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How it all began

The preliminaries to this project began with an exchange of views in an Edinburgh coffee bar in the dreich days of January 2012, when the film producer, Bob Last, and this study's principal investigator, Philip Schlesinger, found that their thinking about creative micro-businesses was largely on the same page. Both were intensely aware of the challenges posed to precarious cultural work, which has been an increasing focus of academic research.¹

Bob Last – then Chair of CEO's Board – had begun some research for the Scottish Government on small creative enterprises and the kind of access to finance they had (or did not have) and wanted to run it past Schlesinger. Although the discussion took place well before the historic 18 September 2014 vote in the referendum on Scottish independence, Last's project indicated that an interest in how to capitalise on the creative economy was then already on the Scottish Government's agenda. After their discussion in Edinburgh, an exchange of papers confirmed that the two were indeed thinking on similar lines.

At that time, neither imagined that the present study, which at least in part addresses their respective concerns, would be undertaken. A few months later, however, the opportunity for CEO and the Centre for Cultural Policy Research (CCPR) to collaborate on a project arose quite unexpectedly, when Schlesinger received an invitation from the AHRC to bid for a 'creative economy knowledge exchange' project. Recalling his conversation with Bob Last, Schlesinger proposed the idea of studying CEO to the AHRC. While no commitment to funding was given, he was told that if submitted it would at least be considered. So Schlesinger and co-investigator, Melanie Selfe, worked on the ideas that – by way of a successful application – led to this study taking place.

Framing the project

Without the enthusiastic co-operation of CEO's Director, Deborah Keogh, and Fiona Pilgrim, Professional Development Manager, the project would not have taken the form it did. Over several months, they collaborated with Schlesinger and Selfe as they worked on the aims, objectives and methods, informing them about how CEO worked and identifying issues that might be addressed by research. This process certainly came close to the 'co-production' of this project's ideas.² A

confidentiality agreement was devised to protect CEO clients' interests. And – bravely and most unusually – the researchers were offered largely unrestricted access to meetings, daily activities, and records. We were governed by the University of Glasgow's ethical code in our dealings.

Both Keogh and Pilgrim showed a deep understanding of the potential benefits that outside scrutiny could bring to CEO. Keogh believed that detailed research into its current practice could begin to unlock the knowledge accumulated by staff, who were always on the run. For his part, Bob Last thought that CEO could benefit generally from being opened up to research at a time when he was thinking hard about its mission, himself researching how to analyse creative work to best effect, and also trying to persuade the Scottish Government and Creative Scotland to reconsider CEO's place in the support agency landscape. Deborah Keogh and Bob Last jointly took the risk of opening the doors to scrutiny and publication. It was clear that they thought that the advantages of a relatively long-term, generously funded study of their organisation outweighed the possible disadvantages. Indeed, aside from protecting client confidentiality, no formal risk assessment was conducted. As we have shown already, sustained external critical attention did have several pay-offs for the organisation, so we believe the decision was justified.

Our cooperative relationship was based on CEO's previous, positive encounters with university research and underscores the importance of academics having good networks when seeking access for fieldwork. Track record was also important. Bob Last had attended several academic and policy-oriented seminars organised by Schlesinger during the previous decade and they had also discussed film policy in Scotland. Deborah Keogh had met Schlesinger through his participation in a workshop on Artists as Leaders, part-supported by CEO, some six years earlier. As establishing trust between researchers and the researched is always difficult, there is no doubt that such mutual knowledge of one another's work and of one another's reputations as well as, not least, the ability to get on well, contributed to opening the doors, and keeping them open.

The AHRC grant was awarded in September 2012. Well before the project had actually begun, its very existence had become 'leverage' for CEO's 2012 funding application to Creative Scotland. Deborah Keogh stated that this had contributed to CEO securing a grant from Creative Scotland's Cultural Economy Programme. To assist the bid, the investigators had provided CEO with precise figures as to the value of the award, which was incorporated into the bid as research income to CEO.

