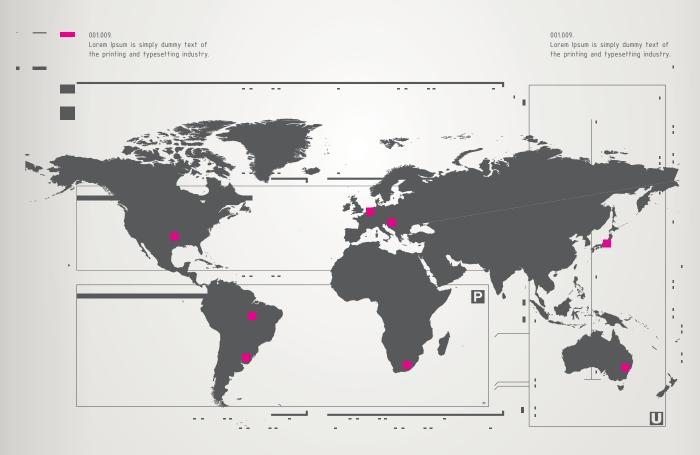
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INTRODUCTION

Ana Carla Fonseca Reis

The Creative City. A concept with no specific boundaries and one in constant transformation – just as the city it aims to describe.

What exactly are the features of a creative city is a question with no definite answer. Fortunately. There's no better way to kill an embrionic paradigm than squeezing it into a mould. However, it is easy to spot a few similarities across the perspectives proposed by the sixteen authors in this book. The essence of a creative city was the first of five challenges these generous minds were asked to face.

The answers range from perceptions to well-rounded concepts. And regardless to the level of maturity attributed to this concept, a few characteristics prevail. For most of the authors, there is **sensorial aura** around a creative city. In practically all texts descriptions and reflexions are filled with colours, sounds and lights. It leads one to think that the creative city is rooted in the rationality of the industrial city and in the fluidity of the global flows, balancing the rigidity of the former and the impersonality of the latter, with a high dose of the experiential, on the top of a very pragmatic, economic approach. "The creative city is a feeling. That something is happening or could happen, of motion, of energy" (Kageyama), "it is the city that succeeds in telling its story in the best possible way" (Verhagen), "where you feel free to explore ideas through learning and adapting" (Howkins).

There's something about **overcoming problems**, of being in **constant change**. If any act of creation is also one of destruction (paraphrasing a long list of thinkers, from Picasso to Schumpeter), it is key for a creative city to "cultivate the capability to manage the changing situation" (Lin), to generate "dynamic and diverse answers" (Melguizo), but emphasis should also be put on how it "responds to the myriad of problems it faces – from transport and housing to environment and health" (Joffe).

The creative city enables a series of **connections** (Fonseca and Urani). Connections between people and their spaces, which is very much linked to city identities and essence, to the understanding of the past to build the future, to "enable inhabitants to become reconciled, to take ownership of the history of their city and rediscover its spaces" (Bonnin). Connections between the city and the world, as the creative city has "a regional, territorial capacity to find solutions to environmental problems for the world" (Lin). Putting together economic and social actors, "it is a double dynamic that is established – between spaces and persons, between the city's agents" (Martins).

Connecting ideas and insights, in the "the unruly possibility of chance encounter" (Kageyama). And finally, connecting the city to its "creative ecology" (Howkins) or

promoting "the elements of a sociocultural ecosystem that is part of the productive system" (Pardo), as was nicely illustrated by Bonnin's example of Nantes Estuary.

The creative city also encompasses an **attraction pole** for the so-called creative class. Several chapters emphasize this appeal should not be a primary strategy, but rather the natural consequence of a creative place. In other words, "cities should offer stimulating environments for all people instead of concentrating upon a mercurial clientele that may change every few months and in any case, does not even consist of the majority of city dwellers" (Rotem). Being a lightouse should first of all bring economic benefits to the community itself, and then engender a multiplying effect, as "those making good money are few; the majority are earning their living from their creativity and, as a by product, are helping to make the places they live more attractive to a wider economic community" (Wills).

Public space is critical to shape a creative city, as has been relentlessly supported by Charles Landry in his seminal books. The need to promote and value public areas is highlighted by the vast majority of the authors. In supporting the role of public and semi-public places, Verhagen looks back at the genesis of a hard post-industrial syndrome: "The factory also provided an important social environment, since for a long time it was, in addition to the church and pub, a principal meeting point." Bonnin also illustrates the need of social encounters in public places; Melguizo displays the results of a long-term strategy based on culture and education made true in public libraries in Medellín; and Rotem develops an eye-opening concept of "publicness".

But the urge to (re)create public space, understood to be those areas appropriated by the locals, is a focus point of all texts. In the same train of thought, we are told that **abandonned areas** are "scar marks", requiring "urban acupuncture" (Lerner). This is also colourfully described by Wills' successful examples in Huddersfield. Lin advocates the requalification of underused public-owned property and the regeneration of urban brownfields, a process that is richly shown by Verhagen in the Netherlands and echoes in many other areas in this book. A "beacon project", understood as one which "can inspire others to act and serves as a visible and persistent reminder of the creative city" (Kageyama) can also be triggered by an event, as is demonstrated by Bertacchini in the strategic transformation of Turin.

There is unanimity that **culture** is a paramount asset of a creative city. Not lonely for cultural benefits per se, but also for the social and economic benefits it unlocks, as dynamic engines of the whole economy and as a source of inspiration (Fonseca and Urani). The creative city "is also one in which creative industries as well as the arts and



<u>INTRODUCTION</u>

Ana Carla Fonseca Reis

culture sector play a role in revealing these problems, developing solutions to them and in being nurtured and showcased in the spaces and places developed" (Joffe); and "the cultural dimension of the creative city acts as an element of the improvement of quality of life and helps to increase its attractiveness as an economic scenario" (Pardo).

The importance of **size** is more controversial. For a few authors, scale is implied in the contours of a creative city and dialogues with Florida's views³ – "Creativity can flourish anywhere. But if we want to move beyond creativity to a creative ecology, we require diversity, change, learning and adaptation with sufficiently large scope and scale" (Howkins); "It brings groups together, affects economies of scale relative to supplies, information, the exchange of ideas, the concentration of capital, proximity to jobs and employment opportunities" (Strickland). Others advocate that creative cities can either be big or small; "The very essence of a creative city relies in its ability to build a collective dream and in its capacity to mobilize the efforts of its citizens to make this dream come true – an endeavor that could be attained by every city, small or large" (Lerner); and the duality of big and small places, as "a sheltering tree needs both deep roots and far-reaching branches" (Fonseca and Urani).

The second challenge, built on the first, explores the fundamental requirements for the blossoming of a creative city. As Florida suggested 3Ts (talent, technology, tolerance) and Landry proposed 3Cs (culture, communication and cooperation), Verhagen advocates a creative city should be "clean, green and safe"; Howkins pinpoints "learning, collaboration, novelty"; Strickland calls one's attention to "fairness, equality, diversity"; Kageyama mentions a match of rational and emotional attributes, making a creative city "functional, safe, comfortable, convivial and interesting"; Fonseca and Urani defend it is based on "connections, culture and sustainability", very much in line with Lerner's "sustainability, mobility and solidarity"; and Pardo proposes four conditions of a creative city: the exercise of free citizenship; socially complex settings; culturally dynamic areas; and the quality of democratic life and safety. Ultimately, a creative city requires a multiplicity of factors (Martins), highly interconnected and very similar to each other, having safety, functionality, sustainability, and social settings at its base. Whereas safety and functionality are structural conditions, sustainability and social settings require a paradigm shift – as the crisis starting late 2008 strongly emphasises. Tangibles/intangibles, hardware/software, life/work. What were once seen as antagonistic poles, are increasingly recognised as complementary and synergistic.

But none of the above mentioned conditions can crystalise, if the right governance is not in place, underpinned by **a long-term strategy**. Though there's no fixed rule,

"beyond any doubt, the quality of democratic governance is essential, as a generator of consensus and trust" (Pardo). The change catalyst can be either the government (especially local), a private company or an NGO/civil society institution. Once the spark of a creative environment and process is ignited, it can only be kept burning through the oxygen brought about by all other social, economic and cultural actors. In this sense, it is interesting to observe that on the one hand, local governments are made accountable for creating the conditions for flow (Verhagen), such as the public space and the meanings it encompasses (Rotem), and also for "developing a cultural policy and creative economy which mobilises diversity, job creation, economic development, urban regeneration and investing in the creative infrastructure and design" (Iversen). On the other hand, "leadership must move beyond the advocacy role and high-profile events and recognise that in our developing countries, the path to success will be long and will need to address infrastructure and service delivery along the way" (Joffe) a conclusion that is also reached by Fonseca and Urani. This makes the point that "trust in the government may have been the most important result of the past two mandates" (Melguizo).

However, it is noticeable that the plague of political **discontinuity** is far from being exclusive to developing countries. As put by Bonnin, there is "increasingly greater and more demanding involvement of 'civil society', for the ability to unite people around a common cause, to link and give meaning to proposals and initiatives which are diverse and often fragmented." More often than not the absence of a **sustainable** political strategy empowers - and leaves no choice to - the civil society, but to take the lead in change processes. New governance models also arise. Such is the case of Nantes' Council for Development, and the volunteer Town Team activists, who "have spent the last five years working on their grand Strategic Plans for the future" (Wills). Clearly, governance (understood as an intertwined social pact) and long-term strategy are two sides of creative cities sustainability. Moreover, they are essencial to help build a **collective** dream. "If leadership is capable of formulating a dream that everyone, or the great majority, can agree on, you're on the path toward a creative city - when the dream is the inductor of a collective aspiration" (Lerner). But putting the dream into practice requires a high dose of conviction and courage, as illustrated by Turin's case, when "a new strategy for urban development has started by pooling and coordinating the efforts of the public and private actors in the metropolitan area" (Bertacchini).

We also aimed to investigate perceptions related to the role played by **tourism** in creative cities. It certainly engenders many positive associations: as a catalyst for local business, the development of services sector and the increase in cultural demand. It also assures the viability of many cultural projects that are otherwise unsustainable if



INTRODUCTION .

Ana Carla Fonseca Reis

based simply on local demand (Pardo); other positives include the encounter of ideas and diversity it offers (Strickland); and for serving as a mirror of city assets that locals tend to take for granted (Kageyama).

But the balance between tourists and locals is certainly a tricky one, especially as the needs of tourists are not the same as those of the local population (Joffe; Fonseca and Urani). Furthermore, while "public tourism policies usually tend to manage supply", it is "very important to design tourist policies aimed at the management of demand" (Pardo). The key seems to be in recognising that tourism should not be driving force of an urban strategy (as per Martins' statement, "massification does not sit easily with a creative and innovative environment"), but a natural consequence of it. After all, "one does not prepare the city for tourists – prepares it for people, and the way it serves its people can be an example of quality of life that that will attract tourists" (Lerner).

However, by far the most difficult question this book aims to shed light upon refers to **polarisations**. How can a city explore its creativity in the best way and avoid increasing disparities in the process? In spite of this being a prevailing (though surprisingly not unanimous) concern, responses are still inconclusive.

Iversen mentions a whole set of concerted measures, including participation, accessible infrastructure, housing, competence development, health and social care. For most cities, however, the struggle to **match** growth and development is made more difficult as there's a common feeling that we've been pursuing a very unsuitable and unsustainable development model⁴. Again, the creative city concept is not limited to an urban, economic, cultural, environmental or social approach. It's these factors altogether, shaping a whole new paradigm.

Sorting it out involves community engagement (Martins, Bertacchini, Strickland) and process ownership, both rationally and emotionally. The idea follows that one cannot care for unknown areas of the city – and does not care for those that, be they known, don't mean anything except for their dwellers. The creation of an emotional bond implies that "people need to know it, visit it, feel it in order to preserve it" (Bonnin) or, in other words, that the administrative map of the city is matched by people's mental and emotional **maps** towards it (Fonseca and Urani), as suggested by a cross analysis of Kevin Lynch and Milton Santos .

A complementary antidote lies in "the preservation of the coexistence of various economic activities and the presence of residential supply at diverse prices to ensure social diversity, are useful mechanisms to maintain the heterogenic, complex, real and

unique personality of a city" (Pardo). And also in networks, **collaboration**, inclusion, made possible through the dispersion of "projects and spaces around the city rather than concentrate all in inner city areas. And across the value chain: currently much of government funding is targeted at artists for the creation of new work" (Joffe). A sort of blindage to gentrification and polarisations is offered by increasing diversity (Bonnin, Lerner), provided it's not theoretical or a patchwork, and to better socioeconomic possibilities derived from the prioritisation of culture and education (Melguizo, Fonseca and Urani).

After all, tracing back the very roots of urban areas, from the first known settlements in Mesopotamia through the Greek, Roman and renaissance centers, it looks like there's always been the search for a balance of economic functions, social activities and an aesthetic or spiritual sense. "Sacred, safe and busy", Joel Kotkin⁷ would say. A balance that got lost in the consolidation of the industrial city. And from which it is now time to recover.

In Hertzfeld, Andy, Revolution in the Valley. Sebastopol: O'Reilly Media, 2004 From The Creative City (Earthscan, 2000) to The Art of City Making (Earthscan, 2006) and also stressed in The Intercultural City: Planning for diversity advantage (Earthscan, 2007), with Phil Wood. "The creative class is strongly oriented to large cities and regions that offer a variety of economic opportunities, a stimulating environment and amenities for every possible lifestyle" (The Rise of the Creative Class, p. 11). Two complementary approaches to this idea can be found in Hot, Flat and Crowded, by Thomas Friedman (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008) and in Tim Jackson's report, Prosperity without Growth (London: Sustainable Development Commission, March 2009). Available at: http://www.sd-commission.org.uk/publications.php?id=914 Accessed September 2009. The Image of the City. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1960 Metrópole Corporativa Fragmentada – o Caso de São Paulo. São Paulo: Ed. Nobel, 1990 The City. New York: Modern Library, 2005



It was an honor to REPENSE to receive Ana Carla Fonseca (Cainha) and Peter Kageyama's invitation to create the visual identity for this incredible book. This compilation of articles by such outstanding professionals expresses one of REPENSE's most important beliefs: the strength of the Collaborative Work, the strength of Collaborative Minds and the strength of Collaborative Expertise.

Since we became Cainha's partners, we have learned a lot about Creative Economy and we now understand we are a part of this important industry, which enhances innovation, preserves local culture, and stimulates economic and social changes through creativity. We now understand the power of the changes that we can make through the work we do to each one of our clients and through the connections we can make happen, bringing brands, non-profit organizations and the entire society together to create win-win partnerships that benefit everyone of them.

REPENSE is a non-conventional communication company. We are not an advertising agency, not a direct marketing agency, not an Internet agency, and not a social marketing agency. We are a little bit of each one of them. We are what we believe the future of communication will be like: a multidisciplinary team that is able to invent and create projects, campaigns and movements that touch people's hearts and minds".

The word REPENSE (which means RETHINK in English) symbolizes our desire to reinvent communication, detached from the past and traditional media, having confidence in the strength of great ideas, whatever the discipline is. We truly believe that a Brand Manifestation or a Brand Experience can happen anyplace, anywhere, anytime. We also believe that communication can be much wider than the advertising industry is. We are sure that new media and social-environment issues will become Brands' priorities for the next decade.

REPENSE was founded in December 2006. All the members of our Board of Directors came from international agencies and from very strong communication groups, such as WPP and Interpublic. And all of them have one thing in common: the desire to express their ideas with IMPARTIALITY, focusing efforts and energy not only on what brings money to the agency or to our clients, but also on what delivers RELEVANCY and TRUE VALUE to the society. We all believe that the communications industry has to be part of the enormous changes that are now happening in the society and the environment all over the world.

One of REPENSE's most important differential is the RETHINKERS NETWORK we have built: a special network that brings together specialists from different segments, such as Urbanism, Content, Fashion, Research, Technology, Art, Design, among many others, to design marketing and communication solutions for our clients. The Collaborative Creativity has been in our DNA since our day one, because we know that together we can be stronger, leveraging the impact of everything we do.

REPENSE has two operations in Brazil, one in Vila Madalena (São Paulo) and another in Gávea (Rio de Janeiro). Both of these neighborhoods are extremely dedicated to creativity, full of art galleries, local artists' stores, designers, wellness clinics and urban art. We chose them to attract and inspire creative and talented people who value this kind of atmosphere.

We also believe that REPENSE can be part of the cultural changes, engaging itself in different events and movements that can help our cities become more creative. One good example is our parking lot, which we transformed into a Graffiti Art Gallery, together with Rui Amaral, one of the partners of RETHINKERS NETWORK. You can see this transformation at www.repensecomunicacao.com.br/espacorecriar.

At present, we have 105 employees and our client list includes Banco Itaú (the largest private bank in Brazil), Oi (the largest telecom company in Brazil), Fundação Dom Cabral (Business School), GSK (Healthcare), Organon/Schering Plough (Healthcare), WWF (non profit organization), Bom Bril (Home Care), Instituto Ethos (the most important non profit organization dedicated to help companies understand and learn more about sustainability), among many others.

And we know this is just the beginning of a long path. Our biggest dream is to become the "agency of the dreams" of our clients, partners, employees and the entire society, showing all of them that communication and marketing professionals bear the enormous responsibility of making the world a better and more CREATIVE place.



REATIVE CITIES - A BRAZILIAN EXPERIENCE











The creative city. A tricky and impelling concept for a continental country united by 5,564 cities where 83.5% of the population lived in 2007 (against 31.3% only in 1940), presenting the 9th biggest GDP in the world, an effervescent cultural and technological production... and huge socioeconomic disparities, between and within cities.

But before we jump into the creative cities debate in the Brazilian context, it may be useful to clarify the creative economy concept implied here, once historically economic systems nourish and change the urban shape and scene. After all, at the very heart of economics lie human relations – people's expectations, choices and behaviours impacting on production, consumption, exchanges and even on the way we learn – or not – how to transform ourselves and the city we live in.

First, the creative economy can be seen as a spin off of the knowledge economy. To the prevailing position of knowledge, technology and networks it adds a fundamental feature. It recognises that culture is also a non-commoditised economic asset. In a world where technology cycles shorten at light speed and copies become almost a fact of life, the search for intangibles and for non-copiable products and services is crucial. Though products, services and ideas generated by individual creativity may indeed be copied (legally or not, and regardless to the unbalances of the current IPR system¹), their source cannot. This is one of the reasons why creative talent – otherwise known as 'creative class' – is the golden dream of so many places. More on this later.

But the creative economy has also drunk in the sources of the experience economy. There's more into creativity than intellectual production - something emotional, self-rewarding, experiential, able to generate an environment where ideas and responses to new and old obstacles and opportunities break free in unpredictable ways. Which leads us to an obvious conclusion. Given that creativity emerges in a specific context, it is evident that there's no standard or single recipe on how to foster it. The creative economy in Canada or Indonesia may certainly share a few traits, but it would require more than a high dose of naïvety to believe models can be transposed with no local translation. The same holds true for the creative cities debate. The reputable success of London, Barcelona and Toronto, to mention but a few iconic references of creative cities teased many other places to copy the products they represent – by and large ignoring the processes they engaged in. And once the history, the talents and the conditions that motivate these processes are not the same, there is no way results will be.

Creative city - drawing a concept in progress

So, what's a creative city? Approaches abound. For a few, it's the siege of the creative class (term made popular by Richard Florida²) – people whose work is based on individual creativity and whose primary choice in life is the city they live in – for its effervescence, cultural diversity, technology presence and so forth. For it's the place where they feel at ease. But it sounds weird that to be 'successful' as a creative place a city turns its eyes outwards and not to inwards. What a curious paradox that one of the main traits of a creative place is the authenticity of its identity – but to keep its position as a creative place it needs to attract creative people from other areas.

For others, the emphasis should fall not on the creative class itself, but on the creative industries the city is able to generate, attract and host - which, in turn, would be magnets for creative talents. The presence of a high concentration of creative industries and clusters would therefore be indications of a creative city. The concept of cluster in this scope is guite different from the traditional Porter's definition and could be seen, as proposed by the Creative Clusters Conference and Network, in a more holistic view, blurring the boundaries between culture, economics and social aspects. "A cluster of creative enterprises needs much more than the standard vision of a business park next to a technology campus. A creative cluster includes

non-profit enterprises, cultural institutions, arts venues and individual artists alongside the science park and the media centre. Creative clusters are places to live as well as to work, places where cultural products are consumed as well as made. They are open round the clock, for work and play. They feed on diversity and change and so thrive in busy, multicultural urban settings that have their own local distinctiveness but are also connected to the world."³

Actually, the appeal to creative industries and people is a consequence of being a creative city.

A creative city is constantly transforming its socioeconomic structure, based on the creativity of its dwellers and on the cultural and economic ambiance it offers.

The catch is not to consider the creative class a category of privileged citizens, but to enable all people's creativity to flourish in unpredictable and complementary ways - regardless to the size of the city. Much focus has been put into middle and big towns.



But small places, just as small companies, may be extremely inspirational and complementary to big ones. They are essential to the cultural and socioeconomic regional web, no longer satellites of the industrial city.

As the definition above implies, there's also something overwhelmingly sensorial about a creative city. As sensorial as creativity itself is. It is a live place, hugely nurtured by three elements:

- 1) CONNECTIONS. Connnections of what? Basically, of encounters: of ideas, of people from all different walks of life, of businesses, of expressions, both within the city and in connection with the world; and new connections of roles and responsibilities. Governance in a creative city should orchestrate different government levels and policies; the corporate sector; and the community who, in the end, should feel responsible for the city they live in.
- 2) CULTURE. Encompassing material and imaterial productions and heritage and the economic of cultural chains, from creation and production to consumption and access. Being impervious to commoditisation, culture increases the uniqueness of products and services, adding value not only to the cultural industries, but also spearheading traditional sectors (fashion and textile, architecture and civil construction etc.). This more systemic view makes room to the understanding of the economic contribution of cultural products and services as industries per se; as catalysts of consumption of non-cultural products and services (the dress of the actress, the site where the film was produced, the language of the song); and as a source of inspiration for creativity, openness and innovation in society at large.
- 3) SUSTAINABILITY. In the current world, it seems undeniable that sustainability can only be assured when social, economic, cultural and environmental conditions are in place. All four pillars are equally fundamental. If cultural benefits are not in place, the very uniqueness of the city is gone. If social benefits are not taken into account, short-term growth doesn't incur into long-term development⁴. Economic outcomes, it goes without saying, are a prerequisit to survival. As for the environment, not only the link between economy and ecology is more than semantic, but the environment is what makes the connections between public and private areas. Political (dis) continuity is such a burning issue in Brazil and in developing countries at large, that making it a fifth pillar is almost a requisite. However, as it underpins the sustainability of all four abovementioned strategies, let us keep this point in the background and come back to it later.

■ 13

Small creative cities — introducing Guaramiranga

If creative effervescence and diversity are the hallmark of big creative cities, it is in the small ones that traditions and identities tend to be more genuine. After all, a sheltering tree needs both deep roots and far-reaching branches.

According to the census, in 1950 slightly less than 91% of Brazilian cities had up to 50,000 people. The same applies to the year 2000. However, if back in the 50's small cities represented 62.9% of the national population, in this century they account for no more than 36.7%. Though skyrocketing migration rates from small cities have decreased, people still migrate. This shouldn't be much trouble, was it not for the fact that many people leave due to a lack of economic choice.

Things get worse once we consider that more often than not there could be alternative job offers and wealth generation in these places. However, new development strategies demand a different approach to lingering problems. Guaramiranga is a case in point. Housing less than 5,000 people, it is located in Ceará, a state ranking low in the Brazilian development index, though there have been significant improvements since the early 1990's⁵.

Suffering from limited economic alternatives and facing serious social problems, the city stands at the top of a hill, circled by a beautiful native forest.

Back in 2000, cultural production agency Via de Comunicação launched the Jazz

and Blues Festival of Guaramiranga, targeting people who did not take to the current carnival rhythms. At the same time, the Festival would promote tourism in a region bearing natural and cultural resources. Guaramiranga still ecjoes evening concerts and social garherings of the early 20th century, when wealth families of the region used Guaramiranga as a summer destination.

Jazz and blues were chosen upon the observation that musicians from Ceará, whose talents were well-known internationally, did not find work up to their competencies, threatening cultural diversity and the economic sustainability of local cultural production. In spite of its natural biodiversity, Guaramiranga barely received tourists and lacked hospitality infrastructure.

The festival in and by the community. Performances are complemented by workshops, ecotourism activities, gatherings of new and famous talents, and other activities paving a continuous tourist flow to the city. Its 10th edition in 2009 accounted for amasing cultural, economic and social results. Above all, it is now clear that the festival contributes to offer a viable development alternative and to make people see they can transform their future.

Underpinning it all there's a deep sense of transformation processes, including the commitment to a long-term process; the recognition of the city's cultural uniqueness and its match to an economic strategy; the presence of a change catalyst; and the convergence of public, private and community objectives.

A very big creativecity (?) – São Paulo

Both extremely complex and highly heterogenous, bit cities are a patchwork of mental maps and emotional perimeters.

