Traditional Music forum

Newcastle University

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Traditional Music and the Rural Creative Economy in Argyll & Bute, Mapping Report, 2018

Abstract

This report presents the research findings of an AHRC supported Northern Bridge Research Fellowship project mapping the relationships, policy and practice surrounding traditional music and the rural creative economy in Argyll, Scotland. The research uses fieldwork interviews and quantitative data to examine the traditional musical heritage of Argyll, Scotland, and how it is currently being mobilized as an economic and cultural asset in the region. It goes on to suggest possible recommendations to leverage the region's rich intangible cultural heritage for sustainable economic growth. The evidence reports from musicians, festival organisers, tour operators, business owners and other public sector stakeholders to better understand the role of traditional music in the economy of the region.

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Executive Summary

This report sets out the findings of a six month research mapping into the creative economy for traditional music in the region of Argyll and Bute, Scotland in 2018. The key findings of this report include description and analysis of:

- The current popularity and richness of traditional music in Argyll and Bute, particularly through festivals, music education, opportunities for young musicians, music competitions and commercial success of the region's bands.
- The difficulties of the region's geography and connectivity in professional musicianship and enterprise.
- The delicate balance between traditional music, festivals, and local residents, also reflected in the perceptions of the inclusion of traditional music in tourism.
- The potential for developing cultural tourism around traditional music.
- Contradictory perceptions of traditional music as commercial intangible cultural heritage and the value of traditional music as enterprise.

Recommendations

This report makes ten recommendations for consideration based upon the evidence gathered during the fieldwork and drawing upon innovative ideas from elsewhere in the world. Reference is made to these recommendations throughout the report and they flow directly from the fieldwork, we therefore suggest reading the entire report to understand how the following recommendations have emerged from our research:

Recommendation 1.1 – Traditional music as a cultural tourism thread in Argyll and Bute

Traditional music could provide a distinct and dynamic thread through which to market Argyll and Bute and to tackle issues surrounding the difficulties of marketing and branding the area for cultural tourism: Evidence suggests that there are difficulties in marketing the region due to its administrative borders, diverse geography and varying cultural influences. Focusing on the region's traditional music and related festivals would provide an opportunity that starts from musical and cultural traditions to welcome tourists in to an authentic, local experience in Argyll and Bute that transcends some of the geographical and administrative complexity. The potential for developing Argyll and Bute as a musical region were voiced by a number of the project's participants, and this musical trope would create commercial opportunities for the region's traditional musicians whilst boosting heritage and cultural tourism (without detracting from the established tropes of natural and coastal beauty for the region). Lessons from research elsewhere signal that this needs to be a multi-vocal conversation that includes both musicians, other local stakeholders and policy makers to ensure that the aims of any cooperative scheme do not ignore the aspirations and cultural values of local artists and residents.

Recommendation 1.2 - Subsidies for musicians' travel, event, and business costs

The subsidisation of essential costs would significantly help the sustainability of professional musicians and attract in-migration to the area. The unique geography of the region, often separated by water, results in musicians incurring significant travel costs. Participants have referred to the significant additional event and business costs they receive as a result of the region's geography, infrastructure and connectivity. The subsidization of musicians' costs in relation to broadband for instance would be fairly minimal as an overall cost and could be administered either at a regional level or through claim-back from a national agency such as *Creative Scotland*. Support for internet connectivity and travel costs might also encourage young musicians to stay or come back after study and encourage musical in-migration from older, established professionals. This could also involve business rates relief for venues featuring music at a minimum level of their operation (i.e. not just halls or established venues but may include cafés, restaurants or hotels to encourage greater exchange between sectors), or subsidized startup costs or no-interest loans for businesses that can demonstrate some sort of collective involvement either across a number of individual musicians, or across several towns or villages in Argyll and Bute. Other issues to consider here may involve centralized support services for sole traders in relation to tax, portfolio career management or marketing of their artistic activities. The vast majority of musicians and cultural enterprises operate as micro-enterprises or sole traders which is generally not captured in regional or national data on creative industries or business, and therefore support for these sorts of enterprises could be piloted in the region to see whether it has a meaningful effect that could be measured. These sorts of initiatives can be achieved as cost neutral for local authorities through effective management of existing resources and have the potential to strongly encourage creative in-migration to Argyll and Bute, and to result in sustainable gains for the local economy. Argyll and Bute could make itself the most attractive place for micro-enterprises in Scotland.

Recommendation 1.3 – Collectivization and cooperation of venues

The collectivization of local venues to create a series of local performances in remote areas would present individual venues with more affordable costs and help reduce travel time, technical and insurance costs and maximise payments for performing musicians. With the significant travel time and costs that traditional musicians incur as a result of musical performance across the region, venue collectivization and cooperation would increase efficiency and reduce individual performance costs. Venue collectivization and cooperation is informally demonstrated in the Mull Music Festival through sharing acts between The Tobermory Hotel and MacGochans over the festival weekend. The Touring Network are currently encouraging more formalised collective efforts through the Micro Network membership scheme, providing specialist support and special membership rates to venues and promoters working collectively (The Touring Network, 2017). Such collectivization and cooperation would enable more frequent and affordable events, thereby developing growth within the region's musical heritage and ideally, educating audiences and providing a more attractive pull for domestic cultural tourists. Given that the council has now outsourced the public, larger venues to Live Argyll such as the Queen's Hall in Dunoon, Corran Halls in Oban, Victoria Hall in Helensburgh and the Victoria Hall in Campbeltown there is an opportunity for the newly formed company to bring forward discussions about coordinated performances or cultural tourism across the region. The challenge here will be around the commercial aspects, and an innovative approach would be required to move beyond simple touring of events into a more sustained strategic approach to cultural tourism. If the company was to coordinate with tour operators or the tourism sector in the region more broadly it could offer an attractive series of events on a commercial basis for visitors to the region. This might include for instance well publicised 'come and try' musical performance events, heritage shows, ceilidhs or mixed visual and performing arts showcases for

visitors that would allow micro-enterprises and sole traders to showcase their products together offering experiential cultural tourism, as opposed to less participatory tourism. The Argyll and the Islands Tourism Co-operative (AITC) alongisde the Culture, Heritage and Arts Assembly (CHArts) and Food from Argyll held a showcase of Argyll-based artists and producers at the Wild About Argyll Food and Drink Festival in August 2018 at The Briggait in Glasgow. Similar showcase events within Argyll, with a focus on traditional music, would be valuable for visitors and local businesses looking to collaborate. Incentives for micro-enterprises and sole traders such as subsidized travel or no-costs stands could encourage participation.

Recommendation 1.4 – Digital directory of musicians in the region

A comprehensive digital directory of musicians in Argyll and Bute with contact details and links to websites, social media, videos and recordings, for prospective clients would be beneficial for traditional musicians and visitors to the region. With CHArts currently constructing a digital network of individuals and organisations working in and across culture, heritage and arts, the directory and contact details can be uploaded onto the CHArts network, i.e. there is already a platform for this directory. For this to be effective however, there must be engagement between local traditional musicians and CHArts to ensure details are being added to the network and the directory of musicians must be easily accessible through search engines (already in CHArts plans) and prominently displayed on the Argyll and Bute Council website, on CHArts' website and on AITC and other tourism sites. Some musicians and musical enterprises are already listed on CHArts network but participants in this fieldwork have varied levels of engagement with CHArts at the moment. This fieldwork has revealed that traditional music can occupy distinct conceptual spaces between heritage and entertainment for some participants and potential business partners, therefore ensuring the directory has comprehensive meta-data that is searchable across different domains such as 'music', 'performance' or 'traditional music' would maximise engagement. Allowing access to this directory by key cultural advocates throughout Argyll and Bute could be a way to raise engagement levels between traditional musicians, the CHArts network/directory and potential partners and clients. CHArts are already beginning to compile comprehensive listings of music events, sessions and workshops in the area, which is very positive. The key point here will be ensuring that this is comprehensive, reliable and up-to-date over time, which is something for the current place partnership to consider before the end of 2019. Ideally, a coordination role such as this could be built up to a traditional music trail discussed in recommendation 1.10.

Recommendation 1.5 – Foster partnerships between musicians, communities and local businesses

The region's festivals reveal collaboration and partnerships between musicians, festival organisers and local businesses that could be facilitated throughout the year. Building connections and collaborations between the region's musicians and businesses could underpin the development of more sustainable small-scale events through to larger-scale tours and trails. Developing partnerships between community music groups and local businesses would also aid the sustainability of voluntary traditional music-making in the region. Such partnerships are being demonstrated through for instance, the current sponsorship of Inveraray and District Pipe Band by Loch Fyne Whiskies. The distillery sponsors the pipe band in its activities and, in return, the pipe band play for various events at the distillery. Business Gateway at Argyll and Bute Council are ideally placed to provide support to foster such partnerships between professional traditional musicians, community music groups and local businesses, but musical and regional specialists must be consulted and the potential for a more integrated approach with larger businesses such as the whisky industry and locally based traditional musicians and micro-enterprises has the potential for a gestalt effect for all involved.

Recommendation 1.6 – Amenities and infrastructure support for large festivals and expansion of smaller events

The major established festivals such as MOKfest, Cowal Gathering, The MOD and others receive some financial support from the council, however the large influx of visitors over a short period of time in the summer creates a significant surge in the local economy but places pressure on local residents and the local amenities, accommodation, services etc. We recommend considering additional council-led infrastructure and amenities support for the established larger festivals in Argyll and Bute and the expansion of smaller events spread throughout the region to attract cultural tourists for short stays, or coordinated longer stays.

Spreading out smaller festival events or developing a coordinated, discounted festival series might help tackle the strain on local resources and infrastructure. It is worth considering centralized support services for festival amenities around accommodation, camping facilities, toilets, policing, insurance, refuse, fencing, transport, audio PA, technical and ICT support for instance, via collectivized provision, than costing services for single, large-scale events only occurring in the summer. The delicate balance explored in the ethnographic themes presents concern for the sustainability and growth of music festivals in their current form. Coordinated development of newly created smaller events would attract a steady stream of visitors in a manageable way and reduce the peaks of demand and strain on the local amenities in Argyll and Bute. Visitors could be offered discounted tickets for several festivals allowing them to pick and choose say two or three events over the course of a year, or receive discounted accommodation, restaurant vouchers or priority early-bird booking if they are attending a series of events in the region. Maintaining festival branding, these series of smaller events throughout the year would grow the visitors to the region making service provision more affordable by spreading out costs across a coordinated network and driving efficiencies for all inside the scheme. Devised by Highland Council in partnership with Fèisean nan Gàidheal and the Promoters Arts Network, the BLAS Festival is an example of a longer festival, spread out over nine days in various locations around the Highlands that provide engagement with high-quality Highland cultural acts for residents and visitors to the area.

Recommendation 1.7 – The formalisation of a regional festival network

A formalised network of festival organising committees in Argyll and Bute is needed to build a stronger network between festival organisations in the region. Festivals and events are a key growth factor in the Tourism Scotland 2020 strategy, therefore the sustainability of such festivals needs to be ensured. Structured support for this could have significant implications for longer term growth. Collectivization for sustainable cultural tourism income should be explored given that Argyll and Bute is the strongest council region in Scotland (per head of population) for those employed in the tourism industry. Fostering collaboration rather than competition, the festivals network would act as a site of resource sharing, trouble-shooting, networking, peer-advice, collectivizing and support. A shared workload through the network would alleviate 'volunteer fatigue' noted in this report. Potentially, an employed network coordinator could provide support, act as a liaison between organisations and the local authority, and provide consultation to festival committees. The establishment of a strong festival network could lead to further developments, such as the introduction of music trails. For instance, the Sliabh Luachra Music Trail in Ireland utilises its local network of festivals 'working together to create a year round programme of events including concerts, workshops, master classes and lectures' (Sliabh Luachra Music Trail, 2018). Such developments would also provide traditional musicians with sustainable employment.

Recommendation 1.8 - Fund underlying structures for musicians' livelihoods

Recent analysis of the rural creative economy in Prince Edward County in Ontario, Canada shows that regional amenities and quality of place factors can not only attract tourists but also creative workers into the region. This work highlights the importance of broadband internet connections (see also Townsend *et al.*, 2017), but also the quality of life and the role of organizational catalysts such as universities (cited in Canadian Heritage-Policy Research Group, 2013). Given Argyll's geography, local government could potentially begin conversations about strategic initiatives (low cost) in real and virtual organizational catalysts in the region such as libraries, colleges, schools, charities and businesses. This has to some extent begun with the work of CHArts, but could provide a new means for distributed catalysation with an emphasis on support and connectivity for economic activity and support for creative enterprise.

Funding or even beginning facilitated discussions in these organizational catalysts could contribute to the sustainability of Argyll's musical heritage. The fieldwork revealed that professional multitasking is a necessity for musicians in the region, resulting in limitations of time and skills for the development of growth and innovative micro-enterprises. Rather than funding individual and geographically fixed organisations, bodies such Creative Scotland and Argyll and Bute Council could consider investing in the underlying structures needed for musicians' livelihoods. The critical issue is that this enterprise support should be directed at sole traders or micro-enterprises, which in the cultural sector might specifically include Argyll-based, accessible, and specialist training in marketing, accounting, digital skills for start ups and continued development to expand.

A more radical idea, successful elsewhere in the world would be to introduce a hypothecated visitor tax for overnight visitors to Argyll at a minimal amount (e.g. 2% of room costs) that could be used to directly fund micro-enterprises in the creative rural economy or provide incentives for hoteliers and tour operators to improve the cultural offering in and around the communities of Argyll and Bute. Tourist, or 'lodging', taxes have emerged in many places in the last two decades with some success in for instance Asheville, North Carolina (where tourism is a very large slice of the economy). Experience in Asheville has shown since the 1980s that the 4% 'room tax' has worked because the state has hypothecated it solely for use to improve tourist experiences. The money has been used to improve municipal sites and live music venues, that offer year round benefits not just for visitors but for residents also (Strom & Kerstein, 2015). Much like Argyll and Bute, Asheville, North Carolina boasts significant natural beauty of the surroundings and an authentic indigenous cultural scene both of which are key to the tourism in the area. The success or failure of any regionally introduced tourist tax would depend on deep and wide consultation with businesses and the tourism sector in Argyll, and significant research on the willingness to pay (WTP) and price elasticity for visitors to the region. But it is certainly worth considering in the context of straightened financial burdens on councils and the retreat of public spending. Evidence from Istanbul which has undergone a significant growth in tourism, and relies on its cultural heritage to sustain the city's allure, suggests that visitors are more likely to pay a tourism tax when it is used to improve their experiences (Cetin *et al.*, 2017). Argyll and Bute should consider introducing a room tax or tourism tax for visitors to the region that could be hypothecated explicitly to fund cultural tourism, regional culture itself and/or support for micro-enterprises serving the tourist market.

Recommendation 1.9 - Integrated approach to long-term regional planning and investment

Much greater cross-sectoral integration in the planning and investment across music, tourism and commerce would facilitate growth in enterprises related to music and provide new, emergent

models of collective employment. Traditional music, and art and culture more broadly, is being underserved by Argyll and Bute Council compared to other Scottish local authorities. While music education is being funded in the region, young, recently-graduated musicians and established professional musicians have little support from the local authority. Traditional music and its related events contribute to the region's economy and appeal to visitors and incomers. In a time of continuing depopulation, attracting in-migration through supported arts and culture is significant particularly as trends are emerging that show people working or volunteering in arts, heritage and culture are relocating to the region in their 30s and 40s. Furthermore, we wish to emphasize that the research from elsewhere in the world demonstrates that arts policies alone within a rural area will not be particularly useful unless there is a much tighter and strategic integration of cultural policies with economic, housing, planning and other strategic priorities for local government. Therefore, put simply, an integrated approach to long-term planning requires cooperation rather than compartmentalization between local government, business and residents in Argyll and Bute.

Recommendation 1.10 - Development of traditional music tours and trails

The development of traditional music tours and trails would provide traditional musicians with an innovative sustainable enterprise that foregrounds the region's musical heritage. These tours and trails could focus on musical performance, while partnering with tour guides, musicians, and local hotels, pubs and restaurants. With their current focus on itineraries and trails and a new digital interactive map, the AITC are ideally positioned to assist with the development and marketing of tours and trails. Further support in the development and implementation stages, and facilitation of the necessary training, could come from CHArts, Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE), Visit Scotland Business Support or Business Gateway. There are many examples of similar traditional music-based tours and trails in Ireland, including the small-scale half-day Belfast Trad Music Trail walking tour (Belfast Trad Music Trail, 2018) to large-scale 7 day guided tours including hotels and itineraries. Small-scale walking trails could take place in towns such as Oban, Campbeltown, Tobermory and Inveraray or on the islands. Large-scale tours, trails and itineraries could encompass the whole region, like the Sliabh Luachra self-guided trail that employs a resident traditional musician through the local authority (Sliabh Luachra Trail, 2018). These can highlight both regular music performances, as well as sites of musical heritage and interest, local instrument makers, local cultural history and coordinated events and festivals. Self-guided trails, in particular, are regarded to have an important role in responsible tourism (MacLeod, 2016:134) and have great potential for the region through their thematic flexibility, their promotion of alternative cultural themes and local identities, the low start-up costs involved and little requirement for infrastructure development (MacLeod, 2016:136). The development of a trail forms business clusters and encourages interaction and participation between musicians, the local community and businesses to ensure that an appropriate and welcoming trail is developed for visitors (MacLeod 2016:137-138). Trail information can be made available through websites and apps, thereby also providing a suitable platform for the musical content of local traditional musicians. Good examples include Blue Ridge Music Trails in North Carolina and the Mountain Music Trail in West Virginia where radio masts guide the visitor through pre-recorded and live information about events, traditions and culture. The self-guided Ennis Trad Trail, an online trail promoted through the Visit Ennis destination marketing organisation, features a nightly programme of performances in various venues in the town. The recommendation to develop music tours and trails could result in the development of new partnerships between musicians, local businesses and organisations and an innovative and sustainable generation of income for the region's traditional musicians.

Introduction

This report is focused upon the creative economy surrounding traditional music in Argyll and Bute, Scotland. This is a relatively small and rural council within Scotland with a very deep heritage of traditional music and song going back centuries. There are some significant assets in Argyll and Bute that include fantastic natural environment with a significant and beautiful coastline including many islands and a long history of both Gaelic and Lowland culture. Argyll also has a substantial history of traditional and folk music,[1] that includes piping, fiddling, composition and more recently innovative bands that showcase the rich musical heritage.

Argyll and Bute has an under-developed cultural tourism potential. It is the leading council area in Scotland for tourism employment with 17% of the population employed in tourism; twice the national average in Scotland and more per head of population than any other council region (Visit Scotland, 2017). The population of Argyll is in decline, but this report emerges at a time when Scotland is actively reimagining its musical heritage and cultural commerce, and this report seeks to examine views from Argyll and Bute and from the research literature to explore how traditional music and song might be better mobilized in policy for a sustainable economic future, whilst retaining and strengthening the very deep roots of tradition in Argyll.

Whilst much has been made of urban cultural policy and often discussed at the national level, this report focuses upon a decidedly rural council area with a small population that recognises that we could significantly improve the infrastructure and sustainability of the creative economy to support a brighter, more prosperous future for music and micro-enterprises in the creative economy. Our fieldwork has shown that people involved in Argyll have many different roles, often as a result of structural change or the constant shifts in state and regional funding and support for arts. In the wider research context, almost all of the attention on creative industries or latterly, the creative economy, continues to be focused upon the national and the urban contexts and relies on notions of proximity in cities (Gibson, 2010; Harvey et al., 2012; Luckman, 2012). We hope that this more confined and limited mapping report into a rural creative economy will offer some insight into how the creative economy for traditional music works within this region and point the way to possible improvements that might provide more sustainable and growing incomes.

Size matters in relation to music and enterprise and the creative industries are now acknowledged to be mostly populated by micro-enterprises and small businesses. Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE) suggest that creative micro-enterprises are often not picked up through SIC and SOC codes or registered for VAT. As a result, the economic contributions of these individuals, micro and small businesses 'are essentially invisible and underreported both in terms of their profitability and contribution to the wider economy' (HIE, 2014:43). With individuals, micro and small businesses within the sector, HIE suggest that the creative industries are characterised as being populated by 'lifestyle businesses', which imply 'that they are not businesses that are in pursuit of growth or genuine business opportunity' (HIE, 2014:44). As the fieldwork has shown, these perceptions have underpinned current views about value of traditional music and musicians in Argyll and Bute.

