

Sketching the Lao Music Industries

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Abstract

This paper will examine factors driving economic growth and innovation in the music industries of the Lao People's Democratic Republic drawing on Richard Paterson's "six-facet model of production" to address innovations in technology as they relate to the popular music industries; the workings of law and regulations in relation to the popular music industries; popular music industries' structure; the organisational structure of dominating firms in the popular music industries; occupational careers in the popular music industries; and the market for popular music.

Keywords *music industry, popular music, Lao, South-East Asia*

Since the mid 1990s the music (and other content) industries have undergone significant change due to economic, social and technological factors related to the widespread availability of high-speed internet technologies and mobile devices. In developed economies such as Australia, the USA and the UK these changes have coincided with contracting profit margins attributed variously to the impact of piracy, format shifting/ technological change and diversification of the consumer content market (cf Andersen & Frenz, 2007; IFPI, 2011; Meisel & Sullivan, 2002; Zentner, 2006). During this same period, popular music industries in Asia have expanded despite facing similar challenges and additional regional instability due to the 1997 Asian economic crisis. Though still small when compared to developed economies, Asia is currently leading other developing regions such as North, Central and Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America and the Caribbean, in strengthening local and international markets for music as a product and service (IFPI, 2014, p.17; United Nations, 2010 p.146). South Korea, for example, is home to a booming popular music industry that is attracting the attention of Western labels, songwriters and media (cf Shin, 2009; Lindvall, 2011).

The popular music industries in South-East Asia are of significant interest, having emerged in low-resource environments, where copyright infringement is widespread, and appear to have required significant innovation in order to develop profitable business models. Thailand's popular music industries, dominated by media conglomerate GMM/ Grammy, have been heavily impacted by piracy and Thai record labels have lobbied extensively for the enforcement of intellectual property rights by the Thai government while at the same time exploring alternative business models to enable competition with counterfeit producers (Burton, 2004). As the most developed economy in the region

with strong government support for the creative industries, Singapore's popular music industries appear surprisingly small. However, the success of Singaporean songwriters in Chinese markets (cf Kong, 2006; Mattar, 2009), the presence of a protest punk-rock scene (Agence France Presse, 2005) and coarse mapping of music industry activities¹ suggests local industries are undocumented, rather than non-existent. In countries such as Cambodia and the Lao Peoples Democratic Republic (Lao PDR), where a majority of the population is under 30, popular music also plays a significant role in articulating and expressing individual and cultural identity (cf Chapman, 2004a, Mamalu, 2008). In such contexts, the popular music industries' relationship with mass and digital media has empowered young people to forge an alternative to Western and/or state-run media (cf Barendregt & Van Zanten, 2002; Bodden, 2005; Luvaas, 2009).

While the value of these popular music industries to a creative economy² has been demonstrated, and their potential to contribute towards economic development and achieving aspects of the Millennium Development Goals³ is recognised, reliable data on their structure, scope and impact is scarce (United Nations, 2010). Particularly in developing economies, the process of establishing an evidence base has proved problematic due to their complex, evolving, sometimes intangible and often undocumented value chains and structures (Graham & Burnes, 2004; Kozul-Wright, 2003; Ricupero, 2003; Throsby, 2002; United Nations, 2010).

Recent attempts to map the creative industries in Thailand (Keenan Institute Asia, 2009) and Singapore (WIPO, 2004) provide a basis for examining the economic contribution of the music industries (more accurately the music recording and performance industries) in these countries. However, as noted by Cloonan, Frith and Williamson in their 2003 mapping study of the Scottish music industries, "unlike other creative industries the music business depends on a great variety of music making and listening activities which cannot be measured economically" (p.vii). Furthermore, the broad metrics used to map creative industries in developed economies – broadly classified by Higgs and Cunningham (2008) as Employment; Firm Activity; Gross value added to the economy; and Trade/Exports – are difficult to obtain in developing economies where the music industry structures may be informal and government employment and industry data may be unreliable and/or non-existent (Machlachlan, 2011). The popular music industries in the Lao PDR, for example, are entirely unmapped, having developed comparatively recently and at rapid pace. To my knowledge, there exist only two papers by Adam Chapman (2004a, 2004b) addressing contemporary Lao popular music, and these only peripherally refer to the music industries in Lao itself. Obtaining reliable economic data relating to the music industries is difficult as businesses are often untaxed and unregulated to the extent that "credible statistical data is unavailable on many basic features of the Lao economy, population, and labour market throughout much of its history" (Fry, 2008, p.781). Furthermore, it is problematic to assume the existence of 'Western' industry structures, particularly in developing economies such as Lao, where no enforceable copyright legislation exists, excluding publishers and copyright collection agencies from involvement in their popular music industries.

