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THE FACETS OF CREATIVITY ECONOMY

This paper discusses various aspects of so called «creative economy» and «creativity economy», two of many modern concepts characterizing the «new economy» based on knowledge, IC-technologies, creativity and innovation. In this paper, in particular, we conceptually define the «creativity economy» that surpasses an earlier concept of the «creative economy» based, in turn, on the concepts of «creative industries» and «creative occupations»; we also discuss the boundaries of the traditional understanding of «creative economy» based on the industrial and occupational approaches. Some characteristics of «creative industries» in Kazakhstan are also provided. The author concludes that a main defect of the industry and occupation approaches to the understanding and analysis of creative economy is that creativity is considered to relate to some professions, not to people. These approaches reflect the structural economic transformation at the turn of the millennium, but not the qualitative shift in the current economy which depends on and is driven by new ideas in all sectors («mass and constant» creativity). The mass and constant creativity has become the main resource and driver for a new epoch in the economic development, a «creativity economy» that equals neither with the «creative industries» or «creative economy».

Key words: Creativity Economy, Creative Economy, Creative Class, Creative Industries, Creative Occupations

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Шығармашылық экономикасының қырлары

Мақалада «креативті экономика» және «шығармашылық экономикасының» көптеген және әр түрлі аспектілері қарастырылады, бұл білімге, ақпараттық-коммуникациялық технологияларға, шығармашылыққа және инновацияға негізделген «жаңа» экономикадағы қазіргі заманғы компоненттер. Атап айтқанда, мақалада «креативті индустриялар» және «креативті мамандықтар» ұғымдарына негізделген «креативті экономика» тұжырымдамасы негізінде пайда болған «шығармашылық экономикасы» ұғымы тұжырымдамалық түрде анықталады; Қазақстан Республикасындағы «креативті индустриялардың» дамуын бейнелейтін мысалдар келтіріледі; салалық көзқарас тұрғысынан «креативті экономиканың» дәстүрлі түсінудің кемшіліктері мен шектеулері тұжырымдалады және талқыланады. «Креативті экономиканың» көптеген анықтамалары және «креативті индустриялар» мен «креативті класс» ұғымдарының көптеген модельдерін талдау негізінде автор «шығармашылық мамандықтар» және тиісінше «креативті экономика» түсінігі негізінен «креативті» өнімдер, қызметтер және қызмет салалары туралы стереотиптерге негізделген деп тұжырымдайды, ал қазіргі модельдер арасындағы айырмашылық тек «креативті экономиканың» құрайтын «креативті салалар» спектрі кеңдігінде ғана, алайда модельдердің ешқайсысы экономикаға «шығармашылық» үлесін нақты көрсете алмайды. XXI ғасырдың басындағы экономиканың сапалы өзгеруін көрсететін «креативті

экономика» тұжырымдамасынан «шығармашылық экономика» тұжырымдамасына көшу қажет, себебі жұмыспен қамтылған және өзін-өзі жұмыспен қамтыған қызметкерлердің жаппай және үздіксіз шығармашылығы экономикалық дамудың драйвері және ресурсы болып табылады.

Түйін сөздер: шығармашылық экономикасы, креативті экономика, креативті класс, креативті индустриялар, креативті мамандықтар.

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Грани экономики творчества

В статье обсуждаются многочисленные и разнообразные аспекты т.н. «креативной экономики» и «экономики творчества», – современных компонентов «новой» экономики, основанной на знаниях, информационно-коммуникативных технологиях, творчестве и инновациях. В частности, в статье концептуально определяется понятие «экономика творчества», возникшее на основе концепции «креативная экономика», базирующейся, в свою очередь, на концепциях «креативные индустрии» и «креативные профессии»; приводятся примеры, иллюстрирующие развитие «креативных индустрий» в Республике Казахстан; формулируются и обсуждаются недостатки и границы применимости традиционного понимания «креативной экономики» в контексте секторальных подходов. На основе осуществленного анализа различных подходов к определению «креативной экономики» и многочисленных моделей «креативных индустрий» и «креативного класса» автор статьи делает вывод о том, что понимание «творческих профессий» и, соответственно, «креативной экономики» базируется в основном на стереотипах о «креативных» продуктах, услугах и сферах деятельности, а отличие существующих моделей заключается лишь в широте спектра «креативных отраслей», формирующих «креативную экономику», однако ни одна из моделей не выделяет действительно «творческий» вклад в экономику. Необходим переход от понятия «креативная экономика» к понятию «экономика творчества», отражающему качественный сдвиг в экономике начала XXI в., связанный с тем, что драйвером и ресурсом развития экономики становится массовое и непрерывное творчество занятых и самозанятых работников.

