

The Creative Country: Policy, Practice and Place in New Zealand's Creative Economy 1999-2008

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Table of Contents

Attestation of Authorship	8
Acknowledgements	9
Abstract	10
Chapter 1	Introduction..... 1
Background to the study.....	1
Chapter 2	Background and Critical Review of theory..... 5
1 Introduction	5
2 Matters of definition.....	5
3 Economic development of the creative economy	9
Defining the Creative Economy	9
Cities at the centre.....	10
Florida and the creative class.....	12
Florida influence abroad	14
Creative destruction.....	15
Social capital	16
4 Contextualising New Zealand's creative economy and place.....	18
Gaps and persisting questions around Florida.....	20
5 Conclusions	22
Chapter 3	Research Design..... 24
1 Introduction	24
2 Methodological approach for qualitative policy research.....	25
Policy research	25
Schematic of the Research Design and Results chapters for this thesis.....	29
3 Selection of Methodologies and Methods.....	30
Systems theory.....	30
Phenomenology	31
Hermeneutic enquiry	32
4 Theoretical perspective of this research.....	34
5 Epistemology of this research.....	34
6 Researching with integrity	36
Reflexivity.....	36

Ethical research.....	36
7 Conclusions	37
Chapter 4	
Results 1 of 3:	38
Public policy system of New Zealand's creative economy 1999-2008.....	38
1 Design of Research instruments and procedures	38
Data collection and storage	38
Data management in this research.....	39
Application of the research instruments	43
Limitations of the research design.....	45
Introduction to Results	46
Early establishment of the creative economy 1999 - 2002	47
A new dawn	49
Creative Government.....	51
Economic development	55
Getting on with building creative economy.....	61
2002 Growth and Innovation Framework.....	64
New term, new start	69
2003	70
Budget 2003	72
New Zealand Trade and Enterprise.....	75
Reports from Screen and Design Taskforces	76
2004	78
Design.....	81
Sectors.....	81
Music.....	83
Textiles	84
Book publishing.....	85
Cross-sectoral approach	86
2005	88
Budget 2005	90
Measuring creative economy success	91
End of political term.....	94
Final Term	95

Opening Reel.....	95
Focus back to Arts	97
Budget 2006	98
Old and New Arts	99
Economic transformation	101
Legislative safeguards for art	106
Budget 2007	108
Reducing the Regional risk.....	109
Back to the books.....	114
Final shuffle.....	116
Music and Books	118
Budget 08	119
The final months of 2005-2008 electoral term.....	122
An end to the creative economy?.....	124
On the Election campaign trail 2008.....	127
Post Script – Results On Election Night 8 November 2008.....	128
6 Conclusions	128
Chapter 5 Results 2 of 3:	131
Research participants and the creative economy in New Zealand	131
1 Introduction	131
2 Design of Research instruments and procedures	133
2.1 Selection of Key Informants.....	134
2.2 Ethical considerations relating to purposive sampling	136
2.3 Application of Research Instruments.....	136
2.4 Plan of Results Chapter	138
3 Attitudes about the 'creative turn' for New Zealand.....	138
4 Attitudes to assistance.....	147
4.1 Introduction	147
4.2 Close to home assistance	149
4.3 Grants to grow business.....	155
4.4 Grants for overseas exports.....	165
5 Key informant influence on creative economy policy	175
5.1 Work within an organisation.....	175

5.2	Be an expert consultant	177
5.3	Work closely alongside Government agency	177
5.4	Serve on a committee	178
5.5	Be known, support leadership of other people	180
5.6	Lobby politicians	181
5.7	Section conclusions	182
6	Conclusions to Chapter 5	184
Chapter 6	Results 3 of 3:	186
	Attitudes to location of industry in New Zealand's creative economy.....	186
1	Design of Research instruments and procedures	186
2	Introduction	187
3	New Zealand – where in the world?	191
4	Paradox of a small population size	196
5	Paradox of mobility of talent - should I stay or should I go, now?	202
6	Towards a Sense of Belonging	208
7	Rural New Zealand and creative seeds	215
8	Conclusions to Chapter 6	221
Chapter 7	Discussion and Conclusions	223
1	Introduction	223
2	Creative economy public policy systems	224
3	Revealing the values of New Zealand creative entrepreneurs	225
References	232	
Appendices	248	

List of Figures

Figure 1: Methodological and Data triangulation in this research.....	28
Figure 2: Diagram showing research / thesis schematic	29
Figure 3: Diagram showing the 2002 section of the policy arc timeline	41
Figure 4: Structure of a public policy system (after Considine, 1994)	43
Figure 5: Merchandise export revenue % from 7 commodity earners	46
Figure 6: Diagram summarising New Zealand creative economy system in 1999	48
Figure 7: Diagram summarizing New Zealand creative economy system end of 1999.....	51
Figure 8: Diagram of cultural sector of creative economy at Cultural Recovery Budget 2000	53
Figure 9: Diagram summarizing New Zealand public policy system for economic development in 1999	56
Figure 10: Diagram of public policy system for economic development May 2000.....	58
Figure 11: Diagram of economic development public policy system with Budget 2000. ...	61
Figure 12: Diagram showing creative economy public policy system with GIF, 2002.....	65
Figure 13: Chart of development of creative economy 1999-2002.....	68
Figure 14: Diagram of economic development policy system in early 2003.....	72
Figure 15: Diagram of public policy system at launch of NZTE.....	76
Figure 16: Diagram showing creative economy policy culture at its apogee, 2004	81
Figure 17: Diagram of public policy system with sectoral approach to creative economy.	86
Figure 18: Diagram of creative economy public policy with surge in Policy Culture.....	91
Figure 19: Chart of public policy system with Trevor Mallard commencing political term	96
Figure 20: Chart of creative sector public policy system at Budget 2006	99
Figure 21: Chart of creative sector public policy system when Biennale review released	101
Figure 22: Chart of creative economy public policy system at start of economic transformation agenda	106
Figure 23: Chart showing public policy system with new arts legislation and funds for institutions	109

Figure 24: Chart of public policy system as Regional risk was reduced.....	112
Figure 25: Chart showing creative economy public policy system as Mallard shifted further from creativity.....	114
Figure 26: Chart showing creative economy activity ‘business as usual’ while Cabinet reshuffle planned	116
Figure 27: Chart showing creative economy public policy system as creativity removed from agenda	118
Figure 28: Chart showing creative economy public policy system at Budget 2008	122
Figure 29: Chart showing creative economy public policy system as GIAB composition changed 2008	125
Figure 30: Chart showing creative economy public policy final actions.....	127
Figure 31: Chart showing progression and hierarchy for grants	147
Figure 32: Chart showing Close to Home assistance	149
Figure 33: Chart showing grants to grow business	155
Figure 34: Chart showing grants for overseas exports	165
Figure 35: Chart showing increasing levels of influence, from working through governance to lobbying the Prime Minister	175
Figure 36: Chart of Total Voluntary and Donating Support in New Zealand 2006-08.....	184

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

signed

date

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Abstract

The 'creative industries' have emerged as one of the dominant elements of the 'knowledge economy' in the 21st century. As promoted by academic researchers such as Richard Florida, the 'creative class' has been associated with high profile industries such as film and fashion – information technology and design – the arts and a wide range of cultural activities and amenities. In Florida's research, scientists, architects, engineers and artists are credited with "transforming city life" thereby associating the creative industries with urban regeneration and with city and regional economic development.

This study critically examines these assumptions by conducting research on New Zealand's creative economy from 1999 to 2008 during which time Rt. Hon Helen Clark was Prime Minister and also Minister of Arts, Culture and Heritage, a period in which the creative industries dominated public policy as well as the rhetoric of economic and cultural development. The public policy analysis here charts the development - some may call it the rise and fall - of New Zealand's creative economy through nine years of an arts-friendly government. The public policy focus revealed two distinctive and contradictory approaches to economic development – the first centred on local and regional policies building on New Zealand's pastoral economy and the innovative products that it has produced – a form of 'development from below' - and the second, incorporating concepts from abroad, such as those advanced by Florida, which led to a creative industries agenda, embedded in the Growth and Innovation Framework and representing a form of 'development from above'.

These contradictory strands of policy were then subjected to review through a series of interviews conducted with some of New Zealand's leading creative entrepreneurs. Drawn from different industry sectors, these leading creative entrepreneurs provided first hand information on the effectiveness of the different policy initiatives drawing links between location and a sense of place, thereby providing a dynamic interpretation of the context that facilitates creativity.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Background to the study

Around the world, in the decade from 1998 to 2008, the twin notions of creativity and culture rose to prominence for economic development. During this time New Zealand established its own approach to public policies for the creative economy, as this part of economic activity is called, inspired largely by foreign-based theories adapted to New Zealand conditions.

An apogee of faith in the creative economy in New Zealand was in early 2003, at which time two installments of *The Lord of the Rings* film trilogy had been released and the Labour-led coalition government was in the middle of its second political term (of what would turn out to be three). Hope and optimism in New Zealand creativity as an economic driver were increasingly visible and actively promoted from the Prime Minister downwards through all levels of the political system. This hope filled the increasing space left as New Zealand's faith in sailing and boat design industries, firmly in place since 1995, were fading as defeat loomed in the America's Cup regatta being hosted in Auckland in March 2003.

At that moment, a government-sponsored conference was held with the aim to focus New Zealand leaders on building the nation's 'knowledge economy' and thereby return New Zealand's economic performance ranking to the top half of OECD nations. In Auckland in March 2003, the Knowledge Wave Conference included a host of international expert speakers, New Zealand's business, academic and public sector leaders, as well as emerging leaders drawn from throughout New Zealand's regions. My interest in the subject of the public policies of New Zealand's creative economy began when I attended this conference which included as a speaker Professor Richard Florida and his presentation about the 'creative class'.

Among an exceptional line-up of conference speakers including leading economists, sociologists, scientists and academics from around the globe, Florida was a speaker whose performance on the podium outshone the others, speaking for 40 minutes without notes as he mesmerized the audience of 400 with his economic development message. As Professor of Regional Development at Carnegie Mellon University in Pennsylvania, USA, Florida's message was polished, upbeat and invigorating. Copies of his book *The Rise of the Creative Class* (Florida, 2002) were available at the conference and sold out before the end of his presentation. For me, being a CEO of an economic development agency and about to start a Graduate Diploma in Economic Development two weeks later, the timing of his message was impeccable. This man appeared to be onto something, with his formula for making places attractive to investment, bright young people and stimulating lifestyles. It was easy to be drawn to that message.

A large part of the appeal to me of the Richard Florida approach to regional development came from his insistence on development being about 'place'. My reason for establishing this researcher perspective is that I have a strong personal sense of place. I know where I am from, and find multiple connections between myself and my place to enrich creativity in my daily life. To explain my background, I live on the north shores of the Kaipara harbour in Northland, New Zealand, in a small village called Matakoho. My Smith great-great grandparents founded the community here in 1862, and I am a direct descendant of them living in the same place. Moreover, I purchased the original family homestead and estate when I was 22, and have been living as the fifth generation in the 1873 kauri homestead since that time.

Matakoho is celebrated as the home of The Kauri Museum. This cultural institution was started in 1962 by a cousin of mine to celebrate the centenary of the arrival of our pioneer ancestors. The theme of the museum is the loss of the kauri forests of Northland, and the art, architecture, culture and lifestyles of the people who wrought that significant environmental change. It attracts 100,000 paying visitors each year. Importantly, the Kauri Museum reflects and represents the style of my old house and lands, my family and

my place. It is also one of the very few museums to operate without assistance of government grants, making it an exceptional cultural institution in New Zealand.

However, as I sat in the back row of the Knowledge Wave conference hall, attentively listening, writing notes and considering the Florida message, it seemed evident to me that his theory appeared to travel poorly to Matakohē and its cultural traditions and history success story. Maybe it didn't travel well to New Zealand. His description of the 'Bohemian Index', the measure of artists, designers and creative 30-somethings he had developed in Pittsburgh, didn't match the world I knew. I drew diagrams and sketches showing how the Florida definition of the 'creative class' – including its measurement in human capital terms of the number of people with higher education tertiary degrees – somehow wasn't right for New Zealand. As much as it appealed, his hipsterisation wasn't here. Something was missing.

Any attempts by me to align the Florida 'creative class' theory with the world I lived in were fruitless. There were no 'hip 30-somethings', no cafes and no biking trails in my village. The only person around with a university degree was myself, so any measure of human capital in terms of university qualified or professionally trained people was irrelevant – and yet that factor was one of three cited by Florida as imperatives for success in the creative industries. The more I looked, the more gaps there seemed to be in the application of this theory to New Zealand.

Film director Peter Jackson's screen industry facilities in Wellington were another example of apparent creative industry success which didn't fully fit the theories of the leading popular academic in the field. Jackson chose to invest in facilities in Wellington rather than Hollywood near his peers. Viewed from the outside, Wellington would appear to be an unlikely location to start a film-making centre, situated so far from industry colleagues like Spielberg, Lucas or Cameron, from investors, and from well-resourced studios which are mostly centred in Los Angeles.

The similarity between the Kauri Museum and Peter Jackson's studios (notwithstanding the differences in size and scale) is that each may be viewed from the outside as being situated 'in the middle of nowhere'. This relative term implies the superiority of somewhere else. But what about when viewed from the inside? That New Zealand creative enterprises could be established 'in the middle of nowhere' was clearly at odds with the Florida 'creative class' concepts which were focused on mobility of talent and urban regeneration. What could be happening in New Zealand if the 'nowhere' were the centre of somewhere special for creative entrepreneurs, as appeared to be the case in Matakohē or Wellington? What could these or similar questions mean for economic development of New Zealand's creative economy? In this, I realised the core motivation for this research. The aim of this study is to examine New Zealand's creative economy and to identify a New Zealand-specificity for the successful economic development of this sector.

Chapter 2 Background and Critical Review of theory

1 Introduction

The past 10 years have seen an increasing attention both from the academic and policy worlds towards the importance of creativity in fostering economic development. This has been connected to the emergence of concepts such as creative economy, creative industries and the creative class.

Creativity here is broadly conceptualised. As the recent literature across several disciplines (cultural policy, cultural economics, regional development, economic geography) suggests, it is difficult to capture the value of the concept and its possible implications. It relates to knowledge and human capital in its broader understanding (such as in the concept of the 'creative class') but also to the industrial base behind the creative economy (such as concepts like creative industries) and to its consumption markets (experience economy and creative economy). These concepts have travelled widely from their original bases in UK and USA, to take root in New Zealand.

This chapter examines the key theoretical developments in this broad field related to creativity and economic development in New Zealand. It explores the development of key concepts in this emerging field during the last decade.

2 Matters of definition

Creativity and culture are important and powerful levers for both personal and societal development. They are a driving force for economic growth, are at the core of "glocal" competitiveness in the knowledge society, and shape territories and local economies in a way which is innovative and creative (OECD, 2005, p. 3).

In recent years, rather than being seen as a limited activity which is the domain of wealthy elites, the twin notions of creativity and culture emerged together as a player with a role

in local development and job creation. This was a new branch grown from the ancient root of cultural policy, overlapping with economic policy through the post-Industrial 'knowledge economy' discourse.

Distinguishing culture, cultural industries and creative industries is an important but difficult part of the progress of this emerging field. While the history of the terms 'cultural industries' and 'creative industries' has been traced elsewhere (Cunningham, 2001; Flew, 2002; Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005; Miller, 2009; Cunningham, 2009 and others), there was a general consensus among scholars in this field that the development of cultural industries towards the knowledge economy took first bold steps with the British Government's 1998 document *The Creative Industries Task Force Mapping Report*, produced by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport [DCMS]. The concepts linked when, under this definition, cultural industries comprised

those that combine creation, production and marketing of intangible cultural contents. These contents are subject to intellectual property rights and take the form of goods and services. This list generally refers to the production of books, records and films, but it can also include audiovisual and photographic output. Depending on the country, we may add the areas of design, fashion, musical instruments, architecture, advertising, etc. This leads to a much broader notion, that of the creative industries (OECD, 2005, p. 20).

This definition drew an important distinction around the creative industries with their '*intangible cultural contents*'. Cultural activities had a primary purpose to communicate symbolic ideas and meanings (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). In New Zealand, as in other countries, culture had an influence on industry "through its effect on the aesthetic, cognitive and moral preferences, propensities, standards, norms, routines or habits of individuals" (Barker, 2000, p. 3). While the cultural industries can be defined as those which generate symbolic meaning, in the view of Bilton and Leary (2002), creative industries produce

symbolic goods (ideas, experiences, images) where value is primarily dependent upon the play of symbolic meanings. Their value is dependent upon the end user

(viewer, audience, reader, consumer) decoding and finding value within these meanings; the value of 'symbolic goods' is therefore dependent upon the user's perception as much as on the creation of original content, and that value may or may not translate into a financial return. (p. 50)

This definition acknowledged, as Flew suggested, the "often non-pecuniary dimensions of creative production, and its relationship with systems of meaning and symbol" (Flew, 2005, p. 345).

Official definitions of the creative industries, however, signify the importance of economic factors and include no reference to symbolic meaning. For the UK's Department of Culture, Media and Sport, creative industries are "activities 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, 1998, p. 4).

For Galloway and Dunlop (2007) and others, under this definition 'individual creativity' could equally well include developing scientific innovations. Yet industries that develop these innovations are not typically included in definitions of the creative sector. The difficulty in identifying specific types of 'individual creativity' makes it very difficult to decide which industries are 'creative'. If everything, as Banks and O'Connor questioned in 2009, "can be creative - a management model, a kidney dialysis machine, package holidays - then wherein lies the specific value of the cultural or creative industries?" (p. 367). The definition can be stretched far too wide to be of any use at all, which is a central risk for policy in creative industry.

Drawing tight focus on its definition of the creative industries, in 1998 the DCMS creative industries categories comprised activity in the following 14 sectors: advertising , architectural design, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video industry, interactive leisure software, music industry, the performing arts, publishing, radio, software development and computer services, and television. Garnham

suggested in 2005 that the desire of the politicians in 1998 to include the computer software sector in this list was the reason the term 'creative' was applied to this grouping, because “only on this basis was it possible to make the claims about size and growth [of the whole grouping] stand up” (p. 26). Whatever doubts may exist about founding motives, this definition, which covers a broad section of economic activity, has remained accepted as the idea has developed and been disseminated around the world, including to New Zealand (Auckland City Council, 2005; McGuigan, 2009). This central definition applies through this thesis.

Theorists have tussled over the territory between the cultural industries and the creative industries as the terms have developed. The pendulum has swung both ways as pundits for either cultural industries (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007; Miller, 2009; Throsby, 2008) or creative industries (Cunningham, 2004; Cunningham, 2009; Garnham, 2005; Potts & Cunningham, 2008) have claimed ascendancy. For this thesis, the depth of discussion which would be found in a detailed analysis of this debate is not required, interesting though it may be. This thesis is not focused solely on theories of cultural industries vs. creative industries, nor on refinements to definitions, nor the myriad policy permutations of this debate. Recent commentary by Banks and O'Connor (2009) summed up the creative economy debate neatly: “the term 'cultural industries' had a fairly broad support base within academia; 'creative industries' has raised hackles” (p. 367). Despite technical objections, it seems the key anxiety among academics was that “it represents an unacceptable shift from cultural to economic priorities” (Banks & O'Connor, 2009, p. 367).

The existing line of thought, according to Pratt (2008) “has prioritized consumption or/and idealized culture; it has also preserved the dualism of manufacturing and services, as well as that of production and consumption” (p. 108). He lamented that “researchers and policy-makers have overlooked, and discounted, the significance of the growth in importance to economies, and society more generally, of cultural production” (p. 108). This was reflected also in *'the deep worry'* about the creative industries within cultural academia and cultural policy circles, according to Banks and O'Connor (2009), where “a lack of concern with the cultural dynamics of these industries does not just prohibit policy

development but leads to a focus on the kinds of cultural production most amenable to economic rather than cultural returns” (p. 368).

International organizations have moved forward from the traditional notion of ‘culture’ and expanded it to new dimensions with ‘creative industries’ in the search for “new activities and new wellsprings of jobs” (OECD, 2005, p. 7). The upshot is that, a decade after its introduction, there has been, according to cultural economist Throsby (2008), “an enthusiastic embrace amongst policymakers of the wealth-creating potential of the creative economy” (p. 230).

3 Economic development of the creative economy

Defining the Creative Economy

In his 2001 book *The Creative Economy*, Howkins introduced the phrase ‘**creative economy**’ as the place where the creative industries worked, a step forward from definitions of ‘knowledge economy’ or ‘information economy’ which were in common currency at the time. Howkins described the genesis of the term creative economy at a time when the word ‘information’ “has been taken over to a large extent by computer systems, computers, and it doesn’t bring in the action of the human being, the human mind; it doesn’t bring in the human emotion” (Ghelfi, 2005, p. 3). He further described the inadequacy of the descriptor ‘**knowledge economy**’ by saying

‘Knowledge’ seemed to be a bit bookish, a bit academic; something out there. Whereas what I wanted to look at was in here (*pointing to his head*), in the brain, in my mind, and how I can manage my brain to have a new or a better idea. So somehow the words ‘information’ and ‘knowledge’ seemed not quite to get to where I wanted to be. (Ghelfi, 2005, p. 3)

Howkins stated simply that “Creativity is not new and neither is economics, but what is new is the nature and extent of the relationship between them, and how they combine to create extraordinary value and wealth” (Ghelfi, 2005, p. 3). He calculated that in 1996, U.S. copyrights were worth \$60.18 billion of export sales, surpassing for the first time

every other export sector, including automobiles, agriculture and aircraft. In this, Howkins (Ghelfi, 2005) made a forceful case for the centrality of creativity to economic growth. He argued that we should think of the new 'creative economy' as being built around the creative industries, which he defined differently from the DCMS definition above, as the sectors of the economy controlled by one of the four kinds of Intellectual Property law: patents, copyrights, trademarks and designs. Howkins concluded that

[People] are buying and selling words, music, pictures; gadgets, computer software, genes; copyrights, trademarks, patents; proposals, formats, fame, faces, reputation, brands, colours. The goods on sale in this noisy marketplace are the rights to use – or, in the lawyer's phrase, to exploit – intellectual property. (Ghelfi, 2005, p. 2).

The relevance of these definitions to this study is that my subject area is the creative economy in New Zealand, and it is important that the reader understand the use of the term 'creative economy' – that it is about making money from ideas.

Cities at the centre

When Jane Jacobs, in 1984, wrote her treatise on the centrality of cities to the economy in *Cities and the Wealth of Nations*, she made clear statements about the importance of cities, their regions, and about economic development. Jacobs asserted a hard, plain truth that "Societies and civilisations in which the cities stagnate don't develop and flourish further. They deteriorate" (1984, p. 232).

According to Jacobs (1984), cities with faltering economies could bounce back from this brink of doom if their economies were corrected, either by themselves or by strategic intervention. The skill of the economic development practitioner is to be found in this territory, whether with a lightness of touch or in a more heavy-handed approach. Jacobs suggested that "germane correction depends on fostering creativity in whatever forms it happens to appear in a given city at a given time" rather than wooing "transplants from other places" (Jacobs, 1984, p. 230). More than a decade before any mention of 'creative industries', economic development and creativity were combined at that point.

Years later, picking up on this and on the creative industries discussion promoted by the DCMS (1998) *The Creative Industries Task Force Mapping Report*, Landry described in *The Creative City* “a new method of strategic urban planning and examines how people can think, plan and act creatively in the city” (2000, xii). In this, a conceptual loop is closed – linking together cities, economic development, creativity and its practical application – namely, the creative industries. With Landry, the role of cities and city-regions in economic development was invigorated and had found a new voice. Landry focused on the role of **the city** as driver of creativity, with its one crucial resource, its people. Creative activity was claimed as “the closest thing to a natural resource in New York” (Keegan et al., 2006, p. 2).

Urbanist Landry (2000) commented that in the 21st Century “over half the world will live in cities” (p. xiii), though most people would be there “through need not desire” (p. xiii), for employment reasons. Landry reckoned most people wanted to live in a village rather than in a big city, citing a 1997 survey which showed that 84 percent of people in the UK wanted to live in a small village compared to 4 percent who did. In Landry's view, city planners therefore had a responsibility to

make cities desirable places to live and be in, partly by recreating the values that people perceive to exist in a village – a sense of place and belonging, continuity, safety and predictability – and partly by nurturing distinctly urban possibilities – buzz, interaction, trade, unexpected delight, and much more. (p. xiii).

As a component part of a creative city, Landry (2000) described the ‘**creative milieu**’, the kind of space where “entrepreneurs, intellectuals, social activists, artists, administrators, power brokers or students can operate in an open-minded cosmopolitan context and where face to face interactions create new ideas, artifacts, products, services and institutes and as a consequence contributes to economic success” (p. 133). Creative milieux included a strong sense of the local place, local space and identity. These were the creativity districts or cultural quarters where economic development was based on local culture and context.

Strategic intervention in the creative sector was predominantly justified in terms of economic development and employment creation. The '**cultural quarter**' was one type of strategic intervention which is more deliberate than spontaneous. For Greffe and Phlieger, cultural quarters in cities as a tool for economic development reflected the fact that significant cultural strategies have a greater chance of developing in urban areas in which population densities are substantial (as cited in OECD 2005). '**Clustering**' is another type of strategic intervention for the creative industries. Porter's (1990) popular 'cluster theory' was the dominant expression of holding onto the local in economic development; wherein there is strong interaction between aligned localised institutions, a sense of common industrial purpose and shared cultural norms and values.

Linking concepts of population density, creative industries and strategic interventions brought sharp focus to cities as the places where creative industries might flourish.

Florida and the creative class

Cities, like Auckland where I heard Florida articulate his creative class agenda in 2003, appear to be competing for talent, industry, and investment in an ever-increasing pursuit of being desirable places to live and work. Florida, then regional development professor from Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, created a formula for making places attractive to highly mobile creative people. His theory was built around the 'Three Ts' – technology, talent and tolerance' - which he proposed as the factors required to improve the economic development fortunes of any city.

Florida began his 'creative class' work with a series of focus groups with Carnegie Mellon management students, "assembled with a view to answering the innocuous question, "How do you choose a place to live and work?" (as cited in Peck, 2005, p. 744). His conclusions were that "rather than being driven by exclusively by companies, economic growth was occurring in places that were tolerant, diverse and open to creativity - because these were places where creative people of *all* types wanted to live" (Florida, 2002, p. xxviii). Lifestyle choices took on a new importance with the creative class.

Through cultural quarters and other place-based tools for economic development, the 'creative class' agenda of Florida (2002) has emerged with a focus on talent attraction and 'hipsterisation' of places. This work represented a significant advance in the combined disciplines of economic development and the creative economy. Florida's pre-eminence as the most influential theorist in this field is without question. According to Oakley (2004), "much of the evidence for the importance of the creative industries in regional economic development in the UK is currently drawn from work conducted in the US, notably that of Richard Florida" (p. 70). The DCMS commissioned the Work Foundation to further develop the UK government's *Creative Economy Programme*. *Staying Ahead* was published in 2007 and cites Richard Florida as its inspiration.

Peck suggested that "apart from his obvious promotional and presentational skills, what made [Florida] the toast of city conferences from Toronto to Auckland" (Steigerwald as cited in Peck, 2005, p. 742) was that "the market for creative policy products is propelled by the endless pursuit of creative urban *advantage*" (p. 767). Florida encouraged the market for his theory by making league tables of the most creative cities, and thereby was able to draw every city into the discussion. In doing so, he was able rapidly to disseminate and popularize his creative class ideas, for the simple reason that civic leaders will always want to know where 'their place' sits in any ranked list. For Pratt (2008) the reasons for the popularity of Florida's methodology for ranking cities in terms of creativity were clear; "Who would not want their city to be scientifically ranked as the coolest on earth: the most creative city? It makes the residents feel good, politicians feel even better, and makes outsiders envious: so much so that they might even visit" (p. 109).

Despite its popularity among politicians seeking to attract "Florida's creative-class capitalists—ponytails, jeans, rock music, and all—by liberal, big-government means: diversity celebrations, "progressive" social legislation, and government spending on cultural amenities" (Malanga, 2004, para. 15), the creative class agenda has been widely criticised for promoting gentrification, ghetto-isation, social exclusion and other social ills

as high rents and prices eventually force out creative artists from 'hip' areas and alter the creative milieu which they helped to create and furnish in the first place (Peck, 2005).

Florida influence abroad

Criticism of Florida's work has grown, particularly that its rapid adoption into policy outside the US revealed a lack of recognition of the different political, social and economic circumstances that prevail elsewhere (Gibson & Klocker, 2005; Oakley, 2004; McGuigan, 2009). In Britain, Florida had a "disproportionate influence on New Labour policy makers" according to Oakley (2006, p. 70), who expressed frustration that his views were "accepted uncritically by many UK policy makers despite the economic, cultural and social differences between the UK and the US and the cultural specificity of Florida's own work" (p. 70).

During his 2003 New Zealand visit which included the Knowledge Wave Conference, Richard Florida also visited Wellington where he addressed Wellington City Council (McGuigan, 2009) and met with the director of *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy, Peter Jackson. Florida reported his meeting with Jackson in a scare-mongering opening to his 2005 book, *The Flight of the Creative Class* which examined how mobile talent is migrating from America to work in other places, for other creative enterprises. Other places like Wellington, not Washington, are all bad for the US-centric Florida, whose work in the view of Pratt (2008) was "a revival of hi-tech boosterism and place marketing" (p. 107).

The US-generated creative class theory had a cultural specificity appropriate to its environment. It implied a mobility of talent which seemed to be the wrong place to start this voyage in New Zealand, a sparsely-populated country with only 4 million inhabitants, fewer people than many of the cities Florida (2005) assessed with his creative class consultancy. Furthermore, it may be altogether inappropriate to apply the term 'creative class' in New Zealand at all. It is uncertain whether the term can rightly be used in New Zealand in the same way as Florida used it.

Florida's definition of a creative 'class' is problematic for this study. The use of creative 'class' is not based on any foundations of class as accepted in New Zealand social policy. Rather, to a large extent it is a consumption-led descriptor which is not actually about 'class' at all. The basis of his class analysis is narrowly defined by Florida as 'economic' with members of this 'class' adding economic value through their creativity (2002). Notions of individuality, meritocracy and diversity are key. He conceptualises socio-economic inequality in terms of the gradational distribution of resources and rewards among discrete individuals in society.

By contrast, both Weberian and neo-Marxist traditions emphasise relational approaches - class relations. Weberians Pearson and Thorns (Pearson & Thorns, 1983) and neo-Marxists (Roper, 2005; Wilkes, 1990) identify the appropriation of communally-owned Maori land as central to the establishment of class relations in New Zealand. Few have gone on to undertake a contemporary analysis of class in this country, though it is a subject included in the literature identifying changing patterns of inequality and wealth especially following the policies of the New Right from the mid-1980s (Green, 1994; James & Saville-Smith, 1994; Rudd & Roper, 1997).

As part of the Research Design for this study as outlined in Chapters 3 and 5, in the New Zealand context the creative entrepreneurs who are research participants in this study could not be regarded as a creative class. For this research, such a definition is considered to be a limiting term if applied in New Zealand. Considering that its use may be confusing for later parts of this study, no aggregate terminology, either class or otherwise, is employed to describe the agglomeration of creative entrepreneurs in this study.

Creative destruction

Florida (2002) recalled economist and 1940s Harvard Professor Joseph Schumpeter, who characterized capitalism as “**creative destruction**” (as cited in p. 31); the state in which the old ways of doing things are endogenously destroyed and replaced by the new. Schumpeter (1942) argued that it is entrepreneurs who drive economies, generating growth and, through successes and failures, set business cycles in motion. In his time

Schumpeter was overshadowed by John Maynard Keynes (1936), who preached government spending as a way out of the Great Depression. The idea of creative destruction, with spurts of innovation destroying established enterprises and yielding new ones, prompted Florida (2005) to call the creative economy "the Schumpeterian growth engine of our age" (p. 243).

New Zealand's neo-liberal economic agenda from the 1980s-90s aligns with the notion of Schumpeterian creative destruction. With its creative entrepreneurship and creative entrepreneurs, for Cunningham (2005) a key theme of the creative industries discourse is "the centrality of the creative entrepreneur and a small business approach" (p. 288).

Drawing comparison with the era of Schumpeter's work, Florida (2005) acknowledged there are social problems associated with his creative class, stating that "the socioeconomic divide it sets in motion is the modern-day equivalent of the divide Roosevelt faced – the growth of two divergent classes: the creative and the service sectors" (p. 243). While the creative class theory presented no solution, bridges across this divide could be found in the earlier work of Harvard Professor of Public Policy Robert Putnam (2000), chief proponent of social capital theory.

Social capital

Like the creative economy, it seems that the concept of social capital is an emerging paradigm for economic development. The first major contribution to the field of social capital was by Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti (1993), following a study of regional government in Italy over more than twenty years since 1970. They found that regional government performed best, holding other factors constant, where there were strong traditions of civic engagement. Putnam (2000) further developed social capital theory in *Bowling Alone* which covered civic and social engagement trends in America. In this book Putnam articulated the importance of trust, reciprocity, community bonds and social networks as an essential part of what makes a civil society – together, called social capital.

According to Putnam, social capital was a key component to building and maintaining democracy: “social networks have value” (p. 19).

An OECD (2002) report on social capital made the following point: "Societies founded on networks of trust and co-operation can help to realise human potential. There is a growing awareness in the economic literature of the importance of social networks and trust in supporting collective endeavours" (p. 39). Temple observed that “for some economists (not all), the intuition that society matters is strong enough to outweigh the current absence of much in the way of a theoretical underpinning” (as cited in OECD, 2002, p. 39).

For Leadbeater and Oakley (2005) cultural entrepreneurs could "play a role in promoting social cohesion and a sense of belonging. That is because art, culture and sport create meeting places for people in an increasingly diversified, fragmented and unequal society. Once these meeting places might have been provided by work, religion or trade unions" (p. 304). This echoed Putnam's (2000) work about community groups and social cohesion inherent in social capital.

Social capital was a component of civil society absent from the creative class ideas of Florida. It could be argued that Florida's creative class of 2002, with his slick presentation style and appealing approaches to the hipsterisation of every city, overtook Putnam's (1993) broader social capital theory from nearly a decade earlier. McGuigan (2009) reckoned Florida's Bourgeois Bohemian creative people “like 'cool' scenes in which to hang out and where they can interact with other similarly go-getting bobos without having to go the whole hog by actually reinventing the intimate communal ties of a passé small-town America” (p. 294).

The inclusion of social capital theory in the examination of New Zealand's creative economy seemed relevant because the country has a small population where connections between and among people are frequent. Local popular culture anecdotally reckons two degrees of separation exist between people in New Zealand, rather than the six degrees which separate everyone around the world. ‘Six degrees of separation’ refers to the idea

that, if a person is one 'step' away from each person he or she knows and two 'steps' away from each person who is known by one of the people he or she knows, then everyone is no more than six 'steps' away from each person on Earth. The six degrees of separation concept originated from Harvard assistant professor Stanley Milgram's *Small World Experiment* in 1967 that tracked chains of acquaintances in the United States.

4 Contextualising New Zealand's creative economy and place

While I am not seeking to replicate Milgram's small world experiments in New Zealand, the concepts they raise about the inter-connectivity of people are salient points for small New Zealand. Contextual factors of this kind are important for any analysis of New Zealand's creative economy for the same reasons that the mobility of talent implicit in Florida's creative class theory demands to be thought out again here: context and cultural specificity are important to this research.

The broader context of creativity has been identified in the creative economy literature as an area which demands attention. In 2008, Pratt stressed "that culture is produced in particular places and times: and that context is important in, or perhaps more accurately constitutive of, the social, cultural and economic field" (p. 107). Oakley (2004) also argued that creative industries developments, if they are to succeed, "cannot be disconnected from the cultural policies that nurtured them and the social policies that can help to sustain them" (p. 67). Earlier in the development of the creative economy discourse Tepper (2002) suggested that, rather than focusing on aggregate levels of creative output, better theories and methods were needed for understanding "the context or conditions for creativity and innovation both within organisations and at the community level" (p. 166). Many factors underpin context in this sense, but key among them is 'place'.

The creative place was important to Pratt, for whom in 2004 "the face-to-face meeting still matters Go into web designers' offices and you see people grouped around screens, touching and pointing at objects and arguing about them. Thus, my conclusion is that space and place – and the associated sociality – possibly matter more, rather than

less, for new media companies” (p. 122). The importance of sociality for new media, an industry type which is at the core of creative economy, in Pratt's view meant that “considerably more attention needs to be paid to the social relations of cultural production rather than technology or transport costs” (p. 122).

New Zealand research along these lines by academics Boon, Jones and Curnow (2009) examined the power relations within “contemporary knowledge generation processes” (p. 361) of creative industries, through research that looked at the Aramoana community and the film *Out of the Blue* which focused on the massacre which took place in the tiny seaside village in 1990. They theorised creative industries as “a discursive object located at the intersection of three discursive formations: ‘creativity’, ‘enterprise’ and ‘place’” (p. 361) While their research focused on local people disrupting the “taken for granted ‘goodness’ of film enterprise, and creative industries more generally” (p. 361), the inclusion of ‘*place*’ in their New Zealand-generated theory marked a different accent for the creative economy discussion. In their research, “creative industries” can be imposed upon places by outsiders. This raises myriad questions of the type proposed by Oakley (2004), who argued that “much of the rhetoric around knowledge-based economic development (and the creative industries within that) masks a huge number of unanswered (and unasked) questions” (p. 73). In light of this, there was a need to ask more profound questions about “what types of ‘knowledge’ matter and have value and why. We need to develop a more nuanced place-based strategy for creative industry developments that reflects these differences” (p. 73).

Contrary to the merits of endogenously-developed place-based strategies, New Zealand Government-sponsored doctoral research commencing in 2004 examined the merits of transnational assemblage of policies for the creative industries. That research was undertaken from the University of Bristol, and has particular emphasis on the beginning phases (commencing 1999) of creative economy policy in New Zealand. In it, Prince (2010) argued for a post-national understanding of policy formation which recognised that policy was formed in particular transnational networks of experts, and that creative industries policies were “a global form universal to different places” (p. 168). While there may be

some truth to this view of policy development, considering the rapid emergence of the creative economy discourse around the world including New Zealand, assumptions made about the merits of transnational policy are questionable.

In the creative economy policy discourse, in the view of Oakley (2004) it appeared that everywhere needs a university, some incubators and a 'creative hub', with or without a cafe, galleries and fancy shops. In an industrial economy, we had a framework for understanding regional differences; some places had steel or coal or shipbuilding, others traded or just moved money about like the City of London. We seem to have forgotten this in our rush to develop regional creative economies. (p. 73).

Oakley (2004) was concerned that all regions were pursuing the same culture-/knowledge-based economic development strategy "despite the evidence that their human capital stock cannot support it and they will have difficulty in the short and medium term in attracting or retaining the kind of workers on which these economies depended (p. 73).

Gaps and persisting questions around Florida

In this space, we return again to Florida's theory of the creative class, and to issues of mobility of talent. In *The Rise Of The Creative Class* (2002) and again in *The Flight of the Creative Class* (2005), as already discussed, Florida made an argument for attracting particular labour, or occupations, to a place. This labour pool, it was assumed, would in turn cause high-technology new media industries to relocate to that place. For Pratt (2008) it was "as if cities and regions have lost the faith in generating their own wealth and have begun to believe that wealth could only come from elsewhere" (p. 109).

In Florida's (2008) *Who's Your City?: How the Creative Economy is Making Where to Live the Most Important Decision of Your Life*, he repeated the same message. He also set out to build a basic model that could "simulate the growth and development of the cities and

regions that compose the world economy” (p. 63) based on the presumption “that productive firms would be drawn to similarly productive locations. Places that housed dynamic firms would grow, while places that didn't would decline.” (p. 64). Here an important gap in the assumptions behind the theory emerged - who actually started this cycle of putting productive firms in particular locations, and why? **There is no space in this model for a creative enterprise to successfully germinate and then grow as the first creative enterprise in a given place.** Such germination, logically, would be the start point for obvious or self-evident creative enterprise successes like Peter Jackson's film industry in Wellington or the Kauri Museum in Matakoho, both mentioned in the introduction to this study.

Undoubtedly this is challenging territory. It was identified by Leadbeater and Oakley (2005) as "a 'missing middle' in public policy at a national level and also, critically, at the regional level where it most counts. Policy-makers know little about this new generation of entrepreneurs - how they work, where they come from, what makes them tick, their distinctive needs - nor how to interact with them." (p. 300). Furthermore, in New Zealand the seeding process of 'knowledge businesses' was identified by Professor Paul Callaghan (2009) in *Wool to Weta - Transforming New Zealand's Culture and Economy* as a mystery not widely understood. Callaghan doubted it was sufficient for New Zealand “merely to create a macro-economic environment conducive to business, and especially export business, and then hope that seed nuclei will form” (p. 13). For Callaghan, anecdotal evidence suggested the role of inspired individual entrepreneurs, but questions about how to generate more of these knowledge businesses remained.

Also silent on the genesis issue for creative places, Florida (2008) argued it was “hard working, adventurous and creative people” who came together later “to form new firms that migrate to certain places. Some of these destinations, so long as they can retain their talent, grow and prosper. Others dissolve when their residents decide to migrate elsewhere” (p. 64). Peregrinations of this sort would impact greatly on places. Pratt (2008) suggested that in Florida's view it was “their spending power and preferences; or, as Florida has it, their values” (p. 110) through which the creative class made their social and

economic impact felt. **What are these values and where do they come from?** In Florida's (2002, 2005) work the creative class's values were not interrogated. For Pratt (2008) it seemed as if they were "read back from the assumed values of their consumption practices" (p. 110). Taking only consumption practices as a means to establish why creative entrepreneurs chose to be located in a place appears to be a limited approach, one which altogether avoided enquiring about production-side issues. In order to circumvent the restrictions imposed by prior assumptions, examination/investigation of this issue could usefully look at production-side values.

5 Conclusions

This chapter has examined the key theoretical developments in the broad 'creative economy' field as they relate related to creativity and economic development in New Zealand. It shows that, while key concepts have developed constructively over the last decade, limitations persist. Of particular importance to this thesis are culturally-specific assumptions relating to the role of creativity in local development, developed abroad and applied in New Zealand.

As identified in my introduction to this research, when Florida addressed the Knowledge Wave Conference in 2003, I had *felt* an uneasiness which was difficult to articulate. Having now examined and reviewed existing theory, the notions were problematic on different levels. First there were the distinctive notions about 'class' as the concept is used in New Zealand which were problematic, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Quite distinct from those concerns, furthermore from the literature there appear to be two reasons for questioning Florida's notions about creative entrepreneurs:

- Florida's work was based on a different cultural specificity
- and the values of his 'creative class' of entrepreneurs and creative workers had not been interrogated.

Developing these ideas further, gaps in the existing theoretical framework - what Leadbeater and Oakley (2005) called the 'missing middle' of production-side analysis in

the creative sector - highlight the need for New Zealand-based research approaches in this field to support New Zealand's economic development. Therefore, the logical direction to take is to examine New Zealand's creative economy by exploring the values of New Zealand creative entrepreneurs and setting that within a New Zealand frame.

Chapter 3 Research Design

1 Introduction

From the background chapter, it is evident that little research has been done to establish understandings about New Zealand's creative economy. Firstly, a gap exists in the existing research about the development 'arc' of the creative economy public policies in the period 1999-2008. No process or methodology has been created through which to analyse the large amounts of data, policy actions and projects which constitute this sector of the economy. Secondly, there are issues about context, specifically the absence of a New Zealand context for creativity as it relates to the creative economy policy system. Following on from this are gaps in the existing research about where the seeds for creative enterprises may be found.

Therefore this research seeks a wholly New Zealand articulation of the creative economy policy framework rather than a transnationally-imposed approach. The aim of the research is to examine the system of creative economy policy as intended by policy actors and its relationship to lived experiences of creative entrepreneurs in New Zealand.

The design of this examination of New Zealand's creative economy is based on three main research questions:

1. What was the public policy system for New Zealand's creative economy in the period 1999 -2008?
2. What were the attitudes of New Zealand creative entrepreneurs to the New Zealand Government's creative sector policies as they affected them in 1999-2008?
3. What were the attitudes of New Zealand creative entrepreneurs to New Zealand as a location for their creative enterprise?

These questions focus on the system of creative economy policy 1999-2008 as intended by policy actors and its relationship to what actually happened for creative entrepreneurs

in New Zealand, and how attitudes to New Zealand as a location for creative enterprise may further inform this. These questions are descriptive and explorative in nature. A hypothesis has not been generated to guide the research. If, as O'Leary (2005) suggested, hypotheses are designed to express a relationship between known variables, then generating a hypothesis would not be appropriate here. No set of defined variables exists for this study about New Zealand's creative economy - rather, the goal is **to identify** relevant variables, to build broad understandings. Not having a hypothesis does not limit the research. Instead, the explorative nature of this examination takes a less prescribed view of answering the questions than developing an hypothesis would permit.

2 Methodological approach for qualitative policy research

For Bryan (1984), in qualitative research it is not '*the numbers*' which make the data valid but rather the logical integration of data from different sources and different methods of analysis into a single, consistent interpretation. The strength of qualitative research lies in its validity. Davidson and Tolich (2003) suggested this means that "although the results may not be generalisable to other locations, the results presented accurately reflect the opinions or actions of the people in the study" (p. 34).

Policy research

Policy is "a form of social action both intended and actual" and it is "inevitably incomplete in terms of how it maps into practice" (Ball as cited in Blackmore & Lauder, 2005, p. 97). A theme running through policy studies concerns the nature of links between policy as intended by policymakers and its relationship to what actually happens in practice. This incompleteness is the area of policy interest on which this research is focused. As mentioned above, the aim of the research is to examine the system of creative economy policy as intended by policy actors and its relationship to lived experiences of creative entrepreneurs in New Zealand.

Public policy, argued Talbot (2005), is "a very healthy field of study" (p. 22) covering a wide range of issues from policy decision-making processes through to evaluation, but these various sub-domains have fragmented. For example, the study of public policy

processes and content (themselves usually treated separately) have also become increasingly divorced from the study of the outcomes of policy, known as evaluation.

Therefore policy research demands of the researcher a notion of the intentions for undertaking policy research, a capacity to frame the policy 'problem' and some clarity about the boundaries (Blackmore & Lauder, 2005). The intentions for undertaking this policy research are explained in Chapter One, the introduction to this thesis. The policy 'problem' is framed in Chapter Two, relating to the 'missing middle' in creative industries public policy discourse (Leadbeater & Oakley, 2005) and also earlier in this Research Design chapter. Boundaries for this policy research are summarised as follows:

- The policy research undertaken here is a critique **about** policy, specifically about creative economy policy in New Zealand. It is not research directly *for* policy.
- The researcher's approach to this is as an **outsider**, rather than as an insider who is undertaking a professional doctorate within a government agency seeking policy analysis.
- The investigation in this research addresses at various times **all parts** of the policy process: production, dissemination, implementation, and policy effects. It is not focused on only one part of the policy process, but rather on the policy process as a whole system.
- The focus is at the **governmental level** of creative economy policy for New Zealand, and also an articulation between levels (i.e. government agency to creative entrepreneur).

Policy studies do not have a distinctive set of methodologies, “but calls upon a range of methodological positions and methods in order to achieve the most powerful explanations for policy questions” (Blackmore & Lauder, 2005, p. 100). In this study, the intention is to capture a range of dynamic policy changes for New Zealand's creative economy, expressed over time. This analysis is then used as a framework against which critical commentary of the policies by creative entrepreneurs - beneficiaries of the policies - are then set. Production-side values of those creative entrepreneurs are then explored, particularly around attitudes towards New Zealand as a location for creative enterprise.

Making sense of what could potentially be complex or confusing research requires a clear understanding of the requirements for the research methodological approach. Firstly, this research requires an approach to examine the system of New Zealand creative economy public policy. It then requires an approach to situate the policy system in a 'real world' frame, reflecting creative sector entrepreneur attitudes towards government creative economy policy and towards location of their enterprises in New Zealand. Such an examination requires more than one approach. If only one methodology were to be used, this research would not achieve its purpose.

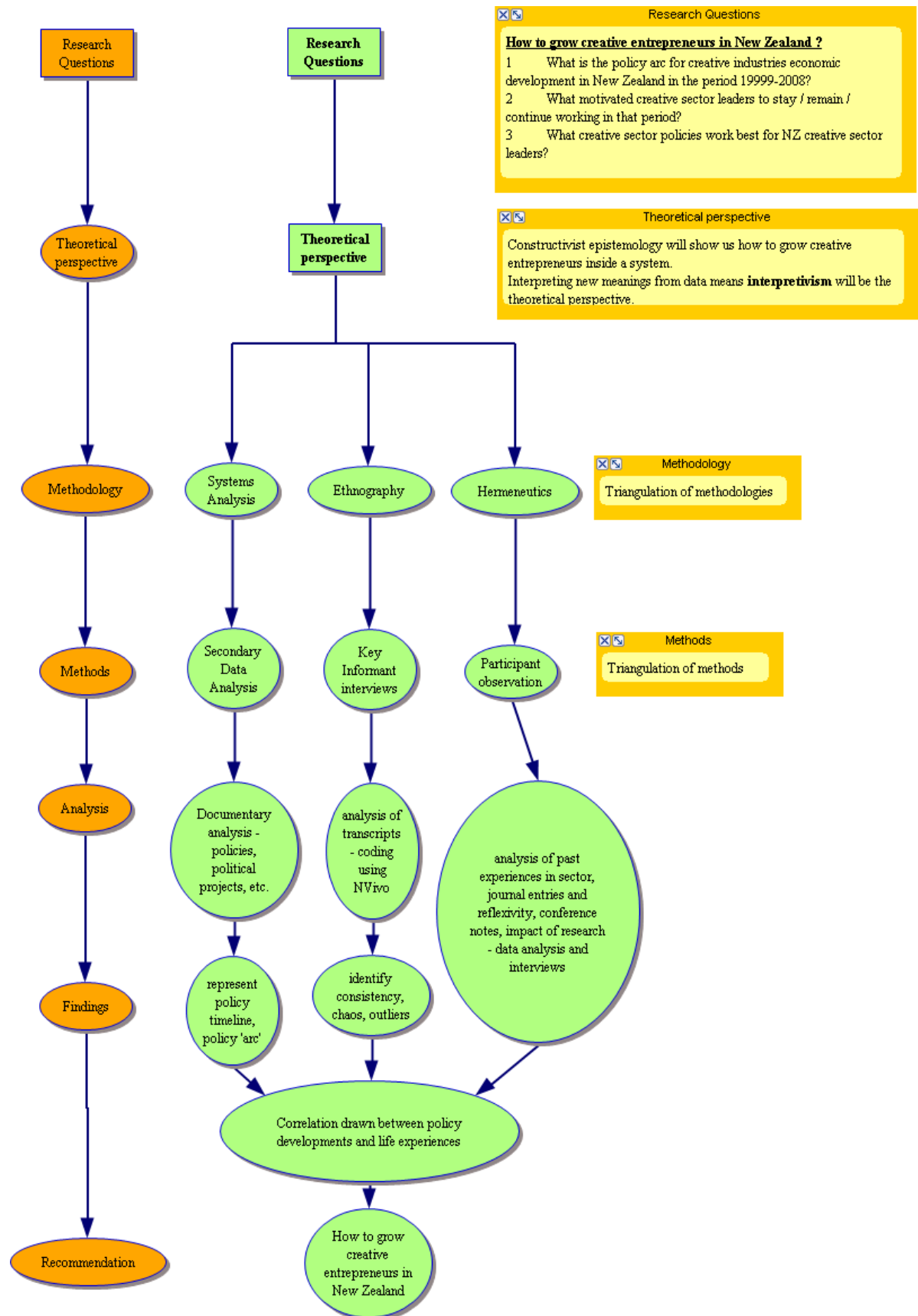
This qualitative study employs **triangulation** as an important part of the research design in the following ways:

- **Data triangulation:** the use of a variety of data sources in a study;
- **Methodological triangulation:** the use of multiple methods to study a single problem.

Figure 1 describes schematically the methodological and data triangulations of this study. Triangulation, in surveying, is a method of finding out where something is by getting a 'fix' on it from two or more places. In social science, according to Davidson and Tolich (2003), triangulation “refers to using different research methods to hone in on an event from two or three different angles” (p. 34). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) suggested that this might be done in social research by using multiple and different sources, methods, investigators or theories. Essentially, if different sources of information are saying the same thing, then the social researcher can have greater confidence that the findings are valid. Triangulation is “the heart of qualitative research's validity”, in the view of Fetterman (as cited in Davidson & Tolich 2003, p. 34). For this analysis of the creative economy in New Zealand, the multiple methodologies used in this investigation are:

- Systems theory, used to analyse the creative economy policies
- Phenomenology, used to analyse the lived experiences of the creative entrepreneurs
- Hermeneutics, used to uncover meanings and intentions hidden in the text

Figure 1: Methodological and Data triangulation in this research

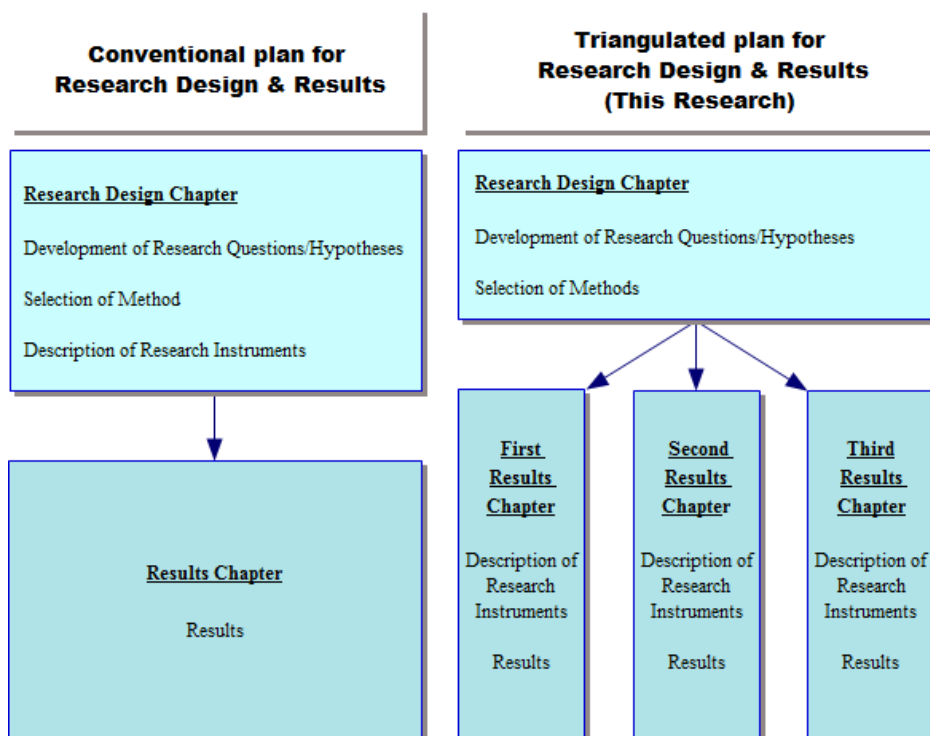


Schematic of the Research Design and Results chapters for this thesis

Triangulation of methods and of methodologies demands a more elaborate approach to managing information within a thesis than is found in a conventional 'Research Design Leads to Results chapter' approach. If the research instruments were described directly after the selection of methods, as in a thesis with a single research method, this research design chapter would contain the description of three different sets of research instruments, and the next chapter would report the results of the three sets of work. This would disrupt the logic flow.

To overcome this problem, in this thesis the Research Design chapter stops at the point where methods are selected and described, and is followed with three results chapters instead of one. The discrete methodology, methods, the application of research instruments and the results obtained for each of the triangulated parts of the research is contained within a separate chapter. This has the effect for the overall thesis of putting together information into coherent parts. A diagram of this research/thesis layout schematic (below, right side) is compared with a more conventional approach, (below, left).

Figure 2: Diagram showing research / thesis schematic



3 Selection of Methodologies and Methods

To repeat, for this analysis of the creative economy in New Zealand, the multiple methodologies used in this investigation are:

- Systems theory, used to analyse the creative economy policies
- Phenomenology, used to analyse the lived experiences of the creative entrepreneurs
- Hermeneutics, used to uncover meanings and intentions hidden in the text

Systems theory

A pragmatic definition for a **system** is “a set of interacting units or elements that form an integrated whole intended to perform some function” (Skyttner, 2001, p. 53). Reduced to everyday language, we can define this as any structure which exhibits “*order, pattern and purpose*” (Skyttner, 2001, p. 53). This in turn implies some constancy over time. A system's purpose is the reason for its existence and the starting point for measuring its success. Systems theory is used in this measurement.

Aristotle's ancient statement that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts could be regarded as an early definition of a basic systems problem, and typifies the holistic perspective in this methodology. To understand modern society we must understand the links between systems and their interdependencies. Thinking in terms of dynamic systems teaches us to anticipate and to monitor the path of emerging changes. Systems thinking could help governments to better understand emerging patterns and trends and to take proactive action (Gunderson & Holling, 2002).

Two strands exist in the literature regarding dynamic systems and the changing of public policy. One strand is the analysis of broad political, economic and social trends. Another strand is the explanation of policy change primarily from analysis and theories of the dynamics of the policy processes themselves. The long-established 'incrementalism' versus 'rationality' debate has been supplemented more recently by studies of what has been called the 'pathology of public policy' (Hogwood & Peters, 1985). ***This study follows***

the second strand and analyses the creative economy public policies of New Zealand through assessing the dynamism of the policy process and the entire policy system.

This process for this analysis is a new analytical method developed for this research which is based on the policy system framework developed by Considine (1994). The research method used for this research is based on **document analysis**. Detailed discussion of the rationale of the systems theoretic as applied in this study, the design of the research instruments here, their application and the analysis process is developed at the beginning of Chapter 4, preceding the results analysis of the creative economy policies.

This part of the study aims to capture and analyse the creative economy public policy actions of the leading politicians across the entire period of the fifth Labour Government, from 1999-2008. It aims to facilitate understandings of a complex array of policies as a dynamic policy 'arc'. It is intended to be a critical analysis which makes accessible nine years of public policy of New Zealand's creative economy.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology is the study of “lived, human phenomena within the everyday social contexts in which the phenomena occur from the perspective of those who experience them” (Titchen & Hobson, 2005, p. 121). Phenomenological research focuses on the subjective experience of the individuals studied. As the term suggests, “at its heart it is an attempt to understand a particular phenomenon” (Robson, 2002, p. 195). In this research, phenomenology is used to analyse the lived experiences of creative entrepreneurs.

An important goal in finding out more is attempting to understand how individuals experience phenomena. In the view of O'Leary (2005), “rather than ask what causes X, or what is X, the goal of phenomenology is to explore the lived experience of X” (p. 167). It is an approach which “has much to offer in answering certain kinds of research questions about subjective experience” (Robson, 2002, p. 196), which is highly relevant to this real-world study. According to O'Leary, the goal of this methodology is “to produce

descriptions so full of lush imagery that it allows others to share in how a particular phenomenon is experienced" (p. 162).

The process of generating such descriptions involves sourcing people who have experienced a particular phenomenon - in this case, the phenomenon of creative economy policy in New Zealand in 1999-2008 from the perspective of a creative entrepreneur - and conducting interviews with each participant. The research methods used in this research with this phenomenological methodology focus on ***participant interviews***. Detailed discussion of the method and the design of the research instruments here, their application and the analysis process are developed in detail in Chapter 5. The same methodology and methods also apply for Chapter 6.