This paper will sketch the structure of the popular music industries in the Lao PDR in order to provide the first of three critical requirements identified by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (2010, p.73) as necessary for establishing an

evidence base in relation to the creative industries in developing economies. Given the limited availability and coarse resolution of metric data relating to the music industries in the Lao PDR a ‘mapping’ study such as those undertaken in Australia, the UK and New Zealand (Higgs & Cunningham, 2008) is unrealistic. Instead, I will sketch the Lao popular music industries by drawing on Paterson’s “six-facet model of production” (Patterson & Anand, 2004; pp.313–314). This approach was utilised by Machlachlan (2011) in her study of the popular music industries in Myanmar and is well suited to research in developing economies and addresses the following domains:

1. The market for popular music.
2. Popular Music Industries Structure;
3. The Workings of Law and Regulations in relation to the popular music industries;
4. Innovations in Technology as they relate to the popular music industries;
5. The Organisational Structure of Dominating Firms in the popular music industries;
6. Occupational Careers in the popular music industries.

As with Machlachlan’s study, much of the information presented in this paper is descriptive and based on my own first-hand experiences working for a music and media company in Lao. Where corroborating sources are available I have cited them, however as previously noted the music and culture of Lao is poorly served by existing literature. Due to commercial and political sensitivities I have attempted to avoid including identifying information relating to the businesses and individuals I worked with.

The Market for Popular Music

The market for popular music in the Lao PDR needs to be understood in context of the communist revolution in the 1970s. Prior to the revolution, French colonialism had introduced Western style music to Laos and Vientiane, the capital boasted a raging nightclub scene throughout the 1920s, ’30s and ’40s with a market for popular music from the USA and Thailand developed in the 1950s and ’60s (Kislenko, 2009). A nascent recording industry existed during this time, mostly dedicated to *Khap-Lam*, a form of vocal music encompassing religious and ceremonial themes, poetic verse drawn from Lao literature, love songs, and a form of question-and-answer repartee that sees singers engaged in a form of lexical combat (Chapman, 2003, pp.121-122). During and after the revolution, the Lao People’s Revolutionary Party placed some restrictions on the performances of *Khap-Lam* (Chapman, 2001, pp. 125) and encouraged singers to adopt propagandist theme and patriotic anthems as a way of engendering nationalist sentiment (Miller, 1985, p.56). After the revolution, *Mor Lam* along with subsidiary forms of Lao ‘country’ music, continued to flourish as a popular music form, again as a government sanctioned vehicle for patriotic songs to celebrate the revolution and the new people’s democratic republic (Jory, 1999, p.341). Arne Kislenko notes that “the communists put an end to Western music in the country, deeming it both counterrevolutionary and culturally decadent” (Kislenko, 2009, p.112).

Since the 1990s, the Lao government has relaxed this position and a market for locally produced Western-influenced popular music has emerged, modelled on the music industries of Thailand (Chapman, 2004b, pp.132-133). Lao and North-East Thailand (*Isaan*) share much common language and culture meaning that, for young people who lived through this period, access to contemporary popular culture has been available through TV, Radio and recordings from across the border. Writing in 1999, Enfield noted that young Lao songwriters aspired to emulate Thai pop and rock in an effort to distance themselves from *Mor Lam* and its older audience. As the audience for this contemporary popular music has developed, artists have sought to adopt a distinct identity based on nuanced use of language and cultural references that identify their music as Lao. Outside of the country, contemporary Lao popular music has found an audience among the diaspora who left during the revolution (Chapman, 2004a).

In the absence of reliable sales, census or taxation data the precise size and value of the market for popular music within Lao, and among this diaspora audience, is impossible to calculate. Anecdotal evidence in the form of prominent advertising and sponsorship of concert events and audiences that can number in the thousands suggests a sizeable audience, and hence market, for popular music exists. Figures 1 and 2 give some sense of the size and engagement of the audience for locally produced live music events in Vientiane, Luang Prabang in the north of the country and Savannakhet in the south.

