Creative Cities: Structured Policy Dialogue Backgrounder

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Introduction

This backgrounder puts current debates about creative cities in context and perspective. The discussion proceeds in four parts. It begins by describing some of the general features of creative cities, moving next to review briefly selected intellectual contributions to the field. It then highlights case studies of some creative places and innovative projects. It ends by considering some of the outstanding challenges for governments and policy communities. The backgrounder’s purpose is to inform and guide a focused dialogue on ways to make Canadian cities reap the benefits of creativity.

1.0 What are Creative Cities?

Creative cities are dynamic locales of experimentation and innovation, where new ideas flourish and people from all walks of life come together to make their communities better places to live, work, and play. They engage different kinds of knowledge, and encourage widespread public participation to deal imaginatively with complex issues. In their decision making they value holistic thinking, and act on the interdependence of economic, social, environmental, and cultural goals. While all cities are characterized by population density and organizational proximity, only in creative cities do these features become assets in collaborative efforts to solve the perennial urban problems of housing, congestion, inclusion, preservation, and development. As Sir Peter Hall puts it, such cities “have throughout history been the places that ignited the sacred flame of the human intelligence and the human imagination.”¹

Today it is widely acknowledged that creativity is especially important for cities. In the processes of globalization, researchers track a convergence of urbanizing flows – of people, investment, and ideas – that make cities more important than ever for human well-being.² The highly integrated world economy, it turns out, has crucial local foundations. Cities represent the ideal scale for the intensive, face-to-face interactions that generate the new ideas that power knowledge-based innovation. Localities that tap their creative potential rightly contemplate an exciting and rewarding future.

The premium now placed on creativity in managing change focuses new attention on culture and heritage activities in cities. The lifeblood of the arts is creativity, imagination, experimentation, and appreciation of difference. These are precisely the habits of mind and modes of expression urgently required across all sectors. In business management, it is reported that “competition is no longer about creating dominance in large, scale-intensive industries but about producing elegant, refined products in imagination-intensive industries.”³ The Harvard Business Review
proclaims the “breakthrough business idea for 2004” to be that the Masters of Fine Arts (MFA) degree has become the new MBA, the essential currency for a business career.\(^4\) Equally for urban planners and policy makers, there is recognition that artistic works can enable dialogue between diverse people and groups; that cultural heritage can become a focal point for regenerating derelict neighbourhoods or, indeed, for reinventing a whole city’s “sense of place”; and that by valuing self-expression, the arts and culture contribute to active citizenship.

Not surprisingly, then, there is growing interest in the role of cultural activities in supporting community-led renewal and urban creativity. Yet, while the general features of the creative city are described easily enough, much less is known about the conditions that foster creativity, and the mechanisms, processes, and resources that turn ideas into innovations. These questions are central to emerging debates about the creative city.
2.0 Different Perspectives: Jacobs, Florida and Beyond

Of course the current conjuncture is not the first time that cities have found themselves on the frontlines in negotiating daunting societal transformation. Indeed, successful adjustment in the early 20th century to the industrial age presupposed creative responses to urban crises of overcrowding, disease, and congestion. Engineers, planners, and scientists invented and built a new infrastructure of sewers, grids, expressways, and housing complexes. Their ideas and schemes worked well for a time, imposing a new physical and functional order over places. But their creativity was overwhelmingly technical and scientific, and the result was cities that separated citizens, compartmentalized problems, bureaucratized services, and too often relied on the bulldozer rather than people to build community.

2.1 Jane Jacobs and the Human Scale of Space

It was precisely this industrial age “spatial fix” that inspired Jane Jacobs in 1961 to offer an alternative vision in The Death and Life of Great American Cities. She celebrated the innate vitality of cities driven by unplanned, seemingly chaotic development. From her perspective of close daily observation on the streets, creativity turned on human scale interactions and multiple interconnections in neighbourhoods. She concluded that city planning should emphasize diversity among land uses, a mix of housing and people, continuous networks of local districts where pedestrians and proprietors can keep streets safe, and civic spaces welcoming to the public and contributing to the sense of community and place.

Jacobs’s critique resonated with reform councils and progressive planners in some cities in the late 1960s and 1970s. But the 1980s opened another chapter in urban revitalization, shifting away from neighbourhoods to large scale, capital intensive flagship projects regenerating derelict areas, often supplemented by rather shallow “city marketing campaigns.” Today, however, as cities become the strategic sites in the knowledge-driven global age, leading urban thinkers are building on Jacobs’s original insights about places, people, and creativity.

