Smoothing out the peaks and troughs: examining the sustainability strategies of

island-based craft entrepreneurs

Chapter for 'Craft Entrepreneurship'

Dr Katherine Champion, University of Stirling

Introduction

This chapter takes as its focus an exploration of the everyday experiences of craft workers in island geographies and how they adapt and manage their activities in distinct, informal and, arguably, entrepreneurial ways. As argued by Annette Naudin elsewhere in this book, exploration of the everyday practices of craft workers allows for a more nuanced examination which takes account of some of the contradictions and complexities associated with a conceptualisation of craft entrepreneurship. The chapter draws on a research project aimed at developing a better understanding of contemporary cultural work within geographical contexts considered to be rural and remote and, in particular, at contributing to knowledge regarding the factors that support sustainable careers in cultural work in such locations. Focusing on craft entrepreneurs active in the Northern Isles of Scotland, this chapter examines some of the specific challenges and complexities they faced and explores the techniques they adopted in an effort to reduce their precarious status.

This chapter firstly introduces the context of non-urban craft enterprise before outlining the methods used in the project. It then explores some of the views of interviewees regarding the challenges they faced linked to the nature of work in the

craft sector and to the particular island context within which they were operating. It goes on to examine some of the resourceful techniques and strategies which craft entrepreneurs employed in order to mitigate such issues. Finally, it reflects on whether such practices might contribute to a distinctive conception of craft entrepreneurship in non-urban locations with unique modes of developing, organising and sustaining craft enterprise beyond the city.

Background

Studies of cultural and creative production have tended to focus on larger cities, either iconic global centres of production or reinvented postindustrial powerhouses. There has been a tendency to overlook and even denigrate the non-urban creative economy, with the lived experience of craft work in rural and remote settings often dissonant with the dominant policy and advocacy discourses associated with the creative economy[i]. Despite this, the effects of a buoyant creative and craft sector in rural areas have been articulated in a range of reports[ii]. Identified benefits include enhancing cultural tourism, supporting retail and experience economies, fostering skills development, contributing to community resilience, building cultural capital, diversifying land-based economies, place-making, providing new uses for local waste materials and more[iii]. There is also a growing body of academic work which looks beyond "inner-city agglomeration and bohemia"[iv] and tries to redress urban bias[v]. Nonetheless, given the heterogeneous nature of "local" creative production, it has been argued that the "smaller-scale creative world of rural, regional and remote cultural work and the affordances of rural as distinct from urban spaces remain largely off the map of creative industries thinking"[vi].

The craft sector has historically had a lower profile within the UK creative industries policy agenda than other sub-sectors of the cultural and creative industries, despite recent re-imaging with the sector's appealing associations with small-scale and micro, artisanal, handmade and with agendas of emancipation, environmental sustainability and locally-rooted ethical production and consumption[vii]. There are established challenges in the measurement of the craft sector linked to the nature of the work, with more than three-quarters of craft workers undertaking portfolio careers and with high proportions of self-employment[viii]. Despite research commissioned by the Crafts Council[ix] seeking to more fully account for the economic contribution of crafts - by expanding the estimates to a wider definition that includes micro-businesses and 'embedded' workers - the DCMS have acknowledged that their calculations significantly underestimate the scale of the sector in the UK and even suggested that craft be removed as a sub-sector from the listings of the UK creative industries in 2013[x]. Further to the challenges of defining and measuring the sector, traditional portrayals of craft work have frequently been pejorative with associations of amateur or hobbyist production. In part, this is linked to the gendered associations with "women's work" and the commonly domestic setting of such production which has historically particularly affected perceptions of textiles and fibre-focused crafts[xi]. Despite critique of this and feminist recuperations of traditional craft techniques[xii], there remains a longstanding obfuscation of the role of craft to the economy and, as I will argue, also to the sustainability and survival of livelihoods and places.