However, an inability to police counterfeit production means the income generated by sponsorship of live performance events, along with the on-costs for the provision of staging and event management services, is far-more profitable than the sale of recorded music for most Lao record labels. Thus, the audience for popular music in Lao is typically used as a means to access a much more lucrative market for attention among corporate, government and NGO clients.



Figure 1 Outdoor Concert at That Luang Festival, November 2012.



Figure 2 Fan crowd-surfs at an outdoor concert at Savanakhet, November 2007.

Traditionally, the international market for Lao music has been non-existent. In 2004, Adam Chapman (2004a) wrote of a growing engagement between Lao diaspora communities and the Lao popular music industries. Subsequent to his research, Lao popular music has made in-roads into Thailand, Japan, Singapore through regional touring and among diaspora audiences in the USA, Canada and France via online platforms such as Youtube, Blogs and Social Media. However, in my own experience working with a successful Lao label, these markets have proved difficult to capitalise on due to piracy (physical and digital); language barriers to navigating online distribution platforms and licensing agreements for non-English speakers; and difficulties in submitting and searching meta-data to online distribution platforms in Lao Script. For example, although the use of the Lao language is an important distinctive for Lao pop and rock performers, Lao popular music available on the iTunes Music Store and other online distribution platforms, such as Spotify, often uses English translations or transliteration for artist and track names (see Figure 3, for example).

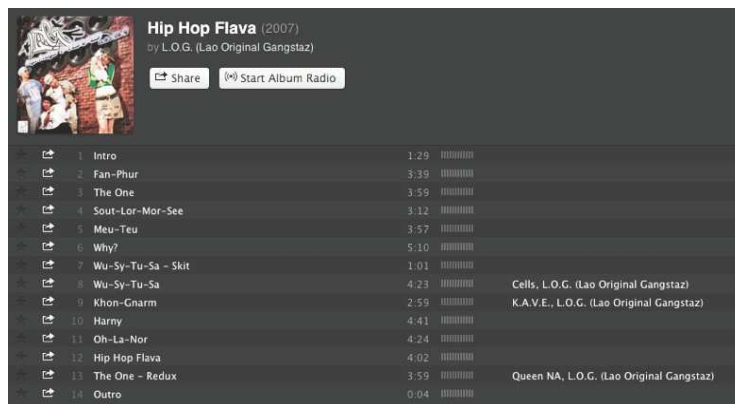


Figure 3 A release by a prominent Lao Hip-Hop artist as presented in Spotify.

Popular Music Industries' Structure

In order to contextualise the structure of the Lao music industries it is important to reference the recorded music industry in the USA and other developed economies. Figure 4 presents a schematic overview of specialised activities in and around recorded music as identified by Scott (1999). I have modified Scott's schematic slightly to include collections agencies, broadcast/online mediums, Independent Distribution Channels and Live Music Infrastructure to more closely reflect the current state-of-play as detailed, for example, in the IFPI's Digital Music Reports (cf IFPI 2012; IFPI 2014). Given the breadth of activity covered by live music and in the online space I have separated these out as they represent discrete, interconnected ecosystems entangled with the production, promotion and commercial exploitation of recorded music.

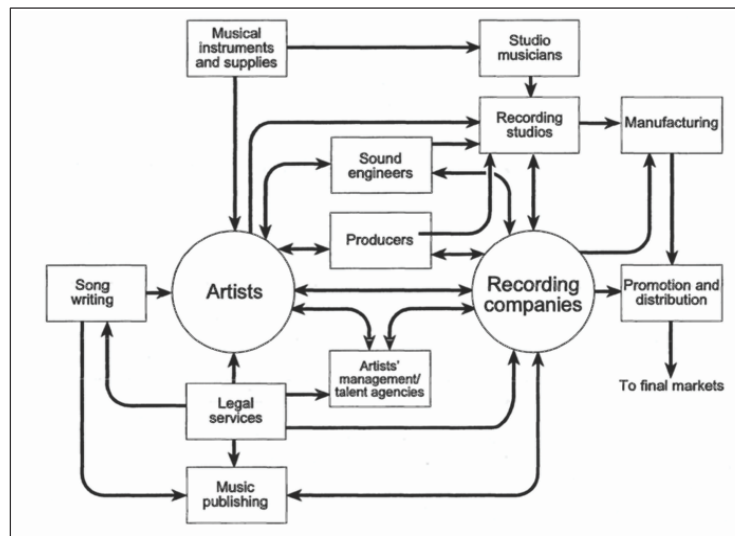


Figure 4 A schematic overview of specialised activities in and around the recorded music industry, showing their main functional interconnections (Scott, 1999, p.1968).

