

# **The Cultural and Creative Industries as a New Road to Economic Diversification in Brunei Darussalam**

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## **Abstract**

Since the 1920s, the Sultanate of Brunei Darussalam has sustained its economy through oil and gas production. Despite the increase in overseas investment and domestic production, the fall in oil and gas prices in the last decade has had a great impact on Brunei's economy. Nevertheless, Brunei has been strengthening other areas of its economy, such as the primary sector, services, and tourism industries. Following international economic strategies, new streams for the growth of the cultural and creative industries (CCI) have been identified. Over the last 15 years, the government has established national policies in three main areas with the aim to create an eco-system for a sustainable creative industry. These are: Infrastructure and Creative Labs; Creative Higher Education; and Intellectual Property. This paper examines the development of the CCI in Brunei and the growth of the sector over the last fifteen years. Governmental initiatives implemented to strengthen the creative economy will be analysed and compared to the perceptions that industry professionals, stakeholders, and the creative community have on the impact of these policies in the development of the CCI.

## **Introduction**

Brunei Darussalam is a small and independent country, under an Islamic Monarchy, located on the northern coast of Borneo Island. According to the Population and Housing Census Update of 2016, the estimated population of Brunei Darussalam is around 422,678, with 49.8% of the population below the age of 29.7 years old (PMO Brunei Darussalam, 2016). The population is mostly concentrated in urban areas around the capital, Bandar Seri Begawan, followed by the towns of Kuala Belait and Tutong. In the census of 2016, the Malays (which comprises seven ethnic groups) are the largest community (65.7%), followed the Chinese (10.3%) and a considerable expatriate community (24%) (PMO Brunei Darussalam, 2016).

The country is administered under the principles of the national philosophy of *Melayu Islam Beraja* (Malay Islamic Monarchy), which combines the threefold components of Malay culture, the Islamic religion and respect for the monarchy. Around 67% of its population is Muslim and the national language is Malay, although English is the predominant language in education, in professional activities, and frequently used in daily conversations (McLellan, Haji-Othman, & Deterding, 2016).

Despite the small scale of the country, Brunei Darussalam has a developing economy, which is heavily dependent on exports of crude oil and natural gas. The oil and gas industry in the country has been the predominant economic activity since the late 1920s, providing a solid structure for development and investment in other economic sectors, such as business services, construction, wholesale and retail trade, finance, and real estate (Kumpoh, 2017).

Since the energy crises and financial speculations over oil and gas prices during the 2000s, Brunei Darussalam has been making efforts towards economic diversification to become less reliant on the energy sector. To be accurate, the introduction of policies and implementation of strategies towards economic diversification can be identified in the Second National Development Plan (1962–1966). However, the failure to diversify the

economy from the 1960s to early 2000s points to a weak corporate sector, heavy bureaucracy, lack of human capital, absence of foreign direct investment, small domestic market, and high cost structure (Bhaskaran, 2007).

The Eighth National Development Plan 2001–2005 (NPD8) and Ninth National Development Plan 2007–2012 (NDP9), underlined the need for economic diversification towards value-added industries, to open new employment opportunities and human resource developments and to enhance the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) sector.

The Tenth National Development Plan 2012–2017 (NDP10) was the second medium-term development plan under the national long-term development plan, known as *Wawasan Brunei 2035* (Brunei Vision 2035), setting out the groundwork for economic diversity. The NDP10 was oriented towards three developmental strategies:

- (1) to develop an environment conducive to business and increase small-and-medium-sized enterprises (SMEs);
- (2) to develop human capital with an educated and a highly-skilled population; and
- (3) to develop a productive economy based on knowledge and innovation (OECD, 2013).

The implementation of this plan required the improvement of private-sector development, legislation for implementation of business competition, and the improvement of tertiary education to increase human capital development based on knowledge and innovation.

Simultaneously, since the late 1990s, the development of ICT and the establishment of an emerging digital era have drawn the attention of policy makers to the impact of CCI as an emerging global economic sector. Innovation and creativity have become terms widely used in development strategies and policy documents of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and other international organisations (Moore, 2014). These and other organisations relate creativity to economic policies, with the aim to stimulate the creation of Information Technology (IT) and digital media opportunities. Since the 1990s, countries such as Australia, the United Kingdom, the United States, Singapore, China, and India, have initiated the establishment of exclusive policies for culture and creativity, as a means of achieving economic growth and diversification (Moore, 2014).