Method

The research adopts a case study approach and focuses on the Northern Isles of Scotland, an archipelago consisting of two main island groups: Shetland and Orkney

with a total of 26 inhabited islands. The collective population of each island group is similar with Shetland's recorded population of 22, 990 and Orkney's 22,190 in 2018[xiii]. Traditionally the island economies have been reliant on agriculture (Orkney) and fishing and oil (Shetland) and, more recently, tourism constitutes an important income for the islands. Both island groups have a rich history of craft work including the internationally recognized traditions of Orkney chair making and Fair Isle knitting and lace making in Shetland[xiv]. In both islands, a renaissance in craft production and the craft zeitgeist[xv] could be seen to be driving high engagement with the work of the interviewees and was associated with a recent rise in visitors linked to craft tourism, for example travelling on tours specifically catering this market or visiting craft events, exhibitions, shops, museums and workshops. The Highlands and Islands of Scotland do, however, face particular innovation challenges, including dispersed working communities and the attendant lack of infrastructure of the region which has been seen as limiting opportunities across the creative economy[xvi].

As part of the research project, a total of 12 craft entrepreneurs were interviewed from across the Northern Isles over a period of nine months from July 2017, with five interviews in Shetland and seven in Orkney. In terms of the gender balance of the interviewees 11 were female and one was male. In line with some of the other contributors to this edited book, the term craft entrepreneurs is applied to the self-employed craft workers who participated in the study. Whilst it is not necessarily a term they would self-apply due to the highly gendered conceptions and stereotypes of the lone, risk-taking entrepreneur[xvii], I will argue in this chapter that the resourceful strategies the craft workers were engaged in possess key tenets of entrepreneurialism. They were drawn from a range of craft activities, including knitting and textiles

design, jewellery making, print making, and furniture making. Initial participants were drawn from existing contacts in the region developed from past research and knowledge exchange projects undertaken in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland[xviii]. Following this, sampling was driven by further recommendations from interviewees and colleagues as well as snowballing from one interview to the next. The location of the interviews varied with some participants interviewed in their place of work (including studio spaces, shops, arts and cultural organisations) and others in cafes. One interview was conducted via Skype. In Shetland most of the interviews took place in and around Lerwick, and in Orkney mostly in and around Stromness and Kirkwall, with two in Dounby and one on Stronsay. All, but one of the interviews took place on the mainlands of Shetland and Orkney so, whilst a couple of the participants had experience of living/ working on the more dispersed islands of the archipelago, most spoke to experiences of living on the mainlands of the islands.

The constraints of island-based craft work

This section outlines a number of the key issues experienced by the craft workers in this study. These included the high costs of island life and lack of attendant infrastructure and creative workspace alongside factors fairly universal to the craft sector – albeit exacerbated by the complex geography – such as how craft work is valued and catering for a tourist market. A common issue dominating the interviews was the precariousness of the income derived from craft work and a common need for the craft workers to supplement this with more financially sustainable activities (see below).

These precarious patterns of work are far from limited to non-urban locations, but in an island location they were exacerbated by the significant peaks and troughs noted by the craft workers and largely driven by seasonality and tourist flows. Many of the interviewees had locally-focused markets and therefore there were limitations to the number of customers they could reach at any time. Moreover, if these customers were tourists, they were further constrained by seasonality which was felt acutely by the island-based interviewees. In addition to the impact on the reliability of transport in travelling off the islands in bad weather through the winter months, many of the interviewees were particularly reliant on the tourist market, including the big influx of cruise liner visitors, who visited during the summer months. The islands have recently been experiencing a boom related to cruise-ship visitors with, for example, Orkney seeing a 160% increase in such visitors in the five year period from 2011 up to 95,750 in 2016[xix].

The peripheral location of the Northern Isles also had implications for the craft entrepreneurs who wanted to develop external markets. Issues included the challenges of investing in equipment (there was not the option to hire expensive kit), self-training (due to a lack of access to education and training provision) and working from home (because of a lack of affordable and accessible workspace). For those who had to travel (for example, those attending trade fairs to generate orders for craft or textiles work), the high costs and time associated with living on an island were a major issue:

> I think travel is the biggest one for me. Mainly because at certain times of the year the weather's not great so you've got to be on the ball but also Flybe were causing a lot of problems as were Loganair so flights weren't as reliable

and rather than going down and back in a day or overnight then you had to take a day either side to make sure that you definitely got there and you know I travel up and down quite a lot for different events (Textiles Designer, Orkney).