This part of the study aims to explore individual creative entrepreneur's engagement with the policy system analysed in Chapter 4. The backdrop to Chapters 5 and 6 is an inadequate empirical base in knowledge of what creative entrepreneurs thought of the 'creative turn' in New Zealand's economic development story.

Phenomenology in this study represents an approach that would preserve the 'voices' of the individual participants by a process of rich description both of their perceived and embodied values. Included in this is the notion of *Verstehen* - finding out what the participant means in his or her action, in contrast to the meaning this action may have for someone else.

Hermeneutic enquiry

Positivist approaches describe the research process like an arrow which does or does not hit its target. Hermeneutics is rather more like a circle than an arrow, "moving from the detailed to the general, the local to the global in a series of trials of understandings, circling the business of knowing in a series of refining rather than defining approximations" (Heywood & Stronach, 2005, p. 116).

Hermeneutics “is the ‘art and science of interpretation’”, according to Robson (2002, p. 196). Its main initial use was by theologians in interpreting the Bible so that it was meaningful to a society very different from the one in which it was originally written. Skilled hermeneutic enquiry has the potential “to uncover meanings and intentions that are hidden in the text. Interpreters may end up with an explicit awareness of meanings, and especially assumptions, that the authors themselves would have been unable to articulate.” (Crotty, 1998, p. 91).

An hermeneutic approach requires that a text is returned to for interpretation time and time again. Initial understandings are refined through interpretation; this then raises further questions, calling for a return to the text and revision of the interpretation. Throughout this process, according to Robson (2002), “one is trying to understand what it means to those who created it and to integrate that meaning with its meaning to us” (p. 198).

Through hermeneutics - the critical theory of interpretation – “interpretation has become part of our cultural self-understanding that only as historically and culturally located beings can we articulate ourselves in relation to others and the world in general” (Rundell as cited in Crotty, 1998, p. 91). Hermeneutics has contributed to qualitative research methodology “the notion of an active involvement by the researcher in the research process” (Robson, 2002, p. 198).

Tensions exist for the researcher in this method between being closely embedded in the context and the process of explanation and the need to be honest and balanced. Robson (2002) reckoned detailed accounts of the research process effectively “guard against suspicions of basing the interpretation on a selective and biased reading” (2002, p. 198).

The approach of 'circling the business of knowing' is exactly the methodological approach to the triangulation of this study. Central notions like reflexivity, emergent themes and dialectical reasoning apply. Emergent themes are explored through Chapters 5 and 6. The data provokes new consideration of the information which is presented in Chapter 4, or

from secondary literatures. The data acts in a *dialectic* - a mutual and recursive provocation.

In this way the research emerges as a dialectical tacking between theory and data, between the local and the global, and the voice of the researcher and the voices of the research participants.

4 Theoretical perspective of this research

The theoretical perspective, according to Crotty (1998), informs the methodology and thus provides a context for the process involved and a basis for its logic and criteria. The theoretical perspective, or the philosophical stance, behind the methodologies in this research is *interpretivism*.

Interpretivism is a broad school of theoretical perspective which is comprised of branches such as Symbolic interactionism, Phenomenology and Hermeneutics (the latter two of which are utilised in this research, as shown above). The interpretivist approach looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world. It is contrasted against a positivist approach which is closely linked to empirical science and an epistemology of objectivism, and would not be appropriate for this qualitative research.

5 Epistemology of this research

An epistemology is a way of understanding and explaining how we know what we know. Epistemology “bears mightily on the way we go about our research” (Crotty, 1998, p. 9.). This research is based on a **constructionist** epistemology. Constructionism is “the view that *all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context*” (Crotty, 1998, p. 42). In this view, meaning is **constructed**, not discovered or created. Human beings construct meaning as they engage in the world they are interpreting; meaning is not an

inherent part of an object, “merely waiting for someone to come upon it” (Crotty, 1998, pp. 42-43). For Schwandt (1994), constructionism had a focus on “the meaning-making activity of the individual mind” (p. 127). This research aims to construct meaning from data relating to the creative economy in New Zealand.

According to Robson (2002), this approach is part of the current state of qualitative research, a follow on from the relativist tradition. Constructionist researchers seek to understand the

multiple social constructions of meaning and knowledge. Hence they tend to use research methods such as interviews and observation which allow them to acquire multiple perspectives. The research participants are viewed as helping to construct the 'reality' with the researcher. And, because there are multiple realities, the research questions cannot be fully established in advance of the process. (p. 27)

This research utilises interviews as well as secondary data analysis as methods to provide multiple perspectives.

Other epistemologies exist, but are not applicable to this research, including **objectivism** and **subjectivism**. Objectivism is the epistemological view that “things exist as meaningful entities independently of consciousness and experience, that they have truth and meaning residing in them as objects ... and that careful (scientific?) research can attain that objective truth and meaning” (Crotty, 1998, pp. 5-6). This is an epistemology which underpins a positivist stance. This would be more likely to be applied to research which includes a quantitative method of statistical analysis, rather than the approach taken with this research. Subjectivism, also, is an epistemological stance which is not aligned with this research. Here, meaning would not come out of an interplay between subject and object, but would be imposed on the object by the subject - thus meaning-making becomes “a subjective act essentially independent of the object” (Crotty, 1998, p. 9). Instead of either of these approaches, the constructionist stance of this research allows subject and object both to contribute to the construction of meaning.

6 Researching with integrity

Reflexivity

A key aspect of a hermeneutic approach is reflexivity . Reflexive self-awareness to explore the researcher's own impact on the material being researched is important to add rigour to the research process. "Reflexivity, not recipes, is the hallmark of the good social science researcher" (Somekh, 2005, p. 4). This reflexivity includes observations and notes taken from journals during the period of the research.

Ethical research

As outlined above, the information-gathering for this research involved documentary analysis and key informant interviews. Ethics approval was not required for the document analysis section of this research, about the public policies of the creative economy. However, ethics approval was required for the engagement with research participants, which related to interviewing about the lived experience of the informants.

An ethically-sound framework for this research was prepared following the guidelines established by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC). In 2007 the researcher attended workshop training sessions at AUT about ethical research, and subsequently prepared and submitted a 21-page Ethics Application to AUTEC in late 2007. A copy of this document is appended.

Ethics approval was required in advance of entering the field to interview key informants. A thorough process was established, approved and adhered to, ensuring this research of lived experiences of creative entrepreneurs was ethically safe for the participants and for the researcher. This included the preparation of the following documents:

- A Participant Information Sheet was prepared for all research participants, distributed in advance of the research.
- A written Consent Form was prepared, and all participants in the research signed two copies: one for the participant to keep, and one for the researcher. The researcher copies of these consent forms are stored in hard copy on file at AUT. Consent forms were signed prior to interviews taking place.

Further description of the ethics approval for this research is included in the description of research instruments in Chapter 5.

Ethics approval to interview key informants was granted by the AUT Ethics Committee (AUTEC) on 7 March 2008. The AUTEC reference number is 07/178.

7 Conclusions

This chapter has outlined a research design for examining the system of creative economy policy as intended by policy actors and its relationship to lived experiences of creative entrepreneurs in New Zealand. In this study, the intention is to capture a range of dynamic policy changes for New Zealand's creative economy, expressed over time. The first part of the analysis is used as a framework against which critical commentary of the policies by creative entrepreneurs - beneficiaries of the policies - are then set. Production-side values of those creative entrepreneurs are then explored, particularly around attitudes towards New Zealand as a location for creative enterprise.

Specifically, the overall approach to solving the research problem has been identified. The consideration, and subsequent selection, of methodologies and of methods most suitable for this examination have been set out, while methodologies and approaches which are not suitable have also been identified.

The triangulation of the selected methodologies and methods has been explained in this research design chapter. Detailed description of the research instruments follows in the respective discrete results chapters.

Chapter 4 Results 1 of 3:

Public policy system of New Zealand's creative economy 1999-2008

This chapter examines the changing public policy system relating to the creative sector of New Zealand during the period from 1999 to 2008. This information is one of three Results Chapters in this thesis, the other two being:

- attitudes of interviewed creative entrepreneurs to these policies, in Chapter 5,
- and attitudes of interviewed creative entrepreneurs to New Zealand as a location for creative enterprise, in Chapter 6.

This chapter commences with a description of the design of the research instruments and procedures for this chapter, followed by the application of these instruments and the results obtained. The results are triangulated in the Discussion Chapter 7, with the results of the other two Results Chapters.

The methodology for researching policy was examined in Chapter 3 - Research Design.

1 Design of Research instruments and procedures

Data collection and storage

In the view of Blackmore and Lauder (2005), "Governments, through the media, test public opinion about policies and provide policy solutions (often under-researched, under-resourced and poorly-timed)" (p. 99). If this is so, it is therefore logical to assume that media releases from Government would provide a wealth of information for examining the complex systems of public policy.

For this research, data about the public policies pertaining to the New Zealand creative economy was collected from New Zealand Government websites relating to government

activity in the creative economy in New Zealand 1999-2008. The website <http://www.beehive.govt.nz> was the primary site from which Ministerial statements and speeches were accessed. Media releases from Ministers of Arts, Culture and Heritage, and from Ministers of Economic Development and of Industry and Regional Development are included. An extensive internet search provided more than 200 individual policy statements by relevant Cabinet Ministers.

Each media release or research report was collected and stored electronically in a systemized database, totaling thousands of pages of information. The database was established in chronological sequence. If there were research reports with no policy actions they were not presented. This complex and comprehensive dataset forms the content for this examination of the New Zealand's creative economy public policies.

Website content changes over time. Therefore it was important to access and then to save, in digital format to secure backed-up storage, copies of the webpages/data. None of these may exist on the internet in future. The result is an extensive archive of public policy statements for the creative economy in New Zealand in 1999-2008. This archive may be of use to future researchers, if the same data is not available on www.beehive.govt.nz.

Data management in this research

It would be impractical to present each of these pieces of data in its entirety in this thesis, as the quantity of information is substantial, extending to thousands of pages of Ministerial speeches and media releases. Therefore, a method of refining and condensing the data and then presenting a summary of the data was developed.

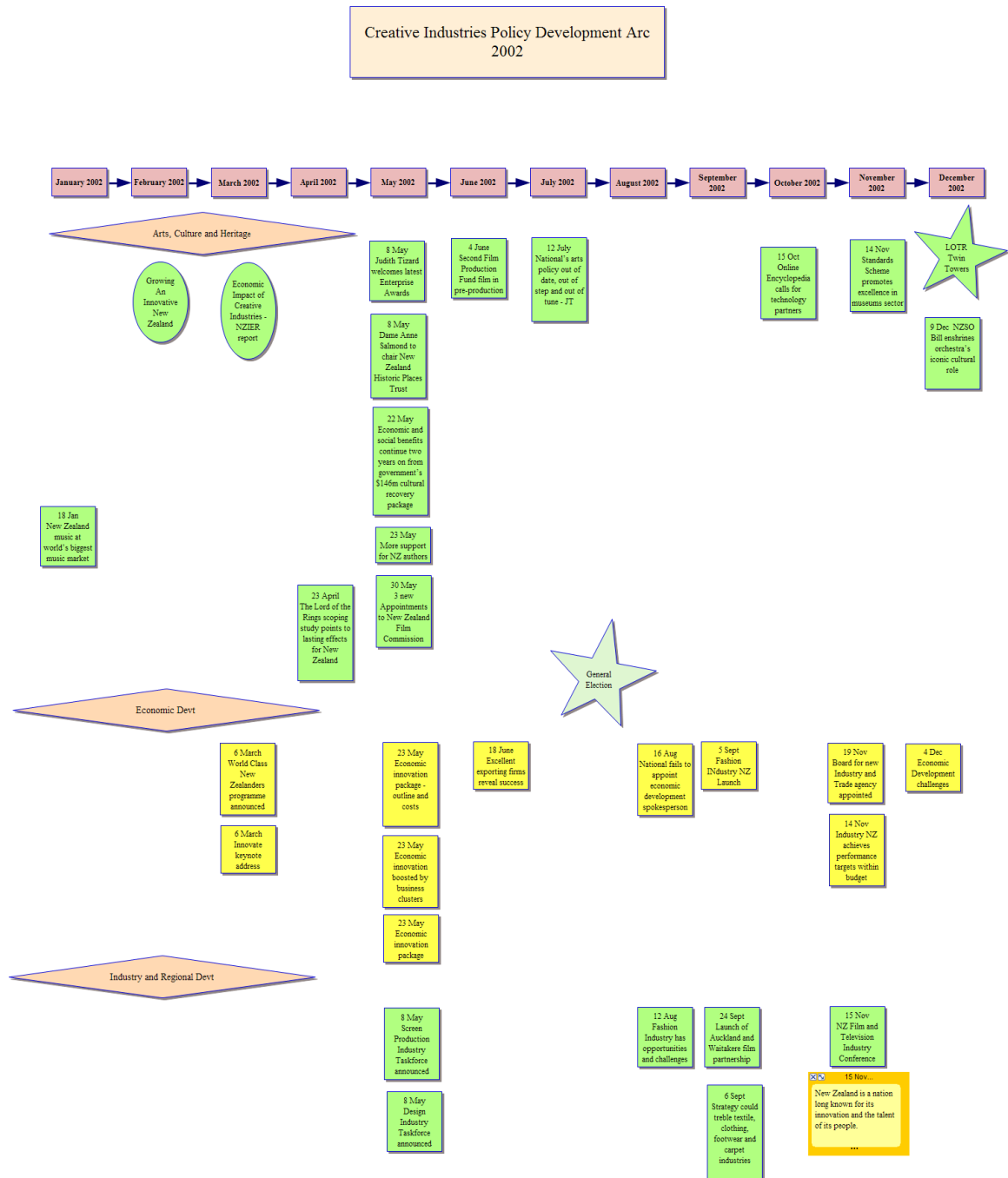
The first step in the chosen method was to ***plot the data on a timeline***. Each media release or key policy action was plotted onto a timeline from 1999 to 2008, and presented in timeline format. This allowed all the information to be presented concisely, at the same time as the first interpretation of the data occurred. The timeline was organised and formatted to show a longitudinal arc of the policy system for the creative economy in New

Zealand. It is divided into actions from three Ministries: Arts, Culture and Heritage, Economic Development and Industry and Regional Development. These Ministries were central to the creative economy in New Zealand in 1999-2008.

The timeline format was chosen as a method to condense the large amounts of information into a workable 'at a glance' graphical depiction of actions and events. This shows periods of intense policy activity in the creative economy and periods of reduced activity. All of the nine annual timelines are included in this thesis as Appendices.

A sample section from the timeline – no longer raw data, but instead, information – looks like this:

Figure 3: Diagram showing the 2002 section of the policy arc timeline

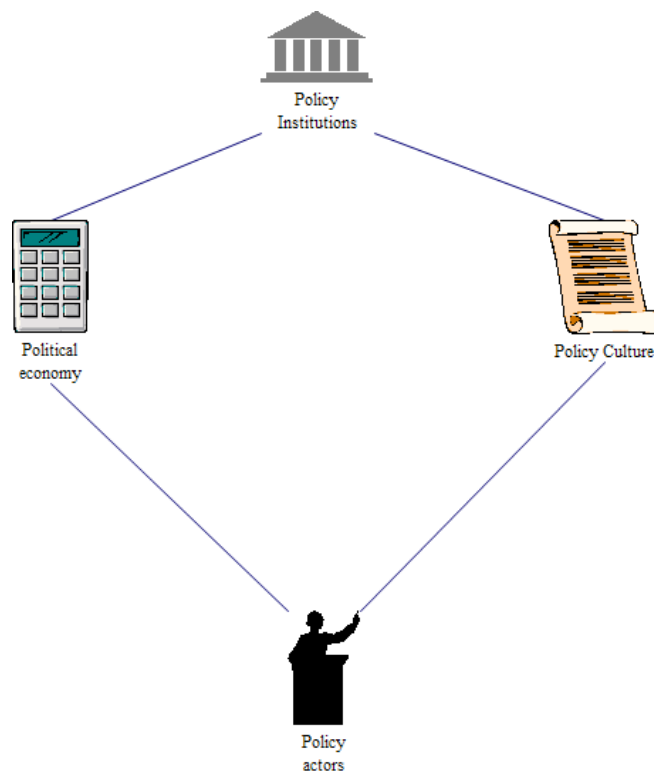


The timeline information required analysis and interpretation to provide results rather than data. The results show a public policy system in action, and therefore **systems theory** was used to analyse the complex system and to interpret the results. The methodology for researching policy was examined in Chapter 3 - Research Design.

In this research, the systems theory used in analysing the public policies of the creative economy in New Zealand is based on the work of Mark Considine from his book *Public Policy: A Critical Approach*. According to Considine, “typically the key participants in a policy system are linked through institutions, groups, networks, and other continuing relationships. These are based on shared understandings, values, common sources of disagreement, and patterned interactions which can best be described as policy systems” (Considine, 1994, p. 8).

Two main dimensions make a policy system – the material and the intellectual. The intellectual realm is termed the culture of policy-making, whereas the material aspects, such as institutions, resources, the links between groups, etc., are termed the political economy. Both the policy culture and the political economy are influenced by, and in turn influence, policy institutions and policy actors. This view of the structure of public policy systems shows linkages which flex and bend with changing forces, occurrences of overlaps, and a system which is dynamic and ever-changing.

Policy actors are the key politicians and bureaucrats who have command of the institutions which must give approval to any decision or program. Policy is the continuing work done by groups of policy actors who use available public institutions to express and articulate the things they value.



Application of the research instruments

The analysis of the policy system in this research follows the timeline in narrative form. Concepts or projects are seen to be introduced, developed and finally passed into law. Institutions are announced and created, join the existing institutions and maybe replace some of them. Their existence then supports further concepts or projects, and so on and so on, in an ongoing dynamic system.

The graphical representation by Considine of public policy systems is used in this research as a method for adding a further dimension to the analysis of the public policy systems of the creative economy in New Zealand. This is a dynamic system, and the Considine diagram represents linkages between co-dependent elements in the policy system, not flows of 'energy' or activity between the parts of the system. It depicts stasis rather than dynamism.

Therefore, to use the Considine diagram to examine the dynamism of the creative economy policy system, a method is applied which changes a sequence of these charts over time. At key moments in the development of the public policy system, the diamond-shaped Considine diagram above is used to graphically depict the dynamism or changing parts of the system. For example, there may be a period when the main activity within the policy system is institutional development, followed by a period when policy actors are leading a new initiative or charting a new direction. This is shown graphically with the Institution icon being enlarged, followed by the Policy Actor icon being enlarged.

With the graphical depiction of the policy system as applied here, the reader observes the policy system changing. Viewed together in sequence, the changing shapes of the diagrams reflect the dynamic changes in the public policy system. In this analysis, complex data covering nine years of policy systems for New Zealand's creative economy is presented in a simple, clear, and graphic way, which supports the narrative description of the policy actions.

This approach was developed for this research to provide a sequential progression of the public policy system. It is a simple approach to providing a 4-dimensional (i.e., including time as a factor) visual aid to understanding New Zealand's creative economy policy system. The charts can also be viewed as 'snapshots' at specific moments, which show a cross-section of the public policy system. This means the results can be viewed from two different perspectives or on two different planes simultaneously, one longitudinal and the other a momentary 'slice of time', presenting different views of the same information.

This method was chosen ahead of other methods such as discourse analysis, as it provided a dynamic approach to examining the policy system in action.

Limitations of the research design

Data

A limitation of this method is that the raw data (i.e. media releases and policy statements from Government Ministers) is gathered from sources controlled by the governing party only. Other political actors are excluded, excepting when secondarily referenced in the data/document. This data affirmatively shows the political leadership of the Government, likely to be a close reflection of the policy intent of the Government. If all comments by all parties or multiple sets of policy actors were to be included, the analysis would become unwieldy and overcomplicated, rather than expressing the momentum and intent of the main policy actors over time.

Research instruments

Reducing the large amounts of data to a timeline and then to the diamond-shaped charts is a process through which detailed nuances of policy may be lost. While this stage of the research process was reductive, as the narrative text was written the original source documents provided the opportunity for direct quotations by policy actors. Returning to original data source material while preparing the narrative description of the overall policy system arc was also a way of final-checking the sequence of events, and of noting changes in language or policy direction which may have occurred over time.

Presentation of results

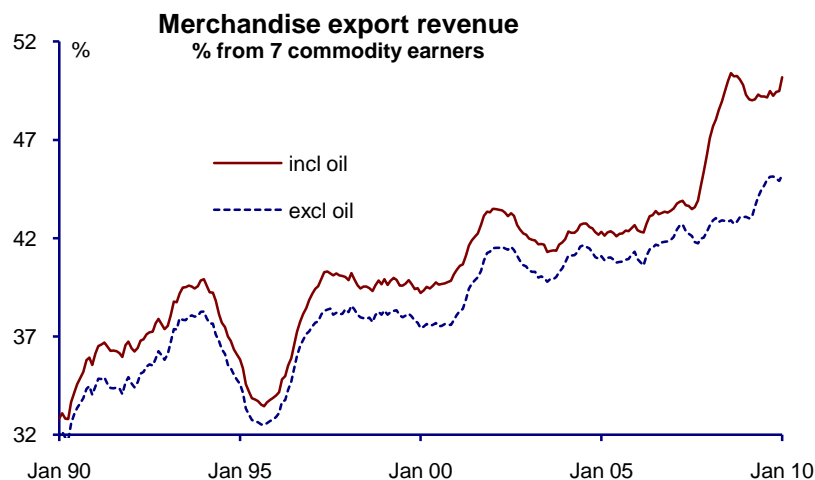
A limitation of this method is that the reader may be unfamiliar with a dynamic 'snapshot' model and how it is to be read in conjunction with the text. The charts represent a graphical summation, not a simplification, of each moment. Their value as an analytical tool manifests when the charts are sequentialised. Readers may find themselves referring back to earlier charts as they follow the narrative arc.

Introduction to Results

New Zealand's industrial focus is traditionally based on primary production. The economic development of New Zealand has not followed the typical pattern of most OECD countries; instead of starting with an agricultural phase, developing through a phase dominated by the manufacturing sector and then culminating in a stage of economic maturity where the service sector takes over a leadership role, agriculture has continued to make a vital contribution to New Zealand's economy in a way that is abnormal for a country with its level of wealth (Smith, 1993).

A long history of agricultural commodity exports extends back to when New Zealand pioneered refrigerated shipping of sheep meat to Victorian England in 1882 (Peden, 2009). Most of New Zealand's export earnings come from products of the land. Recent research by BERL and Institute of Public Policy highlighted the increasing dominance during the last 20 years of primary sector commodities for New Zealand exports (BERL & Institute of Public Policy, 2010). The top seven export commodities from New Zealand (dairy, meat, logs and timber, oil, kiwifruit, fish and wine) now account for 50% of New Zealand's export revenue.

Figure 5: Merchandise export revenue % from 7 commodity earners



Source: Statistics New Zealand, as presented in BERL/IPP report

This trend is important for understanding the context for this examination of the public policies of New Zealand's creative economy. Against the backdrop of an increasingly

important primary sector, it could be argued that encouraging the creative sector of the economy may not have been an easy road for political leaders to take in 1999-2008, demanding vision, courage, endurance and clear communication skills against prevailing forces which were encouraging other, dominant, industries.

Early establishment of the creative economy 1999 - 2002

In 1999, the National government of New Zealand signaled for the first time in New Zealand's history that agriculture may not be the only way forward. This was a leap for the political party most closely associated with farmers and the traditional rural economy. In its "*Bright Future*" policy bundle it pointed the way towards a technological future which was based on the knowledge economy and the power of ideas, rather than primary produce. Innovation and powerful computer technologies would be the key to a brighter future for New Zealand's economy and overcome its long-regretted tyranny of distance from valuable markets. "With today's technology, you can run an international business from Lumsden, instead of London, and enjoy New Zealand's enviable lifestyle" was the attitude of Prime Minister Jenny Shipley (1999) when announcing the Bright Future policies (para. 11).

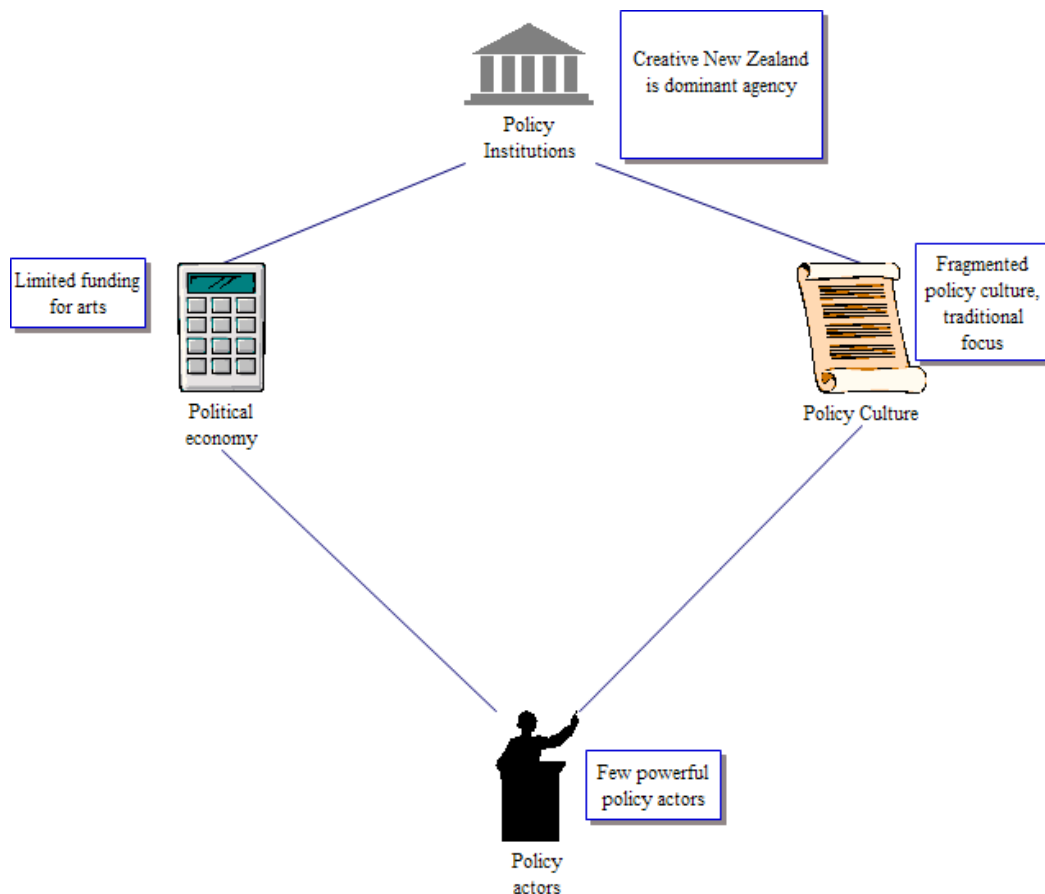
New international theories were emerging at the time which brought new attention also to the emerging creative economy. Computers and the internet were leading a technological and communication step-change for business. As already shown in Chapter 2, in Britain a new language emerged with the first efforts to link creativity and the new economy, through the *Creative Industries Task Force Report* of the British Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS, 1998). UK Prime Minister Tony Blair's "Cool Britannia" was already launched, but New Zealand in the late 1990s had an approach to the creative economy which was fragmented, limited and not up to speed with developments in the UK. Design culture focused on sailing and the America's Cup regattas, based in Auckland in the late 1990s, rather than fashion or designs for living. Without a vocabulary with which to prioritise the development of the arts or creative industries, the National government

instead maintained a traditional focus on funding cultural institutions, whose central agency was the Arts Council of New Zealand. Operating as Creative New Zealand, this agency funded cultural organizations such as the Royal New Zealand Ballet and the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra.

In October 1999 Creative New Zealand raised its voice for the first time to have the "economic agenda" added to the arts discussion (Arts Council of New Zealand, 1999). After 15 years of neo-liberal economic policies, arts organisations were accustomed to subsisting within strict budget guidelines. A long period of limited funding for arts institutions meant that the high notes for the creative sector in 1999 were large projects, including:

- *Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of New Zealand* opening on Wellington waterfront;
- Peter Jackson commencing filming of the trilogy of *The Lord of the Rings* movies, based on foreign funding.

Figure 6: Diagram summarising New Zealand creative economy system in 1999



A new dawn

From its place in Opposition, in 1999 the Labour Party of New Zealand developed a cultural policy which took account of the emerging international ideas and new language about the creative industries. It also acknowledged that new funding would need to be found for arts institutions, pledging \$25million for the sector if elected. Entitled '*Uniquely New Zealand*', this policy document boldly articulated the Labour Party's vision for

vibrant arts and cultural activities which all New Zealanders could enjoy and through which a strong and confident cultural identity can emerge, and for a strong and vibrant creative industry sector which provides sustainable employment and economic growth within an innovative environment. (Clark, 2000, para. 11)

In an important step-change in thinking, the policy went on to link the arts and creativity to industry rather than entertainment, acknowledging

both the intrinsic value of the arts and culture and the enormous economic benefits which could flow from a strong creative sector this [creative] sector has the potential to be among the key growth industries of the twenty-first century. World-wide, there is huge growth in the service sector around industries based on creative talent. New Zealand with its talented people has the potential for its creative sector to do exceptionally well and make an even larger contribution to our economy. (Clark, 2000, para. 12)

As Opposition Spokesperson for the Arts, Culture and Heritage, Helen Clark developed a cultural policy which expressed the belief that "through arts and through cultural activities we New Zealanders express our aspirations as a nation, who we are, and where we stand in the world" (Clark, 2000, para. 7).

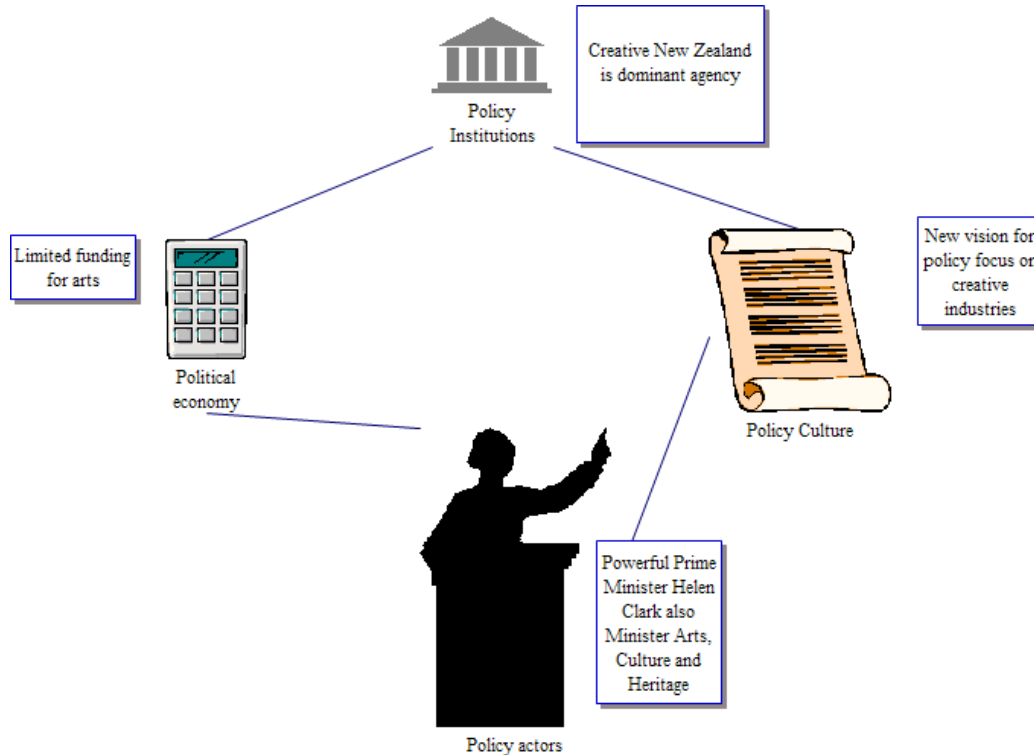
Leading into the 1999 General Election campaign, Labour promised to give top priority to the arts and culture and the creative industries if elected. Party Leader Helen Clark

pledged to put “at the centre of a new government ... a greater recognition of the value of arts and culture to our country” (Clark, 2000, para. 7). This included hints that Helen Clark would lead the Arts, Culture and Heritage portfolio if elected. When the New Zealand Labour Party defeated the National Party in the 1999 General Election, Helen Clark acted on that suggestion.

Buoyed by an election which eased away from the ideological and political certainties of neo-liberalism towards progressive policies, and with conviction in her belief that “the arts and culture have been undervalued in our political culture”, Ms Clark threw the weight of the Prime Minister’s position behind the Arts, Culture and Heritage portfolio in a demonstration of “how important and indeed how crucial their role is” (Clark, 2000, para. 7). This was an unprecedented action. For the following nine years, the most important policy actor for the creative economy would be the Prime Minister of New Zealand, providing a powerful position for creativity at the centre of government.

The diagram below depicts the public policy system for the creative economy in New Zealand at the moment when Helen Clark and the Fifth Labour Government were elected in 1999. Policy actor Clark was dominant, and the policy culture was strengthened through the new paradigm of creative industries being linked with traditional cultural industries. Other aspects of the system remained unchanged at this moment; Creative New Zealand was the main arts agency, and the material aspects of the political economy remained unchanged.

Figure 7: Diagram summarizing New Zealand creative economy system end of 1999



Briefings for the new government in 1999 brought to light issues affecting the creative economy. Firstly, as Helen Clark later commented, “our treasured arts, cultural and heritage organizations were in a parlous state. Our cultural infrastructure was very fragile indeed” (Clark, 2000, para. 15). In addition to this, in its post-election Briefing for the Incoming Government, Creative New Zealand lobbied that not enough money was being sought for a “Creative Industries Strategy” for New Zealand (Arts Council of New Zealand, 2000). A major opportunity was ahead for reassessing New Zealand's cultural industries, and for moving towards economic development of the creative sector.

Creative Government

In March 2000, four months after the new government had taken office, a significant strategic project for economic development of the arts and cultural sector was announced. As Tony Blair’s UK Government in 2000 sailed under a ‘Cool Britannia’ banner,

Helen Clark's Labour-led New Zealand Government set forth to develop its creative industries strategy as 'the Heart of the Nation', abbreviated as 'HOT Nation'. The Terms of Reference for the Heart of the Nation strategy included a refined vision for New Zealand's creative industries, namely "a strong creative industry sector which provides sustainable employment and economic growth within an innovative environment" (Heart of the Nation Strategic Working Group, 2000, p. vi).

With HOTNation research being conducted in the background by the assigned taskforce, in May 2000, after six months in government, the much-anticipated first budget of the new Labour-led government included an extraordinary Cultural Recovery package for major investment in the arts, culture and heritage. The \$25million pre-election promise to the cultural sector became by the first Budget six months later a \$150million major funding package. This included an immediate \$80million funding injection "to shore up the arts and cultural sector's viability" (Clark, 2000a, para. 29).

Beneficiary organizations of the Cultural Recovery Package were:

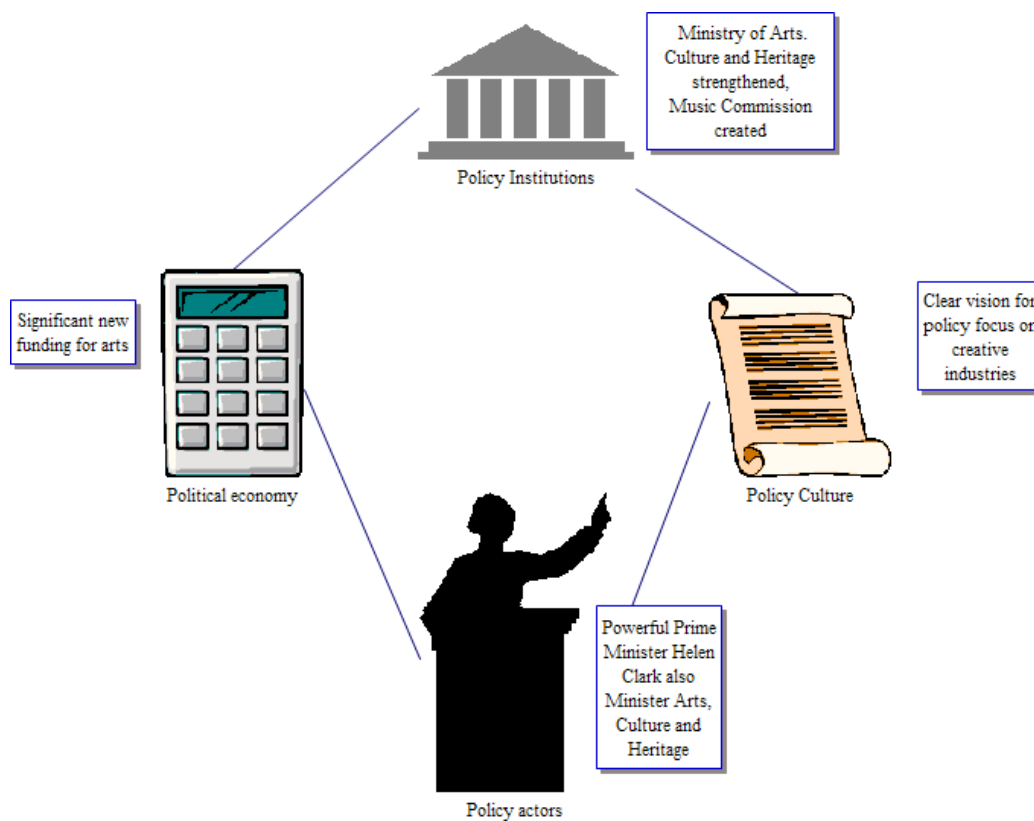
- Broadcasting Commission (New Zealand on Air),
- New Zealand Historic Places Trust
- Creative New Zealand (Arts Council)
- Te Papa Tongarewa (Museum of New Zealand)
- Royal New Zealand Ballet
- New Zealand Film Archive
- New Zealand Symphony Orchestra.

With the promise of an additional and ongoing \$20 million funding per year in each of the following three years, "a legacy of underfunding and undervaluing these aspects of our national life" (Clark, 2000, para. 34) was addressed.

In addition to this, in Budget 2000 the establishment of significant new organisations was announced. A Music Commission was formed for the music industry, and the screen

industry would get a Film Production Fund. Most significantly, the Ministry for Arts, Culture and Heritage was given a major structural overhaul, personally overseen by the Prime Minister herself so it would “at last look like something like the organisation which was originally envisaged when, ten years ago, the Fourth Labour Government took steps to establish it” (Clark, 2000b, para. 47).

Figure 8: Diagram of creative economy at Cultural Recovery Budget 2000



Taking account of this Cultural Recovery package, Prime Minister Helen Clark expressed a hope that her tenure as Ministers for Arts, Culture and Heritage would achieve the following:

- ensure that arts, culture, and heritage have a higher profile and are more widely valued for their contribution to New Zealand

- raise morale across the creative sector as a result both of the greater tangible and intangible support for it
- see more talented New Zealanders supported to express their creativity
- see a more stable infrastructure develop for the sector
- see fast growth in employment, opportunities, and revenue in the whole creative and heritage sector
- see a stronger sense of New Zealand identity develop from the flowering of New Zealand's creative talent. (Clark, 2000a, para. 46).

False start for Creative Industries Strategy

Only a few weeks after the Cultural Recovery budget, the greatly-anticipated *HOT Nation: A cultural strategy for Aotearoa New Zealand* (Heart of the Nation Strategic Working Group, 2000) was presented to the Prime Minister in June 2000. The collaborative research report by cultural industry experts and artists was poorly received. The HOT Nation project team was sternly criticized for failing to fully address the Terms of Reference in preparation of the *Heart of the Nation* report. Where it had been intended to “facilitate the development by the cultural sector of a strategic plan” (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2000, para. 3), instead it set out “a series of strategies which are primarily dependent on Government action and, particularly, a significant restructuring of governmental arrangements” (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2000, para. 5).

The 'HOT Nation' report asserted that creative talent had not been nurtured, and that “the emphasis in central government expenditure over the past decade has helped to make the period one of venue construction. Far less public expenditure has been spent on the creative people and programmes” (Heart of the Nation Strategic Working Group, 2000, p. ix). Te Papa Museum on the Wellington waterfront and the Auckland's Aotea Centre are examples of venue construction from that period.

Working from the same premise as the Council of Europe's guide to cultural policy, published in 2000, HOT Nation outlined the importance of new training initiatives for creative industries personnel. Mundy (2000) claimed that creative industries "need a continuous stream of skilled and imaginative talent" (p. 67). For *Heart Of The Nation* authors the same notion was clear: "Creative industries need specialist skills to flourish The successful peopling of creative industries cannot be left to chance" (as cited in Volkerling, 2000, p. 6). The notion that public policymakers may be concerned with "the "nursing" of new generations of creative talent" (Council of Europe, 1997, p. 267) is a central tenet for this thesis.

Despite the merits of the report, recommendations for the restructuring of the cultural sector overshadowed all other findings of the HOT Nation report. It was rejected by all the key players. Prime Minister Helen Clark, who had commissioned the report, was clear that

'we do not start with a blank sheet of paper on arts funding. We start with a lot of established infrastructure and national institutions. Major changes in priorities would lead to the demolition of much of that, and those are decisions I am not prepared to take' (Clark, 2000a, p. 29).

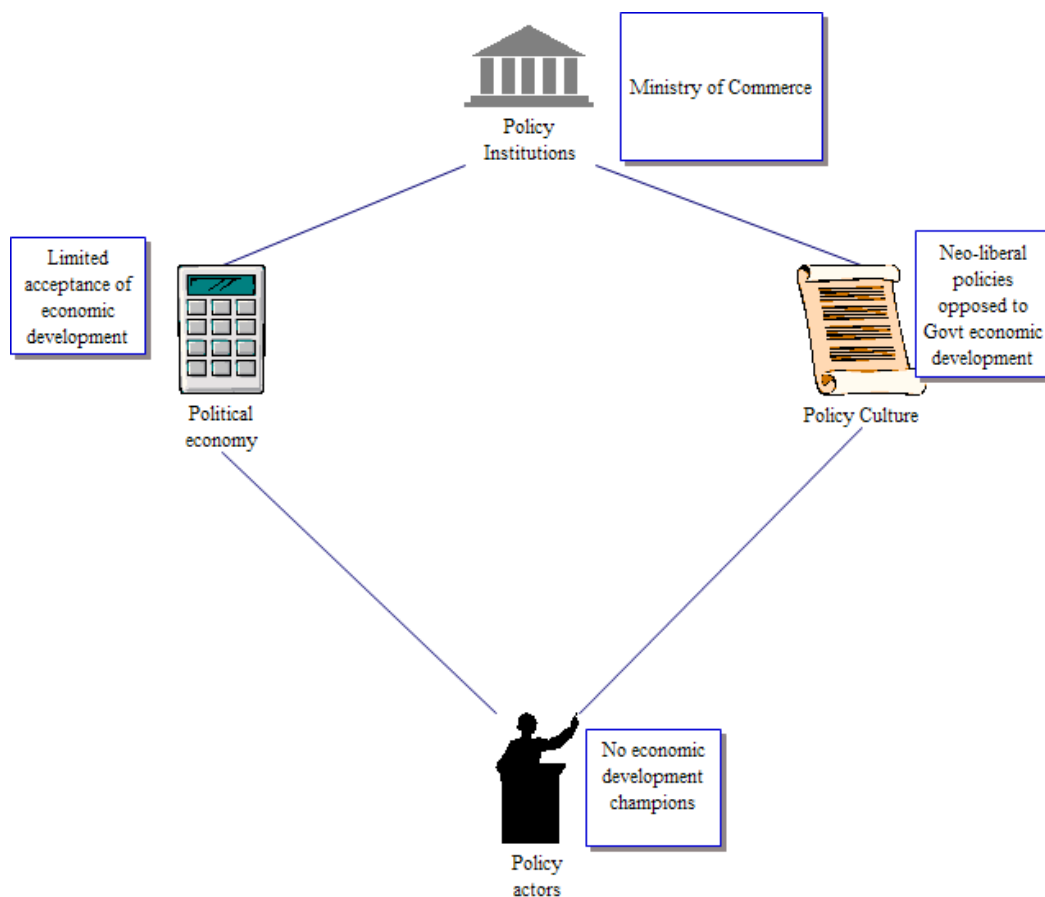
New Zealand's creative economy public policy system after HOT Nation moved forward with a focus on the organisation of economic development of the creative sector. This was a shift away from traditional arts cultural industries towards the broader group of creative industries – which included digital software development, video games, and design industries.

Economic development

To return briefly to the General Election of 1999, newly-elected Jim Anderton, leader of the Alliance Party, became Deputy Prime Minister in coalition with the Labour Party, with Ministerial responsibility for Industry Development and Regional Development. At the time, after 15 years of neo-liberal economic policies, the institutions, policy actors, policy

culture and political economy relating to economic development were very limited. Government had been ‘hands-off’ for half a generation; the ‘*germane assistance*’ of economic development as explained by Jane Jacobs (Jacobs, 1984, p. 230) was nowhere in evidence.

Figure 9: Diagram summarizing New Zealand public policy system for economic development in 1999



New Zealand Treasury’s (1999) post-election Briefing to incoming Ministers made economic development a necessity according to Jim Anderton, a significant shift away from the ‘more market’ neo-liberal policies of the previous 15 years. As Minister of Industry and Regional Development, Mr Anderton (1999) explained that:

The National Party's hands-off stance has led to a chronic failure to earn as much overseas as we are spending, which has built up a massive overseas debt. We urgently need an industry development policy to build job-rich new industries, especially in struggling regions (para. 3-4).

A paradigm shift needed to occur to fulfill this vision, which Jim Anderton brought about within five months of taking office, by simultaneously

- establishing a new Ministry of Economic Development to deliver policy,
- establishing an national economic development agency (Industry New Zealand),
- and engaging regions to develop economic development strategies.

The step change was wrought by one piece of legislation introduced to Parliament on 4 May 2000. The media release from Jim Anderton's (2000b) office accompanying the *Industry New Zealand Bill* summarises the restructuring of the sector, and the new capabilities being introduced for economic development:

Media release 4 May 2000 Industry New Zealand Bill introduced

The Bill establishing Industry NZ as a Crown entity was introduced into Parliament today, fleshing out further details of the Government's new 'jobs machine.'

The Economic Development (Industry New Zealand and Ministry of Economic Development) Bill will be debated next Thursday.

Industry New Zealand is the implementation arm of the Government's economic development initiatives.

Its functions are described in the Bill as:

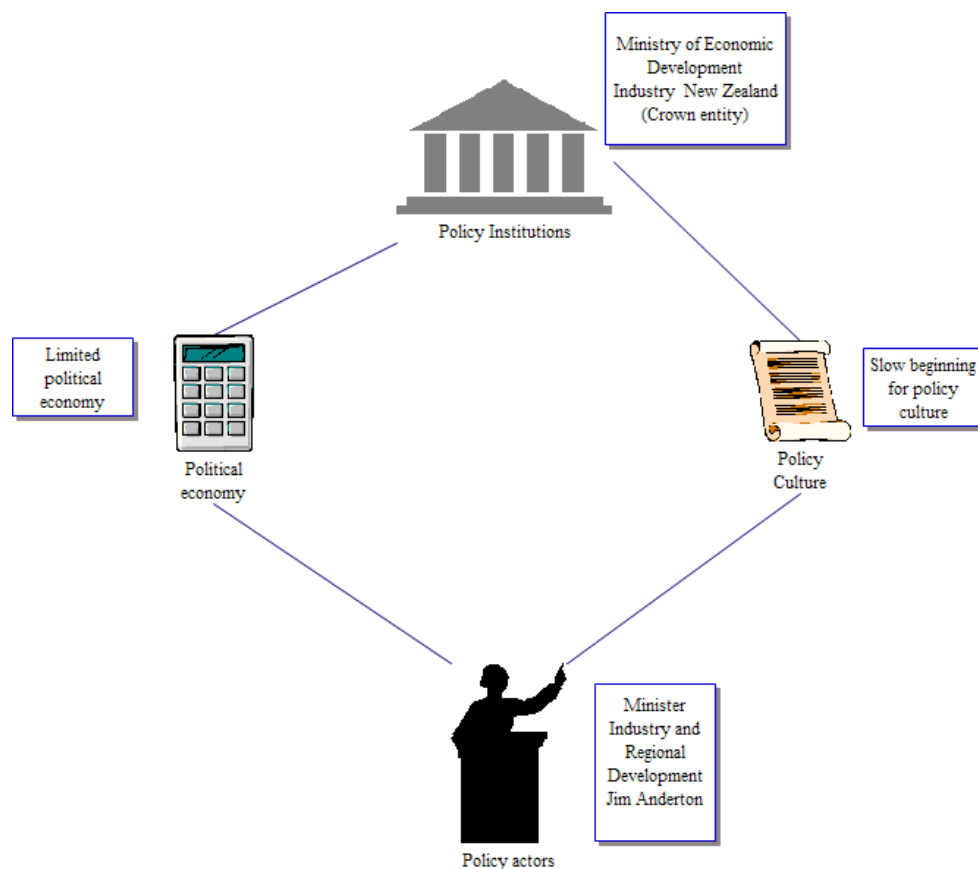
- managing the Government's initiatives for industry and regional development;
- working with the Ministry of Economic Development to develop the detail of programmes;

- allocating funds and delivering services for industry and regional development programmes;
- and facilitating co-operation and co-ordinating the delivery of Government business assistance.

.... The Bill introduced today formally changes the name of the Ministry of Commerce to Ministry of Economic Development, and changes the title of the Secretary of Commerce to Chief Executive of the Ministry of Economic Development.

With this Bill, a wholesale change of the policy system for economic development occurred. The public policy system for economic development now appeared like this:

Figure 10: Diagram of public policy system for economic development May 2000



With one move, the main policy actor had put in place significant new policy institutions for economic development. This was a strong first step to develop a new policy culture against a long history in which prevailing market-led economic theories had denied space for progressive economic development.

With a new Ministry of Economic Development and a national economic development agency (Industry New Zealand) in place, the ground was laid for Budget 2000. New funding of \$331.875 million was provided for industry and regional development, because “to make New Zealand stronger, we need to make the regions stronger and to grow the export sector” (Anderton, 2000a, para. 3). The Budget allocated funding for industry and regional development of \$33.750 million in Year One; \$73.125 million in Year Two and \$112.5 million for each of the following two years.

The new fund was to support a range of advice and practical assistance programmes for businesses, including a strategic investment service, early stage financing assistance and enterprise education building.

Signalling the intention to work across industry sectors, Industry New Zealand was tasked with employing industry specialists to identify firms or groups of firms with significant growth potential. These were to become industry “taskforces”. In addition to this, the shake-up for economic development also included the following functions for Industry New Zealand:

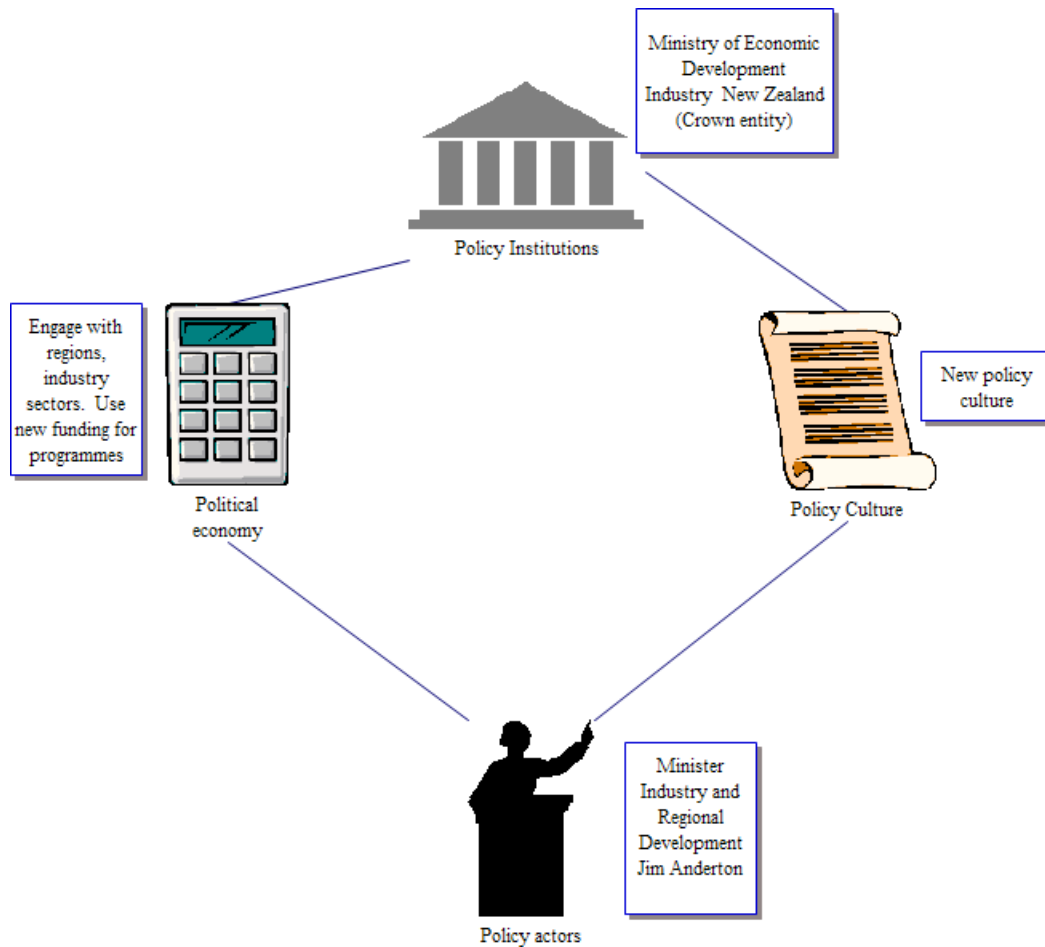
- allocating specialist grants to help firms employ the services they need to develop;
- working with TradeNZ (New Zealand's foreign trade support agency) to encourage investment within New Zealand;
- building a national database to match 'investment angels' with investment opportunities;
- establishing Early Stage financing to include market research, protection of intellectual property rights and commercialising ideas to enable budding entrepreneurs with innovative concepts to realise their commercial potential.

In conjunction with its industry development strategy, the Government presented a regional development strategy aimed at “resuscitating the regions. We will not pretend we know all the answers. Instead we will take a bottom-up approach, working with local communities to assist them make best use of the assets and advantages their region possesses” (Anderton, 2000a, para. 12). As an incentive, \$100,000 was made available to each region of New Zealand for its own economic development strategy. Some regions, including Northland, received \$200,000 for its economic development strategies.

With an industry development strategy and regional strategies also, this approach effectively meant that the new policy institutions could engage with anyone in the New Zealand business community – everyone lives and works in a region, every business belongs in a sector.

Giving surety to the new policy system, Minister Anderton stated that the two policy institutions for economic development would continue to expand. “Industry New Zealand's capacity will be built up over the next twelve months and further initiatives developed To ensure continuing improvement in the Government's policy approach to economic development, the Ministry of Economic Development will receive an additional \$3.375 million a year for policy advice and development” (Anderton, 2000a, para. 10,15).

Figure 11: Diagram of economic development public policy system with Budget 2000.



Getting on with building creative economy

From mid-2000, the New Zealand Government moved quickly to build momentum around the notion of creative industries in New Zealand. The policy culture was arguably stronger than it had ever been for the arts, and also for economic development. Operative institutions were in place, were resourced to act in new ways, and new policy was being generated by new dedicated policy institutions.

During this period while the policy culture was gaining strength, the political economy was making progress with economic development of the creative sector. Through 2001, this

included:

- announcement by Industry New Zealand of \$112,000 funding for a Fashion Week, to highlight the potential of the fashion and apparel sector for a development strategy.
- honouring of an election pledge to establish an employment scheme for artists. The Pathways to Arts and Cultural Employment scheme (PACE) was criticised by political opponents for sponsoring otherwise unemployable artists.
- establishment of a steering group for the textiles, clothing and footwear industry.
- announcement by the New Zealand Film Production Fund of its first film, and work began on a screen production steering group.

With the Government having not taken up the recommendations of the 'HOT Nation report', new strategic directions were being sought for New Zealand's creative economy. Four key research reports were commissioned and produced in 2000-2001 which drew upon the most up-to-date thinking from around the world. Their subjects were:

- a strategy to build a knowledge economy
- a strategy to build a talented nation
- an innovation strategy and action plan
- a strategy to increase Foreign Direct Investment

The Ministry of Research, Science and Technology commissioned research about building a 'knowledge economy' in New Zealand, which was presented in September 2000. The report entitled *Knowledge, Innovation and Creativity: Designing a Knowledge Society for a Small, Democratic Country* articulated a clear outline of the general conditions for a knowledge economy (Humanities Society of New Zealand, 2000). This included descriptions of the nature of the transformations required for New Zealand to become a 'knowledge society' and the specific conditions required for innovation.

L.E.K. Consulting produced a '*NZ Talent Initiative*' report, which outlined strategies for making New Zealand a more talented nation, for retaining talent and for getting New Zealand talent to return home from London, Paris or Dubai (L.E.K. Consulting, 2001).

The Science and Innovation Advisory Council released a widely distributed *Proposed Innovation Framework* for New Zealand. This upbeat and accessible report proposed, among many things, the idea of creating a coherent 'NZ Incorporated' strategy to conquer the tyranny of distance from offshore markets and overcome the limits of small scale New Zealand business (Science and Innovation Advisory Council, 2001).

Boston Consulting Group produced a report showing how best to encourage Foreign Direct Investment in New Zealand, which also included commentary about the emerging arrangements for economic development at the time:

New Zealand has many economic development agencies – Industry New Zealand, Investment New Zealand, Trade New Zealand, Skills New Zealand and Technology New Zealand, to name only some. We believe that it will be difficult for the government to develop the coherent economic development strategy required for FDI attraction while so many agencies exist. We also believe that this fragmentation is likely to result in duplication and conflicting objectives, and will hinder the government's ability to recruit highly skilled leaders in the economic development area. (Boston Consulting Group, 2001, p. 63).

The strategies, reports and taskforces outlined above were significant influences behind New Zealand's approach to developing the creative economy. The coherent thinking which was required to link the concepts of innovation and creativity would also need to manage issues of duplication and conflicting objectives in the economic development sector as it expanded. By the end of 2001, the stage was set for one overarching approach to focus all the players, and for innovation to become central to economic development in New Zealand.