Mental maps are individual representations of a city, varying from person to person and hardly ever as comprehensive as and the geographic map of a place. Even residents usually fail to list all neighbourhoods in a metropole, let alone spot and describe them. Within this smaller workable image, the way one relates and cares for different areas defines his individual emotional perimeter. In other words, people care for what they know and respect. This emotional bond is key to reduce social inequalities in an urban context, echoing the seminal ideas of Milton Santos⁶.

In his influecial work, *The Image of the City*⁷, Kevin Lynch says, "Every citizen has had long associations with some part of the city, and his image is soaked in memories and meanings." For Lynch, each of these images involves the recognition of the oneness of the whole city (what we can name 'singularity'); the relationships entangled among its individual parts; and the meanings (both rational and emotional) they hold for residents.

The development of a creative city strategy needs to attempt to juxtapose mental maps and emotional perimeters. The more they resemble, the lower discrepancies tend to be.

São Paulo is a world of its own. Bubbling in cultural and economic effervescence, slightly less than 11 million *paulistanos*, by birth or by choice, intermingle in the city and account for roughly 15% of the national GDP. Not to mention the other 38 cities that encircle São Paulo, composing a dense net of roughly 20 million people. The hustle and buzzle of the most populated city in the Southern Hemisphere is fostered by countless cultural and entertainment offers and an utterly heterogeneous culture. The largest financial centre in Latin America also holds the title of world capital of gastronomy⁸.

But all this is relatively new. It was only at the turn of the 19th century, propelled by rich coffee plantations and an immigrant workforce that São Paulo started drafting its current shape, both culturally and economically⁹. Today, the city hosts more than 90,000 events a year, 12,500 restaurants, people from all over the world and was elected twice the best business destination in Latin America¹⁰. But it's not all roses. Maybe the city was too busy working, to care for its own heritage. Maybe, in this constant flow of changes, policymakers were too focused on the present to preserve the city roots and make sure emotional perimeters were shared by its dwellers. São Paulo is many cities within one and there is still very little recognition that its biggest power lies in its multiple talented workforce. But creative skills, competencies and an undeniable entrepreneurship are not enough to support a development strategy. The lack of alignment between the various public sectors and levels; the political shift







14 **1** 15





that tends to take place every four years; the outrageous private appropriation of public spaces; and the myopia in recognising that each area of the city has an intrinsic and complementary cultural and economic potential make it hard to reduce discrepancies and to reward São Paulo for all its contributions.

São Paulo is open by definition, as it is the most Brazilian and international city in the country. And in spite of the lack of focus given to capacity-building in Brazil, it hosts first level technology and academic centers, such as the University of São Paulo, reputed as the best university in the Southern hemisphere¹¹. But no university will be sustainable in the long run, if public basic education remains protocolar, inappropriate and low level, as it is today in Brazil. This is certainly not exclusive to São Paulo, but it remains an obvious obstacle if the city aims to tackle a creative city strategy.

The difficulty in building a common agenda across 39 city halls, a State government and a hugely complex set of private and civil institutions is only paralleled by the opportunity it can represent. The unbearable federal tax burden that falls over the biggest contributor to the national GDP doesn't help either, especially as it increases year by year. But there's absolutely no way the city can engage in a new development model, for tself and for the benefit of the country, if the governance and the political interests remain as they currently are.

Paving the way to a creative city – and avoiding traps in the middle.

Regardless to the size of the city, two constant threats frighten creative cities. The first one is gentrification and socieconomic polarisations. Once a city is seen as a pole of creativity, an oasis of quality of life and economic source, it immediately becomes a magnet for people from all different places – in the country and from abroad. How can locals deal with price rises, fierce competitiveness for qualified jobs, lack of affordable housing and oppose to the greed of real estate developers?

The usual reaction has a flavour of xenophobia. But instead of punishing the very people who could also refresh diversity and innovation, granting subsidies and incentives to locals could be a temporary safety net. Competitiveness and reduced discrepancies can only be achieved and sustained once they're based on a sound capacity-building and on an educational programme, matched by pervasive access to information. Therefore, data (information) and software (formal education and technical capacitation) put together. At this stage of the creative economy debate, there's a robust mileage of lessons learnt. So, let us not forget them. And allow our people and cities to be as creative and they can be.

- 1) LAME STRATEGY. A creative city needs to poise cultural, economical, social and environmental strategies.
- 2) CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE. There are economically and culturally talented people everywhere. What's the most suitable strategy for them (and not the other way round)?
- 3) SHORT-TERM DRIVE. Political descontinuity is poisonous. Short-term strategies are useless.
- 4) "I'M THE OWNER" SYNDROME. Leadership is not ownership. Public, private and NGOs can be catalysts of a transformation process, but there needs to be an intimate engagement of the population.
- 5) MY TOURIST, MY LORD. Creative cities are places where locals are hosts and tourists are guests. Let's be clear.
- **6) SPONTANEOUS COMBUSTION OVERBELIEF.** However much creative people may be, they need a strategy to turn their talent into concrete results.
- 7) MACHIAVELLI REVIEWED. A creative strategy requires a cross-sector programme, not a divide and conquer approach. Away with the silos.

¹The unbalance of global trade and the unsuitability of the current IPR system, especially in traditional communities and developing countries, deserves a paper in its own right. Most of the arguments in this debate can be found in Reis, A.C.F. (Org.), *Creative Economy as a Developing Strategy – a View of developing countries*. Garimpo de Soluções and Itaú Cultural, December'2008. Available at http://www.garimpodesolucoes.com.br/downloads/ebook_en.pdf

²See, for instance, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (Basic Books, 2002), *The Flight of the Creative Class* (Harper Business, 2005), *Cities and the Creative Class* (Routledge, 2005). Or, more recently, *Who's Your City?* (Basic Books, 2008).

³Available at: http://www.creativeclusters.com

⁴The underlying concept here is Amartya Sen's *Development as Freedom and the connection to sustainable development is explored in Economia da Cultura como Estratégia de Desenvolvimento – o Caleidoscópio da cultura* (Manole, 2006 – Jabuti Award 2007). In this respect, it is also worth referring to the report *Prosperity without Growth – the Transition to a sustainable economy*, by Jackson, T.. London: Sustainable Development Commission, March'2009. Available at http://www.sd-commission.org.uk/publications.php?id=914

⁵As described by Judith Tendler in *Good Government in the Tropics*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. Portuguese version by Editora Revan and Escola Nacional de Administração Pública. Rio de Janeiro, August 1998.

⁶Metrópole Corporativa Fragmentada – o Caso de São Paulo. São Paulo: Ed. Nobel, 1990.

⁷The MIT Press, 1960.

⁸10th edition of the International Congress on Gastronomy, Hospitality and Tourism, 1997.

⁹For those interested in the subject and literate in Portuguese, an unmissible reference is Roberto Pompeu de Toledo's *A Capital da Solidão – uma História de São Paulo das origens a 1900.* São Paulo: Ed. Objetiva, 2003.

¹⁰According to América Economia Intelligence, research unit of América Economia.

¹¹http://www.webometrics.info/top6000.asp, 2009 edition.



CREATIVE CITIES — BUILDING ON WHAT WE'VE LEARNED Anamaria Wills



Ten years after the Huddersfield Creative Town Initiative² ended, we are in a different world. The surrealism of 'the global credit crunch'; the incomprehensible and often unwarranted business bankruptcies, most painfully but not exclusively among small businesses; the deepening chasm of suspicion and distrust between the finance sector and its customers; the increasing isolation of politicians, both national and regional, as they attempt to talk up their attempts to stabilise economies; the growing social devastation resulting from rising unemployment; the collapsing of ideals and values as everything gets subordinated to the goal of protecting the world from the fallout of greed, self interest and avarice. What price the Creative City now?

The Econ Dev officer suddenly leaned forward, eyes sharp and intent: "Yes, Anamaria", he said. "The creative sector has done well by us – but now, what is the sector doing for the rest of the city's economy?"

We have had our good times. When the Creative Town Initiative ended in December 1999, it left significant legacies which have since enjoyed a period of growth and even acclaim. Not least among them is The Media Centre. Ten years ago, they were funded to manage one building for the local authority, and in the process were stimulating a lengthy waiting list of potential tenants; now, in 2009, the company is fully independent, has actually bought two buildings, manages two others and hosts within them over 200 creative businesses, both real and virtual. It has spawned a number of private sector competitors in the region, all seeking to emulate its success; and is now celebrated throughout the UK - and indeed throughout the world as arguably the UK's most successful creative cluster.

Then there is CIDA Ltd, a private company borne out of the experience of the Creative Town Initiative, and set up in January 2000 to help creative people earn their living from their creativity. It now employs 12 full time staff and over 40 part time creative practitioners in the UK; has established an office in the Far East (CIDA Asia Pte); and works all over the world putting creativity at the heart of economic development. The company is still based at The Media Centre and carries the name and fame of Huddersfield wherever it goes.

Above all, there is the legacy of "creative literacy" amongst politicians and officers: it is in the nature of the beast that there is never enough said or done by local authorities, but in

Huddersfield (Kirklees) the Creative Town Initiative taught its lessons well. Creativity is talked about openly, without embarrassment but with high expectations. It has been largely recognised as a tool for development and prosperity. For the last ten years we have rarely had to engage the arguments for supporting creative businesses.

But have we done as well as we should have done?

Chengdu City (CIDA)



It is true that, in the early days, we fell into the lazy trap of equating creativity with the arts, of reinforcing the silos that prevent true cross sectoral developments and collaborations, and of failing to take on board the wisdom of Howkins³, Landry⁴ and Florida⁵ when their words made us uncomfortable by requiring new behaviours. s from the Literature Festival to the internationally famous Contemporary Music Festival dot the calendar throughout the year, celebrating high art whilst involving schools and even churches to encourage community engagement. The more regional HOST, now in its 6th year, has become an established part of the tourism offer, ushering hundreds of customers from artist's studio to artist's studio in a bewildering but exhilarating journey across Huddersfield towns and across artforms. Interestingly. originally initiated by CIDA, HOST is now established as an independent social enterprise and is run by the artists themselves, making a significant contribution to the tourism economy.

UK. Partly as a result of that, the local authority, the Media Centre and CIDA combined to mount the national Blue Skies campaign, specifically aimed at attracting new creative businesses to the area. Today, creative entrepreneurs, particularly from the digital and new media end of the creative industries spectrum, thrive in the Media Centre's cluster, cross trading and co-commissioning. Emboldened by their success, creatives from the more traditional part of the sector have come together and taken over old mills, derelict buildings, former warehouses etc. With and without the support of local landlords, they have created the kind of spaces they need to make their work, from studios to rehearsal spaces to recording studios. In almost all the little towns and villages that make up the Huddersfield district, from Deighton to Slaithwaite, creative communities are increasingly building their own ecosystems for survival.

An unexpected result of all this activity

was that, in a national poll in 2006,

Huddersfield was voted one of the

UK's top ten Creative Cities in the

The creative sector is alive and well and growing in Huddersfield. Every space is taken and the hunt is on for more. Those earning good money are, as ever, relatively few although they do exist – one has only to look at the cars parked at the Media Centre! But the majority are earning their living from their creativity and, as a by product, are helping to make the places they live more attractive to a wider economic community. As yet, there is little sense of displacement of creatives

and artists through gentrification. As the developers move in, Huddersfield makes a point of offering training to its creatives to enable them to work with the developers and planners, taking their creative skills into new arenas and, critically, to benefit from the new investment coming into the area. It is an enlightened move, part of ensuring that local jobs go to local people. But is it enough? Surely there is more to a Creative City than that?

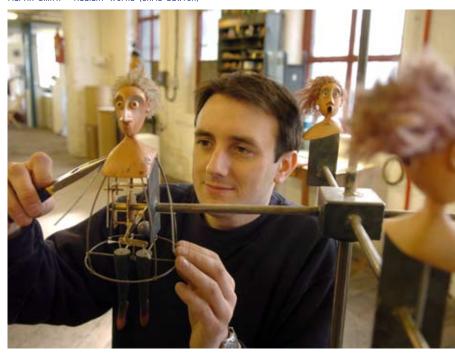
For example, for all the breadth of activity in the town, creative entrepreneurs rarely question the repeatedly similar demographics of both commissioner and customer. Representation of the black and minority ethnic (BME) communities in economic activity, particularly that generated by the creative community, remains noticeably lower than for the population as a whole. In 2000, only 3% of the creative workforce came from the BME communities - today, the figure has risen to the lordly heights of 4%. Meanwhile, in Dewsbury, the alienation of young Asian males has already made its terrible impact felt on the national stage. In Huddersfield, the Pakistani community still lives in a relative ghetto, where the smells and the sounds and sights are startlingly reminiscent to me of my childhood in Karachi, over 50 years ago. The poverty and deprivation is shocking in an English town in the 21st century. Elsewhere, asylum seekers and refugees are regarded with the deepest suspicion. There is little recognition of the fact that, according to the Refugee Council, many refugees tend to be the

intellectuals of their nations, whose very education has caused them to become personae non grata at home. They continue to be disregarded and unappreciated by their new host communities. So far, the Creative Town has failed to make much impact on these issues.

Less challengingly, but with equal significance, until recently both the Media Centre and CIDA Ltd tended to focus on businesses involved in the 'creative sector' as defined by the UK Government – and clients of both organisations are predominantly white, male, middle class and highly educated. Where is the diversity of culture, the challenge of experience, the mix of race and talent and the tolerance, indeed the welcoming, of difference? Both CIDA and The Media Centre will say they have tried to reach out and have even shown small successes - but both also acknowledge that it is not as it should be.

On a broader front, and leaving aside some of the social demographics, where are the synergies of Florida's "creative class" – where are the scientists, technologists, lawyers, accountants, the health care and education professionals - the people who make up the knowledge economy of which the creative sector is only a subset? Where is the richness of bringing together this extraordinary range of professionals to share ideas and concepts, both experienced and imagined? Painfully, we have, in the last few years, recognised that we have been slow to pick up on the complexity of the idea of a Creative City.

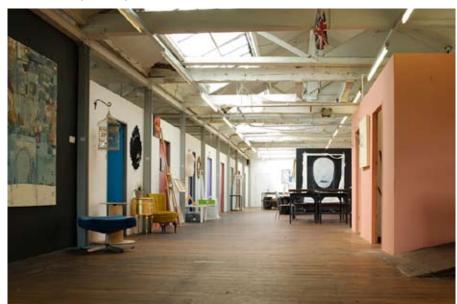
Martin Smith - Radiant Works (Chris Lawton)



In Manchester, a group comprising the Local Authority, the University and a couple of major institutions have come together in consortium to create "The Corridor". The Corridor is a stretch of a major road through the City along which a range of large, significant and – critically – mixed sector organisations, including the member groups of this consortium, are located. Their challenge is to see how they can build attractive networking opportunities that will appeal to all the different sectors involved. They want to see how they can bring together that breadth of knowledge and experience to combine in collaborative effort to develop real innovation as a contribution to the area's, and the City's, future prosperity. Interestingly, Huddersfield has been regularly cited as providing a potential solution.

In Chengdu, a very successful and prosperous Chinese property developer contacted CIDA Ltd in 2008 and asked to come and see our work, including touring the Media Centre. He then went on to tour a number of creative managed workspaces in the UK but, after a few weeks, returned to CIDA and invited us to set up a joint venture company with him to develop creative sector centres across China. On our first visit to Chengdu, we were introduced to a client of our new partner. This client runs the Manufacturing Zone in Chengdu – just one business area in the city of Chengdu but measuring at least twice the size of Huddersfield. The client wanted to explore the idea of setting up a creative cluster in the middle of this manufacturing zone – a cluster that would provide a unique service to the various car manufacturing businesses that made up the zone. And it became clear very quickly that his version of 'creative' was closer to the Landry/Florida definition than to the UK Government's!





The common link between Manchester, Chengdu and Huddersfield is a growing awareness and commitment to innovation. In direct embodiment of every commentator's pronouncement, these aspirational creative cities recognise that future success depends not only on creativity, the generation of new ideas, but on innovation, the capacity and process to move those ideas into reality and even into profit. And in order to do that, cities need to be able to create the environment that stimulates, encourages and supports the creativity and innovation process. It is not an easy ambition. People are too well conditioned by the social, economic and cultural structures that have governed our way of life for so long. Helping them to break out of these silos, throwing over the established ways of doing things, taking personal responsibility for the success of a city or town, developing new skills, new understandings, new ambitions is a dramatic challenge and a long journey.

Interestingly, the region of Yorkshire and The Humber, one of the largest in the UK and (surely no mere coincidence!) home to Huddersfield, has actually been trying to do just this. In their Renaissance programme, the Regional Development Agency has charged individual towns and cities with the responsibility of planning their future over the next 25 years. Each town has developed a volunteer Town Team, working in parallel with and alongside the Local Authority and its elected Members, and, together with experienced planners and architects, these volunteer Town Team activists have spent the last five years working on their grand Strategic Plans for the future.



Huddersfield Open Studio Trail (HOST)

It has not been without its difficulties. At first call, the Teams tended to attract only white, middle aged, middle class men. The relationship between elected Councillors and volunteer Teams has sometimes been uneasy. To help with this, CIDA has been commissioned to take creative practitioners into the towns to work as facilitators to help with the creative thinking process. The facilitators use their community engagement skills to widen the participation in Town Teams, to include young people, BME communities, the elderly and women of all ages and backgrounds, to bring the disparate groups together in a shared vision. But perhaps the biggest benefit of the whole programme might yet prove to be that of giving people a sense of ownership of the future, a sense that they can change the rules and determine the outcomes. To give them, in fact, the courage to innovate.

Because, after ten years of living the experiment that was the Creative Town Initiative, we know that there is still much to do. We were "early adopters" of the Creative City model and we were strongly influenced by the newly articulated theories of a "Creative Sector". The cultural and wider creative sector has grown in the area and plays an economically significant role locally. In this context, Huddersfield is recognised nationally and internationally as a "model of good practice". But, actually, we want more.

We want to capture the creative possibilities that come from all businesses, all walks of life. We want to translate that creativity into innovation that impacts on the life of the Town. We want to share knowledge and intelligence across a range of sectors – Huddersfield University's recent attempt to work with CIDA to







People and artwork (HOST)

bring together physical sciences and creatives to develop an innovation process to address the issues of low carbon fuels failed only because of the lack of imagination on the part of the national funders, not from an unwillingness of a range of participants to see if we could do something new. We will try something similar again. We aim to show that innovation need not be merely serendipitous – that every business, every community is able to design and master an innovation process that leads to the realisation of ideas, the resolution of problems and the real engagement of the participants irrespective of background or discipline.

So let's tempt fate and ask how might we do that?

We have reached out across the world, from Silicon Valley to Singapore, to learn from the best. Now we need to involve the local leaders, both formal and informal, from the Local Authority and the University, from Health and Education. We need the lawyers, the accountants, the architects and the planners. We need the scientists and the creatives. And we need community activists. By bringing together existing networks, we can address the city's key issues through a systematised approach to innovation pioneered, tested and championed by innovation gurus such as Herman Gyr⁶. We are about to do exactly this for the business community – we can apply the same principles to planning the future of our town.

In his famous quote, Gary Hamel of Harvard University comments about business saying: "every CEO pays lip service to the importance of innovation. But when you ask employees about their innovation process, you get blank looks – they have none". This is even truer of towns and cities. Let us break the mould! Let us now transform the community's potential for creativity into the generation of new process, new service, above all, new relationships. With what we have learned over the last ten years, let us work together again to ensure that all businesses, all communities contribute to, and benefit from, a new, refocused and refreshed Creative Town Initiative.



Chengdu open air sculptures (CIDA)

Beaumont Studios (Beaumont Studios)



ECON DEV OFFICER
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OFFICER WORKING
FOR THE LOCAL AUTHORITY.

'HUDDERSFIELD CREATIVE TOWN INITIATIVE 1997-1999 – EU FUNDED URBAN PILOT PROGRAMME USING CREATIVITY AS A CATALYST FOR REGENERATION. http://www.the-media-centre.co.uk

²Howkins, J., The Creative Economy. London: Penguin, 2004

³Landry, C., The Creative City. London: Earthscan, 2000

Florida, R., The Rise of the Creative Class. New York: Basic Books, 2002

⁵Herman Gyr, Ph.D. founding partner of the Enterprise Development Group, international innovation specialist. http://www.enterprisedevelop.com

24 \blacksquare



CREATIVE CITIES OR CREATIVE POCKETS? REFLECTIONS FROM SOUTH AFRICA

Avril Joffe



Vilakazi street public enviroment upgrade. Trinity Session (JDA)



The creative city project is essentially one of a strong attention to excellence in urban management with a focus on being creative in how the city responds to the myriad of problems it faces – from transport and housing to environment and health. It is also one in which the creative industries as well as the arts and culture sector play a role in foregrounding these problems, developing solutions to them and in being nurtured and showcased in the spaces and places developed as part of the ongoing city project to become excellent – whether this is defined in a world class city, an African world class city, a world class African city, a creative city, a green city or a creative African capital city. This paper reflects on the ideas of the creative city, questions of leadership and implementation in various cities in South Africa.

Creative cities in developing countries

Is the notion of a creative city necessarily elitist and only appropriate to the developed world? Experience in South Africa suggests that a number of conditions would need to be met to militate against it being seen as elitist, such as:

- the city addresses basic service delivery and infrastructure needs;
- the city does not privilege affluent areas;
- the city is inclusive in its offerings;
- the range of services offered to the creative industries is varied and appropriately geared according to the age of the enterprise (emergent, self sufficient, established) and place in the market (informal economy, formal economy, tourist or domestic, international exports) that the enterprises or industries occupy;
- the full value chain in services is offered from the needs of the artists and creators to those of distribution and exhibition;
- funding and financial incentives are offered;
- community arts centres, exchange programmes, touring opportunities and rehearsal spaces are available to all and geographically placed to meet the needs of the diverse communities;
- transport routes, venue logistics, marketing and finance are appropriately spread to ensure diverse audiences can consume diverse products in many different locations throughout the city;
- environmental and green issues are high on the agenda of urban planning.

At what point is a city a creative city?

Linked to the notion of a creative city in a developing country is the idea that a city can be creative even if it is not at the 'end' point where all of the above characterises or conditions are being met. That being 'on route', communicating the vision and ensuring a coordinated strategy will allow cities to claim that they are a creative city. In some cases the city will be responding to organic developments in the arts and culture world (Newtown precinct in the City of Johannesburg), the business and economic developments in a region (the Global City Region concept of the Gauteng Province), the tourism experience (The City of Cape Town) or the conscious developments orchestrated by the city planning officials and politicians (The City of Tshwane's African Capital City of Excellence).

Whichever the case, the city would need to recognise what is happening, enhance that, and ask how it can add value to that: in Newtown for example, a cultural precinct emerged during the late 70s and early 80s as support by key infrastructure in the area such as the Market Theatre and Kippies. Many corporates however were at that time choosing to move their headquarters to nearby Sandton as the perception of Newtown by the end of the 1990s was one of decay, grime and crime. Both as part of changing the image of Newtown and as part of addressing traffic flow issues into the central business district a bridge from neighbouring Braamfontein was proposed to carry traffic directly over the railway lines into Newtown. The Nelson Mandela Bridge as it was named changed the physical landscape around Newtown and provided a fresh hopeful image to the precinct. Newtown is still trying to live up to this image. It is not quite there. But there is no doubt that the Nelson Mandela Bridge was a creative response to these many inner city problems.

As cities recognise the value of branding and marketing their distinctive spaces many turn initially to public art to draw attention to other urban regeneration projects and to instil in the population a sense of hope and expectation of what these project will deliver, such as that embarked on by the Sandton City Management District through its Sandton Central Open Street Sessions, a summer-long annual public space performance programme as well as the Annual Illumination Project (designed by artist Usha Seejasrim) managed by AAW Art Project Management.

"The entire arts programme in the [Sandton] district - now over four years old and contracted to continue in the long-term, is focused on edge-city place making. The idea is that by working with the arts, across all disciplines, the district can continually reinvent itself as a compelling experience while simultaneously



The Nelson Mandela Bridge, Newtown



Water Ballet, Fountains at Nelson Mandela Square



Giant Why Man, Sandton. One of 50 sculptural light installations being installed along the Sandton Central Spine – Maude Street.



Brenda Fassie in Newtown, Johannesburg, ©Joburg News, March 2006

increasing the asset value of the property in the zone. The latter is the motivation for the project as the property owners fund the arts programme with over R1.5m per annum through the improvement district structure. Their recognition of imagination's power to transform reality has born fruit." (Perkes, 2009)

It is not however only cities but corporates and the media that realise the value of public art. The largest circulation Sunday newspaper, the Sunday Times decided to celebrate its 100 years by launching a heritage project. Charlotte Bauer, the journalist who headed up the Sunday Times Heritage Project explains the intention behind the memorials installed throughout the country: "We wanted to show how today's news is tomorrow's

history. We wished to add a small stitch to the fabric of dozens of streets and communities; to shine a light on a singular moment in 100 years of news time which, subtly or significantly, helped to shape the diverse 'us'" (Bauer, 2007: 1-2). AAW project management explains that the making of public art is passionate and has an emotional intent which, combined with the reality of the 'seething urban landscape, fraught with neglect and fear of criminality' became a thoroughly interactive process involving numerous stakeholders from the families of those being honoured, the artist/creator of the memorial, the communities surrounding the chosen sites, public officials and, of course the newspaper (Perkes and Mokoena, 2007).

