Manager at New Forest District Council.
14/02/2011	New Forest	Telephone interview with the Head of Communities and Employment at New Forest District Council.

14/02/2011	Test Valley	Telephone interview with the Senior Arts Officer at Test Valley Borough Council.
15/02/2011	Winchester	Telephone interview with the Administration Officer for Economy and Arts at Winchester City Council.
15/02/2011	Havant	Telephone interview with the Economic Development Manager at Havant Borough Council.
15/02/2011	Portsmouth	Telephone interview with the Arts Development Officer at Portsmouth City Council.
16/02/2011	London	Critical Mass: Creative Clusters Come to the Commons, event organised by NESTA at the House of Commons.
17/02/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with Artistic Director of Wet Picnic Theatre Company at The Point.
19/02/2011	Southampton	Visit to the <i>Truth or Dare</i> exhibition organised by A Space Arts and Southampton Solent University at The Bargate Monument Gallery.
23/02/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with the Director of A Space Arts at Eastleigh Civic Offices.
01/03/2011	Portsmouth	Interview with the Project Officer for Creative Industries Business Advice and Skills (CIBAS) at Purple Door, University of Portsmouth.
01/03/2011	Portsmouth	Visit to the New Theatre Royal.
01/03/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with the Artistic Director of Udifydance Company at The Point.
08/03/2011	Eastleigh	Observation of choreographer Charlotte Spencer's sharing of <i>The Nature of Things</i> at The Point's Creation Space.
17/03/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with Milk Presents Theatre Company at The Point.
18/03/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with solo performance artist Nicky Bellenger at The Point.
21/03/2011	Winchester	3 <sup>rd</sup> research supervisory meeting at the University of Winchester.
23/03/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with choreographer Charlotte Spencer at The Point.
25/03/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with Co-Artistic Director of Lila Dance Company at The Point.
02/04/2011	Southampton	Visit to the <i>Andy Warhol: Artist Rooms</i> exhibition at Southampton City Art Gallery and John Hansard Gallery.
07/04/2011	Hedge End	Gala Opening Evening at The Berry Theatre, a new cultural venue in Hedge End (part of the Eastleigh Borough administrative area).
19/04/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with the two co-founders of digital media and design company Mightydrive at The Point.
19/04/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with the Artistic Director of The Propaganda Theatre Company at The Point.
03/05/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with the Artistic Director of Commotion Dance at The Point.
08/05/2011	Eastleigh	Choreographer Charlotte Spencer's premiere of <i>The Nature of Things</i> at The Point's Creation Space.
09/05/2011	Eastleigh	The Point's Associates' Showcase, featuring Public Attraction's <i>The Bandstand Breakfast Tour</i> , Milk Presents <i>Bluebeard</i> and The Propaganda Company's <i>King Lear (in terrorem)</i> at The Point Theatre.
31/05/2011	Winchester	4 <sup>th</sup> research supervisory meeting at the University of Winchester.



08/06/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with the Creative Producer at The Point.
17/06/2014	Winchester	Poster Presentation at the Winchester Research Students Symposium 2011 at the University of Winchester.
30/06/2011	London	Speaker at the 6 <sup>th</sup> National Supporting Creative Industries Conference: New Routes into Arts and Culture, organised by Neil Stewart Associates and Policy Review TV at Westminster Studio.
02/07/2011	Winchester	The River People Theatre Company's <i>Little Matter</i> at the Hat Fair in Winchester.
09/07/2011	Eastleigh	The Enliven Fashion Show at The Point, featuring work by graduate and early career fashion designers and textile artists.
19/07/ 2011	Winchester	Café Culture event with guest speaker Wayne Hemingway MBE to launch the South East Design Forum (SEDF Winchester branch) at Winchester Discovery Centre.
04/08/2011	Eastleigh	Meeting with The Point and a website design company to talk about new Creative Eastleigh website.
12/09/2011	Winchester	5 <sup>th</sup> research supervisory meeting at the University of Winchester.
20/09/2011	Eastleigh	The Propaganda Theatre Company's <i>King Lear</i> at The Point Theatre.
23/09/2011	Eastleigh	Co-organiser and speaker at Eastleigh Borough's 2 <sup>nd</sup> Annual Creative Industries Symposium at The Point.
10/10/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with the Artistic Director of Commotion Dance at The Point.
11/10/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with the Artistic Director of Fuzzy Logic and Zoie Logic Dance Theatre at The Point.
12/10/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with the solo performance artist Nicky Bellenger at The Point.
12/10/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with choreographer Charlotte Spencer at The Point.
18/10/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with one of the co-founders of digital media and design company Mightydrive at The Point.
21/10/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with the Co-Artistic Director of The River People Theatre Company at The Point.
28/10/2011	Southampton	Visit to the <i>Mestopolojenie</i> exhibition by Sarah Filmer, Helen Marland and Steve White at The Bargate Monument Gallery.
28/10/2011	Southampton	Visit to the <i>Making A Scene</i> exhibition by curators Eleanor Nairne and Rebecca Lewin at Southampton City Art Gallery, part of the Starting Point competition by the Contemporary Art Society.
01/11/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with the Artistic Director of The Propaganda Theatre Company at The Point.
03/11/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with the Artistic Director of Udifydance Company at The Point.
08/11/2011	Winchester	Interview with one of the co-founders of Shady Jane Theatre Company at the University of Winchester.
19/12/2011	Eastleigh	Interview with Milk Presents Theatre Company at The Point.
24/02/2012- 28/02/2012	New York (USA)	Speaker at the Economic Geography Specialty Group for the Association of American Geographer's International Conference in New York.

06/03/2012	Eastleigh	6 <sup>th</sup> research supervisory meeting at The Point.
30/03/2012	London	Creative MBA's and the Business of Creativity, event organised by University for the Creative Arts and The Work Foundation.
02/04/2012	Southampton	Visit to The Nuffield Theatre.
11/04/2012	Winchester	Visit to the <i>Leg It</i> exhibition by Winchester City Council and Hampshire County Council's Arts and Museum Service at City Space.
11/04/2012	Winchester	Visit to the <i>Exposures</i> exhibition by Jane Brown in The Gallery at Winchester Discovery Centre.
11/04/2012	Winchester	Interview with the Head of Economy and Arts at Winchester City Council at Winchester City Offices.
12/05/2012	Southampton	Visit to the <i>Embodied Memories</i> exhibition by Jennifer Anyan at John Hansard Gallery Central.
22/05/2012	Eastleigh	Interview with the Director of A Space Arts at The Point.
25/05/2012	Portsmouth	Visit to the <i>A Hundred Seas Rising</i> exhibition by Suki Chan at Aspex.
25/05/2012	Portsmouth	VIP Evening at Art Space Portsmouth Open Studios.
12/06/2012	Eastleigh	Meet and greet event with the new resident artists and creative businesses at the recently opened West Wing Studios at The Point.
15/06/2012	Winchester	Poster presentation at the Research and Knowledge Exchange Symposium 2012 at the University of Winchester.
16/06/2012	Winchester	Poster presentation at the Winchester Research Students Symposium 2012 at the University of Winchester.
15/06/2012	Winchester	7 <sup>th</sup> research supervisory meeting at the University of Winchester.
15/06/2012	Winchester	Visit to the <i>Creative Force</i> exhibition featuring work by artists from the Winchester area at City Space.
15/06/2012	Winchester	Visit to the <i>Faster, Higher</i> exhibition by Susan Pui San Lok, in The Gallery at Winchester Discovery Centre.
15/06/2012	Winchester	Winchester School of Art Undergraduate Degree Show.
18/06/2012	Eastleigh	The Sorting Office, open afternoon prior to the conversion and fitting out of the new workspace for arts and creative businesses.
20/06/2012	London	Creative Economies: Exploring the Arts and Economic Development, seminar organised by Arts Council England and Arts Development UK.
21/06/2012	Southampton	Interview with the Cultural Partnerships Officer at Southampton City Council at Southampton Civic Centre.
21/06/2012	Southampton	Visit to the <i>Dark Matter</i> exhibition by Clare Woods at Southampton City Art Gallery.
21/06/2012	Southampton	Southampton Solent University Undergraduate Degree Show.
21/06/2012	Southampton	Visit to the <i>Innate Matter</i> exhibition by Kimvi Nguyen at The Bargate Monument Gallery.
29/06/2012	Winchester	Brassey Road Open Studio.
30/06/2012	Southampton	Southampton Open Studios Trail, including Red Hot Press, The Arches Studios, Tower House and Unit 11 Studios. Survey questionnaires distributed and informal conversations had with residents at The Arches Studios and Tower House.