2.2 Creativity and the New Economy: Richard Florida

Florida’s The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It’s Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life (2002) is a path-breaking contribution to current debates about creative cities. He focuses on new combinations of artistic or cultural creativity with business entrepreneurship and technological innovation. The resulting synergies, he argues, are the key to prosperity in an age of knowledge-based production. And they only occur in those localized settings where “talented” people choose to live and meet professionally in networks. Three conditions distinguish these cities as the new economy’s pivotal “creative milieux.” First, they have thick labour markets with rich opportunities for knowledge workers arising from spatially proximate technology firms, venture capitalists, universities and research institutes. Second, they have well developed and attractive urban amenities – preserved natural and built environments – suited to the recreational preferences and aesthetic sensibilities of younger professionals. Third, the urban culture is defined, on the one hand, by its tolerance of diversity, and on the other hand, by the vibrancy and local flavour of its street scene reflected in cafés, clubs, music, theatre, design, and fashion. Where these three...
conditions intersect, Florida finds clusters of creative industries and imaginative reuse of urban space that allows “creatives” to cross-pollinate.

Florida’s insights have been welcomed in many quarters, exposing unimaginative local development strategies to fresh thinking and novel connections. However, there are limits to the model. Several concerns stand out. First, Florida’s high-end talent focus makes it hard for less advantaged voices to be heard in “place quality” debates (for example, seniors, lone mothers, or even artists struggling to find affordable space in regenerated districts). Second, in celebrating cultural diversity, Florida pays much less attention to the reality of racialized urban labour markets and the fact that some of his creative hot spots are also socially polarized places. Third, Florida’s technology and talent policy prescription speaks mostly to the large, cosmopolitan cities able to compete on the basis of highly educated, diverse workforces.

In fact, such gaps figure prominently in some other scholarly contributions to the creative cities agenda. A sampling would include the following analysts.

**Creativity and Social Sustainability: Mario Polèse and Richard Stren**

Polèse and Stren’s *The Social Sustainability of Cities: Diversity and the Management of Change* (2000) tracks the same urbanizing dynamics and new economy flows as Florida but describes a very different reality. Their concern is with the social sustainability of cities and the creativity required to reverse growing economic inequality, social exclusion, cultural tension, and spatial segregation in many local spaces around the world.

“Social sustainability for a city” they explain “is defined as development (and/or growth) that is compatible with the harmonious evolution of civil society, fostering an environment conducive to the compatible cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups while at the same time encouraging social integration, with improvements in the quality of life for all segments of the population.” Cities face new threats to their social sustainability through public-sector cutbacks and labour market restructuring, and new opportunities to progress through the diversity made possible by increasing international migration of people. These pressures are all rooted in economic globalization and require thoughtful, multi-pronged responses. Moreover, Polèse and Stren stress that the impacts and burdens of economic restructuring are concentrated on certain urban residents (racial minorities, women, the elderly, and immigrants) and in the neighbourhoods most exposed to environmental and health hazards. For solutions, Polèse and Stren underscore the often overlooked role of local “place management” policies that work to “weave the various parts of the city into a cohesive whole, and to increase accessibility (spatial and otherwise) to public services and employment.” They welcome the emergence in local civil societies of social economy networks experimenting with new initiatives in housing, food distribution, public health, and neighbourhood planning. Such local citizenship projects, they remind, are as important to the creative city as the globally oriented talent-driven technology clusters.
Creativity and Good Governance and Planning: Patsy Healey

Healey’s *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies* (1997) makes the case for innovative urban governance structures and local planning processes. “Managing our co-existence in shared spaces,” Healey argues, means recognizing and including many voices – ecological, racial, gender, poor, business, artistic etc. – in decision making. Governing in conditions of diversity requires bridging cultural differences, remedying social inequalities and a discursive re-framing to merge economic and environmental goals. This is a sweeping challenge to established policy routines and planning practices still based on rigid functional specializations and categorical programming, with little cooperation and learning across different departments, specializations and sectors. She writes that “collaborative efforts in defining and developing policy agendas and strategic approaches to collective concerns about shared spaces among the members of political communities serve to build up social, intellectual, and political capital which becomes a new institutional resource.” Cities that mandate people from different expertise, backgrounds, and walks of life to talk and listen to one another generate new perspectives and problem-solving capacities. This is creative decision making. Inclusive planning and transparent governance build compact, smart cities that feature mixed use development, transit/pedestrian oriented design, and ecological/heritage preservation. Such places spur creativity largely by leveraging the distinctive features of their neighbourhoods and communities. “In this way,” Healey concludes, “such a collaborative cultural community focused on the governance of local environments should also help to recreate a public realm.”