Leadership and governance of creative cities

The experience in South Africa suggests that having a champion to drive a vision is essential if a new concept or idea is to receive the attention it deserves both within government and in the public eye. The idea of the creative industries as a viable industry sector is not yet recognised in South Africa let alone the importance of the creative industries for the knowledge economy that so many of our cities are devising plans and strategies for. The idea of the creative city as one in which the city addresses urban problems creatively is even further from the understanding and experience of our city leaders and officials.





Cape Town Jazz Festival Poster

28 **—** ____

Advocacy projects range from public art (Sandton City Precinct), events and festivals (Cape Town Jazz Festival, Arts Alive in Joburg), marketing and branding (Newtown, the city of Tshwane), diversifying, upgrading and enhancing the entertainment offerings (Newtown, City of Tshwane) to the full range of precinct plans (City of Tshwane), enhancing of public spaces (Cape Town City), squares (Mary Fitzgerald Square). This delivery combined with visible marketing will impact on the public imagination and benefit the image of the city.

However, leadership must move beyond the advocacy role and high-profile events and recognise that in our developing countries the path to success will be long and will need to address infrastructure and service delivery along the way. The importance of having an implementation strategy driven by partnerships cannot be overestimated.

Creative cities need cooperative governance with strong leadership driving the project such as in the City of Cape Town through the programme, Creative Cape Town. The intention of this programme is to communicate, support and facilitate the development of the creative and knowledge economy in the city. A full time coordinator runs the programme out of the office of the Cape Town Partnership (established in July 1999) which is a public-private organisation promoting and managing Cape Town Central City stretching from Sea point to Woodstock and from the sea to Table Mountain.

The Cape Town Partnership has developed and nurtured partnerships between the City, the property owners, the private and non-profit sectors and the different spheres of government (City, Province and National) around concrete projects. Creative Cape Town replicates this partnership model in its work.

The partnership has yielded results with urban degeneration in the Central City largely reversed, investment increased (between 14-18 Billion public and private over the last 10 years), new creative enterprises (in fashion, craft, design, advertising, film, animation, jewellery and cultural tourism) have occupied the spaces vacated by established corporates, high end retail has opened up and international events (Cape Town Jazz Festival and Design Indaba) are held in the city centre.

Creative Cape Town has the responsibility to drive the strategies to achieve the goal of the Central City as a leading centre for knowledge, innovation, creativity and culture in Africa and the South to strengthen the production capacity of local creative business, educational bodies and non-profits and also to increase the consumption of locally made creative products and services.

The City of Tshwane, South Africa's capital city, will establish a Capital City Planning Commission to coordinate the work of the various City level departments (Planning, Infrastructure, Tourism, Economic Development, Sports, Arts, Culture



The Brickfields Housing Development in Newtown, Johannesburg

and Heritage) with the recommendation that this includes cultural planning and a creative city vision (CAJ, 2009). The African Capital City of Excellence has environmental, functional and institutional excellence and is a unique capital city being the custodian of and showcasing South African culture.

Importantly, leadership need not come from the public sector. Leadership could come from any section of society. The Johannesburg Housing Company with its CEO Taffy Adler (acknowledged as a social entrepreneur by the Ernst & Young and the Schwab Foundation Social Entrepreneur Award for 2007) has provided such leadership since the establishment of this non-profit social housing company in 1995. The JHC took the focus on ownership and replaced it with well managed and socially relevant rental options for housing in the inner city, successfully contributing to the regeneration of many diverse areas through both its innovative architectural design and fair building management.

In high density and socially diverse urban environments such as Hillbrow, the JHC pioneered 'eKhaya neighbourhoods' to address the social disintegration arising from the City of

Joburg's urban transition which saw the increasing social disintegration of inner city neighbourhoods as property owners defaulted on payments or abandoned their investments. The money and policing spent trying to fix the situation was simply no match for the widespread criminality or squatted, hijacked and slum-lorded buildings. The results of the eKhaya neighbourhoods have been positive: 51 buildings across 18 city blocks are involved with tenants renewing their leases and property owners signing up for membership.

Creative cities and tourism: driving the process or a by-product?

While tourism has enormous benefits to events, festivals and the creative community by raising the profile of the local population, giving confidence and pride to local community and putting a city on a global map, not all creative city processes, projects or programmes should have tourism as the end goal. The needs of tourists are not the same as those of the local population or in fact the creative community. If our cities were to focus exclusively on increasing the number of tourists then



The Union Buildings, Pretoria, City of Tshwane



Sandblasted artworks on the glazed sections of the BRT station entrances. Source: www.onair.com

the types of projects and programmes supported could be in danger of largely benefitting established sites, events, festivals and artists and potentially exacerbate the inequalities that exist in cities. Critical distinctions need to be factored in to avoid these inequalities such as:

- inner city areas (corporate head offices, retail) vs townships (residential, working class);
- quality creative products vs support to emerging creators;
- final productions and performances vs experiential and emergent productions;
- world class venues vs dispersed venues that serve communities;
- focus on excellence and professionalism vs community driven.

While the newly erected Rea Vaya
Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) stations are
all identical, the City of Johannesburg
have ensured an artistic and creative
appeal to each one by ensuring that
the first 25 stations will have their
glass and steel entrances treated with
original works of art by locally based
Johannesburg and Soweto artists. The
Trinity Session was commissioned
by the City of Johannesburg and the
Johannesburg Development Agency.

Creative city ideas and projects in developing countries and their cities of inequality

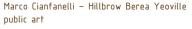
As places become creative, successful and distinctive, how can we avoid polarisations and economic stratification, such as wage discrepancy and gentrification? How do we ensure that the creative community and the broader local community remain the beneficiary of these developments? How do avoid the all too often scenario of creatives moving out of areas as developers start moving in and rental prices increase? Even more importantly how do we avoid regenerating one area¹ while ignoring the needs of those not inside the regenerated area?

Developing space and networks for ongoing discussion, debate and reflection on how cities elsewhere manage the tensions and answer these questions will be an important outcome of this collection. Creative city solutions need to address the social, special and infrastructural problems of cities in developing countries and not gloss over them. As scenario planner Clem Sunter said at a workshop organised by Accelerate Cape Town: "Cape Town is surrounded by a ring of fire" referring to the townships characterised by poverty, unemployment and frustration that surround the city (Lundy, 2007). Is it possible then to have a creative city if some of the basic challenges of a city (water and sewage problems, lack of an integrated transportation system, housing backlog, to name a few) are not being met?

Key challenges which require creative solutions from the city

Some creative tensions to sort out in South African cities:

- i.Balance needs of artistic community (space, funding) and needs of city (jobs, tourism). Expecting too much from one project inevitably pleases no-one. Carefully targeted programmes with realistic objectives are the key to balancing these needs.
- ii. Spread projects and spaces around the city rather than concentrate all in inner city areas. Ensure all communities are accommodated in some way in different projects and programmes. The City of Johannesburg suffers a little from the intense concentration of activities during Heritage Month (September) when the City hosts the month long Arts Alive Festival with the Jazz on the Lake, the Joy of Jazz Festival in the Mary Fitzgerald Square, the Gauteng Carnival ending on the Mary Fitzgerald Square and a host of other smaller programmes to celebrate Heritage Day on September 24th. Increasingly attention is being paid to decentralising venues and drawing performers and artists from surrounding cities, town and districts. Audience development programmes are also required to increase attendance at these events.
- iii.Spread projects across the value chain from artists' needs, to production needs, distribution and exhibition. Currently much of government funding is targeted at artists for the creation of new work. A key weakness in the creative industries in South Africa is however further along the value chain, in distribution and audience development (see CAJ, 2009a).





- iv. Provide incentives for growth and success to ensure that creative enterprises can achieve international competitive standards.
- v.Involve all citizens in ideas generation and ensure feedback. This will both assist in the advocacy of the concept, participation from the entire population and in revealing potential champions for projects and programmes.
- vi. Visible leadership to ensure that supporting infrastructure (public buildings, roads, pavements, transport, parks, lighting, street furniture, events and marketing, tourism, economic development) are appropriate for projects and plans.



Firewalker loburg (Kentridge Marx)

- vii.Secure public sector investment before expecting private sector commitments. Some projects will never be financially viable but that should not detract from its impact and importance. Benefits to flow to participating communities to ensure sustainability.
- viii.Be creative in involving the marginalised (the poor, the shack dwellers, organised labour and the informal sector) in the institutional and planning frameworks that privilege the delivery of services and infrastructure.
- ix.In making the city safe and attractive for tourists there is a need to avoid marginalising and at worst criminalising the poor and homeless.
- x.Quick wins and immediate needs need to be balanced against long term sustainability arising from business support programmes, infrastructure investment, city wide planning processes and the like.
- xi.Develop creative city expertise in the city and the impact on economic development and tourism. Sophisticated evaluation will assist the creative city project's visibility and result in meaningful debate and the development of tangible, practical programmes which have local level support.
- xii.Develop a city strategy for the creative economy drawing from best practices in cities with similar profiles around the world, disseminate findings and facilitate networking.

xiii.Cities exist in municipal, provincial and national territory, all of which have an overlapping interest in arts and culture, large scale events, tourism, creative industries and branding. It will be import to guard against duplication. The concentration of resources in a city can and should lead to synergies and improved delivery.

The creative city project in developing countries requires a pre-existing focus on service delivery and infrastructure provision. As Prof. Dewar argues, terms such as 'world class' distract attention, resources and energies away from the real issues facing the city and points to four pillars of the path required to become internationally competitive. These are:

- Ensuring that the public institutions in the city and the city and provincial governments are stable with professional and or skilled people managing.
- Protecting the natural environmental assets of the city.
- Concentrate on getting the basics of urban management absolutely right to make 'the city more equitable, integrated, sustainable and efficient'.
- Find innovative, creative ways of meeting the unique challenges of the city.

If our large cities in South Africa, from the City of Johannesburg to Cape Town and the City of Tshwane, focused on these four pillars, the creative city project currently underway in these cities would have a much stronger chance of sustainability and success.

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CREATIVE CITY
Bill Strickland



Defining a creative city

It is my view that the Creative City represents in both substance and form the City of the Future. It draws upon the historical importance of the city as a geographic and economic focal point. It brings groups together, affects economies of scale relative to supplies, information, the exchange of ideas, the concentration of capital, proximity to jobs and employment opportunities. The creative city recognizes and incorporates these attributes but it is much more deliberate and focused on implementing a process that insures demographic integration and the encouragement of individuals

and companies that are concerned about issues such as cultural values, community, caring, fairness, innovation, gender and, racial and religious equity. The creative city attempts to foster a value based economy and one that organizes a political process that insures representation of many points of view. Principles of democratic and cultural inclusion become a deliberately conscious public attribute of the creative city. It also recognizes that it is a part of the world with shared responsibility for the welfare of the clients, its natural resources and the future of the planet itself.

Becoming a creative city

The City as a Creative Place. The city becomes a creative place by who lives, works, builds, prays, and plays within the geographical and social jurisdiction of the city. This kind of city demonstrates its core principles by what it does, not what it says. It is seen through diversity, neighborhoods, city council and mayoral candidates, diversity in work force, school boards, municipal employment and distribution of resources. Unlike the past, one group must not be allowed to monopolize political and economic power. One group or entity must not rule at the exclusion of another but deliberately draws its strength from the broad base of its appeal to a diverse power base. This type of leadership recognizes purposefully that power is reinforced by fairness and equality; it

celebrates differences. It recognizes and connects its work to other cities, countries, regions, nations and continents. The creative city assumes responsibly as a voluntary member of the human family and acknowledges that what it does affects the destiny of everyone. The creative city operates as an entity that does not define success by the failure of others but quite the opposite. It introduces morality, fairness, equality, performance and measurable outcomes as the basis of present and future resource allocation. It introduces and promotes government and cultural equality as fundamentally inter-connected and does so without turning its back on the most powerless and dysfunctional members of the community.

The role of leadership

The type of leadership that is required is one that bases its power on its ability to serve and not a style of leadership that views itself as exclusive in the use of power and resources for its own perpetuation. I am arguing that these worst practices illustrated by political and corporate leader's demonstratives the terrible consequences of government and political leadership that ridicules the notion of accountability and a results based administrative style.

The tragic consequences of the war in Iraq, the virtual economic collapse of the United States and indeed the world, the environmental degradation, the massive unemployment numbers in the midst of unchecked corporate self indulgency have been clear and unmistakable indications that the city and the government that allows this kind of behavior to define the political and economic vision of a region's future has brought us to the brink of our economic system's collapse. I would argue that is now the time to introduce a system based on collective wisdom and values that are fundamentally different and new. We must redefine the way that cities, people, corporations and government literally conduct business in the future and not be an extension of what already exists.

I believe no rational mind; no group of people with any sense of responsibility could ignore the place where we now stand. In order to retreat from this brink, the education of ourselves and our children into a system of a value based life must become a necessity and a reality. We must assume that the welfare of the forgotten, or the powerless or the community as a whole will be provided. Recent history has clearly shown the error of failure to recognize the reality of the poor. Therefore, we must create a fundamentally different system of education that views itself as creating citizens of the city, the region, and the world, who care about the survival of everyone and not exclusively themselves.

That the achievement of substantial economic wealth is not the definition of a successful life but rather what is done with the wealth becomes the measure of success and supporting an education system that teaches personal and community responsibility, that incorporates as a career the environments, the poor, the sick and forgotten, the physical environment, the plants, trees, seas and oceans, the protection of our bio-diversity, and the diversity of its species. Such knowledge must someday be as celebrated as a degree in MBA, accounting, or adequate in banking or commerce. In fact. I believe that this new curriculum should be taught side by side with courses of finance, politics, public policy and government. Priority should be given to this new curriculum in the way that resources at the public school

and university level are distributed, in other words where the money gets spent because that often tells the story of what matters and what does not matter. A government, any government, that places the vast majority of its resources on armaments and standing armies and ignores health care, public education, the environment, and the treatment of the disadvantaged has clearly stated to all willing to listen where the values currently reside.

My argument is that this now must change, the city, the region, the government and our leaders must be willing to accept the political risk and criticism that inevitably will come when a city that sees itself as a sum of its parts becomes the style of the city of the future.

Tourism

Tourism becomes a factor in the creation of the creative city because it will define itself through people, ideas, cultures and experience and will bring those qualities to the people or the market place when they move, take up root in another place often brings their values, religions, ideas and world view along with them. Tourism is an outward, temporary manifestation of this phenomenon. Tourism by definition brings capital and people to a physical place. Economic and governmental forces are often profoundly affected by this influx of capital and ideas and often must respond to the demands created by significant tourism and

therefore market forces. For example, if a city is known to harbor forces of racism and environmental degradation, many interest groups will simply not be attracted to such places with their convention, and the dollars that follow. If the city ignores the arts, quality restaurants, reflective of the world's cuisine, and does not provide opportunity to experience or engage in cultural opportunities those municipalities will simply lose out on money, prestige and therefore political capital. Increasingly in the world, economies are interdependent and the sharing of the wealth culture and ideas is in fact the wave of the future. Witness the recent impact of the Olympics on China. In the recent past, one could not witness a more spectacular showing of enthusiasm and spirit brought together under the umbrella of national purpose. It gave the world a clear illustration of the value of tourism to affect every aspect of government, diversity, responsiveness to market forces and at least an appearance of civility and sensitivity to human rights.

Tourism on a sustained basis can and will affect change in government, communities, and the extent of cultural expression by the sheer might of economic forces and the power of media and who can affect the distribution of power and the inclusion of diversity as ideal. Tourism in my view has its best days in front of it relative to broadening the world's agenda and will become substantially more pro-active in shaping the culture of the city of the future. Rather than tourism being an after thought, it is quickly becoming a conscious deliberate force in shaping the hope and aspirations of many groups representing the best hope for a diverse and modern city of the future.

Avoiding polarizations

As cities become successful the deliberate monitoring of progress, evaluation of achievement and the periodic review of "the state of the city" must be encouraged. This must be the responsibility of a leadership group incorporating representatives of corporate, university, philanthropic and non-profit leaders. This entity would be charged with the review of the agenda of the creative city that would at minimum include: a) diversity; b) gender equality; c) economic distribution; d) employment; e) fairness in housing; and f) ethnic diversity as the beginning points for an agenda on the creative city. This would be the beginning point, that could well become a formula for the city, region, and perhaps some day the world itself. I offer this as an outline of the creative city and not as a definitive word. This process must be organic and open to the change we will need for a different world.

38 ■



CREATIVE CITIES AND URBAN GOVERNANCE: A TALE OF TWO CITES IN TAIWAN - TAIPEI AND KAOHSIUNG Charles Chin-Rong Lin





Taipei 101 and Taipei new Xinyi District, 2006. (Charles Lin)

This article explores the relationship between the common traits of "creative cities" and the contexts of "urban governance." it examines the cases of two capital cities in Taiwan - Taipei and Kaohsiung - the ongoing experimental, creative strategies of city making, and the assessments of urban innovations to depict the contour of Taipei and Kaohsiung as creative cities. This article elaborates on innovative strategies and actions that have being implemented in these two Taiwan cities, and adopts an interpretative analysis to assess the effects of those innovations for an urban development agenda, in order that to provoke more dialectical responses in diverse aspects to the concept of "creative cities." The article may provide the readers with a brief summary of the urban development trajectory in Taiwan and how Taiwan cities respond to global transformations and pursue sustainability in urban governance.

After acknowledging the practices of urban innovations, the interpretative perspectives will be extended to analyze the implications of the terms 'creative cities' and 'urban governance'.

The creative city: Taipei perspective



The Zoning Map of Taipei. (Department of Urban Development, Taipei City Government)

Since 2000, Taipei has completed the strategic deployment of serial new urban centers, including the financial center in Xinyi District, the congregation of Hi-Tech industrial parks in city regions, and the urban regeneration of the old downtown in the corresponding period of time. In such a transition, there shall be a new logic in managing the industrial and spatial restructuring of the city, due to the adaptation of the global transition for the city itself. In addition, there is an entrepreneurial force arising to participate in new networks of urban governance. This city, in the late 1980's, became one of the global cities in the world economy and it is evaluated as a secondary world city in the hierarchy of global city networking (Friedmann, J 1986; Knox, p et al., 1994:49). Not only most major corporations set their headquarters in Taipei, but also the international enterprises are gathering in Taipei. Amongst others, relevant service industries, such as financial and advanced producers; advanced infrastructure such as wireless broadband, eGovernment services, international informative networks; health services facilities and manpower of innovative research & development that are developed in the city. Taipei is still in transition. I would claim that the following significant actions (to mention but a few) of the innovative governance in the city making that turn Taipei much more like a 'Living Lab'.



The aerial view of Taipei new Xinyi District, 2006. (Department of Urban Development, Taipei City Government)

Developing the 'Taipei Creative Corridor': redelineating urban roles

The shift of Taipei's city center is a case in point, as explored by Charles Landry in his book, *The Art of City* Making, "... Taipei has done by building Taipei 101, the financial center in the new Xinyi District. Managing urban change might involve investing in new education, shifting the industrial base to services, getting into a new economic sector, re-cabling a city or opening out new housing zones". The planning and development of Xinyi District took 30 years and established the new layout and momentum for Taipei's urban development. It proved the capacity of the local government and the affordability of negotiation with the market demand. Those are the most critical elements of the successful

development of the new city center, which became a 'creative milieu', from the planning phase to the construction stage.

In contrast with the successful case of new Xinyi District development, the recent effort that Taipei has adopted successfully is trying to accommodate market-driven forces to foster Hi-Tech industrial clusters in the urban center. Neihu Hi-Tech District (around 3 kilometers away from Xinyi city center, around 3 kilometers) and NanKang Software Park (located in the eastern edge of city boundary, 3 kilometers away from the Neihu Hi-Tech District) are the most remarkable examples of innovations.



The skyway system of Taipei New Xinyi District. (Charles Lin)



Taipei 101 and its surroundings in Taipei New Xinyi District. (Charles Lin)

This kind of episodes inspired the urban planning agency to start taking these two districts as the core center and expand the mixed-use zones for commercial and industrial development to the Taipei metropolitan area. Through the development of the information, telecom, and biotechnology industries and the enhanced connectivity of the public transit to the new Xinyi District and old downtown (at the west end of the city boundary and 6 kilometers away from Xinyi District), it will drive a more intensive development of the 'Taipei Creative Corridor' zone, mixed with existing living quarters in city regions scale. It is also proved that the four city cores of Taipei (including West End downtown, Xinyi District, Neihu Hi-Tech

District, and NanKang Software Park) lump together all the beneficial links, to keep abreast of developments in the Asian New Downtown area. Each one of the old downtown and new districts plays a role in urban development, reuniting the core and the fringe, both necessary to reactivate Taipei's creative central area.





Neihu Hi-Tech Industrial District , Taipei (Charles Lin

1985





The regeneration process of West End downtown, Taipei,1985~1999. (Charles Lin)





A rich and pedestrians-friendly district in old downtown of Taipei. (Charles

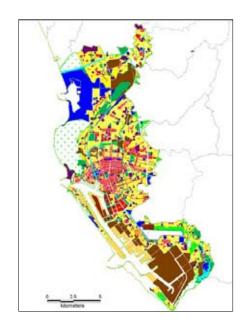
Promoting social and economic development through cultural industries: launching experimental programs for creative industry parks

Taipei City is closely combined with the creative economy. In Taipei, two out of five companies are engaged in the cultural and creative industry; one tenth of the turnover in all industries actually comes from cultural and creative industry; one in ten workers is engaged in the cultural and creative industry; two in ten cultural and creative industry companies are set in Taipei.

This city accounts for 40% of of the cultural and creative industry's turnover; between 2004 and 2006, the turnover growth reached 21.57% and the number of companies in Taipei City's cultural and creative industry reached 15.8%. Taipei owns the policy consciousness to devote itself more to the cultural development. It started to plan cultural and creative industry parks and to incubate 'creative milieus' as early as 2004, trying to make creativity a part of citizens' life and advocating the experiment on third sectors devoted to the creative city

development and to related promotional rewards. The requalification of underused public-owned property and the regeneration of urban brownfield become active economic measures and new approaches to historic preservation for city development. The evolution of this experiment is still under observation, but without doubts, it is the first and an important new creative city policy to promote social and economic development through cultural industries in Taiwan.

The Creative city: Kaohsiung perspective.



Kaohsiung is known as a harbor city with the most important port of containers transshipment in the south of Taiwan. Since 1970, it has been the most important heavy-industry city where petrochemical, cement, iron and steel, and ship building industries clustered together in Taiwan. However, responding to the ongoing process of deindustrialization since 1990, Kaohsiung has been forced to transform its role. Though traditional heavy industries left behind not only large brownfields but also adverse environmental legacies that hinder citizens' pride and economic growth, Kaohsiung made its own way to build its new brand.

Through the successful urban renaissance during last decade, the city has won support and praises from its citizens. The following momentous actions (amongst others) that took place in Kaohsiung's city making is moving towards an 'Eco-City', encompassing environmental, economic, cultural and social dimensions. The policy process revolving in strategic transition of 'Green Shift' in Kaohsiung is a paradigm shift of urban governance. It proves that localism can bring new life to cities, as a renewed sense of place and local creativity are spawned.



The impression of Kaohsiung before 1990s. (Department of Urban Development, Kaohsiung City Government)

 \blacksquare 45



Love River was totally dead in the 1980's. (Department of Urban Development, Kaohsiung City Government)

Promoting city pride and marketing local tourism through reinvestments in the city's 'green infrastructure'

Ever since 1999, Kaohsiung has struggled to speed up the green infrastructure developments as a change strategy to reinvent itself into a new city. All the actions targeting 'Green Shift' include: PFI (private financial initiative) adoption, to accelerate the investment in green infrastructure - Kaohsiung Rapid Transit System, sewerage systems and Kaohsiung Arena, reclaiming the city river, regenerating the harbor front, giving priority to pedestrians and cyclist in centers for transitoriented-developments, establishing city wetlands corridor, initiating public buildings as green icons. These innovations altogether brought the former heavy-industrial city turning, into a potential for tourism and new types of advantaged industries. Postindustrial Kaohsiung promotes also a costal tourism experience, bringing together the city's mountains, ocean, river and port landscapes that rival those of any city.



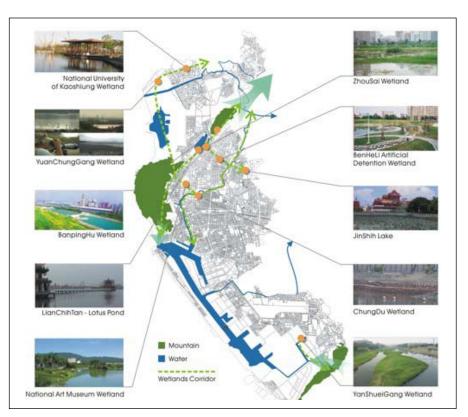
Wetlands in Kaohsiung. (Charles Lin)



Rebirth of Love River, Kaohsiung. (Charles Lin)

Creating urban wetlands corridor

Wetland corridors are the buffer zones for connection between the biological genes pool and the Love River.