Ключевые слова: экономика творчества, креативная экономика, креативный класс, креативные индустрии, креативные профессии.

Introduction

«Creativity economy» and «creative economy» are just two of many modern concepts characterizing the «new economy» (including «knowledge economy», «innovation economy», «virtual economy», «digital economy», and so on). All of these many concepts are also understood as paradigms for the future economy and the future society as a whole, and creativity is considered the most important economic resource in the world with increasing population and decreasing natural resources.

«Creative economy» has become one of the most discussed concepts of the modern global economy for the last 15 years. This widely distributed term accentuates sharply risen significance of creativity as an economic factor, and also characterizes a qualitative transition of the modern economy to a new level.

A problem of creativity economy definition is related, first of all, to the mythologized and

stereotyped understanding of creativity. In the common mind, there is still a strong connection of creativity with certain spheres, like arts, for example. In the literature, there is a great variety of unconsensual definitions, classifications and conditionally stereotyped agreements what «creative economy» is. There is a great variety of definitions, classifications and conditionally stereotyped agreements what creative economy is. This problem has already been repeatedly discussed in the literature, including some of our works (Dubina et al., 2012), so we will characterize the situation only in general here.

In this paper, we conceptually define the «creativity economy» that surpasses an earlier concept of the «creative economy» based, in turn, on the concepts of «creative industries» and «creative occupations». A number of different approaches to the understanding of «creative industries» and «creative occupations» are discussed here. Some characteristics of «creative economy» in Kazakhstan are also provided as an example of «creative

industries». We also discuss the boundaries of the traditional understanding of «creative economy» based on the industrial and occupational approaches.

Data and Methods

In this section, we describe and discuss two main approaches to the understanding and analysis of «creative economy», namely the occupational approach based on the conception of «creative class» and the industrial approach based the conception of «creative industries».

Creative Class

The conception of «the creative class» has been introduced and developed by R. Florida at the turn of the millennium (Florida, 2002; 2006). Generally, the creative class consists of professionals who create new ideas, new technology or new content. This conception, which is closely connected with the notion of «creative industries», served as a key component of the «creative profession approach», or «creative occupation approach» to understanding and definition of the «creative economy» (Dubina et al., 2012).

As follows from the general definition, «the creative class» is a wider conception than «the creative industries» in term of the number of considered workers. The creative class, according to R. Florida, includes «super-creative core», consisting of researchers, artist, designers and other employees who «fully engaged in the creative process» and «creative professionals» who are «knowledge workers», including doctors, professors, lawyers, finance experts, etc. By the millennium, the creative class has already represented about a third of the U.S. labor force (about 40 million employees) and the «super creative core» represented 12% of all of the jobs in the United States. In some other countries, the creative class even risen up to 50% (Florida, 2002).

The existing classifications of «creative occupations» widely differ in the breadth of the spectrum of industries and occupations included (Markusen et al., 2008). For example, from a creative occupation perspective (CIE, 2009), the total number of «creative employees» is calculated as the sum of:

- all workers employed in creative industries, whether or not creatively occupied (e.g. all musicians, security guards, cleaners, accountants, managers, etc. working for a record company), and
- all workers that are creatively occupied, and are not employed in creative industries (for example, a piano teacher in a school) (CIE, 2009).

As another example, the Australian Creative Industries and Innovation (CCI) center developed the Creative trident, an approach to estimate the dynamics of creative workforce (CIE, 2009):

- specialist creatives (employed in creative occupations in creative industries);
- support workers (employed in creative industries, but in non-creative occupations);
- embedded creatives (employed in creative occupations, but in industries that do not produce creative products).

Like the notion of the «creative industries», the idea of the «creative class» («creative occupations») has been a subject for serious criticism. Thus, Montgomery (2005) and Nathan (2007) identify serious problems and confusions in understanding and measuring «the creative class», as is being attempted in R. Florida's model. Those problems mainly relate to difficulties of identification of the «creative class member», that is «creative workers». For instance, it is easier to identify formally knowledge workers (e.g., «who work with their heads, not hands», Drucker, 1993)) than creative workers, since knowledge workers are not always «creative workers».