Similarly interviewees outlined the high additional costs for carriage of raw materials and equipment as well as shipping finished products to customers. For example, a Shetland-based Designer and Illustrator noted that it cost £90 to have a vinyl cutter delivered to her as compared to £20 on the mainland. This additional cost either had to be added to the price of products or had to be absorbed by the individual practitioner. A furniture maker who imported wood predominantly from the central belt of Scotland explained "shipping the wood up here adds a lot of money on to the [sale] price". For the customers purchasing his furniture from outside Orkney, this meant that he then had to add further shipping costs as he described: "it costs them £100/£200/£300 more than the price so it makes it quite expensive" (Furniture Maker, Orkney).

Challenging the dominant association of pressure on the spaces of creative activity being in urban areas, nearly all of the interviewees articulated challenges in finding appropriate and affordable creative workspace on the islands. If they had managed to access space, it was often not flexible in meeting the requirements of their creative work, for example, in allowing them to grow or reduce the size of their business easily. As a textiles designer in Orkney explained, "I moved into Kirkwall and I only had a small workroom there but there was just me at that stage", and went on to describe how she moved into a shop which had "a very small back room which was

more a stock room" and how her intern "had to do a lot of work in the back cupboard of the shop". Looking back she admitted, "I don't know how we survived that stage". Without purpose-built creative space, some interviewees missed opportunities to scale up or host events, but there was a continuous need to balance the risks of investing in workspace with the needs of the business.

There were also common issues with how creative work was valued, partly related to serving local markets. The issue of undervaluing creative work is not peculiar to the islands, but the craft sector in the Northern Isles is heavily dominated by micro-businesses. There has also been a longstanding obscuring of the role that craft plays in contributing to economic production linked to the levels of informal labour, the highly gendered undertaking of such work and its often domestic setting[xx]. Within the craft sector, the preponderance of so-called hobbyists coupled with the tourist market was, in some cases, seen as further driving down the pricing structures and the value that could be leveraged for creative products. As Susan Luckman notes a strong amateur craft scene particularly in rural areas has contributed to the stereotyping of the sector and made it difficult for 'professional' practitioners to have their skill and artistic contributions recognised[xxi]. This was very resonant within the interviews, especially amongst the textiles-based craft practitioners, where what could be charged for a product rarely correlated with the time and skills needed to produce it:

> I don't really sell very much but if I'm asked to knit a jumper I'm trying to
> think how many hours it's going to take me and even when I multiply the
> hours, if I put a living wage on it nobody would ever (buy it)…so it's not even
> the minimum wage (Textiles Designer 2, Shetland).

Most of the interviewees struggled to survive solely on income derived from their main creative practice and undertook "protean" work with "a portfolio of multiple simultaneous or overlapping employment arrangements"[xxii]. In line with the sense of 'scavenging for opportunities,' found amongst Annette Naudin's craftswomen explored elsewhere in this text, the interviewees recounted having to supplement their activities with other work, in some cases was linked to their practice but often outside of it, including cleaning and shop work:

> I am employed in two part-time cleaning jobs to help pay the bills. I selected this type of employment due to its flexibility and the lack of stress. I am then able to focus on my craft practice for at least five hours per day (Printmaker and Illustrator, Shetland).

The pressure of the challenges outlined in the section above heightened a sense of risk amongst practitioners. As Susan Luckman[xxiii] warns in her work on craft micro enterprises increasing individualisation of responsibility for creating employment opportunities has led to risk commonly being borne by individual workers rather than by the state. When this is further extended to the exacerbated levels of risk experienced by those practitioners based in challenging geographies it has worrying implications for the sustainability of their livelihoods, but also indicates that very resourceful strategies would be necessary in order to ameliorate them. Further to this, the interviews suggest a significant role for place in shaping the organisation of work practices. As Luckman previously argues in her seminal work on rural cultural workers[xxiv], the affective relationship between place and creative practice has often

been ignored in policy and academia. As she suggests[xxv] geographic, climactic, historical, cultural affordances and characteristics shape the nature of the work within places. Annette Naudin also emphasises the significance of place and argues that the embedded nature of cultural work drives a particular type of entrepreneurialism and enterprise amongst such workers enabling them, "to shape and organise their work, despite structural confines".[xxvi]

Survival techniques – the strategies adopted by craft workers to make a living

This section describes some of the tactics employed by the interviewees in mitigating the issues they faced making a living via their craft practice within an island context. It then goes on to begin reflecting on how the nature and characteristics of the strategies adopted could be interpreted as a distinct mode of craft entrepreneurialism.