Worldwide, governmental efforts have been made to understand not only the economic impact of the CCI, but also their sociological value in global societies. Reports and studies led by media and cultural studies experts indicate the substantial contribution of the CCI to the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in many countries (i.e. 3% of world GDP), as well as the high-rate of employment in the sector, generating 29.5 million jobs (i.e. approximately 1% of the world working population) (DCMS, 2001; Hartley, 2005; Lhermitte, Perrin & Blanc, 2015; UNCTAD, 2010).

A report published in 2015 by Ernst & Young Consultants for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), concludes that the CCI encourage social inclusion, impact the youth, and appeal to entrepreneurial ventures (Lhermitte, Perrin, & Blanc, 2015). Hartley (2005, p. 5) says, ‘creativity caught the imagination of politicians and policy-makers who wanted to promote “jobs and GDP”’ as well as youth development and socio-cultural harmony.

In line with new governmental policies that enhance the CCI towards the development of a creative economy, the Government of Brunei Darussalam – through the Ministry of Culture Youth and Sports, the Ministry of Industry and Primary Resources, the Ministry

of Communications, and Universiti Brunei Darussalam (UBD) – has been creating policies to establish a foundation and increase the economic and social value of the cultural and creative industries.

In this paper, we will examine the strategies adopted by the Government of Brunei Darussalam to develop the CCI, focusing on:

- (1) the creation of infrastructure and creative labs;
- (2) the development of creativity in higher education; and
- (3) the contribution of IP laws to the creation of a favourable eco-system for creativity and innovation.

This data is then analysed and compared with the perception (personal observations, involvement and experience) that industry professionals, stakeholders and the creative community have on the recent developments of the CCI in the country.

### **Infrastructure and Creative Labs**

One of the earliest and most relevant steps taken by the Government of Brunei Darussalam to develop the CCI in the country was the establishment of a centre to work as an ICT incubator. The iCentre was established by the Brunei Economic Development Board (BEDB) in March 2008, in collaboration with NUS (National University of Singapore) Enterprise. KR Consulting, one of NUS Enterprise's business units, was responsible for implementing a similar model to that of the NUS Enterprise Incubator for ICT-based start-ups. The aim of the iCentre was to create the most favourable environment to develop the ICT industry in Brunei and widen and strengthen the market for trade creativity and technology in both Brunei and Singapore.

Under the management of KR Consulting, the iCentre was established to provide professional workspaces, business counselling, mentorship programmes, networking events, entrepreneurial workshops, and connections to potential partners and clients. To date, iCentre has provided incubation services for over forty start-ups, several related to the creative industries and others not. These emerging private and creativity-based businesses represent a range of sectors, including mobile phone content, gaming, online development, and multimedia content.

In order to expand the iCentre technology park, BEDB established two centres: the Knowledge Hub (K-Hub) in 2010 to host Tech One Global; and the Creative Arts Facilities (CRAFT). The K-Hub was established with the aim to be a cluster for the development of technology as well as the creative and multimedia industries, through the activities and programmes initiated in collaboration with world-leading IT companies such as Microsoft®, IBM®, and the Brunei-China technology company – Sesame World Technology.

CRAFT provides the infrastructure, hardware and software to conduct courses in 3D Architectural Computer Graphics, 2D and 3D Animation, 2D and 3D Game Development, Digital illustration, and Storyboard. Between 2010 and 2014, CRAFT was utilised by students from UBD, Universiti Teknologi Brunei (UTB), Kolej International Graduate Studies (KGIS), and Politeknik Brunei (PB), as an extension of their curricular activities. To this effect, BEDB ensured key partnerships with Autodesk®, SideFX®, and other international software companies with the aim to co-produce seminars, digital training, and certification at CRAFT. Both the K-Hub and CRAFT can be categorised as creative labs providing an ecosystem conducive to the development of digital multimedia projects through provision of shared infrastructure and capacity development courses that are oriented to animation, digital illustration, and the game industry. Moreover, CRAFT

was established with the aim to bridge national and international agencies, institutes of higher education, and local and international businesses from the digital industries.

The iCentre became the core host of several initiatives and programmes with the aim to develop the ICT sector and creative start-ups by building global/local linkages and establishing the environment for local entrepreneur activities. Entrepreneurs benefit from physical support, funding schemes, and mentorship programmes/training.