(Department of Urban Development, Kaohsiung City Government)

 \blacksquare 47

Managing World Games: the processes that rebrand the city and trigger all citizens to get involved in healthy cities campaign

Starting back in 2004, Kaohsiung
City bid for the World Games and was
rewarded to host them World Games
2009, from July 16th through 26th.
It is a progressive strategy used by
the city to rebrand its reputation and
trigger all citizens to get involved in a
healthy city campaign. By promoting
certain sports as the directive policy
of urban development and improving
the city sporting facilities during the
preparation for the World Games 2009,
Kaohsiung proved to be a healthy, ecofriendly, and sustainable city.

Furthermore, in 2005 a partnership between the local and national governments decided to build the Main Stadium for World Games completed In January 2009. It has been appraised by international architecture professionals as a high-tech, ecological architecture and a representative of green building, integrating Taiwan solar energy technology and construction techniques worthy of praises. The Main Stadium, an iconic architecture and an ecological solar-powered castle of its own, ranks Kaohsiung high in a sustainable environment index. In the future, the stadium will allow Kaohsiung to host large-scale activities or sports. It is also an opportunity to create more economic, environmental and social values for the city.



2009 World Games Main Stadium Kaohsiung, Taiwan - Kaohsiung. (Department of Urban Development, Kaohsiung City Government)

The implication of the notions of 'creative cities' and 'urban governance': an interpretative analysis

In times of structural uncertainties. innovative ways of restructuring urban and territorial development are needed to retain and increase local competiveness. As the trend of globalization is progressing, most cities in the world lost their manufacturing base and entered into the stage of the new knowledge and informational economies. The key driver of the new knowledge economy is creativity, especially cultural and technological creativity. Therefore creativity moved to the center of urban policy. The required urban governance has to be a process based on the cooperation across governments, markets, entrepreneurism and private organizations, and citizens participation. The notion of good governance - is the sorting out of mission, role, capacity, and relationships - is a necessary condition for economic prosperity and social stability (Kettl, 2000). Through the cases of Taipei and Kaohsiung, what do the notions of 'creative cities' and 'urban governance' imply?

There are four significant meanings the author would like to address. First, it links the search for the new policy, new people of talent, new practices, new networks of organizations and new attitudes towards problems of urban development that aroused from varied perspectives, and make up to the city's new mission.



Ecological, Touristic, Sustainable City of Kaohsiung. (Charles Lin)

lacksquare



Public Bicycle system in Kaohsiung City. (Charles Lin)



Utilization of solar power in Street Lighting, City of Kaohsiung. (Charles Lin)



Kaohsiung as a transit-oriented city. (Charles Lin)



Start from Love River restoration to regenerating the waterfronts in the old port areas, Kaohsiung. (Charles Lin)

Further, the internal process of urban governance was renewed to release new ideas able to find solutions. Therefore, a flexible governance mechanism is required to suit the transition of the cities.

Second, the meaning of innovative governance is not merely the economic and material achievement, but a new value and mindset. Traditionally, we used to value the success or even the creativity of a policy by its economic effects or market share. However, the identification with a city and the sense of belonging make the future innovative governance mechanism possible.

Third, the application of a creative policy requires an overall integration of perspectives and strategies. As a result, the goal of innovative urban governance spans through cultural, environmental, and social aspects. It is a model of 'doing more with less' that the contemporary situation requires (Hall, P. and Landry, C. 2006). On the way of fulfilling the creative policy, good use of available resources and stirring up new possibilities are necessary to face the changing situation.

Fourth, the governance process is still the essential resource that makes creative policy feasible. As urban critic Jane Jacobs argues, cities throughout history have competed by examining innovations in other cities and building upon them. This, she believes, is the basis of wealth creation. We may see the response to qualities of modes of governance process as the impetus for the next burst of urban innovation and creativity. The modes of governance underpinned by fostering public involvements and free markets in the governmental process of Taipei and Kaohsiung suggested that the successful precondition of urban governance were based on an open and transparent platform for beneficial parties, a society with imagination and vision, responsive to creative thinking of the locals, and bureaucratic officials with capacity embedded in institution. The government or political leaders are not the whole pictures; they play very important parts in the whole appearance of urban governance though.

Conclusion

What's a creative city? What are its common traits? Through the episodes in urban governance of Taipei and Kaohsiung, the author defined creative cities as follows: cities that cultivate the capability to manage the changing situation and promote innovative & creative industries as well as the livable, vital settings and many diverse "creative milieus" of its own, through the activities of urban governance that encompass the urban innovators and ordinary citizens involved in the process, and have a regional, territorial capacity to find solutions to global environmental problems for the world.

Lastly, I would explore three imperatives of creativity in urban governance: the repositioning of the national public policy network and urban governance network formed by the partnership between the national and local political power; the restructuring of social and economic relationship among the government, market mechanism and civil society; and the re-construction of the capacity of public governance and civil right (Glendinning et al., 2002). These threes must rely on one another to achieve the set up and execution of the innovative policy, to encourage the experiment of creative thinking and to nurture a cordial atmosphere for urban innovations.

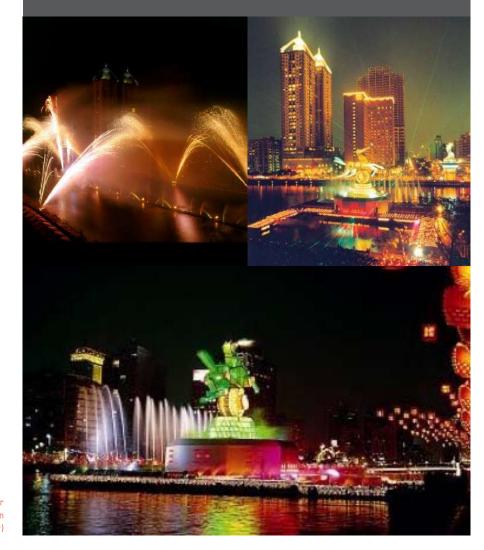
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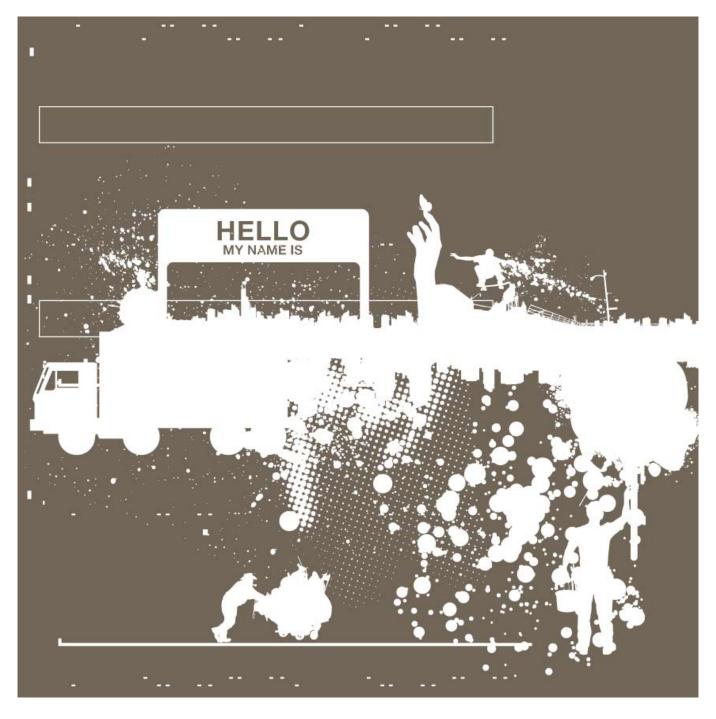
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THE PUBLIC DOMAIN IN THE CREATIVE CITY Einat Kalisch Rotem - Technion, Israel Institute of Technology



This paper is based on the doctorate research "The Share of Form in the Creation of Publicness" (2008), conducted at the ETH Zurich under the supervision of Prof. V. M. Lampugnani, Prof. Emeritus F. Oswald and Ass. Prof. I. Aravot¹.

"If one does not know to which port one is sailing, no wind is favourable." Seneca

As far as the creative class theory goes, there seem to be two assertions that are widely agreed upon. The first is that the creative class has a strong bond with its whereabouts². 'Creative people', pertaining to both creative industries and creative economy³, choose cities which cater for their lifestyles. The second is that the presence of 'creative people' is of value to cities, which is why they are highly welcomed by authorities who search for ways to turn their cities ever more attractive. The desire to host the creative class evolved into an industry in its own right.

In recent years, the profile of the 'creative people' has been gradually unveiled as well as their needs and expectations of their cities. Yet, how this new knowledge affects the planning and designing policies of the spatial urban environment and its public domain is still to be deciphered⁴. How does the creative class affect the design of the public domain? Should it? This paper attempts to expatiate on the conceptual relations between the creative city ethos and the physical aspects of the public domain. Do the creative class theory and the public domain seminal scholastic discourses converge?

Striving to enhance creativity (and not just the creative class)

Before deliberating on the public domain, one must dwell upon the idea of a creative class⁵. To my best knowledge, creativity cannot be distinctly weighted or measured in human beings⁶. There is probably no single level of creativity that sets the threshold for one to enter this class. Moreover, one person can be more creative at times and less at others (I know some people who may generally belong to this class except for early morning hours). Is it possible to assume that most human beings are essentially creative within, and that some hold more opportunities to benefit from it?⁷ Hypothesising that every human being is creative to some extent, this article asserts that cities should offer stimulating environments for all people instead of concentrating upon a mercurial clientele that may change every few months and in any



Annual school kite event, Haifa beach (Einat Kalisch Rotem)

case, does not even consist of the majority of city dwellers⁸. This assertion is even more acute when dealing with the public domain: it cannot be intended for a group of people no matter how dominant they are, economically or culturally. Any contemplation on what makes cities (and especially their public domain) 'right' for the creative class - puts an end to the gist and essence of public domains as the place of the public – whether rich or poor, female or male, creative or non-creative.

Hence, the public domain should not revolve around 'creative people' (if they can be pinpointed at all) and what they aspire to find in their physical environments, for city authorities that appeal to the new élites behold a latent capitalistic ideology9. Rather, one should question what physical environments instigate 'more-creative people' and 'less-creative people' to do, how to behave, and whether the public domain can invigorate a creative atmosphere by educating for tolerance and infusing ambition. Cities must strive to uplift all people ever higher, carrying a humanistic-social value that assumes the positive energy of creativity.





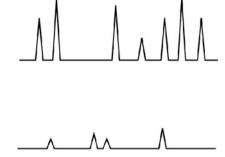
Get on board (Idan Gazit)

The concept of Publicness¹⁰: a qualitative feature of the public place

The urban public domain is a complex entity¹¹ consisting of multifarious public places. Creative people opt for public places that appear to be more vivid and exciting, often referred to as 'cool' or 'hype'¹². Believing that design and planning have a role in generating vibrant and convivial public places, this article will present the concept of *publicness* - an attribute inherent to every public place and a tool for its assessment.

Publicness is defined as "the state and quality of the public place", reflecting the place's viability and vitality, its ethos and atmosphere.

Analogized to the EKG of a public place, a medical check-up that captures the place's viability (or its 'heartbeats'), the article's premise is that publicness can be assessed and depicted in a graphic manner. Furthermore, it assumes that a place's viability is inextricably bond to its physical settings: layouts, volumes and design.





Homeless, ethics and justice (Idan Gazit)

Publicness is reified in the *profile of occurrences*: special events and everyday happenings that come about in the place. Public occurrences are diverse in terms of their magnitude, expanse, importance, their motivating reasons, thematic contents, pattern of repetitiveness, etc. Occurrences can be utterly public (a festival or a demonstration), but can also be a collection of private actions taking place in the public domain (sitting in the tram, jogging in the park). They can be political, commercial, communal, religious, pertaining to the everyday (shopping, moving), and their various combinations.

One of the major differences between the various public occurrences is the mindset of people when being in the public domain:

- An active mindset, when feeling as part of a public. For example: participating in political protests, marching in religious processions. This mindset is outward oriented, involved, aware, generative and potentially creative.
- An indifferent mindset, when being within a public. For example: crossing the street taking the bus on the way to work. This mindset is inherent to the practices of everyday routine life, to ordinary necessities.
- An oblivious mindset, when being solitarily isolated from the public. For example: jogging in the park hearing music (with earphones), meandering in malls while being indulged in shopping. This mindset is inward oriented, self-absorbed, being oblivious to the outer world¹³.

Publicness and its relation to tolerance and the creative class

What is a good public place? It is impossible to dwell upon the design of an ideal public place before reflecting on what is considered to be a good one. Significant public places like the Red Square in Moscow or Tiananmen Square in Beijing, accommodated events that changed the course of their nations' histories. They are heroic and ceremonious also when frequented on the everyday. Conversely, flea markets all around the world, the Venetian touristic Rialto Bridge and even Pompidou Square in Paris are all well known for their everyday commotion and livelihood, seldom hosting any grand national or even municipal events. These examples share a common feature: they are all exceptionally intense for their either lively everyday activities or for the important events taking place within them. They seldom offer both.

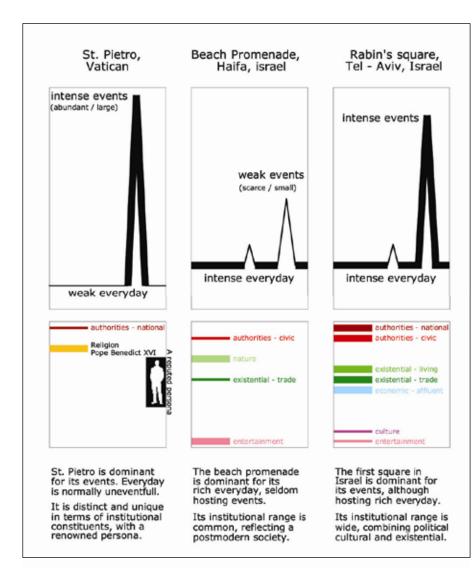


Illustration 1 - various profiles of publicness

Conversely, there are numerous public places that serve as the arena of both big and small events, vivid everyday and solemn festivities, days of great tumults and days of tranquillity and quietness. Although they are not always as famous or popular (in tourist books), they are often beloved, especially by local residents and citizens, for being genuine public places. Examples for these kinds of public spaces are Eben-Gvirol Avenue and Rabin Square in Tel-Aviv, Bahnhofstrasse in Zurich and perhaps even the renowned Dam Square in Amsterdam (especially in its priortouristic era). These examples manifest a lively everyday as well as a memorable place for occasional unique events.

There is reason to assume that the creative class yearns for this exact type of public places, which are pliable, stimulating, but above all – ready to accommodate every possible human happening – big or small, religious or cultural, intensive or

calm, solemn or casual; spaces that are permissive, tolerant and flexible, just like its people. Such public places allow enough freedom to use its spaces in manifold ordinary and creative ways, and enable people to experience the public domain in all three mindsets. Depending on the magnitude of cities, both in terms of expanse and populace, every city must have at least one public place as such. Governorship must make sure that it has.

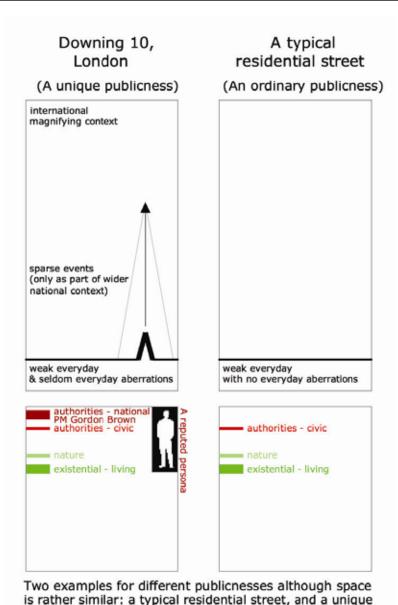
There is no single model for an ideal public place or an ideal profile of publicness. A wide range of disparate publicnesses, together, can turn the public domain closest to ideal. There is room for all types of publicnesses to exist in the urban milieu, since all activities and mindsets are needed for daily life, wanted by different people at different times.

Should every public place be outstanding? Probably not. If all places become unique, the entire public domain will stand at the risk of turning dull and tiring.

Today, only few profiles of publicness stand out in their cities, and even fewer seem to be remarkable for the entire world. Most of the public places are ordinary and unexceptional ¹⁴. However, in between exhibiting all public places as outstanding or all public places as ordinary, there are intermediate situations; planners and leaders should figure out how special each public place must be, and why. They must map the various publicnesses in their cities, making sure that the profiles of

publicness are diverse, befitting, and sensibly spread, allowing all people to enjoy all types of publicnesses, indiscriminately.

Illustration 2 - Similar public spaces; different publicnesses.



Two examples for different publicnesses although space is rather similar: a typical residential street, and a unique one: Downing 10. The difference is made by the social constellation in general, and the presence of one reputed persona in particular.

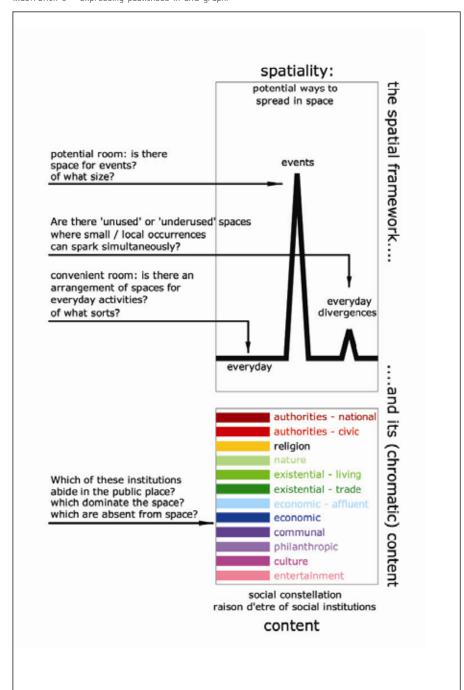
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The role of architecture in the creation of publicness.

Publicness, or the profile of occurrences, is constituted on two major properties: the layout (or spatial features) of occurrences; and the content (or raison d'être) of occurrences. Happenings in the public domain, whether parades, concerts, protests, or even strolling individuals – bear spatial measurable characteristics (breadth, number of participants, geometric layout Illustration 2 – similar public spaces; different publicnesses. of spread, etc). In addition, happening are always imbued with reasons and motivations, such as economical (money driven), political (protestations), personal (entertainment, daily needs), etc¹⁵.

The *spatial feature* of publicness delineates the following: Where does space enables one to be? It determines the occurrences that may and maynot come about in the space because the flows of crowds or individuals are ultimately confined within spatial boundaries, and are therefore regulated and delimited to various degrees by the form. The territories inside the public space can be defined by the intensity of their spatial regulation ¹⁶ and therefore allude to the potential expected or unexpected activities on both everyday and events. Analyzing space and its territories may reveal if various gatherings and movements may come about, and how likely it is

Illustration 3 - Expressing publicness in EKG graph.



for the unexpected to happen. The *content feature* of publicness delineates the following: *What do the (social) settings encourage or instigate people to do?* Content is evident in the form's surfaces (architectural elevations) which represent social institutions¹⁷, casting their presence onto the public space thereby affecting the way people grasp it, directly and indirectly. Every place has a societal facet (and thereby role in the urban precinct), created by its institutions and especially by what they represent¹⁸. It is important to denote that institutions Illustration 3 – expressing publicness in EKG graph cannot dictate the content of happenings, but merely raise their chances by prodding and stimulating them¹⁹. For example, one is likely to encounter religious activities in a place accommodating representatives of religious institutions, or political activities in a place of political institutions.

An exemplary publicness: the Dam Square in Golden Age Amsterdam

The prevailing passion around the creative class scholastic endeavour can be grasped, in a way, as current undertakings seeking after ways to lead cities into new Golden Ages²⁰. In this regard, Golden Age Amsterdam and its major public place are indeed intriguing. Analyses of the Dam Square case study were divided into six historical spans²¹. Amongst the various conclusions, one demonstrated an unequivocal result: the profile of publicness during the classical Golden Ages was singled out as the most vivid and intense. This is especially noteworthy considering that the Dam Square in all its six eras presented exceedingly lively profiles of publicness.

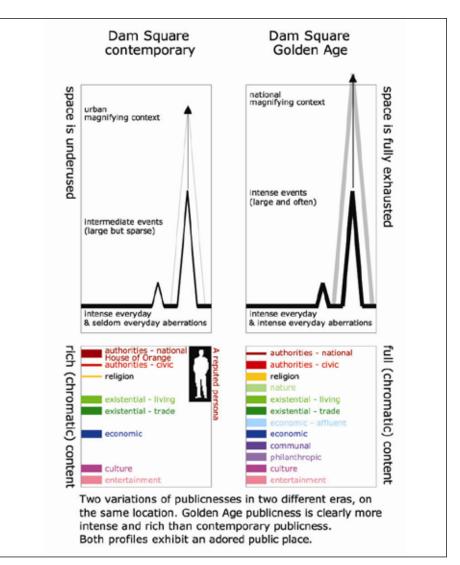


Illustration 4 - Golden Age & Contemporary publicness: a comparison.



Ibn Gabirol & King David, Tel Aviv centennial (Idan



Meet me at the corner, Rothshild – Shenkin st (Idan Gazit)



No title (Idan Gazit)

Due to the research objectives (which revolved around identifying change in the profiles of publicness without attempting to explain it) - it is difficult to postulate whether the public domain was an important factor in the growth of its creative class, or whether the Illustration 4 - Golden Age & Contemporary publicness: a comparison creative class infused life into its public domain. It is logical to assume that once the creative class emerged in the Golden Ages, the public domain amplified and enriched its development, which, in return, reciprocated back. Although the relations between the public domain and the creative class are far from being unequivocal, it is nonetheless clear that the profile of publicness was closest to 'ideal' during the city's social and cultural heyday.

How to achieve vivid public places: a couple of advises for designers

The pursuit after publicness has culminated into various conclusions and implications to urban design. Only two of them will be currently presented²²:

1. The layout of public spaces (*spatiality*) is exhaustively designed nowadays, as per modern and postmodern paradigms. Every centimetre

is calculated and designated to accommodate some feature or activity, for practical and economical reasons. However, favourable profiles of publicness show that unintended /under-used spaces, of all spaces, have a role in adding greater vitality and buoyancy. The tendency to pose overarching orders by allocating specific uses (or activities) in every spot in space – encourages the mere 'expected' occurrences to come about, thus risking the place to turn nonstimulating.

Rather, leaving local unintended spaces within a comprehensive planned arrangement is perhaps a more sensible approach²³. Moreover, adding some informal architectural elements for rest and relaxation in proximity may render the place even more attractive for potential unexpected occurrences, by creating an observer - observed situation.

2. The presence of social institutions (delineating the *content* of the public place) is not any less essential.

Suggesting to waive the modern terminology of functions and uses (and even mixed-uses, their post-modern response) - designers should start thinking in terms of societal institutions, casting various types of human motivations and needs, from all fields of life, onto space. Social constellation *colours* the public place.

Social institutions reside in buildings that reflect power, values, ambitions and wealth of their tenants. The more favourable profiles of publicness exhibit renowned and unknown institutions in close vicinity, big and small, powerful and powerless, as opposed to the modern tendency to locate similar peerlike institutions together. The presence of anonymous and known institutions together renders space more approachable for daily occurrences, reducing the solemnity of space in the way people experience it. Architects should restrain from agglomerating large buildings only, or dwelling buildings solely - not for reasons of aesthetic but for creating a diversified colourful social constellation. The less common denominators institutions have - the more complex and rich a place will be.

A creative city should be a place not just for earning a living in the creative industries, for enjoying creative arts, or for living in a creatively designed architectural loft, but also a place that provides room for various occurrences to come about thus offering the freedom of choice: what to do, with whom, how, and why. This freedom is what 'creative people' opt for. And it must expand to become part of all people's lives.