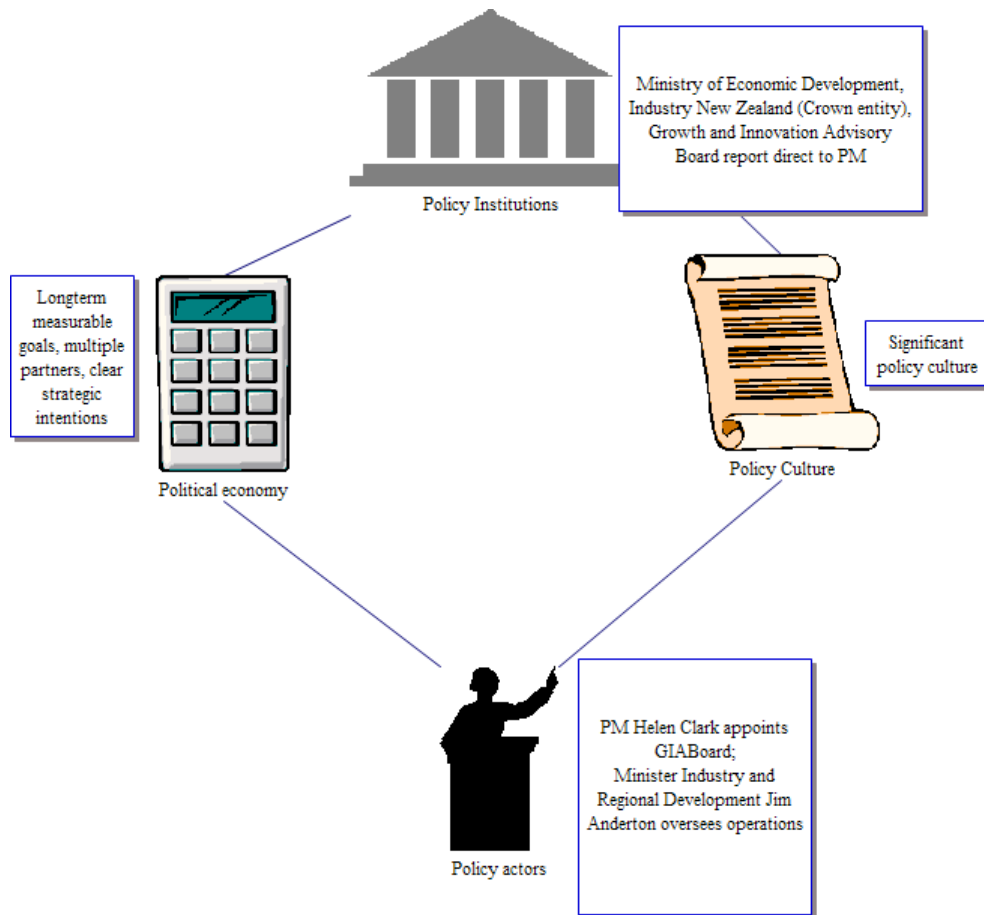
2002 Growth and Innovation Framework

Growing an Innovative New Zealand was the title of the central economic development strategy of the Fifth Labour Government. Launched by the Prime Minister Helen Clark in the third year of its first term in February 2002, the Growth and Innovation Framework (GIF) outlined a clear vision which included creative industries.

New Zealand's next phase of its economic development must be characterised by innovation ... We must become a nation known internationally for our innovation, our creativity, our skills and our lifestyle.... Government has chosen to target its innovation initiatives initially in biotechnology, information and communication technology (ICT) and the creative industries. These are all areas which, if they attain their growth potential, can have a significant influence on the broad scope of the New Zealand economy' (Office of the Prime Minister, 2002, p. 63).

Specific identification of the creative industries as a sector for national level economic development is a distinguishing point for New Zealand. While other governments around the world announced economic development strategies focused on biotechnology or ICT (Evans et al., 2005), New Zealand included the creative sector in its short list of enabling sectors for economic growth. The creative sector strategy in GIF was placed firmly within economic development, and was not limited to cultural development references only. In a more far-reaching role, the creative industries were highlighted for their enabling ability across all industry sectors of the New Zealand economy. A Growth and Innovation Advisory Board was appointed by the Prime Minister to provide governance for the GIF.

Figure 12: Diagram showing creative economy public policy system with GIF, 2002.



Industry New Zealand, as New Zealand's national economic development agency, was central to the Growth and Innovation Framework (GIF). It responded initially to its responsibilities by:

- releasing research on the economic contribution of the creative industries to New Zealand;
- undertaking scoping reviews for key creative industry sub-sectors
- establishing sub-sector taskforces for Screen, Design and Fashion

Research

New Zealand's first research into the economic contribution of the creative industries to the New Zealand was presented to Industry New Zealand by New Zealand Institute of Economic Research in March 2002 (Walton, Duncan, & Yeabsley, 2002). Gross Domestic

Production of the creative sector was calculated at about 3.1% of total New Zealand GDP. According to the Walton et al. this was consistent with earlier research into the 'copyright industries' and with an Australian study undertaken at a similar time which attributed 3.3% of GDP contribution for creative industries in Australia.

The figure was significantly below the UK estimate of 5% (DCMS, 1998). The difference was partly explained by the greater 'maturity' and therefore greater relative importance of such industries in the UK than in New Zealand. The NZIER (Walton, Duncan, & Yeabsley, 2002) report asserted, in particular, that the UK is a major net exporter of services such as advertising, design, software and publishing, whereas New Zealand is probably a net importer of creative services overall. Statistical measurement differences between the two countries also highlighted an imperfect match between ANZSIC codes and British industrial classification systems. This meant that "concordance between the industries covered in the New Zealand study, and the corresponding industries in the UK [DCMS 1998] study, will not always be exact" (Walton et al., p. iii).

In addition to this report, further research conducted in 2002 included scoping reviews on:

- the Design Industry,
- the Designer Fashion Industry,
- the Interactive Games Industry,
- the Music Industry
- and aspects of the Screen Industry.

A scoping study about the impact of *The Lord Of The Rings* movie trilogy then being filmed in New Zealand pointed to lasting economic effects (NZIER, 2002). "The making of this trilogy entirely in New Zealand shows that film is a high-tech industry that can deliver an enormous amount of prosperity to the nation" said Associate Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage Judith Tizard (Tizard, 2002a, para. 3) at the launch of the report.

The Lord of the Rings study identified that peak period employment during *The Lord Of The Rings* production reached 1500 people per week. Post-production continued to

involve 350 people, which pointed to new horizons for the creative economy. Judith Tizard asserted that

Unlike overseas productions which carry out post-production in other countries, this magnificent New Zealand trilogy will continue all its post-production here in New Zealand for the next two years. Post production spending will continue to inject very large amounts into the New Zealand economy. (Tizard, 2002a, para. 5-6).

Taskforces were established from new funding in Budget 2002 in sectors identified in *Growing an Innovative New Zealand*. Jim Anderton with Minister of Research, Development and Technology Pete Hodgson and Minister Paul Swain as Taskforce Ministers oversaw *Strategic Sector Implementation* which supported government's efforts in focal areas of biotech, ICT and creative industries. Funding for the GIF Taskforces was from Vote: Economic, Industry and Regional Development:

\$7.664 million in 2002-03,

\$6.640 million in 2003-04,

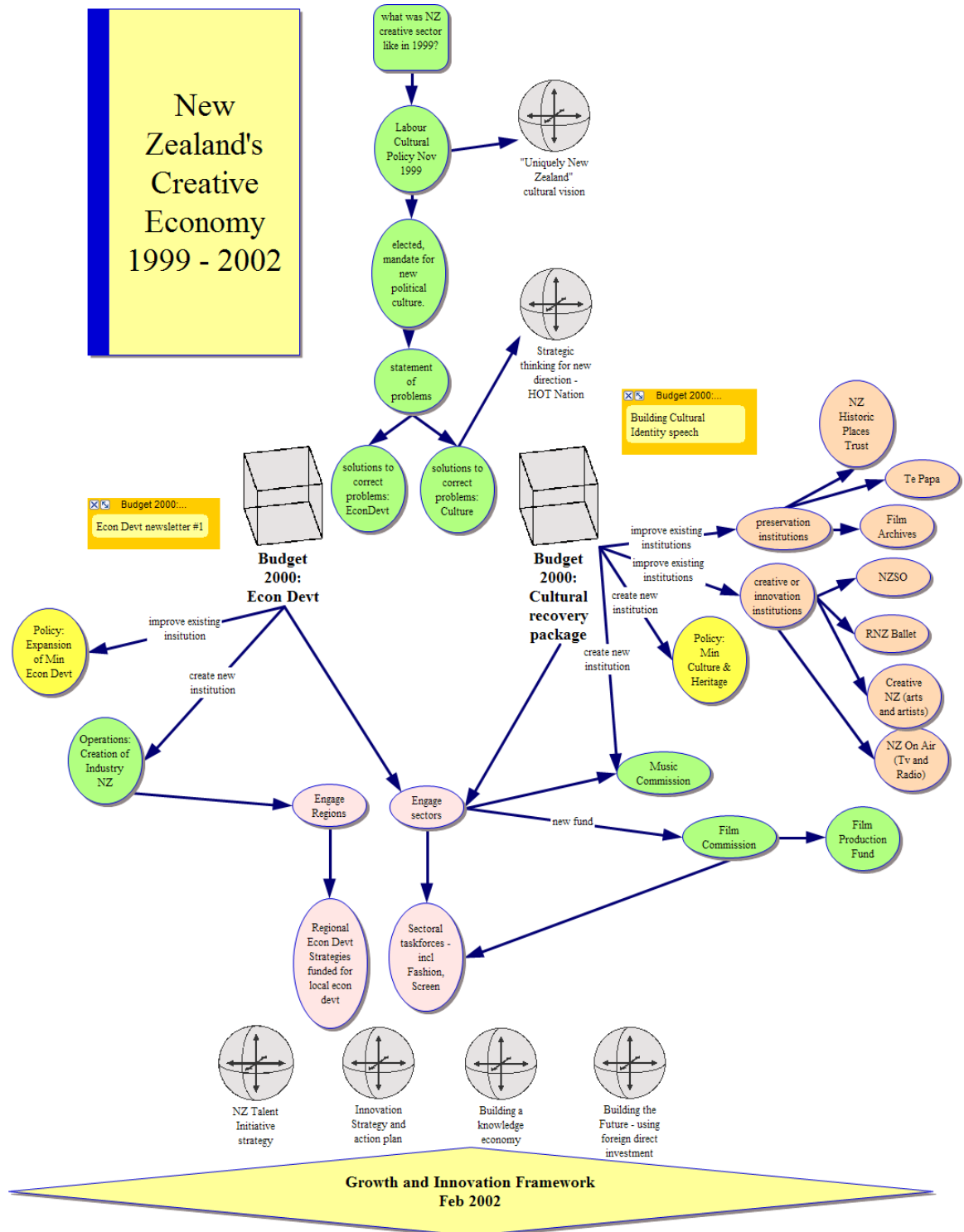
\$8.142 million in 2004-05 and

\$9.623 million in 2005-06 and outyears (Anderton, 2002b).

Creative industries taskforces were specifically for Design, Screen Production, and the Fashion Industry.

By the end of the first term of the Labour-led coalition government in mid 2002, a bold new direction for the creative economy had been set. As has been shown, the public policy system was working robustly, and courageous leadership had brought creativity and innovation to the centre of economic development of New Zealand. The creative economy was rolling.

Figure 13: Chart of development of creative economy 1999-2002



New term, new start

Following the General Election in mid-2002 at which it was successfully returned, the Labour-Progressive Government moved swiftly ahead with rearranging the Government's delivery of economic development actions. Cabinet decided in principle in September 2002 to integrate the services provided by Trade New Zealand and Industry New Zealand, and to create a new organisation to deliver those services. Minister of Economic Development Jim Anderton, who had created Industry New Zealand only two years earlier, said

The formation of the new organisation, expected to be up and running by the middle of next year, was a response to calls from business and other stakeholders for a single economic and trade development agency. (Anderton, 2002a, para. 4)

The Government, having now considered proposals regarding the integration of Trade New Zealand and Industry New Zealand services, has agreed to proceed to integrate the two organisations and establish a new organisation to support the development of internationally competitive business. (Anderton, 2002a, Introduction section)

The stated main aim of the integration process was "to improve service delivery to enterprise, while enabling government to maximise its contribution to the development of internationally competitive business in New Zealand" (Anderton, 2002a, Rational section). In particular, integration of Trade NZ and Industry NZ was intended to

- Make service delivery less fragmented and confusing for firms, especially through the development of a single customer interface
- Clarify the linkages between economic development programmes, allowing the elimination of overlaps and the plugging of gaps
- Increase alignment of government interventions, and thereby facilitate the development of a clearer and more focused economic development strategy. (Anderton, 2002a, Rational section)

Duplication of services between Government departments was evident at the time, and the proposal to create a single organisation to eliminate 'confusion' meant that at least in the interim, upheaval and change would occur for the recently-established economic development agency, and also for the long-established trade department. The proposed super-agency would only be arrived at following change in the prevailing political culture and the arrangements of government. The transitional nine months until the new organisation would be operative was 25% of the total lifetime of Industry New Zealand, destined to be a short-lived organisation. The first economic development agency had been in existence for only two years before its stand-alone status was removed. Politically, this was a creative way of promoting power-sharing between senior Ministers in the Clark Government.

While these significant re-arrangements were in planning, promotion of the creative economy continued across industry groupings and with other projects. Repeating the pattern from 2000, when Fashion Week received a direct Ministerial grant before Industry New Zealand was operative, the Fashion Industry was a focus for economic development during the planning for the Industry New Zealand-Trade New Zealand merger. Following recommendations in its scoping report, the Fashion Industry developed an organisation, which could "reflect the views of all parts of each" (Anderton, 2002c, para. 8) of the disparate industry groups collectivised under the Fashion Industry New Zealand banner. Sponsored by Industry New Zealand, FINZ included "textile manufacturers and local apparel producers, retailers, designers and fashion media" (Anderton, 2002c, para. 8). This was the first of the new Government-sponsored industry groupings in the creative sector, centralising knowledge in one place.

2003

Another major project to centralise knowledge was announced in January 2003. An online *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand: Te Ara* was to be developed, exemplifying the centrality to nationhood of the Government's commitment to culture and heritage. This was to be a paperless encyclopaedia, using all the best available digital technologies, and it would

“provide an online multimedia introduction to the natural environment, history, culture, and peoples of this country, and will be free to users”, according to Judith Tizard (Tizard, 2002b, para. 3). As with the merger of Industry New Zealand and Trade New Zealand, the *Te Ara* project would be many months in planning before becoming operative.

In March 2003 Ministers Jim Anderton (Economic Development) and Jim Sutton (Trade) announced that the new organisation to be formed by the merger of Trade New Zealand and Industry New Zealand would be called New Zealand Trade and Enterprise. Other than highlighting the imminence of change to Government arrangements, few details were provided. To be established on 1 July 2003, NZTE would deliver the services provided by Trade New Zealand and Industry New Zealand through the new integrated organisation. Both those Government Departments would be dissolved under the New Zealand Trade and Enterprise Bill, which provided for the repeal of the New Zealand Trade Development Board Act 1988 and the Industry New Zealand Act 2000.

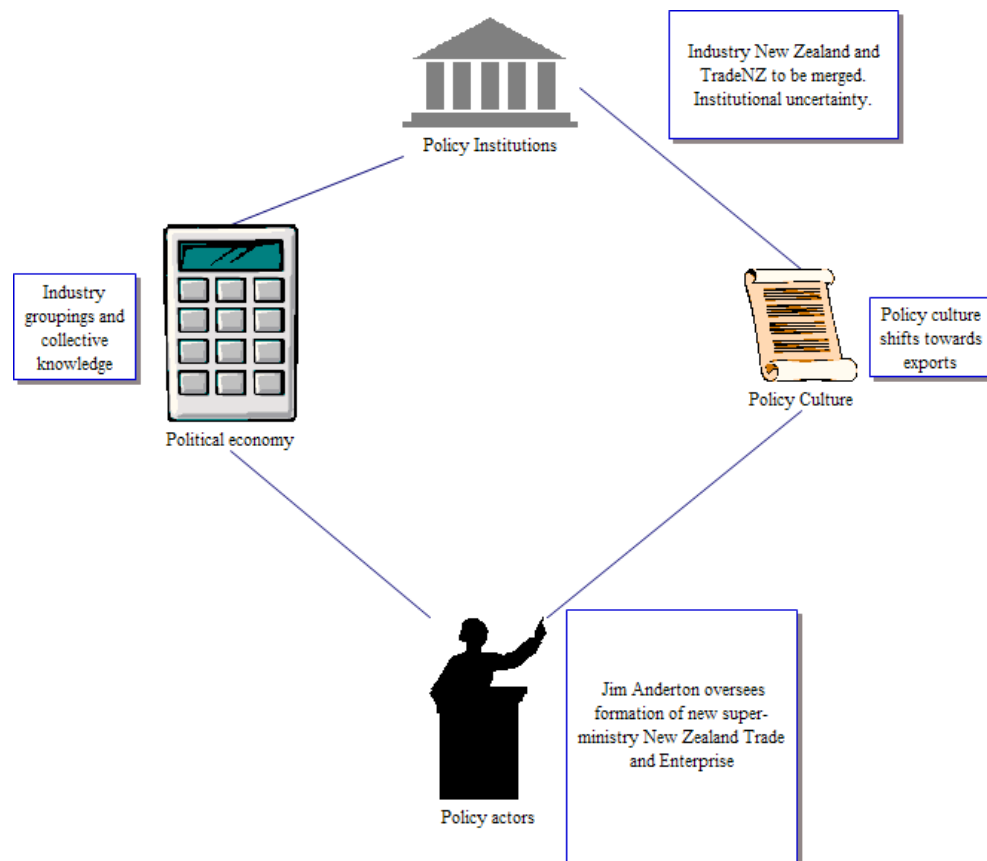
Joint statements from the Ministers involved pointed to all the benefits of the proposed merger, and highlighted the importance of export development for New Zealand businesses.

Trade Negotiations Minister Jim Sutton (as cited in Anderton, 2003d, para. 4) said “We are committed to assisting exporting businesses make the most of their opportunities. Amalgamating business capability advice along with exporting support will be beneficial to trading ability”. Minister of Industry and Regional Development Jim Anderton was also confident “this can maximise jobs and business growth and that businesses will benefit from having advice under one roof” (Anderton, 2003d, para. 3).

Jim Anderton said the Crown entity structure was seen as “the most appropriate for NZ Trade and Enterprise because it would allow it to develop a strong commercial culture and to build and maintain credibility with business networks” (Anderton, 2003d, para. 8). Trade New Zealand and Industry New Zealand were both Crown entities, too, so the new organisation would be able to work in similar ways. The new organisation would focus on engaging with business for exports.

Uncertainty within the existing institutions caused by the imminent merger of Industry New Zealand and TradeNZ shifted the balance of the public policy system for economic development. While the policy culture was re-aligning itself with an export-led approach to economic development, the strongest part of the system became the broader political economy, which included industry groupings and businesses. Engagement with business would be the focus of the system going while institutional changes were being made.

Figure 14: Diagram of economic development policy system in early 2003



Budget 2003

Four-year programmes for the creative sector were announced in Budget 2003, all of which would extend beyond the next General Election and into the following electoral term.

As a new start for engagement with business, the Government established in Budget 2003 significant new funding for industry groupings, or "*Taskforces*". It set aside \$110 million

over four years to respond to the recommendations from the four sector taskforces established for Biotechnology, Design, Screen Production and Information and Communication Technologies.

The funding, announced by the taskforces' ministerial conveners, Jim Anderton, Pete Hodgson and Paul Swain, represented “an important commitment to the future of these industries and to the partnership between industry and government, which is at the heart of the Growth and Innovation Framework” (Anderton, 2003a, para. 2).

“We chose these sectors for particular focus because they have enormous potential as industries in their own right and, just as importantly, because they influence and provide significant inputs into other key industries,” Economic Development Minister Jim Anderton said.

“We gave these taskforces the challenge of mapping out a growth path for their sectors. To their credit they responded with realism in terms of what they are asking government to do, and vision and ambition for their own sectors” (Anderton, 2003a, para. 3-4)

The Government’s contribution to getting sectors to work together was set out as \$15 million allocated to taskforce work in 2003-04, rising to \$30 million in the following two years and to \$35 million a year thereafter (Anderton, 2003a).

The cultural sector also benefited from new funding in Budget 2003. The Royal New Zealand Ballet received an extra \$2 million over the following four years, to enable the company “to meet significant cost increases incurred in recent years and to continue the company’s artistic and audience growth” (Clark, 2003, para. 2). While the Cultural Recovery Package of 2000 had fixed some outstanding issues, ongoing development required further investment for this arts organisation.

Helen Clark and Judith Tizard also announced for Creative New Zealand an increased allocation of \$11.6 million over four years to enable it to continue its support for well-

established professional arts organisations, emerging organisations, regional arts initiatives, Maori arts, community arts, and contestable project funding.

Creative New Zealand's funding increases will build on the boost delivered under the cultural recovery package and enable the agency to continue to give adequate support to the arts across a range of activities. The creative sector is making a very significant contribution to New Zealand in cultural, economic and social terms. Creative New Zealand is a cornerstone of that success. (Clark, 2003, para. 7-8)

Creative New Zealand, which had been central in the creative industries discussion in 1999/2000, was overshadowed in economic development of the creative sector by the middle of 2003. Primarily as an arts funder, the agency had a focus on traditional beaux-arts types of creativity, rather than some of the more technology-rich creative industries such as video game development or software creation. It was an important 'cornerstone', rather than operating in the vanguard of economic development of the creative sector. Literally on the eve of New Zealand Trade and Enterprise's opening day, on 30 June 2003, Creative New Zealand's board met with NZTE's head of the Creative Industries, Dame Cheryll Sotheran. Formerly the head of *Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of New Zealand*, Sotheran told Creative New Zealand about the newly-formed NZTE and the highly collaborative approach which was being taken towards the creative industries. Minutes of the meeting showed that Sotheran noted the "focus of her work was on the economic outcomes of the creative industries but also noted that the distinction between cultural development and economic development in this area cannot be drawn with clarity" (Arts Council of New Zealand, 2003).

As signaled in this statement, New Zealand Trade and Enterprise proposed to bring a new dimension to government agency interaction with the creative sector. Rather than creativity measured by possibly difficult-to-define artistic outcomes, its work would be linked to economic outcomes. At that moment "creativity" in New Zealand diverged into two paths - traditional 'arts' development (Creative New Zealand) and creative economy development (New Zealand Trade and Enterprise). This economic turn for creativity in

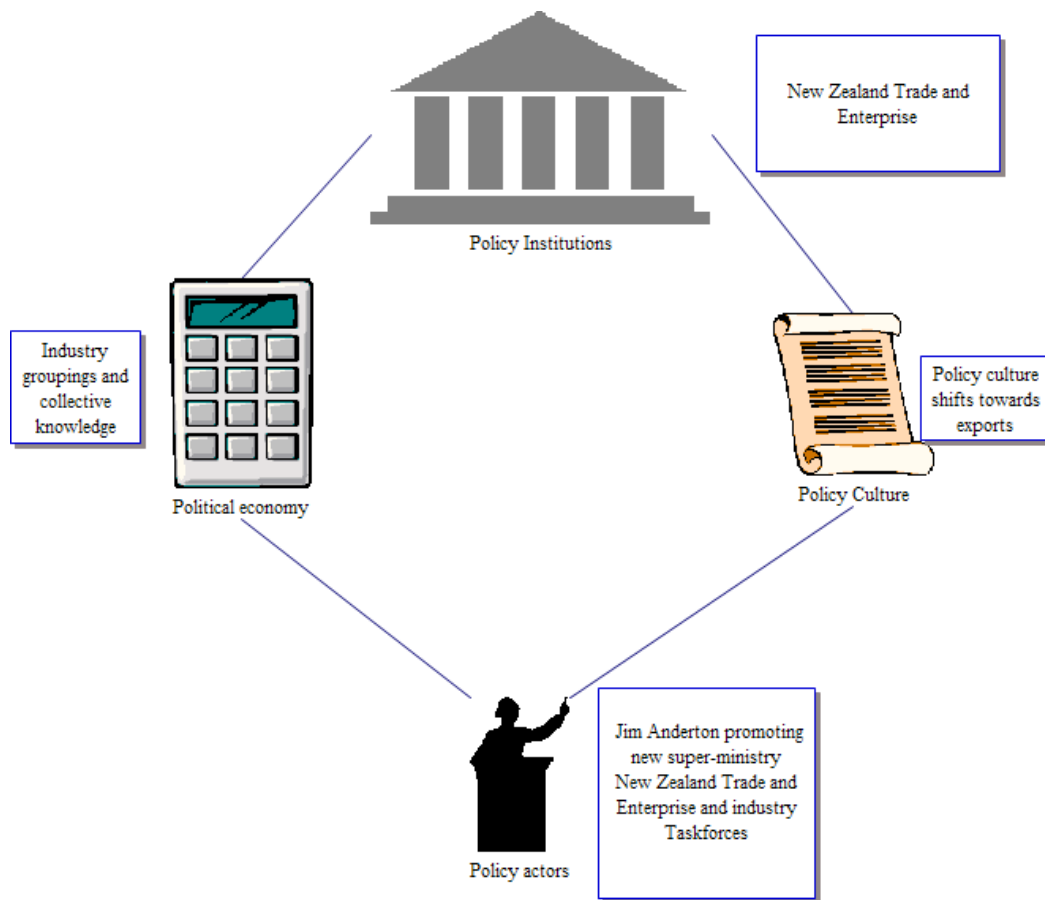
New Zealand reflected developments at that time in international literature, as examined in Chapter 2 of this thesis. The visit to New Zealand of the 'creative class's' influential Richard Florida had occurred in March 2003, further linking New Zealand's creative economy development with foreign-generated policy discourse at a critical time.

New Zealand Trade and Enterprise

With little fanfare, on 1 July 2003 New Zealand Trade and Enterprise commenced operations, so “businesses and regions can work with a one-stop shop economic development agency which will advise on exporting, expansion, marketing, investment and the full range of government business support”, according to Jim Anderton (2003e, para. 3). “We want to see more innovation, stronger businesses and stronger regions all leading to long term sustainable, high quality jobs, and this new agency is a key part of achieving this goal” (Anderton, 2003e, para. 3).

At this moment, with a super-Ministry in place, the policy system changed shape with a growing focus on policy institutions as well as industry groupings.

Figure 15: Diagram of public policy system at launch of NZTE



The creative sector taskforces of Screen and Design were in planning during this period, and towards the end of 2003 reported back to Minister Jim Anderton.

Reports from Screen and Design Taskforces

The screen taskforce set a target of sustainable foreign exchange earnings of \$400 million a year within five years. Its recommendations were intended to “establish a climate in which at least 10 companies achieve an annual turnover of \$50 million each and at least another 20 achieve annual turnovers of \$10 million” (Anderton, 2003c, para. 3).

The taskforce recommendations addressed four key themes - the development of an industry body; a well-disposed business environment for screen production; marketing; and education and training. It was announced by Jim Anderton that “these actions would be complemented by the establishment of the Large Budget Screen Production Grant, already announced in July 2003, to be administered by the NZ Film Commission, which would provide rebates for New Zealand based spending by large budget screen “ (Anderton, 2003c. para. 7). The combined effect of these initiatives was a major new level of engagement by Government with the screen sector.

The New Zealand Design Taskforce report and strategy entitled *Success By Design* was launched in May 2003. Rather than develop a strategy for growing the design industry itself, the taskforce identified design as a key input into innovation and its function helping create sustainable competitive advantage for New Zealand firms. This was a marked shift in thinking about design in New Zealand – as already noted, ‘design’ in 2000 had been regarded as an industry, not as an attitude or skillset to be applied to any or every industry.

New Zealand’s Design strategy set an objective summarised as 5 x 50 x 500 x 5: in the first 5 years, at least 50 existing businesses would be made internationally competitive through design leadership, generating an additional \$500m per year in export earnings, growing at 5 times the targeted Gross Domestic Product growth rate to produce \$1.5 billion by Year Ten.

In responding to the Design Taskforce report, in late 2003 the Government “agreed to support all the initiatives recommended by the Design Taskforce with an allocation of \$12.5 million over four years’, Economic Development Minister Jim Anderton said (Anderton, 2003b, para. 1). This was a full endorsement of the approach for design as a cross-sectoral ‘enabler’ (to use the jargon current at that time) rather than a single industry in its own right.

Similarly encouraging, for New Zealand's screen industry and for the promotion of New Zealand as a visitor destination, by the end of 2003 *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy was

regarded as being priceless to New Zealand. The December world premiere of the third movie in the series, *The Return of the King*, took place in Wellington where 100,000 people lined the streets and Prime Minister Helen Clark wore a hobbit costume-inspired 'mithril cloak' supplied by costume-makers Weta Workshop. Public acclamation for the successful films helped to cement the sense of possibility which surrounded the creative industries story. The premiere of *The Return of the King* captured the *Zeitgeist* of the creative economy in New Zealand.

Membership of the Screen Council had been announced days earlier, and a couple of weeks after the premiere, the criteria for Screen Production Rebates were announced. Also in mid-December 2003, it was announced that New Zealand would be the setting of the first in another series of fantasy film epics, *The Lion, The Witch and The Wardrobe*. A bright future was promised for the New Zealand film industry.

2004

Though *The Lord of the Rings* was not funded by the NZ Film Commission, the trilogy was a New Zealand production because the creative and directorial team which assembled the largest screen project in the history of the cinema were New Zealanders, who made it in New Zealand. The identities of Middle Earth and New Zealand became indelibly merged in popular imagination around the world through significant tourism and general promotional leveraging of New Zealand through these films. Screen initiatives were centre-stage for New Zealand's creative economy as *The Lord of the Rings* movies reached their climax with 11 Academy Awards in 2004, including Best Picture and Best Director for Peter Jackson.

Building on the momentum of the creative economy excitement engendered by *The Lord of the Rings*, in the period of February – April 2004 Minister of Economic Development Jim Anderton was very clear-headed about what was being achieved for the creative economy, how and why. Across three key speeches, he summarised the creative economy policy culture prevailing at the time. In the first, he focused on what was being done by

the Government to assist the creative sector. He maintained that policy focus was on increasing employment outcomes for New Zealand from its creativity, about growing industries which benefit from New Zealand creativity:

"In my economic development portfolio, our focus is to build on our uniqueness and turn it into jobs, incomes and opportunities. We set up a design strategy that will take New Zealand design to the world. We have a music industry export group, to take the sound of New Zealand to the world. We have helped the film industry make movies here and take our stories to the world. We need to celebrate our cultural expression, in design, in music and in film," said Jim Anderton. (Anderton, 2004c, para. 10)

In the second speech, to a government-sponsored economic development and creativity conference, Jim Anderton posited sources or historical antecedents for the creativity of New Zealanders, and neatly summarised New Zealanders' attitudes about their creative selves:

The creativity of New Zealanders springs from our isolation.

We are a small country far from the rest of the world.

We don't have large sums of money to spend on solving problems.

We are not on the doorstep of huge, wealthy markets.

As Lord Rutherford said, 'we don't have much money, so we have to think.'

Our isolation means it is more difficult for us to enter the networks and access the funding of larger developed countries.

It has also made us more resourceful.

We are accustomed to thinking for ourselves, and solving problems in a unique way.

We are used to the freedom of thinking for ourselves, and the solutions mothered by necessity. (Anderton, 2004e, line 11-19).

In the third speech, pre-announcing yet another creativity conference, this one 18 months before it was due to start, Jim Anderton summed up what the creative economy was doing for New Zealand's reputation offshore as a trading nation:

The Lord of the Rings is the most conspicuous example of growing global awareness of our successful creativity.

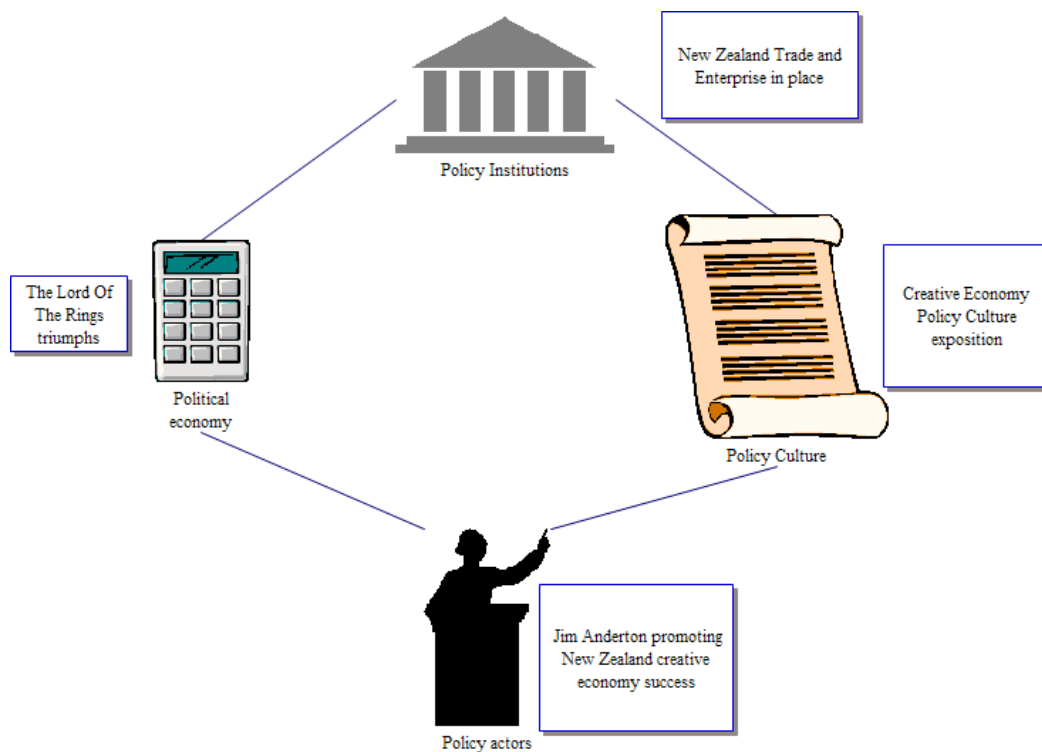
As Time magazine wrote last August: "When Peter Jackson made a Hobbit hit without leaving home, he unleashed a creative dynamism that's turned New Zealand into a mini Hollywood."

It's less common now for people to ask 'where is New Zealand?' It's more common to say, 'I want to know more about New Zealand.'

The perception of all New Zealand exports is helped to move from 'mountains and sheep'; to 'talent, creativity and innovation' (Anderton, 2004g, line 55-58).

After exactly four-and-a-half years as Industry and Economic Development Minister, these three speeches represent the clearest articulation by Jim Anderton of what was happening for New Zealand's creative economy. The hopeful vision of exports being about creativity and talent rather than sheep was aspirational, and ran counter to the actual export statistics, as shown at the beginning of this chapter. The notable thing about these three speeches, delivered in the immediate afterglow of the success of *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy, is that they mark the high point for visible success, optimism and hope of the creative economy public policy arc between 1999 and 2008.

Figure 16: Diagram showing creative economy policy culture at its apogee, 2004



Design

With a much clearer focus than in the past, in early 2004, Minister of Economic Development Jim Anderton initiated every recommendation of the Design Taskforce report and its strategy. Design-based programmes to help companies improve products and services were announced. Aiming to increase awareness of the value of design, both for businesses and for New Zealand, New Zealand Trade and Enterprise's design programme was hoped by Jim Anderton to "help to promote a culture of creativity Our challenge is to use our freedom to think and our innovation to build a growing economy and improve the living standard of all New Zealanders" (Anderton, 2004g, line 73,76).

Sectors

Meanwhile, in Budget 2004 there was a strong economic development focus on funding for sectors. This included a new level of investment of \$30m in the cultural institutions

which form part of the creative economy. Prime Minister and Arts Minister Helen Clark said it was important to continue to invest in New Zealand's creative sector, and justified the additional \$30m investment by pointing to the many benefits being shown by the successes of the creative economy:

“The Cultural Recovery package, which we launched in May 2000, had a major impact. There is significantly more activity across the creative sector and a new awareness of the role of arts and culture in expressing what is unique about New Zealand.

There have been and will continue to be considerable economic spin-offs from the investments we have and are continuing to make in the creative sector. It is providing sustainable and rewarding employment, and is contributing to economic growth and prosperity.

This year's funding will ensure that the creative sector continues to make a very significant contribution to New Zealand in cultural, economic and social terms," Helen Clark said (2004a, para. 4).

The announcement directly related to increased funding of traditional arts organisations. Use of the term ‘*creative sector*’ in this Budget announcement captured in one catch-all phrase everything from films to the ballet, from digital industries to traditional cultural institutions. *The Lord Of The Rings* was a visible success story in the creative sector, and the implied message here was that other cultural institutions would also similarly succeed following this increased investment.

More central to the sectoral approach, New Zealand Trade and Enterprise was funded to “continue to work with key sectors to expand opportunities for growth and maximise value. The sector focused development initiatives will help support projects that establish networks and relationships with leading global businesses," Jim Anderton said (2004d, para. 3). He explained the approach to sector development as follows:

Sector based development initiatives will not only assist businesses to take up market opportunities, they will also improve access to investment, world-class technology, knowledge and skills that can fuel economic growth. In the medium term, these activities will help us increase the incomes of all New Zealanders (para. 2).

As part of the four year \$500 million Growth and Innovation Budget Package, this sector-focussed development programme was allocated \$26 million over four years. It was provided as \$6 million in funding for each of 2004-05, 2005-06 and 2006-07, rising to \$8 million in 2007-08, “to support companies taking up significant international market opportunities” (Anderton, 2004d, para. 2).

During 2004 the sectoral approach to developing the creative economy grew in stature, with significant initiatives in the following industries:

- Music
- Textiles
- Fashion
- Book publishing

Music

The Music Industry Commission launched the Music Industry Export Development Group's report *Creating Heat: iumata kia whita!* in mid-2004. The report included a proposed strategy for improving the export potential of New Zealand's music industry using opportunities from professional development to niche marketing and distribution (Music Industry Export Development Group, 2004). In his response, at the launch of the strategy, Minister Anderton suggested

The music industry is extremely competitive, so we need to develop a concerted, strategic approach in order to increase the strike rate of our international successes and grow the music industry into a successful export earner for New Zealand. Our musicians will no longer have to rely on luck to gain profile overseas.

The strength of the domestic industry combined with the heightened profile of New Zealand creative industries (especially film) means that there's never been a better time to turn domestic success into employment and export success for New Zealand music. (Anderton, 2004h, para. 3).

The Government had already changed New Zealand listening habits through the establishment of a 'non-compulsory' quota system which effectively required radio stations to play 20% New Zealand music, up from 2% in 1995 (Smith, 2006). Minister Anderton justified further intervention to support the music industry:

"The Government believes the New Zealand music industry has real potential to support our economic growth. To capitalise on the healthy domestic growth of the past 10 years, we need to take our artists and our music, to the centre of the world stage and promote New Zealand to the world as a dynamic and innovative nation," Jim Anderton said at the launch of the strategy (Anderton, 2004h, para 5).

Textiles

While encouragement of the music industry to contribute to New Zealand's economic growth was developing, economic development of other more solid industries linked with the creative sector were also under development. The collectivising of the textiles, clothing and footwear industries into a group was another example of industry coordination making a new organisation linked with the creative economy. In this case it was the workaday manufacturing core whose fringe was the highly-promoted Fashion Industry, which had already been re-organised as Fashion Industry New Zealand.

At the time the TCFC sector's exports were valued at \$439 million annually, and Textiles New Zealand aimed to facilitate industry development so that the sector would be generating annual exports of \$1 billion by 2008 with an annual growth rate of 12.6%. "The Budget included new funding of \$2.3 million for initiatives to build skills and assist in the TCFC industry's transition and transformation," said Jim Anderton at the first annual general meeting of Textiles New Zealand (Anderton, 2004b, para. 12).

As part of this transformation, the value of New Zealand Fashion Week was calculated on the media coverage rather than on sales generated. Domestic and international media coverage was estimated to be worth more than \$NZ12 million in 2003 –

as much as New Zealand's biggest sporting events. We're telling the world we are a creative country. We need to celebrate our creativity and our uniqueness. It belongs to New Zealand; no one can ever take it away. Fashion Week is an outstanding celebration, as well as an advertisement." (Anderton, 2004a, line 22-25)

This was the upbeat approach of Jim Anderton at the launch of Fashion Week 2004.

The actual worth of the Fashion Week event in terms of sales was unknown. But the promotional value to the political economy of New Zealand's creative industries was leveraged to its maximum potential at this time.

Book publishing

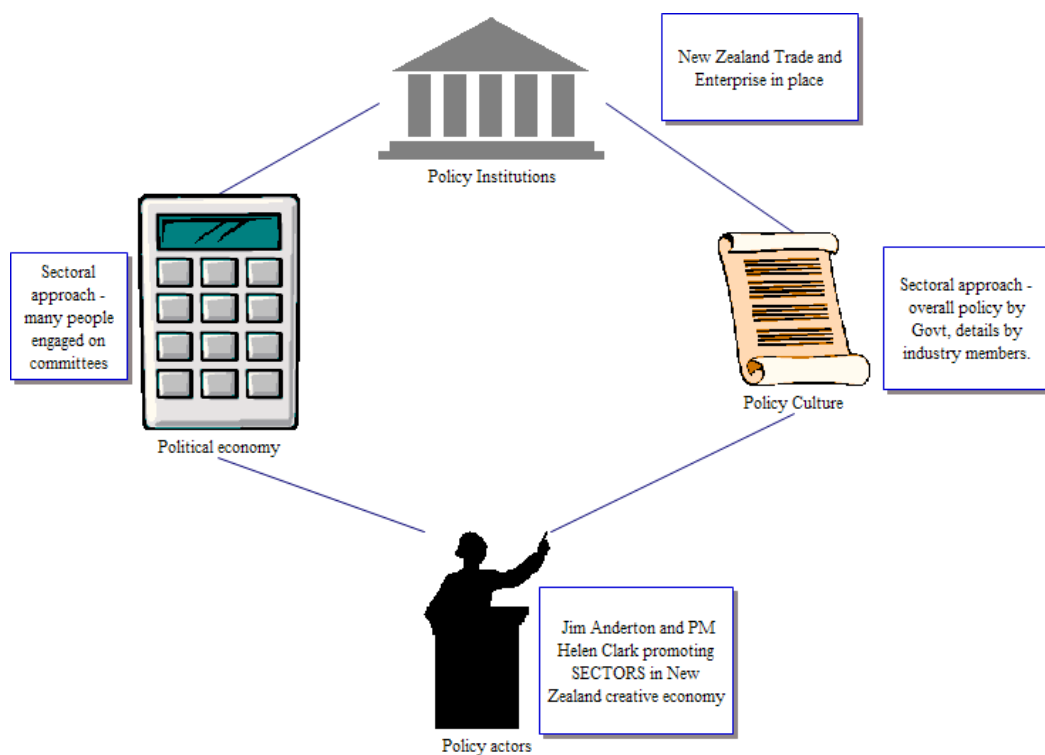
At the Prime Minister's Literary Awards in November 2004, Helen Clark addressed the book publishing industry and re-emphasised that "our cultural identity as New Zealanders is enhanced by the work of our writers – those who observe and interpret human experience and the experience of living in this country" (Clark, 2004b, para. 12). Helen Clark took the opportunity to move the political economy of the literary sector forwards by summarising work that was being undertaken by Government agencies.

A report commissioned by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, *Exports of New Zealand Published Books*, revealed New Zealand-published books earned \$117 million export dollars in 2003 (Ellis, Phillips, & Ludvigson, 2003). Following the release of the report, and of a companion report commissioned by New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, the government and the publishing industry made strategies for improving the business capability and foreign exchange earning potential of the industry.

Creative New Zealand was also “working with the sector on developing markets and audiences for New Zealand literature” (Clark, 2004b, para. 15). This involved a "suite" of initiatives, including:

- assisting New Zealand writers to feature in key events in international markets;
- working with New Zealand Trade and Enterprise to improve the "export-readiness" of publishers participating in overseas book fairs;
- creating high-quality promotional materials on New Zealand writers with the help of CD Rom and internet technology; and
- investigating the feasibility of a New Zealand Book Month to boost domestic profile and sales of New Zealand authors and poets.

Figure 17: Diagram of public policy system with sectoral approach to creative economy



Cross-sectoral approach

The sectoral approach to economic development was clear, and has been summarised above. Additional to this, to use a weaving analogy, there was a warp to this weft. Running

across the sectors was a **sector enabler**, design. Whereas in 2000/01 Jim Anderton had described design as an industry in its own right, by November 2004's launch of a design-focused economic development programme, design was seen as a function pertaining to any or all industries. The strategy prepared by the Design Taskforce was brought into action as a programme within New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, called '*Better By Design*'. At the programme launch, Minister of Economic Development Jim Anderton reminded his audience that \$12.5million was budgeted over four years to implement the design strategy, a sign of the government's commitment to "increasing the use of world class design in New Zealand" (Anderton, 2004f, line 67). He also explained New Zealand's design culture had a long history:

'For most of our economic history, our economy relied on the sun shining, the rain falling and the grass growing. But other countries can grow grass too. The advantage we have that they can never match is our unique creativity. We're small and a long way from the rest of the world. While this can have drawbacks, it has also bred a culture of resourcefulness and innovation in New Zealand. We're used to having to work things out and having the freedom to try things' (Anderton, 2004f, line 18-23).

The Tertiary Education Commission was given responsibility for developing the education component of Better by Design, alongside NZTE's work with business. The importance of training a young population for design or creativity had been articulated in the *Heart of the Nation* report in 2000, and five years later in *Better By Design* there was a plan of action supporting this. "When we teach aspiring young business people about what makes high value businesses successful, design needs to be a focus. When young people contemplate a high-value, high-skill career that makes a difference to New Zealand, we want them to consider design" (Anderton, 2004f, para. 63).

By the end of 2004, the public policy system for New Zealand's creative economy had become highly complex and vigorous, involving increasing numbers of stakeholders and partners as the Government's sectoral approach to economic development was implemented. The outlook was bright.

2005

One of the dark parts of the creative economy is the illegal trade of stolen cultural objects. Though export development had long been the key driver of the New Zealand economy and promoted as the centre of economic success for decades, the export of stolen objects was another matter altogether. Proposed legislation to give better protection for cultural objects and assist in securing their return from overseas where they have been illegally exported was introduced to Parliament in February 2005 by Associate Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage, Judith Tizard.

Important New Zealand objects have been illegally exported in the past, objects which reflect the identity of peoples, their times and lives, and by being party to the UNESCO and UNIDROIT Conventions we will have an internationally-established framework through which to secure their return in the future. (Tizard, 2005, para. 3)

In a curious juxtaposition of timing, the legislation to reclaim stolen three-dimensional treasures of national significance emerged at the same time as a virtual collection of national treasures was put on display in the digital-only *Te Ara* national encyclopaedia, developed for the internet age.

At the launch of ‘the world’s first original, official, digital, national encyclopaedia’, Prime Minister Helen Clark explained that her government decided “three years ago to develop a new national encyclopaedia for the internet age. What inspired us was the possibility of making authoritative information about our country available to the broadest possible audience through digital technology” (Clark, 2005b, para. 3-4). A centralised knowledge resource, *Te Ara* was a tangible combination of history, culture and creative sector technologies all rolling together to promote New Zealand’s national identity. In a sense *Te Ara* is a microcosm of the public policy system for the creative economy; it focused on national identity, it used the best new digital technologies, and the products it championed were weightless.

In 2005 the Growth and Innovation Framework reached the end of its first three-year cycle. The Growth and Innovation Advisory Board (GIAB) had been initially established in May 2002 to provide the Prime Minister and economic Ministers with “informed perspectives on the promotion of the Government’s growth and innovation framework” (Anderton, 2005d, para. 9). Appointed by the Prime Minister, the GIAB’s objective was “to foster active discussion between the public and private sectors about growth and innovation and New Zealand’s economic direction” (para. 10), and a new board was appointed in 2005.

As Jim Anderton said at the announcement of their reappointments, he looked to the board to:

- Provide Ministers with an independent view, informed by members’ own expertise and feedback from networks, on what the strategy should be
- Identify, articulate and provide business feedback on New Zealand's economic strategic economic issues
- Act as a sounding board for policy groups
- Articulate long-term innovation and growth goals for business, innovation and wider community networks.
- Receive feedback from business on perceptions of how the economic development strategy is progressing and new opportunities for government and private sector actions. (Anderton, 2005d, concluding para.)

The GIAB was part of the policy culture for economic development at the time. Its function was proscribed within tight boundaries set by the Prime Minister and Minister of Economic Development. In 2005 the focus of GIAB appeared to remain firmly on the original goals established by Prime Minister Helen Clark at the *Growing An Innovative New Zealand* launch in 2002.

Budget 2005

In Budget 2005 additional financial support was given to sectoral industry organisations, in line with the respective strategies already outlined. The sectors which benefited were music and film.

For the music industry the funding included \$2 million for the NZ Music Industry Commission and \$3.4 million for NZ on Air. It was developed in response to the *Creating Heat* report of the Music Industry Export Development Group, whose recommendations “have largely been supported and I thank the industry for its commitment to this group,” according to Jim Anderton (2005a, para. 3).

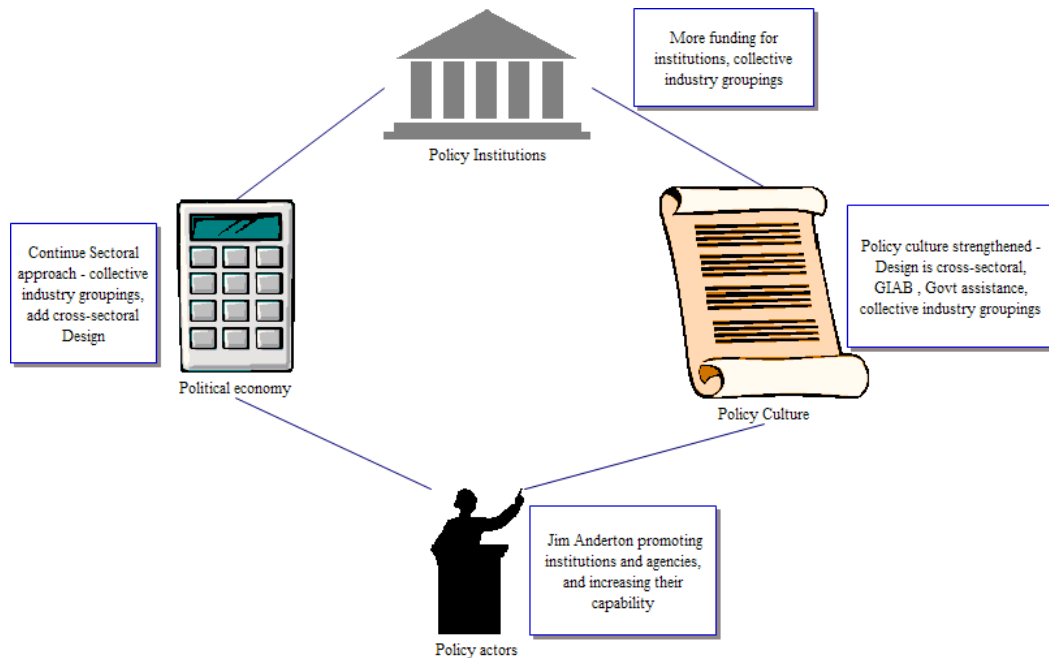
“This comprehensive package of support aims to build a strong, sustainable, music industry, with good access to export markets. It represents significant government support, and builds the conditions for growth in the sector. It is a call to action for the industry to work in partnership with the New Zealand Music Industry Commission (NZMIC) and take the music industry to new heights”, Jim Anderton said (Anderton, 2005a, para. 4).

This funding for the New Zealand Music Industry Commission brought a new focus to exports from the sector. It also funded new ways to organise and bring together or collectivise players under a central umbrella agency which would create efficiencies and support their overseas exposure and marketing development.

Also focused on overseas market development was new funding for Film New Zealand. This industry body, established to facilitate overseas productions in New Zealand by promoting New Zealand as a film destination, received \$578,000 (excluding GST) a year for two years. Economic Development Minister Jim Anderton was confident that “Film New Zealand can now plan its work, secure in the knowledge that it has government funding” (Anderton, 2005b, para. 1). Following a significant shift in the policy culture, by 2005 the neo-liberal, market-led era of the 1980s and 1990s had been replaced by Government

which was proud to show its support of business, industry development and economic development in New Zealand.

Figure 18: Diagram of creative economy public policy with surge in Policy Culture



By the final months of the 2002-2005 electoral term, the institutions in the creative economy public policy system were well funded and supported. They were bolstered by collective industry groupings in many sectors, including design which was now regarded as a cross-sectoral 'enabler' for economic development. Every aspect of the creative economy was organised and coordinated, from advisory groups like the Growth and Innovation Advisory Board, to a raft of detailed programmes for developing the creative sector through many agencies.

Measuring creative economy success

However, the wider population of New Zealand not directly engaged with programmes for industry assistance in the creative sector was largely unaware of these significant developments in the creative economy. In advance of the 2005 General Election, the

government produced documentary evidence of achievements across the creative sector, namely:

1. Two Cultural Statistics reports
2. A taskforce-focused report outlining progress with Growth and Innovation Framework.

1 Cultural Statistics reports

The two new reports published under the Cultural Statistics Programme run by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage and Statistics New Zealand (2005a; 2005b) were:

- Government Spending on Culture: 2000-2004; and
- Employment in the Cultural Sector.

When launching these reports, Prime Minister Helen Clark justified her government's investment in culture, reminding the audience that "Investment in the cultural sector is important to our government, for several reasons. The arts, our culture, and our heritage do help define and strengthen us as a nation, and as communities within a nation" (2005a, para. 8). The notion of nation-building as an important result of cultural activity was a frequently-repeated theme in speeches by Prime Minister Helen Clark.

The growing contribution of culture to the economy was also in the report, which estimated "that between 1997 and 2001, cultural activities were contributing around \$3 billion a year on average to the New Zealand economy. That can only have increased since" was the optimistic opinion of Helen Clark, though there was no statistical data in the report to back up her suggestion. (Clark, 2005a, para. 10). It was a logical assumption to make, however, as the cultural sector by 2005 was funded at a much higher level than in 2001, and export strategies were in place across industry sectors which had been unsupported before, such as the Music Industry. The Cultural Recovery package from Budget 2000 had set key cultural institutions on a more sound financial footing, and this report in 2005 was presented as evidence of success of that investment in the cultural sector.

2 Sector Taskforce Reports within GIF

The economic development creative sector (New Zealand Trade and Enterprise) was also reported upon. Showcasing achievements from the Growth and Innovation Framework, Jim Anderton released a report outlining progress on implementing the recommendations from the four sector taskforces: Biotechnology, Information and Communications Technology (ICT), Design and Screen Production (Ministry of Economic Development, 2005).

Engaging with key enabling sectors in the economy is essential if we are to lift our level of economic growth and raising living standards for all New Zealanders. These four sectors were identified for special attention because of their high growth potential and because their technologies or capabilities make them enablers of activity across the economy generally.

A key element of the government's growth strategy is to increase the level of innovation in the economy. These sectors also have the potential to strengthen our ability to innovate. (Anderton, 2005c, para. 3)

The GIF progress made between 2002-2005 is best summarised as 'industry organisation'. Taskforces were established for each of the four GIF sectors in order to identify initiatives needed to stimulate growth in the sector. The Taskforces were intended to provide a focal point for the partnership between industry and government and to develop action plans for the following ten years. Each taskforce subsequently produced a report with recommendations for both industry and government. Evaluation of sector strategies by Ministry of Economic Development was forecast for completion in June 2006.

All four Taskforces proposed the establishment of industry-governed bodies to oversee the implementation of their individual sector growth strategies, which the government duly funded. This included new industry-governed bodies for Screen Production (the Screen Council) and Design (the Better by Design Advisory Board). "Industry bodies are important to the development of co-ordination and leadership capability in these

emerging sectors and to drive achievement of the growth targets” said Jim Anderton (2005e, section 4).

With this taskforce sector report, Jim Anderton promoted the success of the policy culture which used industry leaders and committees to create new institutions in partnership with government. “This progress report shows that with government and industry working together, we are making real progress in lifting New Zealand’s economic performance,” Jim Anderton (2005c, para. 6) said.

An additional outcome of this taskforce sector report was to cement in place the form and functions of the taskforces for the duration of the General Election campaign and into the foreseeable future.

End of political term

General Election 2005 marked the end of the period of unprecedented creative economy development organisation in New Zealand. The 2002-2005 political term commenced with the creation of New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, a large, export-focused national economic development agency, and concluded with a raft of new funding streams, programmes and sectoral organizations in place.

Institutional architecture was in place for the creative economy where none had been before. Formerly disparate groups and isolated individuals from the creative community had been mobilized to act coherently for common goals. Taskforces and committees comprised willing individuals who volunteered their time and shared their experience for the betterment of their sector. The policy culture had shifted significantly, and the political economy was much more vigorous. At this point, where industry players as well as the government agents who worked alongside them were empowered, the creative economy public policy system was democratized, inclusive and communicative. This was a highly-organised phase in the progress of New Zealand’s creative economy.

Final Term

At the start of the 48th New Zealand parliamentary political term 2005-2008, the power balance of minor parties within the governing Labour-led coalition shifted away from Jim Anderton towards the Green Party. The preceding two terms 1999-2005 had been characterised by a coalition partnership between the Labour Party and parties associated with Jim Anderton – first the Alliance Party and then his Progressives Party. By 2005 Anderton was less politically effective; his Progressive Party was returned to Parliament in 2005 with a caucus of only one person, Anderton himself.

More politically important was the Green Party, whose seven MPs were elected to Parliament in their largest number since the formation of the party. Remaining outside a formal coalition, the Green MPs provided support to the Government promising to abstain on issues of Confidence and Supply, in a *de facto* coalition arrangement.

A combined effect of these electoral outcomes was that the economic development agenda for New Zealand took on a new green hue. Jim Anderton, had been Deputy Prime Minister in 1999-2002, and remained Minister of Economic Development through 2002-2005, though no longer Deputy Prime Minister. The new cabinet for 2005-2008 was announced in November 2005 with Trevor Mallard as Minister of Economic Development. The incumbent from the preceding two terms, Jim Anderton, was effectively demoted, to Agriculture Minister.

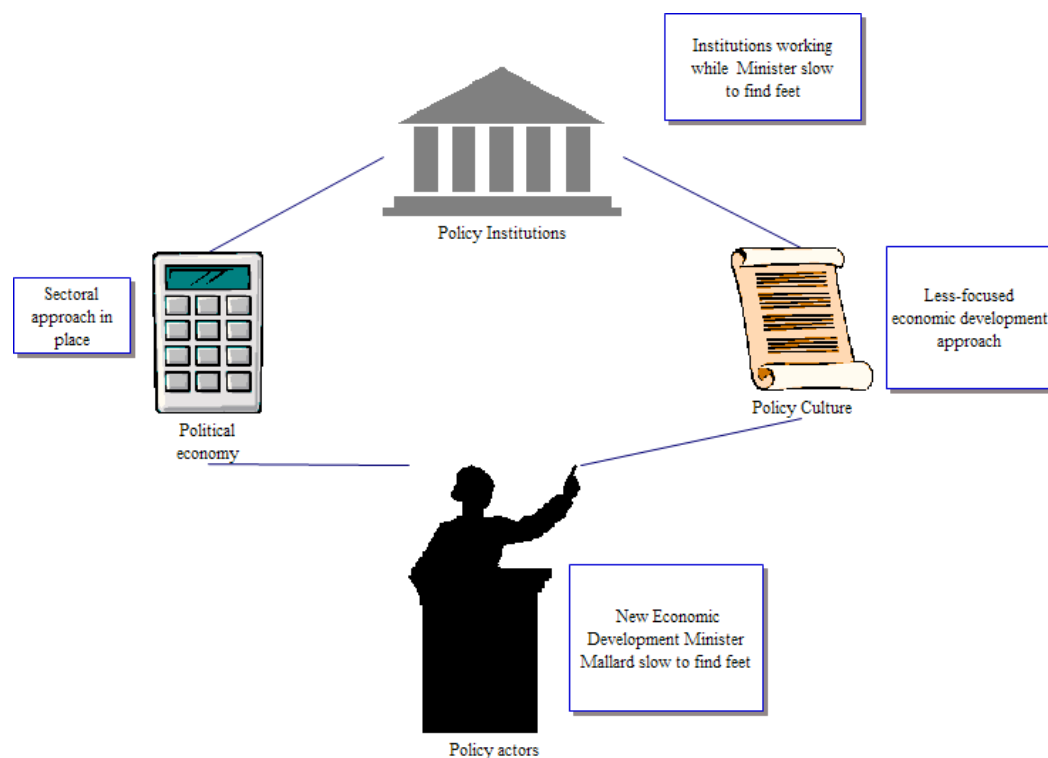
Opening Reel

Three months after the 2005 General Election, Economic Development Minister Trevor Mallard's first official Ministerial announcement was for the film sector. This sector of the creative economy continued to be successful, with *The Lord of the Rings* and other fantasy epics including *King Kong* and *The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe* filmed in New Zealand in immediately preceding years. Reporting a positive review for the Large Budget Screen Production Grant scheme, which had paid out five

grants totalling \$49.728 million since its introduction in 2003, Mallard announced the scheme would continue.