By contrast, my experience working in the music industries in Lao suggest they are concentrated around the activities of several independent record labels, the most prominent at the time of writing being Valentine Music, Lao Art Media, KPY Entertainment and Indee Records, along with emerging smaller labels such as BN Entertainment, Larnxang Entertainment and Lao Pride Records (see Figure 5). In addition to financing and producing recorded music these labels typically function as artist managers, concert promoters, graphic design/advertising, staging and event management companies. Songwriting, recording and production may be handled in-house or through a handful of local recording studios and freelance producers.

There are no independent publicists, booking agents or managers; no major label presence; no publishers; no collection societies such as the Performing Rights Society (UK), American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers of Music

(ASCAP) or the Australian Performing Rights Association (APRA); lawyers do not figure prominently (if at all) in contract or other negotiations; there is no major label presence; and no formalised distribution network for physical goods. Distribution of recorded music involves a large, informal, network of market/street vendors and pirate distributors who sell local and international content in the form of CDs as well as .mp3 and other compressed media files that can be loaded onto a consumer's phone or media player by the vendor.

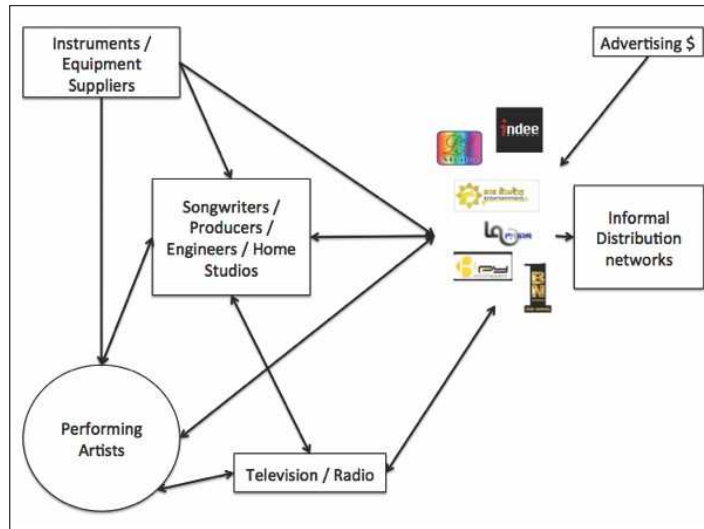


Figure 5 A schematic overview of the Lao Music Industries

With some exceptions, live performances are one-off, corporate, government or NGO sponsored, events rather than regular events in clubs or pubs, as is typical in many Western countries. Most clubs and 'beer-shops' do not have the required infrastructure, such as a dedicated stage and PA equipment, to host live music performances and their primary function is as spaces for drinking, eating and socialising. It is common, for example, to find the space that might normally be occupied by a dance-floor to be filled with small tables for patrons to congregate around and rest their drinks on. As the larger labels have grown and diversified they have rebranded their event staging and management services as discrete businesses to enable them to be engaged by their competitors as well as corporate, NGO and government clients. Where this is the case these new companies typically operate as discrete businesses in name only and run out of the same offices with the same personnel. Those labels without in-house production and staging services are thus at a significant disadvantage, relying on smaller freelance operations or the more established labels to enable them to generate income.



Figure 6 Record label run Music Boom, broadcast on Lao Star Channel

As in Korea (Shim, 2006), liberalisation of state-run media has gone hand-in-hand with the development of the Lao popular music industries and this has led to the creation of both label owned and label sponsored television and radio shows that compete for audience share with regional (Thai, Vietnamese and Chinese) music cable channels such as MTV and Channel [V]. The programmes are typically hosted by or heavily feature Lao pop stars and provide an opportunity for the shows owners to generate revenue through product placement and in-show sponsored segments. Larger labels that are able to produce content in-house are, again, at a significant advantage over their smaller competitors as they are able to provide material that is exclusive and tailored to corporate sponsors requirements. The size of the market, regulatory environment and a requirement to produce content in the Lao language have meant that competition in the marketplace has largely been domestic or from Thailand.