One of iCentre's programmes, to stimulate the development of ICT businesses in Brunei Darussalam, was the annual IGNITE Entrepreneurship Challenge, launched in 2012 and discontinued in 2016. This programme was initiated by the Ministry of Communications, in line with the Brunei Vision 2035 drive towards a sophisticated society. It was a national competition that served as a platform to identify, support, and showcase emerging entrepreneurs in the ICT sector, offering up to \$54,000 BND in cash prizes under four different categories. It was also an extension of another initiative promoted by the Ministry of Communications – the Brunei Info-Communication Technology Awards (BICTA) – to stimulate innovation and creativity in the ICT sector in Brunei. The BICTA were established in 2004, with the aim to identify the potential of individuals, students, and small-to-medium enterprises (SMEs) to represent the country in the Asia Pacific ICT Alliance Awards.

Within the sector of ICT, in 2013 the Authority for Info-Communications Technology Industry (AITI) – in collaboration with the Ministry of Communications – initiated an innovative programme to provide a platform of experience in broadcasting and the media. The Internship Student Programme for ICT Related Education (INSPIRE) offered Bruneian citizens the opportunity to enrol in a supervised industrial work attachment programme at ICT and multimedia companies in Singapore for a period of six months. More recently, in April 2017, the e-Government National Centre (eGNC) and the Energy and Industry Department at the Prime Minister's Office (EIDPMO) – in collaboration with Microsoft Brunei Sdn Bhd (Microsoft Brunei) – awarded ICT start-up grants worth \$20,000 BND, access to facilities provided at the iCentre, six months access to available classes offered by the Industry Business Academy, and a one-month mentorship at Microsoft Brunei.

Despite these developments in entrepreneurial support, access to funding, and technical facilities, the outcomes – a significant number of successful start-ups – were minimal and unable to generate significant employment. Some of the reasons suggested by entrepreneurs were: the short contact they had with international speakers and limited exposure to international innovation labs; the discontinuity of several entrepreneurship programmes that provided access to funding; and the discontinuity of contracts with international consultants and tech companies that allowed the continuation of mentorship programmes and training activities. Tech start-ups also struggled with expensive and difficult access to specific technical support, and the lack of a skilled workforce. Finally, many start-ups were operating almost exclusively on government contracts, which in many circumstances encouraged collaboration, but introduced limited sustainability to operate in a wider market. Furthermore, several entrepreneurs who joined start-up competitions never developed their businesses.

During the National Youth Day in 2011, under the theme, 'Creative and Innovative Youth', His Majesty the Sultan of Brunei Darussalam addressed the role of young people in the development of creative industries and the protection of the national heritage. In this address, His Majesty demonstrated his satisfaction towards the entrepreneurial response of young people in the establishment of technological facilities, educational programmes, and new policies implemented to regulate IP rights:

I believe every achievement by our youth entrepreneurs will encourage others to follow suit and engage in the world of entrepreneurship. This is the way to widen the creative industries, which involve many parties besides the strong determination of the entrepreneurs themselves. The involvement includes providing legal protection, such as [intellectual] property laws, basic facilities, and training. If these exist, I believe the existing creative industry can be strengthened and developed and, at the same time, will encourage more young people who are yet to explore this industry to participate in this beneficial field.

(PMO Brunei Darussalam, 2011, our translation)

In conjunction with the ceremony, the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports organised an exhibition, which was divided into three main categories:

- (1) creative multimedia industry (i.e. production, animation, IT and software services, and the media);
- (2) creative culture industry (i.e. Islamic art, traditional arts and crafts, and traditional performance arts); and
- (3) creative design industry (i.e. architecture, interior design, fashion and textile design, industrial design, and halal products).

His Majesty's address set the tone for the political agenda towards the development of the cultural and creative industries strongly founded on IT and the preservation of cultural values under the guidance of Islam, Malay heritage, and royal customs. To achieve this plan, there was a clear understanding about the relevance of creating technological infrastructure and educational programs and strengthening the protection and legislation of IP rights.

In 2012, following the overarching national strategy Brunei Vision 2035 towards economic diversification and human capital development, the Government of Brunei Darussalam has drawn its attention towards the establishment and development of industries based on creativity, innovation, and technology.

It was in this context that, in the following year, the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, in collaboration with UBD and the Centre for Strategic and Policy Studies, organised 'Brunei Darussalam's National Policy Forum on Creative Industries'. This was the first forum that joined together policymakers, stakeholders, academics, and members of the creative industries with the aim to formulate effective policies for the development of a sustainable and competitive creative industry and economy.