The cross-sectoral benefits of the film industry to New Zealand's economy were promoted by Mallard "with the up-skilling of the digital sector, and the growth in tourism that we have seen as a result of the 'Lord of the Rings' trilogy" (2006c, para. 11). This was a different approach than that taken by Anderton, who had promoted the benefits of a strong creative economy with examples from within the creative sector, rather than Mallard's approach which had a wider, whole-economy view.

Figure 19: Chart of public policy system with Trevor Mallard commencing political term



Further promotion of the film sector came in February 2006 when Mallard was quick to congratulate New Zealand's screen industry for the seven Academy Award nominations received for technical aspects of *King Kong* and *The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe*. While both movies had been filmed in New Zealand, neither was funded by the NZ Film Commission so could not be classified as a 'New Zealand-

owned film'. However, as with *The Lord of the Rings*, there were many benefits for the New Zealand screen industry from these large projects. Mallard took the opportunity to promote New Zealand's emerging place in the screen industry worldwide: "The global nature of the film industry means these films have had part or full financing from international investors, reflecting a further sign of confidence in New Zealand's capacity to successfully establish global alliances in filmmaking" (Mallard, 2006e, para. 12). Expansion of the sector was an important part of the development of the New Zealand screen industry, and appeared not to be limited by issues of film ownership.

Focus back to Arts

At a similar time, Government investment in the arts in general was promoted in a Creative New Zealand survey whose results were released in April 2006. Entitled *New Zealanders and the arts: Attitudes, attendance and participation in 2005*, the survey found that 87.5% of New Zealanders either participate in or attend arts events (Creative New Zealand, 2006, p. 12). It also found that New Zealanders believed that "arts contribute positively to the economy and help define who we are as New Zealanders" and the survey also justified increased Government investment in the arts, showing "a high level of support for public funding of the arts" (Tizard, 2006d, para. 2).

Associate Minister of Arts, Culture and Heritage, Judith Tizard, claimed wide-ranging success which reached back to 1999:

We fulfilled an election promise and injected a substantial amount into the arts sector. We had a vision of a vibrant arts, cultural and creative sector which all New Zealanders can enjoy. Today's results vindicate our investment – we're getting the payoff.

The arts reflect and confirm who we are - as individuals and communities - and as a nation. This Government believes that our creative industries can provide not only profile for New Zealand internationally, but also jobs, growth, economic returns and exports. (Tizard, 2006d, para. 3-4)

Despite this clearly articulated confidence in the creative sector for economic development of New Zealand, weeks later the 2006 Budget focused on old-fashioned culture and heritage funding rather than new creative sector initiatives. Funding for culture and heritage was linked with the broader government notion of nation-building, rather than with measurable economic or export statistics.

Budget 2006

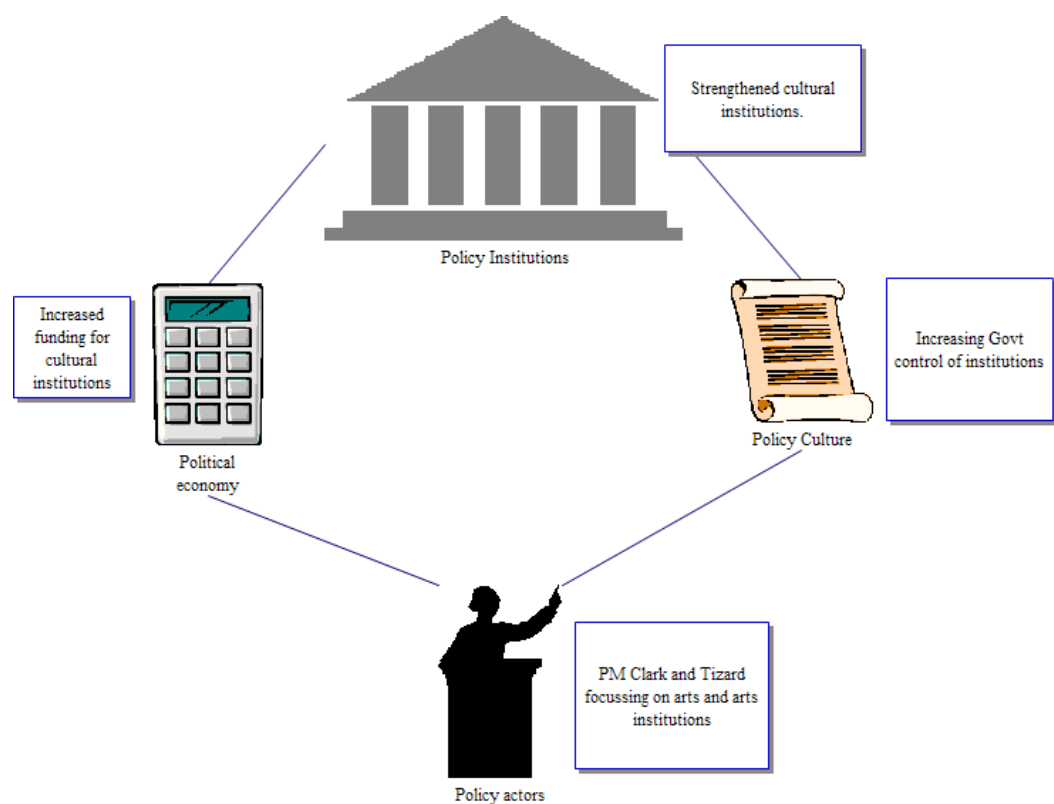
New operating funding of \$12.8million was allocated to the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, plus an extra \$600,000 in supplementary funding, so that “in 2007/08, the Trust’s operational funding will be 47 per cent higher than it is currently” (Clark, 2006d, para. 4). Prime Minister Helen Clark reiterated at the Budget announcement that “these places have played a significant role in our nation's history. Knowing and understanding more about our past and conserving our historic heritage is a critical part of establishing a strong sense of national identity. Achieving that is a high priority for this Labour-led Government” (Clark, 2006d, para. 6).

Along with New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Budget 2006 also saw core funding for Creative New Zealand increased by \$10million over the following four years. Prime Minister Helen Clark announced this new funding “increases the organisation's annual direct government funding to \$15.5 million, up from just \$2.4 million in 2000. This Labour-led government is committed to investing in our vibrant arts and cultural sector so that all New Zealanders can enjoy our unique national identity” (Clark, 2006a, para. 2-3). This nation-building agenda was being driven along two different routes, of seemingly contrasting approaches – preserving our past, as well as making new innovative creative industries. Where in earlier years (2003, 2004) there had been a clear economic turn for in the cultural and creative sector, in 2006 it appeared that the economic turn was being, if not reversed, then overlooked in favour of the broader notion of nation-building.

The very significant Budget 06 funding increase for the Historic Places Trust (NZHPT) was cited months later to justify a legislative and governance overhaul for the organisation. Associate Arts and Culture Minister Judith Tizard introduced to Parliament an Amendment

Bill which would reduce the size of the NZHPT's Board from 11 to nine members, and increase the number of government appointees from three to six, while retaining three elected members. "The governance changes will not, however, impinge on the freedom of the Trust to carry out its functions at arm's length from government," Tizard claimed (Tizard, 2006c, para. 9). This and other changes to the cultural boards in New Zealand in the period 1999-2008 have been noted in media as "long tail politics" (Smith, 2009).

Figure 20: Chart of creative sector public policy system at Budget 2006



Old and New Arts

From a season in which government investment was in saving old objects and institutions, the next period was one which promoted new visual arts expressions, albeit in old places. In late 2006, capturing a surge in patriotism in New Zealand which celebrated old First World War soldiers, an artist-in-residence programme was offered at the *In Flanders Fields Museum*, in Ypres, Belgium. This was being offered to a New Zealand artist "for the

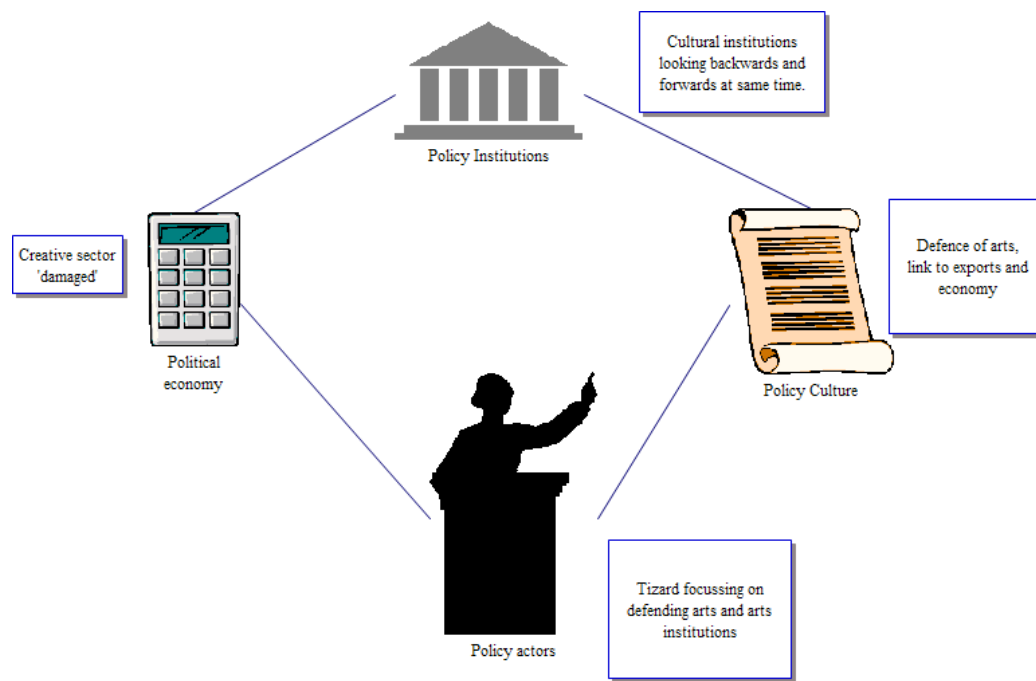
first time” Helen Clark said (Clark, 2006c, para. 2), and neatly linked the arts with nation-building in a single project, through a subject which was contemporary yet historic.

The second element in this season of new visual arts, was the release of findings of the review of Creative New Zealand’s support for New Zealand visual artists at the Venice Biennale. In 2001 Creative New Zealand had committed to reviewing New Zealand's participation in the Biennale after exhibiting in 2001, 2003 and 2005, at “the world's most prestigious showcase of contemporary art ... and they've done that,” said Associate Arts Minister Judith Tizard (2006b, para. 3).

The review was necessary following criticism which Creative New Zealand had earlier received over its choice of Biennale representative for 2005. Tizard had been challenged in Parliament (New Zealand House of Representatives, 2004) and had made what the Listener suggested was “a widely discussed mess of the debate” (Wedde, 2005, para. 7).

Following the questions about Creative New Zealand and the arts, Tizard suggested Creative New Zealand had "chosen not send an artist until 2009 and will use the next 2 years to refine the process, linking it better to other visual arts export strategies and leveraging more from the investment" (Tizard, 2006b, para. 9). Greater caution going forward for arts funding was signalled as a result of the controversy. ‘Export strategies’ was a low-political-risk approach, one focused on objective economic outcomes rather than subjective artistic outcomes.

Figure 21: Chart of creative sector public policy system when Biennale review released



Soon after the release of the Biennale Review in 2006, a new agenda was promoted and a major new policy culture emerged.

Economic transformation

After nearly one year as Minister of Economic Development, Trevor Mallard announced a change in focus for New Zealand's economic development. The catchphrase was ***economic transformation***. The Government was "committed to working with industry sectors and regions to build on our successes to date - and to work to further transform New Zealand into an economy that is export led, innovative and high wage" (Mallard, 2006a, para. 3).

Seemingly leaving the Growth and Innovation Framework behind, the Government's economic transformation agenda was aimed at overcoming some of New Zealand's "sluggish productivity" (Mallard, 2006a, para. 4) barriers, "through five complementary and linked themes: globally competitive firms; world class infrastructure; innovative and productive workplaces; environmental sustainability; and Auckland – an internationally competitive city" (para. 6). In its wide breadth, this approach lacked the specificity which had developed during 1999-2005, and instead showed a generic response to economic

development needs. It also showed the newly-established power of the Green Party as a political ally for the Government, with the inclusion of '*environmental sustainability*' as a theme for this economic transformation agenda.

Moving quickly to exhibit this economic transformation in action, Prime Minister Helen Clark and Economic Development Minister Trevor Mallard announced a new economic development initiative to establish and support a world-leading 3D digital content and graphics industry in New Zealand. The Government picked software company Right Hemisphere as a leader in its field, and one worth supporting. In return for the software company "retain the major part of its world-beating research and development in New Zealand", the Government provided the company with an "interest-free US\$8 million loan to help its next stage of development" (Clark & Mallard, 2006, para. 3).

In a bold shift in policy direction from the Growth and Innovation Framework which had denied primary industries, Prime Minister Helen Clark went on to explain that the Government's economic transformation agenda was based on making more from what New Zealand already did well:

New Zealand's specific characteristics mean that we will continue to have major strengths in agriculture, forestry, fisheries, and tourism.

At the same time, it is important to diversify our economic portfolio by developing new areas of strength and specialty - we did it with the screen industry and look at its success six years later.

The world is moving on and moving quickly. We have to make sure that New Zealand fights for its place at the cutting edge and in high-value areas where we already have key strengths, to make sure we are not left behind. (Clark, 2006b, para. 13-15)

The economic transformation agenda was arguably more pragmatic than the creative Growth and Innovation Framework had been, which focused on ICT, biotechnology and the creative sector only. Just about anything the government was doing could be claimed

to fit under the economic transformation banner, which had not been the case with GIF. An example of how all the conceptual threads could be woven together in one speech – i.e. nation-building, creativity, export revenue, economic transformation – quickly followed, when Associate Minister of Arts, Culture and Heritage, Mahara Okeroa, launched New Zealand Book Month in September 2006:

When the Prime Minister spoke here at the opening of Parliament earlier in the year, she outlined government's key priorities. These include economic transformation, and encouraging the development of our national identity.

Government has championed the creative industries because they contribute to both these priorities; not only do they enrich our lives and communities, but they are also an important generator of jobs and export revenue. The organizers of NZ Book Month tell me that they aim to build a bigger stronger publishing industry for these same reasons. This will mean that not only more New Zealanders, but more people all over the world, enjoy the works of our authors.

So it is very fitting that that NZ Book Month has received significant public support through both Creative New Zealand and the Ministry of Economic Development. This recognises the importance of the event in both cultural and industry development terms. (Okeroa, 2006, para. 8-10).

The oldest of the creative industries, book publishing, was thus brought into line with futuristic new 3D industries. Economic transformation was becoming a one-size-fits-all concept. It could even be retro-fitted to long-standing political projects, as was shown by Economic Development Minister Trevor Mallard announcing the government would provide \$600,000 to Fashion Week over the following three years:

“The Labour-led government has worked with Fashion Week organisers since the event's inception to ensure its success. This latest funding of \$200,000 a year for three years comes on top of over \$1 million of government financial support in the

last five years, as well as significant marketing collateral and in-market assistance,” Trevor Mallard said

Fashion Week epitomises the creativity, passion and drive that are so vital to New Zealand’s economic transformation into an export-led, high wage and innovative economy. (2006d, para. 2, 7)

Continuing to fund Fashion Week was another example of ‘*economic transformation*’ being applied to a pre-existing political project. This showed the versatility of the concept as well as the public policy approach to introducing a new agenda after seven years in Government – link it to highly-visible, well-known success stories. Old projects were re-defined in the new vernacular, and a clear vision of what success would look like was promoted “for the next decade as we look to further develop the economy into one that is high value, high wage, innovative and export-led” (Mallard, 2006b, para. 1).

When the economic transformation agenda was announced, there was little detail of what it would mean for innovation or the creative economy. As the main policy actor for economic development, Mallard addressed this in late 2006 in simple terms:

An economy can "transform" in three ways:

- Doing more of what we do now.
- Doing what we do now in different (hopefully more efficient) ways;
- Doing different things.

The last two involve "innovation": applying the knowledge and learning necessary for new products and processes.

In the past, we have tended to associate "innovation" with "science". It is no accident that the current Growth and Innovation Advisory Board grew out of the Science and Innovation Advisory Council. (Mallard, 2006b, para.2-4)

Critically for this thesis, at this moment the linkage between creativity and innovation which had been in place since 2000 became uncoupled. The centrality of the creative industries to GIF was overlooked, as the antecedents of the Growth and Innovation Advisory Board were claimed to have been about science and a more measurable form of innovation. According to Mallard, a “problem-solving focus” (Mallard, 2006b, para. 92) for innovation would have been right all along.

Mallard went on to explain that an endogenous growth system, i.e. one which grew from the factors pertaining to a place, was the right approach for economic transformation.

Critically, the system we develop needs to grow out of and respond to our special Kiwi circumstances. There is no single universal formula that can simply be downloaded from the internet and applied everywhere.

Successful innovation-driven economic transformations - such as those of Ireland, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan – have the common features ... but each was moulded to fit the special features of firm structure and national competitive advantage that resided with the different economies. (Mallard, 2006b, para. 94-95)

In March 2007, Minister Mallard simplified matters by shifting further away from arts and creativity. Instead, economic success was linked to the accessible and populist concept of ‘lifestyle’.

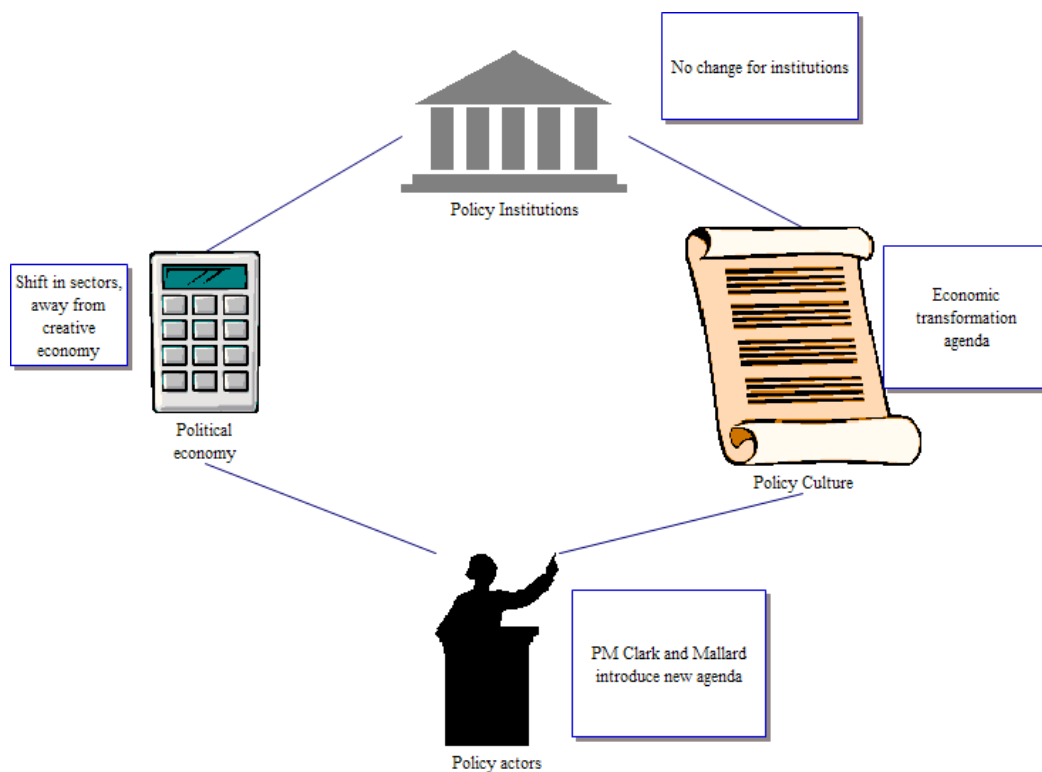
Increasing productivity is the key to economic growth that will in turn strengthen and underpin our great Kiwi lifestyle.

But it is innovation which will trigger the productivity gains we need as we can’t just keep doing more of the same.

We really do need to work smarter, not longer hours and we need firms and industry to work in a sustainable way - or we’ll lose the some of the key parts of the great Kiwi lifestyle and culture that we treasure. (Mallard, 2007d, para. 29-31)

Declining sophistication in Mallard's presentation of the economic transformation agenda over a relatively short period of time between late 2006 and mid 2007 is in marked contrast to the increasing sophistication of the 'creative' policy systems which grew from 2000 and peaked only three years earlier, in 2004. Subtle or nuanced concepts such as design, which had been carefully considered and developed over years, were no longer mentioned in any form.

Figure 22: Chart of creative economy public policy system at start of economic transformation agenda



Legislative safeguards for art

While Trevor Mallard was uncoupling creativity from economic development, legislative changes to safeguard New Zealand art were either set in motion or established in a season in late 2006-early 2007.

Firstly, New Zealand's unique and significant cultural heritage became covered by new Protected Objects Legislation, which replaced the 1975 Antiquities Act, and was the result of a long period of review that began in the 1980s according to Associate Culture and Heritage Minister Judith Tizard. It included a register of objects "that cannot be exported because they are deemed to be of such significance that their export would substantially diminish New Zealand's cultural heritage" (Tizard, 2006a, para. 7).

Following this, in early 2007, Prime Minister and Minister for Arts, Culture, and Heritage Helen Clark initiated two further legislative changes which would have long-term effects on the creative sector in New Zealand. The first involved the release of a discussion paper about New Zealand's ratification of a key international treaty set up to protect significant cultural treasures in time of war. "The [Hague] Convention and its two important protocols are the key international documents seeking to protect cultural heritage during armed conflict" (Clark, 2007e, para. 3). This legislation would close a loophole which had existed since the 1950s.

The second new initiative related to increasing the profitability of the visual arts sector. Consultation was opened in early 2007 for legislation to allow visual artists to receive a royalty payment each time an original art work may be resold on the secondary art market.

"In tackling this complex issue, Labour is honouring another election promise to examine international developments relating to resale royalties for artists and their possible application to New Zealand," Helen Clark said.

"We are also very aware of the significant growth in the local art auction sector, with total sales across our six main art auction houses alone doubling over the past decade.

Sales reached a peak of nearly \$19.5 million in 2003 and have settled back to around \$14 million for each of the past two years" (Clark, 2007a, para. 4-6).

According to Helen Clark, Artist's Resale Royalty schemes operated in 50 other countries, and bringing New Zealand into line with other countries in this area was intended to improve the income of artists and positively impact on the creative economy. An analysis of the art and antique market in New Zealand showed that it represented less than 0.10% of New Zealand exports (Smith, 2008) at the time this legislation was suggested.

Budget 2007

In Budget 2007 new funding was directed at "preserving and promoting the unique elements of New Zealand's nationhood" (Clark, 2007b, para. 1). Prime Minister Helen Clark announced details of new funding in the arts, culture and heritage portfolio. This was targeted for new funding for government-controlled arts organisations; the NZ Music Industry Commission's additional \$533,000 was the only funding linked to sectoral industry development.

The New Zealand Film Archive's additional \$2 million over four years was to help "collect and protect our heritage of moving images" (Clark, 2007b, para. 6). The New Zealand Film Commission received \$946,000 in capital funding "to cover relocation and fit-out costs as it moves to new premises", and baseline funding for the Ministry of Culture and Heritage increased "by around \$2 million a year, following a review which called for more support for it to deliver policy advice, monitor other arts agencies, and provide adequate internal support services for staff," (Clark, 2007b, para. 7-8). Political support was undiminished for the Ministry of Culture and Heritage, which had been established in the Cultural Recovery package of 2000, a central policy Ministry for the cultural part of the creative economy.

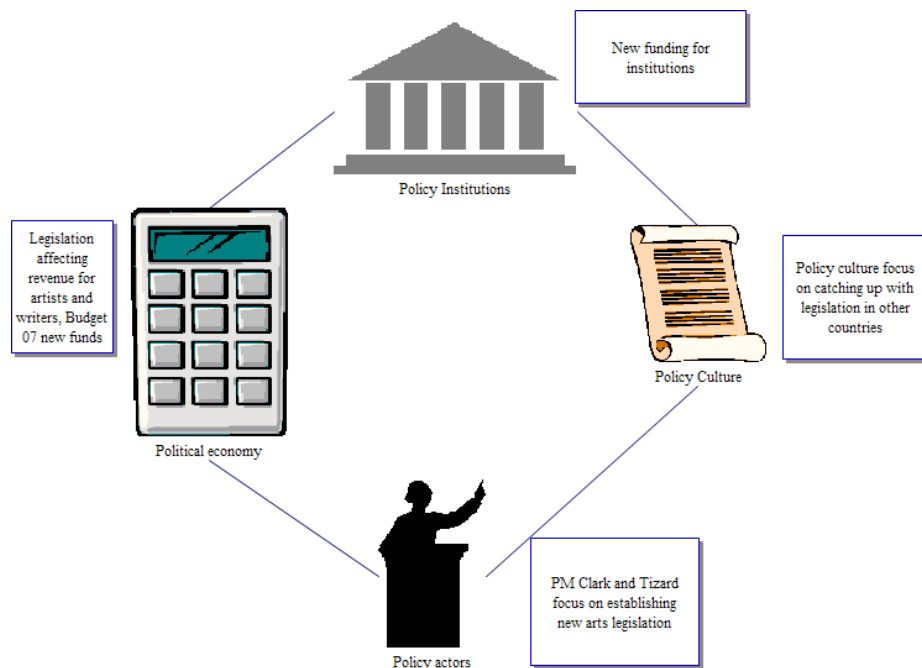
Further support for the screen industry was also announced with improvements to the Large Budget Screen Production Grant scheme (LBSPG), and ongoing funding for Film New Zealand. Economic Development Minister Trevor Mallard hoped

these changes will ensure that New Zealand remains a competitive and attractive location for the international screen industry ...

Large budget international productions have a positive impact on the New Zealand economy. However, we are operating in a competitive environment and it is important that our incentives are tailored to the needs of the international industry. (Mallard, 2007b, para. 2-3)

Film New Zealand, the one-stop shop organisation established to facilitate access to New Zealand as a location for international film makers, was granted six years of additional funding until 2012/13, worth \$4.8 million in total. Six years of funding respected the continuity required by Film New Zealand to service the long lead-time required for screen projects.

Figure 23: Chart showing public policy system with new arts legislation and funds for institutions



Reducing the Regional risk

Following Budget 2007, in mid-2007 major policy changes for economic development were announced, continuing the turn away from the prevailing creative economy policy. The Regional Partnership Programme, which had served as the principal fund for regional

economic development since its establishment under Jim Anderton in 2001, was to be replaced with two new funds. Economic Development Minister Mallard recognised that

despite globalisation, different countries have taken vastly different development paths, building on their own unique national economic identities, using their special endowments and aptitudes, and discovering and mastering new fields of competitive advantage

Our review of existing regional development programmes suggested that perhaps we had fragmented too much, and invested against too short a time horizon.

These four things then shape the new approach I am announcing today: learning from others; banking the gains of the last six years and moving on to the next frontier; consolidating the number of regions and extending the time horizon for development investment (Mallard, 2007e, para. 11, 15-16).

After nearly two years in office, Minister Mallard signalled the dawning of a new order for public policy of economic development and the creative sector in New Zealand. Where public policy in 2000-2005 had been constructive and inclusive across the country, initially encouraging regions to develop their own strategies for economic development based on endogenous development principles, by 2007 the situation was different. A smaller number of regions would require reduced levels of reporting, and provide government with more control of programmes and their outcomes. It also signalled a shift towards 'top-down' policies rather than 'bottom-up' approaches to development. Finally, by extending time horizons in which to prove economic development achievements, any political risk for economic development would likely be further mitigated.

The language of "special endowments and aptitudes, and discovering and mastering new fields of competitive advantage" (Mallard, 2007e, para. 11) appeared to signal an intention to build on natural resources and conservative, infrastructure-style economic development pathways, while reducing scope for intangible concepts like creativity, innovation or design. Research reports which had underpinned the Growth and

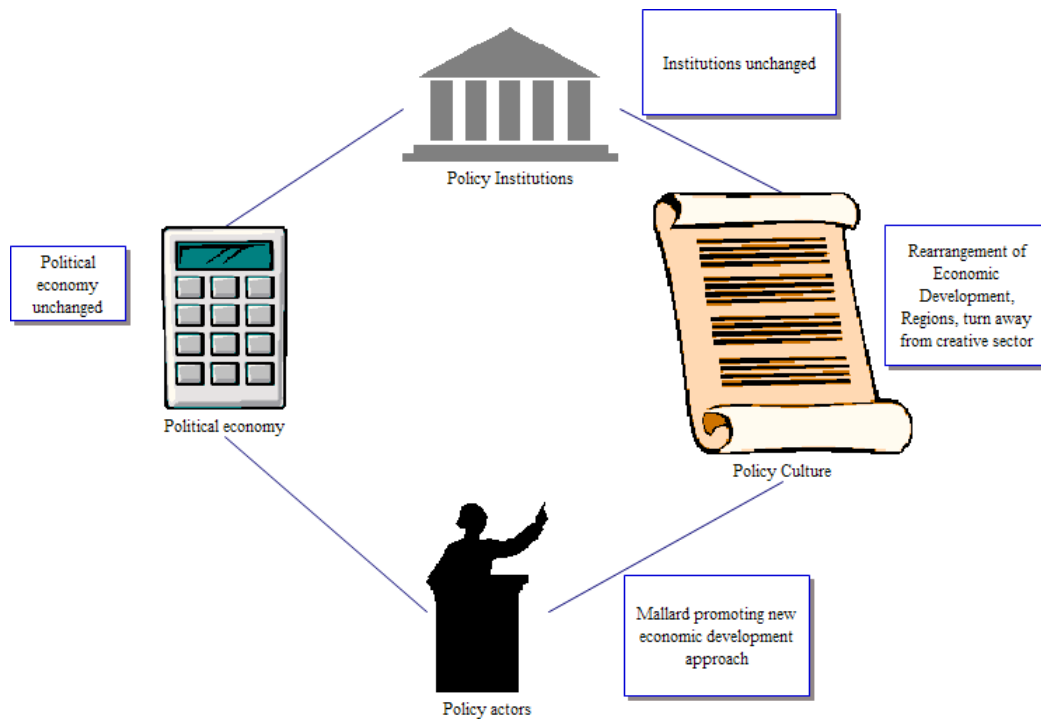
Innovation Framework dated from 2000-01, outlined earlier in this thesis, were overlooked in this new approach.

Though the Growth and Innovation Framework was superseded, the Growth and Innovation Advisory Board continued, and in mid-2007 a new Chair was appointed, businessman Stephen Tindall. Peter Biggs, who had been on the GIAB from the outset and had been Chair of Creative New Zealand, had resigned earlier and in this announcement was not replaced by an arts person. Merino clothing manufacturer Jeremy Moon was a creative sector appointment to the GIAB which now featured union leaders, bankers and sectoral representatives. Minister Mallard added new layers to the description of the board which was first established in May 2002, by saying:

GIAB's focus is on helping determine which policies and practices are likely to work best to support the growth of New Zealand's business sector, within the context of an inclusive economy (given New Zealand's unique competitive positioning, our history, and our culture), and how they can be implemented, for the greatest possible benefit.

The board brokers links between government and the business sector, to progress the mutual development of strategic growth initiatives. It meets bi-monthly as a full board, feeding advice into the government's economic transformation agenda. (Mallard, 2007a, para. 5-6).

Figure 24: Chart of public policy system as Regional risk was reduced



Through 2007 the economic transformation agenda continued to shift its focus away from creativity and the creative sector. Minister Mallard used the *OECD Review of the New Zealand Innovation System* report, released in August 2007, to shift the discussion forwards. The report stated that:

In the past two decades New Zealand has undergone a far-reaching process of economic reform. A solid macro-economic framework, well-functioning markets as well as a generally favourable business environment have created the necessary conditions for strong economic growth. However, expectations concerning New Zealand's economic development have not been fully met so far. New Zealand still lags behind in terms of GDP per capita, and growth has been mainly driven by increased labor utilisation. In this context, the New Zealand government is considering the contribution that different structural policies could make to upgrade innovation capabilities throughout the economy. (OECD, 2007, p. 242)

Upgrading innovation capabilities in New Zealand's economy, for Minister Mallard, appeared to mean a return to focus on New Zealand's primary sector agricultural and

pastoral industries, though the term used was “*resource-based sectors*”. At the launch of the OECD report, Mallard stated that

The key for me is the OECD’s stress on the importance of a flow of knowledge between key sectors in the innovation system that will add value to our resource-based sectors and the development of new industries and services.

I specifically like the OECD’s warnings to avoid what it calls “R&D and high-tech myopia”, and not to neglect our natural resource-based sectors. (Mallard, 2007c, para. 6-7).

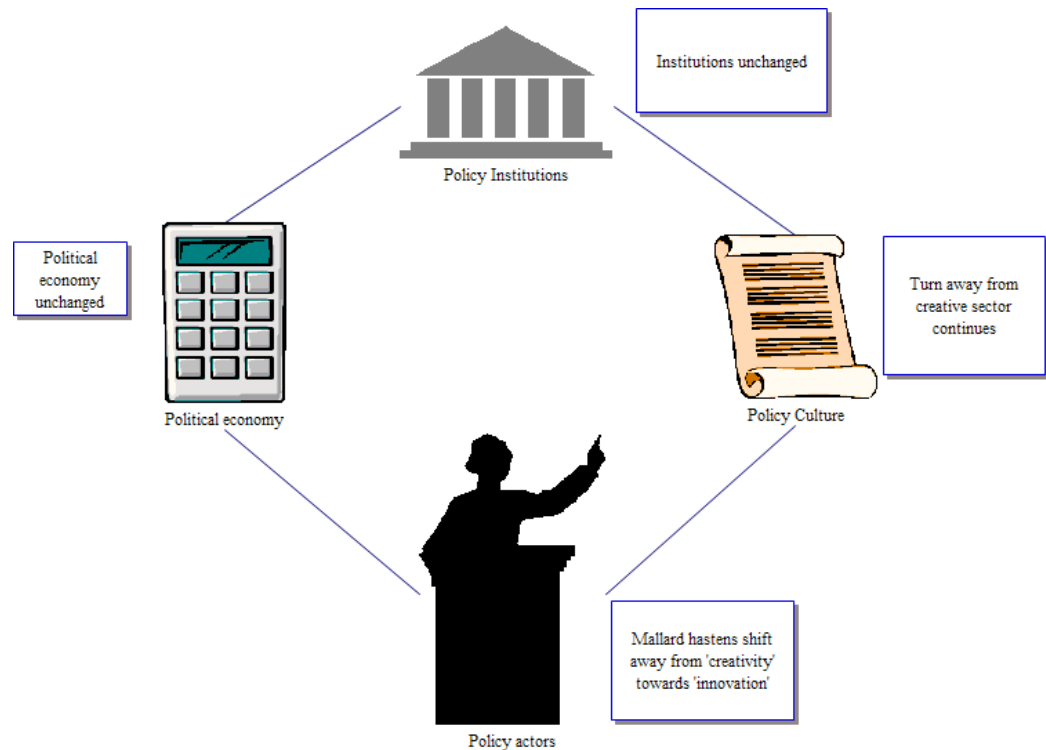
Minister Mallard took the opportunity of the report launch to introduce an entirely new theme to innovation, one which indicated the political presence of the Green Party in informal coalition with Labour at the time:

Until now I don’t think that we have made environmental sustainability sufficiently central to the innovation agenda - as the Prime Minister has emphasised today, sustainability must underpin research and development.

Part of our response to the findings of the OECD report is for our relevant agencies to start work on formulating an innovation policy strategy. Government expects that sustainability will be a key focus of this work. (Mallard, 2007c, para. 33)

The notion of “starting work on formulating an innovation policy strategy” (Mallard, 2007c, para. 34) in 2007 seemed to contradict the central elements of economic development policy in New Zealand; the Growth and Innovation Advisory Board had been mandated to progress innovation policy for New Zealand since 2002 following the key document *Growing An Innovative New Zealand* (Office of the Prime Minister, 2002) launched by the Prime Minister. The idea of starting over from zero in response to the OECD report appeared to deny the preceding eight years of political speeches, cabinet documents and government reports which included the word ‘innovation’.

Figure 25: Chart showing creative economy public policy system as Mallard shifted further from creativity



Within weeks, at a Cabinet reshuffle, Trevor Mallard would be replaced as Minister of Economic Development, after less than two years in the role. His successor would be Pete Hodgson, Minister of Research and Development for the preceding 8 years and a 'pair of safe hands' as the Labour-led Government entered its ninth year in office.

Back to the books

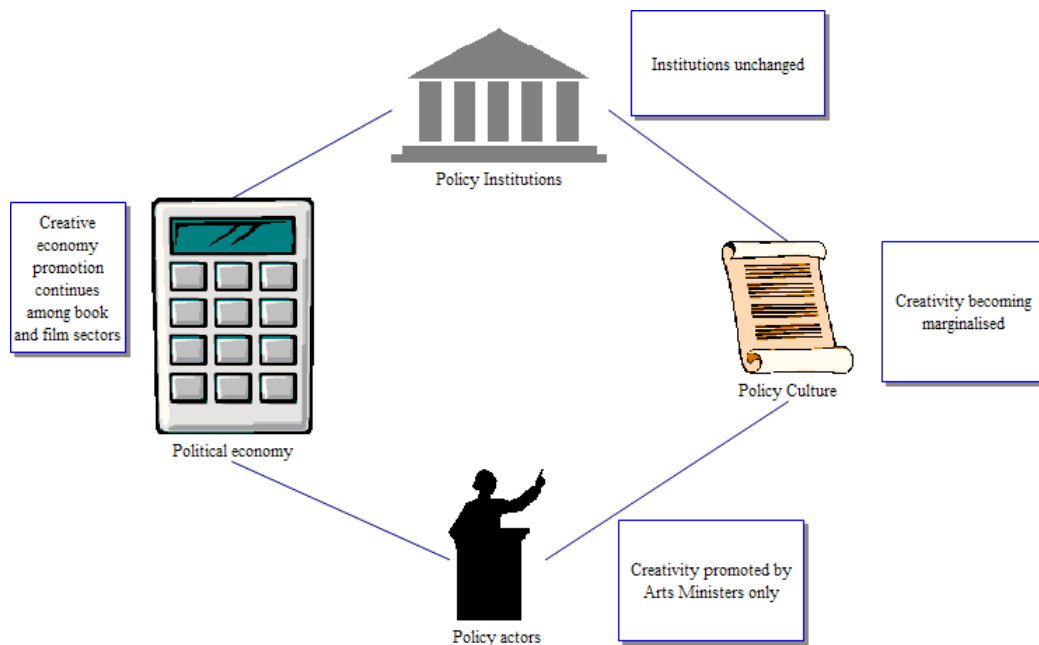
While the Cabinet reshuffle was in planning, the focus in the creative industries returned to book publishing, the oldest of the creative industries. Book Month 2007 was launched by Associate Minister of Culture and Heritage Mahara Okeroa, because it "fits government's overall knowledge industry development strategies. We have invested much in building up a strongly supportive cultural infrastructure, and gained much satisfaction from the growth across creative industries, in jobs, careers and output (Okeroa, 2007, para. 3). An analysis of the book publishing industry in New Zealand (Smith, 2007) showed an increasing number of new New Zealand publications.

Since the economic transformation agenda had been put in place in 2006, politicians talked less about the creative industries. *The Lord of the Rings* was historic. The part of the public policy system which was still aligned to the original vision was the linkage between 'cultural infrastructure' and 'creative industries'.

Later in Book Month 2007, celebrating the fifth Prime Minister's Awards for Literary Achievement, Helen Clark noted "these Awards are an established part of the many ways in which we celebrate New Zealand writers" (Clark, 2007d, para. 15). Prime Minister Clark suggested that, "many of the topics and themes of our writings flow around the markers of our Pacific status" (Clark, 2007d, para. 6). Our writers, as a source of creativity, "use words and images drawn from our lands and seas and the people who have travelled across them for many generations", according to Helen Clark (2007d, para. 6). Travelling, whether Pacific voyaging or overland journeys, is an important undertaking for New Zealanders. Skills as travellers are important for managing export relations, or for making agreements with overseas businesspeople.

In addition to business export deals, overseas interactions which may affect the creative economy include inter-governmental agreements such as those put together for the film industry. By late 2007, nations with which New Zealand had developed agreements to advance the film industry included Australia, Canada, France, Italy, Germany, Singapore and the United Kingdom. When announcing the NZ-South Africa film agreement, Prime Minister Helen Clark promoted the wide benefits of international film agreements which "give our screen industry better access to a wider pool of creative and financial resources. They provide economic and cultural benefits for the partnership countries and promote the development of diverse local screen industries" (Clark, 2007c, para. 9). Over the next few months similar film agreements would be announced with Ireland, India and Spain.

Figure 26: Chart showing creative economy activity ‘business as usual’ while Cabinet reshuffle planned



Final shuffle

From October 2007, the new Minister of Economic Development, Pete Hodgson, took a firm grip on economic development policy. He started by bundling the preceding eight years of public policy for economic development into a new package called *Advancing Economic Transformation*. This would mean

a focus of government investment in specific areas or technologies that reflect and extend New Zealand’s strengths. As with the growth and innovation framework that I helped design several years ago, this is the idea of a government placing disproportionate attention into selective parts of our economy, research efforts or skills development.

The Cabinet paper lists the six candidates we are proposing and we are currently at the point where we wish to publicly discuss them, then better define and refine them. The six are:

- pastoral solutions

- environmental solutions
- advanced foods
- health solutions
- new materials, and
- digital content. (Hodgson, 2007, para. 27-28)

Aside from digital content, the creative sector was notably absent from this prioritised list. As a corollary to this, the first priority signified a return to pastoral farming as New Zealand's top economic development opportunity. The pastoral turn for New Zealand's economic development continued through early 2008, election year. With six months to run before the General Election, Minister of Economic Development Pete Hodgson was taking an increasingly pragmatic approach to New Zealand's development priorities:

For over a century our economic fortunes have been based substantially on our biological research skills and on our ability to deploy technology and marketing to put that research into practice; be it kiwi gold, progress in animal health, new pasture species, or our many breeding programmes, from dairy cows to pine trees, to green-shelled mussels.

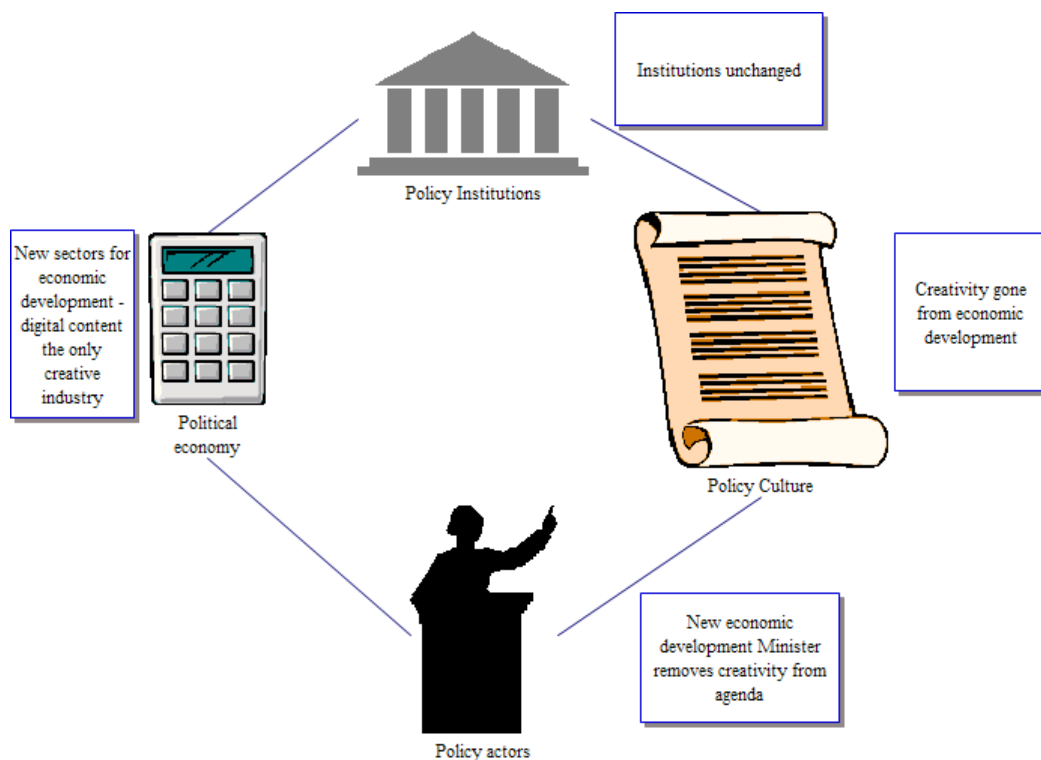
Today we build on that legacy, and we do so in partnership with our various primary producers. We have skills to develop, markets to enter and R&D to expand

New Zealand often compares itself with Scandinavian countries, or with the Netherlands or Canada; all of which are a lot richer than we are. Without exception those countries are continuing to develop by leveraging their natural resource base. Even in Sweden, the Netherlands or Finland, which have significant high-tech sectors, their economies developed in large part, by the persistent upgrading of resource based industries and by the clusters that emerge from them. A primary production base can go hand in hand with a higher technology future.

And so it is today. Today we are rededicating ourselves to the things we have always done best, knowing that we will be deploying more innovation and more technology to get there. (Hodgson, 2008b, para. 2-3, 9-10)

Only a few years before this, Jim Anderton had been citing the ICT and creative sector wonders of Scandinavian countries. Now, the same examples were being used to show why New Zealand needed to focus on its traditional land-based industries. The creative economy appeared to be left out of the discussion of how to advance New Zealand's economic transformation.

Figure 27: Chart showing creative economy public policy system as creativity removed from agenda



Music and Books

With the economic development focus shifted away from the creative sector, promotion of creativity in the public policy system in New Zealand became limited to the Ministry of

Culture and Heritage. At the 8th Annual Music Month launch in May 2008, Associate Minister for Culture and Heritage Judith Tizard explained the Government's continued involvement because:

There are clear cultural and economic gains from a strong domestic music industry. That's why government has been pushing hard to support New Zealand music, through significant increases in funding to the New Zealand Music Commission and NZ On Air over a number of years; in the Creating Heat strategy, and in the Code of Practice for New Zealand Music Content in Radio Broadcasting

'We have a whole generation of kids that have grown up with New Zealand music now, who like it, and want to hear more.

'I think we could safely say that New Zealand music used to be pretty much invisible here, with only about 2% New Zealand music played on the radio. Those days are long gone and I am proud of the record of achievements in recent years.'
(Tizard, 2008d, para.14, 17-18).

Radio listening habits had certainly changed during the period 1999-2008. An independent analysis of radio listening habits and the New Zealand music industry showed that radio listening times were reducing in a long-term declining trend (Smith, 2006).

Budget 08

Budget 2008 was significant because it was the last budget in the electoral term, and the general election was less than six months away. At the time the Labour Party was trailing the National Party in political polling, with *ennui* likely affecting the electorate after nearly three terms with the same political party in power. Budget 08 appeared to take a long term view at securing financial support for key institutions relating to New Zealand films, music, literature, and for heritage buildings and collections.

A new scheme was announced for the screen industry by the Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage, Helen Clark. The Screen Production Investment Fund (SPIF) was established to support the production of New Zealand-driven creative screen projects, and was allocated \$27.8 million over four years in new funding, plus \$26 million from existing funding to the New Zealand Film Commission, providing a total of \$53.8 million.

Citing issues of mobility of talent which could negatively impact on New Zealand's screen industry, Prime Minister Helen Clark justified the new scheme and its fund by suggesting

If New Zealand is to maintain and develop a strong domestic screen industry and keep our filmmaking and television talent here, we have to be able to compete effectively. The Screen Production Investment Fund is a strong new incentive for producers and investors in New Zealand films". (Clark, 2008a, para. 5)

In addition to this, cultural institutions benefited in Budget 08 (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2008, Arts, Culture and Heritage section) as follows:

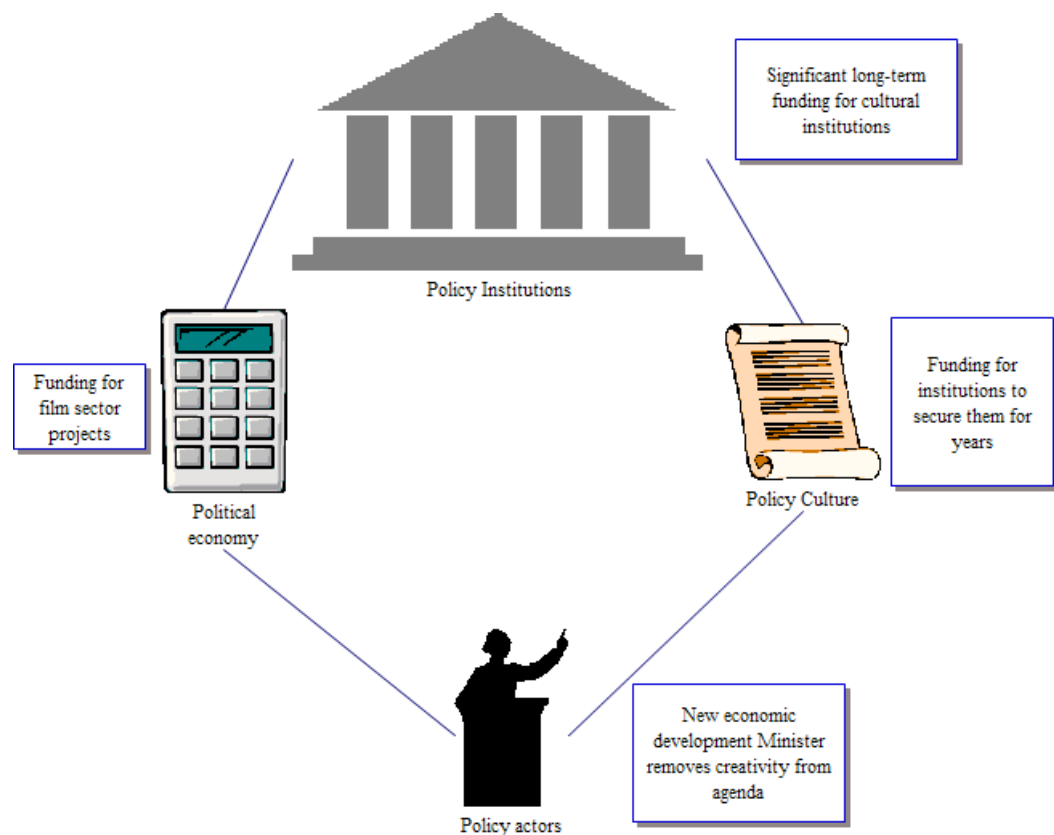
- Additional baseline funding of \$12 million over four years went to Te Papa. Te Papa had been the most visited museum and gallery in Australasia for the past five years, and it was *'essential to maintain strong investment in it'*.
- An increase of \$7.7 million over four years to the New Zealand Historic Places Trust. One-off additional capital funding of \$500,000 was provided for upgrades to IT systems in 2008/09.
- An extra \$4.4 million baseline funding over four years for the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra. This would enable the NZSO to tour a minimum of 20 communities per year, perform to at least 100,000 people, and continue its commitment to performances of New Zealand compositions.
- Extra baseline funding of \$4.8 million over four years was allocated to the NZ Music Commission, so that it could continue to promote Kiwi music internationally and locally, and undertake market and business development.

- An extra \$2 million over four years went to the New Zealand Authors' Fund to compensate authors for loss of royalty income on books lent by public libraries.

Rather than linking these investment decisions to the contribution of the cultural or creative sector to New Zealand's economy, Prime Minister Helen Clark explained the continued investment "because they all contribute to the expressing the unique national identity of New Zealand" (Clark, 2008b, concluding para.). The funding allocations were for four years, long enough to reach through the next electoral term and beyond the General Election in 2011, and would be able to provide continuity of funding to the key cultural institutions should there be a change of Government in the intervening years.

Budget 08 also included a \$4m one-off grant to the Waikato Innovation Park, an agritech and ag-bio research facility, announced by Economic Development Minister Pete Hodgson. With the most significant economic development statement of 2008, Minister Hodgson brought the pastoral sector firmly back to the centre of New Zealand economic development public policy. He stated the project had "the potential to make a significant contribution to New Zealand's economic transformation, through clustering and supporting the development and internationalisation of New Zealand companies in the pastoral and food industries" (Hodgson, 2008c, para. 7).

Figure 28: Chart showing creative economy public policy system at Budget 2008



The final months of 2005-2008 electoral term

With the key cultural institutions secured as well as possible for the future, and with only four months until the General Election was required to be called, a number of proposed creative economy legislative changes was sent to Parliament. These changes were targeted at increasing revenues for two groups of creative entrepreneurs, specifically authors and visual artists, and had been first announced in 2006-2007.

The first of these legislative changes related to the revenue-generating potential of New Zealand authors. The government commenced developing new legislation to establish a New Zealand Public Lending Right (NZPLR), to replace the Authors' Fund, and in Budget 08 increased funding to the programme by an additional \$2 million over four years. The new,

stand-alone legislation was announced by Prime Minister Helen Clark to bring New Zealand authors into line with authors in other countries.

Like other similar schemes throughout the world, the New Zealand initiative will give authors a right to receive payments in recognition of the public benefit derived from the free use of their works in libraries, subject to eligibility criteria. (Clark, 2008c, para. 3)

The second proposed legislative change was for visual artists, with the introduction of the Copyright (Artist's Resale Right) Amendment Bill. As with the Public Lending Right scheme for authors, the proposed legislation would attempt to align New Zealand visual artists' rights with the rights of artists in foreign countries.

This Bill includes visual artists and widens their rights to benefit from increases in value of their works over time. This provision gives New Zealand artists the same rights that artists in many overseas countries have had for many years. (Tizard, 2008a, para. 4)

The Bill entitles visual artists to receive a royalty payment each time their original artistic work is resold on the secondary art market, through any auction house, gallery, dealer, or any other business that deals with artistic works. (Tizard, 2008a, para. 6)

This government recognises that Parliament must continue to review and update these rights, so that there are clear incentives to create, innovate, and develop across the creative and technical sectors. (Tizard, 2008a, para. 45)

The impact of this proposed legislation on the art market and the revenue-generating potential of New Zealand artists could be significant. Likewise, the proposed Public Lending Right legislation could also provide new revenue sources for New Zealand authors. However, with only a few months to run until Parliament would certainly be dissolved, and an increasingly shaky political environment, there was a possibility neither

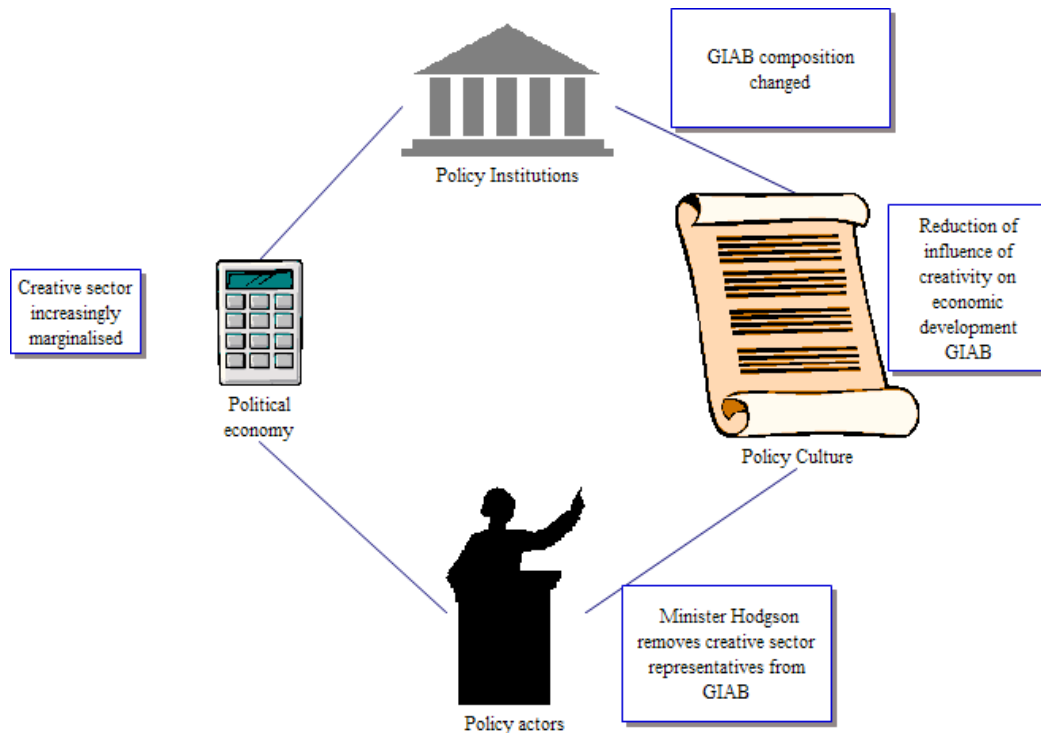
of these Bills, introduced so near to the end of the political term, would be passed into law.

An end to the creative economy?

In the final weeks of the electoral term, Economic Development Minister Pete Hodgson announced a major change for the Growth and Innovation Advisory Board. Where it had formerly included businesspeople drawn from strategic growth sectors of the economy, (creative, biotechnology, ICT), the new grouping included representatives from all key scientific research organisations, with a clear focus on pastoral farming, agri-innovation and food technology. Twelve new members were appointed, while only eight existing members were reappointed, which represented a significant expansion in size of the *'independent'* advisory group. Most appointees were now Government employees or heads of Crown Research Institutes rather than private-sector businesspeople, which had been the case when GIAB was established in 2002. The appointments, in line with the economic transformation agenda, were “intended to increase the Board’s influence, so that it could take a more strategic, over-arching approach to economic growth and productivity issues” (Hodgson, 2008a, para. 3).

After more than six and a half years of clearly promoting the creative economy as integral to the future of New Zealand, the central Government advisory committee mandated to advise on innovative ways forward was now filled with scientists, trade union representatives and farmers.

Figure 29: Chart showing creative economy public policy system as GIAB composition changed



On the day of the announcement of the General Election, in September 2008, Associate Minister for Culture and Heritage Judith Tizard launched the New Zealand Dance Strategy. There is an irony in the timing of this, just as the curtain was coming down on nine arts-friendly years of Labour-led government. Remaining optimistic about the importance of the arts and creativity, Tizard stated to the assembled Dance Industry that

Dance is alive and well as long as there is music or song that spurs us to move to a beat. Perhaps because it is such a fundamental form of human expression, the community has not caught up with the need to support dance to the same extent as rugby or netball.