07/07/2012	Eastleigh	The Enliven Festival, celebrating new talent in music, dance and fashion design.
19/07/2012	Southampton	Telephone conversation with the Director of A Space Arts about the survey of the residents at The Arches Studios and Tower House.
24/07/2012	Eastleigh	Observation of pitches made by applicants shortlisted for the Associate Artist Scheme at The Point (for enrolment in September 2012).
24/07/ 2012	Eastleigh	The Point's <i>Eastleigh to Edinburgh</i> , featuring Shady Jane's <i>Sailing On</i> , Milk Presents <i>A Real Man's Guide to Sainthood</i> and Wet Picnic's <i>Death and Gardening</i> at The Point Theatre.
27/09/2012	Eastleigh	Lila Dance Company's premiere of <i>The Incredible Presence of a Remarkable Absence</i> at The Point Theatre.
04/10/2012	Eastleigh	Co-organiser and speaker at Eastleigh Borough's 3 <sup>rd</sup> Annual Creative Industries Symposium at The Point.
15/10/2012	Eastleigh	Interview with the Artistic Director of The Propaganda Theatre Company at The Point.
16/10/2012	Eastleigh	Observation of the final dress rehearsal of Zoie Logic Dance Theatre's <i>Echo</i> at The Point Theatre.
18/10/2012	Southampton	Opening Launch Event for the Retail Solent Initiative (Re:So) at the Marlands Shopping Centre, a new student enterprise, retail and gallery space managed by Southampton Solent University.
31/10/2012	Winchester	8 <sup>th</sup> research supervisory meeting at the University of Winchester.
07/11/2012	Eastleigh	Interview with the Artistic Director of Commotion Dance at The Point.
08/11/2012	Eastleigh	Interview with Two Destination Language Collaborative Performance Company at The Point.
09/11/2012	Winchester	Visit to the RAW Artwork Gallery on Jewry Street, a pop-up gallery featuring work by students and early career artists in Hampshire.
09/11/2012	Winchester	Visit to the <i>In the Thick of It: A Woven Space</i> exhibition by Laura Ellen Bacon in The Gallery at Winchester Discovery Centre.
09/11/2012	Winchester	Visit to the <i>Making It</i> exhibition by local makers, schools and community groups at City Space.
13/11/2012	Eastleigh	Interview with Milk Presents Theatre Company at The Point.
13/11/2012	Eastleigh	Interview with solo performance artist Nicky Bellenger at The Point.
14/11/2012	Eastleigh	Interview with one of the co-founders of digital media and design company Mightydrive at The Point.
14/11/2012	Winchester	Interview with two of the co-founders of Shady Jane Theatre Company at the University of Winchester.
16/11/2012	Eastleigh	Interview with the Artistic Director of Fuzzy Logic and Zoie Logic Dance Theatre at The Point.
19/11/2012	Eastleigh	The Sorting Office Open Day following the announcement of funding from the European Union (EU) Interreg IVA Channel 'Recreate' programme for the new workspace for arts and creative businesses.
22/11/2012	Southampton	Visit to <i>The Last Ever Picture Show</i> exhibition at The Bargate Monument Gallery, the last exhibition managed by A Space.

25/01/2013	Winchester	Visit to the <i>Alphabet</i> exhibition by Michael Craig-Martin in The Gallery at Winchester Discovery Centre, a touring exhibition from Southbank Centre, London.
25/01/2013	Winchester	Visit to the <i>Mayor's Choice</i> exhibition featuring a selection of paintings, photographs and documents from Winchester Museums at City Space.
12/02/2013	Eastleigh	Milk Presents <i>Lucky Dip</i> , scratch night featuring Nicky Bellenger's <i>Chap</i> , Laura Dee Milnes' <i>Donna Kebab and Chips</i> , Shady Jane's <i>Marilyn Get's Up</i> and Milk Presents' <i>Self Service</i> at The Point Theatre.
12/03/2013	Southampton	Visit to the <i>Drawn Together, Drawn Apart: The Philip Schlee Collection of Drawings</i> exhibition at Southampton City Art Gallery.
10/04/2013	Brighton	Speaker at the Higher Education, Communities and Cultural Regeneration Seminar organised by the AHRC Beyond the Campus Partnership and hosted by the University of Brighton.
17/04/2013-18/04/2013	Brighton	Speaker at the European Union (EU) Interreg IVA Channel 'Recreate' Creative Industries Research Conference hosted by Wired Sussex.
27/04/2013	Winchester	Poster presentation at the Winchester Research Students Symposium 2013 at the University of Winchester.
29/04/2013	Winchester	Poster presentation at the Research and Knowledge Exchange Symposium 2013 at the University of Winchester.
10/05/2013	Eastleigh	Official Launch Event for The Sorting Office in Eastleigh, a new workspace for arts and creative businesses.
21/05/2013	Eastleigh	Meeting with the 'Recreate' Programme Manager at Eastleigh Borough Council to talk about undertaking case study research at The Sorting Office.
22/05/2013	Eastleigh	The Point presents <i>Made In Eastleigh</i> featuring Shady Jane's <i>Marilyn Gets Up</i> , Zoie Logic's <i>Murmur</i> and Two Destination Language's <i>Near Gone</i> at The Point Studio Theatre and Garden Stage.
06/06/2013	Eastleigh	Observation of pitches made by applicants shortlisted for the Associate Artist Scheme at The Point (for enrolment in September 2013).
08/06/2013	Eastleigh	<i>Eastleigh Unwrapped</i> , a day of dance, music and theatre in the streets of Eastleigh and an open studios event at The Sorting Office.
12/06/2013	Winchester	Visit to the <i>What Are You Like?</i> exhibition in The Gallery at Winchester Discovery Centre.
12/06/2013	Winchester	Visit to the RAW Artwork Gallery in The Brooks Centre, a pop-up gallery featuring work by students and early career artists in Hampshire.
22/06/2013	Eastleigh	Enliven Fashion Event at The Point featuring work by student, graduate and early career fashion designers as well as an art, craft and fashion market.
14/07/2013	Southampton	Visit to The Wool House, a pop up art gallery in a Medieval warehouse which was previously home to the Southampton Maritime Museum.
14/07/2013	Southampton	<i>Go! Rhinos Trail</i> , a mass public art sculpture project in the streets and parks of Southampton to showcase local artistic talent and to highlight the conservation threat facing rhinos in the wild.