Creativity and Local Knowledge: Frank Fischer

Fischer’s *Citizens, Experts, and the Environment: The Politics of Local Knowledge* (2000) adds to the creative cities debate a detailed exploration of the meaning and value of citizen-generated “local knowledge” in urban policy and city planning. He shows that grassroots ideas and movement initiatives can be just as valid as the rationality of professional decision makers. Fischer goes beyond the normative or democratic claim for citizen participation by testing the contention that citizens can actually help with the difficult decisions and trade-offs facing contemporary policy makers.

He notes that many policy issues today are not just complex, they are “wicked.” Characterized by critical information gaps about what precisely is required to help, by large coordination failures in terms of channeling the appropriate resources to the right target, and by the intensity of their horizontality, wicked policy problems are resistant to traditional mono-sectoral interventions designed from above by insulated, distant bureaucracies. Instead, they demand flexible strategies built from the “ground or street up” on the basis of local knowledge, and delivered by multi-party networks crossing program silos and jurisdictional turfs.

As such problems become more prevalent, Fischer shows how citizen input is essential in tailoring solutions to particular contexts, and how such bottom-up participation can actually reshape existing interests and perceptions along more future-oriented, constructive lines. Established models of policy knowledge need rethinking just as new deliberative bodies, participatory resource mapping, and citizen-expert dialogue should be tested out. Rather than replacing professional expertise with local knowledge, Fischer recommends better balancing of
the two inputs, recognizing their complementarity in good decision making. By engaging citizens’ ideas about policy, Fischer adds, the prospects for sound implementation are substantially enhanced as communities take ownership of projects.

**A New Synthesis? Charles Landry’s Creative Cities Paradigm**

Landry’s ambitious *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators* (2000) seeks a new synthesis of many of the above ideas. Two basic insights inform his account. First, he adopts a broad conception of culture, moving well beyond the arts to encompass a range of creative resources that can be tapped for urban regeneration – economic, social, and environmental. Second, he views such creativity in place-specific contexts: the distinctive cultural resources of a given city express a unique identity and heritage that provide the raw materials for re-imagining and reinventing the urban future.

As Landry puts it, “As the world of cultural resources opened out it became clear that every city could have a unique niche … the realization dawned that every city could be a world center for something if it was persistent and tried hard enough.” On this basis, four key aspects of the creative city are elaborated. First, cultural perspectives are mobilized in civic planning and goal setting, helping to focus on the linkages among cultural resources, economic development, and other community building initiatives. Second, given the place-based nature of cultural resources, upper level government programming needs to shift from sectoral “silo” programming (visual arts, performing arts, heritage and museums, etc.) to more comprehensive and flexible supports that strengthen linkages across the disciplines for holistic community-based revitalization. Third, Landry emphasizes how the cultural resources of the city can renew social citizenship by helping people come to terms with diversity and cultivate the skills to better manage common urban spaces. Finally, Landry offers practical tools in a five-step strategic planning process.

Crucial to Landry’s analysis are the distinctions among creativity, innovation, and learning. Creativity is about generating new ideas, while innovation is the process through which they are implemented. Learning connects creativity and innovation, testing the feasibility of ideas, mobilizing resources, managing collaborations, and assessing what works and why.

**2.3 Creative Cities: Striking the Balance**

From these varied analysts of the creative city, a major lesson is the importance of balance. To achieve their creative potential and maintain their creative edge, cities must manage a number of cross-pressures:

- Local community roots and global cosmopolitan influences
- Heritage and novelty
- Large scale flagship projects commanding international attention and smaller projects that replenish the creative base
- Formal high culture and informal street scenes
- Non-profit artists and creative industry clusters
- Local knowledge *and* professional expertise
- Rule-based accountability *and* grassroots experimentation
- Holistic thinking *and* strategic action
- Neighbourhood regeneration *and* social inclusion
3.0 Communities in Action: Creativity, Innovation and Learning

Charles Landry observes that we now need “real models to show what is meant by the creative city.”\textsuperscript{15} An inventory of such leading-edge places and practices could include the following cases.