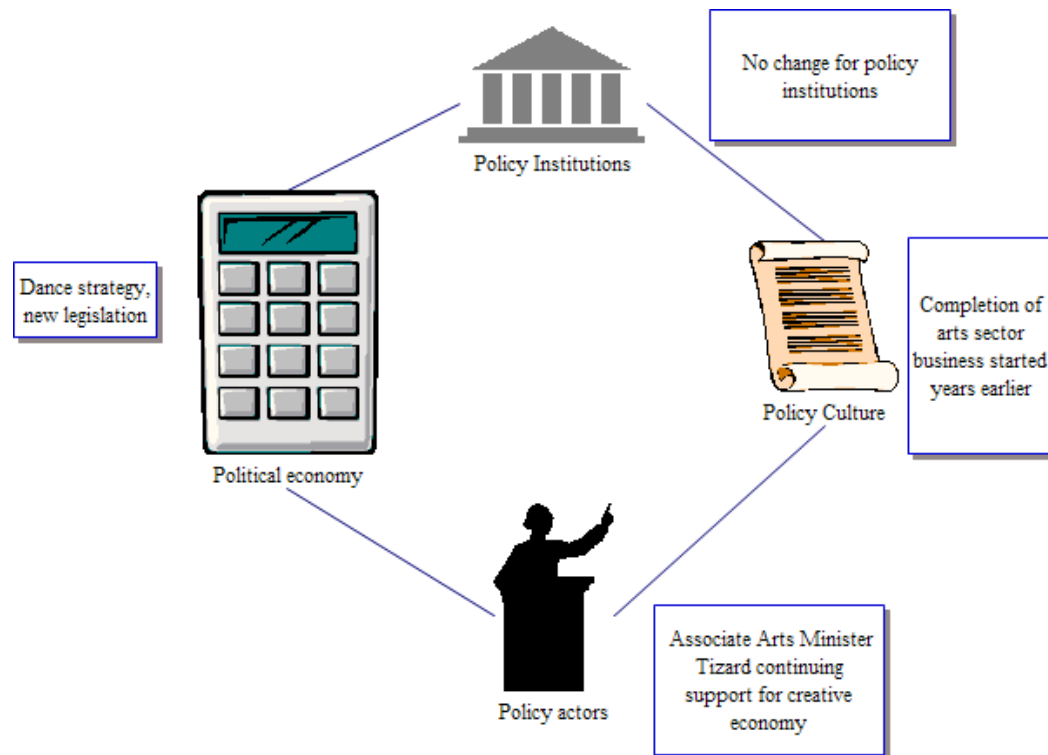
But this will change. Now that dance is being integrated into education, health and recreation, there will be a new generation of New Zealanders who will see dance in a new way. (Tizard, 2008f, para. 12-13)

Maintaining momentum until the last possible moment, Judith Tizard oversaw the passing of three pieces of new legislation in the final month of the 48th Parliament of New Zealand. Each of these would have direct effects on the creative economy in New Zealand. The announcement for each of these had come months earlier, but the legislation was finally passed when Parliament was under urgency, and only in the final days of the electoral term.

- The Cultural Property (Protection in Armed Conflict) Bill was passed which enables New Zealand to accede to the Protocols to the Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict – commonly known as the 1954 Hague Convention. “Taking this step increases the likelihood that important New Zealand cultural property would survive any possible armed conflict on New Zealand soil,” Judith Tizard said. (2008c, para. 8)
- The Public Lending Right for New Zealand Authors Bill was passed which “establishes in law the right of eligible New Zealand authors to receive an annual payment compensating them for free access to their books in our libraries,” Associate Minister for Culture and Heritage Judith Tizard (2008e, para. 2).
- The Copyright (New Technologies) Amendment Act 2008 was passed on the day Parliament was dissolved, 3 October 2008, with the intention to “ensure our copyright laws keep up to speed with the dynamic nature of digital technology,” Judith Tizard (2008b, para.. 2.)said. The amendments supported the needs of business by improving clarity and certainty over the scope and enforcement of intellectual property rights. Associate Minister for Culture and Heritage Judith Tizard, was focused on the future for the creative economy. "It's about ensuring that New Zealand music and movies can keep being made. We recognise that some people (wrongly) believe that all music, movies and games are 'free' on the internet. This illegal downloading is really damaging to our creative industries," said Minister Tizard. (2008b, para. 6)

While colleagues around her had abandoned the terminology 'creative industries', Judith Tizard continued to apply the words and to give support to the sector. It appears hers was a lone voice.

Figure 30: Chart showing creative economy public policy final actions



On the Election campaign trail 2008

In an interview with TV3 in the final days of the month-long election campaign, Prime Minister Helen Clark announced that she would continue as the Minister of Arts, Culture and Heritage if Labour were to win a record fourth term on election day.

TV3 reported that Ms Clark took over the portfolio in 1999 and since then funding for the creative economy institutions had increased from \$97 million to \$286 million, setting up the likes of the Film Production Fund and the Music Commission.

"There's no doubt the huge boost the arts, culture, heritage sector has had, has come from having prime ministerial leadership," Miss Clark said. "And I've seen it

as really being important in promoting our country and having us seen as a creative dynamic country.” (Clark, quoted in TV3 News, 2008, para. 3).

Post Script – Results On Election Night 8 November 2008

9 years of Labour-led coalitions ended on 8 November 2008 in favour of a centre-right National-led Government. The National Government was sworn into office on 19 November 2008.

Jim Anderton was returned to Parliament with his Progressive Party with only one MP, himself.

Senior Labour MPs Trevor Mallard and Pete Hodgson were returned to Parliament.

Judith Tizard was defeated in her Auckland Central seat, and was not returned to Parliament.

Prime Minister Helen Clark accepted defeat on behalf of the Labour Party, and in the same speech resigned from the leadership of the Labour Party. Less than six months later, Clark resigned from Parliament.

6 Conclusions

Nine years of unprecedented focus on the arts, creativity and the creative economy of New Zealand occurred between 1999 and 2008. Prime Minister Helen Clark choosing for herself the Cabinet portfolio of Arts, Culture and Heritage undoubtedly meant that the sector was advantaged. The troubled *Heart of the Nation* cultural strategy from 2000 did not diminish faith in the creative sector, which shows the level of political capital which the arts held in the public policy system. This favour was maintained until the end of the term, when pieces of new legislation affecting the creative economy were being brought into law literally at the last minute.

Despite this, however, broader faith in the creative sector appeared to wane during the nine year term. By the final year, as has been shown, the pendulum had swung back to a focus on agri-pastoral industries, where it had been prior to 1999.

In New Zealand's history this nine year period may well come to be regarded as one brief shining moment for kiwi creativity. By the same token, it may not.

One of the problematic aspects which has been revealed in this analysis is that there were two parallel streams of public policy working for New Zealand's creative economy during 1999-2008. Viewed from an operational perspective, one was centred on the Ministry of Culture and Heritage, and the other was centred on the Ministry of Economic Development. As has been shown through Chapter 4, the alignment of the various sectors of the creative economy (e.g. book publishing, screen, digital games) with agencies intended to support them was fragmented. This duality aligns with a 'fundamental proposition' advanced by cultural economist Throsby, that '*the economic impulse is individualistic*' while '*the cultural impulse is collective*' (1997, p. 30). At no time was there a coherent single entity or agency responsible for New Zealand's creative economy. The operational division among the creative sector agencies was at best confusing and at worst inefficient and wasteful. Consequently, there were multiple Ministers responsible for portfolios; a sequence of Ministers of Economic Development contrasted with unchanging Ministers for Arts, Culture and Heritage and this in turn created an unbalanced political leadership through the period, further highlighting the fractured nature of New Zealand's creative economy.

Beyond this, there were two distinctive and contrasting approaches to economic development throughout the period: one being a local/regional economic development approach which promoted endogenous 'bottom-up' growth, and the other being a 'top-down' approach of driving economic development through policy structures such as the Growth and Innovation Framework. The 'bottom-up' approach could be seen as a reaction to the preceding fifteen years of neo-liberal economic policy in New Zealand, whereas the creative industries 'top-down' approach was aligned with the neo-liberal tradition. A

fundamental tension and contradiction existed here, though such tensions were perhaps not exclusive to New Zealand. In the UK under New Labour, according to Hesmondhalgh & Pratt (2005), tensions and contradictions existed between a set of policies for global media businesses versus the support for small firms in local economic development. This 'top-down' versus 'bottom-up' tension was a complex component of creative policy frameworks both in new Zealand and overseas.

Through analysing these arrangements it became clear that the creative economy worked best with creative entrepreneurs. As identified in Chapter 3, the creative entrepreneur is a key participant in the creative industries and the creative economy discourse. The following chapters draw upon the lived experiences of creative entrepreneurs who were beneficiaries of these policies in New Zealand.

Chapter 5 Results 2 of 3:

Research participants and the creative economy in New Zealand

This chapter examines the experiences of entrepreneurs in the creative sector of New Zealand during the period of organised economic development of the creative sector, from 1999 to 2008. This information is one of three Results Chapters in this thesis, the other two being:

- public policies of New Zealand's creative economy, in Chapter 4,
- and New Zealand creative entrepreneur attitudes to location of industry, in Chapter 6.

The chapter commences with a description of the design of the research instruments and procedures for this chapter, followed by the application of these instruments and the results obtained. The results are triangulated in the Discussion Chapter 7, with the results of the other two Results Chapters.

The rationale for this chapter, as stated in Chapter 3 Research Design, is to add a further dimension to the policy analysis undertaken in Chapter 4. By establishing a dialectic between the policy as intended by policymakers and the experiences of creative entrepreneurs who were beneficiaries of those policies, a robust analytical framework is developed.

1 Introduction

In the view of McGuigan (2010, p. 323), there is an "urgent need for research on the sociology of occupational experience in the arts and culture today" which is required to "rectify its neglect in cultural policy studies." McGuigan's work distinguishes between

creative labour as a universal human attribute and cultural work as applied to practice; this study seeks to contribute to this discourse by examining a number of New Zealand's creative entrepreneurs and aspects of their work practices related to engagement with government policies as analysed in Chapter 4. Fundamental questions which frame the motivation to include creative entrepreneurs in this research are established in Chapter 2, the Literature Review.

As analysed in Chapter 4, the sectoral approach became important as a method of managing New Zealand's creative economy as the policy framework developed. A large archive of the key sectoral documents, including research documents, taskforce reports and reviews, is included in the CD-ROM appended to this thesis. In recent years New Zealand creative economy research has followed this sectoral approach. Interdisciplinary research has been presented in the fields of fashion (Lewis, Larner and Le Heron, 2007; Larner and Molloy, 2007; Bill, 2009) and film (Boon, Jones and Curnow, 2009), for example. Studies of this type make important contributions to understanding the constituent industry sectors within the creative economy.

Sectoral-focused studies are linked in the creative economy discourse with studies which are not industry-specific but instead focus on broader creative policy development in New Zealand, such as those by Volkerling (2000; 2001) and Prince (2009), or sociological contexts of the new urban cultural economy in Ponsonby, Auckland as analysed by Latham (2003).

Between these fields of research, little evidence exists regarding aspects of being an entrepreneur in New Zealand's creative economy. The distinction between worker and entrepreneur becomes important for this study; creative entrepreneurs have an impact on local economic development through the location choices for their enterprises, which are peopled by talented creative workers. In Bill's (2009, para. 2) analysis of young New Zealand fashion industry workers, she suggests "the creative worker is thought to be programmed with a new work ethic, needing to realise their passions, uncover personal talent, take risks and spend long hours networking." This definition stops short of

including any reference to entrepreneurial ambition, business-making or evaluating the extent to which the institutional context and local setting may play an important role in determining innovative behaviour within enterprises, as in the work of Gertler et al (2000). Questions of this type about the economic development aspects of the creative economy motivate this study.

2 Design of Research instruments and procedures

Notions of understanding as to how people interpret their world are at the centre of **ethnography**. Ethnographic research stems from a desire to understand the particular cultural worlds in which New Zealand creative entrepreneurs live, and which they construct and utilise.

For this research, ethnography was used because it was the intention to get involved with the world of the selected creative entrepreneurs in New Zealand, to find out how they saw the world, and to be able to describe the cultural world of these creative entrepreneurs in New Zealand. If there was a 'culture' for these creative entrepreneurs in New Zealand, the proposed **qualitative ethnographic** study was considered the best way to understand it.

According to Fetterman, in the context of an ethnographic stance, the analysis is as much a test of the enquirer as it is a test of the data: "First and foremost, analysis is a test of the ability to think - to process information in a meaningful and useful manner" (1989, p. 88). For Robson, **qualitative analysis** "remains much closer to codified common sense than the complexities of statistical analysis of quantitative data" (2002, p. 459).

This ethnographic study was informed by **phenomenology**. It is a research methodology which calls into question what is taken for granted. A phenomenological methodology in the view of Davidson and Tolich is about a reinterpretation of phenomena (Davidson & Tolich, 2003). This approach informs the methodology because the research seeks to

interpret the phenomena of the lived experience of selected creative entrepreneurs. The methodological approach for this research was examined in Chapter 3 - Research Design. The data collection method employed here is fieldwork comprising **key informant interviews**.

2.1 Selection of Key Informants

In this qualitative research the non-probability sampling technique (**purposive sampling**) was used. The aim was to deliberately seek certain types of elements relevant to this research, rather than permitting random sampling. The purposive sampling technique generated a defined group of participants.

A long and careful process was established in selecting the key informants for this research. Demographic factors such as age and gender were selection factors, as were industry background and entrepreneurial record. Five women and five men with an age distribution from late 30s to early 70s were selected. They were ten creative entrepreneurs from different creative industry types, selected for their record in the creative economy of New Zealand, ranging from cultural activities (painting, singing) to technology-rich sectors such screen and digital games. The research participants were not selected to be a representative group.

Leaders were selected, because they were expected to have had more advantage and sophisticated access to Government agencies during the period 1999-2008. Each was a specialist in his or her field, working and networking at the highest levels. They were expected to have more to say about their wide experience, including staying in business and being a successful creative entrepreneur. When the length of their careers were combined, these creative entrepreneurs had hundreds of years of activity in New Zealand's creative economy, which would be a critical lens through which their comments about the nine-year period 1999-2008 could be put in perspective.

Criteria for inclusion in the research were that the key informants be:

- 1:** New Zealand-born or raised, of Pakeha/European descent.
- 2:** Recognised industry leaders - high-profile individuals with high levels of public respect and recognition.
- 3:** Recent award winners/prize recipients – peer respect and recognition
- 4:** High-wage earners likely to have an impact on investment decisions and economic development.
- 5:** Individuals with proven records as entrepreneurs, mavericks, investors, leaders.
- 6:** Creators of new products/ ideas/ innovations for industry development of creative industries during the period 1999-2008.
- 7:** Not retired.

Exclusion of Maori and Pacific peoples from this research

The transnational impetus driving the creative industries as examined in Chapter 4 of this study, was in part motivated by bottom-up local economic development and in part by top-down, globally-generated assumptions underpinning the creative industries. The top-down creative industries approaches were located principally in the Ministry of Economic Development (Growth and Innovation Framework) and its agencies, New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, Investment NZ and Better By Design. The top-down creative industries approach did not apply to Te Puni Kokiri (Ministry of Maori Development) or to the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, which had a focus on endogenous bottom-up development. For this reason, any Maori or Pacific Island New Zealander would have been expected to talk about engagement with Ministries that were NOT central to the creative economy arrangements of the Government. The top-down/bottom-up tension at the centre of the creative economy, as identified at the conclusion of Chapter 4, becomes more important here. Furthermore, to include these Ministries was beyond the scope of this work.

The Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee raised questions as to why this research about the creative economy in New Zealand did not include Maori or Pacific peoples as research participants. To include Maori or Pacific peoples in an ethnographic research project in this field would require a different methodology, methods and approach, which was considered to be beyond the scope of this research and would have required additional dimensions to establish a culturally-appropriate research design. This study marks an exploration that seeks to understand the creative economy in New Zealand. It is among the first pieces of New Zealand research in this field. It is hoped that Maori and Pacific scholars may build upon this research in the future, and in doing so add further dimensions to knowledge about the creative economy in New Zealand.

2.2 Ethical considerations relating to purposive sampling

The research participants in this research were mostly well-known, high-profile New Zealanders. Their comments would likely make them identifiable to other people in their respective fields of enterprise, and possibly farther afield. Anonymity of the key informants was not possible in this research, because it would be extremely difficult to disguise the identity of the key informants within a small country such as New Zealand when their biographies may be known by others, and they may identify themselves by their own comments. For this reason, all key informants were asked for their consent to be identified in the research, and they agreed.

Key informants were able to withdraw from the interview/research process at any time, with no consequence. None withdrew. Protection of the professional reputations of key informants was an ethical consideration throughout this research. At all times during the pre-preparation, interview and analysis/writing-up stages of the research process, maintaining highest ethical standards has been a dominant consideration.

2.3 Application of Research Instruments

The following interview process was undertaken in this research:

1. Potential interviewees were identified and then approached in writing, with an invitation to participate in this research. Not every person who was approached for inclusion in this research consented to participate.
2. Research participants were: John Barnett, Elisabeth Vaneveld, Mario Wynands, Damien Wilkins, Kirsty Gunn, Max Gimblett, Peri Drysdale, Dame Malvina Major, Trelise Cooper, Richard Taylor.
3. Each key informant was provided in advance of interview with a written Participant Information Sheet which included key data about the research being undertaken, the rationale and the motivation for the research. The Participant Information Sheet is included in the Appendices.
4. Two copies of a Consent Form were signed before the commencement of the data-collecting interview, one for the participant to keep and the other for secure storage at AUT University for six years.
5. Biographies were prepared on each key informant from publicly available sources prior to each interview taking place. The online database [Australia/New Zealand Reference Centre \(EBSCO\)](#) provided up-to-date information for preparation of the biographies. The biographies were essential in preparation for each interview. They helped locate the researcher in the 'world' of the participant, which assisted with the questioning of the key informants. This improved the quality of the interview which was able to be directed by researcher to material beyond what was already in the public domain.
6. Interviews were conducted in the workplaces of the research participants. This included locations in France, London, New York, Auckland and Wellington.
7. Interviewees were asked questions about their involvement with the creative economy in New Zealand. Interview questions were based on four subject areas: career development, childhood creativity experiences, engagement with NZ government creative economy agencies (e.g. NZTE, Better By Design, Creative New Zealand), and attitudes to New Zealand as a location for creative enterprise.
8. Two pilot interviews were undertaken to check the appropriateness of the research method of interviewing. This helped refine the approach to focus on

entrepreneurs primarily in this research. The pilot interview data is included in the analysis.

9. Interviews were recorded using a digital audio recorder. Sound files were uploaded to computer following interview. Copies of interview sound files were burnt to CD for secure storage.
10. Complete interview recordings were transcribed. More than 40 hours of interviews were transcribed. This was done in part by the researcher, and mostly outsourced to professional transcriber Lorraine Scott of VA Plus.
11. Interviews took place between May and November 2008. The final interview was conducted in the week following the General Election which marked the end of the policy period 1999-2008. All interviews took place in the final six months of the nine-year term of Helen Clark's fifth Labour Government.
12. Data was analysed only after all the interviews and transcriptions were completed. To commence analysis before all interviews were completed would have risked contamination of subsequent interviews, as comparison would be able to be drawn in interview with other earlier comments.
13. Transcriptions were coded for themes using NVivo software. Following transcription, analysis of the themes from the interviews identified consistency, chaos and outliers among the themes.
14. Chapters 5 and 6 were written based on approximately 5% of the total data from the interviews with key informants.

2.4 Plan of Results Chapter

The examination of the coded themes in this Results Chapter 5 follows the following sequence:

1. Attitudes about the 'creative turn' for New Zealand
2. Attitudes about assistance and grants received from the New Zealand Government under creative economy programmes
3. Key informant influence over policy of creative economy programmes.

3 Attitudes about the 'creative turn' for New Zealand

For policy, you have always got to think in sectors, sectors of interest. But no one feels like a sector. I'm not a sector! People are just doing their stuff.

Damien Wilkins, novelist.

Agriculture as the core of New Zealand's economy was long-established, as already shown in Chapter 4, when the creative economy policy discourse emerged in 2000. By contrast, at that time the creative economy in New Zealand represented about 3% of economic activity (Walton, Duncan, & Yeabsley, 2002). The notion of creativity and innovation being promoted in the early 2000s by the Government as drivers for New Zealand's economy was, itself, an innovation.

As already examined, the 'germane assistance' of hands-on economic development was a new direction for New Zealand after the preceding neo-liberal economic period since the 1980s, during which time the government had invested little in organised economic development. Government involvement in business was an unfamiliar notion after nearly two decades of limited activity - unfamiliar for entrepreneurs and unfamiliar for Government employees, alike.

Therefore, the policy approaches for economic development and creativity combined to create a bold break with approaches of preceding years. They pointed towards an aspirational new territory for New Zealand in which Government supported business and also encouraged the creative economy to grow.

Fashion designer Trelise Cooper expressed the paradox of the uncertainty of the new direction and the optimism and hope for creativity in New Zealand which the creative economy discourse represented:

2001 was the first Fashion Week but up until that point I don't know whether I even acknowledged it was the Government. But I know that I was aware very much of what the Government was doing for creative industries. I know that that was what Helen's [Helen Clark, Prime Minister and Minister of Arts, Culture and Heritage] portfolio was. I loved the idea of it because if you think of Ireland and Singapore

where they've poured money into creative and there's a great philosophical reason for having that which I love [.....] I don't know that I'm going to quote it right but really without art we're dead. As a culture you need to have beauty. Humans need beauty, they need romance, they need that, so personally I believe it's the right way to go for any country.

Ireland and Singapore were known as the Celtic Tiger and the Asian Tiger respectively due to their economic development programmes during the 1990s. As shown in Chapter 4, these international programmes were inspirational to the development of New Zealand's creative economy. While Cooper responded with alacrity to the notion of building New Zealand's creative economy, in the identification of Prime Minister Helen Clark with the creative economy portfolio, Cooper was actually mistaken. But this may be an easily confusable point - Clark was Minister of Arts, Culture and Heritage, which represented the cultural sector parts of the creative economy, and spoke frequently about creativity and its importance for national identity, while the broader creative economy (including fashion) was the industry and economic development portfolio of Jim Anderton in 2001. This division was examined in detail in Chapter 4. In another confusable set of definitions, screen producer John Barnett tumbled together definitions of the creative economy and the Growth and Innovation Framework -.

In about 2003 or 4, under Jim Anderton, there was this view that the creative industries, including IT, design and biotech and film/tv/screen, had the potential to grow enormously and grow exports.

The potential of the creative economy was certainly being promoted by Minister of Economic Development Jim Anderton in 2003/04, as shown in Chapter 4. But ICT and biotechnology were different sectors from the creative sector, which included design. The comments of both Cooper and Barnett showed an enthusiastic embrace of the broad policy direction for the creative economy, an understanding of what its development could mean and what its potential for New Zealand may be. The potential of the creative

economy, and of the screen industry in particular, was further explained by Richard Taylor of Weta Workshop:

At one level, of course, the more indigenous product that we can put out on the world stage that has far-reaching entertainment opportunities the more likely we are to indelibly brand our cultural mark on the world which is recognized by young New Zealanders, further empowering them to believe that New Zealand means something on the world stage. And, of course, other auxiliary businesses can begin to benefit from that IP exploitation and build jobs, opportunity, and so on.

In Taylor's view, creative sector businesses had an opportunity to generate foreign revenue, and also to brand New Zealand as a creative place in which to do business well, as he explained . For Taylor these were creative/cultural products which reflect New Zealand as a place, and encourage further creativity and investment. The importance of exporting creative products to other places and of reflecting encouragement from that trade back to New Zealanders were part of the virtuous circle of benefits Taylor saw in the potential of the creative sector. However, for Mario Wynands, founder of digital gaming company Sidhe Interactive, there was a disconnect between the potential of the creative economy and what the government was doing. In Wynands' view, despite the promotion of the creative sector, New Zealand's development focus remained largely on its agricultural sector:

I remember being at a Foundation for Research Science and Technology presentation for all industries a few years back, just when they were - this was probably 2003-04 - and they were just starting to sell that message quite heavily "it's about the knowledge economy, it's about the creative industries" and then they brought out the graphs saying here's what we're going to spend money on in the next 12 months – meat, dairy, crop industries, biotech – massive. Digital, creative stuff.... small.

And that's the thing. There's a mismatch between the message and the story that we're trying to build in New Zealand or the Government's trying to sell, which is all

about “we need to reduce our dependence on our traditional agricultural based industries. We need to shift into a space that’s about knowledge and creativity and innovation, because we are just going to get left behind.” And the actual implementation and execution of all aspects of Government is still kind of focused on that – we’re New Zealand, we’re clean, we’re green, buy our lamb.

The 'mismatch', to use Wynands' word, between the aspirations of the government and the reality that the economy was primary sector-led, meant that, from his perspective, the creative sector was not supported to a level which matched his interpretation of the what the government was 'trying to sell'. For Wynands, the delivery of creative economy support did not match the promise. Instead, the historical antecedents of New Zealand's economic prosperity dominated, linked as they were to a conservative primary sector. A likely outcome of this was that long-established attitudes may have been slow to change, and that any 'creative turn' for New Zealand's economy was slow to manifest.

The 'creative turn', if that is what it is to be called here, in New Zealand's economy appeared to be coming from an agricultural base. Peri Drysdale commented about the long-term dominance of agriculture in New Zealand's economy. Her clothing company Snowy Peak was focused on merino wool-based clothing, adding value to one of New Zealand's plentiful commodities. Drysdale commented about former limits of New Zealand's economy and their legacy for the creative sector:

We started our business in 1981, and there were no marketers in New Zealand. If you think about the history of economics in New Zealand we were single desk marketing, we were primary produce, and we weren’t growing marketers. There’s no depth in that area, very little in design. I have to check myself because I keep saying there were no designers - there were a couple, there was Barbara Lee and Patrick Steele and so on doing core design. But very little of what New Zealand produced had any kind of aesthetic about it at all, so there was no depth in design.

The historic lack of depth in the fields of clothing design and marketing was, in Drysdale's

view, a consequence of the dominance of agriculture on the New Zealand economy. The rapid change in the creative economy policy system, shown in Chapter 4, may have lacked support from either a workforce qualified to build the creative economy or from broader cultural change. In the view of Richard Taylor, the culture of New Zealand had a history of limited investment which restricted the creative sector:

There's not a culture in New Zealand for investment, to invest in creative endeavours, especially not in television and film.

Perceived limits for Taylor around the culture of New Zealand to invest effectively in creative initiatives or endeavours echoed the earlier point by Drysdale about the lack of depth in design or marketing skills. Further to this, agriculturally-trained government agents working in the creative sector in 1999-2008 were cited by Trelise Cooper, and exemplified how cultural change to support the creative economy was slow to develop in New Zealand:

Any time I touched anyone at New Zealand Trade & Enterprise it would be like an education process on how the fashion ... I'd waste hours and hours of time. I remember one time, a really nice man, but he had been a farmer and he had been involved in tractors and tractor sales and they put him on to fashion and it's like "What planet are you all from?" A lovely man but so not what our industry needed, and so remote from what his point of reference needed to be.

While Cooper's experience may have been frustrating for her, any assumption that all government agents are farmers would be an unfounded generalisation to be drawn from one comment in this research. That is not a conclusion to be drawn here. Rather, the point made here suggested that there may have been a lack of depth in (primary sector-dominated) New Zealand to support the creative turn for New Zealand's economy. This broad point was further qualified by comments from other key informants, discussed below.

A limited culture of investment in creativity in New Zealand, including the people to

support and manage the cultural turn, reflected in some ways the following comments by former regional manager of Creative New Zealand, Elisabeth Vaneveld. Regarding the qualified workforce, even from within Government agencies working in the creative economy, Vaneveld observed at close hand the possibly ill-suited skills of some policy-makers or government agents:

You are dealing with people who – or working alongside people in many instances – who have been brought into the organisation for a functional purpose or a technical purpose, and you are also dealing with people who love the arts but have never stopped to think about the philosophy of aesthetics, the politics of taste and the distribution of culture. They just haven't thought about it and yet they're charged with making policy.

It appears the whole gamut from policy-making to policy implementation by government agencies in the creative economy were areas of concern regarding government agency appointees with whom the key informants engaged in 1999-2008. For Vaneveld it was policy-making; another key informant expressed unease about the limits of people who were regarded to be unqualified to implement policy in New Zealand's creative economy:

What I have seen are people who have failed in business and can't get a job anywhere else and end up in a consultant type role or a role where they are consulting to us and they don't have it. It's like.... we gave up on one guy.a really good example of "it all looks good on the outside". He has no actual experience. It's all very well knowing it from the outside but until you've sat in the seat and lived it....

Here was another example of slow cultural change, where possibly the government agent in question was not appropriately qualified for the job. In this case, however, it was also the key informant who revealed embedded attitudes. In this comment, traces of the early-colonial derision and suspicion of Government agents which was thoroughly examined and articulated in Jock Phillips' (1987) book, *A man's country?- The image of the pakeha*

male, a history remained in evidence.

On balance, then, it appears that sourcing the government agents to 'take the creative turn' or make the creative economy work, with its blend of creativity, innovation and economic development, may have presented unforeseen challenges for agrarian, neo-liberal New Zealand in the late 1990s/early 2000s. On further examination of the data used in the policy examination in Chapter 4, no cautionary note was sounded in the speeches of Helen Clark or Jim Anderton about the limited capacity to deliver on creative economy promises as changes were being made.

A clear example of the limited capacity of the *status quo* in the creative sector was explained in detail by Arts Administrator Elisabeth Vaneveld. In this case, it appeared that while policy was thoroughly-developed, implementation of the policy may not have been as thorough:

With the disestablishment of QEII, the conceptualisation of the new organisation [Creative New Zealand] was very interesting to me I thought. The people who were my peers, I knew who they were and I won't mention them here, who were in positions of influence at that time and could help shape what the new organisation was going to be concerned with, had I felt done it quite correctly. They had realised that in a sense there are two paradoxes and creative tensions at work. One is about how to develop and support past practice at the highest professional articulation and quality and the other part of it is how do you support the love of arts and cultural practice in people and their communities. And so in the original Creative New Zealand strategic plan, they had an arts goal and they had a people goal and then under those two big goals they had really interesting policy platforms. That made a lot of sense to me but I realised straight away, as soon as I arrived there, that it was going to be a fight to the death to really do it properly because people were not going to go with the people goal.

The 'people goal' included encouragement of participation in the arts at grassroots level

through the Creative Communities grant scheme (Creative New Zealand, 2010). The researcher chaired the Kaipara District Council Creative Communities committee from 2001-2004, so in this case detailed knowledge exists of how the people goal was implemented for funding arts participation in a small, rural district of New Zealand. But the concerns of Vaneveld perhaps reflect, instead, something closer to the comments of novelist Damien Wilkins, for whom there was indignation at being commodified by bureaucrats to fit with policy:

For policy, you have always got to think in sectors, sectors of interest. But no one feels like a sector. I'm not a sector ! People are just doing their stuff.

Wilkins expressed a further manifestation of what could be termed 'the paradox of the people goal'. When he listened to the Prime Minister's speeches at literary awards (Clark, 2004b; Clark, 2007d), novelist Wilkins observed tensions within the arts fraternity, where arts bureaucrats were enthusiastic but artists were more circumspect:

What happens is that you get half the people in the room who are writers who feel a little shiver of worry and anxiety as claims were made on behalf of their work with regard to economic benefit, national identity and all those signals. You get people who are shifting to the back of the room, when everyone else in the room is feeling good. It's very odd. To stand in a room like that is always slightly uncomfortable. But I don't think this discomfort can be solved, because of ... the kind of individuals we are dealing with.

This paradox of the people goal may be quite central to thinking about the creative turn for New Zealand's economy as this examination continues. Acquiring skilled staff to bring about the changes which new creative economy policy demanded may have been one challenge, but whether or not the artists or creative entrepreneurs whom the policies were intended to benefit were willing to step forward instead of '*shifting to the back of the room*' represented challenges of a whole new order. To examine this paradox further, the following sections of this Chapter explore perceived attitudes among the key

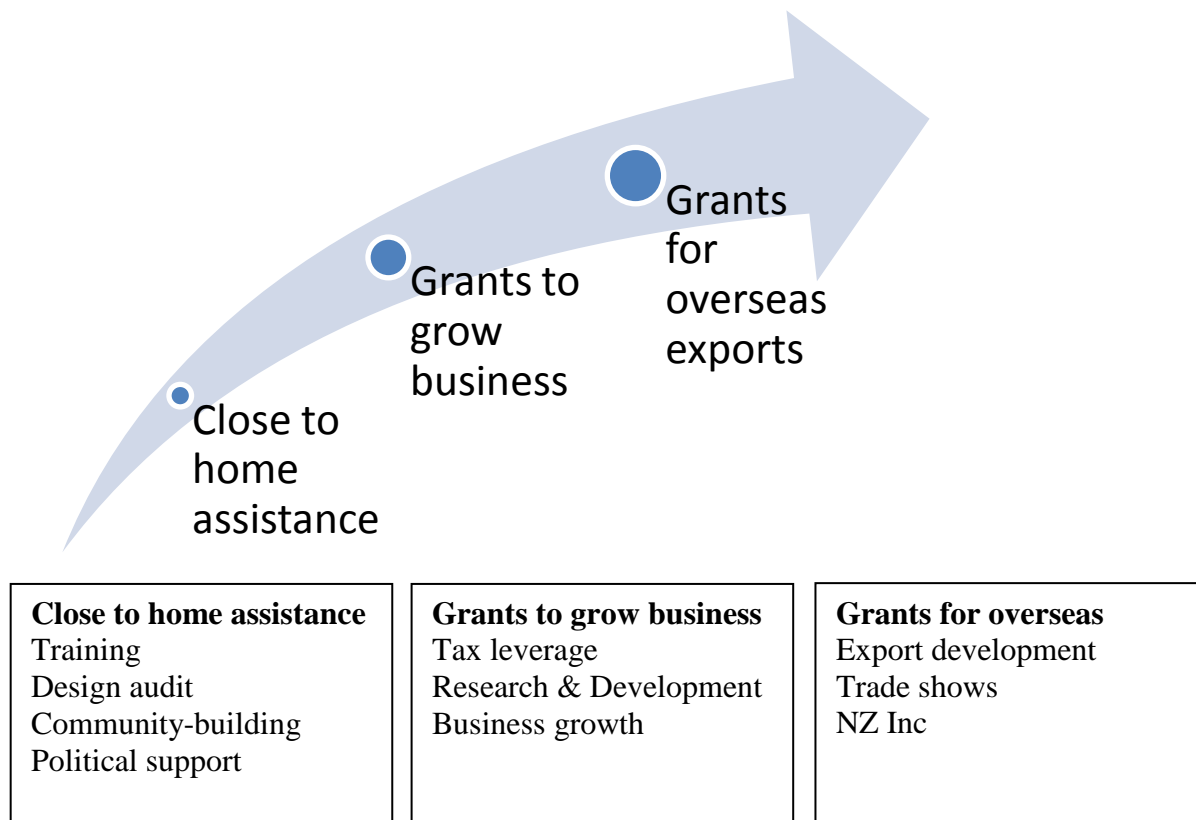
informants to assistance from government.

4 Attitudes to assistance

4.1 Introduction

Assistance for creative economy businesses may have many forms. The diagram chart below provides a simplified graphical depiction of a possible hierarchy for grants for New Zealand businesses. In order to become an exporter, and thereby reach a larger market for products or services, it is assumed a business would need to already have foundational layers of its organisation in place. Export may be an aspiration for many New Zealand businesses, as New Zealand's domestic market is small.

Figure 31: Chart showing progression and hierarchy for grants



As examined in Chapter 4, New Zealand Trade and Enterprise was established in 2004 in a merger between Industry New Zealand (which managed economic development assistance in the first two layers of the chart above) and TradeNZ, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (which managed export development grants and assistance to

businesses going offshore). A stated reason for this merger at the time was to have one government agency with the capability to take a business from its early stages through to successful exports, rather than confusion and duplication of two or more agencies (Anderton, 2003d).

While the creation of New Zealand Trade and Enterprise (NZTE) has been examined earlier in this thesis, it is important at this point to remind the reader of its function supporting the creative sector to develop exports (New Zealand Trade and Enterprise Act 2003). It was an economic development agency for New Zealand. Other agencies served other purposes: Creative New Zealand existed to encourage, promote, and support the arts in New Zealand for the benefit of all New Zealanders (Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa Act 1994), for example.

In the research undertaken here, both NZTE and Creative New Zealand were included in comments from participants. These are creative sector agencies of the New Zealand Government. Other agencies included in the research are TechNZ (for technology development), Investment NZ (the financial/economic unit of NZTE), and NZ On Air, the broadcasting agency. A complete list of all the agencies which involved with the creative sector in New Zealand 1999-2008 is included in the Appendices.

How to read this section

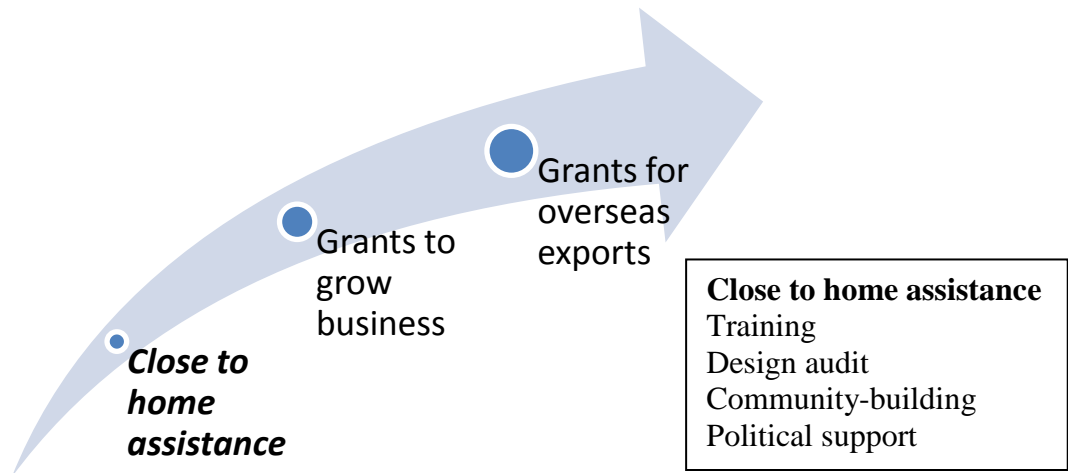
This section of the thesis examines key informants' attitudes to creative economy assistance by the government in the period 1999-2008. It follows the progression as outlined in the hierarchy of grants, as shown in the chart above. That is, the first forms of assistance which are reported are about training and early-stage business grants, then business growth grants and so on. The section concludes with research findings about export assistance for New Zealand's creative economy.

4.2 Close to home assistance

The most important thing for us in terms of creative industries is that we build the depth in the market for talent so that we are building designers and marketers, patternmakers, creative people.

Peri Drysdale, clothing manufacturer

Figure 32: Chart showing Close to Home assistance



Close to home, attitudes to assistance existed among the participants in the research. They cover a territory which includes:

- assistance for training,
- assistance for business processes,
- assistance for community-building,
- and assistance from the political system.

These types of assistance may not be export focused, but instead are focused on building capacity within people and businesses. These forms of assistance may have a domestic focus, or be for start-up enterprises. Understanding attitudes about the assistance which may (or may not) have been provided for a creative entrepreneur at a New Zealand-based level is an important precursor to looking at more advanced (and possibly more expensive) forms of assistance, such as export development. They may best be regarded as the basis from which all attitudes to assistance later develop.

The form of assistance which comes at the earliest stage of development of the creative entrepreneur is at the training phase. Training talent for the creative economy was highlighted in the Heart of the Nation Report (Heart of the Nation Strategic Working Group, 2000) and in later responses to criticisms of that strategy document (Volkerling, 2000). The importance of training talented creative industry workers for the screen industries was discussed in this research by both John Barnett and Richard Taylor, and Peri Drysdale expressed that

The most important thing for us in terms of creative industries is that we build the depth in the market for talent so that we are building designers and marketers, patternmakers, creative people.

Considering these aligned views, the experiences of the key informants in this research regarding the training of talent have been varied. Novelist Damien Wilkins explained the benefits of having a university fellowship and how that allowed him freedom to develop his writing, away from pressing financial commitments:

I've been incredibly fortunate and incredibly well supported. I have had a couple of scholarships which have allowed me, more or less, to write for 9-12 months on a couple of books. I had the Victoria University Fellowship which is partly funded by Creative New Zealand and partly funded by Victoria University. All that has been incredibly, incredibly good and it certainly, I mean, it just, the argument of buying time out is just completely convincing that you're actually – you can purchase your time to write which otherwise would be swallowed with employment which would give you money to the pay the rent and whatever, to pay your mortgage. So all that has been personally wonderful.

While Wilkins found the assistance from government he received to be helpful for his creativity as a writer, in the experience of opera singer Dame Malvina Major, Creative New Zealand was less helpful for singers:

Creative New Zealand does not support the individual person. It does not give money to our young singers. Our young singers cannot apply to Creative New Zealand. They can't. There's no way they can get money. I can apply to Creative New Zealand to start an opera company or to do a specific programme, but there's no guarantee I'll get any money. The young people cannot apply to do that, the young people have to apply to people like us, or to individual Foundations or to individual people around New Zealand for their money or they have to get out and earn it, put a concert on and get some money in. They're doing it all the time. The only thing that Creative New Zealand will look at is a project, is something that..... Well I've never had any money out of Creative New Zealand for anything. Ever. And I know that various people, friends of mine, have wanted help with operas, putting on performances, or putting on concerts or putting on a national summer school and they don't always get the money either. Sometimes they'll get some but they don't get it all. I don't know what Creative New Zealand does, to be quite honest with you.

The frustration Major exhibited in these comments may signal a gap between her expectations and the reality of what an arts institution like Creative New Zealand can do within its budgets. It may also signal limited promotion or advocacy of the funding programmes at Creative New Zealand. Major also noted that it was probably easier for organisations rather than individuals to be funded. This point was echoed in the following comment from Peri Drysdale: her Untouched World clothing business was approached for inclusion in the government's flagship programme for creative economy development, *Better By Design*, not her as an individual.

I think if we'd had access to the Better by Design and so on at that early stage it would have made a huge difference faster to us. But I think by the time all of that happened most of the time the design audits that were offered, we signed up for it and thought 'Yes, this is great. Someone can come in and see whether we are really a design company or not'. When I looked at the consultants that were going to come in and how busy we were and the days that they were going to take to do it and I thought 'Are they going to add anything to this or are we just going to add to

them? What would it cost in terms of resource because we count the time in minutes and hours, we've got so much to do'. So we pulled out of it. I'm sure if they'd come in there would have been something that would have come out of it but it's at what cost and what benefit?

While it may be clear from these comments that Drysdale would have appreciated being involved in the programme earlier in her business career – which started 15 years before the programme was developed - Drysdale also suggested that her business had progressed beyond the stage of benefiting in any meaningful way from involvement with the leading support programme for design-based companies. Instead she expressed questions about the benefits which may or may not materialise from engagement with Government. Comments like these reflected the point made earlier in this chapter about broader New Zealand attitudes, wherein there may be a long-established suspicion among business-people of government assistance.

For the creative economy in New Zealand, Drysdale's recollection was that few policies existed to support business people when she started her business. While not complaining about a lack of support in more recent years, Drysdale felt the cost-benefit ratio of being audited may have been a waste of time with uncertain outcomes.

Similar concerns about being involved with government agency support programmes were voiced by Trelise Cooper, who commented on her disillusionment with the bureaucratic processes and perceived limited outcomes from her involvement with NZTE:

In the early days Trade & Enterprise offered for me to apply for creative industries funding for when you're going off and doing something new. I got the funding. I began it and found it so frustrating and stupid and difficult and Governmental and bureaucratic. I think they took four designers to New York. I ended up with ten US dollars at the end of it. It was all stupid, anyway. I was a little bit disillusioned and for all the paperwork that you had to go through, I thought 'I'm never doing that again, never, never, never.' Because it was sort of like 'I've got here on my own and

I don't really need to apply for funding, I've done this.' I was frustrated for a whole series of reasons and a whole lot of things. I thought 'I don't have to go there, I don't need the money'.

For Cooper and for Drysdale, both, there appears to have been a perception that the grant money was not worth the effort in time and energy filling out the paperwork. Many factors may be behind these perceptions, including an incorrect alignment between the stage of the business cycle of a creative enterprise and the appropriate grant for that enterprise at that time. These comments also served to highlight the serendipity of a businessperson being in the right place at the right time, in order to gain maximum benefit from a new government policy.

The importance of the same kind of timeliness was beneficial in a creative community-building project developed by Elisabeth Vaneveld. In her comments shown below, Vaneveld and her team were clearly working at the outer limits of information technology available to government agencies in the late 1990s, as they attempted to establish a central forum for creative entrepreneurs in New Zealand. The community-building project called *The Big Idea* was targeted at developing the capacity of creative entrepreneurs, and building a creative network for them across New Zealand.

The Big Idea started – it started as the Arts Work project, it didn't become The Big Idea until 2003. But the project to expand the environment began in 97/98 and by 98/99 we knew that we were going to go to a website type approach but not exclusively. We had a number of other projects as well, but we knew that we could foresee digital media, we could foresee social networking theory was very instrumental in the way we thought about the project that ultimately became The Big Idea. I think that now agencies like Creative New Zealand, big agencies, have this wonderful opportunity to actually have real live community spirit, if you like, in and around them through social networking sites of one sort or another and social engagement there, with digital technology as expressed through the internet. So we foresaw that, I believe. But Creative New Zealand I don't think saw it very easily but they allowed me to do it which was very, I thought, fantastic.

This was a totally domestic-focused operation, and demonstrated New Zealand attitudes about interconnectivity of community and the importance of social capital and networking. The same closeness of community and two degrees of separation (refer to Chapter 3 Literature Review regarding Stanley Milgram) were also reflected in interview comments relating to ease of access to political leaders at the highest level in New Zealand for support. In a small country like New Zealand, with fewer than one million business people, a closely connected business community may have close connections with the political community.

Beneficence from political leaders was highlighted in the comments below by Peri Drysdale. The image of US President Bill Clinton at the Auckland 1999 APEC Asia Pacific Economic Community Leaders' Forum with his black suit jacket slung casually over his shoulder, showing off his Untouched World knitted top, was a marketing coup for the knitwear company. It reflected the good favour in which Drysdale was held by the political leaders of New Zealand, in her case among many leaders of different political parties.

I think all of the Prime Ministers, Jim Bolger was Prime Minister when we got going, and they've all been really helpful to us. Jenny Shipley clearly was through APEC. We were able to make the garments for CHOGM Commonwealth Heads of Government in Jim Bolger's day. He wore our garments for us and in Jenny Shipley's time obviously we got the APEC deal. We not only dressed the APEC leaders but we also had MerinoMink for the partners so we kind of scooped the pool there for a bit. So she's been really helpful and it's been fantastic that Helen Clark's kind of picked it up and supported us as well.

Considering that Jim Bolger was New Zealand Prime Minister from 1990-1997, across nearly two decades Drysdale may have developed connections with political leadership which could constitute a form of government assistance which was neither a grant nor tax-breaks, but instead was preferential treatment of a known and trusted professional. Ways in which these connections could be used to influence public policy will be explored later in this chapter. For now, it is important to lay out the existence of political connections as a factor in government assistance.

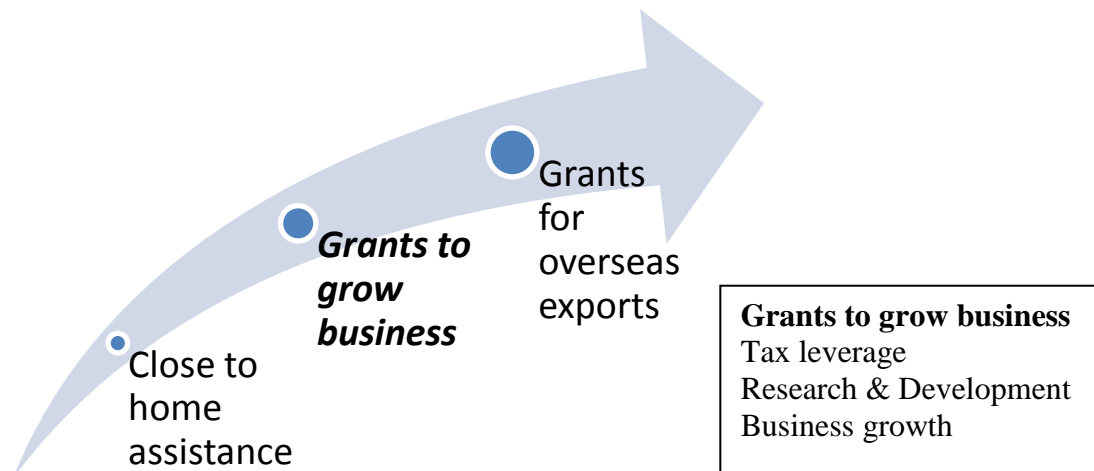
The types of assistance shown above, for training, design, community building and political support represent important types of assistance received by creative economy business people in New Zealand. These represent the first layer of the progression in the hierarchy of grants chart. The next level of assistance in this examination of New Zealand government support for the creative economy comes in the form of grants to grow business.

4.3 Grants to grow business

I believe Fashion Week has been great for New Zealand fashion, and as a creative industry I think it's been amazing that it's created a platform that we all come together as an industry and we've all had to really become professional.

Trelise Cooper, fashion designer

Figure 33: Chart showing grants to grow business



The growing maturity of New Zealand may be considered through the increase in grants available for creative businesses. This included:

- tax breaks
- grants for research and development
- grants for market development
- government coordination for sector growth

One industry sector which had a long history of government intervention is the film and screen industry. Tax breaks for filmmakers were used in New Zealand the 1980s to encourage the development of a New Zealand-based film industry, and their legacy may remain strongly felt. Despite the long history of this form of assistance, it was not without its critics. Senior New Zealand filmmaker John Barnett made the following comments:

During what were loosely known as the tax rules or tax laws, there were a lot of films financed. Even now, you take this ad hominem thing, you'll find people say that was the worst thing that ever happened....

During the early 80s there was tax leverage available for funding, which meant a whole lot of projects got made, about half of which shouldn't have been made. But the interesting thing is that the Film Commission shut it down in the end because they had lost control, because you could make a film without the Film Commission. That was not something that they thought was desirable. About half the films that were made should not have been made, about half of them were good and half were bad. Half of the ones made by the Film Commission shouldn't have been made, half of the films made by the private industry were terrific. So, money is no determinant. The source of the money is no determinant as to what the outcome of the picture is. It's a good idea or it isn't. It isn't more holy because it's been funded by Government funds instead of private funds. The bureaucrats only ever have the view that the things they support are better than the things that are done privately. That is something that continues right up to this week, there's no question about that. In an organisation like the Film Commission, somehow their dollar is somehow more honest and more artistically meritorious than somebody else's dollar.

In his comments, Barnett was critical of the approach taken by the New Zealand Film Commission. In his view, a sense of creative superiority was entrenched at the government agency with which he had been engaged for decades. Barnett's knowledge of,

and familiarity with, the tax rebate schemes for the film industry which operated in the 1980s were most likely due to his own long involvement in the sector and a working knowledge of those former schemes.

The long history of tax rebates for film projects was also commented upon by digital game developer Mario Wynands. While highlighting the ease with which government supported film, he suggested that newer creative industries fare less well because they were unknown.

It's easier for the Government to wrap tax rebates around a project like Lord Of The Rings because it is a \$450m project. It's easy for people to understand how the film industry works. They are rolling out various incentives there there's a 12.5 percent rebate that projects over I think 20 or 30 million get. But Government people for the most part haven't really wrapped their head around what the digital games industry is or what interactive entertainment is or interactive training or all these things that are kind of under this cloudy veil.

When asked specifically if his business had experienced any tax breaks or if there was any tax rebate system because he was leading game development for New Zealand, Wynands' response was "No, none". He went on to outline the approach necessary to encourage government to provide tax rebate assistance for the game industry in line with what was available for the film industry:

The next stage we need to get to with them is "here's what you are doing for the film industry, here's what's been happening for the music industry over the years, how can we actually get support for either developing content, or how can we get support for attracting overseas publishers to invest in the same way that overseas movie production companies are incentivised to invest in movie making here? So again, that would be potentially that tax rebate kind of system.

And we are exploring now how we can tack ourselves onto the film side of things. If there is a film project that's being brought down [to New Zealand] can we build a

game based on that film, and see the benefits of will that umbrella tax rebate actually apply to us as well? So, we are looking at ways we can squeeze ourselves in there.

As the undisputed industry leader for digital game development in New Zealand, Wynands' understanding of the importance of financial and fiduciary matters for business extended beyond start-up grants and hand-outs. Wynands' gaming business Sidhe Interactive received grants, some of them ongoing, to develop his business. His comments below showed that Government agencies responded to the needs of business at different speeds, especially when it came to research and development (R&D) grants:

Over the years we have received several grants. They have supported the development of our technology. And they [FORST] are now working with us to better understand our business and the industry and how they can support us. So, that's very encouraging. We are still yet to see similar movements in terms of organizations like Creative New Zealand and New Zealand On Air and those sorts of organizations. But, to be fair to them, we haven't necessarily engaged as much as we should have as an industry generally because we have our heads down 'doing' rather than being in a position where we can be advocates as well. That's the next challenge for us – we've got to convince the technology R&D side of Government that this is worth supporting and growing. We've had some success over the years with NZTE providing a basic ongoing level of support.

Wynands' comment that collective industry engagement for the digital game sector may not have occurred is contrasted with the sector engagement strategies for the creative economy development as outlined in Chapter 4. Digital gaming became more visible in the latter 'economic transformation' stages of the 1999-2008 period, which was after the peak of the sector-engagement strategies supported by NZTE from 2003-04.

New Zealand Trade and Enterprise (NZTE), as the flagship economic development agency for New Zealand, administered grants for business growth. The three-way discussion

below was between fashion designer Trelise Cooper (T), her Chief Executive Alex Brandon (A) and the researcher (J), and its subject was grants from NZTE to Cooper's fashion business. It highlighted the quantum of grant support and also the length of professional engagement between Government and the business, as part of the partnership agreement. The length of tenure appeared to be a condition of receiving the grant.

A: *The people down in Wellington at New Zealand Trade and Enterprise that we deal with for grants, they've come back with some questions but they've been really good. I mean, you can't fault them actually, and they've paid on time.*

T: *Have we had one grant, or two?*

A: *We're in our second year, it's May to May, so we're about 18 months into the programme.*

T: *How long is it for?*

A: *Five years*

T: *Is it?*

A: *It's a hundred grand a year.*

T: *No kidding.*

A: *It's really good, I can't fault them. I'd like to!*

J: *Which programme is that? Does it have a name like Fast Forward, or HighGrowth or... ?*

A: *Enterprise Development Grant. That's for anything outside of Australia and New Zealand.*

J: *Enterprise Development Grant. Thank you, Alex. Fancy that, eh. Five years at a hundred grand a year. And so you didn't know ... that's Alex's job?*

T: *But also I probably need to go and investigate because I don't think about it and I just have to make sure I've kept my receipts for what I've done and I know that part of it. But I didn't know it was a five-year thing and that's terrible that I didn't know, but I have had this like "Stay away from me" with that lot. I feel like I was sort of burnt and I don't know.*

As a busy creative leader of her business, Cooper may not have had time to become immersed in bureaucratic detail needed for procuring a government grant. The reticence which she showed for government bureaucrats becoming involved with her business reinforced the points made earlier by other interviewees. Government assistance to business may be an uneasy thing for the business owner; it may be easier for senior management staff than the boss to build the requisite relationships with government.

Notwithstanding this, fashion designer Cooper respected the importance of building long-term connections for her business, and the benefits of industry-wide collaboration as encouraged in 1999-2008. Fashion Week was an identity-building and business development event in which Cooper had abiding faith:

Your home town audience is always your most important audience and I've noticed that people like World got great profile coming back in but for the few years they were out they sort of faded off the radar a bit. They weren't on the radar. Liz Mitchell hasn't done it for a couple of years and you don't sort of hear as much about Liz as if she was involved in Fashion Week and that is a risk I'm not willing to take at this point. I believe in Fashion Week, I believe Fashion Week has been great for New Zealand fashion and as a creative industry I think it's been amazing that it's created a platform that we all come together as an industry and we've all had to really become professional.

Issues of localness, increasing professionalism and industry cohesion were clearly important outcomes from Fashion Week for Cooper. Her opinion that the domestic

market was the '*most important*' for increasing her profile – and, hence, business - may differ from other participants in this research whose focus was offshore, as we shall see. Nevertheless, Cooper's comments about the positive benefits of industry cohesion and increased professionalism of the sector reflected the timing of the interventions by Government for the fashion industry. Through Fashion Week, designers were gathered together and promoted *en masse*, creating their own momentum, and, as shown in Chapter 4, were among the first to benefit from the 'creative turn'.

While Government was instrumental at gathering the fashion industry together, by contrast, for the digital game industry, Mario Wynands took it upon himself to lead the government agencies towards effective assistance for the nascent gaming sector:

When we went to Tech New Zealand, the specific software branch of the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology (FRST), for the very first time in 1999, we asked if we could apply and started trying to get information about grants. And we were told that game development is not technology. There was a fundamental misunderstanding about what this industry is. This industry is more about technology than many industries out there. We are developing some of the most complicated software in the world.

It wasn't actually until I provided a number at one stage to somebody in Government, I can't even remember who it was, that said the global gaming industry is worth \$10billion US annually, and suddenly it was like "Really? So, there's money to be made here?" well, yeah.

Then, Technology NZ and FRST have actually come around full circle from that initial stance of "Well, games aren't technology" to where we are today, where over the years we have received several grants.

The proactive response to developing the understanding of Government to his sector may have been a reflection of Wynands' place as an industry pioneer, with an attendant need

to educate and develop a level of competence and understanding in the people with whom he needed to work. Rather than not engage with what may have been limited or even non-existent assistance, Wynands clearly took a leadership position and sought to bring others along. The point that Wynands was the youngest participant in this research, with his first business and in the newest creative industry, may also have had some bearing on his tenacity, energy and willingness to lead. As noted in Chapter 4, the digital gaming industry was the last sector to benefit from the 'creative turn', as part of the economic transformation agenda during the final political term 2005-08.

Not all creative sector key informants were willing to engage with Government in the way Wynands engaged. Novelist Damien Wilkins highlighted other creative workers' key attitudes to assistance – or, more specifically, their resistance to assistance. His commentary below focused on the tension which existed between artists who may need assistance but not want it, and government agents who are in place to help:

I think artists are fundamentally dissatisfied with the status quo, which puts them in conflict with how they see the world, with how the world appears to them. This makes them anti-state, anti-control, anti-authority, all those things, to a lesser or greater degree. So there's always a friction between that group, artists, and Creative New Zealand which is trying to help these people, or trying to devise policy which will somehow benefit them, or benefit the country. There's a sort of built in tension there which I don't think should be erased. It shouldn't be erased, because you can't erase that. This is not the way artists are made up, they are wired that way, to push against anything like that. But, from the policymakers point of view, that can look sometimes like ingratitude, being difficult for the sake of being difficult. It manifests in lots of ways within little groups that fight for bits of the budget. So you've always got that strange mix, of a group of people who can't be helped but need to be helped. How do you make policy for that? That's pretty tricky.

The dilemma of the policymaker, clearly articulated above, is a salient point. Again, this is the paradox of the people goal, as examined earlier in the chapter. All participants interviewed expressed reservations at some point about their engagement with government and the policies affecting their sector. This tension is an underlying factor in creative sector economic development in New Zealand.