26/07/2013	Winchester	Visit to the <i>Lure</i> exhibition by Kate MccGwire in The Gallery at Winchester Discovery Centre.
06/08/2013	Eastleigh	First meeting of Studio Providers Network South at The Sorting Office hosted by A Space Arts. Attendees included studio managers and representatives from creative workspaces in Andover, Basingstoke, Eastleigh, Havant, Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, Southampton and Winchester as well as other relevant organisations including Partnership for Urban South Hampshire (PUSH) and the National Federation of Artists' Studio Providers (NFASP).
13/09/2013	Winchester	9 <sup>th</sup> research supervisory meeting at the University of Winchester.
01/10/2013	Eastleigh	Interview with Milk Presents Theatre Company at The Point.
10/10/2013	Eastleigh	Co-organiser of Eastleigh Borough's 4 <sup>th</sup> Annual Creative Industries Symposium at The Point.
10/10/2013	Eastleigh	Milk Presents <i>A Real Man's Guide to Sainthood</i> at The Point Theatre.
15/10/2013	Brighton	Brighton: The Superfused City, a special event to present the findings of the Brighton Fuse Research Project at the University of Brighton.
15/11/2013	Portsmouth	Interview with the Support Officer for the Research and Innovation Services Department at Purple Door, University of Portsmouth.
15/11/2013	Portsmouth	Interview with the Head of Business Engagement for the Research and Innovation Services Department at Purple Door, University of Portsmouth.
23/11/2013	Eastleigh	The Sorting Office First Winter Open Studios.
27/11/2013	Southampton	Networking Event at the Retail Solent Initiative (Re:So) in the Marlands Shopping Centre, a student enterprise, retail and gallery space managed by Southampton Solent University.
30/01/2014	Eastleigh	Speaker at The Point and Eastleigh Business Improvement District (BID) Partnership's Eastleigh Town Centre Events Evening at The Point.
04/02/2014	Winchester	10 <sup>th</sup> research supervisory meeting at the University of Winchester.
27/02/2014	Southampton	Creative Industries: Adding Value to the Solent Economy, conference organised by Creative Network South and Southampton Solent University.
26/03/2014	Eastleigh	Studio Providers Network South at The Sorting Office hosted by A Space Arts. Attendees included studio managers and representatives from creative workspaces in Andover, Eastleigh, Havant, Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, Southampton and Winchester as well as other relevant organisations including Partnership for Urban South Hampshire (PUSH) and Creative Network South.
17/04/2014	Eastleigh	Observation of Lila Dance Company's sharing of their research and development process for a new show at The Point's Creation Space.
24/04/2014	Winchester	Poster presentation at the Research and Knowledge Exchange Symposium 2014 at the University of Winchester.
25/04/2014	Winchester	Poster presentation at the Winchester Research Students Symposium 2014 at the University of Winchester.
31/05/2014	Hamble	Visit to Sea Sky Art Studio in Hamble-le-Rice (part of the Eastleigh Borough administrative area).

07/06/2014	Eastleigh	Enliven Eastleigh 2014 Designer-Maker and Fashion Fair at The Point.
13/06/2014	Eastleigh	VIP Preview of The Sorting Office Summer Open Studios.
14/06/2014	Eastleigh	<i>Eastleigh Unwrapped</i> , a day of free performances across the town centre and an open studios event at The Sorting Office.
18/06/2014	Winchester	11 <sup>th</sup> research supervisory meeting at the University of Winchester.
25/06/2014	Winchester	Viva voce assessment for upgrade of research degree programme.
04/07/2014	Winchester	Visit to the <i>Walthamstow Tapestry</i> exhibition by Grayson Perry in The Gallery at Winchester Discovery Centre.
22/07/2014	Eastleigh	Interview with solo performance artist Nicky Bellenger at The Point.
22/07/2014	Eastleigh	Digital Media Network at Tec Hub, a new co-working and events space for games, tech, digital and film businesses at Wessex House (Eastleigh Business Centre).
23/07/2014	Eastleigh	Interview with one of the co-founders of digital media and design company Mightydrive at The Point.
08/08/2014	Southampton	Interview with the Director of A Space Arts at God's House Tower.
05/09/2014	Winchester	Winchester School of Art MA Degree Show.
25/09/2014	Eastleigh	Co-organiser of Eastleigh Borough's 5 <sup>th</sup> Annual Creative Industries Symposium at Tec Hub.
02/10/2014	Southampton	Meeting to explore potential collaboration for a co-authored journal article at the University of Southampton.
14/10/2014	Southampton	VIP Opening Party for the re-launch of the Retail Solent Initiative (Re:So) at the Marlands Shopping Centre, a student enterprise, retail and gallery space managed by Southampton Solent University.
16/10/2014	Eastleigh	Special Pre-Launch Event at The Courthouse, a new music and arts space at Eastleigh's former Magistrates Court.
22/10/2014	Medway	Panel speaker at session on creative industries business support in England and France at Kent 2020 Start-Up Live, an event for start-ups and small businesses.
24/10/2014	Southampton	Tower House Creative Trade Show organised by A Space Arts.
21/11/2014	Eastleigh	VIP Preview of The Sorting Office Winter Open Studios.
26/11/2014	Eastleigh	Telling Stories, Making Connections at Tec Hub, networking event with guest speaker Jonny Hall (Oscar-winning animator).
02/12/2014	Eastleigh	Studio Providers Network South at The Sorting Office hosted by A Space Arts. Attendees included studio managers and representatives from creative workspaces in Andover, Eastleigh, Havant, Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, Southampton and Winchester.
15/12/2014	Winchester	Centre for Research into Communication, Culture and Media Studies Symposium at University of Winchester
17/12/2014	Eastleigh	Interview with the Creative Producer at The Point.
13/01/2015	Eastleigh	Organiser of a meeting to discuss potential to establish a new creative industries research network for Hampshire with representatives from Creative Network South, Eastleigh Borough Council, the University of Winchester, Southampton Solent University and the University of Southampton at The Point.