Negotiating complex portfolio working

Several interviewees had reached a degree of balance in their portfolio of work with gaps in income from their craft work addressed by work linked to their practice, including employment in arts and tourism agencies, craft shops, a textiles business and educational institutions. In order to supplement her craft work, one textiles designer worked part-time within a related retail business (a wool shop) and this offered her sustainability as she noted that she "wouldn't make enough money off my own stuff" and "so having a steady job here that is still connected to what I am interested in is very important" (Textiles Designer 1, Shetland). Although she wished she had more time for her own work, she reported that the lines between her day job and her own creative work were "blurred". For example, the shop allowed her to network within the textiles sector and amongst visitors with an interest in craft. She

described how she felt like she was "networking more than a lot of other people might realise" which offset some of the isolation of being self-employed which could "be quite lonely". As found amongst the craftswomen interviewed by Annette Naudin elsewhere in this book, there was also considerable diversification and reinvention, with craft practitioners offering teaching, training and workshops as a more reliable source of income than solely selling their creative products. As a this craft maker who offered workshops to visitors describes: "They're coming to buy, but they're mostly coming to buy yarn and – because they're makers so … I can easier sell a workshop to make something …… rather than I can sell the actual item" (Jeweller and Lacemaker, Shetland). This responsiveness to the limitations of the local market and to willingness to experiment with opportunities seen to offer greater sustainability demonstrates a high degree of agility and flexibility which could be interpreted as entrepreneurial.

Amongst many of the interviewees, who were predominantly women, there was also consideration of balancing childcare responsibilities at different stages of their life and career. A trend of "down-shifting" into creative enterprise upon having children has been identified[xxvii]and this was the case for a number of the female craft workers who had seen ways they could make a modest income through craft work whilst also managing caring responsibilities. One textiles practitioner and shop owner in Orkney (2) described initially making "pin money" through dressmaking and alterations when her children were small, while another saw the potential in her craft practice to be become something that she "could create and sell" which "coincided with…starting a family too", so she "combined the two and became self-employed" (Jeweller and Lacemaker, Shetland). Carol Ekinsmyth describes "the spatio-temporal restrictions"

that lead mumpreneurs "to structure, organise and embed their businesses within family-friendly time–space routines"[xxviii] and there was certainly evidence of this amongst the interviewees. However the extreme precariousness experienced by respondents of managing layered barriers of insecure, low paid work, challenging geographies and caring responsibilities were sometimes too difficult to bear and led one of them to note, "I always have on eye on the Shetland Times looking for a job to be honest" (Jeweller and Lacemaker, Shetland). This echoes the precarious and uneasy balancing found amongst the craftswomen interviewed by Annette Naudin elsewhere in this book and the sacrifices they made on all fronts - at home, and in relation to their craft practice and in job security – in order to negotiate a craft career.

Mitigating distance with online

Another strategy adopted by the craft entrepreneurs to mitigate the issues of island-based working was the use of online platforms to reach new customers, widen markets and build profile. As an Orkney-based furniture maker outlined:

> It's such a help for small craft businesses as well you know you make a design and you put it on your social media and people at the other side of the world see it right away. I started 20 years ago, my boss didn't even have a website it's just so much easier I think for crafts makers these days to get out there and get noticed whereas when I started 20 years ago you were solely reliant on mainly on locals and tourists you know visiting the workshop in the summertime and try and get enough orders to keep you going to the next tourist season. It's not like that anymore (Furniture Maker, Orkney).

Capitalising on the "international marketing and distribution pathways enabled by the 'long tail' of internet distribution" has been identified as a trend within the

contemporary handmade economy[xxix]. Online platforms can serve to reduce the distance to consumers, arguably globalising the micro-creative economy and thereby creating new intersections between the local and global[xxx]. Online connectivity has been further argued to form the basic conditions of survival for rural creative workers[xxxi].