The estimation of «creative class» employment is often confusing (e.g., machine operators might be seen as creative workers if they are working for a printing press but not a sheet metal press). Many creative people operate simultaneously in multiple roles and jobs, so estimating a creative component across all professions may result in significant double counting. Or, as an example, a security guard working for a music company would be classified as a creative employee. On the other hand, the number of «creative class» employees may be underestimated, since there is much unpaid, part-time or non-contracted work in the «creative economy». So, it is hard to say that the existing models can really register «creative» contributions to the economy.

«The creative class» as well as «the creative industries» and «the creative economy» are rather metaphorical conceptions based, in many respects, on stereotypical view on creativity as an unique phenomenon concentrated just in certain fields (professions or sectors). Undoubtedly, these widely distributed terms accentuate sharply risen significance of creativity as an economic factor, but creativity is a normal virtue of any normal person (Kirton, 1987) and creativity can take place anywhere in business, economic and social life. Creativity should not be seen as residing in a specific class of people or a specific industry or industrial cluster.

As B.A. Lundvall (Lundvall, 2008) notes, the most successful economies in the world are those that engage ordinary workers in processes of creative thinking, doing and using. So, the less distinct «the creative class» is from the rest of society, the more successful the economy.

Creative Industries

Creative industries are usually understood as economic sectors in which creativity and creative contributions are most significant. This conception serves as an «industrial approach» to understanding and definition of the «creative economy» (Dubina et al., 2012). Historically, the notion of creative industries is strongly connected with the concept of «culture industries» or «cultural industries» (T. Adorno and M. Horkheimer), introduced and developed in the 1940s and 1950s (Adorno, 1975; Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979). Over 50,000 papers with this term were published during the last 50 years and are registered in international bibliometric databases. Another concept, «culture economy», was introduced in the late 1970s to characterize the involvement of cultural products into economic and market relations (over 2,000 papers are registered in databases). The first discussion of «creative industries» appeared in the early 1990s (over 2,000 publications related to this term have been published for the last 20 years).

There is no single classification of economic activities on which the creative industries are based, however there is still the stable idea that «creative industries» mostly relate to «culture economy», media and art-business (Caves, 2000). Preliminarily defined, the «creative industries» are at the crossroads of the arts, culture, business and technology. They comprise the cycle of creation, production and distribution of goods and services that use creativity and intellectual capital as their primary input (UNCTAD, 2008). Today's creative industries involve the interplay of traditional, technology-intensive and service-oriented subsectors. A number of different models have been put forward, over recent years, as a means of providing a systematic understanding of the structural characteristics of the «creative industries» (CIE, 2009; Lovink and Rossiter, 2007; UNCTAD, 2008).

One of the historically first models of creative industries was suggested by the UK Department of Culture, Media and Sport in the late 1990s (see DCMS, 2001; UNCTAD, 2008). «Creative industries» are defined as those requiring creativity, skill and talent, with potential for wealth and job creation through the exploitation of their intellectual proper-

ty. This model includes 13 industries, such as advertising, architecture, art and antiques market, crafts, design, fashion, film and video, music, performing arts, publishing, software, television and radio, video and computer games.

Different levels of the «creative industries» are specified in some models. For example, in the symbolic text model, there are 3 clusters (Hesmondhalgh, 2002; UNCTAD, 2008):

- core industries (advertising, film, internet, music, publishing, television and radio, video and computer games);
- peripheral industries (creative arts);
- borderline industries, consumer electronics, fashion software, sport).

In the concentric circles model (UNCTAD, 2008) there are 4 levels:

- core creative arts (literature, music, performing arts, visual arts);
- other core cultural industries (film, museums and libraries);
- wider cultural industries (heritage services, publishing, sound recording, television and radio, video and computer games);
- related industries (advertising, architecture, design, fashion).

According to such approaches, a set of the «creative industries» with several levels of «creativity inputs» forms «creative economy» (Fig. 1). However, there are no objective criteria for such a delineation or for measuring and evaluating creative contributions in those industries. It represents just a stereotyped convention to consider one industry to be more «creative» than another, and such a stereotype provokes a question: Should we consider industries unlisted in a «creative industries» classification (e.g. electronics, pharmaceutical, etc.) to be «uncreative»?