Completing the research team

The next step was to complete the research team. Along with relevant creative economy boardroom experience in Scotland, Schlesinger brought a background in cultural and media sociology and ethnography to the table, whereas Selfe contributed her expertise in cultural historical and archival analysis to framing the project. The former committed one day a week to the research and the latter two days; in the event, given the extent of the work required, both considerably exceeded these commitments. As, given their other obligations, neither could be a fully dedicated fieldworker at CEO, that role fell to Ealasaid Munro, appointed as the project's post-doctoral research associate. Munro, a cultural geographer, had previously undertaken ethnographic research in a Glasgow museum.

The team therefore consisted of a senior, male researcher with considerable experience of ethnographic research and an in-depth knowledge of the Scottish policy landscape and its key actors; a, mid-career, female researcher with skills in historical organisational inquiry; and an early-career, female researcher with experience of organisational ethnography and her own extensive professional and personal contacts in the Scottish cultural and creative sectors. None of the team members was born in Scotland, although Schlesinger had spent the larger part of his career there whereas both Selfe and Munro had moved to the country as children. As a result, all three team members were deeply familiar in complementary ways with the distinctive Scottish political, social, economic and cultural context, and how this related to the wider UK.

It was a considerable advantage for the team to gain such first-hand access to the world of cultural business support. This offered us the opportunity to acquire deep insights as well as to test our views routinely. It also removed one of the most frequent and aggravating pressures on those conducting fieldwork – the desire of the researched for the researchers to rapidly quit the field, letting them get on with their work and be relieved of the pest of unrelenting scrutiny. For us to be so welcome, therefore, for so long, was heartening and singular.

As we quickly discovered, the team was now ideally set up to enable it to work in line with CEO's own internal division of labour: its Director, the small team of managers and the larger team of junior 'floor' staff. The proximity of the research team to those investigated, and the openness and mutual trust that this implied, presented its own challenges, not least regarding how best to maintain analytical distance. The research

team's regular meetings to discuss, evaluate and triangulate their findings were key in this regard, as these worked as a routine test-bed for the rapidly growing body of research findings.

Such unrestricted access to a specific site offers tremendous advantages for researchers but also creates ethical and practical challenges. We practiced team ethnography, covering all the different levels of a single organisation.³ The diverse stages of academic career and the gender mix of the team played directly into the accomplishment and management of fieldwork. In ethical terms, we faced the question of what should be revealed when respondents absolutely trust your discretion and we have exercised our judgement very carefully in presenting this account.

To meet the exigencies of knowledge exchange, we created formal contexts for imparting our knowledge to CEO's staff and, because formality alone did really not meet their spontaneous needs, we also addressed numerous unanticipated demands for informal exchange. The permeability of the research process meant that what was originally intended as observation gradually mutated into participation under the pressure of events and the need to manage relationships in the field.

How the work was done

Our organisational ethnography⁴ used several research methods, notably document analysis, semi-structured interviewing and participant observation.

The material analysed included:

- ▶ minutes of meetings and other internal communications;
- ▶ documents relating to business planning and strategy;
- ▶ documents relating to the evaluation of both core services and programmes;
- ▶ policy documents produced on a range of scales;
- ▶ academic and 'grey' literature.

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with:

- ▶ core full- and part-time CEO staff, and Board (n=26);
- ▶ selected members of CEO's specialist adviser team (n=12);
- ▶ selected CEO clients (n=17);
- ▶ CEO stakeholders (n=11).

Some 200 hours were spent in participant and non-participant observation:

- ▶ in CEO's offices at South Block, Glasgow;
- ▶ during meetings of both core CEO staff and Board members;
- ▶ at CEO events;
- ▶ and in advice sessions with CEO staff and clients.