Port Bordwalk, Tel Aviv (Idan Gazit)

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Rooftop3, Tel Aviv centennial (Idan Gazit)



Stage & people, Tel Aviv centennial (Idan Gazit)

60 ■____

- ¹ The research is posted on the ETH library website http://e-collection.ethbib.ethz.ch/view/eth: 30300
- ² Already mentioned by Florida in the introduction: "The creative class is strongly oriented tolarge cities and regions that offer a variety of economic opportunities, a stimulating environment and amenities for every possible lifestyle" (Florida 2002: 11).
- ³ Based on Charles Landry's definitions (Franke & Verhagen 2005, pp. 49-51).
- ⁴ The first and major inspiration (still today) is Jane Jacobs' seminal book from 1960 THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES which shifted the focus from urban planning to the design of streets, while infusing the discourse with three prime concepts: liveliness, safety and reuse (of old buildings). Florida follows her predilection with his "hegemony of the street" and the attraction of creative class people to 'street-level culture' albeit he mentions street activities solely, without referring to their spatial context (Florida 2002: 182-7). New attempts to shed a light on the design of public spaces as per the creative class theory remain unsettling, without any inspiring insights for architects and designers. Yet, worthy attempts in this direction are Charles Landry's empirical approach to experiencing cities, his sensitivity to textures, colors, smells and sounds (2006: 45-68); Pi de Bruijn's article "Creating city culture" presents prescriptions for the design of good public places as he captured in hindsight from his experience with the Southern Axis project in Amsterdam (in Franke & Verhagen 2005, pp.158-165); another important literary source dealing with the creative class bond to the environment is the urban regeneration and transformation of industrial buildings to new arenas for creative industries, as described by Evert Verhagen, Paul Rutten (in Franke & Verhagen 2005). However, the latter hardly confront issues in the design of the public domain.
- ⁵ 'Class' is a term ascribed to modern jargons, unsettling here in particular for evoking a sense of 'elite'.
- 6 Florida outlines various researches in social and human sciences dealing with the elusive concept of creativity and creative processes (Florida 2002: 30-5). Despite these researches' findings, statistical numbers of people working in the creative economy do not necessarily disclose the type and level of their creativity. Even the most creative firms may sometimes need less creative workers to bolster the creative ones. Attempts to assess the level of creativity in cities were conducted in large scale (Landry 2000:233-6) but not for individuals.
- ⁷ Also thinking alike are Petra Kalden and Marcel Stolk (Franke & Verhagen 2005, pp. 193).
- ⁸ Florida indicates that on 1999 there are 30% of people pertaining to the creative class. In his recent website "who's your city", the creative class map reveals that 30% are in utterly creative cities, whereas the rest of America (its less creative cities or regions) have even less than 20% people in the creative class. See Florida 2002: 75 and also https://www.creativeclass.com/ whos https://www.creativeclass.com
- ⁹ Expressed by McGuigan 2006:108 and all the more boldly by Goonewardena Kanishka 2004.
- ¹⁰ For further readings on this topic see the full length research at the ETHZ library website.
- ¹¹ Consisting of various matters such as public and private ownerships, social stratification and what it does for the sense of belonging, economic ventures of public and private partnerships (costs and benefits) and more. In other words, the public domain is a complex superposition of legal, economic, social and psychological situations, each complicated in its own right.
- ¹² Florida 2002: 184, Although Landry rightfully mentions that too busy places can have an adverse effect (2006:405)

- ¹³ Augé refers to the state of being in the two latter mindsets by saying they "create neither singular identity nor relations; only solitude and similitude"....with "no room for history" (Augé 1995: 103).
- ¹⁴ Augé introduces the non-places of supermodernity such as airports, supermarkets, motorways, hotels and so forth, looking at those from an anthropologist point of view and discussing the universal common experience which they all offer (ibid: 96-107).
- ¹⁵ In the extended research there is also a third property, context, which will not be presented here for reasons of scope. Every occurrence has naturally a context for its coming about: why here and not there. Why today and not tomorrow.
- ¹⁶ Divided to roughly three: 1. Territories where movement is rigidly regulated by architectural restricting elements like walls, fences, stairs, doors etc. ('dictated territories') and where people usually move in predetermined directions or paths; 2. Territories that are free of architectural restrictions, like the inner space of a square ('under-dictated territories'), where people's movement is likely to be unexpected; 3. Territories that are congested with flows ('over-dictated territories'), the busiest, hectic and potentially most surprising due to the colliding fluxes and consequent presence of an abounding audience (the public) for example near bus stations located on streets, underground exits in squares etc.. Unexpected happenings have higher prospect to realize within over-dictated territories. These types of territories may instigate different types of occurrences (and flows) expected (in 'dictated' territories) unexpected during the everyday (in 'over dictated' territories) or unexpected at events (in 'under dictated' territories).
- The doctorate research presented seven types of societal institutions with various subcategories, although they can be divided in other ways as well: Existential institutions where human beings live and operate, basically dwelling buildings and transportation systems; Economic institutions which regulate the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services; Political institutions are divided to central and local political authorities both control the use of force; Communal institutions refer to the human need to associate; Cultural institutions, arts and education, carry an inherent motivation to see mankind grow and develop; Religious institutions are ambiguous institutions in terms of theirs motivations that still bear strong impact on the world; Nature is everything that is not (yet) social. Lefebvre says that "...natural space has not vanished purely and simply from the scene. It is still the background of the picture; as décor, and more than décor, it persists everywhere..." (Lefebvre 1974: 30-31). Nature stands in sharp contrast vis-à-vis manmade world, a blunt reminder of societal institutions' absence.
- ¹⁸ Institutional theory is mostly based on the writings of Goodwin 1996.
- ¹⁹ Based largely on Merleau-Ponty's book *Phenomenology of Perception* 1962.
- ²⁰ As many scholars maintain, creativity and creative cities go a long way back. It is by all means not a phenomenon that started in the recent post-modern era (Landry 2007:388, Goonewardena 2004). It is also a phenomenon that appears "in bursts, possibly for a short period, whose resonance remains in the public imagination" (Landry 2007:409-410).
- ²¹ Medieval era (1350-1652), classical golden-age era (1655-1795), monarchic French rule (1795-1855), early modern era (1855-1920), modern era (1920-1980), and contemporary times (1980-2007).
- ²² More implications on the design of the public domain can be read in the research.
- ²³ Important to clarify that order is not necessarily related to geometrical presuppositions as one could expect; unintended spaces can also take place within grids and orthogonal layouts. It has more to do with the designer's state-of-mind than with actual geometries.

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FROM URBAN REGENERATION TO THE CREATIVE CITY: THE ROLE OF CULTURAL POLICIES IN THE CITY OF TURIN

Enrico Bertacchini





A not very old picture from Turin: the "one industrial company town" model and its crisis

Turin is the capital of Piedmont, an Italian geographical and administrative area located in the North-West of Italy. The city actually has a population of 950,000 inhabitants.

Historically, the city and its surrounding region have been the background for the development of the modern large industry in Italy. In particular, FIAT - the largest industrial group in Italy – had its headquarter and most of the transport vehicles production plants set in Turin.

During the Italian economic boom of the 50's, Turin as the other industrial centres was facing the typical urban challenges related to the massive affluence of workers from other parts of Italy and abroad. In this period, the city perfectly represented a 'one industrial company town', whereby FIAT was the main economic actor, affecting most of the economic and social life of the city.

However, since the mid-80's, with the decline of the fordist era, Turin experienced an intensive period of de-industrialization. While in the 1981 census employment data show an equal share of workers employed in both the manufacturing (42%) and service sectors (41%), in 2001 the manufacturing and service sectors accounted respectively for 18% and 67%.

Such a restructuring process, oriented towards a service-based economy has been particularly tough for the city, mainly because of the great dependence of its economic system on the automotive industry.

On the one hand, the crisis left rubble on the urban economic ground, together with some burdensome social legacy, such as a high rate of population with low educational levels and working skills and the consequent problem of human capital requalification.

On the other hand, the deindustrialization process favored the emergence of new economic opportunities, tapping into the local economic assets that have not been seriously affected by the economic crisis or remained latent in the old fordist model of the city.

Building up a creative district trough cultural policies

In this critical context, the challenge for the local authorities and the main players of the city was to choose between either an irreversible economic decline (at least in the short and middle term) based on the old collapsing model or a way to support the transition of the city towards a more viable and sustainable economy, capable to regain some competitive advantage in the new economic landscape.

Crucially, local authorities opted for supporting the economic transition of the city towards a service and knowledge based economy and dismissing the old image of industrial town.

A first signal of urban reinassance came in 1999 when Turin and Piedmont were chosen to host the 2006 Winter Olympic Games. This achievement is the result of years of preparation for setting the candidature of the city and the region. In particular, it may elicit the dynamism and attitude of the local authorities in finding out new pathways for urban renaissance.

In any case, the most important attempt to elaborate a new strategy for urban development has started by pooling and coordinating the efforts of the public and private actors in the metropolitan area in order to set medium and long-term policy goals. In 2000, the association Internazionale was formally set up with the involvement of the Municipality of Turin, 22 other municipalities of the metropolitan area, the Province authority, and other 73 private companies (including FIAT) and nonprofit organizations (mainly bank foundations, universities).

Such new steering committee, expressed by a network of public and private actors sharing the same urban development vision, elaborated so far two strategic plans, respectively in 1998 and 2006. Even if the scope of the strategic plans is wide and covers many different economic and social aspects of the urban context, culture has been considered one of the city's key assets.

For instance, one of the main objectives in the 1998 plan concerns the promotion of Turin as a city of 'Culture, Tourism and Sport'. In this case, the preparation of the 2006 Winter Olympic games, which can be considered

as the cornerstone event of the Turin planning strategy (Bondonio et al., 2006), has played a crucial role in the improvement of metropolitan infrastructures and accommodation services.

More interestingly, after eight years, the second strategic plan of 2006 covered two lines of actions (among nine) that addressed culture and creativity as assets for the urban regeneration policy.

First, the line of action entitled 'Cultural Assets' basically addresses the enhancement of cultural consumption and the promotion of access to cultural activities and goods.

Second, the action entitled 'Creativity' is aimed (among other objectives) to supporting the economic dimension of new cultural and creative enterprises, providing an attractive and networked environment for creative and cultural workers. Following a supply-demand logic, the two development strategies are clearly interconnected towards the construction of creative districts and clusters. The objective is to generate a virtuous circle of consumption and a vibrant production of cultural products and services, sustained by both a soft and hard cultural infrastructure, made by events and places devoted to these activities.

However, whilst the formation of manufacturing industrial districts is more spontaneous, districts based on cultural assets and creative workers are less likely to be only private-led and spontaneous formations. Culture-led policies play a pivotal role with this respect, but they have to be fine-tuned with the local cultural sources and assets they try to support and elicit. The main challenge, as expected, is to find a balance between either top-down or bottom-up approaches, between exploiting preexistent germs of cultural vitality or introducing into the urban ecology new potentially boosting but not still adapted seeds.

On of the main actions for the enhancement of cultural consumption and valorization of local artistic collections has addressed the management of the Metropolitan Museum System trough Public-Private Partnerships. An example of this strategy comes from the establishment in 2004 of the Public Private Foundation for Museo Egizio, one of the most visited museums of the city, which nevertheless is State owned. The Ministry has conferred for thirty years the museum and its cultural and artistic goods (6,500 items and the museum's library), to the foundation, allowing for a proper valorization of the collection within the local context.

Moreover, local authorities have also supported Turin as the 'City of Cinema'. This strategy has been based on the seeds of a renowned tradition of the city, dating back both to the dawn of Italian cinema in the 20's and to 70's and 80's rich local

milieu of independent film- and video-makers emerged in the Italian movie scene.

The actions undertaken by the local authorities have favored both cultural organizations (i.e. Museum of Cinema, Turin Film Festival) involved in the consumptiom of the cinema as an art and cultural infrastructures and agencies to attract workers and investments in the movie production chain.

The most relevant initiatives in this field has been the establishment in 2002 of a Regional Film Commission aimed at attracting TV and movie productions, promoting locations and providing logistic and administrative services for the pre-production and production phases. The Piedmont Film Commission has been a succesfull experience as in 2008 no less than 40 productions were supported, attracting $\leqslant 25$ million of investments. At the same time, local authorities have committed public investments in movie production infrastructures and agencies.

First, Cineporto, an \in 8 million facility realized in 2008, will enhance the logistic and organizational conditions for film activities, with a space of 9,400 square meters that will enable to simultaneously work on five different movie productions.

Second, an investment agency publicly funded by the Piedmont Region is expected to finance movie productions in Piedmont with an initial budget of about \leqslant 25 million and a constraint of investing at least a 25% of the film budget with the regional territory. Considering that the resources that the Italian State assigns to finance movies is about \leqslant 90 millions per year, the commitment of the local authorities in this project seems to be quite relevant.

Lessons and outcomes

The dynamics occurred in the city of Turin in the last decade point out the first roots of a creative city, that is a urban model based both at the revitalization of cultural consumption and at the emergence of creative economic activities and enterprises. This model is strongly based on culture-led policies devised by the local government with the engagement of the main stakeholders in the metropolitan area.

The effectiveness of cultural policies in setting up creative districts has depended on a long-term vision by the main actors involved, which has especially been possible thanks to the great political stability in Piedmont and Turin in the last decade. Regardless their political orientation, the different

local administrations have been able to coordinate themselves and align their interests for the urban and regional regeneration goal, with the Olympic Games as a focal point. As a result, stable political actors have also enhanced the efforts of the private and non-profit sectors. It will be interesting to understand whether in the future this collective commitment will be carried on or there will be some kind of shifting involvements.

Further, the type of culture-led policy implemented seems to express the commitment by the local administration to find a balance between top-down and bottom-up approaches.

This is particularly important from a creative city perspective, because flourishing creative areas need to be rooted in communities with a high level of social and institutional capital, which is often difficult to elicit trough top-down interventions.

Local governments have intervened through investments in 'heavy' infrastructures or large cultural institutions to promote cultural consumption and production in creative activities. As Figure 1 shows, during the last 10 years there has been a significant increase in cultural expenditures, mainly due to long-term investments and capital expenditures for the Winter Olympic Games.

However, these figures reflect only a part of the efforts and energies devoted to the construction of a creative district within the city. Indeed, if such investments could be relevant (especially in the early stages), they are not sufficient for the sustainability of a creative district. In order to increase the effectiveness of their intervention, public authorities have to focus their attention on institutional innovation, existent inputs, soft infrastructures and, most importantly, in the promotion of networking structures that facilitate flows of information and help

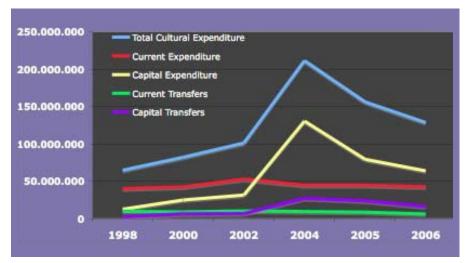


Figure 1 - City Cultural Expenditures (€ Million)

68 **■**

to build trust and foster collaboration. As for the outcomes, in the last decade there has been an impressive increase in the demand for museums, touristic attractions and cultural events.

For instance, in 1998 the Metropolitan Museum Systems had 1.3 million visitors while in the 2007 it reached 3.2 million visitors.

Such positive results witness the reach of the goal for one of the two development strategies addressed to build up a creative district, which is the enhancement of cultural consumption and the change of the exterior image of the city. In turn, gentrification of the historical center has occurred at a slow pace as only some neighborhoods in the city centre has turned into nightlife and cultural hubs, which nevertheless attract persons from the whole metropolitan area.

Turning to the second goal of enhancing the city's creative economy, there is not yet a general consensus about the outcome. According to cultural workers and entrepreneurs interviewed in a recent study by the Turin Chamber of Commerce (2008), it seems that the implemented cultural policies have not yet triggered the expected virtous circle between cultural consumption and cultural production. There is still a marked distance between the large organizations of cultural distribution, which have attracted so far the highest amount of resources and

attention, and the vibrant milieu of small-scale actors and producers of the city's creative economy.

Further, it is important to notice that the economic activities directly and indirectly involved in cultural production still have a small weight in the city's economy. For instance, it is estimated that in 2007 cultural activities contributed only for the 4% to the city's GDP (Bertoldi, 2007). Even if underestimated, this figure suggests that, albeit important in producing collective symbolic capital and changing urban image, cultural and creative activites are a little piece in the greater economic mosaic of the city of Turin.

Finally, the most attractive and creative areas of Turin remain in the city centre, whereas peripheral areas have less benefited from cultural policies.

For this reason objectives of urban regeneration under a creative city perspective have to be pursued with additional means and policies. The social disparities due to the post-industrial legacy of the city are still present and should be addressed by expanding the reach of cultural policies to the peripheral areas of the city where part of the population still do not have strong cultural consumption habits or is less engaged in creative and artistic expression.

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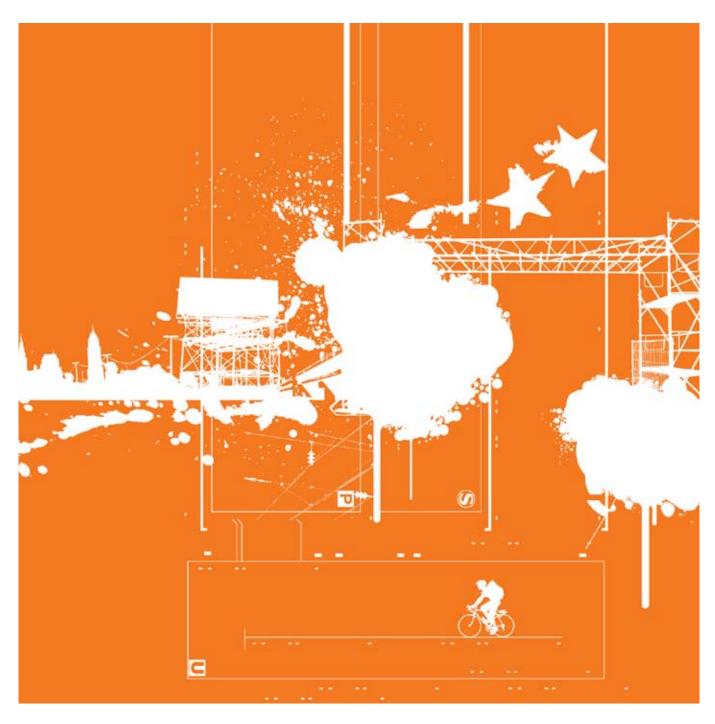
¹In the metropolitan area of Turin, there has been € 1 billion of investments in infrastructures. Of them, 40% has been used for transportation, 27% for building Olympic Villages and accommodation infrastructures and eventually 25% for renovating or building new sport facilities that today are used for both cultural and sport events.

²For instance, the Regione Piemonte was led by a right–conservative government from 1995 to 2005, while the city of Turin since the 1993 has been governed by a center-left coalition, with only two mayors in the period.



NET CITY QUALITY

Evert Verhagen







Even more than creative people, creative countries or the creative economy, the creative city captures the imagination. What defines a city as inviting for the creative class and consequently for the creative economy? How can a city make itself more interesting and alluring and thus attract this new kind of economy?

Between 1990 to 2005 I worked on the Westergasfabriek in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. In 2003 we organized a very successful international conference on creativity and the city and we also wrote a book: *Creativity and the City*. Together with Corien Rodenburg I am today running the company Creative Cities. Among many other activities I am a consultant for the redevelopment of the abattoir in Casablanca, Morocco. I am also working on a new park development in Amsterdam. I have had the privilege to travel to many cities in the world, and in the process was able to extend my professional network as well as to learn as much as possible about what makes a successful city.

City transformations

Everywhere and at all times, changes in economy have affected the way people live, and have manifested themselves especially in cities. In the 19th century cities renewed themselves dramatically to provide space for new developments such as railway stations, factories, department stores and residential estates. In the 1960's, cities were transformed to facilitate the service economy, followed by the boom of the knowledge economy in the 1990's. When you are able to read a city, you can easily recognize these transformations in the pattern of urban developments.

Clean, green and safe

Never in the history of mankind have more people lived in cities. However, many of the world's cities, especially in the former developed world, are shrinking. What defines a city as a 'good' city?

A good city is a city where people want to go: to live, to work, to recreate or simply to be. First we shall have a look at the basic qualities that every city should have. They can be summarized as clean, green, and safe. These factors must be considered in conjunction with each other. They are not directly associated to the creative city or creative economy, but are simply of key importance in every city. Unfortunately, in many places and in many cases they are absent or completely overlooked.

A clean environment creates an ambiance of attention and care. It involves management and upkeep, the sense that someone is in charge. Although aesthetic beauty is also significant, cleanliness is more important. A green city has a connection with nature. A tree in the street, a park within walking distance, fresh air, the sound of birds, all these can represent nature. The presence of several parks is of crucial importance for every city. Safety is especially about the presence of someone you trust. Cameras, walls, fences and guards do not create safety, but are introduced when real safety is lacking. We want to run into people that we

can trust and have a chat with. But who will also leave us to ourselves. That's safety.

I learned to understand the importance of clean, green and safe in the Westergasfabriek. Today Westergasfabriek is the most valued park of Amsterdam. The Westerpark is a cultural hot spot, it is hosting performances, shows, concerts, it is a location for the Holland Festival, a venue for movie presentations and much more. But the most important success is that it is a park for everyone. That could only be achieved by making it clean, green and safe.

But what will happen when all our cities are clean, green and safe? Wouldn't something be lacking? Wouldn't that be incredibly boring? Would there be anything exciting left to do and discover?

Creative economy

The essence of the creative economy is the addition of economic value through the story of a product. In his book The Creative Economy, John Howkins explained the principles of the creative economy. With The Rise of the Creative Class, Richard Florida put the subject on the international agenda. But it was the Danish futurist Rolf lensen who took it even much further in his book The Dream Economy: he discusses an economy that is completely and uniquely about stories.

From whatever corner you look at it, the influence of design, branding, and the trademark on the product value is strong and growing. Authenticity and quality are important features of product value. This is the added value of the creative component. And all these added values together form the creative economy. The proportions of the creative economy are varying. The definition of creative economy differs from country to country and also between authors. But it's there and we know it.

An important feature of the creative economy for the development of cities is the fact that the production factor is people's creativity. Richard Florida pointed out that the production process is no longer linked to a location. The production process is in the hands of bright and gifted people with a story, often with a high level of education and/or talent. This is not only true for the creative economy, but also for the economy in its entirety. This creatification of the economy may be even more important than the creative economy itself.

They are called the 'Creative Class' by some, others use the term knowledge workers, in *The Economist* they are simply described as talented people and elsewhere they are the Bobos.

For centuries, in every economy workers have been moving to the place where they thought their chances were the best. The same holds true for the creative economy, the difference being that nowadays it is the clustering of talent that feeds the economy.

Identity

The important assumption in the creative economy is that companies will establish themselves and activity will develop itself in an environment that is appealing to talent. Such an environment is a creative city. Because identity is the major issue in the creative economy, it is not surprising that the same applies to the city itself: a city with a good story and a distinct identity is more appealing to talented people.

Bilbao



The creative city is not the city that is merely attractive to the creative class. Neither is it the city where the highest share of the creative economy is generated. Nor is it the city with the greatest number of artists, or studios and workshops. It is the city that succeeds in telling its story in the best possible way. The city should offer the basic qualities that we all like to see in a city: it needs to be clean, green and safe. Moreover, it has a distinct identity, offers enough action and gives its residents something to take pride in. Everyone has to participate and go for it. A creative city is a city that is attractive to everyone and a city with good development opportunities for the creative economy.

75

From a misplaced sense of competitiveness some cities attempt to measure their creativeness, usually with some self-devised benchmark, and compare it to that of other cities. This is nonsense and completely unnecessary. There is no reason whatsoever to cease being creative because someone else already is.

Open

First and foremost, a creative city is an open city. Creativity needs inspiration, which arises from the interaction with others. Of course you can read a book or the newspaper, watch a movie, sit behind your computer or meditate. In the process you might get a flash of inspiration. However, direct contact with others, coincidences, discussions, are all major contributors to direct or indirect inspiration. It is also one of the reasons we travel.

An open city attracts visitors. And though creativity may be promoted by diversity, in many cities large groups of immigrants are not the first example you think of when you look at modernisation and change. Chiefly, this can be explained by the reason for their immigration: for instance the attempts to guarantee the continuation of the industry by importing cheap labour. Several decades later we are no longer looking for the factory worker, but for the talented immigrant.

An open city is constantly changing. Change is not always for the better for everyone. Many of the major global changes nowadays leave people in uncertainty. This is why many cities and countries prefer to close the gates. But a closed city can never be sustainable and consumes too much energy. So there is a strong case to choose the open city. Unfortunately, the choice does not always go that way.



Caro Bonink Bewoners Noord

Flow

Everyone is creative. But not everyone is able to use that creativity effectively and efficiently. It is important to enable people to discover and use their talents, to let them experience success. The beauty of creativity is that there is never too much of it. This is a crucial difference when compared to other industrial means of production.

The American psychologist
Csikszentmihalyi performed a
worldwide investigation into the
conditions that favour the development
of creativity. A most interesting
outcome of his research is the term
flow, the state of mind you reach
when you accept a larger than normal
challenge and make optimum use of all
your skills and talents. The environment
that a creative city offers can be a
contributing factor to the state of flow.
Let's discuss some of those conditions.

Art

Creative expressions of others can induce a better performance. Art has throughout history proven to be a valuable factor in bringing a city into

the spotlight, with special exhibitions or unusual works of art in public space. One of the most famous examples today is of course the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao: the city that put in a lot more effort to improve conditions than merely building the Guggenheim. But in the end it has proven to be more cost-effective to build and maintain the museum than to start a media campaign. And of course the added bonus is the museum itself.