The World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) also suggested a classification of «creative industries» (see UNCTAD, 2008) which considers industries producing copyrighted products and services:

- core copyright industries (advertising, film and video, music, performing arts, publishing, software, television and radio, visual and graphic art);
- partial copyright industries (architecture, clothing, footwear, design, fashion, household goods, toys);
- interdependent copyright industries (blank recording material, consumer electronics, musical instruments, paper, photocopiers, photographic equipment).

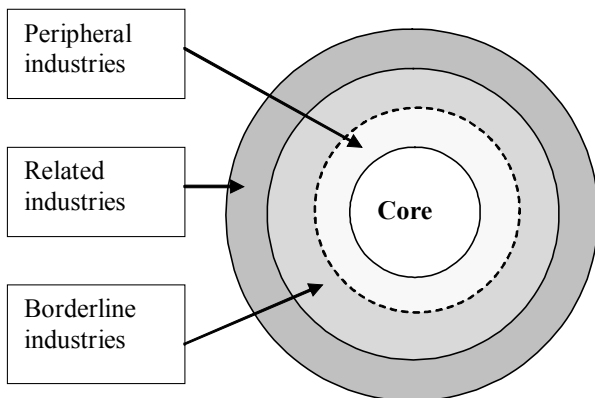


Figure 1 – Levels of «creative economy»
Source: Dubina et al. (2012)

An expanded variant of an approach for classifying creative industries is the UNCTAD model. It relies on enlarging the concept of «creativity» from activities having a strong artistic component to «any economic activity producing symbolic products with a heavy reliance on intellectual property and for as wide a market as possible». UNCTAD makes a distinction between «upstream activities» (traditional cultural activities such as performing arts or visual arts) and «downstream activities» (much closer to the market, such as advertising, publishing or media related activities) and argues that the second group derives its commercial value from low reproduction costs and easy transfer to other economic domains. From this perspective, cultural industries make up a subset of the creative industries. The model includes 236 positions corresponding to «creative goods and services» in areas of design, visual art, publishing, music, audio and videorecording, advertising and marketing, architecture, etc. (UNCTAD, 2008). So, we can say that the WIPO and UNCTAD models reflect some sort of evolution of the «creative industries» understanding, since they accent and value knowledge and «smart» technologies than creativity per se.

Regarding Kazakhstan, creative and cultural industries as a part of economic activities have been weakly studied and analysed so far. The understanding of cultural industries in Kazakhstan requires conceptual clarity, but also a clear delineation of activities. For example, some specialists suggest that banya (steam baths) be included in the Kazakhstani categorization of cultural industries. This traditional practice is a meaningful illustration of the region's relation to winter. But also other seasonal cel-

ebrations (e.g. Nauryz/Nowruz) and annual public events (e.g. Day of the City, First of May, Victory Day, etc.) are part of the country's event calendar that warrants consideration for inclusion in the local understanding of the cultural industries (De Beukelaer and Koretskaya, 2016).

The availability and reliability of data characterizing creative industries in Kazakhstan remains limited and scarce, which calls for greater transparency in the sector. However, there are some data available. For example, Table 1 may give an idea of the structure and volume of Kazakh creative industries (UNCTAD, 2016). Other available data shows the industries are currently not performing well internationally, but it also indicates that creative goods consumption within the country is significant and growing, and the opportunity is that there is a potential of creative industries in the country to supply some more of the demand locally. (De Beukelaer and Koretskaya, 2016).

So, the existing models of the «creative industries» represent different ways of interpreting the structural characteristics of «creative production» where creativity and creative contribution are *seemingly* most significant. These structural models are widely used now since they give a way to quantitatively estimating the scale and dynamics of «creative economy» in different regions and countries, and to identify places with high concentrations of creative activities. Accordingly, there is an opportunity for characterizing the creative economy with quite traditional economic indexes (percentage of GDP, employment and wages, export and import, etc.).