13/01/2015	Eastleigh	Follow up meeting about potential collaboration for a co-authored journal article at the University of Southampton.
28/01/2015	London	Active audience panel member at New Deal for Students: Redesigning the Student Experience, conference organised by Neil Stewart Associates, Policy Review TV and the National Centre for Universities and Business.
04/02/2015	Winchester	12 <sup>th</sup> research supervisory meeting at the University of Winchester.
09/02/2015	Eastleigh	Meeting with representatives from Eastleigh Borough Council, The Point and the University of Southampton about Arts Council England Research Grants Programme 2015-18.
12/02/2015	Eastleigh	Zoie Logic Dance Theatre's premiere of <i>SAFE</i> at The Point Theatre.
07/03/2015	Southampton	Creative City Dialogue 2015: A Cultural Planning Perspective on Southampton's Renaissance, an event organised by urban research and place making consultancy Event One 7.
19/03/2015	Eastleigh	Co-organiser of the European Union (EU) Interreg IVA Channel 'Recreate' Final Conference hosted by The Point.
15/04/2015	Winchester	Meeting with the University of Winchester to discuss the proposal for Creative Industries Research Network South.
27/04/2015	Winchester	Poster presentation at the Winchester Research Students Symposium 2015 at the University of Winchester.
28/04/2014	Winchester	Poster presentation at the Research and Knowledge Exchange Symposium 2015 at the University of Winchester.
28/04/2015	Southampton	Organiser of the first Creative Industries Research Network South workshop hosted at Southampton Solent University.
08/05/2015	Southampton	Panel speaker at session on creative industries at Work, Gender and Generation in the Southampton City-Region: Exploring Local Employment Change, workshop at the University of Southampton.
11/05/2015	Eastleigh	Meeting with a representative of Winchester Business School about Creative Industries Research Network South at The Point.
13/06/2015	Eastleigh	VIP Preview of The Sorting Office Summer Open Studios.
14/06/2015	Eastleigh	<i>Eastleigh Unwrapped</i> , a day of free performances across the town centre and an open studios event at The Sorting Office.
25/06/2015	Eastleigh	Routes to Market for Designer-Makers, workshop for artists and designer-makers at The Sorting Office.
28/07/2015	Winchester	Organiser of the second Creative Industries Research Network South workshop hosted at the University of Winchester.
19/08/2015	Winchester	Meeting about Creative Industries Research Network South at Winchester School of Art.
19/08/2015	Winchester	13 <sup>th</sup> research supervisory meeting at the University of Winchester.
21/09/2015	Eastleigh	Eastleigh Film Festival Opening Gala Night at The Point.
22/09/2015	Southampton	Meeting about Creative Industries Research Network South at the University of Southampton.
24/09/2015	Eastleigh	Eastleigh Film Festival Industry Day at The Point.
30/09/2015	Winchester	14 <sup>th</sup> research supervisory meeting at the University of Winchester.



13/10/2015	Eastleigh	Workshop with the Relationship Manager for Theatre, Arts Council England South West, at The Point.
16/10/2015	Southampton	Tower House Creative Trade Show organised by A Space Arts.
16/10/2015	Southampton	VIP Birthday Celebration for the re-launch of the Retail Solent Initiative (Re:So) at the Marlands Shopping Centre, a student enterprise, retail and gallery space managed by Southampton Solent University.
30/10/2015	Southampton	Co-organiser of the third Creative Industries Research Network South workshop hosted at the University of Southampton.
16/11/2015	Portsmouth	Meeting about Creative Industries Research Network South at the University of Portsmouth.
20/11/2015	Eastleigh	VIP Preview of The Sorting Office Winter Open Studios.
08/12/2015	Southampton	Meeting with Creative Network South at Hampshire Chamber of Commerce to present Creative Industries Research Network South.
21/01/2016	Eastleigh	Co-organiser of Eastleigh Borough's 6 <sup>th</sup> Annual Creative Industries Symposium at The Point with guest speaker John Holden.
28/01/2016	Eastleigh	Digital Technology in Art, launch event for Eastleigh Borough Council's new Digital Arts Programme at Tec Hub.
03/02/2016	Portsmouth	Meeting about Creative Industries Research Network South at the University of Portsmouth.
11/02/2016	Southampton	Creative and Digital Industries Research and Innovation Hub networking event at Southampton Solent University.
19/02/2016	Southampton	Speaker at the Creative and Digital Industries Research and Innovation Hub strategy session at Southampton Solent University.
08/03/2016	Winchester	Guest lecturer on arts management at Winchester School of Art.
11/03/2016	Portsmouth	Co-organiser of the third Creative Industries Research Network South workshop hosted at the University of Portsmouth.
23/03/2016	Winchester	15 <sup>th</sup> research supervisory meeting at the University of Winchester.
07/04/2016	Eastleigh	Launch of The Sorting Office Associate Package for artists and designer-makers offering discounts on use of facilities and events.
13/05/2016	Eastleigh	The Sorting Office 3 <sup>rd</sup> Birthday Celebration.
17/05/2016	Eastleigh	Show Us Your Money, advice on access to finance, grant funding and crowd funding for creative practitioners at Tec Hub.
10/05/2016	Eastleigh	VIP Preview of The Sorting Office Summer Open Studios.
11/04/2016	Eastleigh	<i>Eastleigh Unwrapped</i> , a day of free performances across the town centre and an open studios event at The Sorting Office.
20/06/2016	Southampton	Speaker at the Creative and Digital Industries Research and Innovation Hub Digital Futures Workshop at Southampton Solent University.
22/06/2016	Eastleigh	Organiser of the fourth Creative Industries Research Network South workshop hosted at The Point.
19/07/2016	Winchester	Viva voce examination at the University of Winchester.
26/09/2016	Eastleigh	Eastleigh Film Festival Opening Gala Night at The Point.



05/10/2016	Winchester	Winchester Cultural Network meeting at Wessex Learning Centre.
22/10/2016	Eastleigh	The Point 20 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary Gala.
25/10/2016	Southampton	Meeting with Creative Network South at Southampton Solent University to present update on Creative Industries Research Network South and forthcoming conference.
26/10/2016	Winchester	16 <sup>th</sup> research supervisory meeting at the University of Winchester.
18/11/2016	Eastleigh	VIP Preview of The Sorting Office Winter Open Studios.
21/11/2016	Eastleigh	Organiser and speaker at the Growing Hampshire's Creative Economy Conference hosted at The Point.
23/11/2016	Eastleigh	17 <sup>th</sup> research supervisory meeting at the University of Winchester.
22/02/2017	Winchester	Winchester Cultural Network meeting at Slug and Lettuce.
22/03/2017	Winchester	Meeting about future plans for Creative Industries Research Network South with representatives from Creative Network South, Southampton Solent University and the University of Winchester