The Workings of Law and Regulations in Relation to the Popular Music Industries

Following the communist revolution in 1975 The Lao PDR's single-party government has undertaken a process of economic liberalisation similar to that of neighbouring Vietnam and China. In 1986, the Lao Peoples Revolutionary Party adopted The 'New Economic Mechanism', a strategy intended to encourage private enterprise and international trade in context of an open market economy (Fry, 2008). In practice, however, the countries opaque political system, which favours/rewards patronage and familial and close personal ties, means that reform has been slow and the rule of law – particularly in relation to private enterprise – has not been widely accepted or applied (Fry, 2008; Jönsson, 2008; Stuart-Fox, 2005). Stuart-Fox (2008) notes that private contractors often have great difficulty getting paid by government; the taxation system is slow and non-transparent; and that government representatives expect payment for obtaining permits, visas and other paperwork impacting on the operation of private

business. In addition, companies operating in the music industries are required to obtain approval from the Lao Ministry of Information, Culture and Tourism for all recordings, music videos, television broadcasts and some live performance events (VMg, 1997).

Though the Lao government has promulgated laws relating to the recognition and protection of Intellectual Property, enforcement of these laws has not been adequate to offer any protection of copyrights in relation to musical works. The USA is said to be lobbying the Lao government to enact enforceable IP legislation ahead of their entry into the World Trade Organisation at the end of 2012 (Asia News Network, 2012). However the experience of neighbouring Thailand, where copyright legislation modelled on South Korea's has been enacted, suggests that such enforcement would be unlikely to impact the trade in pirated music and other media even with the presence of a centralised collection society (cf. Arunmas, 2011; Burton 2004). The responsibility for protecting intellectual property thus falls to companies with a commercial interest in doing so and the revenues generated from the sale of physical goods are highly vulnerable to disruption due to piracy. This has had the effect of shaping the Lao music industries into a form of service economy, whereby income is generated primarily through the provision of a service (typically a sponsored performance event or radio/television advertising) that cannot be easily replicated by a competing firm.

Innovations in Technology as they Relate to the Popular Music Industries

While piracy and the online distribution of recorded works have been major disruptive forces elsewhere (IFPI, 2012), their impact on the Lao music industries has been of a different form and magnitude than those of developed economies such as the USA and UK. The Lao popular music industries have emerged in the context of well-established local pirate operations that provided (otherwise unavailable) international musical content to a local audience at a local price point. One of the current leading firms, for example, began as a pirate CD store; illegally downloading and distributing Western and Thai artists to the Lao market. Thus, much of the debate that has consumed the USA and UK popular music industries for more than a decade centres on mostly moot points and local artists have had to compete in a marketplace where piracy was the norm. Of greater significance to the Lao popular music industries has been the widespread adoption of mobile phones and access to 3G connectivity; the availability of pirated audio software; reduced cost of audio, video and staging equipment; and the potential of the web as a promotional tool.

As in other developing (low and lower middle income) economies mobile phone use in the Lao PDR, and with it access to mobile internet, far outstrips access to much costlier landlines and wired internet (Donner, 2012). Interestingly, mobile network providers were among the first companies to actively seek out and promote Lao popular music through sponsorship of recordings and large-scale free outdoor concerts. The widespread adoption of mobile phones brought new competitors into the traditionally government owned telecommunications sector and with it the opportunity for new ways for Lao companies to leverage recorded music and generate income through micro-transactions. Mobile service provider Beeline, for example, offers a 'call music' subscription service that allows customers to choose exclusive tracks by Lao and Thai

musicians in place of the normal ringing or ring back tones heard when someone dials their number. Because call music is delivered via the mobile network, rather than to the users handset, it is difficult to pirate the service and the marginal cost of scaling means a relatively low monthly subscription rate (US\$1-2 per month) can be charged while still generating enough income in aggregate to share between the phone provider and the rights holders. Similarly, Beeline, and other Lao mobile service providers, run SMS voting campaigns for Idol style television programmes and major events such as the Miss Laos beauty pageant and the Lao Music Awards (of which Beeline are a principal sponsor). These campaigns typically incorporate revenue between the provider and event/show producer in addition to any sponsorship or advertising revenue. Although it is not possible to provide a specific breakdown, revenue sharing income generated through SMS voting tied to ‘idol style’ music events has been shown to be a lucrative additional source of income in Indonesia (Coutas, 2006), China (Huang & Chitty, 2009; Jian & Gille, 2006) and across the Asian region (Tay, 2011).