As a starting point, we acknowledge that there is a clear difference between thinking about a *business* in a rural creative economy which is where the majority of analysis of the creative

[1] For a definition of 'traditional' and 'folk' music please see McKerrell, working definition: https://simonmckerrell.com/2014/06/02/98/

economy has taken place, and the actuality of sustaining a creative musical career as an *individual*, a problem of perspective observed in the Scottish context by Schlesinger, Self & Munro (2015:108). The focus on the individual's career and contribution across a range of economic and cultural contexts can have a greater benefit than the focus upon one particular business. Such a focus is especially important in a rural context such as Argyll, where people move in and out of structures over time but often retain personal connections.

As Anne Gadwa points out, rural places are sometimes constitutive in and of themselves of distinctive artistic traditions that, 'retain[ed] cultural practices outside of the mainstream, such as craft artisanship, and language, dance, and culinary traditions' (Gadwa, 2014:n.p.). We believe this is true of Argyll and Bute, which retains distinctive piping, fiddling, craft and arts practices unique to the place of this rural region itself. This rural research study therefore offers a relatively unusual approach that presents an ethnographic understanding of the day-to-day workings of musical and economic sustainability through the voices of key people in Argyll and Bute, and this close observation and analysis provides evidence for action at the regional level.

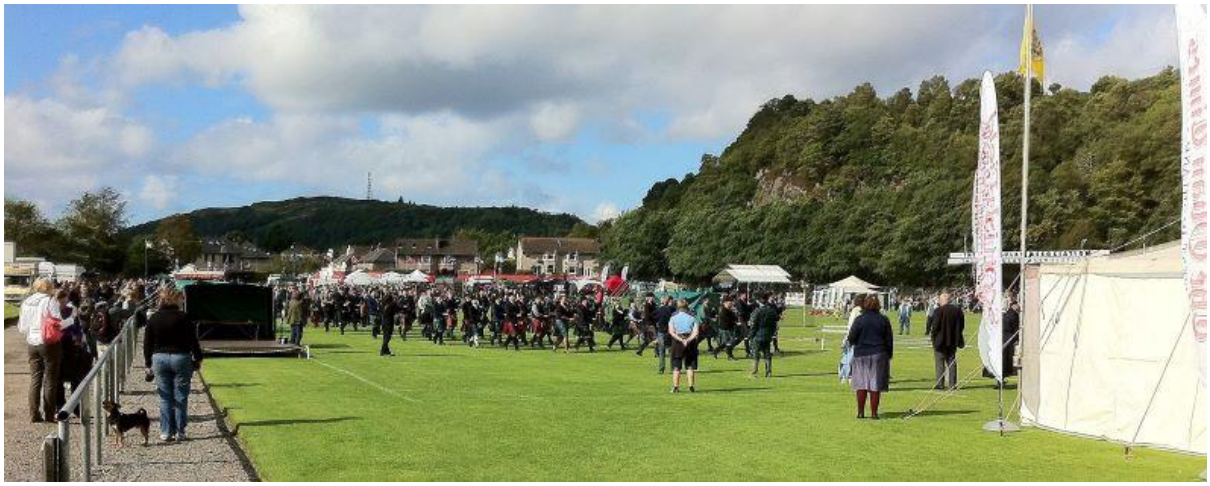

Image: Pipers enter the field at the Argyllshire Gathering in Oban, 2011, photograph by Simon McKerrell.

Research Process

The research for this study was based upon fieldwork interviews, observation and desk research on secondary sources. Fieldwork was conducted by Dr Jasmine Hornabrook (postdoctoral research fellow) and Dr Simon McKerrell (academic lead) during March through August 2018, largely in Argyll and Bute and the central belt of Scotland. Appendix 1 (p. 60) lists some 50 musicians, promoters, organisers and businesses in the region who contributed to this report. Alongside this, some of the summative quantitative data about the creative economy and music in Argyll has been specially extracted from Companies House Data and cross-tabulated with postcode indexes to produce comparative data between different localities and between council regions in Scotland, in order to set the scene for Argyll against other council regions. We have also drawn on the publicly available census data from 2011 to ascertain the spread of occupations across Argyll and Bute. In summary, this report combines insights from

ethnographic interviews which is then coded by theme and combined with some quantitative data giving a snapshot of the current picture for traditional music, and in some respects, the vernacular reality of traditional music in the creative economy in Argyll and Bute in 2018. We hope that understanding the conditions and contexts in which musicians, organisers, promoters and related workers and volunteers work, gives a meaningful summative and comparative analytical position from which we have moved towards recommendations for policy makers and regional authorities, as well as those living and working in Argyll and Bute themselves. The recommendations have been directly drawn from the experiences of the participants in this research and so very much respond to their particular concerns and difficulties, however where appropriate we have made reference to other national and international models and ideas that might be useful throughout this report. Any action or implementation of the recommendations in this report will involve multiple stakeholders, but we do hope that some of what is reported on here is useful in moving forward traditional music's social and economic potential within this region rich in cultural heritage.

Regional Context

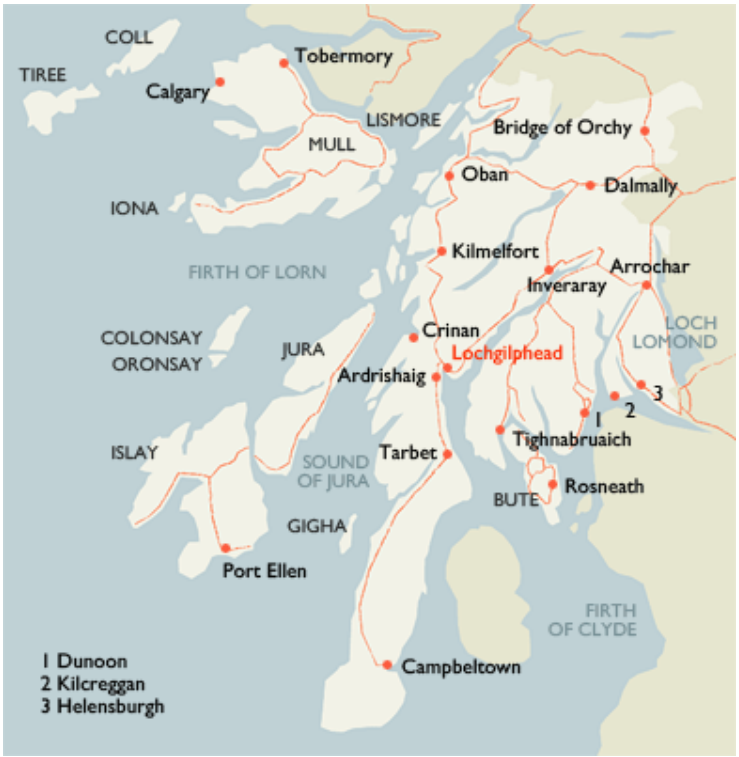

Figure 1: Map of Argyll and Bute with major towns, villages and roads highlighted.[2]

The 2011 census showed that there are 41,795 working age (16-74 year olds) people in employment in Argyll and Bute.[3] That is a very small population for such a large geographical

[2] Map retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Argyll_and_Bute_towns.png, accessed 11th August 2018. In the public domain.

[3] Crown copyright 2013, Scotland's Census.

region and reflects the rural spread of population year round. However, Argyll and Bute itself has many assets not least of which include the strongest tourism sector per head of population in Scotland as well as a deep and wonderful heritage of traditional music. These two reasons lie behind the genesis of this report and the mapping and research will hopefully lead to a wider conversation amongst stakeholders within and without the region about how best to stimulate cooperative and sustainable economic and musical activity within the region.

The region of Argyll was reformed in 2011, expanding the old definition and now includes an area with numerous islands on the West coast such as Islay, Jura and Mull all the way to Helensburgh near Glasgow and from Campbeltown in the South of the Kintyre peninsula all the way North to Oban and Bridge of Orchy. This makes for a very varied territory with services spread across many types of community. One of the most significant challenges socially and economically in the region is population decline. The region of Argyll and Bute is suffering some of the steepest population decline within Scotland and current estimates suggest the total population is around 86,000:

> Between 1997 and 2017, the population of Argyll and Bute has decreased by 5.4%. This is the 30th highest percentage change out of the 32 council areas in Scotland. Over the same period, Scotland's population rose by 6.7% (Source: National Records of Scotland, Population Estimates,
> [date accessed: 01.05.2018, https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk].

Within those statistics, Argyll and Bute council area suffered a serious decline in the 25-44 year old population and a rising average age as the baby boomer generation ages between 1997 and 2017. The projections suggest that Argyll and Bute will also suffer from a decline in 16-24 year olds over the coming decade. Set within this context, the opportunities for the creative economy could be particularly powerful if the policy and local conditions can encourage in-migration to Argyll and Bute, especially for younger people actively engaged in music and if income to support cultural tourism could provide an improved economic basis for the population as a whole.

Bell and Jayne's (2010) research explores the lack of focus on the rural settings for the creative industries policy and research and highlights the bias towards thinking of cities as the key ground for creative industries policy. As various authors have argued, this weight of thinking around urban contexts (see introduction) for the creative economy means that the solutions and policy interventions of city-based models can be transplanted unthinkingly into rural settings without regard for the particularities of the rural context. The cultural policy work on rural arts development or now, the creative economy in rural areas stresses the particular context of differing rural areas is important for policy makers, unlike in post-industrial urban settings, where the post-Floridian surge of cultural policy making around cities assumed a largely formulaic path for action.[4] In the Argyll context, little of the discourse on cities and creative economies is particularly relevant and this research recognises that the focus on individuals and their day-to-day lived realities are significant and important for any regional strategic planning relating to the rural creative economy. This has been demonstrated by recent research: 'Micro-businesses, rather than enterprises of significant scale, or even SMEs, are now the most characteristic way of organising contemporary creative work so the work of such bodies is highly pertinent to the workings of the marketplace' (Schlesinger, Selfe & Munro, 2015: 105).

Similarly, recent work on the creative industries in rural Northumberland funded by an AHRC Knowledge Exchange project took place at Newcastle University in 2013-14. The key

[4] Referring to the Richard Florida wave of cultural placemaking for urban regeneration that emerged after the publication of his series of books establishing the idea of a creative class vital to post-industrial regeneration: Florida, Richard. 2003 *Rise of the Creative Class* (Tandem Library, 2003) amongst others.

conclusions of this period of practice and exchange included recommendations for new digital platforms to connect arts organizations, policy makers and creative arts practice into the future and the development of innovative IP platforms for the support and retention of university graduates in creative roles in the region amongst others (Cross, 2014). This work has begun in Argyll and Bute through the work of CHArts (Culture Heritage and Arts in Argyll and the Isles) and others in recent years, and this report aims to intelligently add to this conversation about how cooperation and collectivization can be leveraged to support rural artists and businesses.

Comparatively, the tourism sector dominates a large slice of the employment of individuals in Argyll but if one digs deeper, as can be seen in data from the 2011 census, Argyll has an unusually large proportion of artists and other creative occupations in comparison to other areas (per head of population):

Table 1, showing the individuals in Argyll and Bute by industrial detailed classification from 2011 census data[5]

1134 Advertising and public relations directors	7
1136 Information technology and telecommunications directors	29
2133 IT specialist managers	89
2134 IT project and programme managers	8
2135 IT business analysts, architects and systems designers	36
2136 Programmers and software development professionals	70
2137 Web design and development professionals	43
2139 Information technology and telecommunications professionals n.e.c.	61
2431 Architects	83
2472 Public relations professionals	26
2473 Advertising accounts managers and creative directors	13
3411 Artists	122
3412 Authors, writers and translators	81
3413 Actors, entertainers and presenters	17
3414 Dancers and choreographers	22
3415 Musicians	35
3416 Arts officers, producers and directors	42
3417 Photographers, audio-visual and broadcasting equipment operators	64
3421 Graphic designers	58
5411 Weavers and knitters	12
5414 Tailors and dressmakers	10
5419 Textiles, garments and related trades n.e.c.	14
5441 Glass and ceramics makers, decorators and finishers	9
5442 Furniture makers and other craft woodworkers	39

As might be expected in almost all areas, the software, design and Creative IT sectors all have a sizeable proportion of employed individuals in Argyll and Bute, but there are significant numbers

[5] We gratefully acknowledge the use of data from Scotland's Census 2011 - National Records of Scotland [Table CT_0049d_2011 - Occupation, UK Parliamentary Constituency, All people aged 16 to 74 in employment the week before the census], Crown Copyright 2014.

of artists, furniture makers, authors and others engaged in primary creation of artistic goods and performing arts. The 2015-16 census of traditional music in community settings published by the *Traditional Music Forum* in Scotland, also called for more research into Argyll and Bute, primarily because of a lack of data from this region in their returns (Traditional Music Forum, 2016). This report shows that there is much traditional music both in community settings and more commercial, professionalized contexts in Argyll and Bute, and we hope that this mapping report provides a first snapshot of traditional music in the region useful for further action, research and comparison.

When one moves from census data to businesses, the picture is more bleak for Argyll and Bute. The table below demonstrates that the relative number of arts and music-related companies in each council area of Scotland, and a relative percentage of the Scottish economy. This obviously does not include sole traders as it only deals with limited companies that are registered with companies house and then has been filtered by SIC code (see appendix 2, p. 63 for method). However, it does give a general indication of the spread of music and arts enterprise activity for all council regions in Scotland which is up-to-date as of July 2018. The data is based upon registered addresses for all companies in Scotland and therefore does not necessarily represent where those companies do business, but where they are registered, which in the case of many companies will normally be the address where their principals are working from. The following analysis uses cross-tabulation of postcode data for Argyll and for Scotland as a whole from the National Records of Scotland compared against the July database for all companies registered in the UK available freely from Companies House.[6]

Table 2 showing the class of Creative Economy businesses in Argyll and Bute by sector using DCMS Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes (see appendix 2 for method).

Council Area	Number of Arts (and related) Companies	% of Scottish total companies
Total	**2903**	100.0%
Glasgow City	713	24.6%
City of Edinburgh	631	21.7%
Highland	134	4.6%
Renfrewshire	94	3.2%
Fife	90	3.1%
Aberdeen City	89	3.1%
East Lothian	85	2.9%
South Lanarkshire	83	2.9%
Dundee City	77	2.7%
North Lanarkshire	77	2.7%
Aberdeenshire	66	2.3%
Perth and Kinross	62	2.1%
Scottish Borders	62	2.1%
East Renfrewshire	55	1.9%
East Dunbartonshire	54	1.9%
Dumfries and Galloway	51	1.8%

[6] Contains NRS data © Crown copyright and database right [2018].

East Ayrshire	48	1.7%
Stirling	46	1.6%
North Ayrshire	43	1.5%
Midlothian	42	1.4%
South Ayrshire	42	1.4%
Argyll and Bute	**41**	**1.4%**
Falkirk	40	1.4%
West Lothian	39	1.3%
Clackmannanshire	23	0.8%
West Dunbartonshire	23	0.8%
Moray	22	0.8%
Na h-Eileanan Siar	22	0.8%
Angus	16	0.6%
Inverclyde	15	0.5%
Orkney Islands	12	0.4%
Shetland Islands	6	0.2%

The data shows very obvious strength in Glasgow and Edinburgh having 46% of all arts/music and related businesses. Similarly, it demonstrates in absolute terms that the majority of the creative economy is clustered around the major cities in Scotland. Interestingly however, the data shows that Highland and Fife regions do remarkably well in terms of number of businesses registered in the creative economy, suggesting that lessons could be learned for areas such as Argyll and Bute which have similarly low population densities and, in the case of Highland region, have a relatively stronger tourism sector. The data also puts Argyll and Bute on a par with city regions such as Stirling, with a much more concentrated geographical clustering of creative businesses. Therefore, further research is needed to interpret this sort of data to show how comparatively well each council region performs controlled for population and geographical dispersal. In summary, Argyll and Bute is a region that has untapped potential for more sustainable arts (and particularly music) entrepreneurship, especially if it can tie into the best ideas from cultural tourism combining it with the outstanding natural beauty of the region.

Evidence

This project involved the mapping of traditional music in Argyll and Bute combined with fieldwork interviews and personal communication with over 50 musicians, promoters, organisers and businesses in the region. While many themes emerged from the fieldwork, seven primary ethnographic themes are highlighted in this report. These themes are:

1. geography and natural environment;
2. disconnection;
3. festivals;
4. professional multitasking and depopulation;
5. commercial intangible cultural heritage;
6. music and commercialisation, and;
7. traditional music and tourism.

These themes are explored here as they impact the current, and potential, creative economy of traditional music in Argyll and Bute. To provide ethnographic context to the themes, this section consists of an introduction to traditional music in the region and the key organisations involved in the sector.

Traditional Music in Argyll and Bute

Today, traditional music and its performance in Argyll and Bute mirrors the diversity of the region as a whole. Traditional music performance and recordings occur in a variety of ways in the region, such as festivals, community-based piping, piping for tourists, pub music sessions, musical entertainment in hotels, pub sessions, ceilidhs for visitors, village hall concerts and ceilidhs, recordings on tourism marketing videos, images on heritage attraction promotional material and performances in arts centres. Traditional music recordings are also played on community radio, in cars and buses by tour guides, in local cafés and shops, and are on sale in bookshops, tourist information centres and souvenir shops.

The current popularity of West Coast (Scottish) traditional music in the region is palpable and there has been a steady surge of interest in musical heritage both inside and outside Scotland. This surge has been recognised nationally by Visit Scotland, who now include sections on festivals and events on their website.[7] Skipinnish, Skerryvore and other up-and-coming Argyll bands have been discussed in almost every interview and their recordings are played in cafés, pubs and shops in the region and are covered by musicians playing in hotels and pubs. This is significant, not only because it signals their commercial and cultural success, but also because interviewees have been vocal about the current popularity of West Coast music and the health of the traditional music scene, particularly with the regional availability of educational opportunities for young traditional musicians and the current upsurge of pipe bands in the region. Such educational opportunities are supported by Argyll and Bute Council through instrumental tuition, local branches of Fèisean nan Gàidheal and community-based pipe bands and fiddle workshops. There is a consensus on the quality, excitement and success of traditional music at the moment, but there is also the opinion that this current spike in popularity is being underutilised and a lack of marketing means that visitors to the area miss out on the richness of the current scene. While some participating musicians considered that there is currently more demand for traditional music than supply, others say it is impossible to make a living from music alone in parts of the region. Such contradictions are common in ethnographic research, but these distinct accounts also reflect the disconnection that emerges as a prominent theme in this research (see theme 2).

The piping heritage of Argyll and Bute is visible and audible in the region in a distinct way from other forms of Argyll's musical heritage. Aside from the many piper fridge magnets and postcards available in the region's souvenir shops, piping infiltrates the region through community-based pipe bands, school education, performances at local events and visitor-orientated attractions. Piping is pervasive in Argyll and Bute. For instance, Inverary and District Pipe Band who were world champions in 2017, the solo piping culmination of the year at the Argyllshire Gathering piping competitions in August each year, Campbeltown has over 100 children involved in learning piping and drumming and there are many other bands dotted around the region. Every Sunday afternoon between 2:30pm and 3:00pm, a piper plays at Dunollie Castle for visitors to the heritage attraction. Advertised on their sandwich board in the town centre of Oban, Dunollie receives a noticeable increase in visitor numbers when the piping takes place on a Sunday. Visitors come for the pipes and particularly enjoy this aspect of the heritage attraction, and often gather and wait for the piper on Sundays (Jane Isaacson, fieldwork

[7] https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/events/

interview, March 2018). The performance of the pipes is a considerable draw for visitors to Dunollie, with an estimated increase of a third of visitors on Sundays for the piping. Other heritage attractions, such as Duart Castle on the Isle of Mull and Mount Stuart on the Isle of Bute, hire a piper to play to welcome tours groups on an occasional basis, but again receive very positive feedback from visitors. As part of the Business Improvement District in Oban (BID4Oban), Oban town ambassadors arrange for local pipers to play for the arrival of cruise ships into the town at the quay, and have recently arranged traditional music performance on-board a cruise ship, 'to make sure visitors are getting a good Scottish experience' (Kay MacDonald, fieldwork interview, March 2018). For some visitors to the region, part of this 'Scottish experience' is felt through the purchase of musical instruments. Jean Gillies from Oban Music commented that visitors come in to the music shop having already decided to buy a set of pipes before they have arrived in Scotland. She said that during the season she is surprised by how many instruments she sells over the counter - including mandolins, ukuleles, travel guitars, whistles. She sells sets of pipes to visitors who arrive, often from the USA or Germany, with the idea of 'I'll go to Scotland and I'll buy a set of pipes' (Jean Gillies, fieldwork interview, April 2018). Firmly upholding the decision not to sell the 'tourist pipes' that can be purchased along the Royal Mile in Edinburgh and in other souvenir shops across Scotland, the cheapest set of pipes sold by Oban Music are between £550 and £600. The iconicity of the pipes generates economic income and creates expectation and demand from the tourism industry in a way that is not currently mirrored in other areas of traditional music in the region.