At the same time, the reference to the «creative industries» appears rather problematic, since all of the «creative industries» like all other economic sectors, are not based only on new ideas and creativity and they involve both creative and imitative activities (i.e., applying standard operations, procedures, materials and technologies). For example, very few architectural or design companies are «constantly creative»; they mostly offer quite standard projects requiring standard materials and technologies. As the famous architect and designer Frederick Kiesler remarked, only 5 to 15% of architectural works were creative, the rest were imitative.

On the other side, most of the economic activities include creativity to a certain extent today. Creativity is not concentrated just in «creative» (mainly and stereotypically «arts-related») industries, products or services; creativity penetrates the most of spheres of the modern economy.

Table 1 – Values and shares of import of creative goods industries of Europe and Kazakhstan, annual, 2010-2015, US Dollars at current prices in millions

YEAR	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
PRODUCT						
All related goods	1751,2	1709,8	1705,6	2063,3	2333,9	1523,4
Audiovisuals	552,9	217,6	267,1	352,6	319,1	280,1
Film	1,0	1,2	7,3	2,2	2,2	1,4
E-broadcasting	509,0	149,2	209,7	283,6	249,9	205,5
Sound-production	42,9	67,1	50,2	66,8	67,0	73,2
Design	292,2	421,2	228,7	326,3	205,4	123,1
Architecture	284,3	402,2	180,5	223,3	105,1	69,3
Fashion	1,4	6,0	4,9	1,9	2,2	1,2
Interior	1,6	2,2	2,8	3,8	3,8	3,0
Jewellery	5,0	10,8	40,5	97,3	94,3	49,6
Digital fabrication	180,2	193,8	181,2	199,1	220,9	172,4
3D printers	54,3	77,7	78,7	106,5	96,2	88,6
3D scanners	31,6	26,4	15,9	17,5	17,9	18,5
Laser cutters	2,7	3,4	4,2	7,7	7,2	8,0
CNC milling	0,8	1,7	1,2	1,2	1,4	3,1
CNC shopbots	2,0	3,8	15,6	5,5	3,8	2,1
Control boards	88,9	80,8	65,5	60,8	94,3	52,1
New media	663,2	794,3	941,3	1091,8	1478,7	864,4
Computer equipments	663,2	794,3	941,3	1091,8	1478,7	864,4
Performing arts	10,9	13,4	15,7	15,1	14,5	7,0
Musical instruments	6,5	7,5	8,6	8,9	8,5	4,8
Celebration	4,4	5,9	7,1	6,2	5,9	2,2
Publishing	22,2	29,8	36,2	34,8	47,8	37,6
Other printed matter	22,2	29,8	36,2	34,8	47,8	37,6
Visual arts	29,6	39,6	35,4	43,6	47,6	38,8
Painting	20,7	27,6	24,3	28,9	28,2	18,8
Photography	8,9	12,0	11,2	14,7	19,4	20,0

Source: UNCTAD, 2016

Results and Discussion

The most popular approach to the «creative economy» understanding is an «industry approach» (Markusen, et al., 2008), which is based on the identification of «creative industries» or «sectors» in which creativity and creative contributions are seemingly most significant, e.g. arts, architecture, advertisement, etc. Historically this approach is strongly connected with the concepts of «culture industries» (or «cultural industries») and «culture economy» introduced in the 1950-1970s in order to characterize the involvement of cultural products into

economic and market relations. The first discussion of «creative industries» appeared in the early 1990s and first definitions of «creative economy» on this basis were suggested in the early 2000s (Coy, 2000; Howkins, 2001).

According to the «creative industries» approach, «creative economy» is understood as a set of the «creative industries». However, there are no objective criteria for defining, measuring or evaluating creative contributions in industries. It represents just a stereotyped convention to consider one industry to be more «creative» than another.

Nevertheless, various classifications of the «creative industries» (Dubina et al., 2012) are widely used now since they give a way to quantitatively estimating the scale and dynamics of «creative economy» in different regions and countries with quite canonical economic indexes (employment and wages in the «creative industries», export and import of «creative goods and services», percentage of GDP, etc.). Accordingly, there is an opportunity to identify and quantitatively characterize places with high concentrations of «creative activities»: «creative cities» or «creative clusters».

At the same time, the reference to the «creative industries» appears rather problematic in a certain sense for the analysis of «creative economy», since all of the «creative industries» are not based only on creativity and, like other economic sectors, can develop on the basis of both creative and imitative activities (i.e., applying standard procedures, technologies, etc.). Moreover, as some research demonstrates (Hailey et al., 2010), creativity, per se, is less valued by some «creative industries» than knowledge in reference to innovation processes.