Addressing examples of neighbouring countries such as Singapore and China that have significantly invested to increase the share of the CCI's contribution to GDP, the Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, Hazair Abdullah, stated in May 2012, during the National Policy Forum on Creative Industries, that research and development in the areas of visual arts, digital media, and the creative industries are urgent for sustainable economic development and to capitalise on the country's heritage and culture.

The forum aimed to establish a framework for a national plan of action: to develop the creative industries in Brunei Darussalam; to create a research structure focused on opportunities for sustainable creative clusters, human capital, and incentives to the best practices; and to strengthen the ties between the public and the private sectors towards the development of the creative sectors and job creation.

The three-day forum involved the participation of experts and policymakers from the UK, Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, and Australia. The discussion gravitated around the cultural policy that involves the creative industries in a regional (i.e. Singapore, Malaysia, and Brunei) and international context (i.e. UK and Australia), addressing the urgent need for a national cultural strategy to increase the economic and sociological infrastructure of the creative industries in Brunei Darussalam. To achieve

these goals, there was a need to develop cutting-edge methodologies towards mapping the creative industries and a cross-disciplinary programme in higher education, combining creativity with science, innovation, technology, business, and management.

At the end of the three days, Yang Mulia Dato Paduka Awang Haji Mohd Hamid Bin Haji Mohd Jaafar, Chairman of the Working Committee on the National Policy Forum on Creative Industries and Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, presented the conclusions and recommendations that highlight the potential of the cultural and creative industries in a competitive market, based on the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) report on copyright industries, which estimated a contribution of 2% towards the GDP and 3.3% of national employment in 2005. The Working Committee also concluded that there was a need to develop stronger foundations in creative education, build a culture of research and development, create more funding schemes for enterprises, develop a competitive digital infrastructure, and establish venues for creative activities. Finally, he identified, as immediate actions: the need to establish a National Council on the Creative Industries to ‘lead, create and coordinate policy, and drive implementation of creative industries in Brunei Darussalam’; to proceed with an extensive mapping project of the creative industries for a better understanding of the facts and figures of the sector in the country; to expand educational programmes and create a centre for creative collaboration between higher education institutions; to create funding schemes for the creative industries; to utilise the *Pusat Belia* (Youth Centre) as a space for creative collaboration; and to rehabilitate the old Customs Building to serve as an Art Centre or National Art Gallery.

The Government of Brunei Darussalam has been gradually including the cultural and creative industries in the agenda to enhance economic diversification and the consolidation of the private sector. This agenda also aims to address issues related to the preservation of culture in a context of globalisation and the increasing observation of *Melayu Islam Beraja* (MIB – Malay Islamic Monarchy) values. Between 2008 and 2015, several ministries have consulted with Singaporean, Malaysian, Australian, and British government institutions, in addition to creative organisations, stakeholders, professionals, and higher education institutions, to assess the status of the cultural and creative industries and to elaborate a strategic plan to develop the sector in Brunei Darussalam. With the establishment of technological parks, incubation programmes, and a series of incentives for creative start-ups, we may assume that the roadmap to explore the potential of the cultural and creative industries is activated. However, as pointed out by many of the participants of the National Policy Forum on Creative Industries, this roadmap requires a trans-disciplinary approach in higher education institutions based on innovation and research.

### **Connecting Creativity and Higher Education**

One of the commonalities of the countries around the world with a well-developed creative industry is cutting-edge higher education that offers connections between creativity, innovation, and enterprise. It is undeniable that tertiary education has played a crucial role in the development of local and regional economies, where the presence or the absence of these institutions deeply affects innovative capacity and the functions of sector development, as both the economic structure and social institutions are strongly intertwined (Wolfe, 2006). Education, in general, is seen as a major contributor to the wealth and economic development of a nation. Moreover, the internationalisation of both teaching and research is becoming an essential component for most higher education institutions (British Council, 2012). In ensuring this development, improvements in tertiary education are critical to raising the standards of creativity and innovation,

increasing the filing of patents and the production of copyrighted materials, and establishing a platform of research and enterprise (Comunian, Taylor, & Smith, 2014; Taylor, 2007).

Some of the leading countries in cultural and creative industries, such as the UK, Australia, and the USA, have identified the role played by tertiary education in the development of the creative economy. In fact, according to the QS World University Rankings, 16 out of the 20 top universities in the subject of 'Art and Design' are located in the USA (11) and the UK (5).