## **Appendix II: List of research interviews**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Interviewee(s)</b>
14/02/2011	Business Development Manager at New Forest District Council
14/02/2011	Head of Communities and Employment at New Forest District Council
14/02/2011	Senior Arts Officer at Test Valley Borough Council
15/02/2011	Administration Officer for Economy and Arts at Winchester City Council
15/02/2011	Economic Development Manager at Havant Borough Council
15/02/2011	Arts Development Officer at Portsmouth City Council
17/02/2011	Artistic Director of Wet Picnic Theatre Company
23/02/2011	Director of A Space Arts
01/03/2011	Project Officer at Creative Industries Business Advice and Skills (CIBAS)
01/03/2011	Artistic Director of Udifydance Company
17/03/2011	Three members of Milk Presents Theatre Company
18/03/2011	Solo performance artist Nicky Bellenger
23/03/2011	Choreographer and dance artist Charlotte Spencer
25/03/2011	Co-Artistic Director of Lila Dance Company
19/04/2011	Two co-founders of digital media and design company Mightydrive
19/04/2011	Artistic Director of The Propaganda Theatre Company
03/05/2011	Artistic Director of Commotion Dance
08/06/2011	Creative Producer at The Point, Eastleigh
10/10/2011	Artistic Director of Commotion Dance
11/10/2011	Artistic Director of Fuzzy Logic and Zoie Logic Dance Theatre
12/10/2011	Solo performance artist Nicky Bellenger
12/10/2011	Choreographer and dance artist Charlotte Spencer
18/10/2011	Co-founder of digital media and design company Mightydrive
21/10/2011	Co-Artistic Director of The River People Theatre Company
01/11/2011	Artistic Director of The Propaganda Theatre Company
03/11/2011	Artistic Director of Udifydance Company
08/11/2011	One of the co-founders of Shady Jane Theatre Company
19/12/2011	Three members of Milk Presents Theatre Company
11/04/2012	Head of Economy and Arts at Winchester City Council
22/05/2012	Director of A Space Arts
21/06/2012	Cultural Partnerships Officer at Southampton City Council
15/10/2012	Artistic Director of The Propaganda Theatre Company
07/11/2012	Artistic Director of Commotion Dance
08/11/2012	Two members of Two Destination Language Performance Company

13/11/2012	Three members of Milk Presents Theatre Company
13/11/2012	Solo performance artist Nicky Bellenger
14/11/2012	Co-founder of digital media and design company Mightydrive
14/11/2012	Two of the co-founders of Shady Jane Theatre Company
16/11/2012	Artistic Director of Fuzzy Logic and Zoie Logic Dance Theatre
01/10/2013	Three members of Milk Presents Theatre Company
15/11/2013	Support Officer at the University of Portsmouth
15/11/2013	Head of Business Engagement at the University of Portsmouth
22/07/2014	Solo performance artist Nicky Bellenger
23/07/2014	Co-founder of digital media and design company Mightydrive
08/08/2014	Director of A Space Arts
17/12/2014	Creative Producer at The Point, Eastleigh

## Appendix III: Sample questionnaire The Arches Studios and Tower House



This questionnaire is for residents at The Arches and Tower House studio spaces in Southampton.

The results of this survey will be analysed as part of a University of Winchester PhD research project investigating the creative industries sector in South Hampshire.

The questionnaire will take approximately 15 minutes to complete. Your identity and individual responses will remain anonymous.

## Appendix III: Sample questionnaire The Arches Studios and Tower House

\* 1. Where is your studio space?

- ☐ The Arches
- ☐ Tower House

\* 2. How long have you been a resident there?

- ☐ Under 1 year
- ☐ 1 year
- ☐ 2 years
- ☐ 3 years
- ☐ 4 years
- ☐ 5 years
- ☐ 6 years
- ☐ 7 years

\* 3. How did you find out about The Arches or Tower House? (Please select all that apply)

- ☐ A Space Arts marketing
- ☐ Word of mouth
- ☐ Recommendation from a friend or colleague
- ☐ Social networking
- ☐ Local press
- ☐ National press
- ☐ Newsletter/mailling list publication
- ☐ Other (please specify)

### Appendix III: Sample questionnaire The Arches Studios and Tower House

\* 4. Please provide a brief description of your creative work.

\* 5. Which of the following categories could be used to describe your creative work? (Please select all that apply)

- ☐ Crafts
- ☐ Digital media
- ☐ Fashion
- ☐ Film
- ☐ Graphic design
- ☐ Illustration
- ☐ Photography
- ☐ Sculpture
- ☐ Visual arts
- ☐ Other (please specify)

### Appendix III: Sample questionnaire The Arches Studios and Tower House

\* 6. What were your reasons for applying for a studio space at The Arches or Tower House?

\* 7. Have you ever applied or considered applying for a studio space elsewhere?

☐ No

☐ Yes (Please detail the studio's name and location)

## Appendix III: Sample questionnaire The Arches Studios and Tower House

\* 8. How suitable is your studio space for your creative work?

- ☐ Very suitable
- ☐ Quite suitable
- ☐ Satisfactory
- ☐ Not very suitable
- ☐ Unsuitable

If you would like to make any comments about the suitability of your studio space please use the space below.

9. What is the best thing about your studio space?

10. What aspect of your studio space could be most improved?



\* 11. Do you feel that you have benefited from using your studio space at The Aches or Tower House?

☐ No

☐ Yes (please provide a brief description of how you feel that you have benefited)

### Appendix III: Sample questionnaire The Arches Studios and Tower House

\* 12. Do you work full-time on your creative work or are you in any other employment?

- ☐ I work full-time on my creative work
- ☐ I also work in other employment (please provide a brief description and approximate hours per week)

\* 13. Which of the following business categories could be used to describe your creative work?

- ☐ PRE-START UP: I have not yet registered as self-employed.
- ☐ SOLE TRADER: I own and run a creative business by myself and have registered with HM Revenue and Customs.
- ☐ PARTNERSHIP: My creative business is owned and run by two or more partners and is registered with HM Revenue and Customs.
- ☐ LIMITED BY SHARES: My creative business has shareholders and is a profit making organisation that is registered with Companies House and HM Revenue and Customs.
- ☐ LIMITED BY GUARANTEE: My creative business is limited by guarantee and is a non-profit making organisation that has been registered with Companies House and HM Revenue and Customs.
- ☐ Other (please specify)

\* 14. How many people are directly employed by your creative work or business?

- ☐ Just me, 1 employee
- ☐ 2 to 5 employees
- ☐ 6 to 10 employees
- ☐ More than 10 employees

\* 15. How long have you been in business?

- ☐ Under 1 year
- ☐ 1 to 5 years
- ☐ 6 to 10 years
- ☐ 10+ years

\* 16. What are your career or business ambitions? (please provide a brief description)

### Appendix III: Sample questionnaire The Arches Studios and Tower House

\* 17. Are you male or female?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

\* 18. What is your age?

- ☐ 18 to 30 years
- ☐ 31 to 40 years
- ☐ 41 to 50 years
- ☐ 51 to 60 years
- ☐ 61+ years

\* 19. What is your highest educational qualification?

- ☐ Degree level or above
- ☐ BTEC (Higher)
- ☐ GCE 'A' Level
- ☐ BTEC (National)
- ☐ GCSE grades A to C, GCE 'O' Level
- ☐ No formal qualifications
- ☐ Other qualification (please specify)

\* 20. What is the name of the city, town or village where you live?

## Appendix III: Sample questionnaire The Arches Studios and Tower House



Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

If you have any questions or if you would like to find out more about this research please contact [paul.spencer@winchester.ac.uk](mailto:paul.spencer@winchester.ac.uk).

## Appendix IV: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 1



This questionnaire is for residents of The Sorting Office in Eastleigh.

The results of this survey will be used by Eastleigh Borough Council to monitor your career and business development during your time as a resident at The Sorting Office. You will be asked to complete a similar questionnaire in approximately six months time.

The results of this survey will also be analysed as part of a University of Winchester PhD research project investigating the creative industries sector in South Hampshire. For this purpose your identity and individual responses will remain anonymous.

The questionnaire will take approximately 20 minutes to complete.

## Appendix IV: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 1

\* 1. What is your title?

☐ Mr

☐ Mrs

☐ Miss

☐ Ms

☐ Other (please specify)

\* 2. What is your first name?