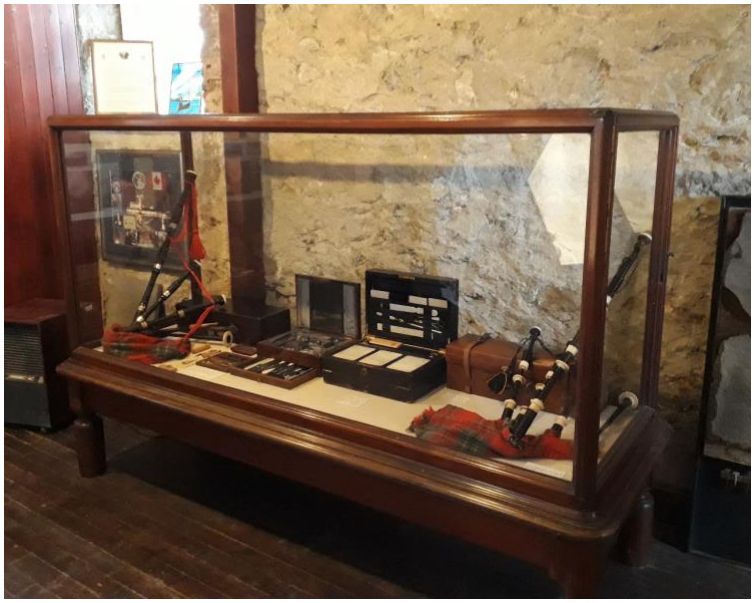

Image: Display of pipes as part of Duart Castle's exhibited collections, Duart Castle, Mull, April 2018. Photograph by Jasmine Hornabrook.

The iconicity of the pipes and the considerable demand for traditional music by local residents and visitors in the region could be expanded upon to commercialize Argyll's musical heritage. Instrument makers could potentially be drawn to the area, given the proximity to major cities and suppliers in the central belt, with the additional opportunity to tap into cultural tourism as another diversified source of income. This could be supported for instance by re-purposing council-owned properties or offering discounted business rates to manufacturers that engage in cultural tourism in Argyll and Bute. The sustainability and growth of the region's creative

economy relies on individual musicians, promoters, volunteers, as well as cooperation and support from key organisations in the region.

Key Organisations

A number of key regional organisations and agencies have emerged during the fieldwork that play central roles in the creative economy of traditional music in the region. These key organisations are include: Argyll and Bute Council; Culture Heritage and Arts in Argyll and the Isles; Argyll and the Isles Tourism Cooperative; Highlands and Islands Enterprise; and Fèisean Nan Gàidheal.

Like other local authorities, Argyll and Bute Council have pulled back on their financial support of arts, culture and heritage. Consultations for the Cultural Assembly's 2014 culture, heritage and arts strategic action plan revealed there is a perceived lack of appreciation of the importance of culture, heritage and arts as an economy or economic regeneration and an inconsistent approach to council investment in the sector (Argyll and Bute Council, 2014b). Such sentiments were mirrored in this fieldwork with participants suggesting that the potential for musical enterprises, in particular, are not valued or taken seriously by the local authority. The council's Business Gateway department do provide business start-up advice to traditional music enterprises as they would provide to any start up in the area, including advice on business planning, partnership agreements and marketing. In relation to other local authorities in Scotland, Argyll and Bute Council's outward profile of their support for arts and culture needs work. For instance, the region's local authority does not currently employ a dedicated arts development officer or provide specialist advice, funding or opportunities for those working in arts and culture. Other local authorities such as Aberdeenshire, Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, East Dunbartonshire and Scottish Borders provide easily accessible promotional support, comprehensive events listings, arts development officers, regional music strategies and art and culture trail maps. The local authority's venues also frequently emerged as an issue in fieldwork interviews. While the £30 million CHORD project is investing in the redevelopment of venues in Campbeltown, Rothesay and Dunoon, participants felt that the local authority's investment is regionally unbalanced or, in some cases, investing funds into venues that are unsuitable for local traditional music performance and festivals. Due to significant financial pressures, Argyll and Bute Council took the decision to transfer culture and leisure services to a trust in November 2016 setting up a management takeover of the local authority's venues by the company, Live Argyll, in 2017.

Live Argyll has a dual entity structure making the most efficient use of their income and expenditure, having both a limited company and a charitable trust (Scottish Registered Charity SC047545), where any surpluses from trading are reinvested into the work of the trust. Furthermore, major savings from this new structure have ensured that council venues such as the Victoria Hall, Queens Hall and others are still owned by the council but operated by the new charitable trust Live Argyll and redundancies have been avoided. This is a positive structure and given that the charitable trust has only been in operation since 2017, time will tell as to whether this new structure proves useful for the arts and wider culture sector in Argyll. Arts development and events and festivals responsibility still lie inside Argyll and Bute Council within the Transformation Projects and Regeneration team in the Economic Development section. This is a fairly recent development that emerged after the creation of Live Argyll who took on the mandate for libraries and leisure in the main and for the running of council owned halls under their dual charitable/limited company entity status. One issue facing the new company Live Argyll emerged in our fieldwork as detrimental to community groups who are now struggling with the increase in venue hire costs (despite a banded structure to hire costs).

However, Argyll and Bute council still maintains straightforward subsidy of arts and events through funding such as the £113,000 set aside for 2019-20 events, a newly competitive open

fund into which festivals and events in the region may bid, aimed at strategic events and festivals (attracting visitors from outwith the area) with funding pots of up to £5,000 and over £5,000 and through smaller dispersal of funds via the Local Areas Committee, which supports local events and is decided through public voting. Moreover, Argyll and Bute Council contribute to traditional music education through funding music tuition in the region's schools, with traditional music and piping being taught at schools in Oban (as part of the School of Traditional Music), Tobermory, Islay and Campbeltown.

It is clear that public grant streams for the arts in Argyll and Bute, as in other council areas across the nation, have significantly reduced in size and availability over the past decade. The Economic Development section in partnership with the sector and with funding support from Creative Scotland and Argyll and The Islands Leader Programme, launched the place partnership covering a wide remit across culture, arts and economic development acting on the recommendations of the 2014 Cultural Strategy. One of the key outcomes of this currently ongoing *place partnership* working with CHArts is to arrive at a position by October 2019 (the official end date of the place partnership) with a viable SCIO--a Scottish Charitable Incorporated Organisation responsible for culture, heritage and the arts, with a developmental, advocacy and research role. This is a unique charitable entity in Scotland that has very similar operational mandate to a limited company, but with added charitable benefits and a high degree of liability protection. This sort of entity could become a meaningful space for arts micro-enterprises and smaller businesses including musicians to seek support and coordination, and would be a suitable vehicle to enact some of the more sustainable, commercial recommendations in this report around collectivization of artists, enterprises and in the cultural tourism sector.

Culture, Heritage and Arts in Argyll and the Isles, or CHArts, is now the first contact in the region for the arts and culture sector. The vision from the 2014 Cultural Assembly's action plan was '[t]o establish the whole of Argyll and Bute as an area of cultural and artistic excellence, in order to release their full economic and social value' (Argyll and Bute Council, 2014b). This vision has become an integral part of the CHArts project. CHArts is a place partnership working in partnership with Argyll and Bute Council and funded by Creative Scotland to develop coherence in the culture, heritage and arts sector and to develop the economy of the sector. The project is in the process of developing a network of artists, designers, heritage organisations, musicians, and volunteers predominantly through its website (see CHArts 2018). They also advocate resource sharing and organise and facilitate series of training, workshops and networking events in the region. CHArts have introduced ten local hubs covering the whole of the region so individuals can make connections and engage with the wider sector. This structure has been based on the successful cross-regional collaboration of Argyll and the Isles Tourism Cooperative.

Argyll and the Isles Tourism Cooperative (AITC) is an umbrella organisation of the cooperative of destination marketing organisation members in Argyll and The Isles. The cooperative is funded by its member organisations (the Destination Marketing Groups) and other bodies such as Argyll and Bute Council and HIE to name a couple. AITC are represented by regional freelance development agents. The agents also work with sectoral groups within the cooperative, such as Glorious gardens of Argyll and Bute, CHArts, Artmap Argyll and Food from Argyll. The cooperative consists of independent organisations that work closely together and contribute to the AITC through membership fees. The development agents work in line with the Tourism Scotland 2020 strategy and have developed a strategy specifically for Argyll and the islands in order to represent the whole of the region. Priorities in this regional strategy include: adventure tourism, promoted as 'Wild about Argyll'; CHArts; food and drink, promoted through 'Food from Argyll'; and events and festivals. Digital tourism is another priority outlined by AITC and Tourism Scotland 2020, with significant focus on itinerary building websites and

interactive maps of the region (see AITC, 2018a). The AITC have demonstrated successful collaboration and communication across the region that has frequently been referenced as a good example in this fieldwork.

Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE) is a significant regional agency for the creative economy in Argyll and Bute. The organisation works within the remit of economic and community development and includes the Creative Industries sub-section (see HIE, 2018c). HIE has worked with traditional music and musicians and contributes to the financial support of Fèisean nan Gàidheal. While HIE does provide support for traditional music and musicians, there is a perceived focus on the pop and rock music industry by participants in the region rather than providing support for locally situated traditional musicians who engage with a different strand of the music industry. The emphasis of HIE is to support innovative economic development projects and community initiatives rather than support the conventional means of professional traditional musicianship, such as touring in England and Germany (Iain Hamilton, fieldwork interview, July 2018).

A significant organisation providing music education opportunities to young musicians in Argyll and Bute is Fèis Latharna. The local division operating under the umbrella organisation of Fèisean nan Gàidheal, Fèis Latharna is based in Oban and provides low-cost weekly instrumental lessons, Fèis weeks, and annual ceilidh trails. The Argyll Ceilidh Trail is a significant opportunity for young musicians in the region to facilitate, promote, and perform ceilidhs and sessions around Argyll and the Isles at visitor attractions, hotels, distilleries, local village halls, festivals and Highland games (see Fèis Latharna 2018). The ceilidh trail provides young musicians with the skills for performance, promotion and sound engineering and, following demand, business skills required for professional musicianship (Ewan MacDonald, fieldwork interview, March 2018).

These key organisations create a network of institutions in the Argyll and Bute region. However, local residents concede that the region is a complex one, with the variety of landscapes, a lack of a central town, and varying degrees of remoteness, and proximity, to the Central belt. In relation to the complexity of Argyll, John Saich said

> Argyll is quite a difficult concept because in a way it is an artificial place, because of its history has been changed through administrative boundaries, all these different elements coming in. You call it a rural economy and it is but when they brought Helensburgh on board, it's not very rural at all. And all these things kind of skew it in terms of what people think about it. I've spent years talking about this, when you go and say Argyll to people they come up with all sorts of associations that might be a ship or a knitting pattern or a car... but actually do they think of it as a place? Not that much, because it kind of isn't .... Mull is a place people know, Iona is, Campbeltown, Dunoon all these places have their own identity, Argyll's quite ephemeral as a brand (fieldwork interview, May 2018).

The lack of a common thread through Argyll and Bute has been observed in various ways during the fieldwork and this lack of regional coherence emerges through the themes discussed in this report. This concept is further complicated by the various ways the region is labelled, such as Argyll and Bute, Argyll and the Isles, and Argyll, all of which refer to slightly different administrative and geographical boundaries. In many cases, the lack of collective identity for the region contributes to difficulties around communication, collaboration and marketing within the region. In the recommendations section of this report, we suggest that traditional music, along with the region's festivals, could be a means of constructing a collective identity for Argyll and Bute (See recommendation 1.1).

Summary

This introduction has touched on the rich and diverse musical practices in the region and highlighted the key organisations that impact the creative economy. Traditional music in Argyll

and Bute is experiencing considerable popularity and promise. As will emerge through the themes explored in the next section, however, there are considerable limitations to the community and professional musicianship in the region. The evidence from the ethnographic themes contributes directly to our recommendations which are referenced throughout the themes.

Theme 1: Geography and natural environment

The geography of the region was the strongest theme in the research. From the remoteness and natural environment, to issues of connectivity and tourism, the vast and varied geography of the region generates a complexity across the social, economic and musical landscapes of Argyll and Bute. Unlike other parts of rural Scotland, Argyll and Bute has no obvious centre or capital in the region, but instead has five main towns: Campbeltown, Helensburgh, Oban, Lochgilphead and Dunoon. The lack of a geographical centre creates difficulty in the coherence of a music scene in the region. Oban has emerged as the musical centre in terms of the live music scene in the town's pubs, the renowned High School Pipe band, the School of Traditional Music, the Oban Live music festival and the town's proximity to the 'musical' islands of Tiree and Mull. Despite the concentration of musical practices and events in Oban, there are other hubs of musical activity, such as Campbeltown and Tobermory, and frequent community-based musical activities in the villages of the region. This section explores the key issues of the simultaneous advantages and disadvantages of the region's geography, the geographical dispersal of musical activities, the implications of these on creative businesses and the varying trends of mainland, island and border activities.

'Our biggest asset is our biggest weakness'

Traditional music events in the remote and rural geography of Argyll draw in crowds from the central belt, wider Scotland and beyond. While the combination of the superb natural environment of the West Coast and its traditional music promotes a type of authenticity and unique atmosphere for local residents and visitors, organising such events in the region creates a number of challenges. Daniel Gillespie, professional accordion player from Skerryvore and festival organiser, suggests that the region's geography is a source of inspiration for traditional music but it is also a significant weakness:

> The great thing is it's inspiring [the geography]. It's inspiring young people to take up music, it's inspiring people to come and visit and we're seeing that from the festivals …. We always say that, our biggest asset of Tiree is also our biggest weakness and that's our geographical location, our geographical location is the biggest asset we have and it's also our biggest weakness. The geographical location will always be a positive because you'll always have that as long as the landscape isn't damaged or that it's not compromised. There are many elements that are its weakness in terms of travel, connectivity all these things can be improved or made better, or supported better. So that's the part that can give me inspiration to keep going (fieldwork interview, March 2018).

Geography and the natural environment has emerged as being the region's biggest asset and its biggest weakness with regards to music events. Daniel Gillespie's comment here is in reference to the Tiree Music Festival, based on the island of Tiree, 100 km off the west coast, taking 2.5 hours on the Calmac-operated ferry from Oban. The island is colloquially named 'Hawaii of the North' due to the amount of the sun the island receives. Along with its weather, the outstanding beaches make Tiree a destination for visitors. As Daniel points out, the geographical location and the landscape are positive assets for him, but issues such as travel and connectivity are a significant problem for the island and for the festival. While Calmac have responded to the

influx of visitors to the island through scheduling extra ferries during the week of the festival, the necessary resources for large-scale music events also bring challenges, often in terms of significant additional costs. Festival equipment, such as fencing, P.A.s, and portable toilets have to be sourced, often from England, and transported to the island. The festival also receives a significant policing bill to comply with the influx of people to the island over the festival weekend. Daniel refers to these additional costs as a 'penalisation' resulting from the festival's geographical location, and relates such issues with the depopulation of rural and remote areas (fieldwork interview, March 2018). In comparison to music events, centres and schools in Glasgow and Edinburgh, Daniel says 'it's not an even landscape' in Argyll:

> … it's not an even playing field for music events and music centres and everyone else, so there has to be support from a governmental, national level. If they're recognising the importance of music and tradition to these regions and they want to stop the decline of the population and of young people staying, they have to support these events … because the fact of the matter is logistically the costs are far higher if you're running a festival or running a music school [in remote and rural areas] and they're already asking a big commitment for people to go out there, live out there, travel out there so there has to be more support at the national level if they're serious about stopping the decline of the population in these regions (fieldwork interview, March 2018).

As is the case for Argyll and Bute as a whole, depopulation is a significant factor on Tiree as a result of its remote geographical location and limited education and employment opportunities. This depopulation is understood in the research literature as the 'centripedal trend' of rural areas to, 'lose talented up-and-comers in the creative industries to larger centres' (Gibson, 2010:n.p.). As a result of the difficulties for musicians in rural and remote areas, many professionally multitask or reject music as a viable profession in the region or relocate to urban centres such as Glasgow (the issues of multitasking and depopulation are explored in theme 4). The issue of geography as a limitation factor and as a significant part of the region's appeal has emerged throughout the region.

Geographical dispersal of musical activities

The dispersal of musical activities resulting from the region's geography has a significant impact for the livelihoods of musicians and for community-based practices. The vast 691,000 hectare area of mainland, peninsula, lochs and 23 inhabited islands, create logistical difficulties for the region's residents and visitors. Travel time and costs between musicians' homes and performance venues can be significant. For instance, Ewan MacDonald from Ceol An Aire, says that the band often drive 100 miles each way for a gig during weekends. Due to the many single track and poor quality roads in the region, travelling to perform also involves a considerable investment of time for musicians. Travel expenses are often passed onto venues and clients, considerably raising the costs for live music. The Oban-based band play on the surrounding islands as well as for international events in Majorca and Poland. The costs for travel and ferries around Argyll and the islands in comparison to travel to Glasgow and cheap international flights is comparable, posing issues for the sustainability of traditional music livelihoods within the region in respect of touring. Similarly, community groups such as pipe bands often use the donations and payments they receive in order to pay for the high costs of travel to attend and compete elsewhere in Scotland. These costs are again passed onto organisers. These travel costs inevitably have a significant impact on the sustainability and growth of Argyll's musical heritage. Organisers of village hall concert series and other non-funded, community-based concert series, often book solo, duo or trio acts in order to keep costs affordable, to deliver regular concert series and to ensure there are more people in the audience than on the stage (Campbell Cameron, fieldwork interview, March 2018). Individuals working in other arts in the region attempt to solve the difficulty of travel costs by clustering performances and encouraging venues

to collectivise in particularly remote areas of the Highlands and Islands in order to save on travel and accommodation expenses. Such collectivisation would similarly help musicians with their current travel and accommodation costs (see recommendation 1.2).

Geography and Business

The physical geography of Argyll also impacts the daily running of creative businesses in the region. Speaking about the Cowal peninsula in relation to the innovative theatre group, The Walking Theatre Company, Sadie Dixon-Spain suggests that while the geography of Argyll is beautiful, as a creative business they are disadvantaged in terms of everyday services and infrastructure. She says

> [The Cowal Peninsula is] only 1 hour 40 minutes from Glasgow but in actual fact it feels like several hours and it can feel like several different time spans [or] decades away from the rest of the world occasionally. It's a stunningly beautiful area but economically it has significant challenges (fieldwork interview, June 2018).

The significant economic challenges for businesses such as The Walking Theatre Company include the instability of wifi, transport and business services. While the Cowal peninsula is only 1 hour and 40 minutes away from Glasgow, the theatre company has perpetual problems with wifi to the extent that they pay high sums to satellite companies in order to have access to working wifi at all. The satellite company feeds their internet through Germany which causes problems with licensing filters and therefore access to theatre and music video content becomes an issue. Second, transport is a challenge due to the quality of the road coming through Loch Lomond and the quickest route from the central belt to Glasgow includes a ferry crossing. Finally, businesses in the area receive additional costs for services, particularly in terms of Post Office deliveries that count the Cowal Peninsula as in the Highlands and as an island 'irrespective of the road coming through Loch Lomond ...' (Sadie Dixon-Spain, fieldwork interview, June 2018). The additional costs resulting from the region's geography inevitably have an impact on the creative economy. While individuals, organisations and companies already struggle with the precariousness of working in the culture, heritage and arts sector, they also face significant costs based on their locality. These additional costs are present at a time when depopulation of the region is a major issue identified by the local authority. The sustainability of professional and community-based traditional music is a major concern with such additional costs resulting from the region's geography, while the geography and natural environment is simultaneously a considerable asset for the region's tourism and residents' quality of life.