Furthermore, three, half-day knowledge exchange events were held at the University of Glasgow.⁵

Notes

- 1 Brooke Erin Duffy, 'The romance of work: gender and aspirational labour in the digital cultural industries,' *International Journal of Cultural Studies* [online first edition] (2015), accessed 11 March 2015, doi: 10.1177/1367877915572186; Rosalind Gill and Andy Pratt, 'In the social factory? Immaterial labour, precariousness and cultural work,' *Theory, Culture and Society* 25 (2008); Luckman, *Locating cultural work*; Murray and Gollmitzer, 'Escaping the precarity trap'; Andrew Ross, 'The new geography of work: power to the precarious?' *Theory, Culture and Society* 25 (2008).
- 2 Kevin Orr and Mike Bennett, 'Reflexivity in the co-production of academic-practitioner research,' *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal* 1 (2009).
- 3 Philip Schlesinger, Melanie Selfe and Ealasaid Munro, 'Inside a cultural agency: team ethnography and knowledge exchange,' *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society* 45(2015).
- 4 Ann Cunliffe, 'Retelling tales of the field: in search of organizational ethnography 20 years on,' *Organizational Research Methods* 13 (2010); Helen Schwartzman, *Ethnography in organizations* (London: Sage, 1993); Sierk Ybema, Dvora Yanow, Harry Wels and Frans H. Kamsteeg, *Organizational ethnography: studying the complexity of everyday life* (London: Sage, 2009).
- 5 The first event, held on 11 November 2013, involved all CEO staff, and was a chance for the research team to present some preliminary findings. The second event was held on 13 January 2014, and involved CEO's Business Support team. The third outward-facing event was held on 3 March 2014 and was attended by CEO staff, policy-makers, academics and representatives of creative support agencies from Denmark, Norway and the USA.

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Index

- Aberdeen, 45–7, 51, 57, 59n15
advice sessions, 42, 52–3, 64,
68, 70, 86, 118
see also advisers
advisers, 16, 88, 94
freelance/ specialist, 47, 48,
49, 51–3, 66, 68–9, 117
in-house/ regional, 47, 48, 51,
52–3, 59n19, 66, 68, 69–71,
75, 86
- Artists as Leaders (research
project), 47, 115
- Arts and Humanities Research
Council (AHRC), 4, 6,
8n5, 9n8, 110, 114, 115
AHRC Creative Economy
Knowledge Exchange
Projects, 4, 8n5, 9n8, 114
- Arts Council England, 11,
17, 72
- Arts Council of Wales, 43
- Barnard, Deb, 72
- BBC, 17, 19, 32n13
- Billig, Michael, 19, 34n48
- Bilton, Chris, 29, 30–1, 36n80,
37n89, 37n95
- Blair, Tony (Prime Minister),
13, 14
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 27, 36n74
- Bridgstock, Ruth, 28, 36n80,
108, 111n10
- British Council, 42, 111
- British Film Institute, 17
- broadcasting, 17–20, 94
- Brown, Gordon (Prime
Minister), 15
- Business Gateway, 25, 44, 88
- business language, 62–3, 67–71,
77
- Business plan* (CEO), 83, 87, 88,
90, 93
- business support, 7–8, 24, 25,
26, 27, 31, 39, 42–4, 46, 55,
58n6, 62–3, 67, 70, 72, 82,
88, 93, 116
- Business Support (CEO staff
team), 49, 51–3, 62, 66, 67,
69, 77, 86, 118n5
- Cameron, David (Prime
Minister), 15
- Cardiff, 11, 42–3, 58n6, 59n18,
62, 64, 107
- Cascade business support
scheme, 59n12, 83, 89–90
- Centre for Contemporary Arts
(CCA), 41, 42
- Centre for Cultural Policy
Research (CCPR), 102n26,
103n37, 114
- client journeys, 52–4, 63–7,
77
- Client Record Management
(CRM) system, 66, 84,
91, 93