The tension point was clear for Trelise Cooper, who recognised her own resistance to assistance may have been a possible barrier to her business growth:

Alex joined 18 months ago as my CEO and he and a guy that worked here had been contacted by Trade & Enterprise and I believe that we have had some grants. I would need to check with him, I know we have had grants granted to us for creative, a certain amount, they give 50/50 and we did get a grant that we have used, I believe. I would need to ask him. And the reason why I don't know a lot about it is because I didn't want to do it and I absolutely refused to have any part of it. So they said 'well, it's silly, you're doing exactly what these grants are set up for and you could be having it legitimately', and I said 'I'm not interested, I don't want to know about it but if you want to go off, then do it.'

Foreign-born staff may have a different approach, and be less sensitive to what information government may keep about a business. Cooper's senior manager Alex Brandon, who participated in the discussion above, was UK born and bred. After the three-person discussion earlier, Trelise compared her own response with his, saying:

I don't have anything to do with [NZTE] any more but I'd probably be oversensitive about the information they're getting, whereas for him, he doesn't care. For me it would be like "Oh they don't need to know that", so it's probably good I don't know anything about it because it's like he comes in without any history with them. He hasn't worked in New Zealand for very long.

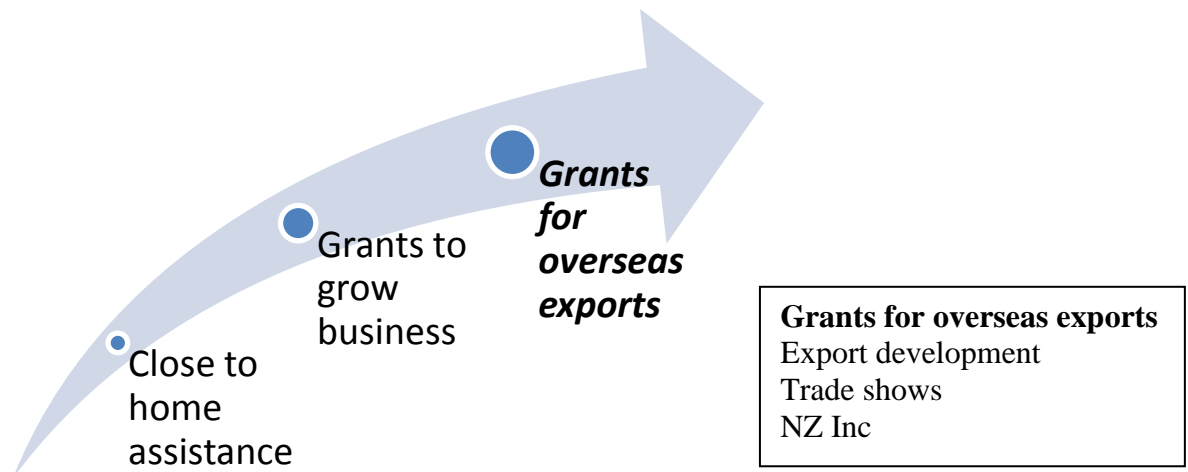
How much of this point of view was related to the limited size of the New Zealand business community? Was it 'two degrees of separation' again, or perhaps the early-colonial spirit of making it on one's own which induced this sensitivity to the perceived negative elements of government assistance? Or, perhaps as business people the key informants were keeping commercially sensitive information to themselves when interviewed. This is a complex juncture where several threads appear to come together. What may be more clear, in any case, is that while resistance to assistance may have been deeply-felt among established creative business-people interviewed for this research, in most cases any resistance was overcome and grants were accepted.

4.4 Grants for overseas exports

The indigenous product, often funded with assistance from the Film Commission or Government assistance, reaches a local market and occasionally we have a breakout success, a very high level of breakout success considering our small population.

Richard Taylor, designer

Figure 34: Chart showing grants for overseas exports



For small New Zealand, the limited size of the domestic market means that successful business development means connecting with markets overseas. Overcoming the 'tyranny of distance' between New Zealand and offshore markets has been made easier by the advent of the internet and digital-age communication via the 'world wide web'. This may be especially true for creative economy businesses, which make money from ideas and may sell weightless products.

The importance of internet technology for marketing brings the world closer to New Zealand. According to Trelise Cooper, Fashion Week achieved similar outcomes, as it helped the world come to her rather than her needing to travel out to meet it. Fashion Week was an initiative to bring international fashion buyers and media to the businesses, a very efficient way to leverage maximum exposure for multiple players in an industry.

We've sort of managed to get in places all round the world because of that and that wouldn't have happened without Fashion Week. I continue to do Fashion Week not because they bring down the exact right person for my business, I don't know that that's in it in a direct way, it's much more intangible. To put a fashion show on especially at the level that I do takes an enormous amount of support, a support crew, a huge team, money, it's a big deal. It really is a big deal and a huge favour bank, actually, and I don't have that outside of New Zealand and Australia. I don't have that. So for me it makes sense as an international supplier of fashion. To do it in my home town is probably the cheapest and I get what I need which is I get a 'Look Book', a runway, I get website, that then expands out into the global community. I don't know how people find me but I get every day the weirdest sort of website enquiries from little towns in Wisconsin, I don't know, weird, how they find me. I need a new website but what Fashion Week gives me is those tools, that video, that runway perspective, that runway shot, and those tools are used all the way around the world to sell the collection.

The same approach of benefiting from foreign expertise was cited by digital gamer Mario Wynands as a successful approach. This stay-at-home form of assistance offered by government, bringing experts from overseas to New Zealand, was used in tandem with sending Wynands abroad to promote products at international Trade Shows:

We've had some success over the years with NZTE providing a basic ongoing level of support. It's generally been around trade shows. I think part of the problem with NZTE is that they have never The ways that they can fund organizations are very limited in terms of 'you can support this, this and this kind of activity, we will fund you 50 percent of these costs, and this is how it has to work and you need to bring in somebody from overseas or you need to bring in an outside expert.' It can be challenging when you already know more about video games than anybody else in the country. That suddenly says 'we can't have access to any of that kind of funding because that is not going to support us'. So, NZTE has been good at putting the Helping us get overseas. And that has certainly been beneficial.

While Trade Shows may be effective for some creative enterprises, as in the case of Wynands and his digital gaming business, for key informants such as novelist Damien Wilkins, Arts Festivals overseas were an important opportunity to gain exposure to foreign markets. Wilkins's discussion below (D) with researcher (J) are about his experiences at the Hay Festival at Hay-On-Wye in the English-Welsh borders, one of the world's premiere book festivals.

D: I wrote a report – the Book Council administered that fund on behalf of Creative New Zealand, so I wrote a report for the Book Council on that festival and I said, 'Look here's what happened. Here's where I think the value of going to a festival like that is but don't go with these expectations.' And I think the value is in just those, the accidental sort of things –

J: The serendipity, the chance collisions with someone over a cup of coffee - ?

D: Yeah, which then, they go "Hey, you should talk to ...", those sorts of things.

J: Collisions as happy accidents rather than the car crashes?

D: Exactly. You can't – it's very hard to design those things. Apart from sending someone there, that's the design.

The same strategy of sending someone to a key event was used in other industry sectors in addition to the book publishing industry of novelist Wilkins. For the fashion industry, for example, a key event in the annual international calendar was the Women's Wear Daily Summit in New York. At different times, New Zealand Trade and Enterprise sent fashion industry leaders including research participants Trelise Cooper and Peri Drysdale. For Cooper it was a real step into the big league of fashion designers:

Trade and Enterprise rang me one day and said they were sending two New Zealanders to the Women's Wear Daily conference in New York and I didn't know what it was, I'd never even heard of it, and 'someone pulled out at the last minute and could I go?'

I didn't know anything about it. I thought, oh, I'm booked to go to Dunedin and then I got off the phone and said "That's been the best, how amazing", and like my staff went "What? Dunedin? New York? Don't be ridiculous". Anyway, I went to the Women's Wear Daily conference and the Government paid for me to attend, I paid for my air fare, the Government paid for me to attend the conference for two years running and they were the greatest thing for me.

The speakers were amazing. It was the Head of Chanel, the Head of Gucci, the Head of Sears, the Head of..., it was just amazing, it was the CEOs of all of those companies and they'd have an incredible designer to talk about their journey and their journey could almost be mine, they were just incredible. Quite small, not big, like the conference was under 200 people attending so you intimately got to share, you could be sitting next to the Head of Gucci or someone, it was amazing and I felt really privileged to be a part of that and it really broadened my view of the world, it was what made me want to go global, like to expand my business in a bigger way.

A contrasting perspective on the same event came from Peri Drysdale. When interviewed for this research, Drysdale was soon to attend the Women's Wear Daily Summit 2008 in New York City.

There's another element to Helen Clark's administration that the creative sector have been targeted by NZTE for support. We haven't been going down the NZTE path either but we are at the moment engaged with them and they are sending me to New York next month to the Women's Wear Daily summit, the CEO Summit so that's interesting. That's where I will be with over 200 high-level people so there should be something out of that.

Like Cooper before her, Drysdale appeared to be only moderately interested in the event before it took place. If there had been little engagement between Drysdale's Untouched World clothing company and NZTE until this point, this was possibly due to Drysdale withdrawing from NZTE's *Better By Design* programme years earlier, as indicated by her comments examined earlier in this chapter.

These last examples have been of assistance from Government **sending** the creative entrepreneur – to a conference, a festival, a trade show, or virtually via the internet. In an extension of this, the response from government for creative entrepreneurs looking at exporting themselves or their products may have been a multi-agency response. This was often called the “NZ Inc” approach – meaning that the smallness of New Zealand demanded that resources be combined or pooled to make any effective inroads into export markets. Many New Zealand businesses did not have the critical mass or scale to ‘go it alone’, and, importantly, neither did the government. Instead, there may have been a joined-up response from Government agencies and the private sector as exemplified in Trelise Cooper’s story linked to *The Lord of The Rings* films at the Academy Awards ceremonies in Los Angeles, below:

I then took garments up to LA because I was going to meet Trade and Enterprise and I think it was coinciding with an Oscar party that maybe they’d invited me to because I was going to see them that week anyway. So anyway I somehow got invited to the Oscar party which sort of began five years of amazing stuff in LA in and around Peter Jackson and I was sort of in the reflected glory of Peter Jackson and I just think he has done an amazing amount for New Zealand and I did that because Trade and Enterprise, or it was Tourism New Zealand and what’s the one?, the Finance one?....

(J) Investment New Zealand?

.... Investment New Zealand were always incredibly generous to me, inviting me to parties and things and so if I could I would dress anyone that wanted this. New Zealand sort of did need that and we’d try and glamour our people up a bit and so

it worked like that, and it was really fantastic for me. I really loved those days and it meant that it sort of gave credibility also to the new customers that I was by then generating through Fashion Week, so it dovetailed those two in for me.

While the necessity to export yourself or your product to find success may have been an ongoing part of the New Zealand story, experiences haven't always been positive. Dame Malvina Major, celebrated opera singer recounted a story from London in the 1960s. While it may be worth considering that in the intervening years since the 1960s funding levels for artists may have increased to counter potential hardship, based on Major's earlier comments about current young singers' inability to get grants, little may have actually changed for opera singers.

Major in the early 1960s won the Mobil Song Quest in New Zealand and the Melbourne Sun Aria Competition, as well as the Kathleen Ferrier prize – the three most prestigious prizes for singers in Australasia at the time. Despite this success Major's comments show that heading offshore to train and perform at the highest level stretched the limits of support available at the time:

My bad experiences were no support and lack of people to talk to, lack of communication, lack of money. We had no money. And lack of friends, in that broad sense, lack of friends. And also the only money I had were the two things I'd won. I got the New Zealand Mobil in my hand, Three hundred pounds. I got that in my hand to put in the bank and that was in the bank until we came back from England because that was our safety net, that three hundred pounds. But the 1,200 pounds I won in Sydney on the Kathleen Ferrier prize all went towards my fees with London Opera Centre and Ruth Packer. Because the London Opera Centre were paid by the Melbourne Sun Aria people, they sent the bill in, they paid the money. So that was all paid out, I never saw that money. The Kathleen Ferrier went into helping to pay for the Ruth Packer fees.

And then, of course, I was starting to earn money, so I came through it, but I never got any help from Creative New Zealand or Queen Elizabeth Arts Council or whatever it was called then, I had no money from any other source. I had 100 pounds from Rotary. 100 pounds they gave me. We talk about it a lot now, because in those years I did all that raising of money for them, over a million dollars, they said that was terrific interest of 100 pounds.

Incentives and assistance to encourage a young artist in training, in the experiences of Major, were limited in the 1960s, and from her comments earlier in this chapter, were still limited in 1999-2008. Major's story illustrated the significance of the change in funding for artists across the long period until 2008. As shown in Chapter 4, important cultural institutions operating in the modern era, such as Creative New Zealand, existed to foster creative talent. Painter Max Gimblett was introduced early in his career to a programme which assisted him to develop a New Zealand presence, while based away from New Zealand in New York City, USA.

Hamish Keith showed up [in the 1970s] and I had known him since the middle 60s when he had come to seek me out in San Francisco. Very kindly, very thoroughly, the Arts Council started to fund dealer gallery shows for me in Auckland and my work was presented sort of yearly in Auckland from about '77 to 1981 when I took a small studio on High Street in Auckland and painted there for three months and had my first sell-out show in Auckland.

The importance of the network within the creative economy, stretching back decades, may be critical to understanding how government assistance works in New Zealand; *The Heart of the Nation* project in 2000 was convened by Hamish Keith (Clark, 2000c), as examined in Chapter 4. For Gimblett, his New Zealand network kept him connected, while, by contrast, for novelist Kirsty Gunn there appeared to be fewer connections. When asked specifically about what the New Zealand government had been doing through Creative New Zealand or New Zealand Trade and Enterprise to assist her, Gunn stated there was no support or benefit for her creative life in the UK. In Gunn's experience, the life of an

overseas-based writer was clearly disconnected from New Zealand.

I've always felt this feeling of because I'm not there, they're not interested in me really. That's not to say – I haven't looked into it properly. But that's my impression you know. The impression is that you've got to be living there and you've got to be committed to creating the culture while being there to be able to advantage yourself of any of these things.

Gunn expressed disappointment that she was actively excluded from participating in New Zealand publications, probably because she was located overseas.

I seem to remember something happened ages ago where I wasn't allowed to be in a Penguin anthology or something. That's going back in the mists of time.

It's disappointing. You know, I'd get these little rejection letters saying 'Oh, but this isn't like a New Zealand story' they would say to me. There was a sense that you had to authenticate yourself somehow. You had to be a proper, I don't know, fifth generation promising never to get a passport. I don't know. I'm being a bit extreme but I never had a feeling that I could avail myself of any of those things.

To bring us back to the beginning of the cycle of assistance options, with training, Gunn also felt that being located away from New Zealand made it more difficult for her to access scholarships and fellowships:

I was at a dinner party the other night and this chap was saying, 'You should apply', he knew Gregory O'Brien, 'you should be applying for that thing [Katherine Mansfield Fellowship]. You should have been applying ages ago' and then recently I met with lovely Robin Marzack, who runs the Scottish Poetry Library. She was at Victoria University and we were both talking about Lydia Weavers who taught me as a first year undergraduate, 'Introduction to Contemporary Literature', and she and Robin are co-editing the New Zealand Anthology of Poetry. Anyway, all this is

to say that Robin said to me, 'Look, you must talk to Lydia about getting a Stout Fellowship' which is another wonderful sounding thing and where I could go and write my Katherine Mansfield book. They give you a house in Thorndon and everything. But again, I didn't know about any of these things because I'm not there, accessing it and being Damien Wilkins.

The experiences of Kirsty Gunn may be limited by the point she stated earlier, that she hadn't '*looked into it properly*'. In the modern era, researching available grants and assistance programmes may be fairly expected to include use of the internet, with New Zealand-based websites such as those of Creative New Zealand or the Ministry of Culture and Heritage. The ease of modern communication and information transfer worldwide through the internet was not a factor in the experiences of Max Gimblett and Dame Malvina Major whose overseas 'exports' span more than 40 years, commencing before the era of air travel, the internet and assistance for New Zealand's creative economy.

Exporting either ourselves or our products or services has a long history in New Zealand, as noted at the beginning of this chapter. The New Zealand government encourages exports, and exporting is the one of the measures of success for New Zealand business. It is the smallness of New Zealand which necessitated exports in order to reach sizeable markets located elsewhere.

For Richard Taylor, in 1999-2008 there was assistance for '*getting things to market*' which hadn't been there in the past. He emphasised the length of time it took to get progress in this area, and also indicated the possible far-reaching benefits of creative economy grants and assistance:

What the Government has done with the incentives and assistance that has come through all of this immensely long and difficult discussions and so on is instigated and assisted that begin to unfold where New Zealanders start to think about the fact they can invent a product that belongs to New Zealanders, that vertical business opportunities can be built off it because the over-burdening issues around

cost and getting things to market has now got assistance I only see it as positive and I think that it will vastly more than return the trust and commitment that the Government and the people of New Zealand through the Government has made to the sector. Now please be aware I'm not talking about the Film Commission, I'm talking about the grants scheme and taxes, and so on.

This view of Taylor appeared to echo the central economic development message of the potential of the creative economy, which was examined in Chapter 4. A possible multiplier effect of the positive benefits of these grants was regarded by Taylor as having long-term positive effects for New Zealand, possibly leading to the virtuous circle type of broader cultural change mentioned earlier in this chapter. The importance of the notion of New Zealanders starting '*to think about the fact they can invent a product that belongs to New Zealanders*' is a point which may be very central to the nexus of national identity (as promoted by Helen Clark) and economic development (as promoted by Jim Anderton) examined in Chapter 4.

Praise for the growing system of grants and supports which Taylor regarded as being of great value to New Zealand's film industry was tempered by his dissatisfaction with the New Zealand Film Commission. While Taylor's reasons for criticism of the film industry's biggest grants organisation were not made clear, he later went on to acknowledge that the Film Commission was part of the funding system which brought success to New Zealand's creative economy. Taylor summarised what could be regarded as an overarching view of the situation of the New Zealand government's support of the creative economy neatly with the following comment:

The indigenous product, often funded with assistance from the Film Commission or Government assistance, reaches a local market and occasionally we have a breakout success, a very high level of breakout success considering our small population.

The limited size of New Zealand's population was mentioned by Taylor in this context,

relating to the relative success of the creative economy, as it had been mentioned by others earlier. Degrees to which the key informants used the smallness of New Zealand's society and its close connections between people to influence policy in the creative economy are examined in the following section.

5 Key informant influence on creative economy policy

Contingent with the smallness of New Zealand society, with its close connections and two degrees of separation, is an opportunity for industry players to exert influence over policy. This can be done in a variety of levels within organizations or agencies, as indicated in the chart below.

Figure 35: Chart showing increasing levels of influence, from working through governance to lobbying the Prime Minister



Participants in this research contributed new knowledge about the ways in which leading creative entrepreneurs may influence creative economy policy in New Zealand.

5.1 Work within an organisation

Working inside an organisation may be the first way in which a person can influence policy. Research participant Elisabeth Vaneveld was a senior manager at Creative New Zealand, and brought to her role a deep knowledge of arts management. She regarded her role and the roles of those around her, thus:

Cultural theory is a quite expanded field of study. I have a small experience of studying it through my work in the arts. What has been of interest to me to observe is that in arts organisations you do not have many people who actually know anything about cultural theory [.....] I just knew that I was middle-management cog in the wheel and so I just looked for opportunities to speak confidently from my position.

Vaneveld's enlightened view of the potential of policymakers to lead organizations with a richness of understanding applies specifically to the creative sector. Seen from the inside of leading arts agency Creative New Zealand, her point of view was insightful because it showed that she actively sought opportunities to lead and to influence the policy discourse.

One of the motivators for Vaneveld to work within a creative economy agency was to find solutions to what she regarded as the long-term problem of how to make a sustainable career in the arts.

Another big problem which has been very familiar to me all the way through, is having a sustainable career in the arts. Because, having worked with a lot of people and being responsible for raising the funds to pay a lot of people, I was very very familiar with the true working conditions of practitioners and very familiar with what their aspirations are and I thought 'Alright, well, that is something I could possible work at for this period that I have been given this unusual opportunity to be sitting in this seat'.

Understanding the creative milieu in which creative entrepreneurs operated, as exhibited by Vaneveld, was clearly a motivator for her work. Vaneveld was in a place to share her own knowledge and earlier experiences, to influence policy from within the organisation.

5.2 Be an expert consultant

One step removed from being within an organisation, an external consultant may be contracted into an agency to perform a single short-term task. For novelist Damien Wilkins, the New Zealand Book Council and Creative New Zealand regarded him as suitably qualified to attend the Hay Book festival and convert his experiences into a report:

I wrote a report – the Book Council administered that fund on behalf of Creative New Zealand, so I wrote a report for the Book Council on that and I said, “Look here’s what happened. Here’s where I think the value of going to a festival like that is. But don’t go with these expectations’.

This approach to influencing policy may allow different freedoms for the consultant than being a fulltime employee. Concomitant with that, the influence of Wilkins in this case was limited to one report, rather than an ongoing long-term influence.

5.3 Work closely alongside Government agency

One tension which may exist within government agencies is related to their need to manage expectations of their performance. For creative sector agencies in New Zealand, operating budgets in 1999-2008 expanded (as examined in Chapter 4) but nevertheless still required strong accountability and budgeting. Sometimes an external organisation may have partnered Government, to deliver outcomes in line with government policy but beyond the budget purchasing power of the agency. In the statement below, Elisabeth Vaneveld recalled a conversation she had with Stephen Wainwright, CEO since 2007 of Creative New Zealand:

I say to Stephen at Creative New Zealand, I say “Well, The Big Idea – it’s like Creative New Zealand’s cousin because, in a way, it is doing an advocacy job for the arts that Creative New Zealand just can’t do.” It just can’t, and so I feel like we’ve achieved something.

Limited advocacy resources of agencies working in the creative economy in New Zealand were highlighted in this comment by Vaneveld. A different kind of limitedness within creative sector agencies caused frustration for Mario Wynands, possibly also linked to limited resources. The digital games industry in which he works was regarded by Wynands as being beyond the reach of traditional arts support agencies:

The next challenge, of course, is looking at the creative support sides of Government like New Zealand on Air and Creative New Zealand, who, again, are very traditionally focused in terms of broadcast media. They understand the music industry, they understand television, film, theatre. That's what "Art" is, so it's easy for them to say 'well, you're something new, and this is different, and this is our mandate. We can't support you because our governmental obligations and governmental compliance doesn't allow us to do that.' But it's something that we need to get on to now.

Optimism shown by Wynands that these barriers could be overcome is a positive approach to limited resources of government agencies. It also may indicate a willingness to proactively encourage, or even educate, government agencies. This example of alignment of resources between organisations (government and non-government) may require common goal setting and teamwork, in a spirit of partnership.

5.4 Serve on a committee

This spirit of partnership is important in the creative sector in New Zealand. As shown in Chapter 4, key private sector influencers and leaders were gathered together to form taskforces for sectors of the creative industries, such as fashion, design, and film. John Barnett described his experiences with the Screen Taskforce:

The history of the Screen Council and its impact is absolutely a factor of where I started, which is that bureaucracy is the dead hand in all this. First of all, in about 2003 or 4, under Jim Anderton, there was this view that the creative industries,

including IT, design and biotech and film/tv/screen, had the potential to grow enormously and grow exports.

So, the idea was to set up an organisation that would identify the barriers to growth. Now, the first thing that happened was that I went to a meeting at which there might have been 50 people who had been selected by the bureaucracies as people who understood what the future was, and I looked around the room and thought 'this is never going to work'. As the day went on, it became clear that it clearly wasn't going to work, and the moderator was having trouble making any sense of it. I looked and I thought 'there are people here who haven't made an impact, they may have made one feature. They may be the future leaders but they have no overview at all'. I said to the organiser 'Around the table are 10 people who employ most of the people in the industry and most probably have a minimum turnover of \$10m a year. If you put those people in a room you'll find you'll get to what the barriers are and get it going.' Immediately, because it's a very PC country, "well, this means that these people aren't represented". Yeah, but what it also means is that the people who are here have the experience. Anyway, so they put together a taskforce which was slightly compromised because it had to have some people on it who made the most noise.

Influencing policy may be possible from a place on a committee, but challenges existed for the Screen Council, in the opinion of Barnett. His comments expressed frustration about the inclusive approach to policy development which was, as already examined, at the core of the sectoral approach to creative economy policy in New Zealand in 1999-2008. It was the choice of the government to bring together committees of willing volunteers to function as giant focus-groups, and this included broad sectoral representation rather than the most successful leaders only. For Barnett, industry experience appeared to be the most important qualifying factor for being on the Screen Council, a qualification which he felt only a few of the participants possessed.

Barnett appeared to be quite accepting of the fact that the Screen Council had a short life,

between 2004 and 2008.

The Screen Council was set up, and there was an attempt to make it representative. But the Ministry of Culture and Heritage, that Ministry became captive to a couple of its organizations, and they did everything they could to undermine it. And so the Screen Council will finish. ... We didn't envisage it lasting forever.

Any differences between the kind of 'captive' control which Barnett blamed for the demise of the Screen Council, and other kinds of influence on policy examined in this research, may be only subtle. It may be only a matter of perspective which delineates between constructive and destructive influences.

5.5 Be known, support leadership of other people

Association with others in influential positions may be another way to connect with the policy discourse. However, the degree to which such associations may be able to influence policy, in the example outlined by Elisabeth Vaneveld below, is uncertain.

Through the discussions that we had about the place and role of the arts, somewhere along the way I met Michael Volkerling. Now why he is important is because Michael Volkerling was the youngest ever, to this day, director of a major arts organisation. He was at 26, the chief executive of the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council, under the chairmanship of Hamish Keith, and he remains a very strong influence in my life. Whenever I see him we get on very well but it's his thinking that has really influenced my life. He's not that much older than I am, however, he even as a younger person, was just extremely well versed and read and brilliant, absolutely brilliant.

While indirect influence of policy coming from casual conversations is uncertain, the ability for leaders to influence others is more clear from Vaneveld's comments: she was influenced by them, and in turn influenced policy herself as already indicated. As noted earlier, Keith and Volkerling were both key figures in the *Heart of the Nation* strategy for the cultural sector in 2000 (Clark, 2000c; Heart of the Nation Strategic Working Group,

2000; Volkerling, 2000). The importance of remaining in the discussion loop with key influencers was also important for Kirsty Gunn, who recounted a London conversation with New Zealand-based film director Philippa Campbell. Campbell had previously directed a screen adaptation of Gunn's novel *Rain*, so they had a professional association across miles and years:

I know but I mean, again, it's those things. It took Philippa Campbell, for us to be having lunch together, to talk about this, for it to come up. I mean, she'll take that information back to the New Zealand Film Commission perhaps. But, it's like those sorts of things – you need to be having those dialogues don't you?

As already noted, Gunn's experience as a writer in the UK, far from New Zealand, presented challenges which are different from writers closer to home. In her comments above, Gunn identified clearly how a colleague can become an envoy and influence others in one's absence.

5.6 Lobby politicians

One area in which the direct approach to influencing policy occurs is lobbying politicians. Lobbying for improved training for tomorrow's screen industry workers, John Barnett stated clearly that he talked directly with politicians from both major political parties, Labour and National:

We think that the ScreenMark should continue. I have talked to politicians on both parties, and I have said 'think about hospitality courses, think about hairdressing, all these things that are being taught all of these courses, it doesn't matter where they are, you can apply the same criteria – do the people get jobs? If they don't get jobs, then clearly the place has got to lift its standards. It's spending scarce resources, and students are taking loans that they are never going to repay and it's just not fair'.

On the subject of lobbying politicians, key informants like Barnett and Drysdale, below, advocated strongly for correcting perceived deficiencies in their industries. Drysdale

related a conversation which had taken place with the Prime Minister about the long-term sustainability of New Zealand's fashion industry and the New Zealand brand proposition compared with other places:

You know Scandinavia, what do you think about Scandinavia? You love the design aesthetic and you think anything made in Scandinavia has values attached to it. But then those values are quite synchronistic with us and so you're maybe open to Scandinavia, aren't you? To anything, whether it's chocolate or, simple, uncluttered, integrity, all those things.

That's my concern and I did try to talk to Helen [Clark, Prime Minister] about it but I think she thought that my concern was about us and about competition, about Made in New Zealand. But I was trying to talk to her about something at a much different level and I'm not worried about Made in China as a competitor. It's about that infrastructure that we see every day.

We've got the production manager from Burberry on board now and he just says you can't do anything in New Zealand any more, or he just says you can't do anything New Zealand. [Untouched World principal designer] Emily wants a particular finish on a jean, on a print, on a Merino - there's no-one to do it because it's all offshore. So that's all very well for those established businesses like us and Icebreaker and Trelise Cooper and so on, but how are the next lot going to come through?

While the opportunity existed for Drysdale to discuss her concerns with the Prime Minister face to face, in this example it appeared that her concerns about industry infrastructure and sustainability were misunderstood. It was not made clear by Drysdale whether she followed up the conversation or developed any further communication with the Prime Minister on this subject, or what other initiatives were intended to address her deep concerns.

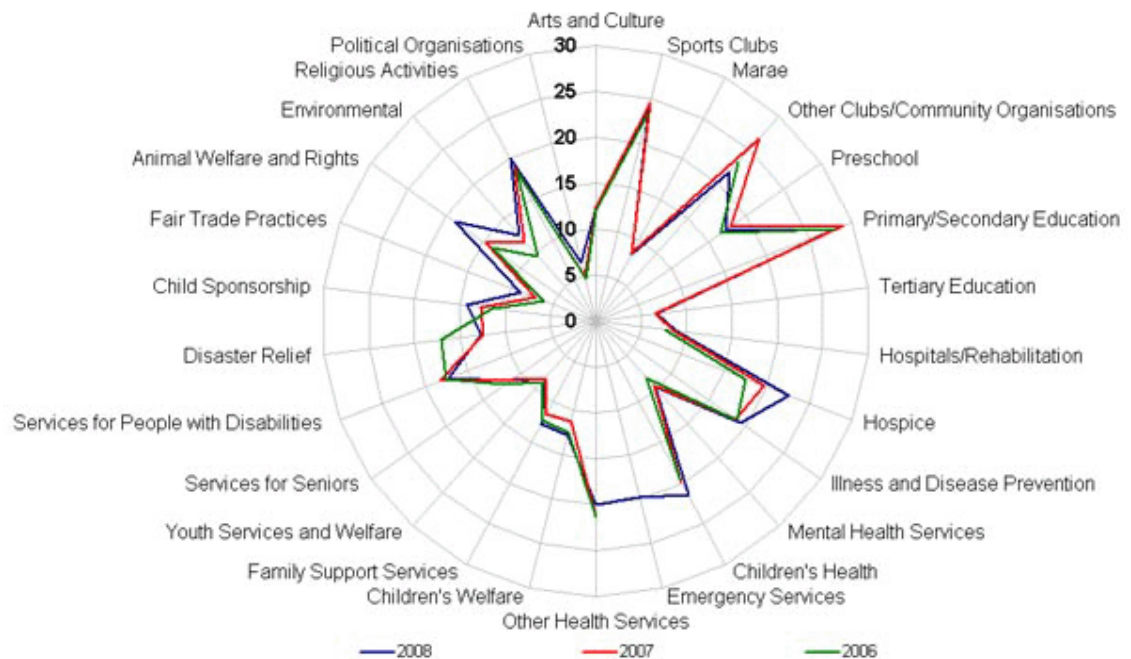
5.7 Section conclusions

When it came to influencing policy, from the comments in this section there appeared to be a level of altruism in evidence among the key informants. Rather than being self-

serving, the comments about the ways in which policy was influenced or attempted to be influenced tended to focus on addressing wider industry needs such as talent or infrastructure, or educating or encouraging best practice in government agencies. This altruism may be particular to this group of key informants.

This altruism may also be linked with New Zealand's volunteering and donating behaviours, examined in research by the Ministry of Social Development (King, 2009). Arts and culture organisations ranked among the lowest for supported causes in New Zealand in 2006-08. There may be a negative correlation between that low level of support and altruism among creative economy key informants in this research. Informants may have responded to the low historic levels of support of the arts by Government (as examined in Chapter 4) and low levels of donations (as in the chart below) by being altruistic, possibly to generate and spread as much goodwill and generosity of spirit as they can, because few other people are doing so. This may also be a part of the character of the New Zealand creative entrepreneur; further research would be required to develop this notion further.

Figure 36: Chart of Total Voluntary and Donating Support in New Zealand 2006-08



Source: Ministry for the Community and Voluntary Sector

6 Conclusions to Chapter 5

This examination of the attitudes of key informants to the creative economy has been in three parts. In the first, their attitudes towards the creative economy were examined. In the second part, their attitudes to government assistance were examined. And finally the ways in which the key informants influenced creative economy policies were examined. These three different analyses combine to create an examination of an aspect of the creative economy in New Zealand in the period 1999-2008, specifically relating to the lived experiences of a small group of key informants.

The 1999-2008 'creative turn' for New Zealand's economic development was experienced differently by different key informants. Key highlights from the examination include:

- Those in the traditional cultural industries (with focus on individual artistic skills and talents) appeared to benefit less than those in the more-technological creative industries. The creative turn was experienced more as industry development rather than renaissance of the Beaux-Arts.

- Male key informants appeared to have more detailed knowledge of creative economy support programmes than did female key informants. If, as Sir Francis Bacon suggested in 1597¹, '*knowledge is power*', it follows that men in New Zealand's creative economy may have been able to use their knowledge of the system to the advantage of their creative enterprise more than did women.
- Linked with this, but a separate point, female key informants appeared to be less well-served by the creative economy support programmes than did male key informants. Application systems for grants and also business-to-government liaison appeared to be used less by women than by men.
- Networks and connectivity between people appeared to be important. This may favour creative industries workers in businesses over artists who may tend to be more isolated.
- There appeared to be optimism and a sense of encouragement around the potential for New Zealand's culture of creativity as a long-term effect of the creative turn.

On balance, there appeared to be two divergences within New Zealand's creative economy 1999-2008. The first was at the nexus of cultural / creative industries. And the second was about gender issues. These points suggest fertile new areas for further detailed research in the future.

¹ Sir Francis Bacon, *Religious meditations, of heresies*, 1597. English author, courtier, & philosopher (1561 - 1626).

Chapter 6 Results 3 of 3:

Attitudes to location of industry in New Zealand's creative economy

Place is a prerequisite for art.

Max Gimblett, New York-based painter.

This chapter reflects the attitudes of interviewed creative entrepreneurs towards industry location in New Zealand. This information is one of three Results Chapters in this thesis, the other two being:

- public policies of New Zealand's creative economy, in Chapter 4,
- experiences of New Zealand creative entrepreneurs during the period of organised economic development of the creative sector, from 1999 to 2008, in Chapter 5.

This chapter commences with a description of the design of the research instruments and procedures for this chapter, followed by the application of these instruments and the results obtained. The results will be triangulated in the Discussion Chapter 7, with the results of the other two Results Chapters.

1 Design of Research instruments and procedures

The research design for this chapter is the same as for the preceding chapter. It is a phenomenological study of the lived experiences of a purposively sampled group of creative entrepreneurs, which seeks new understandings about location of industry.

2 Introduction

The location of businesses or firms in overall economic space has long been of interest to economic developers. With the 1909 publication of *Über den Standort der Industrien* (translated into English and published in 1929 as *Theory of the Location of Industries*), Alfred Weber put forth the first developed general theory of industrial location. His model took into account several spatial factors for finding the optimal location and minimal cost for manufacturing plants (Weber, 1929).

The problem of locating industry was particularly relevant at the end of the 19th century, when the industrial revolution was well established, and development of rail transport, energy, telecommunications and urban growth provided more options for distributing firms and components of the manufacturing process. Weber's work was the first exploration of "why here?", a notion which remains relevant a century later and is pertinent to this research. Questions of industry location choice motivated Florida in the early analysis of his creative class, when he asked "How do you choose a place to work and live?" (as cited in Peck, 2005, p. 744), which in turn motivated this study. Where Florida looked at consumption-led 'values' (Pratt, 2008, p. 110) this study seeks production-side values which may be determinants in location choice for creative entrepreneurs in New Zealand.

Shattering the traditional view of physical location as the major determinant of development, the internet and digital product transportation through telephone lines and satellites marked the major technological advancement of the end of the 20th century. The internet limits the value of traditional location theory today because modern technology and telecommunications have altered the significance of specific locations for the production and distribution of specific goods. Blakely and Bradshaw suggested that, in the era of the internet, the old view that the availability of transportation and market systems determines a community's economic viability is outmoded (Blakely & Bradshaw, 2002). This represented a major paradigm shift.

The '*economic revolution*' now under way is, in the view of Murray and Baeker, as transformational as the agricultural and industrial revolutions which preceded it. They suggested that "wealth creation is now driven less by the exploitation of resources of the land or the efficiency of manufacturing processes, and more by the exploitation of our imagination and intellect. Innovation is the driver of the new economy" (2006, p. 13). It is innovative creative entrepreneurs such as those interviewed for this research who contribute to wealth creation in this definition. Success in attracting and retaining global and mobile creative workers and entrepreneurs, in the view of Murray and Baeker (2006), echoing Jacobs (1984, p. 232) and notions of Florida (2002, 2005), "is now a critical factor in determining which cities will flourish and which will languish. One of the central paradoxes of the modern global age is that *place matters* - it has become *more* not less important" (p. 14).

While planners, according to Tuan (1977) would "like to evoke 'a sense of place'" in this way" (p. 3), geographers study places and spaces. The distinction between location and place is important in cultural geographer Tuan's (1974, p. 213) definition of place:

"As location, place is one unit among other units to which it is linked by a circulation net; the analysis of location is subsumed under the geographer's concept and analysis of space. Place, however, has more substance than the word location suggests: it is a unique entity, a 'special ensemble'.....; it has a history and meaning."

In work on geography of health conducted in the Hokianga, New Zealand, Kearns and Joseph (1993, p. 714) define place as "the synthesis of social forces that roll across the landscape. Places record the constant ebb and flow of social policy and its local outcomes. It is this palimpsest of places that provides the mottled canvas upon which the record of new initiatives and fresh injustices is written." For geographer Massey (1994), "the search after the 'real' meanings of places, the unearthings of heritages and so forth" is interpreted as being in part a response to desire for "fixity and security of identity in the middle of all the movement and change" (p. 151). Stability and a source of "unproblematical identity" can be derived from "a 'sense of place', of rootedness" (Massey, 1994, p. 151).

This type of profound attachment to the homeland, in the view of Tuan (1977, p. 155), is not limited to any particular culture or economy, being instead "known to literate and non-literate peoples, hunter-gatherers and sedentary farmers, as well as city dwellers. The city or land is viewed as mother, and it nourishes; place is an archive of fond memories and splendid achievements that inspire the present; place is permanent and hence reassuring to man, who sees frailty in himself and chance and flux everywhere". Rather than representing stasis, embeddedness was linked with innovation and was seen as a powerful driver of local economic development (Gertler et al, 2000).

As identified in Chapter 2 Literature Review, there is an ineluctability of cities as locations for creative enterprise in the literature about the creative economy. As Leadbeater and Oakley (1999, p. 14) argue,

"Cultural industries are people intensive rather than capital intensive . . . Cultural entrepreneurs within a city or region tend to be densely interconnected. Cultural entrepreneurs, who often work within networks of collaborators within cities, are a good example of the economics of proximity. They thrive on easy access to local, tacit know-how - a style, a look, a sound - which is not accessible globally."

While cultural geographers have also focused on cities (Massey, 1994; Massey, Allen, & Pile, 1999) and the creative economy in New Zealand cities (Larner, Molloy, & Goodrum, 2007; Latham, 2003; Lewis, Larner, & Heron, 2008), this picture is at very best partial. For Gibson (2010, p. 1) "much academic work on creativity displays an unacknowledged urban bias." There is an emerging discourse about creative industries beyond large cities in New Zealand (Boon, Jones, & Curnow, 2009) and in Australia (Gibson, 2010; Luckman, Gibson, Willoughby-Smith, & Brennan-Horley, 2008).

Gibson (2010, p. 1) simply argues that "Researchers have looked for creativity in fairly obvious places (big cities, cities making overt attempts to reinvent themselves through culture, creativity and cosmopolitanism); have found it there; and have theorised about

cities, creative industries and urban transformations as if their subsequent models or logic were universally relevant everywhere."

But, for New Zealand, questions must be asked about the application of creative industries notions which have "a predilection towards sizeable cities, ex-industrial powerhouses or cities of global stature, and towards particular northern hemisphere cities in the industrialised West" (Gibson, 2010, p. 1). New Zealand challenges this description of a place where the creative economy works.

Therefore, this chapter examines the attitudes of the research participants to industry location, specifically for the creative industries in New Zealand. This exposition rigorously examines industry location through a series of lenses, ranging from the macro to the micro in view, drawing on the experiences of the research participants throughout. The macro lens regards New Zealand from a great distance, as a set of islands isolated from other places. As the chapter progresses, the focus becomes tighter, concluding with the micro lens which focuses on home, the most intimate of places. This multi-layered approach to examining the data is suitable for drawing forth new insights and perspectives from the data on the subject of industry location.

How to read this chapter / Chapter Summary

Descriptions of the geographic location of New Zealand in the world begin this chapter, which commences with an examination of the degree to which its physical isolation from other countries sets New Zealanders apart. It considers how this isolation may be a contributing factor to the uniqueness of New Zealand as a place and New Zealanders as people, and ways in which isolation makes New Zealand an outward-looking nation.

The examination then moves on to explore two paradoxes of this isolated place:

1. the paradox of New Zealand's small population size
2. the paradox of New Zealand's mobile talent.

The first paradox explores how the small population of New Zealanders establishes an interconnectivity or familiarity between people which can be a factor to assist or hinder

development of creative industries projects. The theory 'two degrees of separation' between New Zealanders, mentioned earlier in this thesis, at this point is examined in further detail. Overall, the effect on the research participants of this paradox of the small number of New Zealanders is examined.

The second paradox examines attitudes of the research participants to mobility of talent. For creative entrepreneurs the physical remoteness and isolation of New Zealand engenders a tension between their conflicting needs to leave and to remain in the place. This tension is explored through examination of concepts relating to the need to get fresh perspective for one's creative work, the diaspora (the dispersed New Zealanders who reside abroad), and nationality. The conundrum for creative entrepreneurs of whether they should stay in New Zealand or go from the place is examined, leading to fresh perspectives on place, creativity and industry location.

The focus-shift from the macro (New Zealand as seen from space, isolated) to the micro, (the most intimate of spaces, home), completes in the final section of this chapter, wherein the sense of belonging among the research participants is examined. This explores how identification with places may affect their creativity and also affect other business choices they make, including location of industry. Linkages between concepts of belonging, inspiration and rural New Zealand are also examined, marking a deeper exploration of the nexus of place and creativity for New Zealand creative entrepreneurs.

3 New Zealand – where in the world?

Geologically, New Zealand is one of the newest countries in the world. For Richard Taylor of Weta Workshop, the fact the country is still under creation is a source of inspiration and, undoubtedly, motivation.

We live on a fault line. [Wellington] city is perched on the very edge of one of New Zealand's biggest fault lines, so what does that mean? It actually means that in the subconscious you live for today.

A cluster of large islands located in the South Pacific Ocean, New Zealand is one of the most remote countries in the world. This defining geographical feature is the foundation for the country and for the nation of New Zealanders who inhabit the place, including the participants in this research. For Trelise Cooper, the physical isolation of New Zealand is a central factor in creativity and resourcefulness of New Zealanders:

We are not landlocked by other bigger populations, we have a small population with a lot of water around us, which means that we have to survive but we have to have a lot of savvy and creativity. Big players in the market have seen that there's not enough money in New Zealand to bring a big brand, a store of Gap here, and so we haven't had that outside influence of big brands of homogenized design and ideas. We haven't had that. We have a point of difference. New Zealand still has its creative, resourceful edge to it, and I think it's because we are surrounded by water.

The effect of being a water-surrounded country is compounded by the fact New Zealand is set apart from any near neighbour by some distance across treacherous seas. Being isolated and having that isolation some distance from other places are distinct design features for a place which is set apart. The perception of New Zealand as a place which is removed from other places is reinforced by its use as a setting for films, whether the fantasy epic *Lord of the Rings* trilogy or more contemporary settings in the examples described by video game-maker Mario Wynands here:

To comment on the 'middle of nowhere' thing, one of the things I've noticed in American movies like 'Heat' or 'Break Point', where one of the protagonists was being pursued by the law; whenever you need to run away from the law, run away from it all, you run to New Zealand – because it's the edge of nowhere. It's

surprising when you talk to Americans they don't realize New Zealand is closer to America than Australia is. There is a perception New Zealand is somewhere off the map.

The importance of islands which are off the map as places for making new discoveries and revealing inner contemplations is reflected in much literature, most notably in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* but also in popular culture such as the 1960s television comedy *Gilligan's Island* or the recent television drama *Lost*. Being off the map, whether that is in a literal or in a figurative sense, appears to be part of the territory for New Zealand. Linked themes with this include 'the middle of nowhere' and 'the edge of nowhere', which are concepts which shall be explored in more detail later in this chapter. While the psychological implications of these ideas may be complex, the geo-physical reality is very simple. According to Richard Taylor,

there is a subtle dynamic within any culture of any business and that subtle dynamic here is the city of Wellington which is dynamically between a slice of sea and sky, and the creativity is squeezed out of this wonderful city by the very place we live. We are packed into one tiny corner of that. The city, the people, the environment.

Outward-looking nation

The image of New Zealanders being in an isolated place between the sea and the sky, some distance from anyone else, was reinforced by novelist Kirsty Gunn. Her comments about New Zealand '*having some kind of very outward looking thing*' as a result of this are a common theme among the research participants.

When I fly into New Zealand I am just moved, when I come in over the islands and I see all those little houses clustered around the coast and they all looking out like this, like 'Bring us news of the world, let us go there, let us hear, let us be engaged, let us listen to us too'. They are looking out to sea. There is the thing of like, 'Let the boats go. Let's see how far they'll sail before they bring us back news.'

The same idea of looking outwards from New Zealand is extended in the following comment by John Barnett, screen producer. He cautioned about the dangers of looking outwards, and reflected also on other effects of the physical isolation of New Zealand.

One of disadvantages of living in New Zealand is that we look out through a telescope - from the thin end out through the thick end to look at the rest of the world. And we think they are looking back at us through the thick end -- and we are not on the radar. Things that happen here are constructs of the environment here, and that's not what the world market is like.

The imagery of the telescope neatly encapsulates three important aspects of New Zealand's isolation: that New Zealand is some distance from anyone else, that its observer status is assured by its size and isolation, and that the ability to actively contribute to happenings 'out there' are restricted. The same sentiment was expressed differently by Mario Wynands, for whom our outward-looking isolation means that the senses can become overloaded with ideas from other places, with negative implications for creative output of our own.

I think that our fundamental problem as New Zealanders - we are on a set of islands and the media here comes from Europe, the US, Australia, Asia. It is all inwards, and we are so inundated with it that we forget we need to be sending stuff back out.

One-way observation from New Zealand out into the world would be a less-than-ideal situation. Actually, New Zealand is not a silent witness, despite its outward-looking disposition. For Dame Malvina Major, the same outward-looking isolation of New Zealand provides a healthy backdrop to her work with young singers, providing unlikely benefits and opportunities.

New Zealanders tend, and this is the thing that I've said perhaps is wrong, but we tend to look outside of ourselves. Australia's complete, so there's no need to look

outside of themselves. They are what they are, and they have got their conservatoires and their universities and their opera companies. We haven't got all of that. So we look outside of ourselves to see where to go next, so we are in communication with Europe, we are in communication with what's happening in America, so we're much more worldly wise than Australia or other countries, like France. [For their opera or music industries] They are complete within themselves, they just look over the border at what's going on around them, but are not necessarily interested. But we are. So we take the time to find out where the best teachers or the best institutions or the best young artists programmes are in the world. That's what I'm doing all the time, and that's what we're talking about.

The ability to select from among the best of what's on view at the other end of the telescope is an unforeseen benefit of the isolation of New Zealand. While the tyranny of distance already mentioned in this thesis presents real challenges for commodity exporters, the same isolation may present benefits for the creative sector. Added to this, probably the most significant benefit of the isolation of New Zealand is that its geological history has created an environment which is filled with unique birds, animals, insects and plants which are a great source of creative inspiration. For Richard Taylor, the isolation of New Zealand is the very thing which sets imaginations alight every day.

There was an Australian client here this morning who was asking 'how do you define your design aesthetic?' I said it's very simple. We never allow our designers to fall into film cliché because they don't need to. Around them they've got a Pasifikana-Australasian culture that is so rich and diverse. You could draw from it for a thousand years and never double up, and when you are designing a movie you just look outside to the world that we're in. You don't want to go on the internet and look for what was done on the last sci-fi movie. Pick up the seed pod of the side of the road on the way to work and inspire from that. Now, why did we call our company Weta? The weta is the greatest monster in New Zealand. Why wouldn't we aspire to that creature?

In the seedpod comment from Taylor are echoes the poem *Auguries of Innocence* by English Romantic poet William Blake (1757-1827), which begins with these lines:

*To see a world in a grain of sand,
And a heaven in a wild flower,
Hold infinity in the palm of your hand,
And eternity in an hour.*

Is there something in this for New Zealand creative sector entrepreneurs? The remoteness and isolation of New Zealand may mean that creative people have strengthened abilities to conceptualise and imagine.

Creative inspiration is where you find it. For the creative entrepreneur research participants, the place is certainly remote and removed, but it is not disconnected or invalid because of that. Looking within the place for inspiration at the same time as looking outwards for news and models of how to make things happen is a central tension in the creative sector in New Zealand. Creative tensions like these are part and parcel of being an island nation located some distance from any neighbours.

A second issue of the place, more paradoxical in its effect on the creative sector in New Zealand, is the size of the country.

4 Paradox of a small population size

I always think everyone in Auckland seems to know each other.

Kirsty Gunn, novelist

4 million people live in New Zealand at present. The country is larger than Britain, and similar in size to Japan or California, all of which have between ten and twenty times New Zealand's population. New Zealand's population is equivalent to that of Singapore, an island the size of Lake Taupo in the centre of the North Island. By any measure, there are few New Zealanders to occupy a lightly-populated place. The paradox of this is that a small

population is both a constructive aspect and a limiting feature of the creative economy of New Zealand.

The most positive aspect of New Zealand's small population size is that there is a high level of interconnectivity between people. Milgram's US-based 'six degrees of separation' experiment, as already mentioned, is commonly held to translate as two degrees of separation in New Zealand. Easy communication between people is borne from this level of familiarity, and multi-layered social networks exist in a place where there are few people and many tasks to be done. For screen producer John Barnett, the importance of the social fabric of New Zealand to his work was very clear. the cartoon movie 'Footrot Flats', based on the long-running newspaper cartoon strip which reflected rural New Zealand's cultural stereotype:

I went to [merchant bankers] Fay Richwhite and said 'do you think you can raise the money for this?', and we sold it in \$5,000 units. INL, the Murdoch paper, put up a quarter of the money because they ran the strips and they knew what the popularity of the cartoons was. Mike Robson, who ran that company, was a great supporter of Murray Ball and was also somebody I played cricket with socially as an adult.

The linkage in this example between recreation, in this case sport, and business development, is very clear. It is logical that in a place with few available people, each person is more likely to be involved in a variety of ways with the same other people. This is an outcome of a place with a small population, whether that is a village or a nation like New Zealand. According to Dame Malvina Major, the smallness of New Zealand's population in a sparsely-populated place means that positive attitudes to working together and finding solutions exist which may not exist in larger places.

You've got to kind of put New Zealand into a Sydney situation. New Zealand is as big as Sydney, if you like, population-wise with 4 million people. Now if you were [a young singer] in Sydney you wouldn't get the treatment that we are trying to give here in New Zealand. Don't ask me why it doesn't work, but every institution in

Sydney will look after their own. Even if the teaching isn't good they are not going to send them out to someone else down the road saying ' Why don't you look at him?'. I think it's because of our we are 4 million people in a big country but somehow the communication is much easier than Sydney. We conglomerate together. They don't all know each other. We know everybody in New Zealand. I don't know why it is, but we do.

The idea of 'knowing everyone' in her sector is very clear for Major, and applies across the creative industries in New Zealand; Mario Wynands, co-owner of video game company Sidhe Interactive which employs more than 80% of New Zealand's games industry workers, represents a further example of this. Fashion designer Trelise Cooper working with her fellow-designers at Fashion Week is another. For Major, the communication channels are still wide open.

We know everyone, and everyone communicates. It isn't long before a teacher or a student or somebody comes back from somewhere and says ' that was absolutely terrible and so and so was judging somebody, and oh they got it all wrong and so and so should have won'. So we have a bush telegraph that's still working.

The 'bush telegraph' is an old New Zealand phrase pertaining to the pioneering era of colonial settlement in the late 1890s. Before the advent of telephone lines, and while productive farms were being hewn from the bush/forest, person to person communication was a direct means of getting news, a concept with similarities to the Pony Express in the US hinterland. However, in early New Zealand colonial times, the sub-tropical rainforest was too rugged, dense and jungle-like for horses to be an effective means of transportation. Instead, people walked and talked, messages were passed on by word of mouth. Word of mouth communication is still important in the modern era, as the following example from Trelise Cooper shows.

If I look at things like Lord of the Rings, one of the first Oscars they were nominated for was the screenplay which was by Philippa Boyens. Philippa wrote something in

the New Zealand Herald, and it was that she'd love to wear Trelise Cooper [to the Oscars ceremony] if she could. Back in those days, when I was not good enough, I'm thinking 'Can I ring her? How would it feel if I rang her because I'd like to offer something to wear, I'd love her to wear my things'. But I didn't want to push myself, you know, that old New Zealand 'don't skite, don't push yourself too far.' I gave her a call and I'm like 'Oh my gosh, how rude of me to ring up and offer, did she really mean that?' Anyway I tracked her down and she was delighted to hear from me.

Tracking down the ex-directory telephone number of a person is possible in New Zealand, especially in rarefied levels of society where most people in leadership positions are associated with most other leading people. The degree of familiarity which comes with being in a small society has both positive and negative effects. On one hand, there are clear advantages to be had from relative ease of contacting people. On the other hand, it can be hard to find anonymity, as Cooper explained:

I almost have to get out of New Zealand now to have freedom. I have to make sure I've got the right clothes because it's people's expectations of a fashion designer ... I don't want that observation, I'm just on my weekend I rarely go out if I can help it because I really don't want the scrutiny. I don't get space in New Zealand very often, it is rare.

The glare of public scrutiny under which celebrities operate is common to some participants in this research. While it can be argued that being a celebrity in egalitarian New Zealand is of the person's choosing, the point which Cooper makes is worthy of inclusion in this examination of creative industry location: public scrutiny for the fashion designer is directed at her own daily personal clothing choices, and this is perceived to limit her sense of freedom. The irony of this situation occurring in other-worldly New Zealand, with its remove from every other place and the attendant perceived creative freedoms which remote locations permit, should be noted.

A second, salient point, is this: the difference between this situation and the previous example wherein Cooper used New Zealand's close network to make contact with an Oscar-hopeful, is that in one she is the pursuer and in the other, the pursued. The same system is used to good or to ill effect, depending on one's perspective, and is a central tension point in this examination of the effects of a small community on creative sector entrepreneurs. Rapid inter-changeability of different perspectives means the fox can quickly become the hound, or vice-versa, with its likely effect that everyone is chasing everyone.

An extension of this pursuer/pursued concept is the notion of judging and being judged by others in return. In a place where people know each other, they may be quick to judge, as in the 'bush telegraph' example from Dame Malvina Major discussed earlier. This concept, in the experience of John Barnett shown below, is '*one of the worst aspects of New Zealand*'.

Lots of decisions are not made on necessarily straight logic, lots of them are coloured by personal prejudices and assessments of people. The kind of 'ad hominem' stuff that takes place I find to be one of the worst aspects of New Zealand ... that ideas are not looked at for their purity and potential, but who proposed the idea can often carry more weight than what the idea is about. I find that to be the dark side of the coin it's an unfortunate aspect of a small country.

Dark matters relating to the smallness of the population in New Zealand have a negative impact on the place. To return for a moment to the introductory section of this Chapter, any creative freedom which the geographical location of the country provides would likely be dampened by the societal impact of the *ad hominem* mindset. A negative effect on the willingness to create or innovate would be an expected outcome of this phenomenon. If people were to judge the merits of an idea on the person proposing the idea rather than intrinsic qualities of the idea itself, then it must be very difficult for creative sector innovators particularly to remain encouraged.

When courage fades or the lights start to go out in a small place, large structural shifts can rapidly occur which may have long term negative implications for industry. For Peri Drysdale, the limited size and shifting economics of New Zealand's clothing industry has created negative impacts on the creative sector value chain, with long term negative implications for design.

I'm very concerned, with the imports coming in and the manufacturing in China, that we lose the infrastructure of the industry here which allows those designers to get started and bridge the gap between nothing and being big enough to go offshore. Clothing makers in New Zealand are disappearing and so where are the small things going to be made? Where are the pattern-makers going to come from? Who is there to provide zips and buttons and fabrics and dyes and finishes? All of that's disappearing because it is not viable any more.

While the cold truths of economics may mean that most haberdashery is now manufactured in China, for Trelise Cooper, rays of hope for fashion design shine through this situation. In the example below, Cooper turns adversity into opportunity by finding creative solutions.

I look at the buttons of European designers, and Japanese designers, and go 'God, I'd kill to be able to get a button like that.' But it's down to an economic reality that the people who own button-selling companies or trim companies in New Zealand have a small market they are appealing to and they have to appeal to the middle parts, the safe part of that. What this has forced me to do as a designer is to become really, really resourceful. We do some of the weirdest stuff: I've driven across things in the car park in my car and then people go 'What? How are we all going to get a production line out of driving over it in your Mercedes?' I love that I don't have homogenised influences. I love that I have to be resourceful because in part of that being creative, of coming up with an idea for buttons, it stretches us creatively. We are constantly in a creative mode here all the time. We never have it handed to us on a plate and it's stimulating. We are creatively stimulated all day,

every day, and are coming up with new ideas and solutions and new ways of using something that is usual in a new way. It might be curtain tape that now we might use in a waistband to get a particular pleating If I lived in Hong Kong, for instance, which would be in some ways be sensible, there is lot of sense in doing that, I sort of feel like I'd lose that unique something, that unique creative edge, because it would be handed to me constantly on a plate and it would dumb down what I'm doing in some way.

The essential element in this is resourcefulness. A hopeful message for creativity exists in this, also, with echoes of Richard Taylor's earlier Blakean comments about the seed pod. The smallness of New Zealand's population size may make for reduced markets and a limited range of off-the-shelf ingredients to put into the creative mix, but this also presents opportunities for the creative entrepreneur which may be a distinguishing feature. The linkage between the small population with its limited market and the need to seek creative solutions to mitigate the effects of that small population, is made clearly in this statement by Trelise Cooper. It summarises the paradox of this aspect of New Zealand for the creative economy.

This statement from Cooper also highlights another matter for New Zealand creative entrepreneurs, which is the matter of whether one should remain in New Zealand or leave. For Cooper, the stated choice was to remain in New Zealand. The conundrum of whether a New Zealand-based creative entrepreneur stays or goes is the paradox of mobility of talent, which warrants further examination.