\* 3. What is your surname?

\* 4. How did you find out about The Sorting Office? (Please select all that apply)

☐ A Space Arts marketing

☐ Creative Eastleigh marketing

☐ Borough News

☐ Word of mouth

☐ Recommendation from a friend or colleague

☐ Social media

☐ Local press

☐ National press

☐ Newsletter/mailling list publication

☐ Other (please specify)

## Appendix IV: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 1

\* 5. Please provide a brief description of your creative work.

\* 6. Which of the following categories could be used to describe your creative work? (Please select all that apply)

- ☐ Crafts
- ☐ Digital media
- ☐ Fashion/accessories
- ☐ Film
- ☐ Graphic design
- ☐ Illustration
- ☐ Photography
- ☐ Sculpture
- ☐ Visual arts
- ☐ Other (please specify)



## Appendix IV: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 1

\* 7. What were your reasons for applying for a workspace at The Sorting Office? (You may wish to refer to your answer to Question 2 on your Sorting Office application form)

\* 8. Have you ever applied or considered applying for a studio space elsewhere?

☐ No

☐ Yes (Please detail the studio's name and location)

## Appendix IV: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 1

- \* 9. How do you expect to use your new workspace at The Sorting Office for the development of your creative work over the next six months? (You may wish to refer to your answer to Question 3 on your Sorting Office application form)

10. What is the best thing about your new workspace?

11. What aspect of your new workspace could be most improved?

- \* 12. What goals and ambitions would you like to achieve in your creative work over the next two years? (You may wish to refer to your Sorting Office application form and covering letter)

## Appendix IV: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 1

\* 13. Do you work full-time on your creative work or are you in any other employment?

- ☐ I work full-time on my creative work
- ☐ I also work in other employment (please provide a brief description and approximate hours per week)

\* 14. Which of the following business categories could be used to describe your creative work?

- ☐ PRE-START UP: I have not yet registered as self-employed.
- ☐ SOLE TRADER: I own and run a creative business by myself and have registered with HM Revenue and Customs.
- ☐ PARTNERSHIP: My creative business is owned and run by two or more partners and is registered with HM Revenue and Customs.
- ☐ Other (please specify)

\* 15. Are any other freelancers or small companies involved in the marketing, production, distribution or sale of your creative work? If you do not work alone in all aspects of your business how many other people are involved?

- ☐ None, I work alone
- ☐ 1 person
- ☐ 2 to 5 people
- ☐ 6 to 10 people
- ☐ More than 10 people

16. How long have you been in business?

- ☐ Under 1 year
- ☐ 1 to 3 years
- ☐ 4 to 6 years
- ☐ 7 to 9 years
- ☐ 10+ years

## Appendix IV: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 1

\* 17. What was your annual turnover in 2012/13? (The amount of money that you made as a result of your creative work)

- ☐ £0 to £249
- ☐ £250 to £499
- ☐ £500 to £999
- ☐ £1,000 to £2,999
- ☐ £3,000 to £4,999
- ☐ £5,000 to £9,999
- ☐ £10,000+

If you wish you can include a precise figure here

\* 18. Do you know approximately what percentage of your turnover in 2012/13 was profit?

- ☐ Not sure
- ☐ Yes (please specify percentage)

## Appendix IV: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 1

\* 19. In the next six months do you plan to lead any creative workshops in an educational environment (in schools or with another education partner)?

☐ No

☐ Yes (How many and where will the workshops take place?)

\* 20. In the next six months do you plan to lead any other creative workshops?

☐ No

☐ Yes (How many and where will the workshops take place?)

\* 21. What venues in the local area would you consider using to run your creative workshops in the future?

## Appendix IV: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 1

\* 22. Are you male or female?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

\* 23. What is your age?

- ☐ 18 to 30 years
- ☐ 31 to 40 years
- ☐ 41 to 50 years
- ☐ 51 to 60 years
- ☐ 61+ years

\* 24. What is your highest educational qualification?

- ☐ Degree level or above
- ☐ BTEC (Higher)
- ☐ GCE 'A' Level
- ☐ BTEC (National)
- ☐ GCSE grades A to C, GCE 'O' Level
- ☐ No formal qualifications
- ☐ Other qualification (please specify)

25. Do you have aspirations to undertake any additional education or formal training in the next two years?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes (please specify)

\* 26. What is the name of the city, town or village where you live?



## Appendix IV: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 1



Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

If you have any questions related to how Eastleigh Borough Council will use the information that you have provided please contact [paola.campari-moss@eastleigh.gov.uk](mailto:paola.campari-moss@eastleigh.gov.uk).

If you would like to find out more about the University of Winchester PhD research project please contact [paul.spencer@winchester.ac.uk](mailto:paul.spencer@winchester.ac.uk).

## Appendix V: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 2



This is the second online questionnaire for residents of The Sorting Office in Eastleigh (responses to the first survey were collected between June and July 2013).

Further to your individual Resident Review Meeting which took place during December 2013 the results of this survey will be used by Eastleigh Borough Council and A Space Arts to monitor your career and business development during your time as a resident at The Sorting Office. The results will also be used to inform both organisations about how they might improve their services in the future.

In addition the results of this survey will be analysed as part of a University of Winchester PhD research project investigating the creative industries sector in South Hampshire. For this purpose your identity and individual responses will remain anonymous.

The questionnaire will take approximately 20 minutes to complete.

## Appendix V: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 2

\* 1. What is your title?

☐ Mr

☐ Mrs

☐ Miss

☐ Ms

☐ Other (please specify)

\* 2. What is your first name?

\* 3. What is your surname?

## Appendix V: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 2

\* 4. Since becoming a resident at The Sorting Office how have you used your new workspace to develop your creative work?

5. What is the best thing about your workspace?

6. What aspect of your workspace could be most improved?

## Appendix V: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 2

- \* 7. Please provide a brief summary of how you hope to develop your creative work and progress your business over the next six months.

- \* 8. In what ways do you feel that the 'Recreate' programme has helped you to progress your business so far? (Please provide specific examples of activities which you have found beneficial)

- \* 9. What additional specialist support do you feel could help you to progress your business further over the next six months?

- \* 10. What do you feel have been your biggest achievements in terms of business development since you became a resident at The Sorting Office?

## Appendix V: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 2

\* 11. Do you work full-time on your creative work or are you in any other employment?

- ☐ I work full-time on my creative work
- ☐ I also work in other employment (please provide a brief description and approximate hours per week)

\* 12. Which of the following business categories could be used to describe your creative work?

- ☐ PRE-START UP: I have not yet registered as self-employed.
- ☐ SOLE TRADER: I own and run a creative business by myself and have registered with HM Revenue and Customs.
- ☐ PARTNERSHIP: My creative business is owned and run by two or more partners and is registered with HM Revenue and Customs.
- ☐ Other (please specify)

\* 13. Are any other freelancers or small companies involved in the marketing, production, distribution or sale of your creative work? If you do not work alone in all aspects of your business how many other people are involved?

- ☐ None, I work alone
- ☐ 1 person
- ☐ 2 to 5 people
- ☐ 6 to 10 people
- ☐ More than 10 people

\* 14. Do you feel that you have been able to increase financial income from your creative work since you became a resident at The Sorting Office?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Not sure

\* 15. Please provide a brief explanation for your answer to Question 14.