In London a disused power station was converted into the Tate Modern. Paris started years ago with the Centre Pompidou and hasn't stopped since. In Germany cities such as Berlin, Frankfurt and Munich all boast magnificent museums. But also in the Ruhr large industrial buildings are now being reused for museum purposes. Remarkably, cities with a strong car industry have also started to build their own museums. The Mercedes museum of Ben van Berkel in Stuttgart is a brilliant example.

Large works of art in public space contribute strongly to the identity of a location. And the stories that go with these objects are almost always the same: in the planning stage it is considered ludicrous. During the building it is thought to be a waste of money. By the time it is being officially opened, a sense of pride has emerged and is growing. The following year all the companies in the area have a photograph of the work in their annual report. And after a few more years all agree that the work of art is a blessing. Which goes to show that public participation is not always the best basis for a decision.

Public space: the market of the creative economy

Creativity is personal and individual and nobody else's business. Nevertheless, the local authorities do have important responsibilities. Not to stop people from being creative because they think it's dangerous, but by creating the conditions for flow. As a start they need to provide the abovementioned basic environment that is clean, green, and safe. Public space and also the semi-public space play another essential role: they are the marketplaces of the creative economy. With the departure of industry, more was lost than just jobs. The factory also provided an important social environment, since for a long time it was, in addition to the church and pub, a principal meeting point. So not only the economy is looking for a replacement. Also the places where people meet and that promote social coherence are in need of renewal. Walking around in cities our attention is often drawn to remarkable buildings. But what does count is the space adjacent to those buildings. The public space in relation to those buildings determines whether or not the place has a comfortable feel to it. Every economy needs a marketplace, and the marketplace for the creative economy is the public or semipublic space.

76 **■ ■ ■**



Caro Bonink Bewoners Noord

Parks and squares

Architecture is an important tool in creating identity. Rem Koolhaas, the Dutch architect and thinker introduced the idea of the 'Generic City': the city without an identity. But today we see that more and more cities are investing in their identity and one of the first things they can think of is the quality of their public space. Places such as municipal parks, squares, urban woods, and city beaches are generating a strong and widespread interest. The victory started in Paris, where in a short span of time three parks were laid out on disused industrial sites: Parc the la Vilette, Parc Bercy and the Parc Andrée Citroën. Barcelona also developed a strategy with the focus on a first-class arrangement of public space. Currently this strategy is widely adopted, for example on a smaller scale in Antwerp, where a new park is being constructed on an abandoned railway yard. The park Noord is expressly intended as a strategic tool to fight the problems in this underprivileged area.

Water

Water is the best example of a successful transformation from industrial to recreational use. In urban environments water is an important location, one that generates meetings. The waterways in a city such as Amsterdam were constructed as transportation routes for trade. When these routes were no longer needed in the 19th century, many canals were filled in. Fortunately, those times are over and water has been able to put itself on the recreational and economical map. The combination of water and warehouses, both reused and with modern functions, makes the old town centre of Amsterdam such an attractive place. Every city in the world is looking for ways to redevelop waterfronts and bringing back water.

Heritage

An important factor for success in the creative economy is the quality of a place. In the informal space talent becomes visible. Finding new ways to reuse heritage can be an interesting factor to address the requirement for space for the new economy in the decades to come. Heritage offers space with personality, space with a story. The redevelopment of heritage is a direct investment in the new economy. It is sustainable and is a response to the need for an identity and the search for talent.

Events

Large events are considered to be good publicity for a creative city. Many cities use museums or sporting events to create an image. They choose to organize a large event and attract international attention: the Olympic Games, the World Expo, the Capital of Culture, football championships or major international cycle races. A major recurring event helps to establish the name of a city. Cities can be very creative in inventing events.

Leadership

It is fairly straightforward to discuss the physical changes required for the transformation to a creative city. It is also relatively easy to describe aspects that can help to create flow. But the creative city doesn't start there. It

starts with people. So, consequently, the authorities and the other people that make a city must change as well, as they have the important function of organizer, initiator and communicator.

Change processes need strong leadership. All aspects of the change process must come together and be managed by one resourceful person, as a powerful laser beam. In most cases this person will be a politician, for example the mayor of Bilbao, who is a part time heart surgeon. Also in Tirana, Albania, the mayor played this role: Edi Rama, an artist and visionary.

The leader may also be an alderman or an inspired project manager. The essential point is that she (or he) is able to put the vision in words, lead the team, make the right decisions, delegate the work to the appropriate people, that she is willing to take chances.

Elite

It is not elite at all to invest in the creative economy. In times of economic change there always will be a group ahead of the rest, and this time it might well be the artists and designers.

Don't get it wrong; the largest part of the creative economy is formed by a rapidly growing group of people who establish themselves as self-employed, freelance workers. These are people who put up with the insecurities and stress of a small business in order to do what they like and excel in.

78 ■ **1** 79

Talent

The creative economy thrives on talent. In this context it is mostly young people that come to mind, people with a university education or that have learned a trade. These young people are more flexible, they often see it as a challenge to travel. But looking at our cities we should not forget the families with children. Their parents choose to live in the city with good childcare facilities and schools where the kids are not treated as numbers. A city that is good for creative parents also provides extracurricular activities for the kids. Other people may live together, be single, even pensioned. The old economy wants to get rid of them or they are tired of being closed up in a framework of a big company. They may consider starting their own company, alone or together with others in the same building. But they will only take the plunge if there is a certain critical mass.

Enterprise

The creative economy is mainly an economy of new and small companies and businesses. When the authorities ask themselves how they can stimulate the creative economy in their environment, one of the answers is to create a friendly climate for start-ups, so more people will start their own company. This can be achieved by organizing breeding places, where space is leased out against reasonable prices to starting entrepreneurs, often in disused factory buildings. Another option is to stand surety for loans, since banks may have their doubts about the feasibility of start-up business plans.

Housing

There is no fundamental difference between the creative city and social housing. Also the creative economy needs affordable space to live and work. In the last years new residential areas are often given a strong identity. In considering this identity, it is recommendable to take into account that people might want to work from home for a couple of days a week. Another important aspect is the availability of enough parking spaces. Creative people want to see visitors from everywhere.

Change

A good city is able to reinvent itself time and again. The source of this modernisation and change can be found in the residents themselves. The buildings, places and spaces merely provide the background and must be able to facilitate

change. To invest in the city is to invest in change, in a spatial infrastructure that may accommodate several functions. In a new economy it is important to reassess matters and to learn how to appreciate them differently.

Net City Quality

The latest financial crises has showed us again that it is not always wise to measure success and failure in money. It may be a financial crisis but in many other areas of life it may come as a blessing. Richard Florida calls it the great reset. So even though we have learned to express success and failure in money, this must change in our quest for the creative city. In the area of personal development many methods have been developed to help people regain their focus on life, make choices and set new goals. In the United States this is called Value Engineering. Such analyses can be made for the city as well. To this end one could make a list of criteria to measure the Net City Quality of the respective city. The financial aspects should not be neglected, but many other factors should be taken into consideration, such as security, freedom, happiness, fun, power, wisdom, excitement, spiritual development, growth, love, health. Don't forget clean, green and safe.

Organise meetings. Discuss values. Choose the five most important ones, which will vary from city to city since they need to fit the urban DNA. Summarize these five criteria in a clear vision. With this strategy you start off a process to raise the unique and city-specific defined Net City Quality to an unparalleled level. This is how a creative city comes into existence.

FLORIDA, R., The Rise of the Creative Class – and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life. New York: Basic Books, 2002

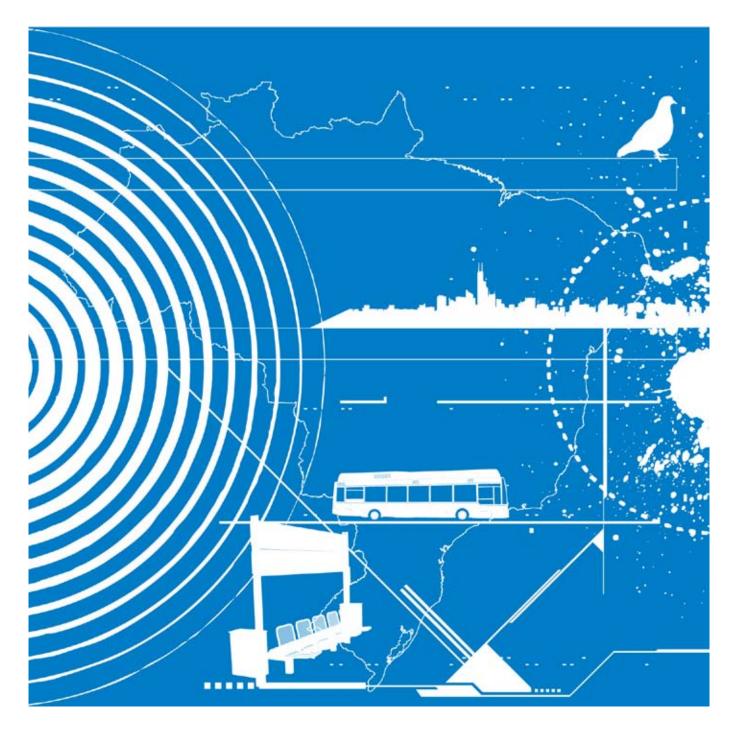
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EVERY CITY CAN BE A CREATIVE CITY

Jaime Lerner





Instituto laime Lerner





Barigui Park

One of the unique traits of the human condition is the capacity of abstract thought; the ability to imagine, to dream, to devise constructs on our minds before having them materialized.

Cities are creations of humankind, and can therefore reflect our ingenuity. But how do they go from being products of our creation to being Creative Cities?

I'd argue that although not all cities are presently creative, all of them have the potential to be. In my view, the very essence of a creative city relies in its ability to build a collective dream and in its capacity to mobilize the efforts of its citizens to make this dream come true – an endeavor that could be attained by every city, small or large.

Ultimately, the conquering of this vision of future translates itself in quality of life. Quality of life that is expressed in a few concepts that are key to any city: sustainability, mobility and solidarity, incidentally themes that have mobilized inventive ideas all over the world.

Live close to your work, or bring the work closer to your home is one of the touchstones of sustainability. Reduce the use of the automobile, separate the garbage, give multiple functions during the 24 hours of the day to urban equipments, save the maximum and waste the minimum. Sustainability is an equation between what is saved and what is wasted. The more you save and the less you waste, the more sustainable the equation is.

In terms of mobility, every city has to make the best out of each mode of transportation that it has, be it on the surface or underground. The key resides in not having competing systems on the same space, and using everything that the city has in the most effective way. The surface system has the advantage of, with the right features (such as dedicated lanes, on level and pre-paid boarding, and high frequency), achieving a performance much similar to the one of the underground train at a cost that is affordable to virtually every city, in a much more expedite manner.

A healthier city happens where the car is not the only comfortable option of transportation; where the energy of unnecessary displacements is saved; where walking along its streets, parks and avenues in encouraged.

Additionally, to strengthen solidarity, to encourage the coexistence of diversity – of ages, of income levels, of uses, of functions, of typologies – within its territory, linked in a shared sense of identity, is crucial to advance in terms of quality of life. I'd argue that the greater the 'sociodiversity', the greater the capacity to embrace multiplicity, the more humane – and creative – the city will be.

Identity, self-esteem, a feeling of belonging, all of them are closely connected to the points of reference people have about their own city. It is a major factor of quality of life for it represents the synthesis of the relationship between the individual and his/her urban environment.

82 **—**

These three elements simultaneously derive and come together in the *conception of the city*, in its structure of development. A city without design is a camping ground, metastasis of an unchecked, irregular growth. It is a city without priority, the antithesis of a creative one.

Thus, a fundamental tenant of my conception of a Creative City is that we must see it as an integrated structure of life and work, together. The best metaphor to embody this idea is the turtle. The turtle is the ultimate example of integrated living and working and circulating – key aspects in terms of urban quality of life.

Every city should develop/enhance its particular design, a design that may be hidden under the layers of the natural and built environments. It is a strange archeology that connects in time ancient paths and everything that was dear to the life of the city and gives them new content, inducing or consolidating its growth through mass transportation and land use. This structure articulates itself around streets (even in rural settlements), which are the basic spatial references.

The design of the city, then, conjugates the materialized layers of time and a future direction, an ideal. But what guides this future direction?

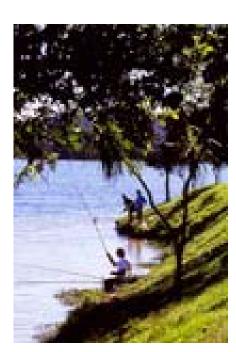
The city must have a dream. A city is a collective dream. To build this dream is vital. Without it, there will not be the essential involvement of its inhabitants. Therefore, the creative city is the one that has a collective dream that can be



São Lourenço Park (Llna Faria / Instituto Jaime Lerner)



The '24 Hours' Street
(Lina Faria / Instituto Jaime Lerner)



Passauna Park (LIna Faria / Instituto Jaime Lerner)



Street Market at the Historical Distric



The "Garbage that is not Garbage" program The "Leaves Family"

translated into quality of life, the one that does not focus its energies in diagnosing problems and projecting tragedy. The fact of detecting an undesired tendency does not mean a doomsday situation: this is the right time for creative, positive action.

My professional experience has taught me that cities are not problems, they are solutions. We must creatively change the negative lenses through which we view cities to positive ones, and focus on the incredible potential for transformation that they harbor. For instance, if it is in cities that up to 75% of carbon emissions are generated – due to construction techniques and materials, energy consumption, ecological footprints, amongst others -, it is precisely there that most effective results can be achieved. It is in the conception of cities that the largest contribution towards more sustainable patterns of development can be made.

In every city it is important to ask its leadership two essential questions: What is your problem? and What is your dream? (noticing that the dream doesn't have to derive only from the solution of certain problems). If leadership is capable of formulating a dream that everyone, or the great majority, can agree on, you're on the path toward a creative city - when the dream is the inductor of a collective aspiration. Then, this process will acquire the necessary synergy to boost creativity. And the greater the challenges, the more creative it can become. It is necessary to engender the co-responsibility equations - bringing together government, private sector, and civil society efforts - which will enable the solutions.



The "Green Exchange" Program





XV of November Street (Flower's Street), first pedestrian mall in Brazil (Llna Faria / Instituto Jaime Lerner)



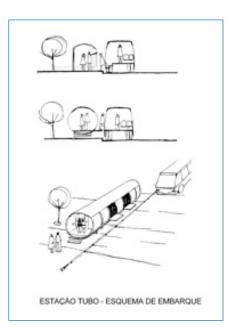


Public transportation System Cutiriba – Brazil Dedicated lanes in the Structural Sector



Cycling and jogging paths
(Lina Faria / Instituto Jaime Lerner)

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(Instituto Jaime Lerner)



Bus Types and Boarding Tubs Curitiba - Brazil



Historical District (Lina Faria / Instituto Jaime Lerner)



Polish Woods Park



Paiol Theatre (Lina Faria / Instituto Jaime Lerner)

One of the most important roles that leadership will play in this context is to set a positive agenda; to foster the process of building this collective dream, focus on it, and to demonstrate how this scenario can come true. Without neglecting the basic needs of its constituents in terms of health care, education, children's and elders' attention, work towards a strategic set of goals, capable of motivating the efforts of an entire generation.

In this task, good communication skills are crucial, so it can transmit how it is possible to achieve this scenario, and at the same time to share its accomplishment.

A city is only attractive for tourists if it is attractive for its own population. One does not prepare the city for tourists – prepares it for people, and the way it serves its people can be an example of quality of life that that will attract tourists.

We cannot fear success. "I'm afraid it will work out" – one cannot think this way. Always think in a considerate manner, therefore promoting diversity, the mixture of income, functions, ages. The more diversification, the less gentrification there will be.

The people who are attracted to the city must be involved in this collective dream in such a way that they can contribute in a solidary manner. To use solidarity to avoid unbalance, achieve creativity through generousness.

In every scenario conception, one cannot forget that the future 'is just around the corner', and that it will require new ways of thinking. The future represents a commitment with constant innovation.

And to innovate is to start! One cannot be so arrogant as to expect to have all the answers beforehand. From 'origin' to 'destination', the course can always be adjusted.

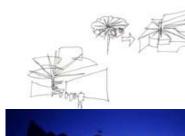
Once the scenario is set, strategic punctual interventions create a new energy and help it to be consolidated.

This is the 'Urban Acupuncture', a quick, precise touch in a key point. Just as in the medical approach, this intervention will trigger positive chain-reactions, helping to cure, enhance the whole system. And the 'practice' of urban acupuncture is a very fertile ground for creativity.

Many cities today need urban acupuncture because they have neglected their cultural identities; others because they have neglected their relationship with the natural environment; others still have turned their backs on the wounds left by economic activities. These neglected areas, these 'scar marks' are precisely the target points for the acupunctures.

In sum, I'd argue that creativity is attained when one 'zero' is cut from the budget; sustainability, when you cut two; and the fulfillment of a dream when you start to do things immediately. Right now!







City of Curitiba Heritage Landmark - Historical District (Instituto Jaime Lerner)



Curitiba Skyline, aerial view (Instituto Jaime Lerner)



Open University for the Enviroment



Botanical Garden (Lina Faria/Instituto Jaime Lerner)



The Cultural Convoy (Governo do Estado do Paraná)



"Pedreiras" Park - The "Wire Opera" (Lina Faria/Instituto Jaime Lerner)



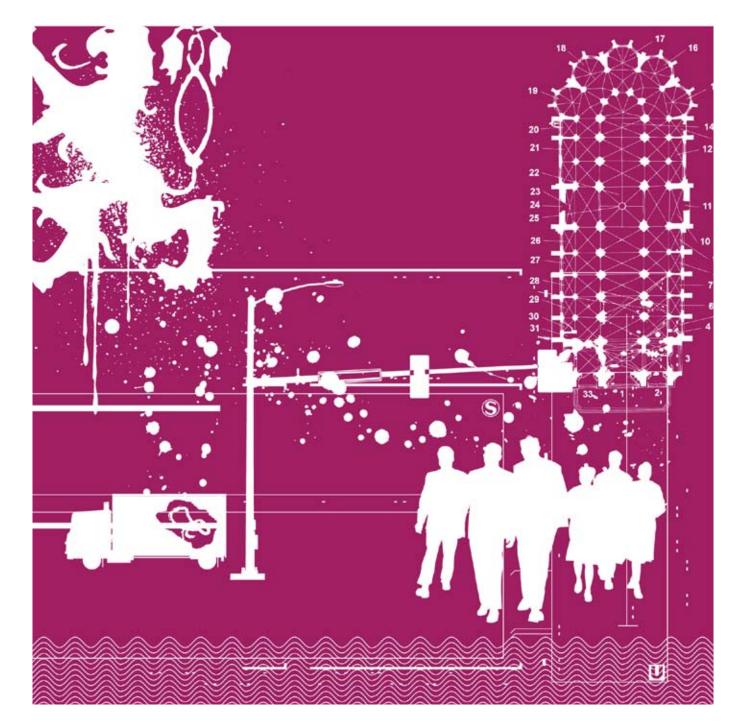
World's Nature Games (Governo do Estado do Paraná)

86



NANTES. A CREATIVE CITY?

Jean-Louis Bonnin



Le Lieu Unique



After a far-reaching economic crisis in the 1980s which saw the closure of the shipyard and companies in the food processing industry, the city, a place of social tensions, isolation and recession seemed to lose all appeal and capacity for economic development.

Twenty years on, at first presented as the symbol of 'sleeping beauty awakening', Nantes has become a city that is considered to be particularly dynamic and creative.

The national and international press has given this wide coverage. On 24th April 2008 for the third year running the weekly magazine *Le Point* ranked Nantes as the best city in France to live in, basing this ranking on it capacity for creativity and its quality of life: "In 20 years, Nantes has become a major city, its development is impressive. This success is due to the teeming cultural activity which has managed to breathe life back into the whole city..."



A significant evolution can be noted through the city's *economic progression* (1st place among French cities for setting up and establishing companies), a marked increase in salaried positions (+33 %), and a strong growth in the numbers of managers and engineers. Over 20 years *demographic growth* has been twice as fast as the national average: +10% of inhabitants over the past 10 years, which is the second fastest growth rate for all major French cities with a *young population*: two in three inhabitants are under 40. Finally, through its recent presence in European and international networks, the new attractiveness of *urban tourism* linked with *seaside tourism* which brings the city *symbolically* closer to its coast through a fresh way of looking at the estuary and the 'Côte d'amour' beaches.

88



However, there is no scientific study, research or theory that allows us today to directly link our city's attractiveness with its cultural activity and with the creative identity which is attributed to it.

We are able to describe, question and analyze the processes in this transformation, the approach taken and the philosophy which guided the city's governance, without being able to "model" them or consider them a lesson on strategies for cities.

Furthermore, in a general context of crisis, it has become vital that we ask ourselves questions about the current challenges, about the restraints and handicaps that have to be overcome in order to maintain this determination to innovate and create and to have the ability to open up a new cycle of life and development.

In 1989, Jean-Marc Ayrault, Nantes' newly elected mayor, aged 39, showed the citizens that confidence and pride in belonging to a territory could be regained by basing the city's management on two objectives:

- transforming the city and its town planning through a public transport policy which opens up the city's districts and the relationship between the town centre - city districts, and nowadays the 25 towns in the urban centre as well as the surrounding country area, by providing tramway, bus way and train-tram line, by gradually taking control again of urban spaces and the connection with water (Erdre and Loire);
- seeing cultural policy as the driving force behind the city's development, by putting the citizen at the heart of policy directions and projects, by revitalizing thoughts



and practices concerning mediation and artist - population relationships.

Today we must firstly emphasize the importance of continuity for political governance strategies (Jean-Marc Ayrault was elected for the 4th time in 2008), of the time required for attitudes to evolve, for a gradual approach and understanding of the issues, for an increasingly greater and more demanding involvement of 'civil society', for the ability to unite people around a common cause, to link and give meaning to proposals and initiatives which are diverse and often fragmented.

One of the first points when management of the city took a new direction was this political determination to encourage, to support and to increase the standing of community projects and initiatives which enabled inhabitants to become reconciled, to take ownership of the history of their city and rediscover its spaces, to grasp "the shape of a city" (Julien Gracq), of their city.

In 1992 the exhibition 'Les Anneaux de la mémoire' (rings of memory) organized by community groups and citizens, and supported by the City Council, meant that for the first time a French city opened the pages of its history concerning the slave trade, which is so often concealed and hidden away. This exhibition has been the starting point for the process of remembering, and progressively for the history of the African slave trade and the struggles to abolish slavery.

This process, which has aroused discussion and controversy, but also started up educational projects in schools and the creation of a network of African and Caribbean towns, is at the root of this desire to discover and uncover the history of a territory. In 2007 this desire found concrete expression with the restoration of the 'Château des Ducs' and the opening of a large history museum, where the exhibitions make a connection between questions being asked today about urban, economic and social development... and the development of the territory with its history.

There is also the project for a Memorial to the abolition of slavery, with an area for information about the history of slavery and its current forms. The project is on the embankments of the Loire produced by the artist Krzysztof Wodiczko.

With collectives, community groups and university academics, this historical and philosophical approach has taken up again the thinking around the symbols of the Edict of Nantes of Tolerance and Human Rights. Since 1990, an 'Edict of Nantes Prize' has been awarded to those who fight for the respect of freedom of conscience and opinion. Since 2006 the World Forum on Human Rights, organized in Nantes, has brought together charities, international NGOs and UNESCO, and has been getting many citizens involved with these subjects.

Rediscovering the city's sensory shape. This was the aim of one of the first cultural events 'les allumées',







the principle being that over a period of six years, artists from a foreign city are invited every year to take Nantes over for six nights and to put forward ideas for new artistic forms. The city's inhabitants and visitors are invited to explore these creations in unusual locations (disused factories, privately owned apartments, public places, gardens, water towers, sewers...) and to take a sensory journey, of dreams and imagination, across the city in the night-time, between six o'clock in the evening and six o'clock in the morning.

This event was the starting point for the drive to open up the way the citizen looks at the city and urban space through the imagination of creative artists involved with cities which they considered to have a strong cultural identity and to be producing significant creative activity in their territories: Barcelona, St. Petersburg, Johannesburg, Cairo, Havana and Naples.

It is important for a 'metropolitan' city to preserve its environment and balance an extended catchment population with the countryside surrounding it. For several years now the city's challenge has been to make up a consistent area, from Nantes to Saint-Nazaire on the sea coast (a distance of 60 km), to take possession of the estuary, the space that lies between these two cities and to protect its character as an unspoilt reserve for wildlife and plant life. For this estuary to be preserved, its inhabitants have to know it, visit it, see it and experience it as a place that is essential for the quality of their lives.

'Estuary', the biennial event designed by Jean Blaise, the director of 'Lieu Unique', organizes scenic, sensory, routes along these 60 km of river banks. Artists are invited to tackle the natural spaces and create durable works spread out over 30 or so sites along the banks and in the cities of Nantes and Saint-Nazaire.

Here again, the cultural project is completely integrated with the project for the area's development, for the development of tourism and the attractiveness of the cities.