The concept of «creative economy» based on stereotypical classifications of «creative industries» appears incorrect, since most of the recent economic activities include creativity to a certain extent. Creativity is not something new for the economy, «creative» products and services have been always included in economic relations, and economic development has always been based on new ideas. Economic contributions depending on creativity have become especially remarkable for the last decades, since new ideas and knowledge based on creativity constantly supersede traditional economic resources (Dubina et al., 2012).

As J. Howkins (2005), one of the creators of the concept of «creative economy,» notes: «The phrase ‘creative industry’ has never really struck a chord with the public. It is jargon; it does not fit common sense. ... [This definition] excludes most of business creativity and almost all scientific creativity. ... Creativity can take place anywhere» (p.125).

Really, while the «creative industries» are mainly defined as «arts-related,» creativity and innovation are vital to the success of all spheres of today’s economy, creativity penetrates all of the modern economy. All spheres of creativity are inter-related and inter-impacted and all of them may be economically significant today (Fig. 2).

Another attempt of understanding, defining and analyzing the creativity economy refers to the «occupation approach» based on the theory of «the creative class» (Florida, 2002; 2006). The economic

function of «the creative class» workers is to create new ideas, new knowledge, new technologies or new content. However, it is not easy to formally identify «creative workers» or («creative occupations», «creative professionals», etc.), so this approach has also rooted in some stereotypes on creativity.

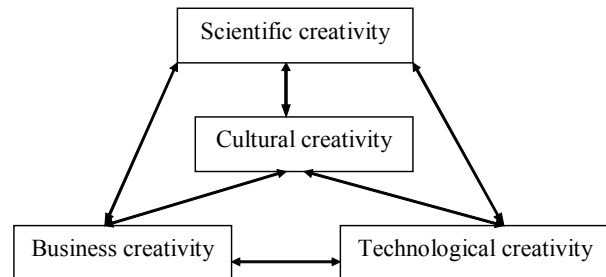


Figure 2 – Creativity in today’s economy
Source: Dubina et al., 2012

The existing classifications of «creative industries» and «creative occupations» widely differ in the breadth of the spectrum of industries and occupations included (Markusen et al., 2008), but none of the models can really register «creative» contributions to the economy. Moreover, in the modern economy, the meanings of GDP, productivity, value added, employment, wages, export, import, etc. are already not so clear, and so the traditional indexes already are insufficient and cannot adequately characterize the «creative economy». For example, conventional trade measures focus on the flow of material goods, but many «creative» products and services are immaterial. New parameters, including «non-economic» factors, are needed for estimating and characterizing the «creative economy» in general and creative capital and its productivity in particular. At the same time, some indexes suggested for characterizing «the new economy» dynamics (patents, inventions, R&D publications, etc.) are often difficultly recorded or not quite reliable (Tellis, et al., 2009).

The idea of the «creative economy» based on the industry and occupation approaches has been a subject for serious criticism (Lovink and Rossiter, 2007). Wilson (2010), in his critique of the conception of «creative economy», also makes an accent on its stereotyped character, namely «a deep-seated belief that creativity is something (only) talented and artistic individuals do. This individualistic conception of creativity extends to the framing of the creative industries and the creative economy, where creativity is treated as

either a quasi-commodity or the preserve of the so-called creative class» (p. 367). He suggests that at this time of the economic, social and environmental «melt-down», «there is a need to re-claim creativity as a social phenomenon, often resulting from human interaction across boundaries (e.g. across nation states, professions, industries, organisations, disciplines, social and cultural groupings, methods, epistemologies and rationalities)».

So, there is an obvious lack of agreement about definitions of the «creative industries» and «creative occupations». Choices about which industries, firms, and occupations are to be included affect the resulting size and content of the «creative economy». Markusen and her colleagues (2008) compare several classifications of «creative industries» and show, for example, that the Boston area's «creative economy» varies in size from less than 1% to 49%, although most cultural definitions range from 1% to 4%.