The craft entrepreneurs were, on the whole, heavily engaged in social media and online platforms for raising the profile of their work, reaching new markets and collaborating. Online blogs, Instagram, Ravelry, Esty and Facebook were commonly used and the respondents noted that 'social media …[has] made a big difference to the knitting world' (Textiles Designer 1, Shetland). Another explained, "on my blog I am getting about 10,000 views a month… I don't think I could do any of that without social media" (Textiles Designer 2, Shetland). The interviewees most heavily engaged in social media, crafted online images of the personal backstory of their creative practice and the unique geography they were operating from in order to help build an audience for their work. For those adept at using such platforms, there had been significant success and their dexterous use of social media allowed them to innovate their practice. For example, one interviewee explained how she trialled new designs on Instragram to get immediate feedback saying "We've just started launching new colours and new products and you get to see people's reaction to those through social media (Textiles Designer, Orkney).

A couple of interviewees identified issues with knowing how best to develop their social media presence and, in particular, tensions with the disconnect between a strong social media profile and how to translate this into sales generation. As

additional issue was raised related to the deeply material nature of craft practice, with a textiles designer from Shetland saying, "Something tactile like wool then you really need people to feel the product" (Textile Designer, Shetland). Whilst the internet can decentre distribution, previous research[xxxii] has found that due to the materiality of craft practice it can be difficult for makers to sell online except to tourists who have already visited studios, workshops and galleries in person.

Temporal hubs: working seasonally and capitalising on the visitor population

Whilst online platforms fulfilled a number of important roles for many of the craft respondents, temporary events provided an important mechanism for business generation and networking. Both islands have a plethora of festivals and events, some of which are very high profile such as Wool Week, Up-Helly-Aa held in Shetland, or The International St Magnus Festival in Orkney. In Shetland interviewees were keen to mention Wool Week, a ten-year old, nine-day series of events and workshops, which take place across the islands every September bringing a global profile of visitors. For a textiles designer it brought high profile visitors from the craft world to network with "there are quite a lot of people who are big hand-knit designers so networkingwise you meet a lot of people and form relationships with people who are quite important" (Textiles Designer 1, Shetland). As the same interviewee went on to explain, before the introduction of this annual event, September would have been "a period that would traditionally have been your quietest time of year, (but) is now our busiest time of year"

Whilst the influx of cruise-ship visitors has not been universally welcomed by island businesses, a number of the interviewees had very much tailored an offer to these tourists and were seeing significant gains:

> We… actually set up a stand at the harbour (to sell textiles goods) when some of the ships were in…we were astounded and I started to realise that you know we travelled to find markets but there's an international market on our doorstep you know, 3 or 4 times a week from March till September …we also realised from that market was that the initial purchases that were made, we were then having return purchases via the website (Textile Designer and Shop Owner 2, Orkney)

Here the repeat and ongoing online purchases also contributed to business sustainability outside of the main visitor season. Other interviewees noted how they planned their activities around the seasonable lulls and busy spells that they were able to predict:

> You do have the quiet winter months that you can build up your stock. Well, except from when you're doing wholesale because that's not the same, but just in terms of running the shop, you do have January, February, March … to work on stock, and it gradually picks up. So it's not like opening a door on it and it's bang, it's happening! It's emm - and then you get, around about Easter time you get a busy couple of weeks and then you get a rest again after it (Textiles Designer and Shop Owner 2, Orkney).

Investing in physical spaces

In response to problems accessing creative workspaces, many of the craft entrepreneurs worked from home and some had invested considerably in developing workshops and studios within their own homes. Often this was linked to their families having extra space on their farms and rural dwellings on which they could capitalise on this. For example, in the case of an Orkney-based furniture maker, by initially converting a garage and then a derelict building on the family farm into a workshop. Similarly a textiles designer and shop owner in Orkney (1) described converting family premises into a workshop and later into a shop/ exhibition space.