Mainland, islands, and the region's borders

The geography of the region also plays out in the contrast of musical activity, its characteristics and contexts on the mainland and on the islands. Participants have discussed how musical activity, cultural events and festivals have a unique intensity on the islands in the region that is not replicated on the mainland. The natural borders of an island and the limited space, infrastructure and resources demand a specific level of collaboration and communication that is not emanated in mainland communities. While cultural events on islands have both intensity and intimacy and provide experiences of a distinct island atmosphere, there are issues with the possibility of organising musical events on islands, particularly regarding transport times, policing costs, accommodation and small resident populations. The timings of the ferries connecting the islands to the mainland create difficulties for island venues to host evening performances, particularly on Bute and Mull where the short ferry crossings enable day visitors. Conversely, Gordon Maclean suggests that audience members are attracted to performances at An Tobar arts centre in Tobermory, Isle of Mull, precisely because of the 'adventure' of the journey, the relaxed

atmosphere of the island and the outstanding natural beauty of the area (fieldwork interview, March 2018). The distinction between mainland and island characteristics is further nuanced for remote areas of the mainland that have few transport options. Many participants in this fieldwork have referred to Campbeltown and the Kintyre peninsula as being an island in character due to its rich and dynamic musical traditions and its remote location. There is widespread dissatisfaction with transportation links in Kintyre, despite being a peninsula connected by road to the mainland of Scotland. One of the main transportation issues for Campbeltown-based participants is the uncertainty and unreliability of the ferry crossing from Campbeltown to Ardrossan. Currently, the ferry is timetabled for six crossings a week and only between late April and late September. However, reoccurring maintenance issues have resulted in frequent periods of cancellation. Participants feel that with a regular and reliable ferry crossing from the peninsula to the mainland, more visitors will go to Campbeltown and the potential demand for tourism-based music events will grow (Iain Johnston and Ross Kennedy, fieldwork interview, May 2018). Few major tour operators include Campbeltown in their tours as a result of the time and distance required to travel to the Kintyre peninsula from Scotland's major tourist attractions and the central belt. A frequent and reliable ferry crossing to Campbeltown bringing an increase in visitor numbers would generate considerable economic streams into the area.

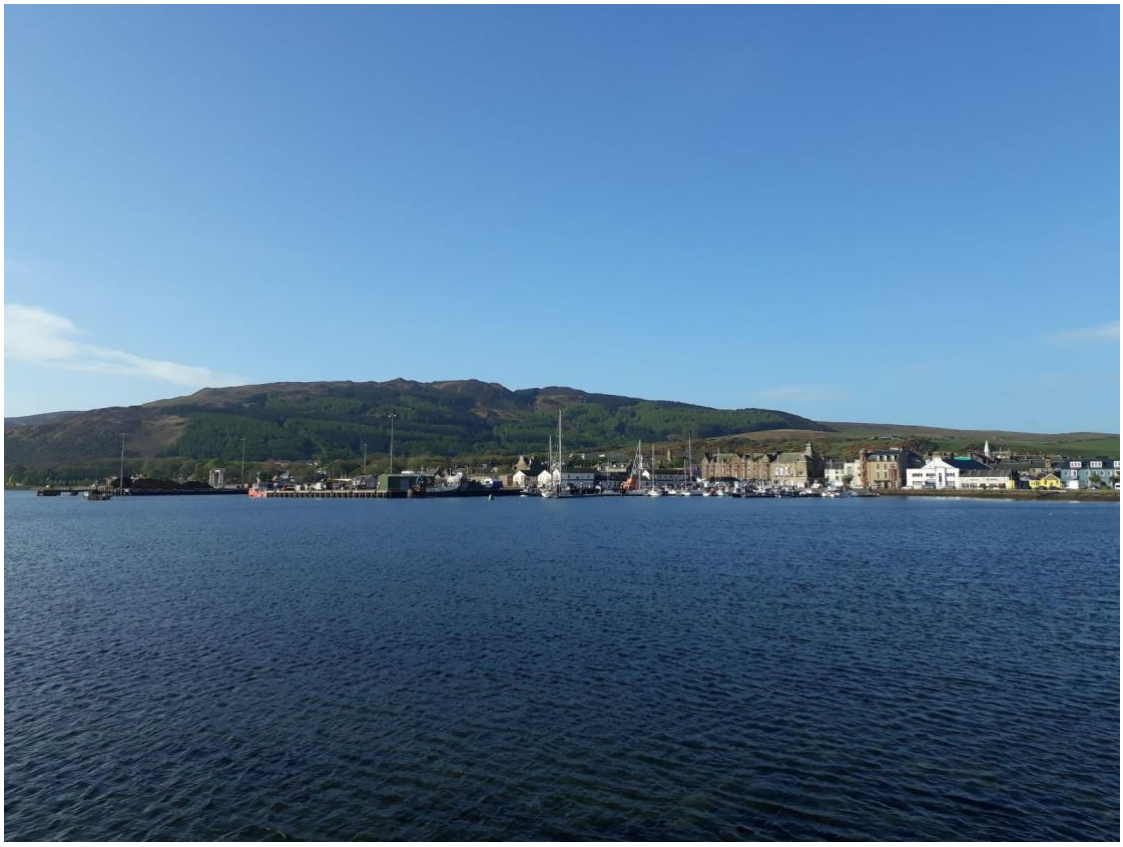

Image: Photo of Campbeltown Harbour, by Simon McKerrell, 2018.

The geography has a real impact on the way participants identify cultural trends. The islands have intense cultural activities and the physical space of the island is bound by its borders and the sea, resulting in a distinct identity and marketing of the place. For instance, the following have strong associations with each other: Islay and whisky; Jura and deer; eagles on Mull; and Iona and the abbey. Areas of the mainland which border, or are closer to, the central belt than other parts of Argyll have difficulty connecting with the rest of the region. This challenge is also often felt due to a lesser presence of Gaelic cultural influence. For instance, Callum Satchel,

member of the Cowal Fiddle Workshop, suggests that Dunoon as a place struggles from being on the borders of both Argyll and the central belt. He says:

> I think we're still on the fringe of Argyll, we're on the fringe of the central belt and we're on the fringe of Argyll ... I think that the type of music that we look at ... very, very much has a Highland connection as well as a Scottish connection, and the Highland impetus or the Highland diaspora in Dunoon has decayed, just died out basically, certainly the Gaelic is very small, although there is a Gaelic primary school ... which is thriving, so you can't say everything stays static forever (Callum Satchel, fieldwork interview, May 2018).

Callum's comment suggests that the borders of the cultural trends are reflected in the geographical borders of Dunoon. Such diversity in the region's Gaelic, Lowland and contemporary Scottish cultural heritage, in addition to its complicated geography of lochs, peninsulas, mountains and islands further challenge the identity, or concept, of Argyll and the ways in which the area can be represented. The diversity of the region, its natural environment, heritage, history, and industries, result in a plurality of views resulting in a lack of cohesion in the core cultural characteristics of Argyll as a place, especially in relation to tourism. John Saich reflects Callum Satchel's comment about the distinct cultural influences of the region as well as the different types of industry and tourism that have been present in various towns.

> If you're sitting in Tobermory, what is going on in Dunoon or Helensburgh may not be that relevant. You can call it Argyll but that ends up being to do with the council and not much to do with culture, because what goes on in Helensburgh and in Dunoon is influenced by a Clyde heritage and an industrial past and a different kind of tourism when people used to use these places to visit on day trips and Glasgow fair holidays and the presence of air bases and those kinds of things but when you get out to Tiree none of that's true. So it's quite hard to find a common thread amongst all of that. Gaelic is one common thing because people travel and take that with them. But the further north and west you go in Argyll, the more rural and crofting history it has, the more fishing industry, the more south and east it becomes a lot more Glasgow orientated. And that's why I think it's difficult because you can call something Argyll, and even Argyll and Bute is complicated. But Argyll as a culture you can't just tie it down, but we try to because we have to, when it comes to tourism, all the campaigns are about Argyll and we're really trying to push that, because there are things that you can do all over Argyll that have something in common, you know water tourism, adventure, good food, all that sort of stuff. But where it gets difficult is the history and how people express their culture. That's where it gets a bit broken up (John Saich, fieldwork interview, May 2018).

Traditional music has eluded the 'Argyll' label by being referred to as 'West Coast' music. As John Saich discusses, it is important for the region's tourism campaigns to find common threads through the diverse geography of the region. The geography could again be an asset for traditional music in providing a common thread for the potential branding and marketing of the region (see recommendation 1.1). The lessons from elsewhere on this show that rather than taking the kitsch representation of Scottish traditional music from the mid-twentieth century, bundled up and re-tartanized for a 21st audience; stakeholders would be better off in mobilizing this musical heritage in an authentic and contemporary way, beginning from the aesthetics and values of contemporary traditional musicians to enable more participatory cultural tourism that relies on locally-informed traditions. These sorts of initiatives need to be carefully handled, as in the case of Shropshire for instance, concerns about craft production, 'differentiating self-identified high-end or contemporary designer-makers (representing the 'real' rural creative buzz) from hobbyists and traditionalists, most notably in the crafts' led to some craft business owners to distance themselves from policy makers because of a lack of tailoring to specific individuals' business and aesthetic interests (Bell & Jayne, 2010: n.p.). Therefore, in seeking to mobilize traditional music for cultural tourism, there needs to be a wide conversation about the expectations and aims of any policy interventions that takes into account the cultural forces in rural places as well as the economic aims of policy makers.

Summary

This section has explored the assets and challenges of the geography and natural environment on traditional music events, professional livelihoods, enterprises and conceptualisations of the region. The main challenges within the creative economy and sustainability of traditional music in the region include: significant additional costs resulting from geography; the cost and time of travelling around the vast area; the distinctions and issues between mainland and island musical activity and the problematic concept of Argyll as a place. The diversity and disparateness of the region's geography and identity could be utilised to push traditional music as a common marketing thread. Here the region's geography could again be an asset for traditional music in providing a common thread for the potential branding and marketing of the region (see recommendation 1.1). The additional business, event and travel costs for musicians in the region, who already work in a precarious environment, could receive subsidised costs in an attempt to retain the region's artists, events and creative businesses. Such subsidies could also promote the in-migration of musicians from outside the region (see recommendation 1.2). The region's vast geographical area also creates issues regarding significant travel time and costs. Local venue collectivization working to create a series of local performances in remote areas would help reduce travel time and costs and maximise payments for musicians making long journeys across the region (see recommendation 1.3).

Theme 2: Disconnection

The second theme explored in this report is disconnection. Disconnection - the sense of isolation and lack of networks, communication and collaboration - in the region was one of the strongest themes to come out of this project. The low population density in the region combined with the lack of communication between localities resulted in participants commenting on a sense of isolation from other parts of the region. This sense of disconnection occurs between geographical areas and sectors, between local businesses and musicians, and through the instability of the internet. The Cultural Assembly similarly identified the fragmentation of the culture, heritage and arts sector, in terms of geographic dispersal and lack of joint working, as well as the lack of partnership between sectors and issues of transport and digital connection (Argyll and Bute Council, 2014b). As a result of the Cultural Assembly's action plan and a place partnership, CHArts are now working with connecting the culture, heritage and arts sector of Argyll and the Isles through their digital network and through regional hubs. Those working with traditional music in the region continue to reiterate the findings of the Cultural Assembly's report, referring to a disparateness of local musical activities, little communication or collaboration between local businesses and regional organisations, and a lack of a strong music scene. The absence of a strong scene is considered a problem by participants, without the networking, community, and knowledge and labour exchange that is typical of a music scene. Informal socio-musical connections in Argyll and Bute are often regionally made through attending music competitions such the Mod and Highland games or locally constructed through live performances. As a result of these informal connections and the physical size of the region, few of the fieldwork participants involved in music had a comprehensive regional knowledge of musical projects, activities or sessions.

Disconnection across small communities

Fieldwork interviewees referred to the many small communities in Argyll and Bute having an impact on the disconnection of the region. As small communities work together to maintain and enhance the local area in which they live, often on a voluntary basis, connections and communication with other localities are often less of a priority. Daniel Gillespie said that there is potential for more interaction and communication between musical bands in the region. Despite being nominal competitors for performances and other projects, he suggests that bands can also support each other in order to save time and money through communication. The 'small community' mind set creates communicative challenges, however, the lack of communication maintains elements of the music's appeal; 'you know, it's a wee world and no one else knows about it' (Daniel Gillespie, fieldwork interview, March 2018). There are currently few initiatives of year-round collectivization or cooperation on a local or regional basis for traditional music. Such initiatives are being demonstrated in cooperatives like Food from Argyll, Artmap Argyll and the region's studio trails. Scot AnSgeulaiche similarly observed a lack of communication and collectivization between local and regional venues to fund traditional music. In his experience of Argyll, he said that:

> There's certainly no venue owners saying to a second venue owner "look, shall we share this thing where we can get this artist to come in and you'll have them on the one day and I'll have them on the Tuesday and we'll talk to John who will have them on the Wednesday …. There's a big barrier with venues, or potential venues and the people in charge of them thinking "I can't afford this on my own but why can't we have a festival and we have it running simultaneously in 5 venues when the festival of seafood or whatever it is [on], so then you have musicians playing in several points during a seafood festival ... There's less of that [collaboration] in Argyll and Bute (Scot AnSgeulaiche, fieldwork interview, April 2018).

Scot is speaking with regards to his experience of living in Argyll and Bute ten years ago however, and while there are instances of informal cooperation in the region, a formalised collectivization was not encountered during the fieldwork in 2018. This type of collaborative working between venues, organisations, communities and bands in Argyll that is suggested in this comment inevitably impacts on the efficiency and costs involved in the creative economy. Campaigns of sharing resources and collectivisation across the arts are currently in progress through CHArts and The Touring Network. Based on this fieldwork, there is great potential and demand for similar campaigns for the sustainability and growth of traditional music in the region (see recommendation 1.3). However, communication networks between musicians, organisations and venues need to be developed for such collaborations to take place.

Connections and informal networks

The disconnection between musicians, businesses and organisations working in different sectors is also a challenge for traditional music sustainability and growth in the region. With musicians promoting themselves through informal networks, live performance and various websites and social media, potential clients seeking traditional musicians from the region often look to key contacts within tourism and creative industry enterprise. For instance, tourism campaigns and events, such as 'Heart & Soul', wanted to include of live musical performance by a band from Argyll. Without suitable connections or a comprehensive directory of musicians in the region, the campaign went to the local destination marketing development agent working for Cowal and Bute. As a result of the agent's local knowledge of the Cowal peninsula, they suggested the Cowal-based band, Heron Valley (anonymous, fieldwork interview, May 2018). Iain Hamilton from HIE similarly receives requests from tourism organisations for traditional musician contacts from the region (fieldwork interview, July 2018). Individuals working within organisations in the region act as 'hubs of information' (anonymous, fieldwork interview, May 2018), connecting the local and regional informal networks with potential clients outside the

music community. In an interview, the development agent suggested that a catalogue or library of contact details for bands and musicians would be beneficial for the region, as people approach individuals and organisations specifically for bands and musicians from Argyll (fieldwork interview, May 2018). While such informal networks are important within musical communities, they have little reach outside parts of the region and outside of the music sector. Individual gatekeepers provide information and contacts to businesses and organisations outside of the music and arts sector, however, the suggestion for a formalised directory of musicians in the region would further aid the process of other sectors and businesses employing the region's musicians (see recommendation 1.4).

However, informal networks and local knowledge are characteristic of a 'soft infrastructure' that bolsters the creative economy in Argyll and Bute. A 'soft infrastructure' can be made up of formal and informal networks, local knowledge, the presence of traditions and the identity of the place (Comunian, Chapain and Clifton, 2010:8). Rachel Granger and Christine Hamilton demonstrate that there are particular difficulties in implementing policies in relation to informal, semi-formal and formal networks, or under, middle and upperground creative spaces (2010:54), as this type of soft infrastructure cannot be enforced and must take into account grass roots activities and actors (Comunian, Chapain and Clifton, 2010:8). While a formal directory would solve issues of connectivity for potential clients and musicians, the stratified nature of the infrastructure could pose issues in relation to policy.

Broadband

In 2017, following several years of growing recognition of the size and potential of the creative economy in the UK as a whole, the UK government moved to increase the Gross Value Added from the digital sectors from £118bn in 2015 to £200bn by 2025. A key part of this strategy involves support for business connectivity. Internet connectivity is a major problem in some parts of Argyll and was repeatedly raised by our interviewees relating to business connectivity.

The disconnection of the region and of the sector is additionally challenged by the access to *high-speed* broadband. The region is currently part of the £146 million Highlands and Island rural broadband project addressing the lack of broadband to premises in the Highlands and Islands region. Initially a three-year project starting in January 2014, the project's target was 84% coverage of the region to significantly improve on the 4% coverage in Highlands and Islands in 2013 (HIE, 2018b). The project is led by HIE and delivered by BT (Argyll and Bute Council, 2014a), but its work have left 16% of Argyll and Bute premises without superfast broadband. In January 2018, superfast and fibre coverage had risen to 79% with a speed of 24Mbps in Argyll and Bute (HIE, 2018a). Additional funds have been invested in the project and the new target is now 88% coverage (HIE, 2018a), with a remainder of 12% of the region without superfast broadband.

In July 2018, areas in progress included parts of the Cowal peninsula, the Isle of Coll and Portnahaven on Islay (HIE, 2018b), while parts of the Cowal peninsula, rural Bute and rural Kintyre are not covered in this current project but are part of a community broadband project (HIE, 2018a). The Scottish government's 2021 project for national access to broadband is still three years from completion and the Better Broadband scheme helps with the installation of satellite or wireless system as a temporary measure (HIE, 2018a). However, as Sadie Dixon-Spain has commented, fees for satellite services are high, the connection is not reliable and the service is problematic with licensing filters, therefore impacting the day-to-day running of creative businesses in the region.

Commenting on the access and quality of broadband in Ardfern, John Saich said the available broadband has recently improved, but emphasised that other places in the West Coast are still struggling. Working on data-intensive music reduces the broadband speed and creates

issues when clients and colleagues in Glasgow and London expect those working remotely to have as fast broadband as themselves. John recounts, '[t]hey'll say "send me your WAV files" and it will take the whole morning!' (fieldwork interview, May 2018). Reflecting on remote working before the use of the internet, John suggested that it was in some ways better when he worked with physical tapes, working in Argyll and sending recordings to England for example. Working with tapes and sending via recorded delivery from the local post office, John suggests there was more equality between people working in remote and urban places as everyone had to send the tapes via the post. He said 'in some ways we were better off 15 years ago' (fieldwork interview, May 2018). Daniel Gillespie similarly commented on the unequal access to high-speed broadband connectivity and emphasised the importance in connectivity in relation to the region's depopulation and musical sustainability. He said that transport and broadband are key areas in order to provide equal opportunities to those working, living and organising events in the rural and remote region.

> Digital communications is important ... so they have to improve digital connectivity in these rural regions, because that bridges the gap between what makes it difficult to remain and work in a rural area. ... It has to be as good as it is in Glasgow and Edinburgh ... but it's trying to bridge the gaps all the time. That's the element we're really, really frustrated with (Daniel Gillespie, fieldwork interview, March 2018).

Currently, there is a discrepancy in the access to good-quality broadband between rural and urban centres and digital connectivity is vital for those trying to stay and make a living in remote regions (for a broad overview of broadband and rural issues in Scotland see Townsend *et al.*, 2017). With significant depopulation of the region, Daniel's comment that equal access to digital communications in order to 'bridge the gap' between Argyll and the central belt for musicians is vital. Townsend *et al.'s* study on rural creative industries and broadband in Scotland emphasizes the critical role of broadband in reducing the 'penalty of distance' and connecting them to their peers in order to support growth in their business. Better connectivity can reduce travel for those in remote areas, reduce petrol costs, improve reach to a wider, international audience and facilitate collaboration more easily for many creative micro-enterprises:

> Increasingly, and particularly marked within the creative industries, practitioners are expected to deliver content online, some of which consists of data-heavy files such as HD video, music and photography. This activity requires broadband speeds greater than 2 Mbps, suggesting that for the rural creative economy to flourish, investment in better broadband (particularly via fibre-optic technologies) is required in rural areas (Townsend et al., 2017: 457).

Agencies such as HIE encourage musicians to work via remote participation and use the resource of online fanbases to generate alternative revenue streams (Iain Hamilton, fieldwork interview, July 2018). Digital connectivity for traditional musicians in rural and remote areas is, therefore, vital to align with creative industries strategies. By assisting musicians and music organisations in the region with good-quality internet connectivity, particularly through subsidised rates, the government would not only address issues of depopulation but also show their recognition of the importance and value of the musical traditions within the region (see recommendation 1.2).

Summary

This section has focused on the disconnection experienced by participants in Argyll and Bute. This disconnection - felt through isolation, lack of communication, collaboration and collectivisation, informal and limited social networks and unequal access to good-quality broadband - has a significant impact on the potential sustainability and growth of professional musicianship. There is potential for partnerships and collaborations between musicians in

different localities and between musicians and businesses in the region that are not currently being realised as a result of a lack of communication and connections. The collective working of geographically-clustered venues and promoters would aid communication and open up new opportunities for collaborations between local musicians and businesses (see recommendation 1.3). While informal networks among musicians and local residents are vital in sustaining traditional music in the region, the lack of formal network connectivity between musicians, bands and potential clients is a significant issue for the connectivity of traditional music beyond the musical community. A prominently-displayed comprehensive digital directory of musicians in the region would construct connections in the region and provide details and contacts for potential clients (see recommendation 1.4). Long-distance working and remote participation via the internet is promoted as a viable option for musicians working in remote and rural areas, however, the current inequality of high-quality broadband results in difficulties for musicians, in particular, who deal with data-intensive work. Further subsidies for the cost of internet and 4G access would begin to provide an equal platform for musicians in rural and remote areas compared to those based in the central belt (see recommendation 1.2). While the disconnection of the region is a significant challenge for the livelihoods of musicians, the isolation and small communities remain appealing features of the region for visitors and for residents.