A city's story/narrative is also about rediscovering and reviving subterranean, unconscious themes which make up a city's collective memory.

From Jules Verne's utopia to the proclaimed surrealist identity which allowed André Breton to write in *Nadja*: "Along with Paris, Nantes may be the only city in France where I have the impression that something worthwhile might happen to me..."

This political approach *presupposes* the determination and ability to unite and bring together the vital forces of civil society, to support initiatives from its citizens, collectives and charitable organizations to have confidence in personalities who choose to go off the beaten track. *This approach forces* us to make choices, to embrace 'risk taking'. This concept of risk fits with the desire to invest in the future, the uncertain and the unpredictable by having confidence in creative artists. Such political courage is far from being assumed everywhere.

All the cultural or urban projects that are nowadays recognized and considered as widely agreed upon and positive elements in the city's communications started out life with debate, uncertainty and often opposition.

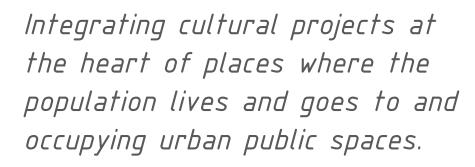


If the cultural policy, funding for which represents 16% of the city's budget, fits with the cultural amenities and institutions that are expected of the sixth largest urban area in France (opera, orchestra, theatres, museums, venues for contemporary music...), this policy has distinguished itself, set itself apart, by elements, by choices which have helped to make up this identity of a dynamic and creative city such as:

Thinking anew ways of producing and showing all the cultural events (ranging from opera to festivals and education).

An example of this is the classical music festival "La Folle Journée" which runs over 4 days from 10am to midnight, with over 230 concerts spread over different concert halls in one place, which brought in an audience of 124,000 people in 2009 (a 97% attendance rate). A sociological survey among the audiences showed that 60% of them were attending a classical concert for the first time, having lost any hang ups because of the festival's concept and the way it was organized, by the work undertaken in the previous weeks in the districts and schools to promote the festival, by the relationship between amateur and professional practices, by a spirit of discovery, by being able to meet others at the concerts, by very affordable pricing... By designing the festival in this way it was possible to involve economic actors (company clubs, getting shopkeepers on board) and cultural and social actors, and it owes its success to the ability to bring together different actors in the life of the city, to achieve the same ambition.

In any creative city it is essential to have personalities who call into question the way things are generally created and shared, who provide bridging relationships, who enable desires and initiatives to be connected up and who promote synergies between sectors in the city that are often cut off from each other.



The city supports a number of these projects, which reach out to the population, which encourage it to come to public spaces and onto the streets by running cultural events that are free. For example:

'Les belles chaises', organized by the Regional School of Fine Arts, encourages both amateur painters and professional artists to exhibit their works in public spaces.

For 15 years the 'Compagnie Royal de Luxe' has been recording a narrative, a dream, a poem in the population's collective imagination based around the life of a giant. These shows get thousand of spectators involved and for several days transform the way we look at the city: main streets are blocked, squares are occupied, buildings and objects from our daily life are transformed.



The ideas put forward have such forcefulness and get so many inhabitants involved that the idea does indeed develop that utopia in the city is possible.

However, it is also about involving cultural and artistic projects in every city planning project. So it is with the refurbishment of the embankments of the 'lle de Nantes' whose transformation into an area for walks and leisure activities has started and is being fast tracked so that cultural projects can take place: 'Machines' and the 'Estuary' event.

Based on the many different experiments that we have experienced in the city we hope to develop tools to analyze and evaluate these practices with university academics, teachers and researchers (sociologists, economists).



Taking control again of wasteland, industrial premises part of our heritage, through contemporary and creative use of the space.

A cultural centre was opened on 31st December 1999 in a former biscuit factory, the 'Lieu Unique', an area for living and creative invention where the bar, the restaurant, the bookshop, the hammam and the day nursery are an integral part of the project.

The architect Patrick Bouchain worked with the director Jean Blaise's team to preserve the soul of the place and its poetry whilst at the same time offering the most effective technical possibilities and adapting the spaces for imagination or for the creativity for local or guest international artists.

This space which remains open until 2am or 3am is used by a very different public, depending on the time of day or night. The programme is devoted to a knowledge society, to interdisciplinary creations, to a people's university open to everyone, to meetings with writers, philosophical discussions, lessons on architecture... As a cultural place for discussions and gatherings par excellence, it has brought about a far reaching change in this district of the city, encouraging collectives and artists' workshops to spring up, whilst at the same time preserving the original population. This once neglected district



94

has returned to the heart of the city. The challenge is there to maintain social diversity, local life, to fix a percentage of social housing and to get private spaces under control.

This place, which in 1997 came up against the Ministry of Culture's conceptions concerning the label 'scène nationale' (national stage), has enabled this drive for city planning to be developed, preserving the industrial wasteland and the city's memory for new usage.

Likewise the foundry halls have been transformed into a pedestrian walkway with an exotic garden self-sufficient in water; the 'Nefs Dubigeon' is a place for creative invention, François Delarozière's 'Machines de l'Ile' are exhibited here and this is where the elephant resides. This living sculptures project which moves around the urban space and for which entry is free of charge, takes a completely different approach to normal leisure parks. It has become a symbol of the city's identity.

A section of this nave and a former blockhouse leftover from the war will be transformed into an area for contemporary music forms, a multimedia centre for creation where sound and image meet, a space for interdisciplinary creativity and open to emerging bands who want to play.

The existence of an artistic and creative scene recognized nationally and internationally

In the field of contemporary music forms, visual arts and staging events, Nantes has international recognition as a fertile breeding ground. A number of artists who have moved away from the city retain a strong attachment to it, continue to be involved in its projects and are ambassadors for the city in international institutional networks (museums, biennial events, festivals) or promote it.

"Who is born in Nantes like everyone" this phrase from the writer Louis Aragon fits with the sentiment that when welcoming creative artists we have to bring alive this ability to integrate them into a collective dynamic process, into a fertile ground for initiatives.

It is vitally important that the actor working with a short-lived project has the feeling of belonging and of sharing a territory, a sensibility.





Moreover, it is important to promote international projects for resident artists. Nantes was the first French city to sign a partnership agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the support of exchanges between cities and projects that creative artists from Nantes work on around the world.

For several years now Nantes has set up a network for dialogue and exchange between French and Japanese cities. In 2008, over 40 projects by Nantes artists took place in Japan, and the city likewise welcomed Japanese artists. Exchanges have also taken place with cities that we consider to be voluntarist as far as culture is concerned, where it seems to us that artists have significant expression, such as Glasgow, Essen, Chicago, Berlin, Amsterdam, Montreal, Antwerp...

In the city, several policy makers keep a close watch on the expression of new directions, initiatives carried out on an international scale and most especially projects which bring together creative, urban and economic development.

In this context since 2005 Nantes has been piloting a working group with the cities of Aix-la-Chapelle, Utrecht, Eindhoven and Angers, Rennes Métropole and the CIDA, a creative industries development agency in Yorkshire, today this has been extended to include the cities of Stuttgart, Cardiff and Dublin, and the University of Birmingham, around the ECCE (Economic Clusters of Cultural Enterprises), a project funded by Europe.

96 **■** ____





Exchanges of experience are particularly interesting between these European cities when it comes to promoting the creation and establishment of small and medium sized companies from the creative sector in our territories of medium-sized major cities, and encouraging development, synergies and pooling between them at a local and European level.

Working around several subjects, we have sought out to pinpoint the questioning and joint responses which could be adapted to suit each local reality.

These meetings have supported our positioning on eco design, creativity, lifestyles and mediation. They have helped to draw up a project for the 'lle de Nantes' (350 hectares), involving town planning, education and economy around the themes of the knowledge

society and creative invention. In the Alsthom halls (20,000 m²) this project brings together higher education (art, design and architecture colleges...), research laboratories, business incubators (150 companies) and private projects in the new technologies and creative invention sectors.

For many years now the authority has been looking for new methods of governance and for getting the citizen involved. When the first 'Council for Development' was set up in France in 1996, civil society was given an important position vis à vis the authorities. This Council for Development can refer to itself the subjects to be tackled (disabled people in the city, the ecological dimension, sport, international appeal, city planning and modes of transport...).

But in the present day global context of crisis, can this savoir faire, this state

of mind, this pace of development be maintained as a vital element for 'getting out of the crisis'?

Or will we on the contrary witness a hardening of positions, a turning in on ourselves once more, the feeling that today we must 'manage properly' what has been achieved, call a halt to innovation and to confidence in 'producers of alternative thinking' and in the common idea?

In these circumstances which are linked to the evolution of a life cycle for a city, we can observe the temptation to concentrate power in the administration, the risk of a technocratic stranglehold over politics, hierarchical organization which leaves little place for 'collective intelligence' and for the expression of divergent or unconventional points of view. The risk of institutionalization and corporatism is also palpable. Will the private sector still have the will to invest intellectually and financially in projects of general interest or will it concentrate all its efforts and margins for manoeuvre on its own sector's immediate survival? Just how far will the State continue with its moral and financial withdrawal from local authorities?

Nowadays it is not enough to be in touch, to link together and support new 'generations', we also have to ensure that (public/private) powers are transferred to new actors who have the capacity to set in motion a new cycle of development and utopias.

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CREATIVE ECOLOGIES

John Howkins



This article is based on John Howkins, *Creative Ecologies: Where Thinking is a Proper Job*, UQP, 2009.

Cities have become icons of the creative economy: their startling new buildings, their crowds, clusters and cultural diversity, their elite stars and industry gatherings, their opportunities for dreaming, internships and starting work, their craziness, their high costs, and, out of all this, their exhilarating novelty and excellence.

Richard Florida has added a fourth T, 'Territorial Assets', to Talent, Tolerance and Technology as his criteria for the creative class. Charles Landry has popularised the term 'creative city', saying "A creative milieu is a place, whether a cluster of buildings, a part of a city, a city as a whole, or a region, that contains the necessary pre-conditions in terms of hard and soft infrastructure to generate a flow of ideas and inventions". The London-based Monocle lifestyle magazine says bluntly that today every city wants to be a "design capital, ecology champion, hub for knowledge and magnet for creatives". Neville Mars, artistic director of the Beijing-based Dynamic City Foundation, talks of flash-urbanisation and cunning cities based entirely on market forces.

Where can we expect creative cities to flourish? Think of your favourite places, where you feel free to explore ideas through learning and adapting and where change comes easiest. At the most basic level, you will be free from want, as well as from fear, censorship and disapproval. You will be in a group or community where new ideas are welcome not only in formal 'let's-have-an-idea-now' session but at all times. There will be a sense that the purpose of the group is not to live off other people's ideas but to explore one's own ideas; to give, not just to receive. Instruction will be replaced by dialogue in which listening is as respected and enjoyable as speaking. Since it is impossible to anticipate a new idea or the appropriate group to develop it, you will have access to many different groups and the ability to form an indefinitely large number of new ones.

Look around and you will see many groups like this forming spontaneously and naturally. They are behaving as self-organising systems in chaos theory, being generated in response to changes in the outside environment, not internal demand, and extremely sensitive to the initial input although also more-or-less deterministic thereafter. Some groups may need a nudge to get going but they will also be sensitive to the circumstances of their birth, the first naming and defining. Ideas at this stage are tender creatures. Groups will be informal, collaborative and leader-less but far from decision-less. Debate and argument will be brisk but within an environment of mutual benefit. Once the response is complete, the self-organising system dissolves.

Some of these self-organising dialogues may appear to be like brainstorming but they have different origins, purposes and forms. Brainstorming sessions have formal origins and operate with sharp boundaries of time and space. A creative dialogue is informal; it has no such boundaries; participants' energies flow at all times. The commencement moment may be sharply defined but its duration cannot be anticipated, its progress cannot be quantified and its ending may not even be noticed.

In a creative ecology one lives in this way because it is highly rewarding and highly productive. I said 'live' because people who are serious about working this way also live this way. To behave like this at work and to be rigid and negative at home is a recipe for confusion and despair. And just as people cannot be instructed to be creative so they cannot be taught to listen and take part in a dialogue amongst equals.

Creativity can flourish anywhere and we can have a great idea sitting in the middle of a desert. But if we want to move beyond creativity to a creative ecology, we require diversity, change, learning and adaptation with sufficiently large scope and scale. We need places with the most people, the most active markets, the appropriate built environment and the biggest broadband networks. There, learning is fastest, collaboration easiest and novelty most stimulating. In other words, a creative city.

In the 1990s, three-quarters of European R&D was concentrated in 10 urban areas. In America in 2006 one-third of all patents came from companies based in the three states of California, New York and Texas. In Japan, Tokyo and Osaka dominate. It seems that everywhere there is a hierarchy of popularity. Within China, companies look first at the East coast hinterland and then the five major cities and, within each city, the favoured districts. At each step, governments and planning agencies offer enticements.

I first came across the idea of a 'creative city' in Cedric Price's 1960s proposals for a 'Think Belt'. Cedric Price was a British architect who came to prominence with his proposal for a Fun Palace in London, saying "Choose what you want to do or watch someone else doing it. Learn how to handle tools, paint, babies, machinery, or just listen to your favourite tune. Dance, talk or be lifted up to where you can see how other people make things work. Sit out over space with a drink and tune in to what's happening elsewhere in the city. Try starting a riot or beginning a painting; or just lie back and stare at the sky".

His 'Think Belt' was a master-plan for 'The Potteries', five Staffordshire towns that once dominated British pottery manufacture but had declined. It was a recipe for a "city caused by learning" where, Price hoped, people could "Think the Unthinkable". His ideas never went beyond the drawing-board (but the Think Belt

made a special impact on me because I was a student a few miles away at Keele, Britain's most experimental university). We also loved his plans for London's South Bank which offered "Doubt, Delight and Change".

His dreams live on, Richard Florida says: "Without diversity, without weirdness, without difference, without tolerance, a city will die. Cities don't need shopping malls and convention centres to be economically successful, they need eccentric and creative people". In introducing its favourite cities, Monocle says the most desirable qualities are good urban transport, green spaces, friendly people, nice cafés and "a place you can take off your clothes and lie in the sun". It was in this spirit that the Fierce Arts collective installed 16 pianos on the streets of Birmingham so passers-by could play them. No rules, no security; just the opportunity to play music at any time, day or night.

Cities have always been the most visible and most concentrated arenas for creativity and innovation. Peter Hall lists some of the archetypes: Athens in the 5th century BC; Florence in the 14th century; London between 1570 and 1620; Vienna in the late 18th century up to 1914; Paris in the 1890s; and Berlin between 1918 and 1933. He is less enthusiastic about Los Angeles in the mid-20th century which Reyner Banham described as an "architecture of four ecologies": Surfurbia, Foothills, The Plains of Id, and Autopia. But he recognised that people who lived in these cities were deeply conscious of

being there, and proud of it, too.

A global landmark was reached in 2007 when 50% of the world's population were living in cities, and the United Nations predicts 75% will do so by 2050. Britain was the first country to pass the 50% mark and did so 150 years ago in 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition. In 2007, over 90% of Britons lived in cities, and almost 95% of young people. In America that year 81% of people lived in cities.

Cities score high on my four indicators of a creative ecology: diversity, change, learning and adaptation. One measure is the number of people who are foreign-born, because foreignness is a mark of diversity. In New York, 33% are foreign-born, followed by London (27%), and Paris (16%). Japan's restrictive immigration policy holds Tokyo's figure to 2%. Shanghai does not release data for foreign-born residents but the number of expatriates is reckoned to be 450,000 which is also about 2% of the population. A university education is another useful indicator because graduates tend to want to go on learning. In Paris, 31% of the population has a BA (France guarantees a university place to everyone who passes the baccalaureate), followed by New York (30%), London (28%), Tokyo (23%) and Shanghai (18%).

This mix needs to be stirred to provoke change. A city's larger scale and scope support a wider range of domains each with their specialised expertise, research, financial resources, social networks, sophisticated labour markets

and international connections; in turn supporting higher levels of supply and demand. The average may be high but the quality will be uneven, ranging from admirable excellence to many failures; however, this diversity is better for learning and collaboration than a collection of organisations all at the same level. Compared to repetitive, entropy-inducing industries that require a standardised workforce which turns up at the same time, goes home at the same time and gets a good night's sleep, the creative city flourishes with highly differentiated independently-minded people including a number of oddballs who stay out late.

Only cities offer the organising facilities to translate thought into action on the spot, which is the best way to learn. Urban-based collaboration is one of the most powerful forces in contemporary social change. Jane Jacobs, who wrote the *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* in 1961 said later in *Cities and the Wealth of Nations* that "the more fully niches are filled, the richer they are in means of supporting life...the more diversity the more flexibility because of what ecologists call homeostatic feedback loops meaning greater numbers of feedback for automatic self-correction".

Elizabeth Currid, author of *The Warhol Economy: How Fashion, Art and Music Drive New York City* says city-wide clusters have three effects: creative people can mix with each other on business matters easily and spontaneously; they can participate in business-related social events; and they can live in the same neighbourhood and get to know each other's life styles (her example is buying milk in the morning next to the guy you want to work with). According to Simon Evans, who runs Britain's annual Creative Clusters conferences, clusters encourage innovation, sharper competition and reassure investors and customers.

Imagine walking in a city; in some places it's a pleasure, in others it's a bore. It's best where there are a multitude of diverse people and activities in countless places and spaces.

Architect Jaime Lerner, the charismatic Mayor of Curitiba in southern Brazil, invented the idea of "Acupuntura Urbana" to describe the insertion of buildings-as-events into the urban landscape to spice it up. The godfather of urban acupuncture is Jorn Utzon who designed Sydney's Opera House followed by Frank Gehry's Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao which stimulated other Bilbaons to hire Zaha Hadid, Philippe Starck, Rafael Moneo, and Cesar Pelli (architecture is a global language and most of the world's most iconic new buildings were designed by foreigners). Many cities are decorated with wonderful coruscating buildings such as Frank Gehry's Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles; Herzog & de Meuron's Caixa Forum art museum in a converted 1899 power station in Madrid and their Birds-Nest Stadium in Beijing; Snohetta's Opera House in Oslo; and Rem Koolhaas' CCTV Centre in Beijing. These gladden



the heart although in contrast they emphasise the generally cheap and shoddy work being done day-by-day.

All cities are rightly proud of their newest and biggest venues but the energy flows conducive to learning and adaptation also need small spaces and hideaways of a variety of shapes and sizes. In 2007, a Chinese arts organiser invited a Danish group from world's leading Children's Theatre Festival to a multi-city tour. The city governments wanted to show off their biggest venues but the Danish director knew his actors work best with small audiences where they can make eye-contact with the children. One wanted intimacy, the other wanted to make a big splash. Cities need nooks and crannies, small, informal, private places to experiment. London's fringe theatre would not have emerged in the 1970s unless pub owners had been willing to rent out unused back-rooms to attract new customers.

In ecological terms, cities are prime energy exchangers. They attract people who are both producers and buyers: people who want to learn, adapt and explore new perceptions and who are discriminating and spend above-average amounts on novelty and style (smart demand). The two forces spark off each other. In the creative ecology, demand has an increasing marginal utility (in other words, an increase in demand leads to a further, disproportionate increase in demand) and so generates more numerous and smarter outputs.

Only a creative city can sustain the high level of smart demand that creative individuals need to appreciate and buy their work.



MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNANCE FOR CREATIVE CITIES Jordi Pardo



Jordi Pardo



What is a creative city? What are its general features?

The creative city is an urban area oriented to innovation and culture. Innovation is the result of the implementation of feasibility criteria for creativity, which generates values of change, improvement and advance in all the economic, social and cultural activities.

Creativity is based on the culture of communities and on the social dimension of the cultural fact. This social dimension of culture is the basis for the incentive and promotion of the individual or collective talent.

The creative city is a social territory with a culture open to risk and to the strategic cooperation of economic, social and cultural agents where the communication of new ideas facilitates development and mutation of new products and services.

In addition, the cultural dimension of the creative city acts as an element of the improvement of quality of life in the social environment and helps to increase its attractiveness as an economic scenario.

Attractive cities act as drivers of economic growth and social revitalization. If these are connected with creative dynamics, they can be the fundamental basis to favor the development of a knowledge economy.



3-D Simulation (Barcelona Media Virtual Laboratory)

In fact, a creative city represents the cultural essence of the historical urban phenomenon. The concept of city, the Greek *polis*, originated as a cultural area created by people, opposed, precisely, to the nature. The Hellenistic tradition and the Roman world consolidated the city as the expression of an idea, a power programme and the economic epicentre that gave shape, first of all, to the republic, and after, to the Roman Empire.

From the beginning, the city was born as a social architecture characterized by the idea of complexity and diversity. These two concepts are fundamental in the fostering of creative processes

where contraposition category, mestization, the exchange of ideas and the different interpretations of reality are creative and innovative driving forces.

The sacred nature of the city, essentially for its category of cultural space, -both complex and diverse-, is derived from two fundamental ideas to understand the creative city concept: city and civilization. The urbs, with its form, was the expression of an idea that was formalized with the layout of a network of streets and squares, and with the location of temples, buildings, services and public spaces, representing a cultural conception of economic and fiscal power.

Jordi Pardo



The urban model of the city (*civitas*) used to have the symbolic force of a collective scenario. The building of power and wealth of citizens (*cives*) was the representation of a basic concept: citizenship (*civilitas*) from which the concept of civilization derives.

The space dedicated to culture, as opposed to the natural and rural world, was, from its origins, a place to exchange goods, ideas and knowledge. In fact, it became a creative engine where, apart from the forum, there were the curia, the basilica, the academy, the arena, the gymnasium and all the fundamental institutions to organize, administrate and spread the power and the information.

At the beginning of the 21st century, in a context of great and deep economic, social and cultural changes derived from the collapse of traditional boundaries and geographies, we talk about creative cities as a new phenomenon related to the transition to economic activities linked to the information and knowledge society. It is an unprecedented process of transformation, catalyzed by technological interconnection, and global mobility of people, goods and ideas which we refer to as globalization and which has negative effects, but also creates new opportunities.

During the Industrial Revolution, cities lost their traditional balance as main centres with diverse economic activities and functions to become the nerve centres of a network of factories for the production of goods and also distribution and auxiliary services centres of this productive model.

108 **■** ____

Jordi Pardo



At present, we are not just facing a global economic crisis but probably a paradigm shift that has to do with the challenges and environmental, demographic and cultural balances of a development model that, until now, has been based on a quantitative growth, that is to say, the occupation, the exploitation of the territory and the increase in demand. The current situation is a warning sign of the dangers brought about by the speculative economy having surpassed the productive economy, and also, it is a warning on the limits of equilibrium in the habitability of the planet. So far, power has been constructed through the accumulation of land, raw materials, and the quantitative growth, and this model has been exported worldwide. From now on, with greater and greater force, the creation of power, welfare, prosperity and people's access to happiness will be in relation to new development models based on qualitative rather than on quantitative aspects. On the other hand, our viability as a species depends on a new way of understanding the concept of development, one in which creativity plays a fundamental role in overcoming the major challenges facing humanity.

At the beginning of the XXI century, a creative city is a social, cultural and economic system of urban nature where the creation of opportunities, prosperity and wealth is based on the ability to create value with the force of ideas, information, knowledge and talent. The creative city promotes the elements of a sociocultural ecosystem that is part of the productive system, where the training centres, information, research, and also the traditional areas of culture (artistic creation and experimentation, research, memory and tradition, etc.) and economic activities of all sectors interact to generate value and wealth and to

improve social cohesion, quality of life and the attractiveness of the city as a vital and economic scenario. The creative economy can also be a very effective tool for promoting equity and happiness, if the potential of all segments, classes and social groups are managed with policies that incorporate the criteria for social inclusion and development.

How is a place transformed into a creative city?

It depends on the collective capability and some factors related to strategic potentials, the infrastructures and to the consensus among public policy and private initiative.

The most important asset is people. People, with their creativity and their cultural, scientific, technique and artistic capacity, can provide the



fundamental basis so that cities can become innovation systems. Some of the key factors for promoting creativity in the city are: tradition and the cultural force of a city; its openness to new ideas and cultural mestization; the quality of basic and higher training; the infrastructure for basic and applied research; the entrepreneurial dynamism of its business, institutional and citizen fabric; as well as, conditions to generate synergies and processes of general interest with both public and private initiatives.

However, beyond any doubt, the quality of democratic governance is essential, as a generator of consensus and trust. Without a democratic and equity governance, progress is much smaller, there are higher transactional costs, it requires greater effort from all stakeholders and any process is always riskier.

There are four conditions that can favor creativity processes in a city:

- The exercise of free citizenship, with a high degree of performance and exercise of democratic rights and duties.
 To stimulate creativity, constructive criticism is essential. Without democratic freedom, it is not possible to develop all the potentials of creativity, whether in a public or in a private organization.
- Socially complex settings, that is to say, places where different economic and social activities concur, and where cultural, social and economic differences can positively coexist without major conflicts and with a high degree of respect and interaction. A city with its own personality, open to other

10 **1**111

Jordi Pardo

cultures and with diverse cultural expressions, favours a cosmopolitan vision that enhances the connection of the local and the global.