3.1 Huddersfield, United Kingdom: Multi-level Governance for the Creative Town Initiative

This city of 130,000 was hit hard by industrial restructuring in the 1980s resulting in an outflow of jobs, investment, and young people. In the 1990s, the municipal council undertook a series of internal governance reforms to become the catalyst in local partnership bids for national and European Union regeneration resources. A key goal was to use the bidding process to rebuild community identity and demonstrate the benefits of collaboration.

In 1997, the European Union (EU) selected Huddersfield as a site for one of 26 Urban Pilot Projects (UPP) out of 500 applicants. The UPP program mandated cities to experiment with new forms of urban policy and development, to establish new modes of best practice, and to disseminate the results throughout Europe. With EU funds and technical assistance, Huddersfield launched 16 innovative projects combining new technologies, cultural workers, and business entrepreneurs. Each project broadly aimed to institutionalize a new creative capacity in the city, beginning with the generation of new ideas (the Creativity Forum networked local people with external innovators) through to implementation assistance (Creative Business Development Training Company and Creativity Investment Services). A Creative Quarter was established in a derelict area, anchored by a “National Center for Sonic Arts” and four media production studios. Hothouse Units enabled start-up companies or projects to work together, with best practices disseminated through discussion forums, a Web site, a database of creative projects, and a magazine showcasing northern creativity.

A World Bank summary concluded: “By adopting a strategy of creativity, this project provides “good practice” examples to other European medium-sized cities and peripherally located towns that wish to compete in the emerging information-based economy.”\textsuperscript{16}

3.2 Brisbane, Australia: Strategic Municipal Planning for Creativity through Culture

In 2003, Brisbane’s Cultural Policy Unit in the Community and Economic Development Branch launched a five-year Creative City Strategy built on six principles: embracing history; building cultural capital; ensuring access and equity; encouraging innovation; investing in culture; and providing leadership.\textsuperscript{17} In consultation with the community, the Creative City Strategy identified a series of priority projects crossing a great range of activities and sectors. Notable examples include:

- The Scattered People Poetry and Music Project: involving collaborations between refugee communities, local artists, and council leading to a Web site and award winning internationally distributed CD recording.
• “As it Was and How It Is”: working with the Indigenous communities to develop Indigenous history projects, adopting an approach that blends cultural and environmental agendas. The aim is to protect significant sites for future generations and provide interpretative material to help non-Indigenous people understand Indigenous culture.

• Brisbane Outer Fringe Festival: supporting cultural enrichment across Brisbane’s outer suburbs, including partnerships with business, and a local film and photography competition in which residents are invited to create images expressing why they love living in their suburb.

• Creative City Map: mapping and promoting Brisbane’s cultural tourism sites including often hidden locations, using digital info-kiosks in public spaces providing multi-lingual information, features on local history and events, and streaming of digital artwork by local artists.

• Creative Advisory Panel: enhancing the council’s holistic planning capacity by replacing the existing advisory boards with a panel of cross-disciplinary appointees to help decide the city’s creative directions and programs.

3.3 Quebec City: Revitalizing a Distressed Quarter through Local Champions

Once an economically depressed and unsafe place, Quebec City’s Quartier St. Roch was revitalized by a series of local actions. In the 1980s, two initial steps improved quality of life in the community: the Bibliothèque Gabrielle Roy was located there, followed by an urban park that covered a whole city block. Further, the municipal council used zoning laws and housing strategies to encourage a creative cluster of artists and service industries in high-tech animation and multimedia entertainment. Measures were taken to avoid exclusionary forms of gentrification by limiting the sale and resale of studio space to artists.

Over time, these early interventions built momentum to the point where other anchor public and private sector institutions chose to move into what had become a neighbourhood with a distinctive identity and sense of community. New arrivals include the art department of the Université Laval, a culture centre creatively designed in an abandoned Dominion Corset factory, and the daily newspaper, Le Soleil, relocating to its original building after having left during the earlier period of decline. In a further indication of neighbourhood revival, the large expressway at the edge of St. Roch will be partially torn down to make way for a monumental entrance to the city to mark the 2008 anniversary of Samuel de Champlain’s settlement.

Alongside the physical and economic regeneration, the Quartier St. Roch includes a social and human dimension through the story of one individual, Gilles Kegle, who organized a network of volunteers to move by foot or bicycle through the streets to meet the daily needs of the neighbourhood’s many residents living in poverty.