## Appendix V: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 2

16. In what ways have you been able to raise the profile of your creative work and your business as part of The Sorting Office and 'Recreate' programmes? (Please select all that apply)

- ☐ Participation in public events (e.g. exhibitions, open studios)
- ☐ Participation in industry events (e.g. networking, training)
- ☐ Increasing my online presence (e.g. website, blog, social media activity)
- ☐ Press coverage (local publications)
- ☐ Press coverage (national publications)
- ☐ Press coverage (online)
- ☐ I have not been able to raise the profile of my creative work or my business
- ☐ Other (please specify)

17. What other activities outside of The Sorting Office and 'Recreate' programmes have you been involved in which have helped you to raise the profile of your creative work and your business since you became a resident at The Sorting Office? (E.g. competitions, events, exhibitions)

18. In what ways would you like to further raise the profile of your creative work and your business over the next six months?



## Appendix V: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 2

\* 19. In the next six months do you plan to lead any creative workshops in an educational environment (in schools or with another education partner)?

☐ No

☐ Yes (How many and where will the workshops take place?)

\* 20. In the next six months do you plan to lead any other creative workshops?

☐ No

☐ Yes (How many and where will the workshops take place?)

\* 21. What venues in the local area would you consider using to run your creative workshops in the future?

## Appendix V: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 2

\* 22. What is your highest educational qualification?

- ☐ Degree level or above
- ☐ BTEC (Higher)
- ☐ GCE 'A' Level
- ☐ BTEC (National)
- ☐ GCSE grades A to C, GCE 'O' Level
- ☐ No formal qualifications
- ☐ Other qualification (please specify)

23. Do you have aspirations to undertake any additional education or formal training in the next two years?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes (please specify)

\* 24. What is the name of the city, town or village where you live?



Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

If you have any questions related to how Eastleigh Borough Council or the University of Winchester will use the information that you have provided please contact [paul.spencer@winchester.ac.uk](mailto:paul.spencer@winchester.ac.uk).

## Appendix VI: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 3



This is the third online questionnaire for residents of The Sorting Office in Eastleigh (responses to the first survey were collected between June/July 2013 and the second survey in January 2014).

The results of this survey will be used by Eastleigh Borough Council and A Space Arts to monitor your career and business development during your time as a resident at The Sorting Office. The results will also be used to inform both organisations about how they might improve their services in the future.

In addition the results of this survey will be analysed as part of a University of Winchester PhD research project investigating the creative industries sector in South Hampshire. For this purpose your identity and individual responses will remain anonymous.

The questionnaire will take approximately 20 minutes to complete.

## Appendix VI: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 3

\* 1. What is your title?

☐ Mr

☐ Mrs

☐ Miss

☐ Ms

☐ Other (please specify)

\* 2. What is your first name?

\* 3. What is your surname?

## Appendix VI: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 3

\* 4. During the past six months how have you used your workspace at The Sorting Office to develop your creative work?

5. What is the best thing about your workspace?

6. What aspect of your workspace could be most improved?

7. Please use this space if you would like to offer any general feedback about the facilities at The Sorting Office and the management of the building.

## Appendix VI: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 3

\* 8. Please provide a brief summary of how you hope to develop your creative work over the next six months.

\* 9. Please provide a brief summary of how you hope to progress your business over the next six months.

\* 10. How far have you progressed with writing a business plan and do you require additional support or advice in order to complete this?

## Appendix VI: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 3

- \* 11. How was your experience of the recent open studios event at The Sorting Office? (Please detail which aspects went well and which aspects you found more challenging).

- \* 12. How has the 'Recreate' programme helped you to progress your business during the past six months? (Please provide specific examples of activities which you have found beneficial. E.g. trips, events, bursaries, workshops).

- \* 13. What additional specialist support do you feel could help you to progress your business further over the next six months?

- \* 14. What do you feel have been your biggest achievements in terms of business development since you became a resident at The Sorting Office?



## Appendix VI: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 3

\* 15. Do you work full-time on your creative work or are you in any other employment?

- ☐ I work full-time on my creative work
- ☐ I also work in other employment (please provide a brief description and approximate hours per week)

\* 16. How many hours per week do you work at The Sorting Office?

- ☐ 1 to 10 hours
- ☐ 11 to 20 hours
- ☐ 21 to 30 hours
- ☐ 31 to 40 hours
- ☐ 41+ hours

\* 17. Which of the following business categories could be used to describe your creative work?

- ☐ PRE-START UP: I have not yet registered as self-employed.
- ☐ SOLE TRADER: I own and run a creative business by myself and have registered with HM Revenue and Customs.
- ☐ PARTNERSHIP: My creative business is owned and run by two or more partners and is registered with HM Revenue and Customs.
- ☐ Other (please specify)

\* 18. Are any other freelancers or small companies involved in the marketing, production, distribution or sale of your creative work? If you do not work alone in all aspects of your business how many other people are involved?

- ☐ None, I work alone
- ☐ 1 person
- ☐ 2 to 5 people
- ☐ 6 to 10 people
- ☐ More than 10 people

## Appendix VI: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 3

\* 19. Do you feel that you have been able to increase financial income from your creative work since you became a resident at The Sorting Office?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Not sure

\* 20. Please provide a brief explanation for your answer to Question 19.

\* 21. What was your annual turnover in 2013/14? (The amount of money that you made as a result of your creative work)

- ☐ £0 to £249
- ☐ £250 to £499
- ☐ £500 to £999
- ☐ £1,000 to £2,999
- ☐ £3,000 to £4,999
- ☐ £5,000 to £9,999
- ☐ £10,000+

If you wish you can include a precise figure here

\* 22. Do you know approximately what percentage of your turnover in 2013/14 was profit?

- ☐ Not sure
- ☐ Yes (please specify percentage)

## Appendix VI: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 3

23. In what ways have you been able to raise the profile of your creative work and your business as part of The Sorting Office and 'Recreate' programmes? (Please select all that apply)

- ☐ Participation in public events (e.g. exhibitions, open studios, events)
- ☐ Participation in industry events (e.g. networking, training)
- ☐ Increasing my online presence (e.g. website, blog, social media activity)
- ☐ Press coverage (local publications)
- ☐ Press coverage (national publications)
- ☐ Press coverage (online)
- ☐ I have not been able to raise the profile of my creative work or my business
- ☐ Other (please specify)

24. In the past six months what other activities outside of The Sorting Office and 'Recreate' programmes have you been involved in which have helped you to raise the profile of your creative work and your business? (E.g. competitions, events, exhibitions)

25. In what ways would you like to further raise the profile of your creative work and your business over the next six months?

## Appendix VI: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 3

\* 26. In the next six months do you plan to lead any creative workshops in an educational environment (in schools or with another education partner)?

☐ No

☐ Yes (How many and where will the workshops take place?)

\* 27. In the next six months do you plan to lead any other creative workshops?

☐ No

☐ Yes (How many and where will the workshops take place?)

\* 28. What venues in the local area would you consider using to run your creative workshops in the future?