Australia was one of the pioneering countries to develop a cultural policy with the aim to establish a foundation for a strong creative economy. Likewise, it was one of the first countries to establish a Creative Industries Faculty, at the Queensland University of Technology (QUT), in 2001. Although many world-leading art and design schools or higher education institutions had been established long before, such as the Royal College of Art in the UK, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Parsons School of Design, and Rhode Island School of Design (RISD) (all in the USA), QUT is one of the first universities to use the term 'creative industries' to name a faculty. Since then, there has been an increasing number of new faculties that have taken 'creative industries' as their core discipline. Our survey listed a total of 28 faculties or schools of 'creative industries', with the majority located in the UK, but also in countries such as Australia, Canada, Netherlands, USA, Denmark, New Zealand, Singapore, Malaysia, and Macau Special Administrative Region of PRC.

As the first national university, UBD was only established in 1985, one year after Brunei became independent from the UK. The Institut Teknologi Brunei (ITB) was established one year later, in 1986. ITB became a university in 2008 and its name was formally changed to Universiti Teknologi Brunei (UTB) in 2016.

Over the last 30 years, Brunei Darussalam has been establishing new higher education institutions and developing a range of bachelor degrees, focusing on specific areas that are in line with the latest global employment market and economy. Other post-secondary education institutions that have been recently set up, such as Politeknik Brunei (PB) and the Institute of Brunei Technological Education (IBTE), also share the same mission, which is to nurture knowledgeable, highly-skilled, and innovative human capital. Politeknik Brunei, which was established in 2012, aims to accelerate the development of Brunei human resources as emphasised in the National Development Plan and Brunei Vision 2035. The programmes offered are: General Studies, ICT, Science and Engineering, and Business. IBTE focuses heavily on technical and vocational education, running schools of tourism, energy, engineering, business, agro-technology, building technology, and ICT.

Initially, tertiary education in Brunei, like in many other countries, referred only to institutions heavily focused on the intellectual skills as a continuation of studies, and it was for students who had undergone their Brunei-Cambridge Examination for Ordinary level ('O' Level) or Advanced level ('A' level). However, the Ministry of Education has now posited that other forms of tertiary institutions are also equally important, and has broadened the conceptual framework of higher education towards a wider perspective, combining intellectual, professional, and technical skills. The combination of these skills is essential to creative economy activities.

This is in line with the OECD report, which states that higher education in most European countries initially referred to universities that covered a high level of conceptual and intellectual skills in teaching and learning, for a limited number of professions (OECD, 2008). Then, over the past 40 years, the scope and importance of tertiary education has changed significantly, resulting in a diversity of new higher education

institutions, such as polytechnics, university colleges, and technological institutes. In most cases, these non-university institutions, such as Laksamana College and International Graduate Studies College (IGS) in Brunei, have grown faster than the universities, due to their affordable programme costs, their offering of training in line with market demands, and their links with university programs such as credit transfer systems and equivalency, which attracts more students. (World Bank, 1994).

In Brunei Darussalam, there is no faculty, school, academy, or institute at any level of education that is exclusively focused on art, design, or any sector of the creative industries, with the exception of Mahakarya Institute of the Arts Asia, established in 2018, which offers courses on film, television and screen-based media. However, some faculties and schools at UBD, UTB, PB, and the private IGS College offer undergraduate programmes and diplomas with creativity at their core.

At UBD, the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences established a Bachelor of Arts (BA) programme in Art and Creative Technology in 2009, with the aim to provide students with conceptual and aesthetic foundations, along with technical skills in art, design, and creative technology. The programme structure was mostly grounded in fine arts (i.e. painting, sculpture, and mixed-media), crafts (i.e. ceramics), design (i.e. graphic and communication), multimedia (i.e. photography, videography, and motion graphics), animation (i.e. 2D, 3D, and digital illustration), and theoretical foundations (i.e. art, history, visual arts, and creative industries). Due to UBD's increasing research and teaching efforts through innovation and enterprise, this BA in Art and Creative Technology was discontinued and replaced in 2017 with a new BA in Design and Creative Industries. This programme is a combined major offered by the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences in collaboration with the School of Business and Economics, the Faculty of Integrated Technologies, and the Faculty of Science. It was established with the aim to combine three core areas related to the creative industries: art, design and media; innovation and technology; and business and management.