In a number of cases, in order to address shortcomings in the availability of creative workspace, some interviewees had invested considerable time and energy in developing retail outlets, craft centres and studios offering various commercial and supporting opportunities to their fellow craft workers. There was a significant bearing of economic risk in developing and delivering a collective creative workspace as well as taking on the administrative and 'non-creative' work associated with it. The interviewees who had engaged in such activities, in line with the views of Naudin's craftswomen expressed elsewhere in this book, experienced some frustrations in not getting the opportunity anymore to spend as much time carrying out their practice. The owner of a craft hub in Orkney reflected on feeling "trapped", torn between delivering the cooking and baking in the café whilst wanting to be "in [her] craft room".

The branching out into the provision of creative space is not something necessarily peculiar to a non-urban setting. Instrumentalism of cultural policy means that cultural

entrepreneurs are often involved in ensuring the sustainability of arts and community-based organisations and projects with social, cultural and economic development remits. There was, however, a particularly acute sense amongst the island-based craft entrepreneurs of the need to invest in the sustainability and survival of their communities. As the same interviewee described "when you come from a very small place then you have a lot of other commitments to the community and you do find yourself sometimes being spread a bit thin because the community needs to survive with your input as well". As Annette Naudin outlines when defining the cultural entrepreneur, despite often being committed and ambitious the end goal for such individuals is rarely commercial success[xxxiii]. There was certainly evidence amongst the practitioners of a strong sense of community and relationship to place which has associations with tenets of social entrepreneurship.

Conclusions

The findings reported in this chapter highlight some material differences in the challenges faced by the craft workers that result from their island context. Commonalities around the precarious nature of work could be drawn with the wider sector, but were highly temporally and geographically accentuated with the seasonal aspects of work in the archipelagos, the role of tourism and the high costs of island life. As a corollary of these conditions, the craft entrepreneurs employed quite specific entrepreneurial techniques which were responsive to their embedded, context-driven circumstances. This included a complex balancing of multiple employment, community, family and creative roles, both paid and unpaid. Where this balancing act seemed to work most successfully and strategically in the eyes of the interviewees, these additional roles were linked to their creative practice. Online

presences and events-based activities offered further opportunities seized by interviewees to offset seasonal lulls and mitigate issues with distance. In relation to her mumpreneurs Carol Ekinsmyth[xxxiv] talks about how "socio-spatial confines" can "encourage a level of creativity that can bring about new, innovative business practices and forms", and there was clear evidence that the constraints of island life had led to creative responses amongst the craft practitioners.

The accounts of the interviewees also, however, illuminated how practitioners absorbed very high levels of risk within this balancing act. High levels of individual risk-taking were undertaken not solely with their own livelihoods in mind, but also with a commitment to the sustainability of the places where they lived and their communities. This suggests a tension with some of the dominant focus on individualism and mobility associated with conceptualisations of the entrepreneurialism of the creative economy and a more close linkage to tenets of social entrepreneurialism. There was also a significant blurring of boundaries around home and work which was not limited to those with childcare responsibilities – although here it was arguably heightened. Resonant with the work of Susan Luckman the high levels of homeworking contributed to "additionally collapsing the already porous relationship between work and other aspects of life"[xxxv].

Islands are often denied centrality and characterised as peripheral, but as this chapter has shown, lessons can be generated about how island-based craft workers adapt, mitigate and manage their work in distinct and often informal ways. These lessons are relevant to conceptualisations of the entrepreneurialism of cultural workers in island and rural locations and also their mainland and urban counterparts. Similarly the craft

sector is also often overlooked by policy and academia and, at first glance, seems dissonant with mainstream understandings of entrepreneurship. In bringing to light some of the "hidden"[xxxvi] activities of craft practitioners through their everyday lived experiences, it is posited that distinct collaborative, relational and strongly place-based characteristics constituted a specific island-based craft entrepreneurialism. This was very fragile and precarious, however, suggesting more needs to be done to consider alternative supportive frameworks for such practitioners. As one interviewee argued:

We need a more innovative way, a cost-effective way of supporting those very special creative processes and… innovative ways of providing the support that will sustain those businesses but not grow them to change …… their essence (Craft Practitioner and Craft Centre Owner, Orkney).