5 Paradox of mobility of talent - should I stay or should I go, now?

Talented creative people are the powerhouse of the creative economy. Their creativity is a form of capital for creative sector businesses, albeit human capital. It follows that this human capital is tradable or non-fixed, and flows as the people flow. The terminology best used to describe this phenomenon is *mobility of talent*. It is an important issue for the creative economy. Indeed, Richard Florida's (2002) creative class theory is founded on

concepts of academically qualified creative professionals migrating to work with other like-minded creative people. Questions arising from the mobility of talent concept as it works in New Zealand's creative economy are at the very centre of the motivation behind this research.

Mobility of talent is examined here as a paradox because there exists among the research participants a clear tension between the need to leave New Zealand and the need to remain. Just as in the last statement by Trelise Cooper above, Mario Wynands picked up on the same notion that it may be better from just a business perspective to be located overseas. His statement below serves as an ideal start point for exploring the paradox of mobility of talent because he acknowledges the business merits of being located elsewhere and then outlines the broad issues which keep him located in New Zealand.

If you look at it purely from just a business perspective, sure, there are compelling reasons to go overseas. But when you start looking at the softer things like quality of life, like 'where do I want to raise my kids?', 'where will I live in the world that will inspire me creatively?' -- when you start looking at both those questions, those are the things where I think Wellington and New Zealand actually make a lot more sense than a lot of places in the world.

Part of what sets the creative economy apart from other industry sectors is the need for the creative worker to be located in a place which, as Wynands says, '*will inspire me creatively*'. Other industry sectors are unlikely to require creative inspiration as a central determinant of industry location; creative inspiration does not feature in traditional theories of location of industries. The value the creative entrepreneur places upon creative inspiration is clearly sufficiently significant for this to outweigh other key business-location factors such as proximity to resources, costs of supply or facility of infrastructure.

However, by contrast, it is important to consider that inspiration can be found in other places as well as in New Zealand. For Trelise Cooper, the opportunity to draw inspiration from foreign lands and return home with new ideas is part of her creativity:

I love to get out of New Zealand for the expansion of my horizons. I love that and I find that truly inspiring. I always come back so full of ideas and I don't know where it all stems from but it's amazing and so I think that it's quite important as a New Zealand creative person that I do get out into the big world.

The wide world, as already shown earlier in this chapter, is an important part of the local scene in New Zealand because it is under observation, albeit from afar. For Mario Wynands, there is both a pull and a push towards other places which is led by media:

Internally, and this is a driving factor for New Zealand, for a lot of people it kind of feels claustrophobic for the people who are here, born and bred New Zealanders, because we are on this island and we are being exposed to all these images and video and sound bites and stories from around the world, and there is this real need to go somewhere else. That's why you have so many New Zealanders who are at any one time living somewhere else. You bump into New Zealanders wherever you go, even though we have a small population.

An OECD study released in 2005 estimates that New Zealand has 24% of its skilled workforce living outside the country, the highest proportion of any OECD country. Within the same research, New Zealand has the second highest proportion of ex-pats with tertiary qualifications. Trained, smart New Zealanders leave. For Max Gimblett, who left New Zealand in the 1960s and has been based in New York, USA since the 1970s, being located overseas has given him long experience in the matter of the kiwi diaspora, the New Zealanders who live abroad:

'Ex-pat.' I hate the word. I am not 'ex-' anything. Diaspora. Diaspora is alive and well. The ex-pat has in it, in my opinion, a little bit of politics from the resident Kiwis

who would like to say that people who have left have left, and they should stay away, and the coming and going is a little bit exaggerated. And it is very exaggerated as to our place in the world physically, the location is used against us. I don't like any of that, I think it's all redundant and it is bad psychology. It is bad for our morale. I don't think it is worth much and I think it's old hat. Like Australians beating us. So I've actually had my years in New York of really serious ex-pat beating, I have been bashed with that stick. Yes, Max Gimblett the ex-pat. The ex-pat concept has a whole history to it, and that history is over. We are people in the world now. The world is just the world, the globe is the globe.

The global view of Gimblett is based on long, settled experience away from New Zealand. For Damien Wilkins, whose novel *The Fainter* has a main character in the New Zealand diplomatic corps, the comings and goings of New Zealanders has a problematic effect:

What interests me about that whole diplomatic corps is the idea that these people have been sent out to represent us, but what the life ends up informing or enforcing is a kind of decentredness, because their lives are fractured, their lives are sort of three years here and four years there and a posting here It becomes very hard to communicate with people like that because they don't just go for six months. And they have this life which you can't have access to really, and likewise. ... But these are the people who carry New Zealand out there.

Fractured lives at first glance would appear to be unlikely grounds for creative entrepreneurs. However, this is a complex terrain. Simultaneously holding on and letting go draws to mind 'The Art of Walking Upright' (1999) by New Zealand poet Glenn Colquhoun (1964 -):

*The art of walking upright here
Is the art of using both feet.
One is for holding on
And one for letting go.*

The letting go process experienced by novelist Kirsty Gunn in the 1980s when she left New Zealand for London, England, linked back to a long tradition of displacement among other writers. Gunn revealed a central core in the paradox of mobility of talent:

For me I definitely let go and held on. It's definitely that order. I think it is a tradition for a lot of writers isn't it, that they have to leave the place that they then go and write about. I think a certain kind of melancholy has to kick in to produce this particular kind of work I am talking about, whereby the imaginative sensibility becomes soaked in a kind of nostalgia. I think that kind of nostalgia I would be talking about is to do with an entire remove, like Katherine Mansfield made that remove. Mansfield used what I call 'the here and the there'; she had them read in Bloomsbury about a cabbage tree in New Zealand, and by contrast the hostess of a garden party in Thorndon could be the lady who stepped out of a house in Fitzroy Square. It is a different kind of sense about writing about there when you are here, when you know it's not permanent.

Being located away from New Zealand, then, may not damage the essence of the creative output. According to film producer John Barnett, maker of New Zealand's highest-ever grossing film *WhaleRider*, it can be advantageous to be located offshore, as he explained:

'WhaleRider' was edited in Germany. It made a huge difference to that film, not consciously at all, nobody consciously thought about it. But every morning when Niki Caro and Dave Coulson got up out of the hotel and got on the tram, they were surrounded by people who didn't speak English and didn't know what a Maori looks like, and subconsciously they would go and think 'how is this...', as opposed to editing this in Grey Lynn where every piece of patois and visual image is familiar and you don't even think about it. They would sit in the editing room and think 'I wonder if these guys understand this?' they kept asking the Germans "Did you get that? Did you get that?". "No, what was that about?"

Creating cultural 'goods' in a foreign place, whether by design or unwittingly, overcomes some of the negative aspects of the tyranny of distance, as the preceding examples show. Products may be better suited for foreign markets as a result, and there may be less room for miscomprehension if storytelling is more universal. A tension exists appears to exist in the creative economy between cultural expression on one hand, imbued with its symbolic meanings, and on the other the need for that to be intelligible, and therefore marketable to the widest possible audience and, ultimately, commercially viable. This is particularly important for New Zealand businesses, where there is a limited domestic market, and the business development arc rapidly rises to include exporting, as already discussed. It follows that benefits exist for creative entrepreneurs who come and go in a globalised world.

Maintaining a solid grounding in a globalised world provides a degree of certainty for creative imaginings. For novelist Kirsty Gunn, her remove from New Zealand puts the place, to use John Barnett's earlier metaphor, at the thin end of the telescope which she tries to see from the thick end. This remove, combined with her familiarity with the place, makes for a nostalgic Pandora's Box of the imaginative capacities:

For me I've kind of got that weird old witchy superstition of 'I don't want to tamper with it too much because I know that it's like my locked room', that whole New Zealand memory. I've got a fantasy that at some point I would love to go to New Zealand and put my girls through a term of my old school, or maybe longer, but have some kind of chunk of time there for that circle to be completed. It's something to do with my own deep sense of providing ongoing memory banks for children and for the generations, I suppose. A sense of how that gave me a kind of literary an imaginative vocabulary.

The idea of bringing the next generation home to inform an '*imaginative vocabulary*' is central to the paradox of mobility of talent for New Zealand creative entrepreneurs. It also returns to the idea of holding on and letting go, and also to the idea of standing upright

here as expressed in the 1943 poem '*The Skeleton of the Great Moa, in the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch*' by New Zealand poet Allen Curnow (1911-2001) :

*Not I. Some child born in a marvelous year
Will learn the trick of standing upright here.*

6 Towards a Sense of Belonging

Standing upright in a place is a metaphor for belonging. For the participants in this research, there are varying degrees of belonging. The strong sense of belonging in the childhood background of Peri Drysdale is undisputable from her comments below. But this is overlayed with a later sense of inquiry and discovery which adds a powerful twist to what is familiar:

I grew up a majority of a majority of a majority, and I was a sheep farmer's daughter. I was establishment from the UK, I didn't see anyone who didn't have an English-descent father until I was 12 years old. I was Church of England which was a majority, and those things mattered for early Canterbury settlers, so I had no idea of what it was like to be different or a minority in any sense of the word. I think that's been a big learning for me, picking up the picture that my parents painted for me about what mattered and what didn't matter, and then me going out into the wide world and exporting to Japan and Germany, and then figuring out the difference between this and that.

When I was about 17 to 18, I had just started nursing, they went away for three months and they came back and said "everything we'd ever taught you about table manners or any other kind of manners, forget it, it's not important", which was quite perceptive of them. Dad had spent all of that time teaching us how to do the right thing and eat the right way, and even being taken to a silver service restaurant so we could handle ourselves in a silver service restaurant, we had all that training. They said "just forget it", so they were interesting people.

Innovative thinking from the 1960s provided Drysdale with a clear sense of belonging and home as well as a sense of freedom to move forward without being fettered by perceived cultural limitations of the past – one foot for holding on and one for letting go. In this sense, home changed its tone from staid to dynamic overnight, while maintaining its familiarity.

Similar sentiments were followed by Trelise Cooper. As with Drysdale above, Cooper expressed a clear sense of home and how to add colour to this with extra stimulation from other places.

I think that it's quite important as a New Zealand creative person that I do get out into the big world. But this is my home and my home is really important to me and I don't have an inclination to live elsewhere.

Cooper's comment that her creativity is fed by overseas inspiration is juxtaposed against her stated intention to live in New Zealand which will always be home. This is more about rootedness or a sense of belonging than it is about mobility of talent, which was examined earlier.

For Mario Wynands, a sense of belonging comes from familiarity with the city of Wellington which is where he grew up – and is where he located his business. His comments develop the concept of sense of belonging, beyond an articulation of home towards a definition of his location decision:

If you've grown up somewhere, if you have family, a support network, a familiarity with the location, if you had nothing that is pushing you away and nothing that is pulling you away ... you know, it's not like Wellington is an especially bad place to live like East Berlin some time ago, where people were actively trying to leave.

Knowing the place is also important to John Barnett, and he extended the location of industry concept by acknowledging that, because of this, he wants to tell stories of New Zealand through his films and television productions:

I think that you grow up in a country and its good to you this is the place that I know most about, and these are the stories that I want to tell. This is a society that I want to reflect.

Not all the research participants possessed the same degree of duty to putting something back into the place. For Damien Wilkins who spent a part of his childhood in London, England, the sense of belonging he felt was clearly different:

I certainly feel more strongly attached to New Zealand than anywhere else but I don't feel that I have a sort of patriotic duty or a very, very strong sense of belonging. So maybe the writing is a kind of way of trying to make sense of some of those issues of definition.

The notion of a writer trying to make sense of issues of identity or definition through his work is evident in Wilkins's comment. While his sense of place was unclear, this stands in marked contrast to Kirsty Gunn who seemed to have resolved any doubts about sense of place long ago.

All my stories begin with a sense of place. That's what the stories come from. I start putting together the images of the place in my head and then the story grows up from there It's just the way I have always worked I create the landscape and then I go and live in it for a while in my head and then the characters come out and say hello.

This is echoed by Dame Malvina Major as she described the importance of a sense of belonging to the interpretation of songs:

A sense of belonging is part of understanding yourself and enhancing your performance. It is an emotional colour or an emotional... I mean, we belong to New Zealand. New Zealand for me is the best country in the world, so when you sing about New Zealand it's an emotional experience. So if you are talking about New Zealand or where you come from or anything to do with where you were born and brought up, it impacts on your ability to interpret.

The notion of artistic interpretation of a song through a connection with place is expanded even further with the following comments from Richard Taylor. He was talking again about the inspirational seedpod collected on the side of the road on the way to work, and why it would only work in New Zealand:

The city, the people, the environment. It's in the DNA of the country we live in. The seed pod is only a crude example, but could we engender that in any other environment? I couldn't. It's just not in me. I just don't have my DNA is not correct my DNA is with this place. It's a very hard thing to describe, a very abstract thought.

This comment from Richard Taylor has in it echoes of a comment about New Zealand by novelist Katherine Mansfield (1888-1923). Mansfield left Montana for Paris in 1922, seeking, unsuccessfully, new treatment for her tuberculosis. In March she wrote to her father: "the longer I live, the more I return to New Zealand. A young country is a real heritage, though it takes one time to remember it. But New Zealand is in my very bones" (Mansfield, 1922). In Mansfield's case New Zealand was in her "very bones", and Taylor's "DNA is with this place" - 85 years apart, these are similar concepts of deep connectedness.

A highly articulate and thoughtful man, Taylor was nevertheless unable to fully articulate how his sense of belonging and his creativity merge. Neither could Peri Drysdale:

Well, it's who you are, isn't it? I don't know if I can articulate The interesting thing is that the intellectual property [for Untouched World] is grounded in the place, so it doesn't make sense that anyone ever, even if the business outgrows me and someone takes it on and whoever takes it beyond the first billion to the second billion Sure a lot of functionality would inevitably happen in regional areas, but the base will always be the base, it will always be the fulcrum. I would imagine that the Untouched World University, as it were, will be based out of Christchurch.

At this moment, we are at the very heart of a significant matter. That neither of these two participants in the research could fully articulate the power of their sense of belonging is important. The fact that both Taylor and Drysdale are acknowledged **world** leaders with the most prestigious professional awards in their cabinets and choose to remain in New Zealand is of very great importance to this research. **There are forces which keep them in their place which they cannot articulate.**

To explore this point further, a brief examination of the background to the creative enterprises of each of these two creative entrepreneurs is warranted. Drysdale's first woollen clothing business was called 'Snowy Peak', and the subsequent lifestyle brand was called 'Untouched World'. She grew up on a Canterbury sheep station

which was just up the zigzag road from the Rakaia bridges, but the high country part of the farm was actually called Snowy Peak. If you look on a Lands and Survey map you would see Snowy Peak which sits between Round Top which was my aunt's place and High Peak which is another station. So that's where my Dad ran his sheep during the summer. We used to go on horseback to muster, and he loved that place. When I started the business, I was casting around for a name to call these garments I had made, and it was his idea to call it Snowy Peak, so it's quite special. It's really nice having the linkage, but actually it turned out to be commercially really valuable because internationally there is this real desire in people for authenticity. The fact that this company has been named after the place

where I grew up and this real heritage thing is worth dollars. I didn't know it at the time but it was a smart thing to do.

Authenticity of the brand promise of her clothing which connects with a sense of place appears to be an X factor for Peri Drysdale. Her acknowledgment that the linkage between the place where she grew up and its associated heritage is of commercial value unquestionably ties her business and her creativity to the place.

For Weta Workshop's Richard Taylor, there is a different form of authenticity:

We stay here because we couldn't do what we do anywhere else in the world. That doesn't mean that other people can't do what we do in other parts of the world, but we couldn't. We are Kiwis. You couldn't run a New Zealand dairy farm in Australia, could you, because it's not a New Zealand's dairy farm. It's very simple in my mind. This is a New Zealand model making firm, and we couldn't run it in America or Singapore or Korea and neither would we. It's my own personal place in the world. It's the fact that we are only as good as the people that we hire and those people are Kiwis.

The importance of the creative talent within a creative enterprise is underlined by Taylor's comments. His point regarding the ineluctability of the New Zealand-ness of his business is crucial to an understanding of why his business is located where it is. The same sort of inseparability of place, art, and creativity was articulated by Max Gimblett:

You will notice in my mythology I tell you a lot about the names of the streets in Auckland, because these are emblazoned in my mind. I return to them every year [from New York] and I stand on these corners - absolutely meaningful to me. They are who I am. Place is a prerequisite for art. People with living connections in my art in New Zealand should understand that I'm a product of what we're discussing ... The thing to unravel is the sort of thing that only the greatest writers in history can do, of how standing on the corner can mean that much On a common

populist level that is discussed as 'you can take the boy out of the country but you can't take the country out of the boy.' Nationality is not a light thing. Nationality is not about ridiculous patriotism, nationality is absolutely a profound thing.

A similar sense of place existed for Kirsty Gunn, who was also profoundly stimulated on her return visits to New Zealand:

All my visits to New Zealand are about work because I find it so imaginatively stimulating I can barely bear it. It is so stimulating because of all that place stuff I have already talked about and because I reside there in my past. The place descriptions are urban-rural, always rural.

New Zealand place connections for both Gimblett and Gunn indicated that that a sense of place may be creatively inspiring in their work, even when most of that is created away from New Zealand (in these cases, either in New York or London, respectively). Whether they may be urban influences or rural influences, what was indicated in both these examples were linkages between creativity and memories of being in places in New Zealand.

Nostalgic regard for 'home' may be a source of inspiration for key informants. For Gunn there appeared to be a recognition of this in her work as noticed by other people:

Someone's been talking about my work a lot recently in terms of elegy, because of the sense of it being lost and residing in the past and it living only in this particular, rarefied, imaginative world which is the world of the story. I have a line ... to describe all this from my third novel, 'Featherstone'. I can't ever quote my own work, but it's like "All of the air and all the land sings this song. This is what the wide earth says: "I will be at peace". So there's a sense of letting go, of a drift upon time, a loss. And I think I do that sort of undoing even as I am writing it. I think this comes from, again, that sense of longing, longing to leave and then longing to return.

Putting aside elegiac notions about lost places, a clearer focus appeared in the quotation by Gunn of her own work, especially with regard to nature or natural elements in a rural setting. Rurality may be an important undertone for creativity in New Zealand; as examined in Chapter 4, New Zealand's economy is dependent on the rural primary sector, and in Chapter 5 there was a sense of the 'creative turn' possibly being limited by the dominance of New Zealand's agricultural sector. If rural New Zealand is such a key part of the national character of the nation, the links between rural life and creativity warrant further examination.

7 Rural New Zealand and creative seeds

For Richard Taylor, the link between his childhood surrounded by open farmland in South Auckland and his approach to creativity was clear:

The house [in rural Franklin] was incredible for me as a child because this huge farm became a playground I've always said that if you have fantasies in your head growing up in a rural environment, you can't buy it at the corner store in a blister pack so you've got to invent it with your hands, and that becomes critical if you want to realise those fantasy worlds.

The necessity to create one's own entertainment in a rural childhood in New Zealand has links with what Kirsty Gunn described earlier in this chapter as an '*imaginative vocabulary*'. Without ready-made entertainments, young Taylor who grew up '*not accessing cinema that regularly*', created his own fun:

Around the same time I had been doing papier-mâché sculptures and model-making. I had a little miniature railway and I was doing model-making on that with my Dad. Hornby train sets putting your guinea-pigs on them and all that sort of stuff. And I started sculpting in clay and just making little characters and things.

In the ten year old child of Taylor's recollections, the seeds were exhibited of his later professional career in the creative industries, as a modeller, sculptor, and imaginary-world maker. A similar experience was recalled by clothing maker Peri Drysdale, relating to her childhood on a Canterbury sheep station:

My mother worked really hard to keep me entertained, and she threw everything at me that she could in a creative sense. I did everything from ice-cream sticks and glue through to making things out of dough, to cane, to making clothes, to painting, to play-dough-type stuff she would mix up and make. When I was twelve I had a business dressing up soft toys and selling them to a really big market called my grandmother, but it was great.

The suggested influence of parents, family and play on the young creative entrepreneur in both these examples marked a rich but separate area of knowledge. The complex psychology of parent-child relations and parenting, and the substantial field of knowledge represented therein, are beyond the scope of this research, though its importance is noted here. For example, the responsibility which parents may feel to encourage or facilitate entertainment of children - whether in town or country - would require a very different examination to the type this research represents. What *is* important for this examination is that the perceived limited entertainments of the rural New Zealand environment contributed to the development for these participants of their creativity and a sense of resourcefulness, entrepreneurship and imaginative vocabulary.

The childhood imaginative vocabulary of Richard Taylor included '*fantasy worlds*', and, so too did that of Trelise Cooper, who grew up on the edge of Auckland which was stretching in the 1960s to include new subdivisions. There was a semi-rural aspect to the childhood of Cooper, in which she was surrounded by abandoned apple orchards:

We moved to Henderson when I was four and that was the only home I knew until I left home. We had big apple orchards behind us, that had been there, it felt, forever They'd been bought for the new subdivision so the apples weren't

harvested and would be left to grow and drop off the trees. They were Golden Delicious and they were amazing, and the smell of it

It was the great place to hide and make huts and have this fantasy world, it was great. The kids in the street and I, our mothers had their old 1950s frocks and we just pooled it all and every day after school we just played incessantly in dress-up boxes with big shoes and all sorts of things. These weren't like something else, these dresses, I'd love to find them now. They had jewels, and tulle, and big tulle petticoats and the shoes seemed to have jewels on them as well. I'm totally drawn to these things if I see them now.

The degree to which New Zealand may be perceived as a 'fantasy world' reflects comments earlier in this chapter about New Zealand being removed from other places, and in that separateness perhaps being regarded as a territory of different creative imaginings. With apple orchards and fancy 'dress-up' clothes, the fantasy world of Cooper's urban-fringe childhood may have included the seeds for her future professional career as a fashion designer with her particular feminine design aesthetic.

Another variation on this theme of place and the seeds of creativity, especially in the rural New Zealand sense, is in the experiences of Dame Malvina Major. Raised in rural Waikato, the dairy industry heartland of New Zealand, Major was singing from a very young age, on stage with her older siblings, entertaining themselves and being the entertainment for others:

When I was nine we moved to Te Kowhai and bought 28 acres of land where my father ran some cows but he still worked in town. It wasn't big enough to support us but it was a great lifestyle. Around the Waikato our family music group sang in country district halls and we played dance music.

At this point a pattern appears to be emerging in this analysis of the relationship between place and the seeds of creativity. There are two threads to this:

1. In the first, the pattern hints at a correlation between young creative people in their pre-teen years who respond to their immediate place environment in a particular way, and thus signal their future creative enterprise. These ideas are suggested by this examination, and more evidence would be required to develop ideas in this area further. To test this rigorously and examine the concept fully would require advanced research. For the present, these suggestions remains just that, suggestions.
2. In the second thread, there is a rural or semi-rural (or at least, non-city) place identification emerging among some of the research participants. It would appear to run counter to the prevailing 'creative city' literature reviewed in Chapter 2. This concept of New Zealand creative entrepreneurs, rurality and non-city places where the seeds of their creativity may germinate may require further examination.

Not all the key informants in this research had rural childhoods. Nevertheless, understanding the rural character of New Zealand was easy for digital game developer Mario Wynands, despite the fact he grew up in the suburbs of Wellington. Recalling his childhood in the late 1970s, Mario Wynands suggested that information about farming was all around him:

We grew up every year getting statistics about how many sheep there were in the country. We understand it. We understand farming. I have never lived on a farm apart from the odd weekends that I spent with my Uncle up in Otaki. But I know an incredible amount about farming because I am exposed to that through television, through our culture, through what you learn at school. I knew more about farming when I left university, having never studied anything specifically to do with farming, than I knew about video game development.

However, even though farming may be part of 'our culture' for Wynands, he countered this by adding '*just because I knew more about it doesn't mean I was more interested in it.*' The implication that he felt knowledge of farming was thorough and universal in New Zealand even when gained by indirect means (i.e. via media) for someone not actively part

of that industry sector, brings into question 'rurality' in New Zealand culture and the degree to which this may be promoted by the media.

The centrality of rural New Zealand in the culture of the nation - and the media as experienced by Wynands - made a '*no-brainer*' business decision easy for screen producer John Barnett in the late 1970s. He recalled that in 1976-77, when he 'owned' the character who was arguably New Zealand's greatest rural cultural icon, Fred Dagg, New Zealanders understood without explanation what this character represented:

In the case of putting out a Fred Dagg film it was a bit of a no-brainer – we'd sold 120,000 albums, we'd had maybe 50,000 people come to concerts across the country ... You know, he was the most popular person in the country – you could figure that some people were going to go and see him in the film. All you had to say was "here's a film" not "it's a film where people do this or that or the other thing." People know what it is.

Fred Dagg may appear to be a long way from the slick, technology-focused creative economy of 1999-2008. However, in this analysis the important matter is that there may be a wide-spread familiarity of the cultural norms and (arguably exaggerated) rural stereotypes which were embodied in that character. Any sense of rural identification may not be limited to men, as the following comments from Trelise Cooper suggested:

I'm disappointed in agriculturally how [New Zealand has] homogenised so much, so I like going back to France to the village-type life. I've never had it but I feel I'm going back to a village-style life and I like that... I'm talking about the true village life, that totally food of the season is cooked and it's best by seasons. The wildlife is so prevalent and the butterflies in the garden are like my childhood and you can have 15 varieties of butterfly go past in a French garden and I just don't find that in New Zealand anymore.

The values of agricultural rural New Zealand, for Cooper, appear to be changed from what she recalled from her childhood. They may now be found for her in France. These possibly-lost values imply slowness, safety (Landry, 2000), as examined in Chapter 2), community bonds, trust and reciprocity (Putnam, 2000), also examined in Chapter 2), sustainability, and a simple life where noblest goal may be to make your garden grow.

However, under the same measure Cooper remained enthusiastic about values from the seashore of her childhood which she saw as a repeating pattern for her children:

We'd fish off the rocks and my brother would find mussels and pipis and then we'd come back and make our own fires. Our kids have all done that as well, and had that sort of childhood. I guess that I haven't realised how important that time of my growing up was, and my kids growing up, as well.

It appeared that, until the interview for this research, Cooper had not reflected before on the inter-generational connectivity of her family to the New Zealand beach, and that the values contained therein may influence her work. Again, these were non-city places which may have informed Cooper's imaginative vocabulary.

The same multi-generational beach connection existed for Peri Drysdale, and it embodied for her a panoply of values:

Freedom is core to our [Untouched World] brand, the rights about freedom. New Zealand is about freedom and getting past this thing of racial supremacy or religious supremacy or belief supremacy. True freedom is being on holiday at Peyton's Rock [in Golden Bay, top of the South Island] and not having to lock the house and not pick up your toys off the beach overnight because they would still be there in the morning, that's pure freedom. At our house we didn't have to lock the doors. When my kids grew up on the beach at Peyton's Rock we didn't lock anything, we just left stuff on the beach and it never disappeared. We didn't lock

the bach. We would go away for the day and didn't lock it, and coming back to Christchurch there was a sense of losing freedom.

The same point was made by Trelise Cooper, who also grew up without locked doors:

We never locked the doors. I know that feeling of living in a place where you don't have to lock doors. I still have that feeling about New Zealand and probably shouldn't.

For Drysdale, the concept of freedom was central to her understanding of what the creative economy in New Zealand represented. She compared the freedom of Peyton's Rock with the lives of creative entrepreneurs in other, city, places in the world:

We take that another step and go to Milan where there are bars on the windows. You haven't got that freedom ... the Mafia are there, there is a huge drug trade because people haven't been able to get employment and life's not safe anymore. So how do we get those people into work so that they're as excited about what they do as I am about what I do, and they're not having to trade in drugs, or go to drugs for kicks?

The nexus between safety, freedom and the creative economy as explained by Drysdale is at the heart of a very important central notion in this examination of attitudes to location of industry. On reflection, freedom is a value which is apparent all through this chapter. **The freedom to create** in New Zealand may be more important for the creative economy than previously considered.

Freedom may be the over-arching element at the core New Zealand's creative economy.

8 Conclusions to Chapter 6

Attitudes of creative entrepreneurs towards New Zealand in this examination revealed a strong sense of place or of belonging, and a set of values which underpins this. The

significance of this for creativity, and for the creative economy of New Zealand, is discussed in Discussions and Conclusions Chapter 7.

Chapter 7 Discussion and Conclusions

1 Introduction

Motivated in the first instance by questions about how the creative class theory of Richard Florida (2002) could paradoxically appear to be 'so right and yet so wrong' for New Zealand, as it appeared for me at the Knowledge Wave Conference in 2003, this research has pioneered a broad examination of New Zealand's creative economy.

Along the lines of Colquhoun's suggestion that the art of walking upright in New Zealand is with one foot for holding on and one for letting go², the methodology applied in this research can be viewed as being in part about a foundation and in part about exploring new directions; respectively, 'holding on' and 'letting go'. In the tension between the 'holding on' and 'letting go' dimensions of this research lies the essence of this examination.

Here, 'holding-on' is represented by the foundation of New Zealand's creative economy examined through the public policy systems in Chapter 4. The 'letting-go' dimension involved first an exploration of alternative theoretical interpretations of the creative economy beyond those of Florida (2002), as laid out in Chapter 2. Dominant among these were notions of creative places, social capital, cultural specificity and questions regarding 'seed nuclei' for creative enterprise economic development, which were influential for this examination. The 'letting go' metaphor can then be extended through the findings of Chapters 5 and 6 which examined the attitudes of creative entrepreneurs firstly to Government policies for the creative economy and secondly to New Zealand as a location for their creative enterprise. This was an examination of the context for creativity in New Zealand.

² 'The Art of Walking Upright' (1999) by New Zealand poet Glenn Colquhoun (1964 -):
"The art of walking upright here/ Is the art of using both feet./ One is for holding on/ And one for letting go."

2 Creative economy public policy systems

Foundations for 'holding on' in the research were established by examining in detail the public policy system for the creative economy in New Zealand from 1999-2008. From the international context, this was the period of time in which the creative economy discourse emerged around the world, including New Zealand. From a New Zealand perspective, when this research commenced (in the middle of that period) Helen Clark was Prime Minister and also Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage; during the period of the research a National-led government replaced her Labour-led government. In 2008 Clark's Prime Ministerial successor John Key did not choose the Arts, Culture and Heritage portfolio, and it is uncertain when (or indeed, if) the creative sector of New Zealand's economy may next have the benefit of Prime Ministerial leadership at its helm. The period 1999-2008 thus represents a confluence of strong forces, one being the broad international development of the creative economy in which creativity and innovation were seen as drivers for economic development (Chapter 2), and the other being the unprecedented political leadership and associated arts patronage applied to this sector in New Zealand (Chapter 4).

The period 1999-2008 can be regarded as a pinnacle of engaged support for this sector of New Zealand's economy. Chapter 4 examined this clearly-defined creative age, for which a significant archive of documents relating to New Zealand's creative economy was assembled. Future examinations of New Zealand's creative economy may benefit from this archive.

However, as has also been shown, there were clear tensions between the top-down policy approaches as exemplified by the Growth and Innovation Framework or Economic Transformation agenda on one hand and the bottom-up local economic development policies on the other. Through Chapter 4 it was demonstrated how the disconnection between these two contrasting policy paradigms was a characteristic of the period 1999-2008. The endogenous-growth approaches of Anderton as Minister of Economic Development were whittled away - Industry New Zealand was established in 2000 then

quickly replaced with a new export-focused entity in 2003, and Anderton himself was replaced at the end of the second political term in 2005. Creativity was uncoupled from innovation by 2008, and the creative industries economic development agenda was largely abandoned.

For the creative entrepreneurs in this study the effect of this shift from the micro back to the macro was of little consequence in their business practice. As entrepreneurs, they were busy developing their creative enterprises and utilising every tool and piece of support in pursuit of their own commercial advantage. As shown in Chapter 5, engagement with Government agencies and attempts to influence policy were important components of the entrepreneurial activity of the creative entrepreneurs. Through this influence they attempted to make their production-side values felt, values which, as shown in Chapter 6, include a sense of place or belonging as New Zealanders. This is the nexus of policy, practice and place in this examination of New Zealand's creative economy.

3 Revealing the values of New Zealand creative entrepreneurs

This examination of creative entrepreneurs in New Zealand has revealed a set of values, and new territory has been entered, enquiring about attitudes towards New Zealand as a location for creative enterprise (Chapter 6), and about attitudes towards how the government assisted the creative economy (Chapter 5). This examination has revealed creative entrepreneur values which enable us better to understand the context for creativity. Chapters 5 and 6 explored the New Zealand cultural specificity of the following concepts: sense of belonging, sense of identity, sense of place, altruistic contribution to industry development, social connectedness (discussed throughout this research as two degrees of separation), safety and freedom. These are distinctive characteristics of New Zealand as a place.

Chapter 6 examined in detail the attitudes of creative entrepreneurs towards New Zealand. It appears that a coherent set of perspectives on this subject existed among the research participants, who possessed a clearly-defined sense of belonging and identity as

being New Zealanders. New Zealand may be geographically isolated, but this isolation was not regarded as essentially negative by the creative entrepreneurs. Rather, it has engendered a resourcefulness which may well be a distinguishing feature of New Zealand creativity.

It appears that for research participants, a tension exists between the perceived isolation or tyranny of distance from markets and being creatively inspired by being located in New Zealand. This may indicate that perspectives of New Zealand creative entrepreneurs were held in a delicate balance on this point, with understandings of the wider world being tempered by the need to live in the near-world closer to home. It appears that the creative entrepreneurs in New Zealand were less focused on using generic global concepts or brands than on local, outside-the-window sources of inspiration. The research participants appeared to create their cultural or creative goods, imbued with symbolic meaning, whether in visual art, interpretation of songs, fashion or fantasy-world creation, by drawing on New Zealand's environment and society.

That is not to say that overseas influences do not exist. They were noted by research participants as being part of their entrepreneurial framework. All the research participants travelled overseas, many of them regularly and extensively, and some were resident overseas. This tension between overseas and New Zealand influences (environmental factors, landscape, society) may well play a central role in New Zealand creative entrepreneurship.

New Zealand as a place was credited as being a major source of creative inspiration and "imaginative vocabulary". The sense of place or of belonging was strong even among research participants who were resident overseas. For some participants, this sense of place or of belonging was so profound it defied verbal articulation.

Attachment to homeland is a worldwide phenomenon. It is not exclusive to New Zealand creative entrepreneurs. While keenly felt and profoundly experienced by the research participants, these values did not necessarily derive from multi-generational rootedness in

specific places as would be the case with Maori, for example. Rootedness in the context of this examination appeared to derive less from autochthony than from a different kind of cultural connectedness with the place - a connection with the land, specifically with rural New Zealand.

Rootedness in the soil would seem to be a natural corollary of New Zealand's historic and continuing economic dependence on agriculture. Chapter 6 showed that the research participants had what could be described as an ambient awareness of many aspects of rural New Zealand, their experiences ranging from the dominance of the rural landscape in New Zealand place-identity to direct lived experiences of farming life. Future research in this area could fruitfully investigate whether a heightened attachment to the land persists due to New Zealand's relative isolation from the traffic of civilisation. The way in which creative entrepreneurs identify with rural New Zealand may be an important factor in understanding the cultural specifics of New Zealand's creative economy.

The size of New Zealand's population is another cultural specific which bears heavily upon the issue of social capital. Chapters 5 and 6 showed the central significance of the fact that people know each other, know whom to ask for help or whom to seek out when it comes to influencing policy. This familiarity engendered a sense of trust, comfort and even safety for research participants. This safety, of the kind where people don't need to lock doors, was described as providing freedom of a type that was literally boundless. It is thought-provoking and perhaps paradoxical that strongly connected networks of people should be conducive to a sense of freedom. Anonymity as found in large metropolises may be difficult to find in connected New Zealand, where it may be impossible to be fully anonymous.

As shown at the end of Background Chapter 2, the values discussed above are production-side rather than consumption-led, unlike those underpinning Florida's (2002) creative-class theory. Pratt (2008) suggested that the latter were not interrogated but in fact "read back from the assumed values of their consumption practices" (p. 110). The present study,

by contrast, has explored actual experiences and thereby revealed a set of values, which was then subjected to interrogation to reveal new insights.

The values revealed and interrogated allow us to put together a composite assessment of what being located in New Zealand actually means for creative entrepreneurs. There are three crucial kinds of factors at work. First, natural, environmental or geo-physical factors such as the fundamental isolation of a unique country, rural landscapes or seed-pods. Second, social factors like close connections and awareness of others, reciprocity and trust. And third, there are human factors combining the natural and social elements, such as sense of belonging and sense of place.

The wealth of information brought together in this study represents an important contribution to how we set about understanding the lived experience of creative entrepreneurs in New Zealand. A proper appreciation of production-side values can throw a great deal of light on the conditions required for the emergence of creativity and innovation. This is a step towards understanding the seeding process for creative economy enterprises. Callaghan (2009, p. 13) spoke of “seed nuclei” which were poorly understood in New Zealand. They can perhaps be found, and hence exploited, by combining the specific values which this study has identified as characterising New Zealand’s creative entrepreneurs. The potential of this could be significant for New Zealand's economic development.

Advancing the analysis of these values further, it appears real similarities exist between the ‘New Zealand values’ described above and the village-life values admired and discussed by Landry (2000), and examined in Chapter 2. When Landry cited a 1997 survey which showed that 84 percent of people in the UK wanted to live in a small village compared to 4 percent who did, he observed “We cannot create enough villages to meet these aspirations. Instead we must make cities desirable places to live and be in, partly by recreating the values that people perceive to exist in a village - a sense of place and belonging, continuity, safety and predictability - and partly by nurturing distinctly urban

possibilities - buzz, interaction, trade, unexpected delight and much more." (Landry, 2000, p xiii).

Here is a very important notion: If New Zealand has moved from being an agricultural to a service-based economy without a dominant manufacturing phase (Smith, 1993, p. 1), then it could logically be suggested that New Zealand has avoided altogether the need to reclaim village values because it never lost them in the first place. The sense of place and belonging, safety, connectedness and other values discussed above appear to be present in New Zealand without any need for recreating them by policymakers and city planners. It follows that New Zealand could be described as a very large ***creative village*** - a provisional but nonetheless probable conclusion.

New Zealand could therefore represent an archetypal model of what other nations have been striving to replicate with their creative city policies. New Zealand's cultural specificity and social framework already contains a set of values to which other countries and places may aspire.

The creative economy discourse and its policies around the world, discussed in Chapter 2, have focused on urban regeneration, principally through creative city programmes and policies. New Zealand's creative economy agenda has not pursued large-scale urban *re*-generation because its towns and cities have not required repurposing as did, for example, Manchester in the UK (Landry, 2000), or Pittsburgh in the USA (Florida, 2002). Viewed from this perspective, what the creative economy has offered New Zealand has been inherently constructive and forward-looking, unconstrained by the limitations imposed by a manufacturing past.

However, the practice of fitting together increasingly globalised and technology-demanding creative industries with policies which originated to regenerate old cities in a country which functioned like a village was a complex scenario for New Zealand. As discussed first in Chapter 2 and then examined in Chapter 4, New Zealand's approach to

economic development of the creative sector 1999-2008 was influenced by home-grown concepts as well as those imported from abroad.

New Zealand's creative economy could be broadly described as a tale of two creativities - one being of culture and traditional 'arts' institutions such as museums, and the other being creativity for economic development which was more characterised by industry development of technology-rich sectors such as film, digital gaming or fashion design. These two strands combined to compose the subject matter for the policy system for New Zealand's creative economy, the intertwining - and unravelling - of which was examined in Chapter 4.

Leadership for the 'cultural' thread of the creative economy remained constant between 1999-2008, namely in the persons of Prime Minister Helen Clark as Minister of Arts Culture and Heritage, and Judith Tizard as Associate Minister throughout the nine years of the Labour-led government. For the 'creative industries' thread, however, leadership changed. Jim Anderton was Minister of Economic Development (and Minister of Industry and Regional Development) from 1999-2005, and during the final 2005-2008 term there were two different Ministers of Economic Development. This change in leadership was significant for New Zealand's creative economy because new leadership brought other, different focus areas for economic development. The tension between the (earlier) bottom-up local economic development policies and the later top-down policy approaches as exemplified by the Growth and Innovation Framework and the Economic Transformation agenda was based on contrasting policy paradigms. The macro approaches were in the ascendancy. As examined in Chapter 4, in 2007-8 this shift meant abandonment of many of the approaches which had nurtured the creative economy since 1999, including a shift in focus away from local development perspectives to larger regional perspectives in which the local voice appeared to be lost.

The creative turn for New Zealand's economy, in this analysis, appeared to come full circle; by 2008, the focus for economic development was again on innovation in pastoral farming, where it had been hitherto, and not on the creative sector. This was a return to

agricultural pastoral roots. Essentially this was the same rural core of New Zealand which appeared to be at the heart of the sense of place and belonging of the present study's research participants. In such a context, Kirsty Gunn's words (from her novel "Featherstone", discussed in Chapter 6), are highly relevant and pregnant with meaning: "All of the air and all the land sings this song. This is what the wide earth says: "I will be at peace".

The notion that New Zealand can be described as a great creative village, possessing an admirable set of "seed nuclei" for encouraging creativity and innovation, is a substantial conclusion for this research. Creativity is an arena in which New Zealand could assuredly lead itself rather than be led. Indeed, it could lead other places, too. These are good grounds for New Zealand to remove any vestiges of colonial behaviours which look to the "metropolis" (whether London or New York) for ideas, and to step forward as an autarky, confidently relying on its own givens.

The omnipresence - thanks to the media - of the USA and its modern urbanised, individualised, and consumption-led "values" may make it difficult for New Zealand "villagers" to feel fully confident that they are on the right path. But they are. The "givens" of New Zealand are the very things that have made New Zealand creative entrepreneurs and industries a success, despite the complex scenario for policy in this field.

Polonius's speech to his departing son Laertes, from William Shakespeare's "Hamlet" (Act 1, scene 3, 78-80), seems entirely appropriate advice for creative villagers in New Zealand:

*"This above all: to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man."*

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Appendices

Appendix A Ethics application

Appendix B Timeline of policy actions

Appendix C Timeline of creative economy agencies 1999-2008

Appendix D NZ Government agencies involved in creative economy

Appendix E Participant information sheet

Appendix F Schedule of research participants

CD-ROM contains the following files of documents:

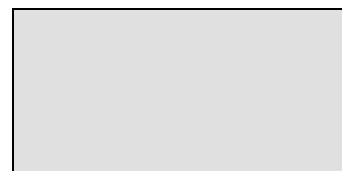
- Policy statements from Ministry for Arts, Culture and Heritage and Ministry of Economic Development for each year 1999 to 2008
- Creative sector general documents
- Leadership Technology
- Fashion
- Music taskforce
- Screen taskforce
- Digital creative
- Design Taskforce
- Pre-Growth and Innovation Framework
- Growth and Innovation Framework

Appendix A Ethics application

**Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee
(AUTEC)**

EA1

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL FOR RESEARCH PROJECTS



Please note that incomplete applications will not be considered by AUTEC. Please do not alter the formatting of this form or delete any sections. If a particular question is not applicable to your research, please state that as your response to that question.

A. General Information

A.1. Project Title

If you will be using a different title in documents to that being used as your working title, please provide both, clearly indicating which title will be used for what purpose.

The Creative Country – an examination of New Zealand's creative economy

A.2. Applicant Name and Qualifications

When the researcher is a student (including staff who are AUT students), the applicant is the principal supervisor. When the researcher is an AUT staff member undertaking research as part of employment or a staff member undertaking research as part of an external qualification, the applicant is the researcher. Staff should refer to Section 11.4 of Applying for Ethics Approval: Guidelines and Procedures to check requirements for ethics approval where they are studying at another institution.

Professor Ian Shirley

A.3. Applicant's School/Department/Academic Group/Centre

Institute of Public Policy

A.4. Applicant's Faculty

Faculty of Applied Humanities

A.5. Student Details

Please complete this section only if the research is being undertaken by a student as part of an AUT qualification.

A.5.1. Student Name(s):

Jason Smith

A.5.2. Student ID Number(s):

ST 0308669

A.5.3. Completed Qualification(s):

B Sc (Hons)

Graduate Diploma Economic Development

A.5.4. E-mail address:

jasmith@aut.ac.nz

A.5.5. School/Department/Academic Group/Centre

Institute of Public Policy

A.5.6. Faculty

Faculty of Applied Humanities

A.5.7. Name of the qualification for which this research is being undertaken:

Doctor of Philosophy

A.5.8. Research Output

Please state whether your research will result in a thesis or dissertation or a research paper or is part of coursework requirements.

PhD Thesis

A.6. Details of Other Researchers or Investigators

Please complete this section only if other researchers, investigators or organisations are involved in this project. Please also specify the role any other researcher(s), investigator(s) or organisation(s) will have in the research.

A.6.1. Individual Researcher(s) or Investigator(s)

Please provide the name of each researcher or investigator and the institution in which they research.

The secondary supervisor for this project is Professor Marilyn Waring at the Institute of Public Policy, AUT University.

A.6.2. Research or Investigator Organisations

Please provide the name of each organisation and the city in which the organisation is located.

NONE

A.7. Are you applying concurrently to another ethics committee?

If your answer is yes, please provide full details, including the meeting date, and attach copies of the full application and approval letter if it has been approved.

NONE

A.8. Declaration

The information supplied is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, accurate. I have read the current Guidelines, published by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee, and clearly understand my obligations and the rights of the participant, particularly with regard to informed consent.

Signature of Applicant

Date

(In the case of student applications the signature must be that of the Supervisor)

Signature of Student

Date

(If the research is a student project, both the signature of the Supervisor, as the applicant, and the student are required)

A.9. Authorising Signature

Signature of Head

Name of Faculty/Programme/School/Centre

Date

B. General Project Information

B.1. Project Duration

B.1.1. Approximate Start Date of Primary Data Collection

10 March 2008

B.1.2. Approximate Finish Date of Complete Project

31 December 2008

B.2. Are funds being obtained specifically for this project?

If your answer is yes, then you must complete section G of this Application Form.

I am in receipt of a Doctoral Scholarship.

B.3. Types of persons participating as participants

Please indicate clearly every one of the following categories that applies to those participating in your research.

B.3.1. Researcher's students

None

B.3.2. Adults (20 years and above)

Yes – Adults as key informants.

B.3.3. Legal minors (16 to 20 years old)

None

B.3.4. Legal minors (under 16 years old)

None

B.3.5. Members of vulnerable groups

e.g. persons with impairments, limited understanding, etc. If your answer is yes, please provide a full description.

None

B.3.6. Hospital patients

None

B.3.7. Prisoners

None

B.4. Does this research involve use of human remains, tissue or body fluids which does not require submission to a Regional Ethics Committee?

e.g. finger pricks, urine samples, etc. (please refer to section 13 of the AUTECH Guidelines). If your answer is yes, please provide full details of all arrangements, including details of agreements for treatment, etc.

No

B.5. Does this research involve potentially hazardous substances?

e.g. radioactive materials (please refer to section 15 of the AUTECH Guidelines). If your answer is yes, please provide full details.

No

B.6. Research Instruments

B.6.1. Does the research include the use of a questionnaire?

If your answer is yes, a copy of the questionnaire is to be attached to this application form.

No

B.6.2. Does the research involve the use of focus groups or interviews?

If the answer is yes, please indicate how the data will be recorded (e.g. audiotape, videotape, note-taking). When interviews or focus groups are being recorded, you will need to make sure there is provision for explicit consent on the Consent Form and attach to this Application Form examples of indicative questions or the full interview or focus group schedule.

The research involves the use of interviews. Data will be recorded with a digital audio recorder. There will also be note-taking at interviews, as a secondary interview record.

Explicit consent for audio recording of participants will be provided for in the Consent Form.

Examples of indicative questions are attached to this form.

The research does not involve focus groups.

B.6.3. Does the research involve the use of observation?

If the answer is 'Yes', please attach a copy of the observation protocol that will be used to this application.

No

B.6.4. Who will be transcribing or recording the data?

If someone other than the researcher will be transcribing the interview or focus group records or taking the notes, you need to provide a confidentiality agreement with this Application Form.

The researcher will take notes and record the data.

A professional transcriber will be employed for transcription of the recorded interviews. A confidentiality agreement for the transcriber is attached.

B.7. How does the design and practice of this research implement each of the three principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Partnership, Participation and Protection) in the relationships between the researcher and other participants?

Please refer to Section 2.5 of AUTECH's Applying for Ethics Approval: Guidelines and Procedures (accessible in the Ethics Knowledge Base online via <http://www.aut.ac.nz/about/ethics>) and to the relevant Frequently Asked Questions section in the Ethics Knowledge Base.

The researcher understands and appreciates the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi with regard to this research design and its implementation.

Partnership The researcher is encouraging a partnership relationship with creative industry leaders for this research; without their willing engagement the project will not progress.

The researcher brings to the partnership his experience as a business person in the creative sector in New Zealand, and has also been Chief Executive of an Economic Development Agency which implemented creative industries policies at a territorial local authority level. Through these experiences he can stand 'shoulder to shoulder' with creative industries leaders being interviewed with a sense of partnership or common experiences. This includes shared understandings of the context of the creative industries in New Zealand.

Participation All interviewees will have full, reciprocal, free and equal opportunities to participate in the research. They will be able to withdraw without consequence from the research at any point up to the conclusion of the interview. This is made clear to them in the Participant Information Sheet.

There are no opportunities in the research design for any participant to be accorded special or different treatment from other participants. All participants will be given copies of a summary report of the findings of the research.

The interviewee participants in the research will have the opportunity to verify transcripts from their interviews. This will allow them to be active participants in the research.

Protection The research design implements an active protection of participants, the researcher and the institution.

The opportunity for interviewee participants to verify information from interview transcripts will help protect them from discomfort, embarrassment or harm.

The ability for participants to be able to withdraw from the research without consequence is an important factor in their protection.

B.8. Does this research target Maori participants?

No. In the interview phase of this research the researcher will interview neither Maori leaders nor Maori creative industries policy developers. The research questions are not about Maori creativity or Maori creative industry development.

This is early research for this new sector of New Zealand's economy, and the specificity required for developing an appropriate research design for targeting Maori participants is beyond the scope of the research.

However, this research may be used in the future by researchers studying the Maori creative economy or *nga toi Maori*.

B.8.1. If 'Yes', what consultation has been undertaken when designing the research?

Please identify the group(s) with whom consultation has occurred and provide evidence of their support and any impact this consultation had on the design of the research. Researchers are advised to read the Health Research Council's Guidelines for researchers on health research involving Maori, available via the Ethics Knowledge Base.

B.9. Does this research target participants of particular cultures or social groups?

Please refer to Section 2.5 of AUTC's Applying for Ethics Approval: Guidelines and Procedures (accessible in the Ethics Knowledge Base online via <http://www.aut.ac.nz/about/ethics>) and to the relevant Frequently Asked Questions section in the Ethics Knowledge Base.

No. It targets isolated, individual creative sector leaders from diverse industrial disciplines in New Zealand in the period 1999 – 2007. This is not a social group.

B.9.1. If 'Yes' please identify which cultures or social groups are being targeted and how their cultures or social groups are being considered in the research design.

B.9.2. If your answer to B.9 was 'Yes', what consultation has occurred with these cultures or social groups in the design of the research?

Please identify the group(s) with whom consultation has occurred and provide evidence of their support and any impact this consultation had on the design of the research.

B.10. Is there a need for translation or interpreting?

If your answer is 'Yes', please provide copies of any translations with this application and any Confidentiality Agreement required for translators or interpreters.

No

C. Project Details

Please describe the project details in language which is, as far as possible, free from jargon and comprehensible to lay people.

C.1. Aim of project:

Please explain the broad scope and purpose of the project and state concisely how the type of information being sought will achieve the project's aims. Please give the specific hypothesis(es), if any, to be tested.

So often in the past people have celebrated creativity and culture as being essential humanising elements. Only in the last ten years have these twin concepts been recast into a new approach to the serious work of economic development, one which focuses on design, creativity and making money out of ideas. This 'creative economy' comprises 14 industry types, including film, fashion, music, digital software development and art, among others.

Most theories referring to the economic development of the creative industries focus on the importance of cities, the competitive advantage of cities and mobility of talent – that is, people moving to cities to be with other creative people. Anecdotal evidence shows that New Zealand creative industry leaders do not necessarily follow this well-trod urban-regenerist path; but little is known about their road less travelled. My critical review of theory has highlighted that traditional foreign-generated location theories for regional development are outmoded here, especially in the age of the internet. With creative ideas able to be turned into money from virtually anywhere, there is a real need to ask, again, the age-old industrial location question "why here?" – and to ask this in a New Zealand context.

The aim of the research is to explore the model or models of the creative economy as experienced in the development New Zealand. Does New Zealand possess a unique approach to the development of the creative industries and their role in economic development?

I propose to ask New Zealand creative industry leaders about the 'why here?' phenomenon as experienced by them. I want to know how a sense of place informs their work, how their personal experiences as leaders within the creative industries have shaped their views and performance, and how these experiences gel with the policy framework for the creative industries in New Zealand. This qualitative aspect of the research is based on a phenomenological methodology, with key informant interviews taking place spring 2007 – summer 2008.

This research design seeks New Zealand perspectives on mobility of talent contrasted with a sense of place, problem-solving and creativity in making sustainable creative places. It also explores the role of Government policy in local development of the creative industries

in New Zealand. The research design is appropriate for constructing a model of the sustainable local creative economy in New Zealand.

The design of the study is based on four main elements:

1. A critical analysis of the creative industries in the Anglophone countries with particular emphasis on the theories of Richard Florida.
2. A review of the creative industries in New Zealand based on documentary analysis with most of the relevant reports available in the public domain.
3. A series of 14 vignette case studies of the creative industries in New Zealand drawn from documentary analysis and woven into the text of the thesis.
4. A series of key informant interviews of selected opinion leaders within the creative industries in New Zealand.

It is the fourth element of the study (the key informant interviews) which is the focus of this Ethics application.

C.2. Why are you proposing this research?

(ie what are its potential benefits to participants, researcher, wider community, etc?)

The completed work is intended to generate theory that will be useful for future public policy development relevant to economic development of the creative industries in New Zealand.

C.3. Background:

Please provide sufficient information, including relevant references, to place the project in perspective and to allow the project's significance to be assessed. Where appropriate, provide one or two references to the applicant's (or supervisor's) own published work in the relevant field.

Since 1999 the New Zealand Government has sought economic transformation of the country through developing biotechnology, ICT and the creative industries. To encourage the adoption of this agenda, in 2003 the government hosted a conference including captains of industry, community leaders, academics and key personnel from both public and private sectors. The purpose of the Knowledge Wave Conference was to promote economic transformation with the aim of returning New Zealand to the top half of the

OECD nations for economic performance. I attended as an emerging leader from Northland region.

Among the usual line-up of conference speakers – leading economists, sociologists, scientists and academics from around the globe, there was one speaker whose performance on the podium outshone the others. Richard Florida strode up and down the stage, speaking for 40 minutes without notes as he mesmerized the audience of 400 with his economic development message. As Professor of Regional Development at Carnegie Mellon University in Pennsylvania, USA, his message was polished, upbeat and invigorating. Copies of his book 'The Rise of the Creative Class' sold out before the end of his presentation (Florida 2002). For me, being a CEO of an economic development agency and about to start a Graduate Diploma in Economic Development two weeks later, the timing of his message was impeccable. This man appeared to be onto something, with his formula for making places attractive to investment, bright young people and stimulating lifestyles. Who wouldn't be drawn to all that?

A large part of the appeal to me of the Richard Florida approach to regional development comes from his insistence on place-based development. My reason for establishing this up front is that I have a strong personal sense of place. I know where I am from, and find multiple connections between myself and my place to enrich creativity in my daily life.

To explain my background, I live on the north shores of the Kaipara harbour in Northland, New Zealand, in a small village called Matakoho. My Smith great-great grandparents founded the community here in 1862, and I am a direct descendant of them living in the same place. Moreover, I purchased the original family homestead and estate when I was 22, and have been living as the fifth generation in the old kauri homestead for the last 13 years. When I started out restoring the 1873 house I was probably the youngest person in New Zealand owning and living in the oldest house – a curious matrix of cross-referenced factors that would give anyone a strong sense of place.

Matakoho is celebrated as the home of The Kauri Museum. This cultural institution was started in 1962 by a cousin of mine to celebrate the centenary of the arrival of our pioneer ancestors. The theme of the museum is the loss of the kauri forests of Northland, and the art, architecture, culture and lifestyles of the people who wrought that significant

environmental change. It attracts 100,000 paying visitors each year. Importantly, the Kauri Museum reflects and represents the style of my old house and lands, my family and my place. It is also one of the very few museums to operate without assistance of government grants, making it an exceptional cultural institution in New Zealand.

However, as I sat in the back row of the Knowledge Wave conference hall, studiously listening, writing notes and considering the Florida message, it came clear to me that his theory traveled neither to Matakohē and its creative industry success story, and therefore nor did it travel to New Zealand. His description of the 'Bohemian Index', the measure of artists, designers and creative 30-somethings he had developed in Pittsburgh, didn't match the world I knew. I drew diagrams and sketches showing how the Florida definition of the Creative Class – including its measurement in human capital terms of the number of people with higher education tertiary degrees – wasn't enough for New Zealand. As much as it appealed, his hipsterisation wasn't here.

Any attempts by me to align the Florida 'creative class' theory with the world I live in were fruitless. There were no 'hip 30-somethings', no cafes and no biking trails in my village. The only person around with a university degree was myself, so any measure of human capital in terms of university qualified or professionally trained people was irrelevant – and yet that factor was one of three cited by Florida as imperatives for creative industry success.

The more I looked, the more gaps there seemed to be in the application of this theory to New Zealand. Florida measures artists by the academic degrees they may have, rather than artistic output. And Polynesian and Maori artists, a significant part of creativity and cultural identity in New Zealand, also fit outside the Florida model. These points highlight a distance between the received wisdom of creative economy theory from abroad and on-the-ground realities in New Zealand.

There appear to be creative industry successes all around us in New Zealand, yet they don't fit the theories of the leading popular academic in the field. This begs the question of how well international theories for the creative economy travel. Is there a new tyranny of distance in the age of creativity, where foreign tools are ineffective when applied here, poorly encouraging the very industry sector we are told will transform the economy? Or do

we just need to develop our own understandings of how the creative economy works here, adapting international theories for application in a New Zealand context.

Further reading has uncovered a great accumulation of policy information and empirical data since the first creative economy public policies emerged in the UK in the late 1990s. There has also emerged a variety of economic development initiatives for the creative industries in New Zealand. Despite this, very little has been discovered about the way the creative economy works in New Zealand. Although creative economy academics develop theories in other countries, no study of creative economy models in New Zealand has been reported. This represents a serious gap in the knowledge required for effective creative economy policy in New Zealand.

C.4. Procedure:

C.4.1. Explain the philosophical and/or methodological approach taken to obtaining information and/or testing the hypothesis(es).

In order to construct a robust research design to answer my questions I have carefully considered the foundations for the development of my approach – it is found in a **Constructivist** epistemology. The theoretical perspective of **interpretivism** is being used, specifically its branches **phenomenology** and **hermeneutics**. This research will be qualitative rather than quantitative. I will be interpreting new meanings and building theory from this research.