- clients, 2, 7, 21, 22, 31, 40, 43–6, 48, 49,
51–4, 56–8, 59n15, 60n23, 62–78,
85–6, 88, 90–3, 107–9, 115
see also client journeys; Cultural
Enterprise Office (CEO); and
client interactions
- Clore Leadership Programme,
72
- coaching/coaches, 64–7, 70–3
executive, 72
life, 72, 80n9, 80n11
- commissioning, 17, 76, 78, 83,
88, 92
- The Connected Company*, 85, 101n5,
101n8
- Conservative government, 13
- Conservative-Liberal Democrat
coalition government, 7, 15,
105
- consultancy, 42–4, 56, 83, 89, 98,
107
- Convention of Scottish Local
Authorities (COSLA), 24
- Cook, David, 94
- core services, 7, 44, 46–7, 49–52, 63–5,
73, 75–9, 85
- Creative Cities networks (Dundee,
Edinburgh, Stirling), 88,
102nn15–16, 111
see also cultural intermediaries;
networking
- creative economy, 2–4, 6–8,
105–111
advent of the, 12–18
assumptions of, 106
cultural policy and, 11–18
and economic growth, 2, 4, 11, 17, 20,
22, 25–6
and intellectual property, 15, 17
intervention in the, 2–3, 8, 13, 14, 15,
17, 23–4, 25, 31
protagonists of, 2
reports, 15–16
in Scotland, 18–22, 106–7
see also creative industries; Creative
Europe; Creative Scotland;
- Cultural Enterprise Office
(CEO)
- Creative Europe, 15, 33n27
- creative industries, 12, 28, 31, 34n50,
106
development strategies, 15, 21–2
economic estimates, 11
employment in, 15, 26, 30, 45, 46,
107
mapping document, 13–14
policies, 13–18
sectors, 13–14, 15, 24–6, 64, 74, 95
Scottish, 11, 18–20, 23, 24–6, 42, 95,
97, *see also* Creative Scotland
thinking, 16–17, 22, 25
- Creative Industries Coordination
Group, 25
- Creative Industries Development
Service (CIDS), 28–9, 58n5, 59n18,
62–3
- Creative Industries Framework
Agreement Implementation
Group (CIFAIG), 24, 25
- Creative Industries in Scotland: micro-
businesses, access to finance and the
public purse*, 94–9
- Creative Industries Skills Partnership
(CISP), 26
- Creative Pioneer Programme, 48
- creative practitioners, 24, 25, 43,
44, 53, 57, 68, 69, 70, 75–9,
106–9
- Creative Scotland, 8, 22–5, 31, 35n63,
36n71, 45, 47, 55, 82–3, 89, 91, 96,
98, 100, 102n16, 102n22, 105, 106,
109, 111n12, 115
- creative work, 2, 3, 6, 30, 31, 68, 77, 78,
95–7, 105, 107, 108, 115
- Creativity, value and money*, 96, 102n25
- cultural agencies, 2–3, 8, 23, 27–8, 105,
109–10
- cultural and creative sectors (CCS), 15
- cultural economy, 27, 83, 91, 96, 107, 115
- Cultural Economy Fund, 83
- Cultural Enterprise Cardiff, 42–3, 58n5,
62, 64