The Quartier St. Roch regeneration was included in the Governor General’s “Good City” visits, representing a promising example of creative and collaborative action. As the Governor General summarized: “So we see how, in that one quartier, provincial and municipal initiatives blended with the very personal commitment can turn around the community life of a whole area of a city.”
3.4 Toronto: Supporting Flagship Cultural Institutions and Street Scene Artists

Among the many creative initiatives underway in Toronto, two are noteworthy for the way in which they reflect an overall effort to balance established high culture and an avant-garde street scene. The city council’s 2003 Culture Plan for the Creative City includes seven major capital projects, dubbed Toronto’s Cultural Renaissance. Envisioned is a new Cultural Corridor – an Avenue of the Arts along University Avenue – anchored by marquee cultural institutions such as an Opera House and the Royal Ontario Museum.

These major projects have already secured significant financial support ($223 million) from both federal and provincial governments and private sponsors. The council’s Culture Plan proposes further measures to leverage the necessary funds to bring the strategy to fruition including a Visitor Levy, income tax credits and reinvestment of a portion of GST and PST collected on tickets for Places of Amusement, such as sporting arenas and exhibitions.

Investments in institutions on the scale of Avenue of the Arts aim to make Toronto competitive on the global cultural stage. At the same time, the city contains more community-based creative initiatives. A catalyst here is Toronto Artscape Inc., a non-profit real estate development organization helping struggling artists, theatre and dance groups set up in low-rent spaces. Artscape’s spaces are all 100 percent occupied with long waiting lists. Acting as a landlord, property owner/manager, and developer with a variety of funding sources, it straddles the real estate, business, government, and arts worlds. In 2003, City Council gave Artscape the rights to redevelop four abandoned streetcar repair barns. The 57,000 square foot redevelopment project will feature a greenhouse and environmental education center, affordable living/working units for artists, facilities for community groups, and indoor-outdoor public space.

Another recent success is the Distillery Historic District, an arts, entertainment and cultural complex in the east end, where support from multiple levels of government contributed to Artscape’s renovation of two of the 44 vintage buildings for 42 artists, theatre and dance groups. As the district’s commercial space has been filled by tenants from the arts and entertainment industries, observers note that “the creative excitement is palpable, with all the players waxing eloquent about the new creative synergies that proximity makes possible.”

With federal support and in collaboration with Ryerson University and the City of Vancouver, Artscape also launched one of the first comprehensive geomatics assessments of urban indicators to measure not just economic but also social impacts of cultural investments.

3.5 Saskatoon: Multi-faceted Creativity for Economic Innovation and Socio-cultural Inclusion

Saskatoon is noteworthy for innovations across each of the economic, social, and cultural urban fronts. Its creativity is expressed in two specific ways. First, as Richard Florida recommends, the community has recognized and leveraged its distinctive local knowledge assets to establish a niche in the global economy. Second, it has used civic dialogue and inter-cultural learning for the inclusion of marginalized citizens in local housing and labour markets.
In economic terms, Saskatoon has taken maximum advantage of its natural assets in relation to agricultural production to develop a world class canola-based biotechnology cluster. The key engine for the Saskatoon economy is the globally competitive canola oilseeds complex at the Innovation Place research park where the facilities of the NRC and Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada provide the setting for commercializing research.

In the social context, Saskatoon has supported a comprehensive community housing strategy to empower low-income residents. Reframing the housing question as a broader issue of neighbourhood capacity building, the Quint Housing Co-operative pulled together diverse actors in the sector – credit unions, contractors, real estate developers, lawyers, insurance companies, and governments – to build affordable housing and more. Securing grants from the federal and provincial governments, it became a “social creativity incubator” piloting a number of developmental spin-offs for co-op residents. These included: training in housing renovations for unemployed co-op residents; school, health and social service resources to teenage lone mothers trying to complete their education; and small business assistance for low-income people in starting their own co-operative businesses.

Finally, in diversity matters, the city responded creatively to the challenges faced by urban Aboriginal people. The city’s main business association (SREDA) joined with Aboriginal organizations to build cross-cultural understandings among employers and the region’s growing Aboriginal labour force, and to implement specific joint programs to train and employ Aboriginal youth. In 2002, the Employer Circles Program graduated its first 14 employers, created 100 new jobs for Aboriginal people in Saskatoon, and visited high school and post-secondary education institutions across the region. The partnership bridges two key communities in Saskatoon who have long been distant from one another. Chief George Lafond of the Saskatoon Tribal Council summarized: “As a local grassroots organization, we have access to individuals who need these important employment opportunities. We now also have the critical linkages of SREDA, a group that can bring employers to the table.”