Researchers and academic institutions develop and use different models, classifications and indexes for «creative economy» in different countries and regions and the obtained results are hardly commensurable (Dubina et al., 2012). Different systems of national statistics, insufficiency of statistical data (a significant proportion of the «creative economy» is not registered in trade or economic statistics), and the absence of reliable measures of creative contributions to the output of industries also limit the analysis of the creativity economy.

As an attempt to overcome some barriers of the industry and occupation approaches to understanding of the «creative economy», researchers have suggested a number of other models and indexes. For example, Florida (2002), with his «3 T's of economic development» (Technology, Talent and Tolerance), was one of the first who proposed quite unorthodox indexes to evaluate the «creative economy». The first of these is The Melting Pot index, or mixes of ethnic groups, which, as he argues, is indicative for high levels of technologically-based industry in the United States. Second is the Gay Index, which proposes that homosexuals as a group are more inclined to be tolerant of others. The next one is the Bohemian Index, measuring the numbers of «creative people» in a city. The final index, Good Lifestyles, refers to places of long-established artistic pedigree, and the good life of entertainment, etc. In his critique of this approach, Montgomery (2005) ironically concludes that «creative entrepreneurs tend to be attracted to cities where it is possible to enjoy the arts, entertainment

and good food». Montgomery (2005) and Nathan (2007) identify serious problems and confusions in understanding the «creative economy» by measuring «creative cities» and «creative clusters», as is being attempted in R. Florida's creative class model. Other researchers suggest more complex and integrative indicators, for example an Economic Creativity Index (Warner, 2000) and a Composite Indicator of the Creative Economy (Bowen, 2008), which is a summary measure of an entity's (e.g., a region's) creative capacity or capability in three key dimensions: innovation, entrepreneurship, and openness.

Conclusion

In our opinion, a main defect of the industry and occupation approaches to the understanding and analysis of creative economy is that creativity is considered to relate to some professions, not to people. These approaches reflect the structural economic transformation at the turn of the millennium, but not the qualitative shift in the current economy which depends on and is driven by new ideas in all sectors («mass and constant» creativity). The mass and constant creativity has become the main resource and driver for a new epoch in the economic development, a «creativity economy» that equals neither with the «creative industries» or «creative economy».

From the perspective of the «main resource and driver» approach (Dubina et al., 2012), we define creativity economy as a creativity-based and driven economy that is a new stage in economic development primarily based on and driven by a flow of constant and mass creativity that produces new ideas and problem solutions.

An interesting and prospective research direction in this field may be the analysis of interrelations between crisis, creativity and innovations. The analysis of creativity economy in the crisis period may help to answer the following questions: What will be the new post-crisis economy? How will it depend on creativity and innovations? Which sectors of the new economy should be primarily invested?

We can quite often see optimistic statements about crisis: «it is a way to creativity, invention and changes», «it is an opportunity to reload», «it is a stimulator of creativity», etc. Are such statements really proved? Whether the world crisis and recession promote the development of creativity economy? Or, perhaps, some changes in innovation activity have provoked the crisis? It is not easy to give an unequivocal answer to these questions, since

the substantial analysis is complicated by at least two serious problems. The first one is the problem of creative / creativity economy definition, and the subsequent one is the problem of methods and indexes for creative / creativity economy estimation.

In our earlier paper (Dubina et al., 2012) we formulated a hypothesis that creative and innovative activities may be provoked and stimulated by a crisis, but, in their turn, they may result in crisis recurrences; and such spiral coils, probably, gradually reduce. Unfortunately, the existing empirical data are too fragmentary, so the influence of creative-innovative activity on economic development can be mainly characterized at a qualitative level. Undoubtedly, the rise of such an activity often results in economic growth. But it is not impossible to assume, that starting with a certain level of creative and innovative activities, the rate of

economic growth is slowed down (this situation can be happened when innovation activity is directed to «a wrong way»; investments in innovation are not enough to successfully complete the started innovation; or, on the contrary, investments are too great and simply wasted, etc.). So, this hypothesis requires the future research.

In closing, the role of creativity as an economic resource is quite obvious today, but there are still open questions about definitions and the analysis of the creativity based economy. Definitions of «creative economy», «creative industries» and «creative occupations» are grounded too much on stereotypes. Creativity should not be seen as residing in a specific class of people or a specific industry or an industrial cluster. Creativity can take place anywhere in business, economic and social life and thus it forms the creativity economy.

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