Theme 3: Festivals

Festivals have become a major theme in traditional music for musicians, residents and visitors to Argyll and Bute. A series of festivals has 'mushroomed' over the region with many local bands performing on the 'festival circuit' around the region during the summer season. These festivals place traditional music as the focal point, while also harbouring partnerships and collaborations in the local area through festival organisation and fringe events. Music festivals also reveal a measurable impact of traditional music on the local economy for local businesses. The proliferation and popularity of festivals in Argyll and Bute has been realised and promoted by Visit Scotland and AITC in their promotion of music events in the region. Visit Scotland, for instance, is currently promoting 'trad music' under the banner of the 2018 Year of Young People, with listings of selected traditional music festivals in Scotland. Argyll and Bute stands out here with more traditional music festivals listed than any other region: 8 out of 22 listed festivals are in Argyll and Bute with Highlands coming next with 5 out of 22 (Visit Scotland, 2018). Similarly, music festivals are prominent on the AITC's 'Wild about Argyll' website (AITC, 2018b) with traditional music is placed at the fore.

Music festivals have become a major means of music consumption and music tourism in Argyll and Bute. In every interview and conversation during this fieldwork, festivals have been discussed as a major feature of musical performance in the region. The proliferation of festivals has created a festival circuit in which local, national and international musicians and bands perform. Many of the region's festivals also provide a platform for performances by young musicians. In 2018, for instance, the Tiree Music Festival introduced the ELEVATE stage for young musicians in partnership with Scotland's Year of Young People lead by an employed artistic director intern. Participants have pointed out, however, that travelling between festivals continues to be an issue in terms of travel time and costs. The popularity of festivals in the region has also shaped performance styles and sets, with many bands now offering 'festival sets' to promoters, featuring 45 minute, high-energy sets suitable for dancing crowds (Iain Johnston, fieldwork interview, February 2018). While the current West Coast trend is informed by high-

energy tunes and popular-style songs, many other high-quality traditional acts with different aesthetics are ruled out of some festival line-ups (Daniel Gillespie, fieldwork interview, March 2018). As a result, certain styles of traditional music are excluded from current festival programmes.

As will be discussed, there is a delicate balance between festival crowds, local residents and physical geography in small areas that limits the growth of festivals. However, there is also a sense of positivity, optimism and pride surrounding the music festivals in Argyll and Bute. This positivity is reflected in scholarly work on festivals in rural regions that suggests that events hosted in small settlements strongly inform the identity and representation of rural places (Quinn & Wilks, 2017:41) providing local residents with an occasion to gather, to market the area to visitors and to generate economic income for the region. Key examples include Sidmouth International Folk Week in the small English seaside town of Sidmouth in East Devon and Feakle Traditional Music Festival in the Irish village of Feakle, County Clare (Quinn & Wilks, 2017). The input of festivals in the identity and representation of rural and remotes places is demonstrated in the value of Oban Live in Oban. This value is demonstrated through continuous support and local partnership from the town's business improvement development district (see BID4Oban, 2017) and in the way the festival is used as part of the broader promotion and marketing of the town. This section will explore the partnerships created as a result of festivals, the delicate balance between events, residents, physical geography and local infrastructure and the reliance of the region's festivals on voluntary committees.

Partnerships

Music festivals in the region incorporate a number of partnerships and collaborative fringe events with local businesses and organisations, as well as promoting the region through local food and drink. Some of the most popular festivals include Oban Live, Mull of Kintyre music festival, Best of the West at Inveraray Castle, Islay Festival of Music and Malt, and Tiree Music Festival, many of which combine local music and produce and foster strong cross-sectoral partnerships. Such partnerships take place between the festival organisers and hospitality businesses for fringe events. Having spoken with local businesses in Oban about Oban Live, for example, participants were unanimous about the benefits of the festival on their businesses measurable income and the town's overall economy during the festival weekend. Oban Live is particularly beneficial to the town as it takes place outside of the peak tourism season, thereby creating a significant surge of visitors on an otherwise uneventful weekend in June. From the pilot event in 2015, the festival has grown from 6000 attendees to just under 8000 in 2016 and 2017, with plans to expand to over 9000 in 2018. If the whole of the festival site at Mossfield Stadium is used for the audience, the organisers suggest there is a potential capacity for over 15,000 attendees (Oban Live, 2017:7). However, the town's accommodation has already been at capacity during the festival weekend in 2017, therefore the capacity for growth is limited by the available accommodation in Oban. The increase in business as a result of the music festival is noted and valued by local residents and is made particularly evident due to the scale and short-term influx of visitors during the two-day event. The 2018 Oban Live promoted fringe events in partnership with BID4Oban, encouraging local pubs, hotels, restaurants, cafés, shops and visitor attractions to participate in the festival's fringe in order to generate the maximum economic benefit for the town and surrounding area. In 2018, fringe events included: an official afterparty at the Skipinnish Ceilidh House; live music by the popular local ceilidh band, Gunna Sound, in The Royal Hotel before and after the festival's programme; live music at The Oban Inn; open mic sessions at Perle Oban Hotel; discounts on CDs and DVDs purchased at the Oban Music

shop; discounts on Oban Whisky; walking tour trails around the town; various 'Oban Live' food specials at pubs and cafés; and midnight film screenings at Oban's Phoenix Cinema (see Oban Live 2018). Recognising the contribution of musical events to the local economy and the active participation in the festival's fringe events reveals a collective effort between local businesses, festival organisers and musical events that has promise for further development (see recommendation 1.5).

Traditional music has also been key in generating revenue to sustain other events. For instance, having rescinded their Pipe Band Championships, the Cowal Gathering lost revenue from the competition that was one of the biggest in Scotland. In order to regain revenue and ensure the continuation of the Cowal Gathering, the 'Gig at the Gathering' event was launched in 2015. A one-night event of traditional ceilidh music, local food and locally produced drinks in the 'Ceilidh Tent' at the Cowal Gathering in Dunoon Stadium, the 'Gig at the Gathering' brings in revenue that was lost from the piping championships. By highlighting the use of traditional music performance as an alternative revenue stream here, it can be seen that traditional music has both market demand and economic potential in the region and increased partnerships would be beneficial for both local musicians and businesses.

'A Delicate Balance'

Music festivals can inform the identity and representation of small towns and villages (Quinn & Wilks 2017), while also attracting visitors to the region. The current wave of festivals over Argyll and Bute is a common thread in the diverse region, therefore providing tourist development organisations a way to promote cultural tourism to young people, in particular, during the 2018 Year of Young People. In addition to the Argyll and Bute festival marketing, the Tourism Scotland 2020 strategy includes events and festivals as a key area of growth (The Scottish Tourism Alliance, 2012). The current interest and attention to traditional music in the region as a result of its festivals should be harnessed for the development of other events and initiatives. Initial responses by participants with regards to the rise in music festivals in the region and the resulting influx of additional tourism are positive. However, further conversations with organisers and local residents reveal a delicate balance emerging between the events, place and local residents. Attaining and maintaining this delicate balance limits the capacity of growth for these popular events. For instance, the Tiree Music Festival has capped its capacity to 2000 attendees per year. While the island could physically hold considerably larger numbers, the festival organisers have committed to an upper limit of 2000 people. This limitation on growth has occurred for three primary reasons. The first is Tiree Music Festival is a community interest company and, with a resident population of 653 people (Argyll and Bute Council, 2011), the island community have specified that they do not want a bigger influx than 2000 people on the island. The second relates to the considerable strain on the island's resources and transportation resulting from the short-term influx of festival attendees. Finally, the festival organisers want to maintain the atmosphere and character of the small and remote festival that has proven to be a significant part of the festival's appeal and draws attendees from mainland Argyll, the central belt and England (Daniel Gillespie, fieldwork interview, March 2018). According to festival reports and festival organisers, the Tiree Music Festival has a significant social and economic impact on the island and brings many first-time visitors to Tiree (see Tiree Music Festival, 2016; Daniel Gillespie, fieldwork interview, March 2018).

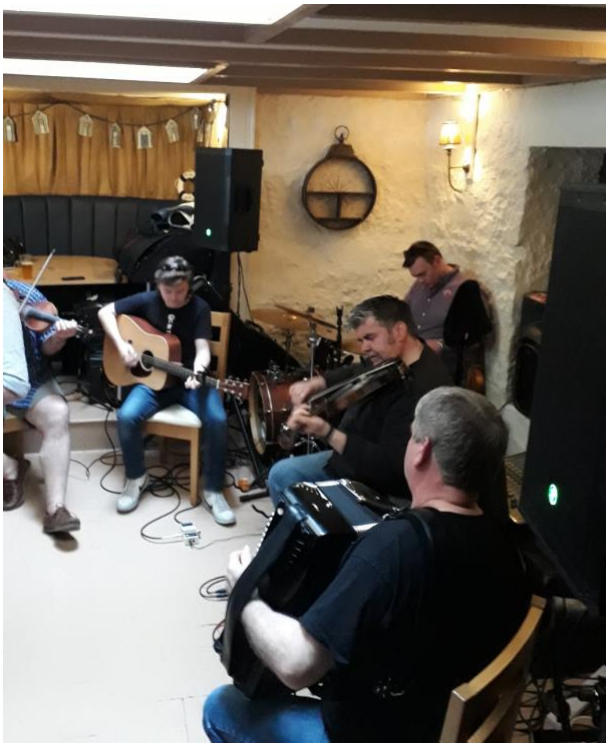

Image: Alex and Archie McAllister and Friends perform during the Mull Music Festival, Tobermory, April 2018. Photograph by Jasmine Hornabrook.

Island festivals in the region, in particular, have to manage a delicate balance in relation to the steep influx of people to the area, such as Tap Root festival on Lismore, Islay Festival of Music and Malt and the Mull Music Festival. The Mull Music festival is the most controversial here in terms of residents' experience of 'disruption' in an otherwise peaceful Tobermory, resulting from a significant influx of drinking festival-goers attending the festival held in Tobermory's pubs. The Islay Festival of Music and Malt sees the island's population rise from its 3228 resident demographic (Argyll and Bute Council, 2011) to around 10,000 - tripling the population of the island over a week (Rachel MacNeill, fieldwork interview, April 2018). This sudden influx has a significant impact on the resources and atmosphere of the island. Rachel MacNeill, who is on the organising committee for the festival, says that since 2016, they have realised how the infrastructure is 'overwhelmed' by the influx of festival attendees:

> our roads, our transport system, people come and camp and because of the volume of people it's being like ... Glastonbury where people lose respect and maybe not put litter in the rubbish bins … because of the volume of people, it changes the demographic of people that come. And they might just come for this festival, whereas in the past, they would come because they loved Islay. … it's a slight difference. So there's not an animosity from the locals at all because the locals still have that hospitality ethic, but we need to be very careful. But the good thing is we can't get any more people onto the island because we're bound by logistics, so [by] ferries – it's not like you can drive, so we're bound by the logistics. So we're probably at capacity now, so we probably can't get any more folk on [the island], so as long as it stays like that … I mean we're exploded like this [gestures expanding near breaking point] but then we can breathe back in again (fieldwork interview, April 2018).

The short-term influx of festival attendees, the type of visitors attracted to the festival and the pressure this influx puts on local resources also imposes a limited growth capacity of the region's festivals (see recommendation 1.6). In contrast, the Tap Root festival on the Isle of Lismore has a limit of around 100 tickets, with a resident population of 192 people on the island (Argyll and Bute Council, 2011). The festival, which raises money for the Lismore Heritage Centre, is organised around the activities, culture and place of the island in order to maintain the delicate balance between local residents, an influx of visitors to the island and festival-style events. One of the activities that maintains a strong balance between the agency and involvement of the local residents and festival visitors included a song walk by a local resident. With the festival organisation between the musician, Mairi Campbell, and Lismore's residents, innovative events such as the song walk became part of the festival that reflects the heritage of the island. Mairi commented that achieving this 'delicate balance' in the festival between local input, outside interest and visitors to the island is significant, further stating that a festival has the most integrity

when it is for the people who live on Lismore; it needs to be servicing and pulling together braids of things going on the island and helping a sense of community that needs to be maintained (fieldwork interview, March 2018). The result of these delicate balances between local residents, the festivals, geography, and the influx and strain on the local resources and infrastructure mean that, while festivals are generally seen as having a positive impact to these localities, there is a finite limitation for growth. This is echoed by Iain Hamilton from Highlands and Islands Enterprise, who said that even if festivals in the region do grow, there will always be a limited capacity and organisers and artists should look at alternate ways of generating revenue streams from the festival market (fieldwork interview, July 2018) (see recommendation 1.6). One such example can be seen in the Wangaratta Festival of Jazz in Australia, where one small rural town has mobilized and prioritized specifically the musical creativity of jazz musicians over a four day festival to build up a sustainable event for the local economy (Curtis, 2010). The festival has established this small town in rural Victoria as Australia's capital of jazz. As Curtis points out, not only has the festival grown economic benefits which have been critically supported by local government, it has fundamentally been about creating a sense of shared belonging to Wangaratta as a place of musical freedom and creativity. For this to operate successfully in Argyll a holistic, joined-up approach is required, involving local authority planners, investment and artistic authenticity to be at the heart of the planning and coordination. In this way, we find that cooperation between different actors in Argyll and Bute is critical to any future growth in sustainable incomes from traditional music. Planners must talk to musicians, must talk to councillors, must talk to hoteliers, must talk to restaurateurs, must talk to residents. Only through this sort of cooperative gestalt effect does the literature elsewhere suggest that rural creative economic enterprises can thrive (recommendation 1.3).

Festivals and Volunteering

Another important issue emerging from the festival theme is the role of the voluntary sector. High-profile festivals such as the Tiree Music Festival and Oban Live employ a small number of freelance, fixed term employees each year, however, the facilitation of the festivals is dependent on the large number of participating volunteers. Volunteering at music festivals can be seen from the smallest to the largest events, however, an urgent issue emerging from this fieldwork is the sustainability of voluntary festival organising committees. Festivals in Argyll and Bute are often organised by voluntary committees who want to contribute to the wellbeing and vibrancy of their local community. While music festivals in the region generate considerable economy for local areas, the committees organising such events are often doing so on a voluntary, or near-voluntary, basis and often in addition to their paid work. As a result of voluntary festival committees, issues of sustainability surrounding the region's festivals are brought to the fore. Traditional music in festival contexts is valued by local residents, businesses and tourism and enterprise organisations, therefore the sustainability of festival organising committees is a significant issue.

A major issue that comes across in voluntary festival organisations is the concept of 'volunteer fatigue', the tiredness and overwork of individuals working on a voluntary basis. This term was brought up by Michael Gordon, Iona Craft Shop owner and events organiser on Iona. Speaking in relation to the Iona Village Hall Festival and its current hiatus, Michael discussed how the voluntary time and effort involved in festival organisation escalates to the extent that it becomes a significant strain on the organising committee (fieldwork interview, April 2018). While the Iona Village Hall festival was a success, the challenges of arranging and managing the festival, its programme, budget, catering and local and visitor expectations, resulted in volunteer fatigue. Such challenges included bringing musicians to the remote island, accommodating them and negotiating the delicate balance between pilgrimage tourism, festival tourism and local resources and residents. From the responses in this fieldwork, it could be suggested that the

sustainability of festivals with the current demands on voluntary festival committees is a concern. Such sentiments have been discussed by other participating festival organisers in the region and the demands of festival organisation can be seen in the current hiatuses of festivals such as MAMA Fest (Mid-Argyll Music and Arts festival) and Taproot festival. The difficulties in recruiting new members into the voluntary committees has emerged as a significant problem due to the competing demands of everyday life, with some participants referring to their roles in organisation committees being equivalent to a full-time, unpaid job. Festival and events organisers working on a voluntary basis have commented that networking and troubleshooting between festival organisations in the region would provide a network of support that is not currently experienced and would aid current issues of volunteer fatigue (see recommendation 1.7).

Summary

This section has examined the theme of festivals that emerged from this fieldwork. Festivals are currently one of the most popular ways to consume live traditional music in Argyll and Bute and such events hold great value to musicians, local residents and businesses and tourism organisations. Key issues are the emergence of partnerships between traditional music and local businesses, the delicate balance between the event, residents and local resources and infrastructure, and the uncertain nature of festival sustainability resulting from the volunteer fatigue of organising committees. These issues impact and limit the sustainability and growth of festivals in Argyll and Bute. Partnerships between musicians, festival organisers and local businesses emerge in the form of festival fringe events that could be harboured throughout the year. Building connections and collaborations between the region's musicians and businesses, the potential partnerships have promise for sustainable and innovative development from small-scale events to larger-scale tours and trails (see recommendation 1.5). The influx of festival crowds has resulted in the need to attain a delicate balance between festival organisers and local resources and residents, which ultimately limits the growth of individual festivals. The potential amenities and infrastructure support for large festivals and expansion of smaller events would alleviate the strain on organisation committees, local resources such as infrastructure and accommodation and would bring a steady and manageable stream of visitors to the region (see recommendation 1.6). Despite the success and popularity of the region's festivals, 'volunteer fatigue' among festival organising committees is a serious issue regarding the sustainability of these events. The introduction of a formalised festival network in the region would provide the networking, trouble-shooting and support for festival committees that is not currently experienced in the region (see recommendation 1.7).

Theme 4: Professional Multitasking and Depopulation in Argyll and Bute

Many of Argyll's professional musicians are now based in Glasgow. The lack of employment opportunities and the remoteness of the region has resulted in a number of Argyll's most successful musicians basing themselves outside the region. This section looks at the professional multitasking required for living in Argyll and Bute, the depopulation of the region and the impact of these on musical sustainability and growth.

Multitasking

Participants in this fieldwork have highlighted that professional musicianship is a precarious livelihood, and this insecurity escalates in rural and remote regions. A limitation for growth in the musical heritage of Argyll is linked with the professional multitasking undertaken by the region's musicians. The project's participants were unanimous in their assertion that to be a musician in Argyll and Bute, you have to have a day job. Such day jobs may be music or non-music related, with weekends reserved for working as a performing musician. To be a professional musician without multitasking, the consensus is you would have to move to the central belt. John Saich summed this sentiment up in his statement; 'If I wanted to work full-time in the arts professionally, I would probably have to leave here' (fieldwork interview, May 2018). The concept of multitasking is not new in areas like Argyll and Bute, and particularly in remote mainland areas and on islands. Gordon Maclean, musician and artistic director at An Tobar arts centre, said that working as a professional musician on Mull, for instance, 'is nigh on impossible' (fieldwork interview, March 2018). As is the case for musicians in any locality, there is always an element of multitasking, having a day job and playing music part-time. Speaking specifically about musicians in the region, Gordon said people do multitask and it is tough, especially when there is a lot of travelling which makes being a musician more impractical. He added, 'there certainly isn't enough work round about here to make a living from being a musician, but that's the case for everyone' (fieldwork interview, March 2018). Multitasking is not a new concept for those living in Argyll and Bute but, as Gordon points out, multitasking musicians have the additional impracticalities of travel and limited work opportunities in music. A number of musicians do live on Mull and on the region's other islands, however, issues such as relying on ferry crossings and still being three hours away from Glasgow once on the mainland in Oban is demanding and 'more impractical'. Even on the mainland, musicians from popular bands such as Oban-based Ceol an Aire also professionally multitask, with band members employed as construction managers, teachers and electricians. While travelling remains an issue, the band perform at weekends to allow for less precarious careers that enable them to have a mortgage and financial stability (Ewan MacDonald, fieldwork interview, March 2018).

Musicians in Argyll and Bute multitask in numerous ways. In addition to composition and performance, musicians in the region set up recording studios, run music retreats, give music tuition and/or work on remote music projects via the internet. Other key musicians in the region work professionally in secure, non-musical jobs and perform music at weekends. Using the band's name, brand and established fanbase, Angus MacPhail and Andrew Stevenson from Skipinnish have marketed a number of innovative commercial projects. These projects include the Skipinnish record label, Tiree-based Skipinnish boat tours and the Skipinnish Ceilidh House in Oban. With the exception of Skipinnish, project participants have commented that professional multitasking has a negative impact on the growth of traditional music in Argyll and Bute. This negative impact plays out primarily through 1. the lack of time and 2. the lack of necessary business skills for innovative music projects.