- Cultural Enterprise Office (CEO), 25, 26, 29, 31, 39, 56–8, 58n2, 59n12
 advisory role of, 67–71, *see also* advisers
 being bespoke, 63–5, 66, 78–9
 being non-judgemental, 45, 64–5, 71
 Board of, 19, 47, 57, 84, 94, 96, 99, 114, 118
 Chair, 57, 84, 94, 99–100, 114, *see also* Bob Last
 challenges of, 46, 53–4, 57–8, 63, 69–70, 82, 109
 and CIDS, 29
 and client interactions, 63–73
 coaching-centred approach of, 64–7, 70–3
 core services of, 44, 49–52, 63–5
 Cultural Enterprise Cardiff as model, 42–3
 developments in programmes, 54–6
 Director, 40, 71, 82, 84, 85–7, 94, 99, 100, 102n22, 114, *see also* Deborah Keogh
 Four Cities, hub and spoke structure, 45–8
 funding for, 40, 42, 43, 45–6, 55, 82–3, 89, 91
 governance of, 47
 history of, 41–5
 impact of programmes of, 76–8
 IT systems and processes, 90–2
 locations of, 2, 45–7, 59n15
 and NESTA, 17–18, 47–8, 55, 74–5
 new projects of, 46–7
 objectives of, 43–4
 operational phases of, 40–1, 45–8
 organisational changes in, 83–8, 99–101
 principles of, 44–5, 48
 projects and partnership working, 54
 purpose of, 2–3
 rearrangement of reach and service delivery, 88–90
 relocation and stability, 48–9
 research and advocacy, 93–9
 support provided by, 52–4, 78–9, *see also* advisers; workshops
 Cultural Enterprise Unit, *see* Cultural Enterprise Office (CEO)
 cultural industries, 12, 13, 15, 28, 30, 32n11, 42, 35–6n70, 95, 118n1
 cultural institutions
 in Britain, 17
 in Scotland, 19, 21
 cultural intermediaries, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 27–9, 31, 84, 101, 105–11
see also Creative Cities networks; Creative Industries Development Service (CIDS); Creative Scotland; Cultural Enterprise Office Cardiff; Cultural Enterprise Office (CEO)
 Cultural Leadership Programme, 72
 cultural policies, 7
 British versus Scottish, 20–2, 106–7
 and creative economy, 11–18, 109
 of New Labour government, 13–15, 17–18
 Scottish, 18–20, 21–2, 39–43, 46, 47, 57–8, 106–7
 Cummings, Stephen, 29, 36n80, 37n89
 David Clarke Associates Ltd (DCA Ltd), 42, 44, 59nn10–11, 59n18, 79n2
 Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 23, 24, 25, 74
 devolution, 11, 18–19, 21, 49, 106, 107
 digital economy, 12, 30, 33n17
 digital transformation, 83, 84, 90–2
 Dixon, Andrew, 23
 Dods, Roanne, 94
 du Gay, Paul, 9n9, 27, 36n75
 Dumfries and Galloway Council, 89
 Dundee, 45, 46, 47, 51, 52, 59n15, 88, 94
 Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), 4, 8n2
 Edinburgh, 11, 18, 19, 20, 45–7, 51, 52, 59n15, 88, 111n5, 114
 Edinburgh City Council, 45–6

- Edinburgh College of Art, 45
 Eigg Box, 88
 EKOS, 89, 102n15
 embedded creatives, 28
 emotional labour, 68–9, 71
 employment, 15, 26, 30, 45, 46, 107
 enquiries, 51–2, 66, 68, 77
 see also Business Support (CEO staff team)
 entrepreneurs/entrepreneurship, 77, 80n19
 cultural, 3, 7, 14, 23, 25–6, 29–31
 creative, 25, 29
 ethnography, 116–18, 118n3, 118n4
 European Commission (EC), 15, 25, 36n72, 102n24
 European Regional Development Fund, 41, 43, 46, 47
 European Structural Funds, 45, 59n13
 European Union (EU), 15, 16, 94
 Events (CEO staff team), 53
- Fashion Foundry (programme), 55–6, 73, 74, 75, 78
 Fife Cultural Trust, 89
 Fleming, Tom, 24, 35n61, 35n63, 111n13
 Flew, Terry, 16, 34n32
 Florida, Richard, 27, 32n13, 36n74
 Flourish (programme), 56, 73–6
 freelance/freelancers, 28, 44, 47, 49, 51, 52, 66, 69, 87, 91
 Fuchs, Yvonne, 56, 60n27
 funding, 7, 8, 8n3, 21–3, 25, 29, 39, 40–1, 43, 45–6, 55–6, 58, 64, 76, 82–3, 87, 89–93, 96, 98–101, 106, 108, 114, 115
 Fyfe, Nicholas, 72, 80n10
- Garnham, Nicholas, 14, 32n10, 32n12, 33n17
 George, Molly, 72, 80n11
 Gibson, Chris, 110, 112n16
 Gillman, Clive, 94, 102n22
 Glasgow, 2, 13, 39, 41–8, 51, 52, 57, 59n15, 72, 109, 116, 118
 Glasgow City Council, 41
 Glasgow Cultural Statistics Framework, 42
 Gollmitzer, Mirjam, 72, 80n12, 118n1
 Gowers, Andrew, 12, 32n7
 Greater London Enterprise Board, 55
 Greig, David, 23
 Grey, David, 85–6, 101n5, 101n8
 gross national product (GNP), 2
 gross value added (GVA), 11, 25
 Gu, Xin, 9n9, 28, 29, 36n83, 39, 58n1, 62–3, 79n1
- Hargreaves, Ian, 12, 32n9
 Harvey, David, 14, 33n20
 Hearn, Greg, 28, 36n80
 Hesmondhalgh, David, 14, 32n11, 33n21, 34n35, 37n94
 Highlands and Islands, 46, 59n15, 88
 Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE), 24
 Hochschild, Arlie Russell, 80n7
 holarchies, 85–6
 Howkins, John, 15, 33n24
 human resources (HR), 87, 99
 Hyslop, Fiona, 20, 23
- impact agenda, 4–6
 see also knowledge exchange; Research Excellence Framework (REF)
 incubators, 29, 55–6, 60nn24–6
 independence referendum, 18–19, 20, 106, 114
 individualism, 30, 31
 Information Technology (IT), 83, 90–2, 99
 innovation, 4, 12, 14, 16–17, 22–3, 26, 29, 39, 41, 48, 55, 56, 74, 77, 106
 intellectual property (IP), 3, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 89, 97
 intellectual property rights, 12, 16, 30
 intervention, 2–3, 8, 13–15, 23–5, 28, 29, 31, 40, 55, 67, 73, 93, 96, 98, 105–6, 109–10
 Inverness, 88
- Jones, Susan, 109, 112n15