In 2013, the Ministry of Education started implementing a series of reforms in technical and vocational education and training with the aim to stimulate cooperation between technical education agencies and the private sector, which, in turn, increased employment opportunities. These reforms also aimed to bring a stronger emphasis on the modern economy, dealing with ICT, creative technologies, multimedia, and innovation and knowledge-based industries (Ministry of Education, 2013).

At UTB, the School of Computing and Informatics offers two Bachelor of Science programmes in Digital Media and in Creative Multimedia. These two programmes are designed to meet the demands of the growing creative industries and equip students with fundamental knowledge and skills based on information technology and computing.

Politeknik Brunei (PB) offers a number of diplomas in Digital Media, Web Development, Interior Design, and Architecture. All of these diplomas are obtained after completing three years of study, including a six-month internship and a final project. The diplomas of interior design and architecture are both offered by the School of Science and Engineering, while the diplomas of digital media and web development are offered by the School of Information and Communication Technology.

Finally, IGS College is a private education institution that offers diplomas in Graphic Design Technology, Interactive and Multimedia Design, Animation and Multimedia Design, and Multimedia Advertising and Broadcasting. These diplomas were launched in 2013, in collaboration with the Lim Kok Wing University of Creative Technology, a private international university with its main campus in Malaysia and twelve other satellite campuses in Asia, Africa, and Europe. Like PB, IGS College students obtain a diploma after completing three years of full-time study.



In Brunei Darussalam, the scale of higher education curricula, related to the creative industries, is clearly focusing on professional, vocational, and technical curricula available at the polytechnic and college, rather than in the context of liberal arts education system at the university.

The increasing value of the cultural and creative industries is having a great impact on the global development of graduate creative entrepreneurship programmes at universities and other higher education institutions. Many of these universities have taken the opportunity to actively participate in the creative economy, by establishing their own creative enterprises to stimulate productivity through innovation (Taylor, 2007). The higher education curricula in Brunei, related to the comprehensive sector of the creative industries, has grown significantly, particularly in the areas of design, media, and IT.

Despite the significant growth of creative entrepreneurship programmes at higher education institutions, there is a need to widen the curricula to areas with greater potential within the country and the region. Areas such as architecture and spatial design, fashion and textile design, industrial design, graphic and communication design, film and TV, art history, and heritage are growing sectors that contribute to the national economic development and diversification in Brunei Darussalam, through the development of tourism-related and entertainment industries. The creative cities concept has demonstrated the interdependence between tourism and creativity, as often the attractiveness of a city is based on cultural offerings and creative entertainment (Richards, 2014).

### **The Value of Intellectual Property in the Development and Diversification of the Economy in Brunei Darussalam**

WIPO defines IP as ‘creations of mind, such as inventions, literary and artistic works, designs, and symbols, names and images used in commerce’ (WIPO, 2004, p. 2). It also divides IP into two categories:

- (1) Industrial property (i.e. patents for inventions, trademarks, industrial designs, and geographical indications); and
- (2) Copyright (i.e. literary works, films, music, artistic works, performances, and architectural designs).

As such, IP has significant socio-economic implications for the cultural and creative industries. Film, recording, publishing, software, and other associated industries would not exist without copyright protection and the licencing of copyrights.

The legal institution of IP is a fundamental element in the cultural and creative industries, which are, essentially, based on the trade of copyright-protected work and licensing for global dissemination and reproduction (Handke, 2018).

Brunei Darussalam joined the WIPO Convention in 1994, but it was only in 2000 that the *Emergency (Copyright) Order, 1999* (Copyright Order) came into effect. This document was based on the *British Copyright, Designs and Patents Act* of 1988. Since then, copyright protection has been deemed automatic as soon as the works can be reproduced in a material form, assessed as original, and described as copyright works under the Copyright Order. Moreover, in the year after joining the WIPO Convention, Brunei Darussalam and other countries in Southeast Asia signed the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Intellectual Property Cooperation as a proper measure to ensure the protection of IP in the conduct of trade and cooperation among the members of ASEAN.