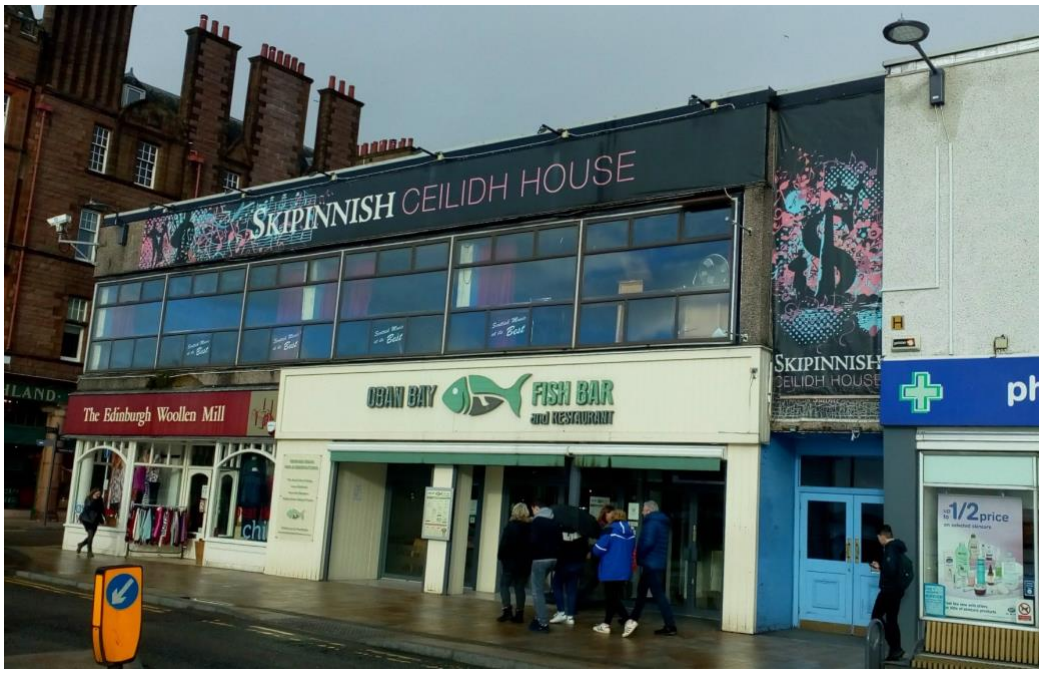

Image: Skipinnish Ceilidh House in Oban, March 2018. Photograph by Jasmine Hornabrook.

A lack of time and business skills has emerged as a significant issue for the region's musicians. Professional multitasking creates difficulties for musicians to balance musical performance and musical projects with alternative, additional means of earning money. For instance, participants often referred to the difficulties of going between creative and administrative work, and the different 'mind sets' required for these tasks. Scot AnSgeulaiche, a traditional storyteller and musician, said that it is difficult to maintain creative output while also working with band promotion and liaising with venues. He said it is

> …very hard to go between the two ... between promoting and making contracts and liaising with venues and then go into the studio and continue working on laying down that guitar track ... It was not an easy shift, and it was a shift that would take a number of days. I would have to spend 2 or 3 days in the studio before I got something that was anything good, and that would only arrive on day 2 or 3, then when I went back into the promoting side it was like an antidote ... so I found that very difficult and I think a lot of people do (Scot AnSgeulaiche, fieldwork interview, April 2018).

The issue surrounding time, multitasking and musical creativity is a challenge for the region's musicians. Other participants have argued that professional multitasking results in the decreased time for instrumental or singing practise, thereby reducing the fluency and quality of musicianship.

While concerns regarding the balance of musicianship and professional multitasking have emerged from this fieldwork, another issue related to multitasking is the lack of business and marketing skills. This issue has been a key reason participants have given with regards to the limitation of growth in musical careers, festivals and other musical enterprises, particularly those relating to tapping into the region's tourism industry. Musicians, promoters and non-musician participants have acknowledged the widespread lack of marketing skills among musicians, claiming that the lack of skills is a fundamental reason for the few innovative and enterprising partnerships in traditional music. Professional musician, Daniel Gillespie, has been in the minority when he said he has always been comfortable with the challenge of bookings, promoting and organising events; 'I wasn't like "I'm a musician, I don't have a clue on any element of business", so I was quite comfortable with that challenge' (fieldwork interview,

March 2018). This confidence is not often felt by musicians who have not had any formal training in business and marketing skills, but have had to self-learn through experience. The lack of business and marketing skills is also a significant issue for the growth of local festivals and competitions with voluntary, multitasking festival committees, particularly those who are enthusiastic to attract visitor audiences. Sarah Diver Lang from CHArts commented that consistent employment in an organisation would be a limited option for musicians and artists at present in Argyll and the Isles (but this is not distinct from other Scottish regions or other creative industry disciplines), therefore income generation opportunities 'have to come from making enterprising decisions about how you're approaching your work and what potential you could do with it' (fieldwork interview, June 2018). Musicians and others working with music in the region have commented on the difficulties of embarking on innovative and enterprising projects as a result of the lack of necessary marketing and business skills. HIE provide consultancy to musicians seeking advice for new enterprises and Business Gateway - part of Argyll and Bute Council – have provided business start-up training and advice to ceilidh bands and pipe tutors in the region. However, many participants hold the perception that they will not be taken seriously if they approach similar organisations for advice on music as business. Educational institutions such as the National Centre of Excellence in Traditional Music at Plockton High School and the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (RCS) are incorporating the necessary business and marketing skills for professional musicians into their curricula, therefore younger generations of musicians are demonstrating these skills. However, established musicians in Argyll and Bute do not have access to this training. Support for professionally multitasking musicians through easily accessible – in terms of cost and location - and specialist marketing and business advice for musicians is much-needed and much-coveted in the region (see recommendation 1.8).

Depopulation

A number of established professional musicians have commented on the lack of a scene or lack of musical activity in rural and remote regions of Argyll and Bute. The lack of employment, creative networks and musical opportunities results in the depopulation of musicians from the region. Glasgow is now the stronghold of young traditional musicians from Argyll and Bute, with the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (RCS) and its strong traditional music scene in the city. Dougie Pincock, the director of the National Centre of Excellence in Traditional Music at Plockton High School said that students from the centre and other young musicians flock from the Highlands and Islands to Glasgow, in particular, in order to play, get gigs and develop networks. Speaking about students interested in traditional music, he said:

> If they're going on to work as musicians (and they all keep playing to some extent, even if they're not studying music), their general attitude to rural and remote areas seems to be to avoid them like the plague and get themselves to the cities, especially Glasgow. That's not to say they won't play in rural areas, because often that's where stuff's happening. But if they want to get gigs, they need to go to where the other musicians are, and that's the cities (Dougie Pincock, personal communication, July 2018).

Such an outlook and attitude to musical work in regions like Argyll and Bute is not favourable for the region's major issue of depopulation. Beyond the statistics of depopulation held by the local authority, the project's participants are abundantly aware of the issues of depopulation in the area, often directly linked with the employment opportunities available in the central belt in comparison to the multitasking and precarious livelihoods in the region. Depopulation is notable among young people, and particularly young musicians. The numerous homecoming events in the region also demonstrate this migration to the urban centres of the central belt and beyond, mirrored by the amount of West Coast music being performed at venues such as The Park Bar in Glasgow. Despite the musical heritage of Argyll, many of Argyll's musicians are based in

Glasgow, travelling to the region to perform and organise events and travelling back again to the city. For instance, musicians from bands such as Skerryvore and Trail West are steeped in the West Coast music of Argyll and the Isles, particularly as members from both bands are from the Isle of Tiree. However, these bands are based in Glasgow and travel to the region for festivals, gigs and other events having studied at RCS, University of Glasgow and University of Strathclyde. Glasgow also acts as a convenient base to work as a musician, particularly in terms of national and international travel and touring. Trail West's latest album, launched at the Tiree Music Festival in July 2018, reflects this urban migration of traditional musicians from Argyll and the Isles to Glasgow. 'From the Sea to the City' is the band's third album and it reflects on 'the journey that many Gaels have to take at some point in their life, moving from their homes by the sea to the city, to pursue further educational and working opportunities' (Trail West, 2018). The band state that the music on the album represents a broad mix of genres 'representing the numerous influences that Trail West have had from both their rural and city upbringings' (Trail West, 2018). While participants based in Argyll and Bute harbour a sense of pride for the success of these young musicians, many also suggest their emigration for work to urban centres is a loss for the region especially as these successful musicians are performing music from Argyll and are key in the sustainability of music in, and from, the region.

Participants have questioned how the issue of depopulation will be counteracted. Many participants have suggested tapping into the tourism industry and remote working as potential ways to overcome the issue of employment and encourage young musicians to stay in the region. For instance, John Saich stated that potential solutions lie in tourism and investment in business in the area:

> If we already know [and] if our local authority has already identified a particular demographic is going to be depleted by this percent in the next 5 years, then what are we doing? We need a plan because we can't just have projects here there and everywhere that aren't going to make a difference. We need that infrastructure, long-term vision to really push a solution, and that's going to be everything: tourism, investment in business, all this sort of stuff (fieldwork interview, May 2018).

Long-term planning and investment in music-related tourism and business is lacking in the region, and musicians and others working in music feel this is an underutilised resource that can be used to contribute to a long-term, sustainable solution (see recommendation 1.9). While the overall population of Argyll is decreasing, new residents have relocated from outside the region to the Isle of Mull, with Oban, Lorn and the Isles showing a rising population (Argyll and Bute Council, 2011). Having spoken to new residents, Gordon Maclean said

> A lot of people have said to me that the work that we do here [at An Tobar] creates a sense of a more cosmopolitan place to live, where there's art and music, theatre, that all of a sudden makes the place a more attractive place to live (fieldwork interview, March 2018).

An Tobar arts centre in Tobermory regularly attracts international music acts and audiences. The island is also regionally associated with music through its history of resident musicians, such as Bobby MacLeod, Martyn Bennett and Colin MacIntyre. Enhancing the area through the arts centre has proved successful for Mull's population. In a recent survey by CHArts, a noticeable increase emerged in people re-settling in Argyll and the Isles in the 30-40 age bracket (Sarah Diver Lang, fieldwork interview, June 2018). While students and young people often leave the area to obtain education and employment opportunities, often in the central belt, the survey responses show a number of older participants working and/or volunteering in culture, heritage and the arts are relocating to Argyll and Bute. This demographic brings with it valuable skills and experience obtained outside of the region that could be harnessed to inform planning and investment in the integration of culture and tourism in depopulation solutions. Other parts of Argyll, even on the mainland could emulate the approach taken elsewhere in rural creative places

such as Launceston, Tasmania. In Launceston, the initial pull for the creative class was the rural lifestyle described as, 'a lifestyle that combined proximity to the natural environment, a slower pace of life and the fresh air of the country' (Verdich, 2010). Only later, after a critical mass of those creative migrants had moved to the town did Launceston develop a more explicit cultural scene. Although a different context in Tasmania, this sort of regional pull could be used to explore inward migration to Argyll and Bute, perhaps supported with relaxed planning laws for house building, subsidized housing or rents, discounted rates or other attractive real benefits for those wishing to leave the city in favour of a rural lifestyle (see recommendation 1.9).

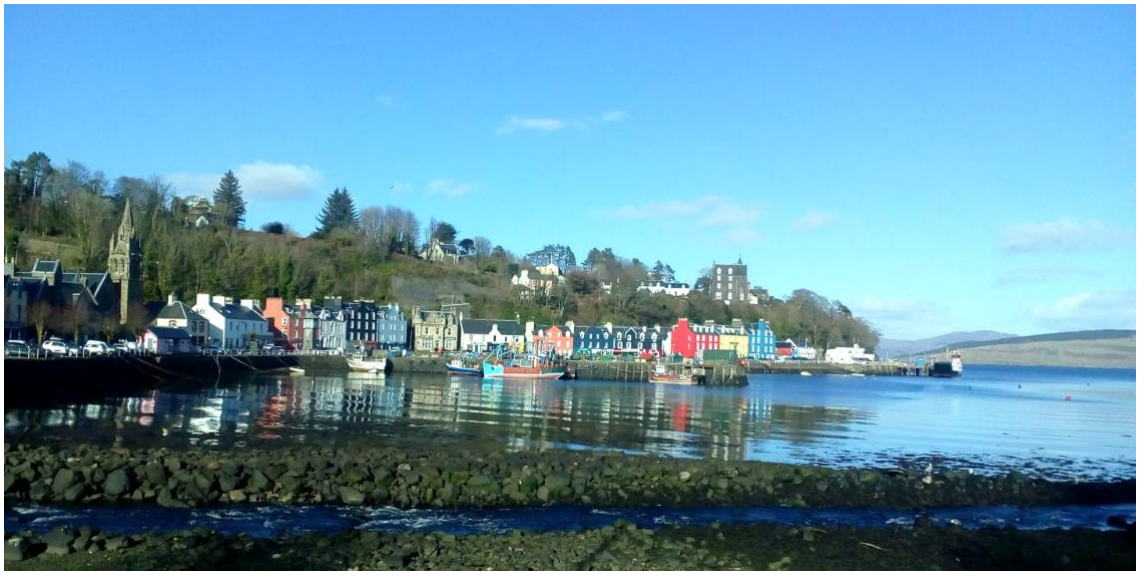

Image: Tobermory, February 2018. Photograph by Jasmine Hornabrook.

Summary

This section has explored two serious issues of professional multitasking and depopulation in Argyll and Bute. The current nature of traditional music consumption in the region forces musicians to professionally multitask or to emigrate to urban centres such as Glasgow. For musicians who multitask, balancing time and acquiring the necessary business and marketing skills to promote growth has emerged as a challenge. The lack of a 'scene' and employment opportunities pushes young musicians towards the central belt and beyond to develop their musical careers. With the additional challenges of living, working and multitasking as a musician in Argyll and Bute, funding underlying structures for musicians' livelihoods is needed. Such structures should include access to specialist business and marketing skills for start-ups *and* continued development (see recommendation 1.8). Both professional multitasking and depopulation have a significant impact on the sustainability and growth of traditional music and must be taken into account when planning and investing in culture in the region. The current success and popularity of traditional music is an underutilised resource that should be integrated into a long-term, sustainable solution to the region's depopulation (see recommendation 1.9) particularly as arts and culture, in addition to the natural environment, are a significant draw to the region.

Theme 5: Commercial Intangible Cultural Heritage?

Traditional music as commercial intangible cultural heritage can be seen in examples around the world; in the traditional music of Ireland, Appalachian music in the Blue Ridge Mountains and the fiddling of Cape Breton. The iconicity of Highland piping is frequently capitalised on within the Scottish tourism sector at popular visitor attractions in Scotland, in greeting visitors on tours and in promotional videos. Participants in this research have identified that traditional music as commercial intangible cultural heritage has a great deal of potential. However, traditional music is not always identified as 'heritage' and two further challenges are faced in realising the commercial potential of Argyll's musical heritage: 1. the prioritisation of tangible over intangible cultural heritage and 2. the concept of musical heritage as a commercial enterprise.

The prioritisation of tangible heritage

The presence of Argyll and Bute's tangible heritage in heritage attractions, tourism development organisations and tour operators is prioritised over intangible cultural heritage. Argyll and Bute's castles, houses, cairns, glens and museums have received significant attention as heritage sites in tourism marketing and heritage organisations, whereas traditional music is often experienced in pubs and at annual events such as festivals and Highland games. Local residents identify with piping and traditional music as part of their cultural heritage and this is palpable through the local support of pipe bands and the current popularity of West Coast bands. However, perceptions emerged in this fieldwork that placed traditional music between distinct concepts of heritage and entertainment, particularly in relation to tourism and enterprise. Such perceptions emerge partly as the result of heritage attractions, tourism promotion and educational projects emphasis on tangible heritage. Campbell Cameron suggests that concepts of heritage and culture in the region are often more to do with bricks and mortar than music (fieldwork interview, March 2018). The concept of traditional music as 'entertainment' rather than 'culture' has also emanated from the fieldwork, particularly within non-music-related businesses and organisations. One tour operator responded to this research by saying the tours are only about wildlife, history and culture, 'there is no music aspect to them'. This response points to the conceptual separation of music, culture and heritage that emerged during this fieldwork.

Heritage attractions and museums are often bound within the remit of their charity status and funding guidelines to prioritise tangible collections. Unfortunately, traditional music rarely features within these collections and guidelines. As a relatively young project, the Dunollie Preservation Trust at Dunollie Museum Castle and Grounds prioritises the tangible heritage of their buildings and collections over the intangible musical heritage of Clan MacDougall. With large and important collections of documents, the trust's priority is to catalogue documents and collections. The trust has around 75,000 documents that they are sorting with the help of archiving volunteers (Jane Isaacson, fieldwork interview, March 2018). The trust is also in the process of preserving Dunollie Castle, a major monument at the heritage attraction. The five-year project is estimated to cost £572,000 (Dunollie 2018). The inclusion of traditional music in the activities of heritage attractions, such as museums, is particularly challenging when the attraction itself heavily relies on funding for its preservation projects and day-to-day operations. For instance, there is the potential to include traditional music events at attractions such as Mount Stuart on the Isle of Bute, as this would align with the charity guidelines of attracting visitors to the island. However, such events need to be self-sustaining rather than relying on charity funding that is needed for staffing and other everyday costs (Mount Stuart, fieldwork interview, June 2018). As a result, heritage attractions are limited in the inclusion of activities focusing on traditional music, if such activities infringe on the attraction's funding.

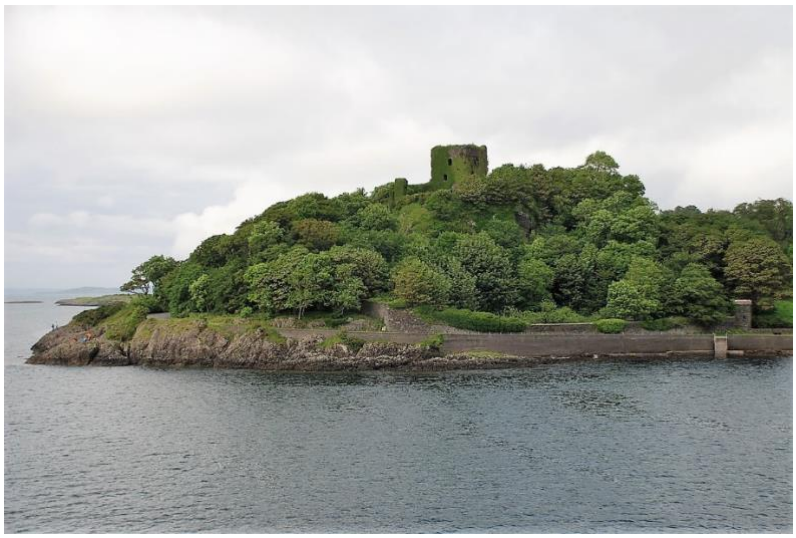

Image: Dunollie Castle photographed from the Oban to Craignure ferry, 2007, public domain by Andrew MacMillan (Karora). [Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dunollie_Castle_from_Oban_to_Craignure_ferry.jpg].

While heritage attractions in the region do not, or cannot, prioritise traditional music, the integration of music at heritage attractions holds great potential. Heritage attractions such as Dunollie and Kilmartin Museum do not prioritise contemporary traditional music in their collections, but they do integrate traditional music in various ways that contribute to the promotion of music as significant intangible cultural heritage. At Dunollie, for instance, the Hope MacDougall Collection includes songs, poems and pipe tunes. Gaelic songs from the collections are used for the weekly Gaelic conversation mornings held at the museum as part of its outreach programme. There are also plans to hold daily piobaireachd from the MacDougall pipe tune collections for the 2019 Clan Gathering (Jane Isaacson, fieldwork interview, March 2018). As the trust relies on funding and volunteers to preserve its prime concerns, the musical collections and integration of these into the attraction is not currently a priority for the trust. Despite this lack of priority, Dunollie frequently integrates traditional music through weekly piping performances at the castle, at special events, such as the opening of the willow garden that included performances from a clarsach player and the large-scale Fasanta festival series. Fasanta culminated in performance arts shows with musical composition from the Gaelic singer and songwriter Rachael Walker. The musical element of Fastana has not continued as a result of a lack of funding.