- Keogh, Deborah, 40, 41, 71, 82, 85, 94, 96, 100–1, 101n7, 103n38, 109, 114, 115
- knowledge exchange, 4–6, 8n3, 9n8, 87, 110, 114, 117, 118
see also Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC); impact agenda
- Labour-Liberal Democrat coalition/
 Lab-Lib coalition, 7, 19–20, 21–2
- language of support, 67–71
- Last, Bob, 57, 84, 94–9, 102n21, 102n25, 102n26, 103n31, 103n32, 109, 114, 115
- Leadbeater, Charles, 29, 36n86
- London, 11, 16, 19, 20, 55, 106, 107
- Lowlands and Uplands, 46
- Luckman, Susan, 108, 111n9, 118n1
- Maguire, Jennifer Smith, 27, 36n76
- managers, 22, 27, 28, 49, 56, 75, 86, 114, 116
- Manchester, 28, 58n5, 59n18, 62, 63, 107; *see also* Creative Industries Development Service (CIDS)
- Matthews, Julian, 27, 36n76
- McFall, Liz, 27–8, 36n78
- medical metaphors, 67–71
- mentors/mentoring, 42, 56, 59n16, 71, 74–6, 88
- Miller, Maria, 20
- Montgomery, John, 55, 60nn24–6
- Munro, Ealasaid, 9n7, 101n6, 116, 118n3
- Murray, Catherine, 72, 80n12, 118n1
- National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts (NESTA), 17–18, 23, 28, 33n28, 34n35, 34n44, 36n79, 47–8, 55, 74–5, 80nn14–15, 106, 107, 108, 111n5, 111n6
- Negus, Keith, 9n9, 27, 36n77
- neoliberalism, 14
- networking, 17, 53, 59n16, 89, 90
 Creative Arts Business Network (CABN), 89
- Creative Business Mentor Network, 74, 80n14
- Common Turf (online platform), 59n16
- Mentor Xchange, 59n16
see also Creative Cities networks
- New Labour government, 7, 13, 14, 17, 30, 33n23, 42, 48, 72, 106
- Nixon, Sean, 9n9, 27, 36n75
- non-departmental public body (NDPB), 22, 23
see also Creative Scotland; Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE); Scottish Arts Council; Scottish Enterprise; Scottish Funding Council; Scottish Screen; Skills Development Scotland (SDS)
- Oakley, Kate, 17, 29, 30, 33n21, 34n35, 36n86, 37n90, 37n92
- O'Connor, Justin, 9n9, 28, 29, 32n10, 32n11, 36n81, 36n83, 39, 58n1, 62–3, 79n1
- Ofcom, 17, 19
- organisational narratives, 40–1
- organisational restructuring, 83–8, 99–101
- organisational strategy, 82–3, 84–92, 94, 99, 100
- organisational values, 40, 58, 63–73
- Orr, Joanne, 21, 35n51
- Performing Arts Labs (PAL), 47
- Pilgrim, Fiona, 114, 115
- podular system, 84–6, 99
- policy dependency, 20–2, 106–7
- portfolio manager, 22–3
- precariousness, 3, 8, 29, 30, 39, 40, 55, 58, 68, 72, 83, 87, 92, 95, 108–10, 114
- Prime, Siân, 48, 111n5
- Professional Development Planning (PDP), 46–7, 52, 59n16
- programmes, 7, 16, 17, 47–9, 52, 54–6, 62, 72, 73–9, 91
see also Fashion Foundry; Flourish; Starter for 6