3.6 Learning from the Cases?

Reviewing the range of experiences across the case studies, some important questions arise, particularly in relation to the policy lessons:

- Who are the key actors in the change processes? How were they engaged initially, and how have they sustained productive collaborations over the longer term?

- What are the decisive success factors that made possible the creativity and innovations in these cities?

- Can these localized success stories be scaled-up to guide national policy action? How might the success factors be seeded or replicated in other places?

- What are the mechanisms or processes for coordinating efforts between the three levels of government, recognizing that each level has particular policy competencies and capacities to help make cities creative places?
4.0 Public Policy and the Role of Government(s)

The literature and case studies demonstrate that creative cities contribute significantly to meeting important local and national policy goals ranging from economic innovation to social citizenship and environmental sustainability. Clearly, all governments have an important stake in supporting initiatives that make cities creative. And Canada has a proud tradition of public commitment to important aspects of the creative cities agenda, evident in support for culture and the arts, for open immigration and minority rights protection, and for investment in urban infrastructure.

But it is also clear that Canadian cities are presently struggling to maintain their creative edge. The signs are worrisome. Immigrants, who overwhelmingly settle in our largest city-regions, find their labour market credentials are not recognized and many lack access to language training and other settlement services. Years of restraint from upper level governments have left municipalities with a physical infrastructure deficit estimated at around $57 billion. Similar pressures compromise the “soft” infrastructure of creativity when, for example, educational cutbacks target cultural components of the curriculum such as music and art. Public libraries and museums, long recognized for their creative contributions in areas of civic literacy, public art, local heritage, and even access to labour market information for immigrants and vulnerable workers, more often than not find themselves first on the cutting block.

Against this backdrop, creativity in public policy making to ensure that government interventions are coherent and consistent with the visions that communities have for themselves might help. There are three aspects to consider: government roles, policy tools, and multi-level collaborations.

4.1 Government Roles

How can government move from the top-down categorical silos (theatre, dance, museums, and so on) in cultural programming to a bottom-up approach viewing culture as a broad resource for human development and community creativity?

How can governments meet the needs of both traditional flagship cultural institutions and grassroots street scene movements that typically have the fewest private resources and are most experimental and risky?

What are the knowledge base and stakeholder relationships that governments now require to enable diverse community-based creativity through comprehensive, flexible approaches?

Perhaps most importantly, how can the relationship between cultural resources and civic creativity be understood more widely so as to ensure new resources? Similarly, what are the prospects and problems in public-private partnerships (so-called 3Ps) in making cultural investments?
4.2 Policy Tools

How can governments integrate their different tools and interventions? Direct measures include building and operating cultural facilities, preserving heritage sites, providing ongoing arts programming, and funding special events and festivals. Indirect measures are the array of policy and planning interventions with significant impacts on creative capacity. At the local level, zoning by laws and physical planning influence the operating conditions and environment for local artists and cultural organizations, and the new economy’s technological-cultural synergies. At the supra-local level, policies for immigrant settlement, education, research and development, connectivity, affordable rental space, and land use regulation all impact a city’s capacity for creative expression and innovation.

In turn, there are new tools that governments need to explore and refine. These include: indicators for benchmarking creativity (beyond the strictly economic/tourism impact measures) and better targeting of public investments; and strategies for enabling local pilot projects and bringing the successful ones to scale for cultural policy planning.

4.3 Multi-level Collaborations

It is evident that the creative cities agenda and new forms of cultural planning require collaboration among government departments, across levels of government, and among government, the private sector and community organizations. Less obvious are the mechanisms and processes needed for such multi-level, multipartite decision making.

At a minimum, ongoing relationships and consultative practices are required to guard against duplication of effort and to ensure accountability for expenditures and outcomes. The broad outlines of such collaboration are clear enough, with the different levels of government acting on their comparative advantage in enabling creativity and securing innovation: local communities and municipalities lead in convening key stakeholders, planning the details of projects, and integrating efforts on the ground, while federal and provincial governments support implementation with spending and regulation for technical assistance, capacity building, infrastructure renewal, and knowledge transfer of best practices across localities. More policy knowledge, informed by experimentation and learning, is needed to institutionalize the kind of collaboration needed for creative cities.
Endnotes


4 Schachter, “Business Embarks on Design Revolution.”


8 Polèse and Stren, *Social Sustainability*, 16.


19 Her Excellency the Right Honourable Adrienne Clarkson, 4.

20 City of Toronto. 2003. *Culture Plan for the Creative City*.


23 Bradford, *Cities and Communities that Work*, 55.