Kilmartin Museum integrates traditional music in its numerous educational projects, in addition to its archaeological collections of musical instruments. To ensure fair payment, the education team at Kilmartin Museum integrate traditional music and musicians' payment into the funding applications for their education projects (Julia Hamilton, fieldwork interview, April 2018). Traditional music has been facilitated by traditional musicians in projects such as the Campbeltown Grammar School Glenrea Settlement archaeological project. Funded by Argyll and Bute Council and Museums Galleries Scotland, the project worked with students from Campbeltown Grammar School and incorporated the arrangement and recording of the local song 'The Thatcher O'Glenrae' for the project video with musician, Steve Byrne. The Sounding Dunadd project incorporated traditional music to an even greater degree to fulfil the project's aims of celebrating the cultural and natural history of the Kilmartin and Kilmichael glens and Dunadd hill fort. Funded by Creative Scotland and Museums Galleries Scotland, the project consisted of four events based on song, music, storytelling and art to convey the history of the area and employed Argyll Gaelic singer, Joy Dunlop, storyteller and singer, Bob Pegg and clarsach harper, Bill Taylor. The museum also integrated traditional music and songwriting in its latest educational project based around its nineteenth century butterfly collection that was

funded by the outdoor learning charity, Ernest Cook Trust (Julia Hamilton, fieldwork interview, April 2018).

In addition to providing employment for traditional musicians, the museum's integration of traditional music in its educational projects emplaces traditional music within the heritage of the region and shifts the perception of music as simply 'entertainment' to music as 'heritage'. The current integration of traditional music is limited to education projects and off-site performances due to a lack of suitable performance space at the museum. However, the museum is currently in the process of a £6.7 million redevelopment project (Kilmartin Museum 2018), with scope in the plans for a performance space, bringing with it the potential for more on-site, visitor-oriented musical performances (Julia Hamilton, fieldwork interview, April 2018). While heritage attractions often prioritise tangible collections over intangible heritage, Kilmartin Museum and Dunollie Museum Castle and Grounds provide important examples of the integration of traditional music in heritage attractions.

The concept of musical heritage as commercial enterprise

The concept of musical heritage as commercial enterprise has evoked a variety of responses in this research. Having suggested that heritage is more closely associated with 'bricks and mortar' than music, Campbell Cameron said that music is often put to the side as 'entertainment' like watching TV or buying a game, 'it's not, maybe, seen as real business' (fieldwork interview, March 2018). The perception that music is 'not real business' has created a barrier for musicians to innovatively enterprise beyond the usual streams of revenue of performance and tuition. Daniel Gillespie comments that music as business is a difficult concept to sell to tourism and enterprise organisations in Scotland. He said that the minute you go to Visit Scotland or the government and they hear an idea about music, the response is to go and talk to Creative Scotland (fieldwork interview, March 2018). Referring to the potential of traditional music as a sustainable economic driver rather than unsustainable music project, Daniel said:

> [w]e're talking about something far, far bigger than that. And Enterprise Scotland are doing amazing work with Scottish businesses but I think they're missing something here in terms of music and what it's capable of doing in terms of the economy in Scotland. So hopefully that's something that can change (fieldwork interview, March 2018).

Like Daniel, a number of participants have commented on attempts to engage with various heritage, tourism, and enterprise organisations. However, they are repeatedly referred back to Creative Scotland as a result of the perception that music is not a viable business option. The Tiree Music Festival and Oban Live committee now commission economic impact reports to use as measured evidence of the economic potential of music events to gain the attention of potential funders, investors and other partners (Daniel Gillespie, fieldwork interview, March 2018). Participating musicians, in particular, have suggested that enterprise and business organisations lack the necessary understanding of arts and culture and the commercial potential of the sector. These participants often suggest that members of the region's most commercially successful and enterprising bands, such as Skipinnish or Skerryvore, should inform the boards of these organisation to enhance understanding of the musical resources in the region. The perception that music is not a commercial enterprise also impacts the value of music and musicians in the economy. For instance, a participating musician said that views on music as entertainment and musical talent as 'a gift' has a significant impact on the monetary value of musicians' services and the economic potential of music in the region. Recounting the frequent requests to play for exposure instead of monetary payment, the musician said:

> [Venues say] "come and do it [play] for free because you never know who will be in the audience", I mean great, that is great if Simon Cowell was in a bar in Ardfern one day and wanted to sign me up but as great

> as that would be ... exposure doesn't pay the bills, exposure doesn't put food on the table .... It's almost as if people don't value the creative arts, "oh, you'll do it, it's a talent, you were born with a talent" (fieldwork interview, June 2018).

This perceived lack of prioritisation and economic value given to live musical performance, outlined by this comment, is an issue that extends beyond Argyll and Bute. The project's participants have frequently compared how traditional music and musicians are valued within the local economy, particularly in Ireland, and how there is scope to tap into local tourism. In particular, participants have referred to the heritage tourism and musical interest from North America. With the general undervalue of music and the lack of time and marketing skills of multitasking musicians (outlined in theme 4), there is currently little support for the partnerships and collaborations required to develop commercial musical heritage. The scope for integrating traditional music in the tourism offer and the issues surrounding traditional music and commercialisation are further explored in theme 6 and theme 7 below.

Summary

This section has concentrated on the perceptions, attitudes and values surrounding traditional music as commercial intangible cultural heritage. The two main issues to emerge are the prioritisation of tangible over intangible heritage and the concept of musical heritage as commercial enterprise. Kilmartin Museum in particular demonstrates how traditional music can be integrated into heritage attraction and educational projects, thereby providing employment for traditional musicians. These projects currently rely on funding grants rather than generate sustainable income. The perception that music is not considered as a viable business impedes both musicians and organisations from the possibility of incorporating traditional music into the tourism offer and/or developing innovative projects for musical enterprise. Ideation workshops and further training for both musicians and enterprise and business organisations to broaden the understanding and scope of music's contribution to the local economy would aid the development of music as commercial intangible cultural heritage. The facilitation of such workshops and training should be an essential part of developing the underlying structures required for musicians' livelihoods in the region (see recommendations 1.8 and 1.9). The facilitation of an intermediary would also assist in exploring the potential of Argyll's musical heritage within the region's tourism and creative economy.

Theme 6: Music and Commercialisation

Strong attitudes surround the idea of the commercialisation and commodification of traditional music in Argyll and Bute (as elsewhere). While it is widely acknowledged that musicians teach or perform for a fee, the concept of musicians utilising music in enterprising ways is, for some, strongly collocated with the negative implications of commercialisation. The implications of commercialisation ultimately impacts perceived ideas of the authenticity of the musical practice that has become commercialised. Other issues pertaining to music and commercialisation include the potential limitation of innovative enterprises relating to music and tourism, which is not replicated in other sub-sectoral groups in the region that are heavily marketed in tourism organisations, such as food, tangible art and heritage, and festivals.

Representations of Traditional Music

In this fieldwork, the popularity of West Coast traditional music across the generations has revealed a sense of pride among residents in Argyll and Bute. The potential branding of

traditional music with commodified, tourist-aimed entertainment has brought with it a sense of uneasiness in Argyll. Labelled as 'tartan tat', local residents and music enthusiasts are concerned about the potential representation of Scottish traditional music to overseas visitors. For instance, for a number of local, predominantly non-musicians, the concept of the weekly ceilidhs specifically aimed at visitors at the Skipinnish Ceilidh House in Oban brought about associations of 'tartan tat'. The term 'tartan tat' refers to representations of Scottish culture that are thought to align with the expectations of international visitors. The associations of 'tartan tat' and music also evoke representations of Scottish culture playing up to its stereotypes and providing Scottish music shows to the droves of bus tours coming up from England. As the Skipinnish Ceilidh House occupies the space that used to be MacTavishes Kitchens, known for their 'Scottish music shows' and 'Scottish food', *some* participants local to the ceilidh house were concerned that a type of Scotland and Scottish culture was being projected with which they do not wish to be associated. Speaking about the projections of Scotland through 'Scottish music shows', a participant said

> Whether we like it or not, that's what the majority of foreign tourists are coming to see. That's what they want ... There has been an element over the years of people walking away from that ... you know, it's "tartan tat and we don't want people doing that anymore", but what we actually want to do is try make sure that people are understanding how important that part of the culture is, because people ... want to come and see traditional music, the dancing, the pipers, that's what they want to see in Oban (anonymous, fieldwork interview, March 2018).

This comment brings up a number of issues here: managing the expectations of visitors and local residents; the label of 'tartan tat' and perceptions of music and tourism; and ensuring a comfortable representation of the region's music and its importance to local residents. The participant also expressed concern with the passivity of such music shows, in comparison to the active participation fostered through local residents' house ceilidhs and village hall events that they felt is integral to understanding the importance of traditional music in the lives of those living in the region. Participants regularly brought up the importance of participation in traditional arts, along with the intimacy created through such participation. On the other hand, anonymous and passive consumption of traditional music is regarded as misrepresentative of the region's culture. While 'Scottish music shows' and similar entertainment may have been demanded by international visitors in the past, the tourism industry now emphasises small-scale, intimate and slow tourism through marketing 'experiences', itineraries and trails throughout the region (explored in theme 7). The strong sentiments demonstrated by local residents and the current marketing of tourism organisations could potentially align here through the collaborative development of music and responsible tourism activities. Responsible tourism refers to a threefold approach: it should improve the host communities' lives; it should create better business opportunities; and it should provide better tourist experiences (MacLeod 2016:134; Frey & George, 2010; Spenceley, 2008). By incorporating the sentiments and ideas of local musicians and residents in the outward representation and activities of traditional music, thereby maintaining a good level of control and 'authenticity' over representations and activities avoiding the possible commodification of traditional music (see Kaul 2014), the perceptions of commercial traditional music-making may become more positive. In addition to cultural misrepresentations, the perceived authenticity and commercialisation of Scottish culture and heritage was also a prominent concern voiced by participants during this fieldwork.

The commercialisation of traditional music evoked issues of artistic authenticity, a theme that came up regularly in the fieldwork. In particular, the idea of enterprising musicians using music as a way to generate business and income had implications for local residents. The perceived authenticity of music is found in the intention of the artist; in their desire to perform and their love of the music: 'People do it for the love of doing it. Some people want to make money from

it as well, but it's the love of wanting to do it, rather than the commercial aspects' (Andrew Spence, fieldwork interview, March 2018). Others suggest that musicians do not go into the profession expecting to make a lot of money and the business side of music-making should come after 'the art': 'People do it [music] because it's something they really want to do, it's not really a business thing. Any business sets out to make money, any artist sets out to make art, and the money in question comes later, and that's how it should be for art' (Gordon Maclean, fieldwork interview, March 2018). This of course is a personal view, and the discussion of the binary of authenticity versus commerce has been widely discussed in the literature. Most experts now agree that this as a binary opposition has emerged from the modern compartmentalization of individuals' lives (see for instance, Giudici et al., 2013; Grant, 2013; McKerrell, 2014; Throsby, 2017). Attitudes towards enterprise and musical success are relatively traditional in the region, based around selling records and international touring. Spotify and other streaming platforms have had a major detrimental impact on the incomes of recording musicians and participants have now acknowledged the need for the development of new ideas for musical enterprise.

Outside of traditional music, individuals working in other arts in the region convey contrasting views on art and business. Sadie Dixon-Smith, artistic director, writer-in-residence and actor at The Walking Theatre Company said:

> I've had it posed to me, because I represent a business, does my creative work have integrity? And I find that really bizarre. I find it very parochial and I don't understand it because all you have to do is go back and look at let's say Michelangelo, let's say Shakespeare ... both of them were being paid. Neither of them did it for free, so this idea that somehow in the arts sector that earning money, understanding what your business is worth, charging a fee is somehow compromising your artwork is rubbish ... it's an attitude that is actually crippling the arts in Scotland. .... We're a social enterprise, we're social because we pay actors living working wages, we make sure that our actors go away with a proper wage. We respect what they do and that is why I have actors who have worked with me for a decade, they are part of a team and they are valued. ... but we are an enterprise, so we charge for our fee … Why is it in the rural arts economy, there's an expectation that if you're charging for ... your creative and professional services, that you're somehow denigrating your own worth? (fieldwork interview, June 2018).

This comment significantly positions theatre, art or music as a creative and professional service and questions why making money from creative services is seen to take away from the creative value. In a region with 87% working in the service sector (Argyll and Bute Council, 2018b), the concept of music as a creative service is important in communicating the value of the services provided by Argyll's musicians. In essence, a conversation about the relationship between authentic musical practice and commercial benefit could be a useful aspect of the work of the place partnership, CHArts and/or any formal entity that replaces it from 2019. However, acquiring public arts funding through Creative Scotland and other funding bodies continues to be highly valued (as opposed to commercial income), and some participants suggested that the added public subsidy of projects they have been involved in raises the social status of their artistic work, in that public funding bestows prestige and cultural authority on those projects lucky enough to win it.

The involvement of a large number of volunteers and non-professional musicians may impact the perceptions of authenticity in relation to commercialisation. With the Scottish folk revival in the 1950s, traditional music and folk clubs fostered large numbers of amateur musicians, contributing to the association of traditional musicians playing 'for the love of it' and not for money. However, most pipe bands do not charge for tuition and the local authority subsidizes music learning in schools. In addition to the professional and multitasking musicians working in the region, traditional music in Argyll and Bute is sustained by large numbers of

community-based, voluntary initiatives and self-described 'amateur' musicians. For instance, the Cowal Fiddle workshop and the Lochgoilhead Fiddle Workshop are largely self-sustaining and are significant in terms of their membership numbers and their sustained traditional musical activity in the Cowal Peninsula. They have a core group of members, organise regular performances and employ fiddle tutors in the area. The Cowal group, in particular, include a number of retirees and attend the workshop for their own interest rather than a want or need to capitalise on their participation. However, the group have recently introduced a summer music workshop, aiming to bring new musical input into the workshop, attract musical visitors to Dunoon, and generate revenue to pay for the recent increase in venue hire costs for the regular fiddle workshop (Bill Carlow, fieldwork interview, May 2018). Voluntary music groups, as well as voluntary festival committees, are vital in the sustainability and growth of traditional music in Argyll and Bute, particularly in the tuition of young musicians. These groups are not immune from the fundraising and enterprising necessary to ensure their sustainability and their voluntary committees must consider alternative income streams when funding is not secured. Recent increases in charges for council owned halls and public venues are posing a significant challenge to groups like these.

Summary

The concerns of the disjuncture between visitor expectations and local representations of Scottish culture and heritage is a significant issue in the development of traditional music and tourism in Argyll and Bute. With concerns over 'tartan tat' and misrepresentations of traditional music, the region's traditional musicians are ideally positioned to negotiate the disparity between visitor expectations and self-representations of the region's musical heritage. Attitudes towards the inauthenticity of enterprising musicians is an issue and potential limitation of growth in the region's commercial music-making. An increase in communication and collaboration between musicians, local businesses and residents would increase both mutual understanding and sustainable and innovative ways to generate income through traditional music (see recommendation 1.5).

Theme 7: Traditional music and Tourism

The tourism industry in Argyll and Bute is significantly higher than the Scottish average and is a key driver of the region's economy and employment (Argyll and Bute Council, 2018a). With a focus on growth in the sector by organisations such as the AITC, the integration of innovative musical enterprises could provide economic stability and sustainability for the region's musicians. Traditional music and its demand already plays a part in the tourism of Argyll and Bute. The iconicity of the piping tradition has resulted in piping for the arrival of tour groups and cruises and local pipe bands, such as The Mull and Iona Pipe Band, give weekly performances in the Isle of Mull Hotel, Craignure, during the tourist season. The pipe band also innovatively raise money for the purchase of new kilts by selling souvenirs made from the off-cuts of the band's tartan. According to the project's participants, there is considerable demand from visitors to the region for the performance and consumption of traditional music in all its forms.

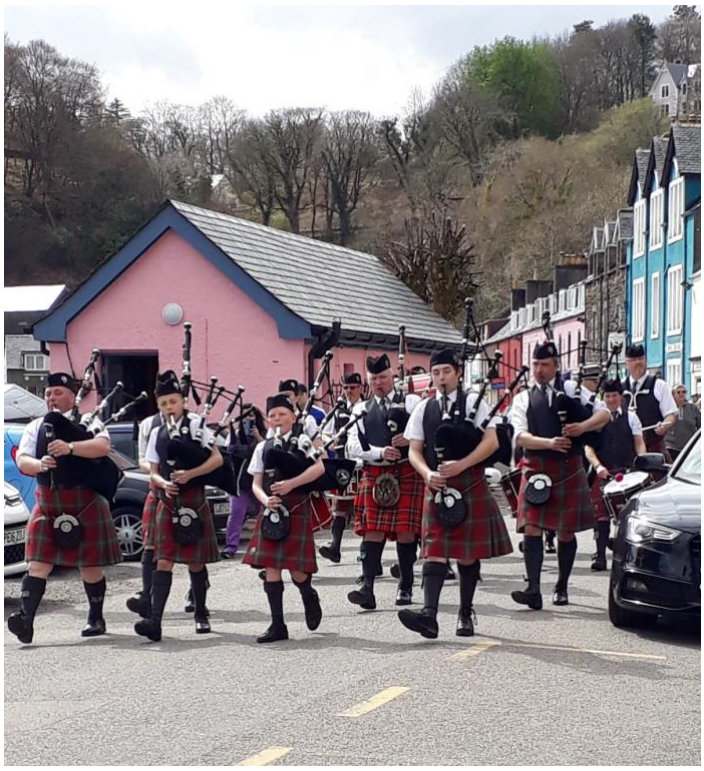

Image: The Mull and Iona Pipe Band performing as part of the Mull Music Festival in Tobermory, April 2018. Photo by Jasmine Hornabrook.

Visitor Demand

Project participant's working directly with tourism have commented that visitors often ask for local tips and suggestions for live traditional music. Specifically, tour operators have commented that the most frequent demand for traditional music is in the form of pub sessions. Rachel MacNeill, a tour operator on the Isle of Islay, emphasised the demand for traditional music, particularly by overseas visitors who visit Islay for its whisky:

> … all the time [visitors are] looking for traditional music, where can they hear it? … all the people we get here [on Islay] are international visitors. We have a completely different visitor demographic to anywhere else in the UK because we have got our distilleries ... So our clientele is not local. It doesn't come from England, it comes from the world. And they are desperate to hear Scottish traditional music and they always request it … But when they [visitors] come, they certainly expect there to be ... more music than there is playing. You know, the way Ireland is, there is always a musician in the corner. Well they imagine we'll be like that and sadly we're not, but I think we should be like that (fieldwork interview, April 2018).

Rachel suggests that the whisky distilleries have continually provided employment on the island, including stable jobs for the island's traditional multitasking musicians. As a result, the supply for traditional music does not match its demand. Rachel often directs visitors to the frequent charity fundraising ceilidhs taking place on the island, in addition to the pubs and hotels that hold weekly sessions during the tourism season. These ceilidhs and sessions are performed by resident musicians who do not rely on music as a primary means of livelihood (Rachel MacNeill, fieldwork interview, April 2018).

The demand for traditional music from visitors extends to other parts of Argyll and Bute. Town ambassador for Oban, Kay MacDonald, echoed the demand for traditional music from visitors. She said 'as an ambassador, you're always getting asked where to go and hear traditional

music' (Kay MacDonald, fieldwork interview, March 2018). During the tourist season in Oban, town ambassadors advise visitors to listen to the High School Pipe Band practice in the square next to the harbour on Wednesday evenings, attend The Royal Hotel on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings, go to the Skipinnish Ceilidh House on Thursdays and see traditional music bands in Markie Dans pub on Friday and Saturday nights. These events all take place in the evening and most in bars, thereby restricting access to traditional music performance for certain visitor audiences, such as families and day visitors. Day visitors only hear traditional music if there are buskers performing and a number of Oban High School students do busk during the summer months. With the popularity of, and focus on, annual music festivals in the region, less attention has been paid to visitor-focused performances spread throughout the year despite the demand expressed by visitors.

Tour operators, such as Best Scottish Tours based in Argyll, commented that they infrequently receive specific requests from visitors to hear Scottish music. However, their guests often leave the region having listened to recordings on the bus, having 'stumbled' across live music when staying in rural areas and coming across roadside pipers or street performances. Best Scottish Tours said that stumbling across such performances 'definitely brings something special to a tour' (personal communication, March 2018). When the operator does receive requests for traditional music, most visitors specifically request music sessions in local pubs, which clients 'love' (Best Scottish Tours, personal communication, March 2018). Like Best Scottish tours, other operators in the region take visitors to live music events as a matter of chance or 'pot luck', depending if there is a session in the local pub that evening, a ceilidh in the village hall or a booked music act at their hotel. The chance element is both appealing and practical for tour operators, as the 'surprise' of a musical performance in a small pub, for instance, is a real bonus for their clients (Andrew Gray, Tailored Tours of Scotland, personal communication, April 2018). In practical terms, including a fixed music night, activity or event in a tour creates logistical and marketing issues for tour operators as they market widely and may get groups who do not wish to participate in musical activities. While the popularity of West Coast traditional music is rising among local residents, the sense that traditional music is a niche market, rather than the intangible heritage of the region, has emerged in this fieldwork. That is not to suggest that visitors to Argyll and Bute could not be facilitated in their interest in finding live music—many advantages could flow from the cooperative joining up of traditional music across venues that could lead to a new income stream for musicians.