- project manager, 28, 56
 Public Services Reform (Scotland)
 Act, 22
- Relational Dynamics 1st (RD1st), 71,
 72, 84
 research, 93–9, 110–11
 Research Excellence Framework
 (REF), 4, 8n1
see also impact agenda
- Russell, Mike, 23, 24, 109
- Schlesinger, Philip, 57, 94, 114–16
 Scotland
 creative economy in, 18–22, 24–6
 cultural institutions in, 19, 21
 cultural policies of, 18–20, 21–2
 devolution in, 11, 18–19, 21, 106, 107
 National Cultural Strategy of, 21
 political landscape in, 19–20
see also Creative Scotland
- Scotland Act (1998, 2012), 18
 Scottish Arts Council, 21, 22, 41, 43,
 45, 47
 Scottish Creative Industries
 Partnership (SCIP), 24–6
 Scottish Development International, 25
 Scottish Enterprise, 24, 41, 43, 45, 55,
 59n8, 88
 Scottish Government, 11, 18–20, 21,
 25, 31, 32n5, 34n43, 34n50, 35n56,
 35n64, 35n66, 37n88, 47, 59n13,
 60n29, 82, 89, 94–7, 100, 102n17,
 114, 115
 Scottish Funding Council, 25
 Scottish National Party (SNP), 7, 18–22,
 35n52
 Scottish Parliament, 18–19, 21
 Scottish Screen, 22, 47
 Sector Skills Councils, 25
 Selfe, Melanie, 9n7, 101n6, 114, 116,
 118n3
 Skills Development Scotland (SDS), 25
 small and medium-sized enterprises
 (SMEs), 93, 105
 Smith Commission, 18, 19, 34n41, 34n46
- Smith, Lynsey, 48, 111n5
 Social Value Lab, 60nn20–1, 60n23,
 60n28, 88
 Sørensen, Inge, 96, 102n26
 Starter for 6 (programme), 47–8, 54,
 67, 73–4, 76–9, 80n19, 111n5
see also National Endowment for
 Science, Technology and the Arts
 (NESTA)
- sustainability, 15, 17, 22, 25, 55, 72–4, 76,
 82, 93, 108
- Thatcher, Margaret, 13
 Thelwall, Sarah, 56, 60n27, 87–8
 therapy, 68–71
 think tank, 17, 23, 29, 33n28, 94
see also National Endowment for
 Science, Technology and the Arts
 (NESTA)
- Throsby, David, 26–7, 36n73
 triage, 67–9, 79n3
- UK Film Council, 17, 105
 UK Government, 11, 13, 15
see also Westminster
 UK Research Councils, 4, 5
 United Nations Conference on Trade
 and Development (UNCTAD), 16,
 33n18, 33n29
- value, 12, 14, 15, 20, 23, 93
 cultural, 12, 20, 23
 economic, 14, 15, 93
see also organisational values
- Vander Wal, Thomas, 85–6, 101n5, 101n8
- Wales, 43, 58n7
 WASPS, 48–9, 54, 55, 94
 websites, 51, 52, 60n20, 66, 78, 83, 84,
 87, 89, 90, 91
 Westminster, 15, 17, 19–20, 33n22, 106
 workers, 27–8, 30, 95
 workshops, 44, 51–4, 60n23, 64, 83,
 89, 115
 World Intellectual Property
 Organisation, 16