Phenomenology is my main research methodology. It is a research methodology which calls into question what is taken for granted. As Davidson and Tolich wrote in ‘Social Science Research in New Zealand’, a phenomenological methodology ‘... is about saying “No!” to the meaning system bequeathed to us. It is about setting that meaning system aside.... It is about a reinterpretation of the phenomena’ (Davidson and Tolich 2003). Use of a **phenomenological research methodology** aligns with the original motivation for my research, where I questioned the validity for New Zealand of the Richard Florida ‘creative class’ theory. The reason I have chosen this methodology is because I want to understand the phenomena in question as experienced by other people. The salient question “why here?”, as already shown in Section C1 of this AUTEK application, has not been satisfactorily addressed in a New Zealand context.

The second methodology that will be used in this research is **heuristic enquiry**, from **hermeneutics**. I have chosen this because I want to be able bring forward my own observations based on a critical analysis of policy documents and provisions for the creative industries within the Anglophone countries in general and New Zealand in particular.

C.4.2. State in practical terms what research procedures or methods will be used.

A Key informant interviews - with “opinion leaders” and “stakeholders” for particular communities of interest. In this qualitative research the non-probability sampling technique **purposive sampling** is being used. This will use a phenomenological research methodology.

B Document analysis is the method which will allow me to gather information from written reports and documents prepared by the New Zealand Government or its agencies relating to the creative industries in New Zealand. Written information from key sources will be included in this document analysis.

C Greater depth to the research will come with use of the research method **self-reflective and reflective analysis**. This heuristic enquiry will include my own observations, reflections and experiences from more than ten years of involvement with the creative industries and economic development in New Zealand.

D To add further depth to this work about the creative industries in New Zealand there will be 14 vignette **Case studies**. Based on separate pieces of longitudinal study of isolated parts of the creative economy in New Zealand, these short, graphic vignettes will be drawn from documentary analysis. The theme of these vignettes will be explication of trends in the 14 industry sectors which comprise the creative economy. Vignettes will appear as “Metric” articles in Idealog magazine.

C.4.3. State how information will be gathered and processed.

The information will be gathered from participant interviews, using note-taking and audio recording of interviews.

Recordings will be transcribed and analysis of the information will follow.

C.4.4. State how your data will be analysed.

The qualitative research outlined above will require the **coding of themes** which are identified from the research. I will use **negative coding** to improve my data collection process, for example, by highlighting the cause of an aberrant reaction during one key informant interview, to ensure that learnings from that inform my approach to future interviews. I will use **positive coding** to remake the interview guide and to begin drafting the data into thematic groups. These themes will be rigorously analysed to create the final text.

C.4.5. Provide the statistical or methodological justification for this.

This is an appropriate methodology for this qualitative research.

C.5. Bibliography and References

Please include the bibliography and references for your responses to this section in the standard format used in your discipline.

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- Putnam, R. D. (2000). Bowling Alone : the collapse and revival of American community. New York, USA, Touchstone, Simon and Schuster.
- Schumpeter, J. (1942). Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy. New York, George Allen and Unwin.
- Weber, A. (1929). Theory of the Location of Industries. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

D. Participants

D.1. Who are the participants?

Ten creative industries leaders in New Zealand.

D.1.1. What criteria are to be used in recruiting the participants?

Purposive sampling technique will give a defined group of participants. Criteria for inclusion are:

Criterion 1: High-profile individuals

Criterion 2: Top earners who have an impact on economic development

Criterion 3: Individuals with proven record as entrepreneurs, mavericks, leaders.

Criterion 4: Active involvement in creative industries during the period 1999-2007

Criterion 5: A geographic spread of leaders, drawn from all through New Zealand.

Criterion 6: A mix of urban and rural creative industry leaders.

D.1.2. What criteria are to be used for selecting participants from those recruited?

Willingness to participate in this research.

D.1.3. Are there any potential participants who will be excluded?

If your answer is yes, please detail the criteria for exclusion.

No.

D.2. Are there any potential conflicts of interest or possible coercive influences in the professional, social, or cultural relationships between the researcher and the participants (e.g. dependent relationships such as teacher/student; parent/child; pastor/congregation etc.)?

None

D.2.1. If your answer was 'Yes', please identify the nature of the relationships concerned and provide full information about the processes being incorporated into the research design to mitigate any adverse affects that may arise from them.

D.3. How many participants will be selected?

High-profile individuals from the creative industries will be approached in this purposive sampling. There will be at least six of these creative entrepreneurs, and fewer than 10, participating in this research.

Leaders of government agencies involved in the creative industries in New Zealand, such as Creative New Zealand and New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, are also relevant participants in this data collection. There will be three or four of these participants.

In total, there will be between nine and 14 participants.

D.3.1. What is the reason for selecting this number?

This small number of key leaders will provide a great richness of data for this research.

D.3.2. Provide a statistical justification where applicable, if you have not already provided one in C.4 5. above.

While this is a statistically small sample, this research among leaders is significant.

In a small country like New Zealand many resources are held by a small number of people – and these leaders dominate market segments, are key private-sector investors and taste-leaders. Their influence can be significant.

D.3.3. Is there a control group?

If your answer is yes, please describe and state how many are in the control group.

No

D.4. Describe in detail the recruitment methods to be used.

If you will be recruiting by advertisement or email, please attach a copy to this Application Form

Recruitment will be by direct personal contact. Participants for interview will be high profile and able to be contacted via Trade Directories, Government Directories or from the telephone book. Personal contact will be made through these channels.

D.5. How will information about the project be given to participants?

(e.g. in writing, verbally). A copy of information to be given to prospective participants is to be attached to this Application Form. If written information is to be provided to participants, you are advised to use the Information Sheet exemplar.

Information will be given verbally and in writing to prospective candidates. See attached copy of Information Sheet.

D.6. Will the participants have difficulty giving informed consent on their own behalf?

Consider physical or mental condition, age, language, legal status, or other barriers. If the answer is yes, please provide full details.

No

D.6.1. If participants are not competent to give fully informed consent, who will consent on their behalf?

D.6.2. Will these participants be asked to provide assent to participation?

If the answer is yes, please attach a copy of the assent form which will be used. Please note that assent is not the same as consent (please refer to the Glossary in Appendix A of the AUTC Guidelines and Procedures).

D.7. Will consent of participants be gained in writing?

If the answer is yes, please attach a copy of the Consent Form which will be used. If the answer is No, please provide the reasons for this.

Yes.

Please see Consent Form attached.

Participants will be able to withdraw from the research at any time without consequence.

D.8. Will the participants remain anonymous to the researcher?

Please note that anonymity and confidentiality are different. If the answer is yes, please state how, otherwise, if the answer is no, please describe how participant privacy issues and confidentiality of information will be preserved.

No.

In this purposive sampling, and with key informant interviews as the principal research method, participants will be known to the researcher.

D.9. In the final report will there be any possibility that individuals or groups could be identified?

If the answer is yes, please explain how and why this will happen.

If participants wish to be identified and confirm this in writing through the consent form, then they will be identified in the final report. If they do not wish to be identified in the final report the identities of individuals will remain undisclosed.

Identification may be made through naming of the individual, naming of the sector in which the person creates (eg film) or the name of the location where the person lives and works (eg Auckland).

Why will this happen? – as leaders within the creative sector, participants may wish to be heard to as advocates for policy initiatives within the creative economy.

D.10. Will feedback or findings be disseminated to participants (individuals or groups)?

If the answer is yes, please explain how this will occur and ensure that this information is included in the Information Sheet.

Participants will have the opportunity to provide feedback after the interview takes place, before the findings are analysed and the final report is prepared.

Individual participants will receive copies of a summary report of the research findings. They will be able to access a full copy of the complete thesis from the AUT library.

D.11. Will the findings of this study be of particular interest to specific cultures or social groups?

If your answer is 'Yes', please identify how the findings will be made available to them.

NO

E. Other Project Details

E.1. Where will the project be conducted?

Please provide the name/s of the Institution/s, town/s, city or cities, region or country that best answers this question.

New Zealand

E.2. Who is in charge of data collection?

The researcher – Jason Smith

E.3. Who will interact with the participants?

The researcher – Jason Smith

E.4. What ethical risks are involved for participants in the proposed research?

Please consider the possibility of moral, physical, psychological or emotional risks to participants. Researchers are urged to consider this issue from the perspective of the participants, and not only from the perspective of someone familiar with the subject matter and research practices involved.

The primary ethical risk for participants in this research is through identity disclosure.

Importantly, having participants commenting from their experiences in their own voices is an important part of this research. Leaders who do not want to have their identities disclosed will not be included in the research.

E.4.1. If there are risks, identify and describe how these will be mitigated.

Since these are high profile people, identity disclosure is not likely to be an issue as creative industries leaders will be likely to want coverage and reportage of their views. Mitigation of any risks associated with this is that participants will have the opportunity to amend the interview transcripts.

E.5. Will there be any other physical hazards introduced to AUT staff and/or students through the duration of this project?

If the answer is yes, please provide details of management controls which will be in place to either eliminate or minimise harm from these hazards (e.g. a hazardous substance management plan).

No.

E.6. Are the participants likely to experience any discomfort, embarrassment (physical, psychological, social) or incapacity as a result of the procedures?

If the answer is yes, please identify how and describe how these will be minimised or mitigated (e.g. participants do not need to answer a question that they find embarrassing or they may terminate an interview or there may be a qualified counsellor present in the interview etc.)

No. Nevertheless, high profile creative industries leaders will have the opportunity to amend the transcript of their interviews to reduce any possible discomfort or embarrassment as a result of the research.

E.6.1. If the answer to E.6. was Yes, have you approached AUT Health and Counselling to discuss suitable arrangements for provision of services to deal with adverse physical or psychological consequences

Please refer to section 2.3 of AUTEK's Applying for Ethics Approval: Guidelines and Procedures in the Ethics Knowledge Base. If the answer is No, please explain the arrangements which have been made to have qualified personnel available to deal with unexpected adverse physical or psychological consequences?

E.7. Is deception of participants involved at any stage of the research?

If the answer is yes, please provide full details of and rationale for the deception. Please refer to Section 2.4 of AUTEK's Applying for Ethics Approval: Guidelines and Procedures when considering this question.

No.

E.8. How much time will participants have to give to the project?

Two hours for the initial interview. Reading time for preliminary findings, and then possibly another hour for a follow-up interview.

E.9. Will any information on the participants be obtained from third parties?

If the answer is yes, please provide full details.

Yes. There will be literature and article searches about participants to provide essential background information. This information will increase the efficiency of the interview process, and mean that the interviewing researcher will not duplicate material which is already in the public domain.

One source for this search is the Index New Zealand website, which is part of the National Library of New Zealand. Index New Zealand (INNZ) contains abstracts and descriptions of articles from approximately 1000 publications. It covers publications from 1987 to the present day, and articles from older publications are being added retrospectively. About 2500 records are added to INNZ every month.

E.10. Will any identifiable information on the participants be given to third parties?

If the answer is Yes, please provide full details.

No.

E.11. Provide details of any payment, gift or koha and, where applicable, level of payment to be made to participants.

Please refer to Section 2.1 of the AUTECH's Applying for Ethics Approval: Guidelines and Procedures and Appendix A of that document for AUTECH's policy on Payment and Koha, especially in relation to recruitment.

No payment or koha is to be made to participants.

F. Data and Consent Forms

F.1. Who will have access to the data?

The researcher – Jason Smith, plus supervisors.

F.2. Are there plans for future use of the data beyond those already described?

The applicant's attention is drawn to the requirements of the Privacy Act 1993 (see Appendix I)

There are NO plans for future use of the data beyond those already described.

F.3. Where will the data be stored once the analysis is complete?

Please provide the exact storage location. AUTECH normally requires that the data be stored securely on AUT premises in a location separate from the consent forms. If you are proposing an alternative arrangement, please explain why.

In a locked cabinet at Institute of Public Policy, AUT University.

F.4. For how long will the data be stored after completion of analysis?

AUTECH normally requires that the data be stored securely for six years. If you are proposing an alternative arrangement, please explain why.

For six years.

F.5. Will the data be destroyed?

If the answer is yes, please describe how the destruction will be effected. If the answer is no, please provide the reason for this.

The data will be destroyed by document shredder at the Institute of Public Policy.

F.6. Who will have access to the Consent Forms?

The researcher plus supervisors.

F.7. Where will the completed Consent Forms be stored?

Please provide the exact storage location. AUTECH normally requires that the Consent Forms be stored securely on AUT premises in a location separate from the data. If you are proposing an alternative arrangement, please explain why.

In a locked cabinet (different to F.3 above) at Institute of Public Policy.

F.8. For how long will the completed Consent Forms be stored?

AUTECH normally requires that the Consent Forms be stored securely for six years. If you are proposing an alternative arrangement, please explain why.

Six years.

F.9. Will the Consent Forms be destroyed?

If the answer is yes, please describe how the destruction will be effected. If the answer is no, please provide the reason for this.

The consent forms will be destroyed by document shredder at Institute of Public Policy.

G. Material Resources

G.1. Has an application for financial support for this project been (or will be) made to a source external to AUT or is a source external to AUT providing (or will provide) financial support for this project?

No

G.1.1. If the answer to G.1 was 'yes', please provide the name of the source, the amount of financial support involved, and clearly explain how the funder/s are involved in the design and management of the research.

G.2. Has the application been (or will it be) submitted to an AUT Faculty Research Grants Committee or other AUT funding entity?

If the answer is yes, please provide details.

No

G.2.1. If the answer to G.2 was 'yes', please provide the name of the source, the amount of financial support involved, and clearly explain how the funder/s are involved in the design and management of the research.

G.3. Is funding already available, or is it awaiting decision?

Please provide full details.

Funding is already available.

G.4. Please provide full details about the financial interest, if any, in the outcome of the project of the researchers, investigators or research organisations mentioned in Part A of this application.

H. Other Information

H.1. Have you ever made any other related applications?

If the answer is yes, please provide the AUTECH application / approval number(s)

No other applications made.

I. Checklist

Please ensure all applicable sections of this form have been completed and all appropriate documentation is attached as incomplete applications will not be considered by AUTC.

Section A	General Information Completed	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Signatures/Declaration Completed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Section B	Project General Information Completed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Section C	Project Details Completed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Section D	Participant Details Completed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Section E	Other Project Details Completed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Section F	Data & Consent Forms Details Completed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Section G	Material Resources Completed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Section H	Other Information Completed	<input type="checkbox"/>

Spelling and Grammar Check (please note that a high standard of spelling and grammar is required in documents that are issued with AUTC approval)

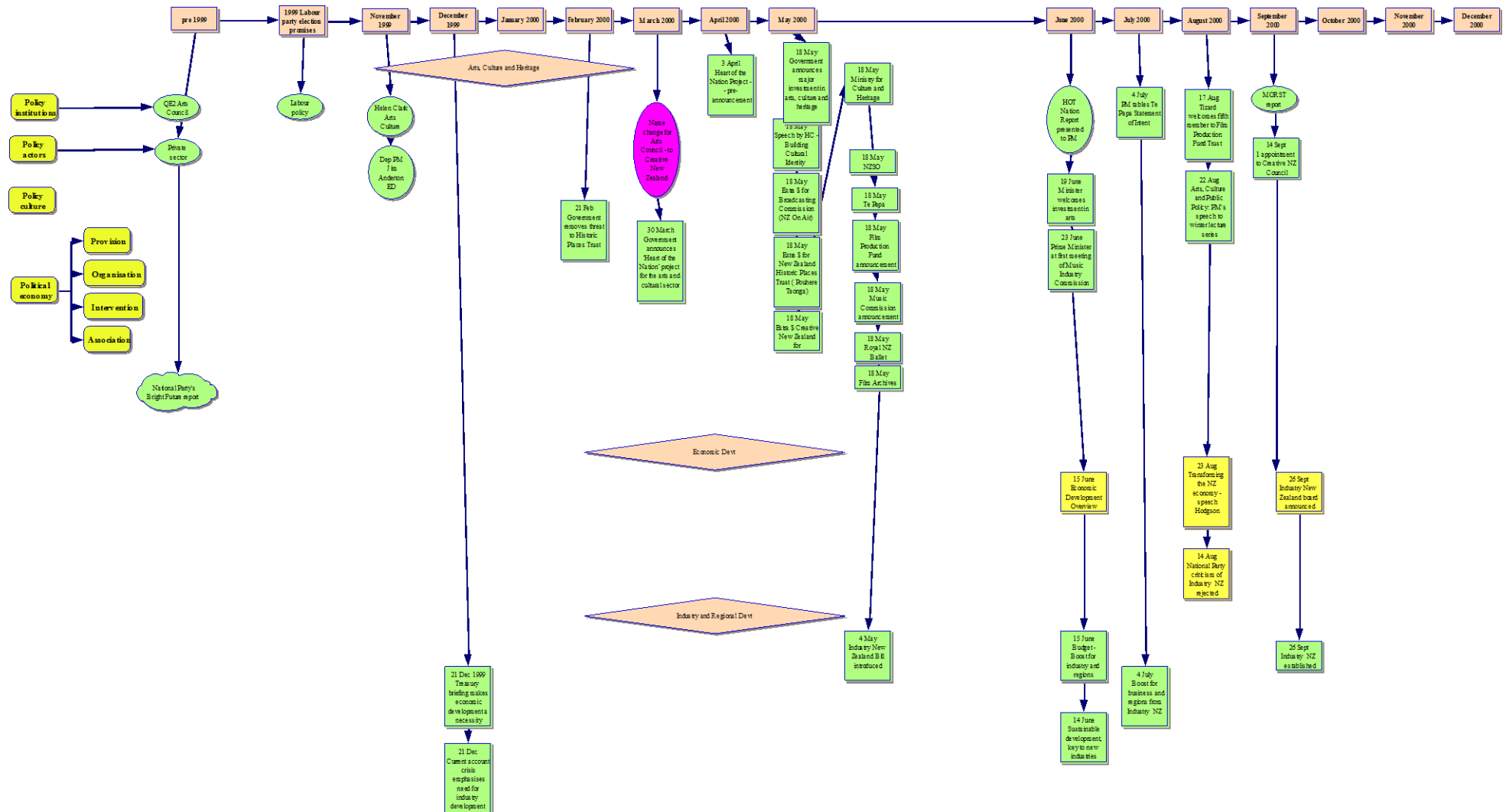
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Attached Documents (where applicable)

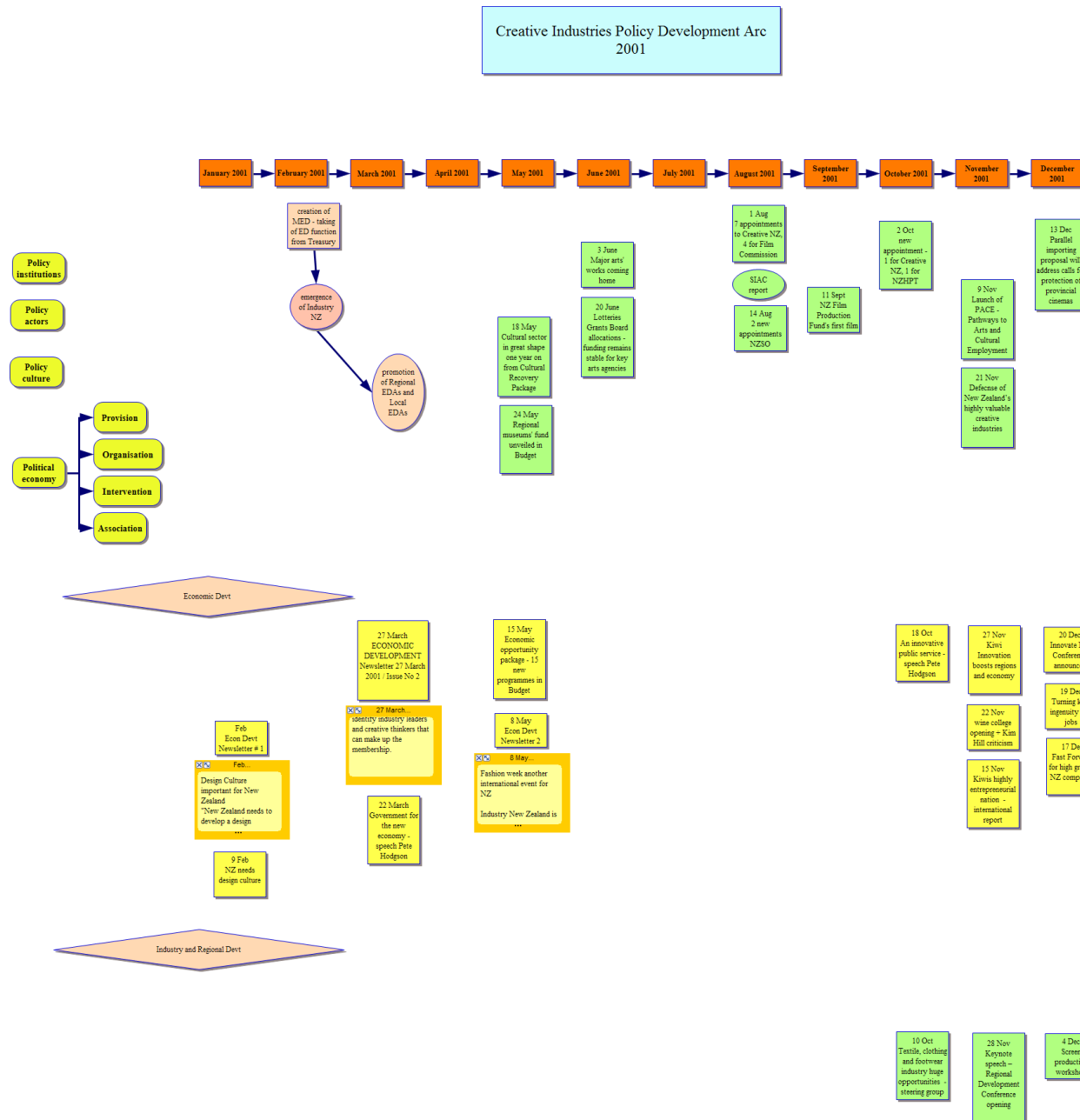
Participant Information Sheet(s)	1
Consent Form(s)	1
Questionnaire(s)	-
Indicative Questions for Interviews or Focus Groups	1
Observation Protocols	-
Advertisement(s)	-
Hazardous Substance Management Plan	-
Any Confidentiality Agreement(s)	1
Other Documentation	-

Please send one (1) copy (single sided, clipped not stapled) of this application form with all attachments to:

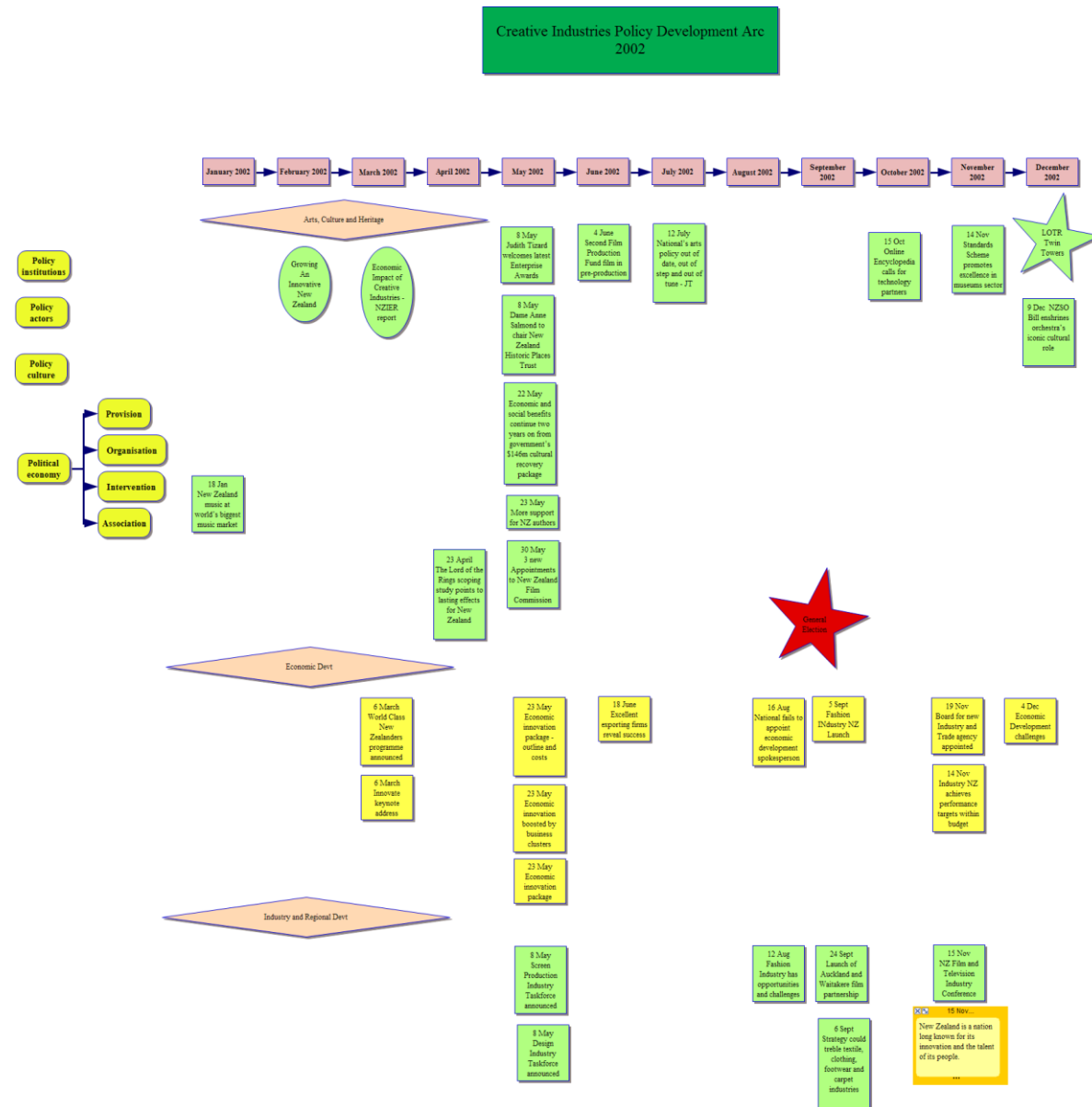
*Charles Grinter, Ethics Coordinator
Wellesley Campus
Room WA208, Level 2, WA Building
55 Wellesley Street East
Private Bag 92006
Auckland 1020, NZ
Internal Mail Code: D-81*

Creative Industries Policy Development Arc
1999 - 2000

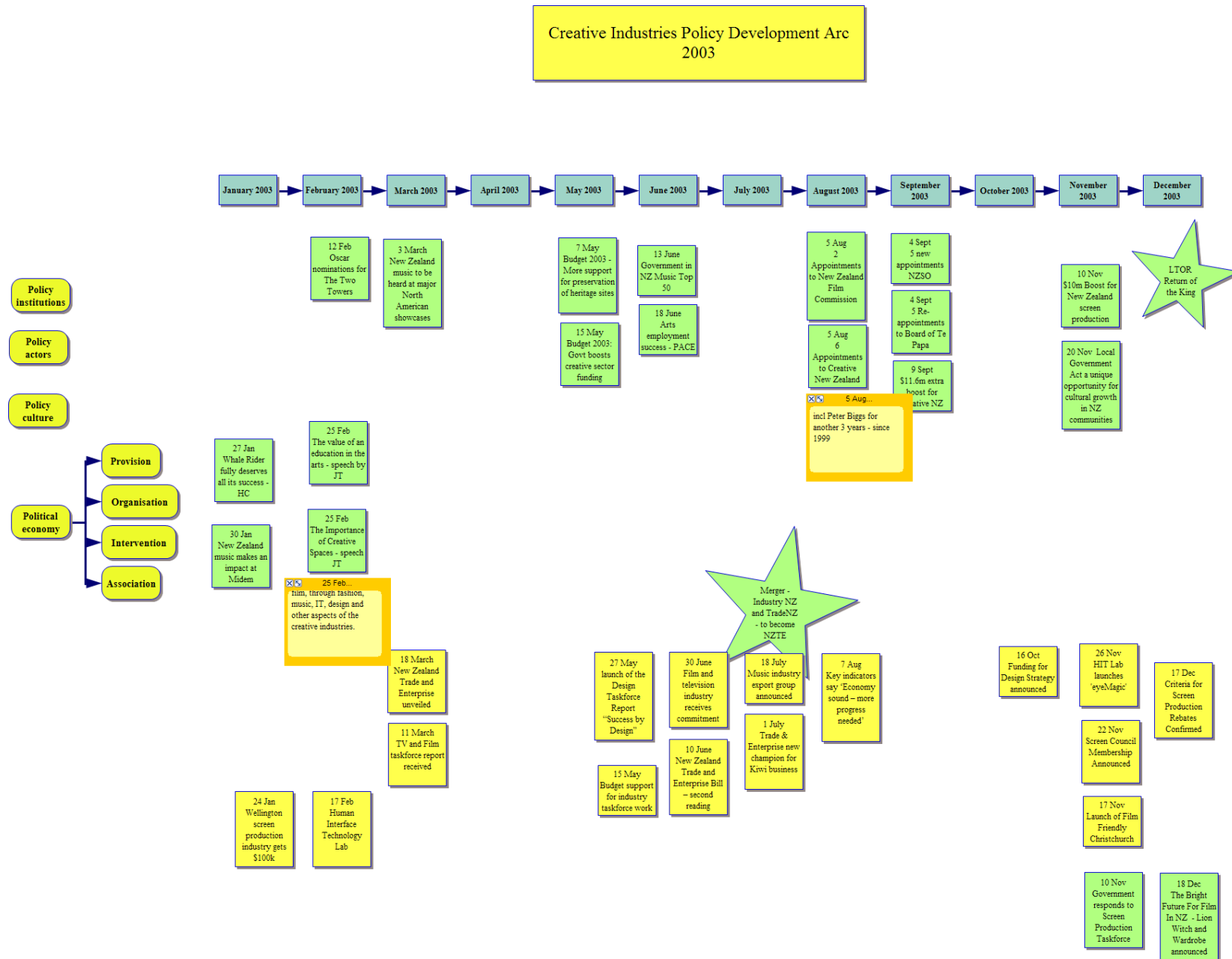
Appendix B Timeline of policy actions



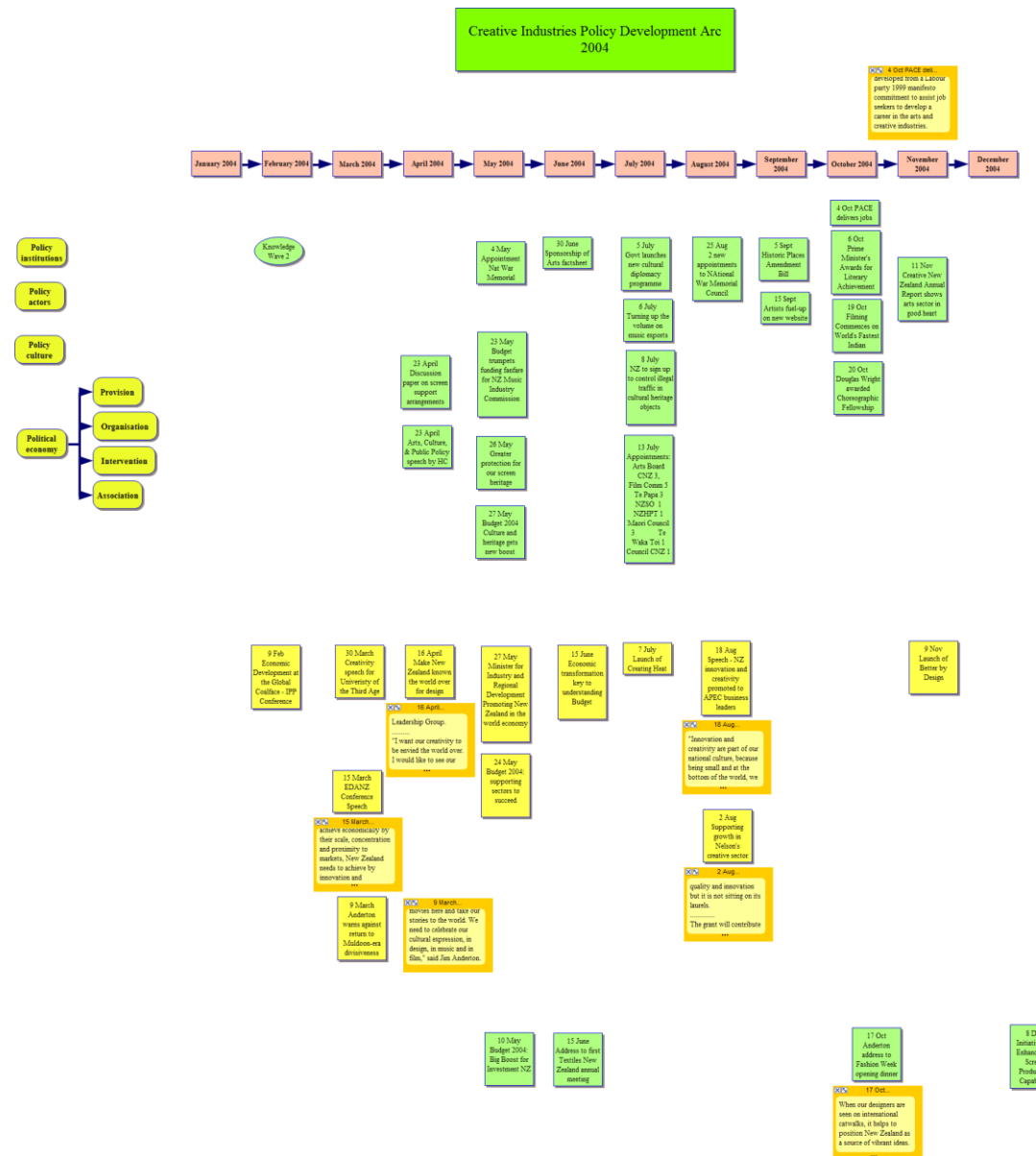
Appendix B Timeline of policy actions



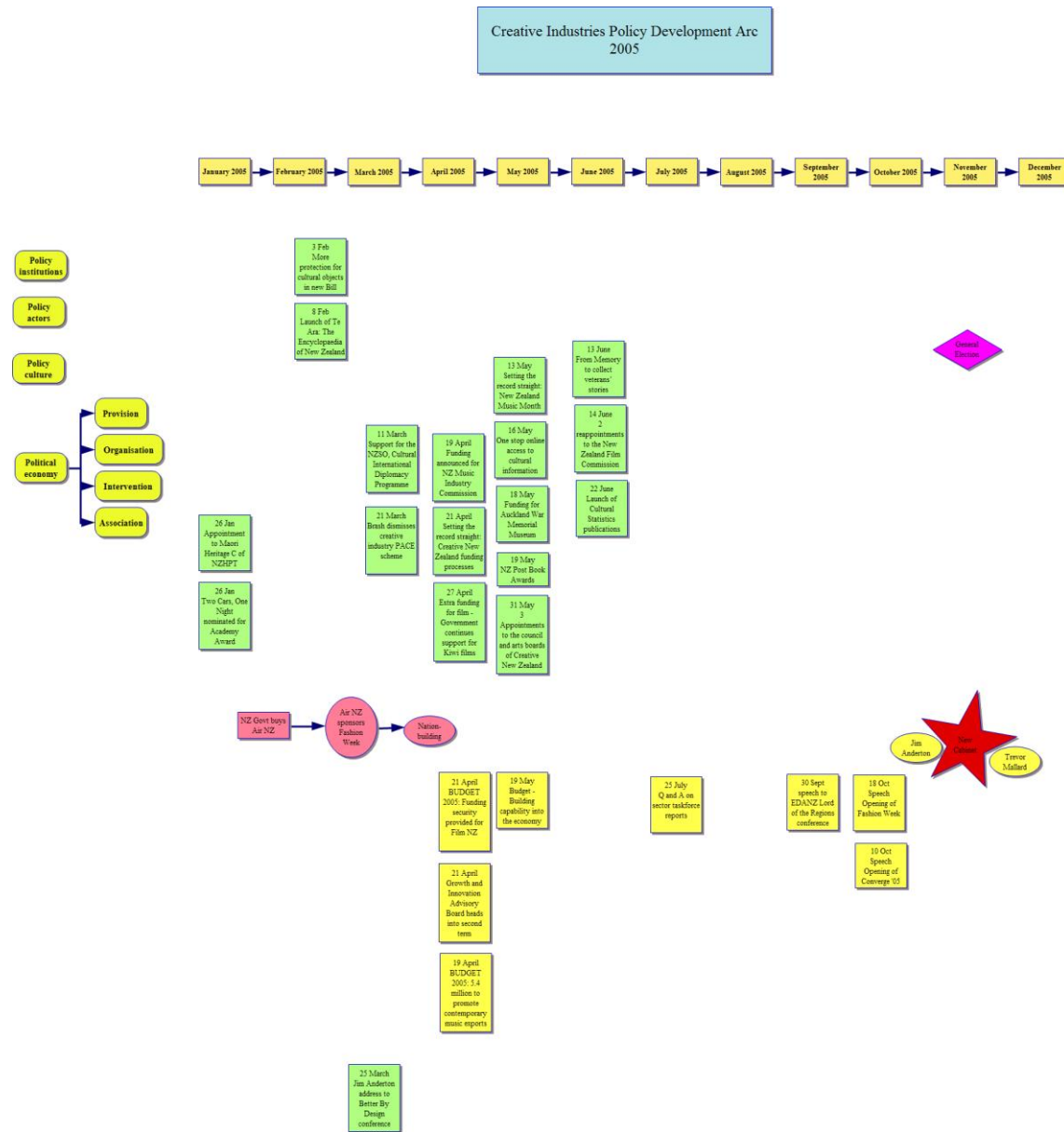
Appendix B Timeline of policy actions



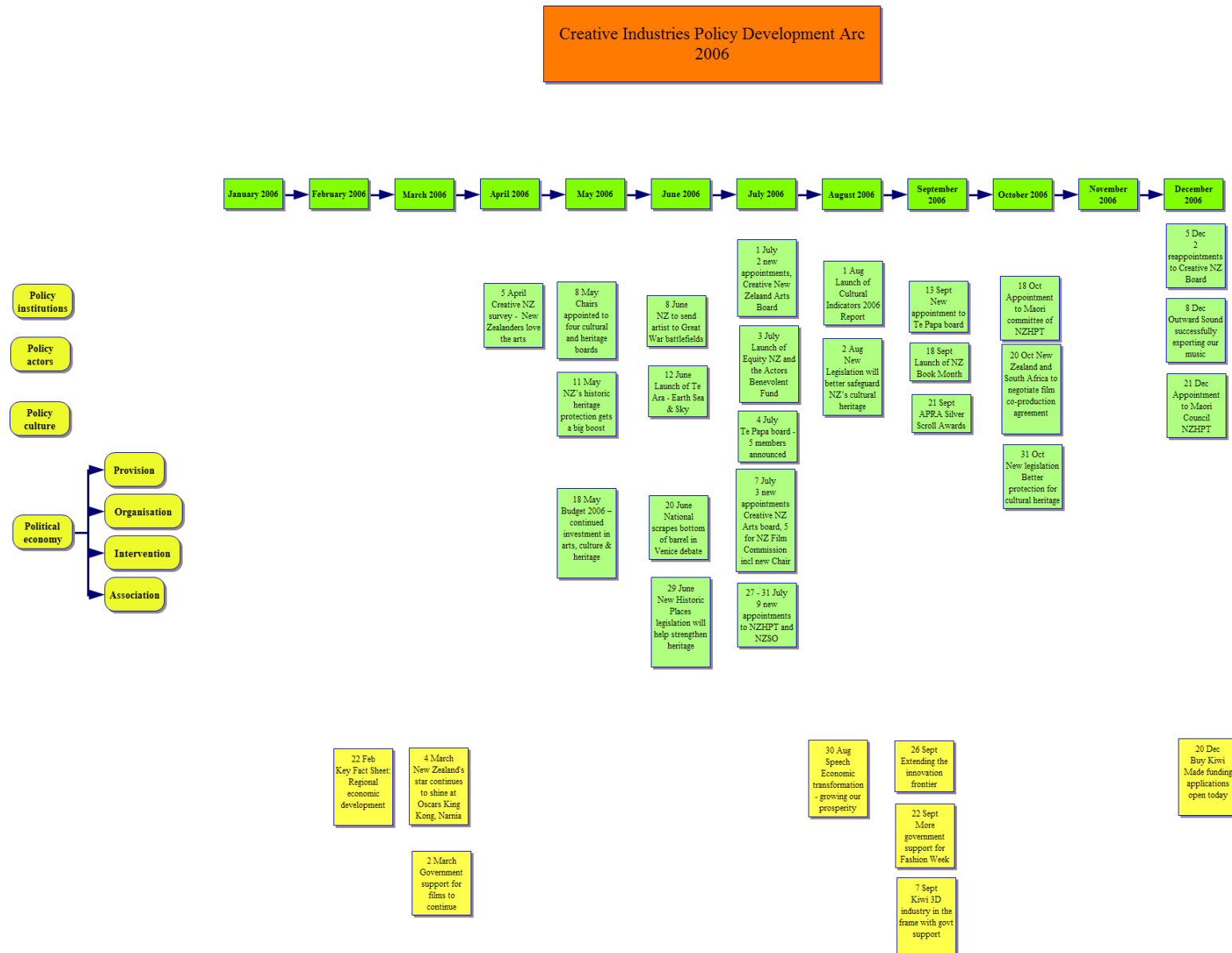
Appendix B Timeline of policy actions



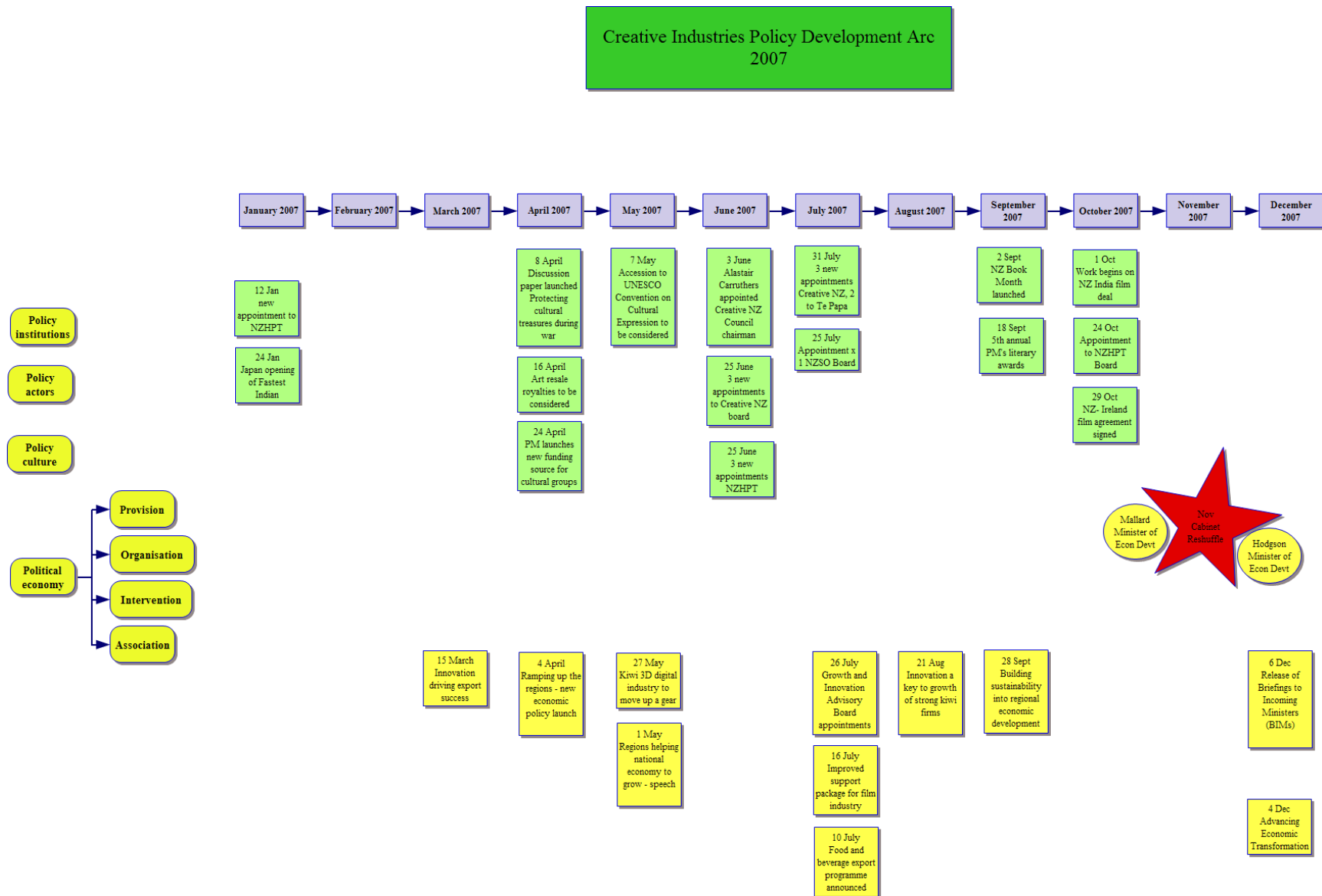
Appendix B Timeline of policy actions



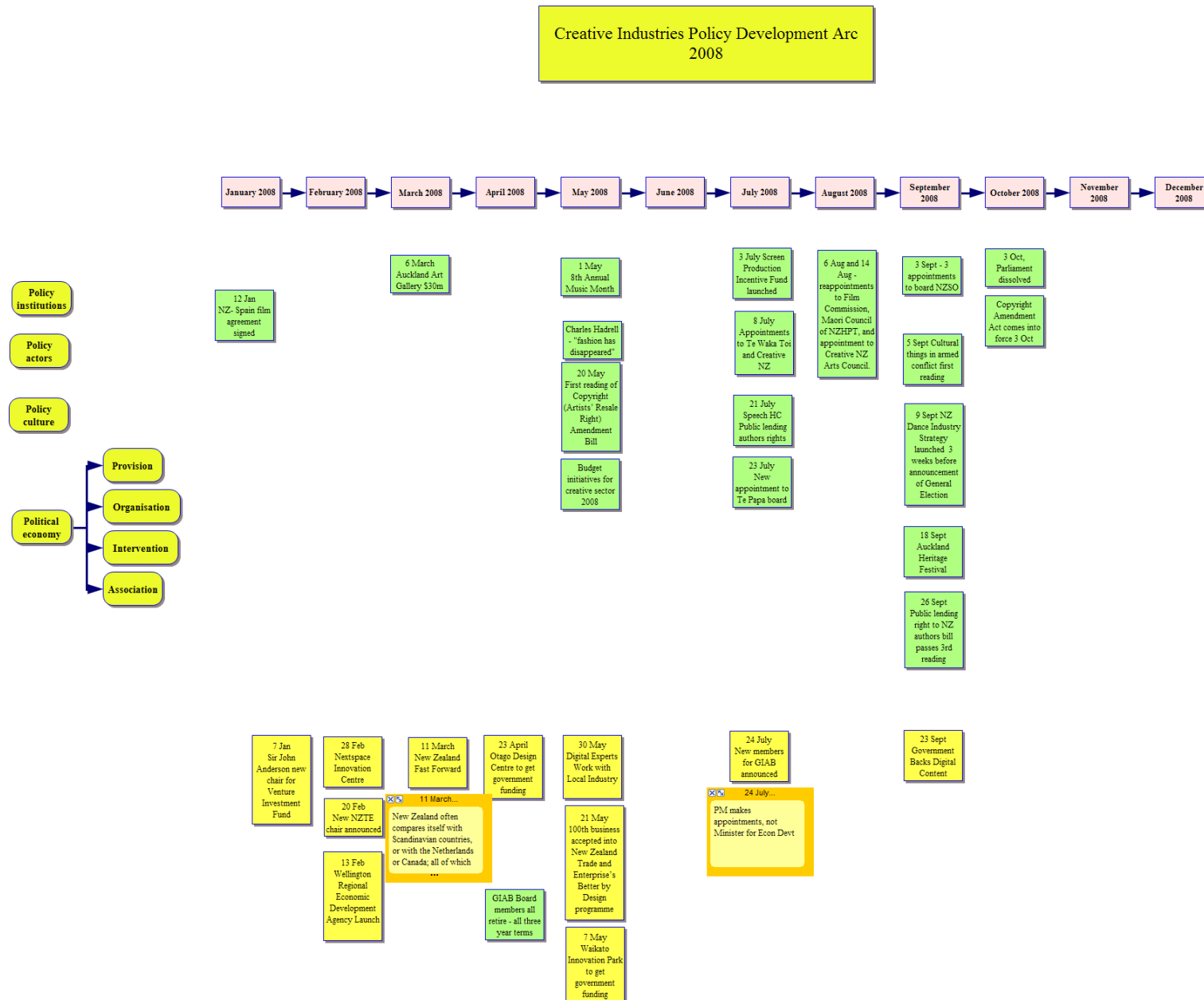
Appendix B Timeline of policy actions



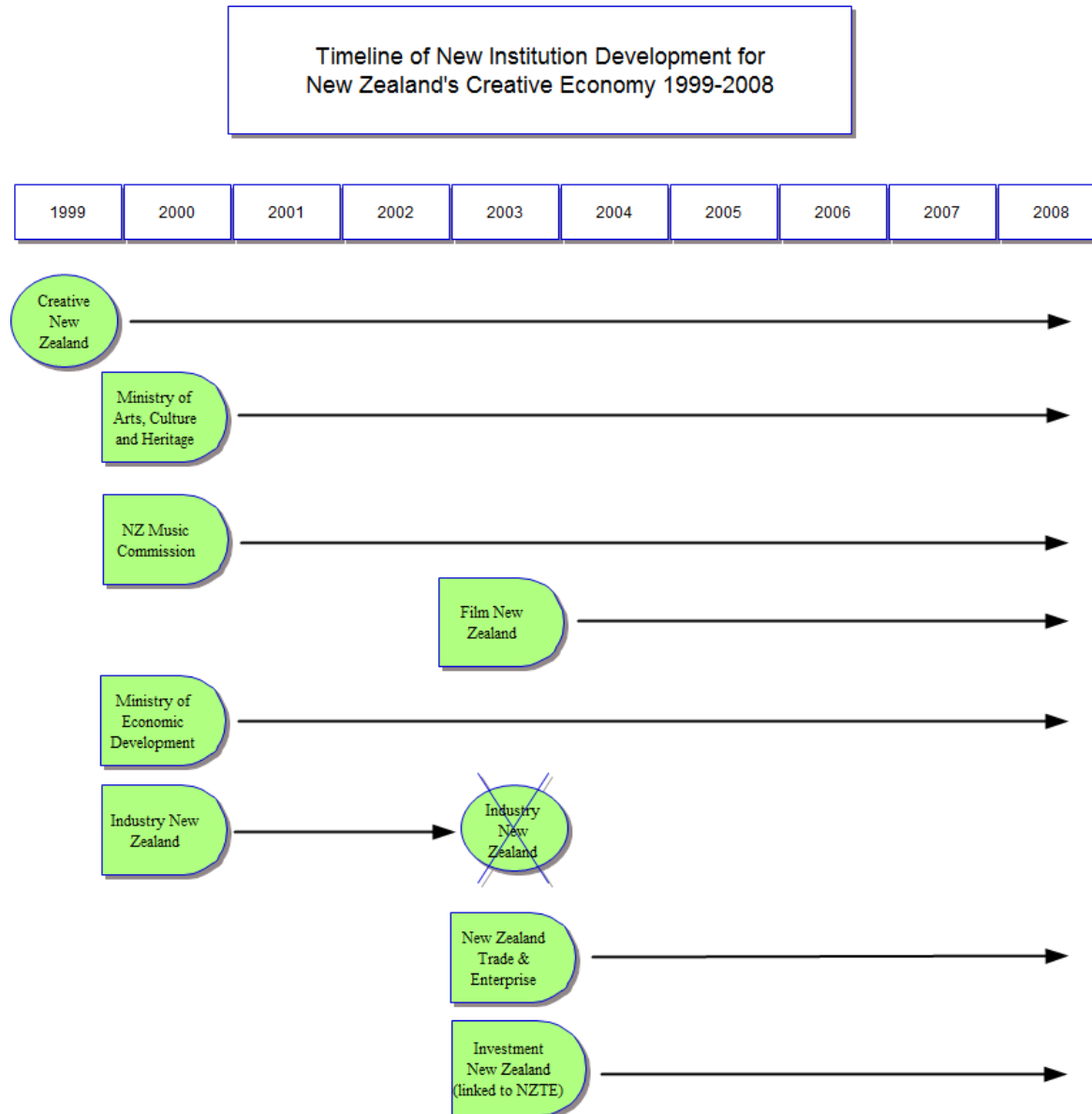
Appendix B Timeline of policy actions



Appendix B Timeline of policy actions



Appendix C Timeline of creative economy agencies 1999-2008



Appendix D NZ Government Agencies involved in Creative Economy as at May 2010

Body	Founding statute	Website
Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa	Creative New Zealand is established as a Crown entity under the Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa Act 1994.	www.creativenz.govt.nz
Better By Design Board	Part of New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, established 2005.	www.betterbydesign.org.nz
Broadcasting Commission	Crown entity established under Broadcasting Act 1989	www.nzonair.govt.nz
Creative New Zealand	See Arts Council of New Zealand, above.	
Culture and Heritage, Ministry for	The Ministry for Culture and Heritage was established in 2000, by bringing together the Ministry of Cultural Affairs with the history and heritage functions of the Department of Internal Affairs.	www.mch.govt.nz
Dept of the Prime Minister and Cabinet	Government Department	www.dpmc.govt.nz
Economic Development, Ministry of	The Ministry of Economic Development (MED) works directly for the Ministers of Commerce, Communications and Information Technology, Consumer Affairs, Economic Development, Energy and Resources, Regulatory Reform, Rugby World Cup, Small Business and Tourism	www.med.govt.nz
Film New Zealand	Established as a charitable trust 2003	www.filmnz.com
Growth and Innovation Advisory Board	Part of Ministry of Economic Development, established 2002.	www.giab.govt.nz (archived)
Intellectual Property Office (part of MED)	Part of Ministry of Economic Development. The Intellectual Property Office of New Zealand administers the Patents Act 1953, the Trade Marks Act 2002, the Designs Act 1953 and the Plant Variety Rights Act 1987.	www.iponz.govt.nz
Investment New Zealand	Part of New Zealand Trade and Enterprise	www.investmentnz.govt.nz
Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa	Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act 1992	www.tepapa.govt.nz

National Library	National Library of New Zealand (Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa) Act 2003	www.natlib.govt.nz
New Zealand Film Commission	New Zealand Film Commission Act 1978	www.nzfilm.co.nz
New Zealand Historic Places Trust Board	New Zealand Historic Places Act 1993	www.historic.org.nz
New Zealand Symphony Orchestra	New Zealand Symphony Orchestra Act 2004	www.nzso.co.nz
New Zealand Trade and Enterprise	New Zealand Trade and Enterprise was established as the national economic development agency following a merger of Industry New Zealand and TradeNZ, in July 2003. New Zealand Trade and Enterprise establishment Act 2003.	www.nzte.govt.nz
Radio New Zealand	Radio New Zealand Act 1995, Radio New Zealand Amendment Act 2004	www.nzonair.govt.nz/Radio.aspx
Royal New Zealand Ballet	Established as a charitable trust 1953	www.nzballet.org.nz
Technology New Zealand	Part of Ministry of Research, Science and Technology	www.frst.govt.nz
Television New Zealand	Television New Zealand Act 2003, amended 2009.	www.mch.govt.nz/agency/tvnz.html

Appendix E

Participant Information Sheet

**Date Information Sheet Produced:**

26 October 2007

Project Title

The Creative Country – an examination of New Zealand's creative economy

An Invitation

I invite you to participate in an interview about the creative industries for a PhD thesis.

The creative industries in New Zealand are an important part of our economy. Since 1999 the New Zealand Government has increased support for our film, fashion and design industries. The creative industries were identified as one of the Government's key priorities within its Growth and Innovation Framework, and the Prime Minister assumed Ministerial responsibility for the Arts. My research is focused on understanding what is distinctive about the creative industries in New Zealand.

To assist me in this task I have identified a number of 'key informants' – leaders within the creative industries in New Zealand – as participants in this research programme and I would value the opportunity to interview you.

The interview is designed to explore your own personal experience as a leader within the creative industries so that I get a better appreciation of those factors that have been important to you within your particular field of the creative industries. At the same time I am very interested in your views as to the way the creative industries have developed in New Zealand. I have some understanding of the policy frameworks as well as reports that have been produced, but the interviews I am proposing are aimed at giving some substance to the documents by exploring the experiences of leading participants. I do hope that you will agree to be interviewed.

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary and participants may withdraw at any time prior to the completion of data collection with no adverse effects.

What is the purpose of this research?

The aim of the research is to explore the model or models of the creative economy as experienced in the development of New Zealand. Does New Zealand's distinctive cultural and social framework create a unique approach to the development of the creative industries and their role in economic development?

The result of this research will be a PhD thesis. The findings may be used in academic journals or in academic presentations or books in the future.

How was I chosen for this invitation?

You have been chosen for this invitation because of your high-profile leadership of the creative industries in New Zealand.

What will happen in this research?

With your help I want to find out the kinds of things that make you 'tick'.

With creative ideas being able to be turned into money from virtually anywhere, there is a real need to ask the age-old industrial location question “why here?”, and to ask this in a New Zealand context.

I want to know things like how a sense of place informs your work, or how problem-solving experiences in childhood encouraged your creativity. My analysis will look at how these concepts may be linked for New Zealanders, and what, if anything, the New Zealand Government is doing about this.

For you this will involve one interview of at least one hour in duration. There may be a follow-up interview at a later date.

What are the discomforts and risks?

There may be no confidentiality and participants' names may be associated with their views.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

By agreeing to participate in this research you will be asked to sign a Consent Form which includes an option about being identifiable. You may choose not to be identifiable in the research.

There will be an opportunity to verify information from your interview by reviewing transcripts.

What are the benefits?

The benefits for you of being involved in this research include the opportunity to explain what's behind your creativity and the decisions you make as a leader in the creative industries.

This research could be used to inform future policies for supporting the creative industries in New Zealand. Participating in this research makes it easy for you to contribute to the discussion in a hassle-free way.

How will my privacy be protected?

Contributing to this research will, by its nature, mean that you will be sharing your views as a leader.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

The costs to you are a few hours of your time for interviews.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Two weeks in which to consider this invitation.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

Having received this invitation to participate in this research, after a period of two weeks I will make contact with you again. If you agree to participate I will send to you a Consent Form, to be signed and returned to me.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

You will receive feedback on the results of the research. This will include an opportunity to discuss the findings of the draft research report. Copies of the summary report will be provided to you.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Professor Ian Shirley, AUT University, ian.shirley@aut.ac.nz 09 921 9999 et 8459.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTC, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 8044.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

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PhD Researcher – Creative Industries

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09 921 9999 ext 8454

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Professor Ian Shirley,

AUT University, Auckland

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09 921 9999 ext 8459

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on **7 March 2008**,

AUTEC Reference number **07/178**.

Appendix F

Schedule of Research Participants

Name	Industry	Interview location	Interview Date
John Barnett	Screen Producer	Auckland	May 2008
Elisabeth Vaneveld	Arts Manager	Auckland	May 2008
Mario Wynands	Digital Game Maker	Wellington	May 2008
Damien Wilkins	Novelist	Menton, France	May 2008
Kirsty Gunn	Novelist	London, England	June 2008
Max Gimblett	Painter	New York, NY	June 2008
Peri Drysdale	Fashion/Clothing	Auckland	September 2008
Trelise Cooper	Fashion/Clothing	Auckland	September 2008
Dame Malvina Major	Singer	Auckland	October 2008
Richard Taylor	Designer	Wellington	November 2008