While the appeal and practicalities of live musical performance in tours is a matter of chance, a high-proportion of tour guides and operators play traditional music recordings in their tours. For instance, Rachel MacNeill plays recordings of Gaelic songs and piping during her car journeys with her tour groups. As her tour groups spend a lot of time in the car, travelling between distilleries and around Islay, Rachel commented that 'music is integral to what I do, it's not distinct, it's part of it ... It's just part of the life that we share with people that come here' (fieldwork interview, April 2018). Tour operators also encourage their driver-guides to play traditional and contemporary Scottish music when they are not providing commentary on their tours. The integration of recorded music in the journey often results in visitors leaving the tours with CDs and download lists from their guides (Best Scottish Tours, personal communication, March 2018). The consumption of live and recorded music by visitors and tour guides further increases the demand and potential opportunities and partnerships for traditional music and musicians in the region.

One means of encouraging cooperative and new revenue streams could result from the collectivization of traditional music sessions, whereby musicians sign up to an agreement around profit sharing from guaranteeing music throughout the tourist season in a venue. This two-way split of revenue between musicians and publicans or venue owners could operate through the use of collective contracts where traditional music is guaranteed in a certain venue on a weekly or

fortnightly schedule with an equitable split between those performing and the hosts. Adam Kaul refers to similar 'seeding' or 'anchoring' a session through musicians' payments from publicans during the tourist season in Doolin, County Clare, as a 'triangle of consumption' (2007:709). The triangle consists of musicians gaining economic compensation from publicans for playing sessions at given times on given nights of the week. The publicans gain profit from the tourist consumption of food and drink and the tourists 'consume' the music to gain an important Irish holiday experience (Kaul 2007:709). Here, the publicans act as 'brokers of all economic exchanges in the triangle of consumption' however the triangle does not suggest a balanced or equal relationship (ibid.). With careful planning and fair profit sharing, however, this collectivization could be enlarged into a music trail discussed below (see recommendation 1.10).

Traditional music and tours

Small tour operators and individual tour guides were positively inclined towards the idea of integrating traditional music in their tours. However, these operators and guides had not considered the details for musical inclusion in a tour and/or they were uncertain of viable ways to include traditional music. Speaking in response to the possibility of future integration of traditional music performance in a tour, Best Scottish Tours commented that ensuring the willing participation of the tour groups and the variability of tour start dates would present challenges in attending scheduled performances. The tour operator further commented that '[i]t is a pity that there aren't any traditional music centres that have regular scheduled performances - this could then be more easily written into a tour' (personal communication, April 2018).

Examples of traditional music centres aimed at visitors elsewhere include The Music Makers of West Clare, Ireland - established in 2013 as a community based company and generates income from patrons and ticket sales - and the Blue Ridge Music Center, U.S.A - a state-funded centre established by the U.S. congress in 1997 that receives state funding and commercial sponsorship. These centres include exhibitions, videos, day-time musical performances and evening concert series.

An example of a larger tour company integrating traditional music into their scheduled tours is demonstrated by Haggis Adventures. Haggis Adventures have written Ceilidh Nights into their tours. The company target young, backpacking visitors and offer visitors to 'ceilidh the night away in Oban' as a tour highlight on three of their tours that stop at the Backpackers Plus Hostel (Haggis Adventures 2018). Starting as a partnership between the hostel and Skipinnish Ceilidh House, the hostel recommends the Ceilidh House as a highlight of Oban to their guests (Backpackers Plus, fieldwork interview, March 2018). The inclusion of this event was quickly taken up by tour operators that use Backpackers Plus for accommodation on their tours. To ensure that the backpacking visitors go to the Ceilidh House, a piper acts as a chaperone from the hostel, along the seafront to the Ceilidh House. This partnership is well-established and the inclusion of the piped procession is both innovative in attracting visitors and memorable.

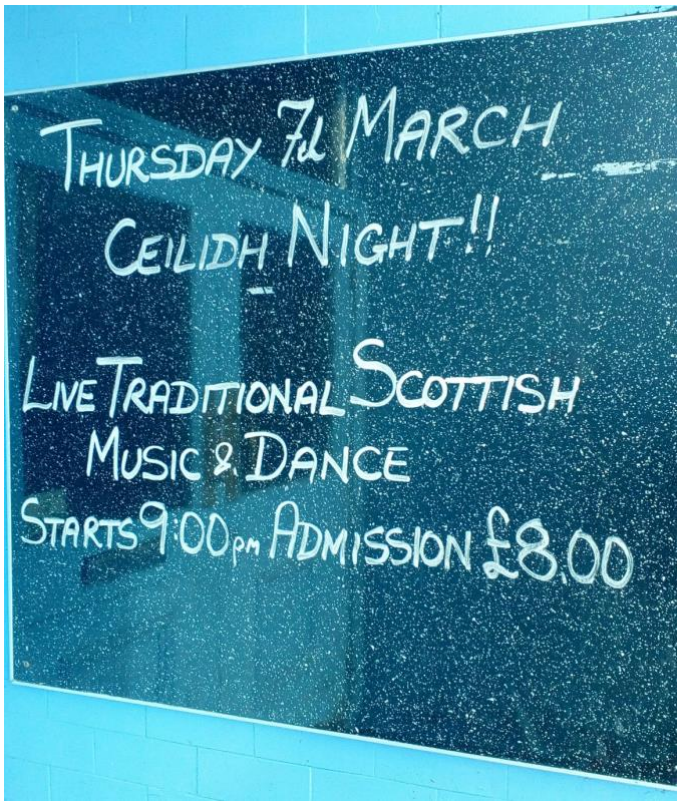

Image: Blackboard outside Skipinnish Ceilidh House in Oban advertising the weekly Ceilidh Night. Photograph by Jasmine Hornabrook.

Other, less formal, instances of integrating live music in organised tours occur in the region. The Kilted Piper Tours take visitors to areas such as Puck's Glen in the Cowal Peninsula with the kilted driver-guide providing piping performances over the day. Scot AnSgeulaiche, a traditional story-teller and seanachaidh storyteller of Clan Maclean, includes harp playing and drumming as part of his storytelling and guiding. The Scotland-wide Rabbie's Tours employs a driver-guide who plays the pipes at various stops for his visitors, stopping in Mull, Iona, Oban and Islay in Argyll. These examples of musical integration in tour guiding reveal the potential for more formalised inclusion of traditional music in tours of Argyll and Bute. Formalised traditional music-focused tours in Ireland, for example, have revealed ways of sustaining traditional musicians while fostering local business partnerships with hotels, pubs and restaurants on the West coast of the country. The introduction of music-focused or more musical integration in organised tours in Argyll and Bute could provide a sustainable income for the region's traditional musicians while responding to visitor demand.

Music and tourism development

The demand for, and popularity of, traditional music in the region is substantial. However, the region's tourism promotion and development focuses on the natural environment and outdoor activities, often overshadowing the arts, culture and heritage that characterise Argyll and Bute. The AITC is currently branding the region through the 'Wild about Argyll' campaign, emphasising the natural environment, adventure tourism and physical geography of the region in its marketing. The campaign's theme song was "Live Forever" by traditional-rock band, Skerryvore, with the partnership reciprocated through the campaign's footage for the 'Live Forever' music video (see SkerryvoreTV 2017). Despite the inclusion of music from one of the region's most popular and successful traditional bands, the focus on adventure and the natural

environment remains prominent in both promotional videos and online content. When discussing participants' engagement with local, regional, and national tourism organisations, there was a generalised lack of enthusiasm towards the active promotion of musical life of Argyll. For instance, having approached local tourism organisations about increasing their attention on arts and culture events on the Isle of Mull, Gordon Maclean said:

> I've tried, over the years, saying to people involved in our tourist organisations that "I think you're missing a trick here, I think—there's a selling point here that you're not using" but it's never really got me anywhere.... They usually go "oh yeah", but they then still just bang on about eagles all the time. You know, why don't you just leave the poor eagles alone? Leave the poor things and they'll get on with their own lives, rather than being pursued by all these folk with binoculars and then maybe we could attract more people to go to arts [events] (fieldwork interview, March 2018).

One reason Gordon gave for the response is a lack of knowledge with regards to traditional music and arts (fieldwork interview, March 2018), highlighting the regional and sectoral disconnection discussed in theme 2. Overcoming these disconnections would have to be a central task of any strategic coordination body set up after the place partnership ends in 2019. An Tobar arts centre market their performances widely to residents and visitors, including online listings with Visit Scotland and AITC, however, Gordon suggests that the next level of area marketing is 'not good at realising what they have on their doorsteps in terms of art and music' (fieldwork interview, March 2018). He commented that, throughout Argyll, it is small groups of people, often with their own vested interest, who push arts and culture marketing themselves. However, '[i]t's still quite hard to get it to the next level as there is a lack of understanding of arts and culture and the potential it has in tourism' (Gordon Maclean, fieldwork interview, March 2018). Examples of such groups include Artmap Argyll, a social enterprise company that formed as a membership network of artists that promote arts made in Argyll, engage wider audiences through studio tours and create financial sustainability (Artmap Argyll, 2018). Artmap Argyll is now also marketed through the AITC. Similarly, the innovative inclusion of traditional music in tourism activities or the construction of itineraries focusing on music could have resonance with the strategies of larger tourism organisations. For instance, the AITC are currently promoting various itineraries and trails around Argyll and Bute to encourage visitors to stay in the region for longer. Visit Scotland have also emphasised the demand for 'experiences and itineraries' from visitors, and therefore the AITC are developing trails 'wherever they can' (anonymous, fieldwork interview, May 2018). These itineraries are being developed through the AITC's sectoral groups and partnerships, such as the Argyll bike-packing trail, Food for Argyll Cooperative and Artmap Argyll, through their related travel itineraries, food journeys and studio and sculpture trails. This sort of initiative has been found to be successful elsewhere in the world, particularly in Ireland and in North America and as the 2010 working group report on Traditional Music points out:

> Such circuits have been established with some success through the National Rural Touring Forum in England, notably in Lincolnshire and Leicestershire. The annual Ceilidh Trails organised by Fèisean nan Gàidheal offer a version of the same idea in the Highlands, with particular emphasis on entertaining visitors to the area (Francis, 2010:24).

The physical geography of the region can help to connect and develop musical activities and events with tourism. Sarah Diver Lang from CHArts suggested that the rural and remote nature of the region in itself develops and promotes 'slow tourism', as it takes a long time to physically

move around the region (fieldwork interview, June 2018). Mirroring the AITC's aim to keep visitors in the region for longer, Sarah foresees slow tourism as a means of increasing the demand to become involved in the root of the region's culture. Speaking in contrast to the whistle-stop coach tours that have historically engaged with musical performances in the region's large hotels, Sarah suggests that there should be 'levels of experience' available to visitors (fieldwork interview, June 2018). She said

> ... in a place like Argyll and the Isles ... the geographical nature of it [the region] almost forces you to have that slow experience with it because it's a difficult place to get around, you have to spend your time with it. And if you find those kinds of ... secret opportunities that are not part of the bigger coach [tour] or it's that real high-quality experience that you can come across, that then stops that fatigue that a tourist is just there to … grab a souvenir and check a box which can be quite difficult (Sarah Diver Lang, fieldwork interview, June 2018).

Sarah's comment reflects the common association of tourist-aimed musical performances in the region consisting of duets and trios performing in seaside hotels for large coach tour groups. This coach tour association has frequently emerged from interviews and conversations throughout the project and has a negative impact on the perceptions on the integration of music in the tourism offer for musicians and tourism organisations. Across the tourism industry in Argyll, the current focus on bringing in 'a different type of tourist' from the coach tour parties suggests it is an important time to change these associations of traditional music and tourism.

Summary

This section has considered the current, and potential, integration of traditional music in Argyll and Bute's tourism offer. Those directly working with visitors to the region have recounted the demand for Scottish traditional music performances, particularly in the form of music sessions in local pubs. According to larger tour operators, the formal integration of traditional music performances in organised tours pose challenges of logistics and subjective tastes of their target audiences. However, a traditional music centre that holds regularly scheduled performances would solve some logistical issues. Tourism organisations, such as the AITC, are proactively promoting itineraries and trails around the region relating to art, food and adventure tourism. The current trend for itineraries, trails and experiences within the tourism industry opens many opportunities for traditional music, particularly in turning the weaknesses of Argyll's geography into an asset through the propagation of slow tourism and capturing visitors' interests in the 'root of the culture'. The development of traditional music tours and trails would assimilate these factors and provide traditional musicians with an innovative commercial enterprise that centrally positions musical performance and responds to visitor demand (see Recommendation 1.10).

Conclusion

The themes explored here have emerged directly from the current and potential creative economy of traditional music in Argyll and Bute. These themes are: geography and natural environment; disconnection; festivals; professional multitasking and depopulation; commercial intangible cultural heritage; music and commercialisation; and traditional music and tourism. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in the region, the interlinking themes reflect the distinct issues of the rural and disconnected region, the significant depopulation and the potential possibilities and limitations of traditional music sustainability and growth. There is a great sense of positivity and pride in relation to traditional music in the region on the ground and a distinct sense of opportunities not pursued for myriad reasons. The place partnership and the recent work by CHArts appears to provide a platform for a more focused, strategic vision and action plan for traditional music and the creative economy in Argyll and Bute.

As Arts Council England have suggested in their review of the relationship and value of the arts: 'There are five key ways that arts and culture can boost local economies: attracting visitors; creating jobs and developing skills; attracting and retaining businesses[;] revitalising places; and developing talent' (Arts Council England, 2014). In this report and recommendations, we acknowledge the difficult position for councils and government in Scotland to provide grant subsidy to the arts; public money for the public good. We have therefore focused upon providing ideas that give specific detail and examples from elsewhere in the world of how traditional arts can be mobilized for sustainable economic gain. We have largely focused upon the practicalities and mapping of the current traditional music ecosystem in Argyll and Bute, but much more could be said about the social capital and sense of belonging attached to traditional music in the region. Our recommendation are therefore focused on micro-enterprise and facilitating the growth of micro-enterprises, festivals and events and cultural tourism whilst mindful of costs or cost neutral options that could support sustainable economic activity surrounding traditional music in Argyll and Bute.

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Appendix 1

Interviews				
1		AITC – Cowal and Bute	Dunoon	May 2018
2	Gordon Maclean	An Tobar	Tobermory	March 2018
3		Anonymous		
4		Argyll's Secret Coast	Phone	February 2018
5	Peter Twyman	Backpackers Plus - hostel	Phone	March 2018
6	Andrew Spence and Kay MacDonald	BID 4 Oban	Oban	March 2018
7	Charles Soane	Bute Ceilidh Band	Rothesay	June 2018
8	Dougie Pinnock	National Centre of Excellence in Traditional Music	Phone	July 2018
9	Ewan MacDonald	Ceol an Aire/Fèis Latharna	Phone	March 2018
10		CHArts	Phone	February 2018
11	Sarah Diver Lang	CHArts	Glasgow	June 2018
12	Bill Carlow	Cowal Fiddle Workshop	Dunoon	May 2018
13	Callum Satchel	Cowal Fiddle Workshop/Royal National Mod - Dunoon	Dunoon	May 2018
14	Jane Isaacson	Dunollie Museum Castle Grounds	Oban	March 2018
15		Gig in the Goil – Argyll Holidays	Phone	February 2018
16	Iain Hamilton	Highlands and Islands Enterprise	Phone	July 2018
17	Daniel Gillespie	Oban Live/Tiree Music Festival	Glasgow	March 2018
18	Jean Gillies	Oban Music	Oban	April 2018
19	Mike Gordon	Iona Village Hall Festival	Iona	April 2018
20	Iain Johnston	Jig Events	Campbeltown	February and May 2018
21	John Saich	John Saich	Mid-Argyll	May 2018
22		Kilted Piper Tours	Phone	May 2018
23	Julia Hamilton	Kilmartin Museum	Kilmartin	April 2018
24		Lochgoilhead Fiddle Workshop	Phone	June 2018
25		McCaig's Return/Claredon Hotel	Oban	April 2018
26	Mairi Campbell	Mairi Campbell – musician and performer	Skype	
27	Campbell Cameron	Making it Happen/Oban FM	Oban	March 2018
28		Mount Stuart	Phone	June 2018
29		Mount Stuart	Phone	June 2018
30	Janet MacDonald	Mull Local Mod	Tobermory	March 2018
31	Robert N MacLeod	Mull Music Festival/Tobermory Hotel	Tobermory	March 2018
32	Ross Kennedy	Ross Kennedy - musician	Campbeltown	May 2018

33	Scot AnSgeulaiche	Scot AnSgeulaiche Storyteller	Skype	April 2018
34	Sadie Dixon-Spain	The Walking Theatre Company	Skype	June 2018
35		Visit Bute – Bute Marketing and Tourism Ltd.	Phone	February 2018
36	Rachel MacNeill	Wild and Magic Islay	Skype	April 2018
37		Transformation Projects and Regeneration within Economic Development	Phone	August 2018
38		Live Argyll	Phone	August 2018
39	James Beaton	The National Piping Centre	In person	April 2018
Email engagement				
37		AITC	Email	March 2018
38		Argyll and Bute Council – Social Enterprise Team	Email	February 2018
39		Argyll and Bute Council – Business Gateway	Email	May 2018
40		Best Scottish Tours	Email	April 2018
41		Bowmore Hotel, Islay	Email	April 2018
42		Coastal Connection	Email	February 2018
43		Craignish Cruises	Email	February 2018
44		Explore Kintyre	Email	February 2018
45		Haggis Adventures	Email	April 2018
46		IBAC – Isle of Bute's Artists' Collective	Email	February 2018
47		Jura Island Tours	Email	April 2018
48		Jura Music Festival	Email	April 2018
49		Kilmartin Museum	Email	February 2018
50		Local amateur musician - Cowal	Email	April 2018
51		MacBackpackers, Edinburgh	Email	February 2018
52		Nutshell Music	Email	February 2018
53		Oban Backpackers	Email	April 2018
54		Private Driving Tours	Email	June 2018
55		Rabbie's Tours	Email	February 2018
56		Rothesay and District Pipe Band	Email	June 2018
57		Tailored Tours of Scotland	Email	April 2018
58		Transclyde Music, Rothesay	Email	June 2018
59		Visit Scotland	Email	May 2018
Events attended				
1	Musical Performance	The Royal Hotel	Oban	March 2018
2	Music Session	The Oban Inn	Oban	March 2018
3	Musical Performance	Skipinnish Ceilidh House	Oban	March 2018
4	Mull Music	The MacDonald Arms, The Mishnish, Macgochan's,	Tobermory	April 2018

	Festival	Pipe Band parade		
5	Oban Live – Fringe	Oban	Oban	June 2018

Appendix 2

Methodology for cross-tabulation of postcode data and companies house records

The original data for postcodes is freely available from the National Records of Scotland. We have based our analysis on the 237,142 postcodes in Scotland. This combines both the small user postcodes and the large user postcodes. Small user postcodes are defined in the document with background information from the National Records of Scotland, as:

> 'Small User Postcodes identifies either an individual address or a group of delivery points within a thoroughfare of locality. On average there are 15 delivery points per postcode, however this can vary between 1 and 100. NRS creates and maintains a digital boundary for every live small user postcode so that the entire land surface of Scotland is covered by postcode polygons
>
> Large User Postcodes are allocated to single addresses receiving at least 1,000 mail items per day (e.g. business addresses). NRS do not create boundaries for large user postcodes. We try to find where each large user is located on the map and link it to the nearest small user postcode. NRS do not attempt to link PO Box addresses to Small User Postcodes. PO boxes are defined as non-geographic addresses.'.[8]

This report is based on the total postcodes for Scotland available for free download on the National Records of Scotland website in July 2018.

Companies House Data

The SIC codes used to filter and evaluate activities related to music performance and education were extracted from UK register of SIC codes as follows:

18201 - Reproduction of sound recording
18202 - Reproduction of video recording
32200 - Manufacture of musical instruments
46491 - Wholesale of musical instruments
47591 - Retail sale of musical instruments and scores
47630 - Retail sale of music and video recordings in specialised stores
59200 - Sound recording and music publishing activities
85520 - Cultural education
90010 - Performing arts
90020 - Support activities to performing arts
90030 - Artistic creation
90040 - Operation of arts facilities

[8] National Records of Scotland, 'Geography – Background Information – Postcodes', available: https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/files/geography/Products/postcode-bkgrd-info.pdf [date accessed 23/07/2018].