Over the last ten years, Brunei Darussalam has joined a series of WIPO-administered treaties (i.e. the Berne Convention, 2006; Paris Convention and Budapest Treaty, 2012; Hague Agreement, 2013; Madrid Protocol, WIPO Copyright Treaty, and WIPO

Performances and Phonograms Treaty, 2017). In addition to the ratification of WIPO-administered treaties, the government also has created an institutional framework for copyright protection, namely the Attorney's General Office, in collaboration with The Royal Brunei Police and The Royal Customs and Excise. Protection of copyright works and promotion of copyright laws also involve the collaboration of other government bodies, such as the national television station (Radio Television Brunei), the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, BEDB, and UBD.

Over the last few years, UBD has increased awareness about the importance of IP, with respect to the commercialisation and monetisation of creativity. In 2014, UBD established the Industry Liaison Office (ILO) with the aim to accelerate the commercialisation of University Intellectual Property. In collaboration with the Innovation and Enterprise Office (IEO), the ILO facilitates the linkages between industry and academic research towards national economic and industrial development. The UBD Intellectual Property Policy was established to regulate and encourage creativity through inventions, innovative works, and artistic creations, as well as the dissemination and commercialisation of the university's research production in the various areas of IP. As such, UBD has signed several memoranda of understanding (MoU) with well-established businesses in the areas of manufacture, digital media, ICT, and international innovation agencies.

Since 2012, Brunei Darussalam has made significant steps towards the establishment of an effective and vibrant IP framework that enhances economic development in connection with the growth of the cultural and creative industries. In June 2013, the government established the Brunei Darussalam Intellectual Property Office (BruIPO) under the Energy and Industry Department at the Prime Minister's Office, holding responsibility for the registration of patents, industrial designs, and trademarks.

In order to understand the value of IP and the creative industries, it is essential to assess the economic contribution of copyright-based industries towards Brunei's GDP, and their impact on employment, and thus identify which clusters contribute more to the national economy. In 2011, the Brunei Darussalam Attorney General's Chambers and the Department of Economic Planning and Development, Prime Minister's Office, formed the Intellectual Property Division (formerly known as the Registry Division) to collaborate with a consultant commissioned by WIPO to undertake a study on the economic contribution of Brunei copyright-based industries to the national economy (WIPO, 2011). The report is based on data extracted from 2005 and 2006, with the aim to estimate the contribution of copyright-based industries to gross value added (GVA) or GDP to national employment, and to the share in foreign trade (WIPO, 2011). For this, the unit adopted WIPO's four IP categories: (1) core copyright industries (i.e. those fully engaged in the production of copyright works); (2) interdependent copyright industries (i.e. those supplying the manufacture and sale of equipment required in the production and dissemination of copyright works); (3) partially copyright industries; and (4) non-dedicated support industries (i.e. those involved in the retail trade and wholesale of copyright works) (WIPO, 2011). The report estimated that the copyright-based industries in Brunei Darussalam accounted for 2% of GDP in 2005 and 1.6% in 2006; 3.3% of total employed workers in 2005 and 3.2% in 2006; and 0.8% of total retained imports in 2005 and 0.7% in 2006 (WIPO, 2011).

Compared to the overall performance of the copyright-based industries in 42 countries, Brunei Darussalam presents the lowest contribution to the national GDP (1.6% in 2006 compared to an average of 5.18%), in a ranking led by the USA (11%) and Korea (9.8%). In the contribution to the national employment by copyright-based industries,

Brunei Darussalam is at the tail of the list, with 3.2%, compared to an average of 5.32%, in a ranking led by the Philippines (11.2%) and Mexico (11%) (Gantchev, 2014).

In Brunei Darussalam, similar to most of the surveyed countries from the report, economic contribution is mostly derived from core and partially copyright-based industries. In regard to core copyright-based industries, the data reveals that the industries which contribute most – in terms of GVA in 2006 – are, in descending order of value: (8) radio and television; (7) press and literature; (6) advertising; (5) software and databases; (4) visual and graphic arts; (3) music and performance arts; (2) photography; and (1) motion pictures and videos. The top three alone accounted for approximately 70% of GVA, employment compensation, and operating revenues of the whole core copyright-based industries (WIPO, 2011).

Within the overall partial copyright industries, architecture, engineering, and surveying are the largest industries in terms of operating revenue (55% in 2006) and GVA (76% in 2006). However, they are at the bottom of the list in terms of employment, employee compensation, and number of businesses. The top three industries in employment and employee compensation are: apparel, textiles and footwear; furniture; and other crafts. This is explained by cultural factors, as Brunei Darussalam is characterised as a traditional Malay society where a great number of the population purchase textiles and have their clothes tailored for weddings, religious ceremonies, royal functions, investiture ceremonies, special occasions, and national celebrations that happen frequently throughout the year (Wahsalfelah, 2015). Other crafts and furniture are also frequently purchased as a common practice in the context of Malay cultural traditions.