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[ii] BOP Consulting, *Rural Creative Industries: Findings from the UK*, (London: BOP Consulting, 2009); Sami Mahroum, Jane Atterton, Neil Ward, Allan M. Williams, Richard Naylor, Rob Hindle, Frances Rowe, *Rural Innovation*. (London: NESTA, 2007) https://media.nesta.org.uk/documents/rural_innovation.pdf; TBR. *Measuring the craft economy: defining and measuring craft: report 3*. London: The Crafts Council 2014 https://www.craftscouncil.org.uk/content/files/Measuring_the_craft_economy-v4.pdf

[iii] BOP Consulting, *Rural Creative Industries: Findings from the UK*, (London: BOP Consulting, 2009); Ann Markusen. "An Arts-Based State Rural Development Policy, Special Issue on State Rural Development Policy" *The Journal of Regional Analysis and Policy*, 37(1) 2007 7-10 http://www.jrap-journal.org/pastvolumes/2000/v37/F37-1-markusen.pdf; Sami Mahroum, Jane Atterton, Neil Ward, Allan M. Williams, Richard Naylor, Rob Hindle, Frances Rowe, *Rural Innovation*. (London: NESTA, 2007) https://media.nesta.org.uk/documents/rural_innovation.pdf; Elizabeth Roberts, and Leanne Townsend, "The contribution of the creative economy to the resilience of rural communities: Exploring cultural and digital capital," *Sociologia Ruralis* , 56, no. 2 (2015): 197- 219; TBR. *Measuring the craft economy: defining and measuring craft: report 3*. London: The Crafts Council 2014 https://www.craftscouncil.org.uk/content/files/Measuring_the_craft_economy-v4.pdf

[iv] Chris Gibson. "Introduction – Creative Geographies: tales from the 'margins'." in Chris Gibson. (Ed) *Creativity in Peripheral Places*. (Abingdon: Routledge. 2013)

[v] (including but not limited to David Bell and Mark Jayne, "The creative countryside: Policy and practice in the UK rural cultural economy," *Journal of Rural Studies* 26 (2010): 209–218; Kathryn, A. Burnett, and Lynda Harling Stalker, "'Shut Up for Five Years': Locating Narratives of Cultural Workers in Scotland's Islands," *Sociologia Ruralis*, 58, no. 2 (2018): 237-469; Nicola Thomas, David Harvey and Harriet Hawkins, "Crafting the Region: Creative Industries and Practices of Regional Space," *Regional Studies*, 47, no. 1 (2015): 75-88; Susan Luckman, *Locating cultural work: the politics and poetics of rural, regional and remote creativity*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Ann Markusen, "An Arts-Based State Rural Development Policy, Special Issue on State Rural Development Policy," *The Journal of Regional Analysis and Policy*, 37, no. 1 (2007): 7-10; Elizabeth Roberts, and Leanne Townsend, "The contribution of the creative economy to the resilience of rural communities: Exploring cultural and digital capital," *Sociologia Ruralis* , 56, no. 2 (2015): 197- 219; Nicola Thomas, David Harvey and Harriet Hawkins, "Crafting the Region: Creative Industries and Practices of Regional Space," *Regional Studies*, 47, no. 1 (2015): 75-88

[vi] Susan Luckman, *Locating cultural work: the politics and poetics of rural, regional and remote creativity*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012): 23

[vii] Doreen Jakob and Nicola J Thomas, "Firing up craft capital: the renaissance of craft and craft policy in the United Kingdom," *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 23 no. 4: 495-511

[viii] BOP Consulting, *Rural Creative Industries: Findings from the UK*, (London: BOP Consulting, 2009); TBR. *Measuring the craft economy: defining and measuring craft: report 3*. (London: The Crafts Council, 2014). https://www.craftscouncil.org.uk/content/files/Measuring_the_craft_economy-v4.pdf

[ix] TBR. *Measuring the craft economy: defining and measuring craft: report 3*. (London: The Crafts Council, 2014) https://www.craftscouncil.org.uk/content/files/Measuring_the_craft_economy-v4.pdf

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[xi] Stephanie Taylor and Karen Littlejohn, *Contemporary Identities of Creativity and Creative Work* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2016): 113

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