Figure 7 Lao Music Awards Poster.

The availability of low cost/high performance computers along with the virtualisation of many recording technologies has meant that studios can be set up for the cost of a PC, some speakers and a comparatively cheap audio interface. An established distribution network for pirated software in neighbouring Thailand means that increasingly sophisticated music production programmes are available at prices amenable to a local market. Additionally, the outsourcing of much audio equipment manufacturing to China means that microphones, mixing desks and other audio equipment are also available at reasonable cost, though not always through official distributors. Lao producers and recordists are thus able to work with toolsets substantively similar to their counterparts in the USA and UK, though the absence of acoustically treated rooms often necessitates that producers programme, rather than record, instrumental parts heard on a recording. It is not uncommon for everything

except bass, guitar and vocals on a recording to be programmed – though it should be noted that this is not dissimilar to current practice for recording pop and rock music in many developed economies. This has meant that recordings can be produced with minimal outlay beyond personnel costs, often paid for via sponsorship deals, allowing Lao labels to release content at a competitive price point in their local market.

The digital distribution of recorded works and attendant problems with piracy, has been less of a disruptive force in Lao than in many developed economies. However, the online space has provided opportunities for promotion and accessing new audiences that would be otherwise unavailable to Lao labels. Chapman (2004b) identified several websites devoted to promoting Lao music (both popular and traditional) among diaspora audiences, more recently augmented or replaced by specialist music blogs, Facebook pages and YouTube channels. Interestingly YouTube and Facebook have become the preferred official channels used by Lao labels to promote their artists, both to domestic and international fans. Interestingly this has had the effect of privileging music videos over album releases. Resources are devoted to the release of videos in favour of singles, and in some cases albums, and function as promotional vehicles for the labels and their artists, rather than forms of income generation. Any returns from YouTube royalties, for example, are not accessible due to their being no royalty collection society or similar mechanism.

The Organisational Structure of Dominating Firms in the Popular Music Industries

Dominant firms within the Lao (and other Southeast Asian) popular music industries exist as small cross-media entities that generate income from live performance, radio and television shows, sales of recordings, and advertising/sponsorship across these mediums. In Lao these are normally funded by, or are extensions of, other (non-music related) family businesses with internal and external business dealings held together by strong reciprocal obligation rather than contractual agreements. Partly this is due to the speculative nature of music business that requires significant outlay for salaries, equipment purchases and production costs with no guaranteed financial returns. Though smaller and less formalised, their organisational structures broadly resemble those of privately held Lao telecommunications companies, identified by Southiseng and Walsh (2011), as well as the Chinese Family Business Clan structure discussed by Gatfield and Youssef (2001). Founding members control these companies from positions of executive authority; job specialisation is largely irrelevant inasmuch as employees may be called on to undertake work for which they may not be qualified; and “individuals [are often required to] surrender personal needs in deference to the organisation” (Gatfield & Youssef, p.154). As with similar popular culture firms in South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan and Singapore, “the driving force behind [these] operations ... is entrepreneurship in search of market expansion opportunities” (Otmazgin, 2011, p.271). Despite their diverse offerings, the businesses normally comprise a small staff who are able to respond quickly to changes in consumer taste or the marketplace in which they operate. In many ways these firms are similar to the early independent record labels in the USA in the 1940s and 1950s, which were often

family businesses owned and run by Jewish immigrants with little in the way of formal paperwork or agreements (cf Broven, 2010).