Finally, the WIPO report compares the copyright industries with other sectors or industries in the Brunei economy. The available data for 2005 reveals that the contribution of copyright industries towards the national GDP is double that in the agriculture, forestry, and fishery industries, and close to that in construction. In terms of employment, the copyright industries are higher than the agriculture, forestry, and fishery industries, as well as the transport and communication sector.

## Conclusion

Although awareness about the economic significance of the cultural and creative industries in Brunei Darussalam is still in a developmental stage, the government has made efforts, over the past fifteen years, to nurture creative and ICT entrepreneurship, increase the curricula of creative-industry based programmes in post-secondary and higher education, and regulate the protection of IP and copyright works.

The establishment of technological hubs and the implementation of several ICT-related training and mentorship programmes for innovation entrepreneurs have resulted in a positive development of successful enterprises. However, only a few of these new enterprises have been able to endure, generate employment, and export copyrighted works. Despite the significant investment in state-of-the-art innovation labs, access to international exchange programmes and visiting speakers/mentors, many of these facilities and initiatives have gradually been discontinued.

Notwithstanding the relevant efforts made in this area, one will notice that government incentives are mainly focused on ICT. Although it is widely acknowledged that software and computer services contribute significantly to the generation of growth and employment, the local creative economy could be improved with policies designed to develop other sectors of the creative industries with great cultural and regional potential. Modest fashion is an expanding industry, not only in Brunei Darussalam, but also in other Southeast Asian countries with a significant Muslim community, such as

Malaysia and Indonesia. Recent reports demonstrate that Indonesia ranks 5th in the world for the consumer clothing expenditure market, Singapore ranks 9th in the world for best developed eco-system for modest fashion, and both Malaysia and Indonesia host international modest fashion festivals/events (Thomson Reuters, 2016). The conclusions of the Brunei Darussalam's National Policy Forum on Creative Industries pointed out the opportunities related to a well-developed screen production industry, which is practically non-existent. Several reports, however, have shown the relevant contribution of radio, TV, and film broadcasting to the creative economy and to generate employment.

The 2012 Forum was a visionary initiative towards the construction of a national plan to develop the creative industries. The participants and consultants identified the most relevant sectors with the potential to increase their contribution to the national economy, national employment, and national cosmopolitanism. However, after seven years, the in-depth mapping of the cultural and creative industries is yet to be done and like many other countries with well-developed creative industries, Brunei would certainly benefit in having statutory boards to oversee and nurture the arts, heritage and the creative industries in general.

The benefits of having a developed and sustainable eco-system to promote and disseminate creativity-based products and services will not materialise without a skilful workforce with a strong entrepreneurial attitude. Higher education institutions have been making strong efforts to build human capital – based on knowledge, skill, and motivation – to encourage entrepreneurial success and monetise IP and creativity. Concurrently, the establishment of new faculties and the opening of new innovation labs, along with the requalification of the UTB from an institute to a university, are signs of growth. Nevertheless, there is no school, academy, or faculty fully concentrated on creative education – with a comprehensive curriculum in line with the national and regional creative economies – in order to increase the relevance of embedding creative graduates in the country. As concluded by several scholars (Comunian & Faggian, 2011; Comunian, Taylor, & Smith, 2014; Comunian, Gilmore, & Jacobi, 2015), creative graduates not only align with the concept of creative cities, but they also enrich the understanding of the creative economy as a contextualised production of IP and copyright works. In addition to further developments in creative education, there is a need to establish strong connections with industry, creating opportunities to ease the integration of graduates into the creative industries.

Finally, over the last fifteen years, Brunei Darussalam has developed more awareness in the areas of IP and copyright works. The institutional framework is created and well-developed, which is sustained in the ratification of the most relevant international conventions, elaborated by WIPO, within the ASEAN region and also MoUs with other countries in Asia. Although this framework is helpful to analyse the economic contribution of the cultural and creative industries, the available data is already outdated. The most recent reports date 2005 and 2006, long before the establishment of serious policies towards the development of the creative industries, which started in 2008. Thus, it is essential to collect recent data to assess the potential growth of the sector and measure the impact of the above-mentioned policies.

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