## Appendix VI: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office 3

29. Do you have aspirations to undertake any further/higher education courses or formal training in the next year?

☐ No

☐ Yes (please specify)

\* 30. What is the name of the city, town or village where you live?



Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

If you have any questions related to how Eastleigh Borough Council or A Space Arts will use the information that you have provided please contact [peter.davison@eastleigh.gov.uk](mailto:peter.davison@eastleigh.gov.uk).

If you would like to find out more about the University of Winchester PhD research project please contact [paul.spencer@winchester.ac.uk](mailto:paul.spencer@winchester.ac.uk).

## Appendix VII: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office leavers



This questionnaire is for residents who are leaving The Sorting Office in Eastleigh.

The results of this survey will be used by Eastleigh Borough Council and A Space Arts to monitor your career and business development during your time as a resident at The Sorting Office.

The results of this survey will also be analysed as part of a University of Winchester PhD research project investigating the creative industries sector in South Hampshire. For this purpose your identity and individual responses will remain anonymous.

The questionnaire will take approximately 15 minutes to complete.



## Appendix VII: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office leavers

\* 1. What is your title?

☐ Mr

☐ Mrs

☐ Miss

☐ Ms

☐ Other (please specify)

\* 2. What is your first name?

\* 3. What is your surname?

## Appendix VII: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office leavers

\* 4. While you were a resident at The Sorting Office how did you use your workspace to develop your creative work?

5. What was the best thing about your workspace?

6. What aspect of your workspace could have been most improved?

## Appendix VII: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office leavers

- \* 7. In what ways do you feel that the 'Recreate' programme helped you to progress your business while you were a resident at The Sorting Office? (Please provide specific examples of activities which you have found beneficial)

- \* 8. What do you feel have been your biggest achievements in terms of business development during your time as a resident at The Sorting Office?

- \* 9. What are your reasons for leaving The Sorting Office? (Please select all that apply)

- ☐ I am moving to a new studio
- ☐ I am moving to a home studio
- ☐ I am changing my career
- ☐ The Sorting Office is not suitable for my creative work
- ☐ Personal reasons

- \* 10. Please provide a brief explanation for your answer(s) to Question 9.

## Appendix VII: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office leavers

\* 11. While you were a resident at The Sorting Office did you work full-time on your creative work or were you in any other employment?

- ☐ I worked full-time on my creative work
- ☐ I also worked in other employment (please provide a brief description and approximate hours per week)

\* 12. While you were a resident at The Sorting Office which of the following business categories could be used to describe your creative work?

- ☐ PRE-START UP: I had not registered as self-employed.
- ☐ SOLE TRADER: I owned and ran a creative business by myself and was registered with HM Revenue and Customs.
- ☐ PARTNERSHIP: My creative business was owned and run by two or more partners and was registered with HM Revenue and Customs.
- ☐ Other (please specify)

\* 13. Were able to increase financial income from your creative work during your time as a resident at The Sorting Office?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Not sure

\* 14. Please provide a brief explanation for your answer to Question 13.

\* 15. What are your plans for the future of your creative work and your business after you leave The Sorting Office?

## Appendix VII: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office leavers

16. In what ways were you able to raise the profile of your creative work and your business as part of The Sorting Office and 'Recreate' programmes? (Please select all that apply)

- ☐ Participation in public events (e.g. exhibitions, open studios)
- ☐ Participation in industry events (e.g. networking, training)
- ☐ Increasing my online presence (e.g. website, blog, social media activity)
- ☐ Press coverage (local publications)
- ☐ Press coverage (national publications)
- ☐ Press coverage (online)
- ☐ I have not been able to raise the profile of my creative work or my business
- ☐ Other (please specify)

17. What other activities outside of The Sorting Office and 'Recreate' programmes were you involved in which helped you to raise the profile of your creative work and your business while you were a resident at The Sorting Office? (E.g. competitions, events, exhibitions)

## Appendix VII: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office leavers

\* 18. What is your highest educational qualification?

- ☐ Degree level or above
- ☐ BTEC (Higher)
- ☐ GCE 'A' Level
- ☐ BTEC (National)
- ☐ GCSE grades A to C, GCE 'O' Level
- ☐ No formal qualifications
- ☐ Other qualification (please specify)

\* 19. What is the name of the city, town or village where you live?

## Appendix VII: Sample questionnaire The Sorting Office leavers



Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

If you have any questions related to how Eastleigh Borough Council or the University of Winchester will use the information that you have provided please contact [paul.spencer@winchester.ac.uk](mailto:paul.spencer@winchester.ac.uk).



## Appendix VIII: Sample questionnaire Creative Eastleigh Symposium

### Eastleigh Borough's Creative Industries Symposium: Delegate Questionnaire

<b>1. Please provide your workspace postcode?</b> (This can be your home postcode if you work from home) .....	
<b>2. What is your date of birth? (DD/MM/YYYY)</b> .....	
<b>3. What is your gender?</b> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/>	
<b>4. Which of the following terms best describes the creative industries sub-sector that you work in?</b> (Many people work across more than one sub-sector but please do not tick more than <b>two</b> of the boxes below)	
Advertising <input type="checkbox"/> Architecture <input type="checkbox"/> Arts and Antiques <input type="checkbox"/> Computer Games <input type="checkbox"/> Crafts <input type="checkbox"/> Design <input type="checkbox"/> Designer Fashion <input type="checkbox"/>	Film and Video <input type="checkbox"/> Music <input type="checkbox"/> Performing Arts <input type="checkbox"/> Publishing or Creative Writing <input type="checkbox"/> Software <input type="checkbox"/> TV and Radio <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) .....
<b>5. Please indicate the legal status that best describes your creative practice, business or organisation.</b>  Full time student <input type="checkbox"/> Part time student <input type="checkbox"/> Full time employed (salaried) <input type="checkbox"/> Part time employed (salaried) <input type="checkbox"/> Amateur pursuits, hobby, pastime <input type="checkbox"/> Pre start-up (e.g. not yet registered as a self employed person or a company, but planning to in the future or in the process of doing so) <input type="checkbox"/> Self employed, freelancer, or sole-trader <input type="checkbox"/> Company (limited or guarantee) <input type="checkbox"/> Social enterprise or community interest group <input type="checkbox"/> Charity, charitable trust or foundation <input type="checkbox"/> Club, society, membership, community or voluntary group <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) .....	
<b>6. If you work as a creative professional, but not directly in the creative industries sector please describe the prime focus of the business you work in.</b> (E.g. if you teach arts at a university write 'Higher Education', if you work in a Council or Government arts or culture department write 'Local Authority', and if you work in the design or graphics department of a larger company write, for example, 'Manufacturing', 'Retail' or 'Hospitality')  .....	
<b>7. How many people are employed by you, your business or organisation on a full-time basis?</b> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6-10 <input type="checkbox"/> 11-23 <input type="checkbox"/> 26-50 <input type="checkbox"/> 51+ <input type="checkbox"/>	
<b>8. How many people are employed by you, your business or organisation on a part-time basis?</b> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6-10 <input type="checkbox"/> 11-23 <input type="checkbox"/> 26-50 <input type="checkbox"/> 51+ <input type="checkbox"/>	
<b>9. Is your company VAT registered?</b> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	
<b>10. Do you consider your work premises to be adequate for the work that you do?</b> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	