Occupational Careers in the Popular Music Industries

The formative nature of the Lao popular music industries makes observations on occupational careers difficult. Most workers have engaged professionally with popular music for no more than a decade and may have had multiple occupations within this period. Employment for musicians and other workers in the music industries can be unreliable, requiring workers to develop what have been identified in recent literature as protean, boundaryless or portfolio careers (cf Australia Council for the Arts, 2012; Bartleet et al., 2012; Bridgestock, 2005; Burnard, 2012; Creech 2008). Members of one prominent Lao rock band, for example, have worked as television/radio hosts, live sound crew, DJs, songwriters for other artists, project/event managers, television/movie actors and technicians, as well as non-music industry 'day-jobs'. With this in mind, identified roles within the popular music industries broadly fall into the following categories:

1. Label/venue/other small business owners
2. Performers/presenters (e.g. songwriters, musicians, TV and radio presenters and actors)
3. Technologists (e.g. recording engineers/producers, live sound engineers, lighting operators, television/movie/music video directors, cameramen, maintenance technicians, web developers, website designers and managers, video editors and graphic designers)
4. Project managers (e.g. ad campaign/event co-ordinators and television/movie producers)
5. Administration (e.g. accountants, office workers and payroll/HR staff)
6. Manual labourers (e.g. stage-hands, drivers and tradespeople)
7. Retailers (e.g. instrument and musical equipment stores and CD sellers)

Notably absent are roles such as independent artist managers, booking agents, publicists, promoters, specialist popular music journalists, music publishers/supervisors and entertainment lawyers that exist in the popular music industries in developed economies (Rutter, 2011). The absence of these roles can be mostly attributed to the size and developmental state of the Lao popular music industries, however, the particular political and legal context in which they operate means some businesses and career pathways found in developed economies may prove untenable. In particular, the absence of enforceable copyright legislation makes music publishing and other businesses that rely on such protection untenable. Music publishing, for example, relies on the existence of enforceable copyright legislation and some mechanism to collect performance, mechanical and print royalties; neither of which currently exists in Lao.

Conclusions

Since the late 1990s the Lao popular music industries have developed at a rapid pace in the context of a tremendously challenging economic and regulatory environment. Their emergence during a period marked by structural change in the international music industries precipitated by disruptive technologies should be of particular interest to the music industries in developed economies.

Dominant firms in the Lao music industries are small, adaptable and typically cross-media whose staff, of necessity, work across the multiple domains the firms are engaged in. While the demand for recorded music may be large, the market for its commercial exploitation is not and the dominant firms have focused on the delivery of services and events that cannot be easily replicated by their competitors. These proprietary resources include those unavailable to competitors due to upfront costs (such as audio equipment and staging), scarcity (television and radio airtime) and human capital in the form of songwriters, performers and producers who work exclusively for particular companies. In the absence of enforceable copyright protection and to best leverage these proprietary resources, dominant firms have pursued advertising and sponsored live music events as alternate revenue streams to the sale of recordings or concert tickets. The strong links between successful music industry firms and telecommunications companies is particularly noteworthy in this regard, although I would suggest that this form of patronage is unlikely to be sustainable in the long-term as the market grows and more firms enter. In this regard it will be interesting to observe how the Lao popular music industries develop given the establishment costs for new firms is comparatively high, the returns unknown and that the language barrier, size of the market and a lack of intellectual property laws suggest the market is unlikely to appeal to foreign music businesses. Similarly, access to international markets for recorded music has not yet proved profitable, despite a large diaspora audience, and it will be interesting to see if and how Lao firms can capitalise on this potential consumer base. Further research into these types of emerging music industries would prove valuable as a bellwether of opportunity and risk in more established economies.

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Biography

Dr Dave Carter is Lecturer in Music Technology at the Tasmanian Conservatorium of Music. Dave's commercial recorded output has been broadcast on ABC Classic FM, Radio National, Triple J, and community radio across Australia. He has managed creative projects for a range of clients including the UN, World Bank, National University of Singapore and Unilever and has worked on community development projects in Australia and South-East Asia.

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Endnotes

- ¹ The World Intellectual Property Organisation's (WIPO) 2004 report on the economic contribution of the copyright industries to Singapore grouped music, theatrical works and opera as a single 'industry'.
- ² 'Definitions of the "creative economy" may vary, but it is generally agreed that at the heart of the creative economy lie the creative industries. There is no single agreed definition of the "creative economy" or the "creative industries" although clearly, they embrace the concept of "creativity" as an essential characteristic. Today, creativity is often referred to as a primary resource in the knowledge-based economy, leading to innovation and technological changes, and conferring competitive advantage on businesses and national economies' (United Nations, 2010, p.255).
- ³ "The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – which range from halving extreme poverty to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education, all by the target date of 2015 – form a blueprint agreed to by all the world's countries and all the world's leading development institutions. They have galvanised unprecedented efforts to meet the needs of the world's poorest" (United Nations, 2014, online).