- Culturally dynamic areas where a wide variety of cultural activity coexists; flowing in and out of the city at both a local and an international level. A city with a cultural system, a wide range and a high degree of real participation, access and consumption is a cultural city with major conditions for the display of its creative dimension. Also, a dynamic and culturally rich area is the basis for the development of a creative ecosystem.
- The quality of democratic life and safety in urban settings. The higher the degree of coexistence and public safety of citizens, the better the facilities for the exercise of freedom.



What kind of leadership is

required and what is the role of civil society organizations?

In the present context, where global challenges are linked to global agendas, and local issues have transnational implications, economic activity requires clear rules and transparent administration in a more open economy. On the other hand, governments face the challenge of responding to an increasing demand of quality public services in a context of budgetary restraint.

Public administrations, entrepreneurship, organized citizens and non-profit institutions are all essential for the development of an advanced governance. None of the parts on its own has the capacity to face changes and challenges that affect a city. In this context the best leadership to be carried out is the relational in character. This means the relationship and involvement of all stakeholders (private sector, third sector - non-profit sector- and public sector).

This leadership requires a few conditions:

 A respectful relationship between stakeholders, based not on hierarchy, but on the recognition of the democratic legality and the specific skills of each stakeholder. Each stakeholder is essential to tackle together the challenges of an advanced governance.

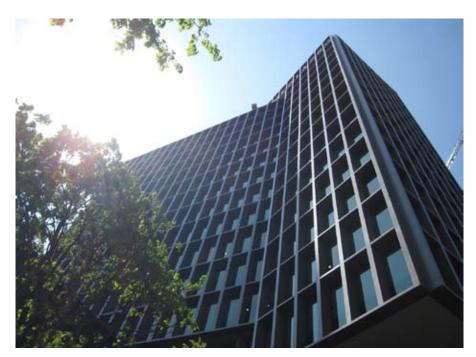
- Active involvement of all stakeholders not only at the time of setting up solutions or projects, but also from the diagnosis phase.
- 3. Strategic planning processes. This methodology allows the construction of shared visions as well as the consensus and synergy building which are fundamental for progress in the contemporary complexity.
- 4. Loyalty, commitment and professionalism in the intervention of all stakeholders. Of particular importance are: legal security, administrative and organizational agility, and transparency—accountability- in the exercise of relational leadership.

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Jordi Pardo



How does tourism take part in the process?

Tourism takes part in the process in a variety of ways. This activity is transforming the cultural perception of our planet (in 2008, around 210 million people travelled around the world) and, as with everything, it generates problems and benefits. Therefore, in some cases it can be an instrument or, in others, a threat. It depends on how one handles the relationship between the local, the genuine and the authentic, with the tourist, the international and the global. Tourism can cause the loss of the personality of a territory when residents of a city are expelled because of the increasing prices or the incompatibility between tourism and everyday life of citizens. Mass tourism is a serious problem that must be avoided. In this regard, it is essential to manage the phenomenon of tourism from a logical

system, ensuring the reversal of a part of the direct and indirect benefits in the territory and its social fabric.

Tourism, as well as an important economic activity, is a catalyst for local business, for the development of services sector and for the increase in cultural demand. Tourism can provide economic viability to many cultural projects that with simply local demand can present difficulties. In addition, tourism is an amplifier of much creative activity.

The challenge lies in the ability to maintain a balance between the economic viability and mass, and also between the preservation of local identities and urban personality and cosmopolitanism.

Public tourism policies usually tend to manage supply: designing products and tourist services, promoting them and commercializing. But it is very important to design tourist policies aimed at the management of demand. To study what kind of tourism and demand is the adequate for a certain territory, can be the key to ensure sustainability and qualitative viability.

How is it possible to avoid polarization and economic stratification, as well as salary differences and gentrification?

The implementation of strategic and urban planning using parameters, indicators and instruments of social, cultural and economic activity may be important to avoid social polarization, economic stratification and processes such as gentrification. The design of projects to boost the creative economy, taking into account factors of micro-scale and effects of cultural change in city districts, is a good way to fight against those negative effects.

The tendency to 'tertiarize' an urban neighborhood or district or to transform it into a purely touristic place are ways to expel the complex diversity of the urban fabric, and consequently, to promote economic monoculture of a single activity. The effects are: loss of complexity, reduction of citizens' quality of life, loss of personality and attractiveness for the development of creative activities...

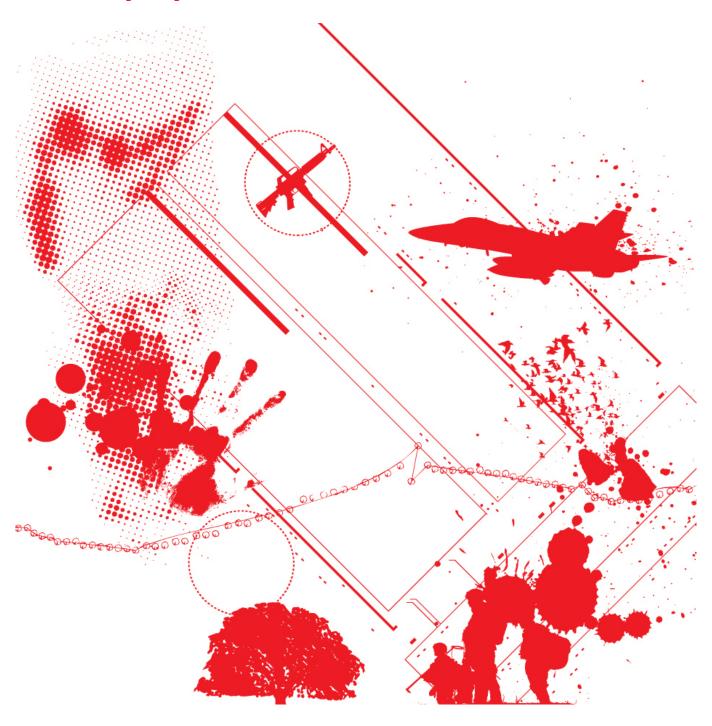
In any case, the preservation of the coexistence of various economic activities and the presence of residential supply at diverse prices to ensure social diversity, are useful mechanisms to maintain the heterogenic, complex, real and unique personality of a city.

14



MEDELLIN, A CREATIVE CITY

Jorge Melguizo











Panoramic views

Medellin is the second largest city in Colombia. It has 2,300,000 people, and with other 9 other cities conform a Metropolitan Area of 3,500,000 inhabitants.

Back in 1991 Medellin was considered the most violent city in the world, scoring 381 violent deaths per 100,000 people. The majority of these casualties was of young people killed by guns. Medellin was then directly associated to drugs and violence.

Today Medellin is no longer the most violent city in the word, not even the most city in Colombia or Latin America. The number of violent deaths dropped to 10% of what it then was. They still are too many, as each death is a scar in the city's soul. However, currently Medellin is synonym of transformation, transparency, education, culture and optimism. Which words would we choose to represent the city in the future? Opportunities, inclusion and equality. We have already shown that this is possible. In the past years Medellin turned into a positive reference for many cities in the word, who are now turning their eyes to what we did and how we did it.

They ask us what our 'creative idea' is. We answer it is not that much what we created, but rather what we believe in. In other words, our creativity lies in our commitments and in our passion for making our dreams come true. We believed it was possible to change our way of doing politics and governing the city. And we've made it through a civic movement, independent, made of people coming from NGOs, the civil society, the community organisations, the universities and the private corporations, with no experience whatsoever in politics. We won the last two elections against the traditional parties and everything they represented. We were told we were insane, but we believed it was possible.

It took us five and a half years governing the second city of the country, putting budgetary focus on public education and culture. Once again we were told we would fail. We were told people expect their local governments to give immediate results, while culture and education pay off in the long term. We believed it was possible to offer short term results and the evidences of it are all around the city. Especially, it goes without saying, in the poorest areas, those recurrently abandonned by the State.

116 **■** ______ **■** 117

We believed it was possible to join forces with the civil society and the private sector, to push forward our projects for a new city. Today, Medellin is ahead of the country in terms of public-private trust. Recovering the trust on the public sector was possibly the most important result of these two mandates.

Books everywhere, social mobilisation to make education an aspiring target for youngsters, social urbanism (every single brick we build must have a social result), fostering of cultural creation, real institutional strengthening and of citizens participation, consolidation of citizenship, recovery of self-esteem – lost after years of violence – awareness of the collective task, generation of dynamic and diverse answers, in a vibrant and intense city. These are the strongholds of the new Medellin, now a bubbling, vital, different, surprising and surprised city.

And the key has simply been, BELIEVING it was possible. And making it possible. Our creative idea in this new Medellin is 'to believe'.

The Role played by tourism

Medellin wasn't a city of international tourism, with the one exception of the 1970s, when it became a preferred spot for health treatments for people coming from the Antilles and Central America. At a national level, the Medellin of the mid-20th century was a reference of trade, fashion and leisure. It all went lost, after years and years of violence.

The hardest years brought us a new kind of 'tourism': that of reporters from all different countries, looking for breaking news on drug dealers and deaths. And also of a few 'violentologist' coming after the mecca of violence, an ideal laboratory for their academic works.

The transformation made us a tourism destination. In the past five years, a solid flow of business tourism brought us people from different places, especially in Latin America. The city hall also worked hard to make Medellin the siege of big international events, which besides tourism can put us in the world map for reasons not related to violence. Such was the case of the meeting of Academies of Spanish Language of all Ibero-America, the General Assembly of the American States Organisation, the Assembly of the International Development Bank, the South-American Games, the Ibero-American Congress of Culture, the Ibero-American Architecture Biennale and many more who agreed to be hosted in Medellin because of what we've been doing in the social, education and cultural fields.



ble car at the Northeastern Atre



Opening of the Library Park De La Quintana



Reading House



Cultural Center Moravia (old garage dump)







We've also conquered a very important place in leisure and family tourism at a national level. People are visiting Medellin to check out on this city, to see what was done, to take the cable cars, to enjoy an effervescent cultural programme, to know the new landmarks of culture and entertainment: the library-parks, the Pargue Explora, the Botannical Garden, to mention but a few.

This new tourism supported the construction of 30 four and five-star hotels. We now have three times as many rooms as we did six years ago. Tourism also generated high quality jobs - in a sector virtually unthinkable in the recent past. Restauration also shows the shift in the way we are seen and see ourselves: from the very few traditional restaurants, we now have a vast and diversified number of traditional, international and fusion restaurants.

Looking forward: how can we avoid the increase of social inequalities

The words *opportunities, inclusion and equality* are the North of our compass and the essence of everything we do in education, culture, social urbanism, job generation etc. We are not working on a city image transformation model. The transformation in progress in Medellin is based on a shift of the object, not of its image.

Everything we do in Medellin from a public perspective needs to bring results in terms of conviviality and inclusion. These are our two main challenges.

Take public education, for instance, which reaches 79% of the students in the first and second education levels. In the last 35 years, it was weakened and bad quality.



Libary Park España



Libary Park



ihary Park San Javier



Libary Park La Ladera



Network of Music Schools

Lack of good education became an exclusion factor and a barrier for better opportunities. Public investments in public education need to increase the competitiveness of these 79%, so they can play the same game of the 21% who can afford good private education. We've made it possible through a local education fund of more than US\$75 million. It is used as a credit tool for those willing to study in any of the 32 public and private universities in Medellin and also to grant around US\$500 per semester to the poorest students, for bus tickets, books and personal expenses (in Colombia, the minimum salary is around US\$240 a month). This can be paid in good school performance and social work for the city.

We managed to put the best of culture at reach of the majority: the four big city museums, all of them private or mixed foundations, grant free entrance all over the year for the population. In the case of the biggest museum, Antioquia, free entrance applies to 90% of the population: those coming from the three poorest socioeconomic levels (out of six), those younger than 12 and older than 60 of all levels, students and handicapped. As a result of this free entrance programme (not for free, actually, as the city hall pays for the tickets), we increased museum attendance from 62,000 to 550,000 visitors to the Antioquia, from 5,800 to 188,000 in the case of the Modern Art Museum and from 30.000 to 1,358,000 to the Botanical Garden.

Once in a month, during ten months a year, the 22 theaters of the city – all we have – grant free entrance to the community.







Pedestrian way



Social Interest huses

Since December 2007 we also manage a Municipal Theatre, an old private institution where the seven weekly performances are free.

We have more than 2,000 broadband computers for free use at libraries and cultural centres. And one computer for every 17 students in all public schools.

A long list of opportunities for the majority, making it clear that transformation is made through structural facts and not through city make-up.

"In the past I would have said Berlin or Prague or Washington.

Today I think I'd recommend a visit to Medellin, Colombia.

It may seem odd, but this is a tremendously pleasant city, currently very safe, with a very peculiar ambiance.

Its dwellers are extraordinarily nice and, for a reason I cannot fully grasp, I feel very well there."

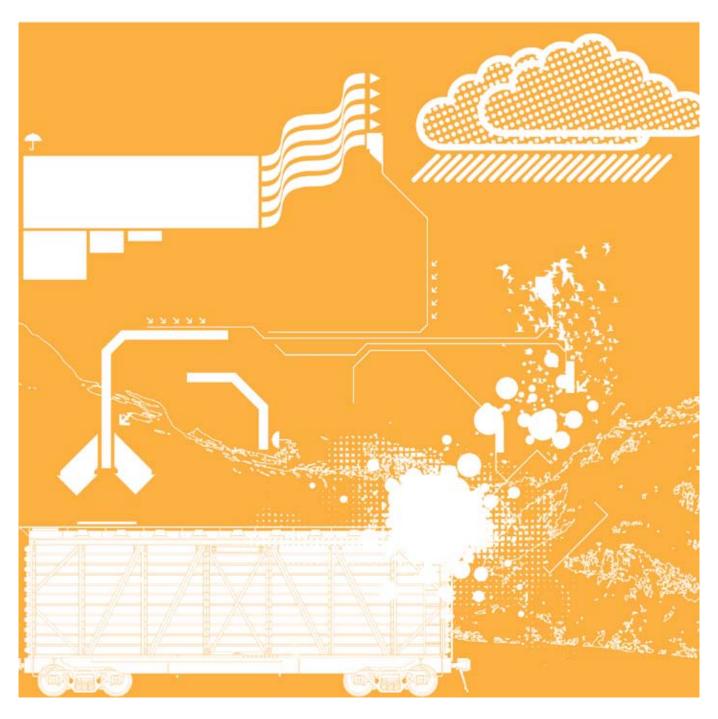
Omar López Vergara, Director, National Geographic in Spanish.

Pictures Acknowledgements: Medelin City Hall



URBAN DEVELOPMENT, CLIMATE AND ENVIRONMENT AS COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGES

Lisbeth Iverser



With a population of 250,000, Bergen is Norway's second largest city and the capital of Western Norway, which is the leading region for all significant Norwegian export industries. Bergen is also a vital centre for art and culture.

Bergen has a rich cultural life, including higher education and established cultural institutions that contribute to the development of the city. In the process leading to the Strategic Economic Development Plan for Bergen 2006-2009 it was emphasized that this cultural life makes the region attractive for inhabitants and companies. Other strategic documents developed are: "New Cultural Strategy 2003–2013", "Bergen City of the Arts 2008–2017"7, "Plan of Action for Rhythmical Music 2004–2007", "Arts Plan for 2006–2016" and "Plan for the International Artistic and Cultural Policy of the City of Bergen 2006–2009".

We find it important that Bergen city has an arts policy for the period 2008-2017. An important aspect is that culture industries development is also emphasized within the framework of the strategic planning document for economic development. Some of the important directions stated in the policy documents of the city are:

- Ensuring artistic freedom-allocating more budget for innovative projects.
- Improving conditions for art and artists.
- Emphasizing the role of art in creating a sense of identity in a diverse and multifaceted city.
- Developing further Bergen's artistic identity.

The new action plan of the city of Bergen will support three new institutions: incubator for creative industries; network organisation for design and Audience Development Company.

We also find it important to discuss the role of local governments in developing a cultural policy and creative economy which mobilises diversity, job creation, economic development, urban regeneration and investing in the creative infrastructure and design. In this way the city of Bergen aims to connect its cultural history with the development into a modern city.

The city centre

The urban spaces and city squares (called 'almenninger') are a product of a mediaeval town plan, of European urban traditions, sea transport, the West-Norwegian landscape, shortage of ground space, density of population and the Bergen urban culture. The 'almenninger' are physical expressions of a public right of access, and the physical space can be perceived as an example of the right of every individual to participate in processes relating to the development of the city.

Imagine a plaza or town square bustling with people who are greeting each other, buying, selling, and exchanging ideas! Parks, plazas and squares succeed when people come first, not design.

The historical qualities of the urban spaces are the city's greatest asset and form the basis for city life, experiences and identity. The blend of residential houses, shops, offices and businesses makes the urban spaces busy thoroughfares, places to linger and venues for numerous activities all day long. The locations and qualities of the urban spaces are the backbone of the city's movement pattern. These qualities should serve as a model for urban structure in the densification areas.

The centre of Bergen, with its concentration of economic, social and cultural activity, is a dominant pivot in the urban structure.

Good accessibility, pedestrian friendly zones and the prioritisation of public transport are essential if the centre is to serve its function and maintain its attraction. All handling of heavy goods should be removed from the centre, which must also be protected against unnecessary road traffic. Environmental qualities will be emphasised. The improvement of streets and urban spaces has high priority in the Bergen Programme (2010-2015). The city has also contributed substantially to this development over its own budgets.

Industrial and commercial areas

Bergen wants to strengthen its position as an attractive city for expertise-intensive businesses and commercial service providers. These businesses are very interested in locations near the city centre. There are substantial transformation areas in central parts of the city that will generate continued growth in new housing developments and new jobs.

All the central areas defined in the municipal master plan also represent great potential for offices and service industries. Regulations and guidelines have been drawn up for the establishment of retail businesses in Bergen. It is recommended to locate large retail businesses in the centres of the city districts or the city centre. Stores for space-intensive goods can be located in some of the industrial areas provided there is good access to the transport system.

The strategic business plan is rooted in Bergen Scenarios 2020, which is a unique collaborative project involving private and public sector players. The object of Bergen Scenarios 2020 is to promote value creation in the City of Bergen and County of Hordaland.

Bergen – coty that is aware of the effects of climate change. (Oddmund Lunde)



Travel and tourism.

Bergen faces a number of challenges in terms of its tourism development.

Specifically, it is often perceived by international tourists to be an 'exclusive' destination. Equally, many of its tourism attractions (such as the nearby ski resorts) have insufficient market penetration in markets outside of Norway. Geographically rather remote in terms of its ground transport, Bergen depends primarily on air travel as the main means of transport access for tourism visitors.

Bergen is also known as 'the Fjord Capital' and 'the Gateway to the Fjords of Norway' as well as being a well-established cruise port. Bergen has in addition regular calls by cruise ferries from Denmark. And every day, throughout the year, the famous Coastal Steamer 'Hurtigruten' starts and ends its popular round trips to

the North Cape (Kirkenes and the Russian border) in the port of Bergen.

The revised Bergen Tourist Board marketing strategy scheme will be used to provide essential infrastructure support across a number of key areas, including training, communications and marketing. All the major stakeholders have established the scheme, including the 400 members of the Bergen Tourist Board.

The broad objectives of the scheme are to:

- support the growth of the economies of Hordaland and Sogn & Fjordane counties, in particular in the more remote rural areas;
- stimulate sustainable tourism and the development of destinations and attractions;
- reduce the need for long-distance travel via connecting 'hub' airports and therefore cut down on emissions volumes per passenger.

4 125

EcoCity

Urban gentrification is the socio-economic and demographic change in an urban area that results from significant numbers of better-off people buying housing property in a low-income community. As a result of gentrification the average income increases and family size decreases. It often has the effect of what critics charge is an informal economic eviction of the lower-income people due to rising rents, house prices, and property taxes.

The City of Bergen aims to be a good city to live in for all kind of people, students, children, retired people, immigrants etc.

An example: in connection with the action plan for the urban development areas around Damsgårdssundet, a work process has been carried out with the aim of incorporating good universal access qualities when establishing new pedestrian routes from the existing residential areas through the transformation areas towards the city centre, and in the new waterfront promenade. Conclusions and concrete solutions from this work will form a basis for negotiations with developers in the development areas and form a basis for the upgrading of public streets, urban spaces and pedestrian routes in the area. The work will be used to make a local accessibility map, which will also show the gradients in the hilly landscape.

The project will be implemented using a work process in which the following will be involved:

- State Housing Bank
- Norwegian State Council on Disability
- Miscellaneous elite users and experts
- Section for property development and development contracts
- Public Roads Administration

Our vision for future qualities is that they shall give dignity and attractions to the area, based on the principles in this value map. The map visualises the goal that all architecture and city planning should fulfil the three conditions of sustainability.

To sum up how the City of Bergen is working with the challenge of gentrification we can give these key words:

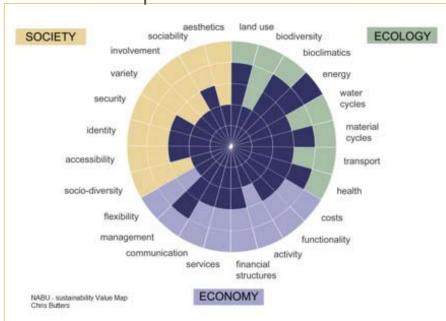
- Democracy, participation and responsibility.
- Infrastructure. Sustainable qualities and accessibility for all groups.
- Housing, planning and administration.
- A combined school and local cultural centre as the heart of the area.

- Health and social care handling the tasks within the area.
- Competence development.

In Bergen, we have experienced what it is like to be struck by extreme weather conditions; we have had floods and people have died in their homes as a result of rock slides.

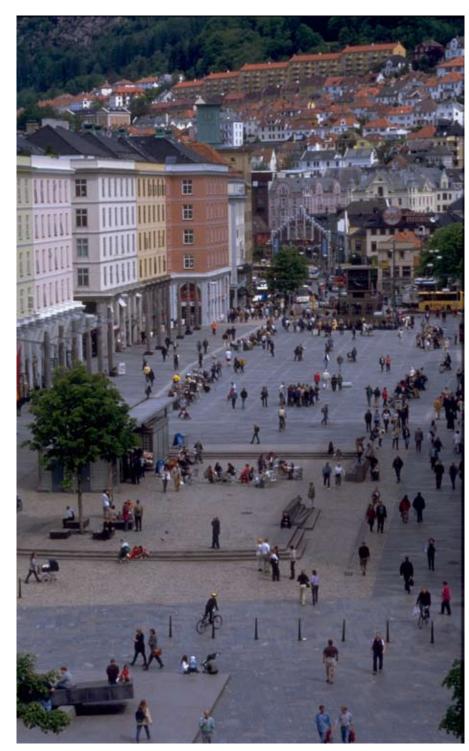
Adapting to climate change is an enormous challenge. But if we meet and adapt to the challenges posed by extreme weather conditions, and use crises constructively, I believe that climate and environment can become competitive advantages.

Some examples



Cities must prepare for modern, attractive and environmentally friendly transport and make it beneficial to use environmentally friendly transport. The long-term planning includes climate, energy and the environment as well as transport, which have been incorporated into the land-use part of the municipal master plan in Bergen.

Because it is necessary to see the different plans coordinated. Environmentally friendly transport makes businesses more attractive. Good public transport and a well developed network of cycle paths that bring people to and from work effectively and comfortably make it more attractive to work in Bergen.



The citi centre – the "alvenniger" are physical expressions of a public right of access. Torgalmenninger in the heart of Bergen. (Bente Laading)

BERGEN LIGHT RAIL

A gigantic environmental project, primarily because an urban light railway is a very environmentally friendly means of transport. In addition, Bergen Light Rail entails extensive concentration of building developments along its route, so that an increasing number of people can benefit from the existing infrastructure. The overall result, therefore, is lower energy consumption and greater environmental gains for Bergen.

WELL-ADAPTED GREEN AREAS

The City of Bergen is the first municipality in Norway with a comprehensive watercourse plan. We are working to reduce pollution and prevent destructive encroachments in watercourses in order to ensure universal right of use to them as recreational areas. We are also making efforts to make the city's mountains and coastal areas more accessible for everyone.

FOCUS ON DRINKING WATER

People know that Bergen is famous for its rain, but the city is also at the forefront when it comes to treating water. All drinking water in Bergen has to pass two independent hygiene barriers. The water is first subjected to wastewater treatment and then to UV radiation, thus ensuring that any parasites are killed.

THE CITY IS CUTTING ITS OIL CONSUMPTION

The emissions from an oil-fuelled heater are the equivalent to the greenhouse gas emissions from one year's car use.

Becoming oil-free reduces the emission of greenhouse gases, energy consumption and energy costs. This is an environmental measure that really works!

ENVIRONMENTAL CERTIFICATION

The council has established a special environment fund and all municipal entities will be environmentally certified. The goals include Green Flag certification of schools and kindergartens

CITIES OF THE FUTURE

A local, regional and national six-year project. The City of Bergen is taking part in a national program named 'Cities of the Future'. In this program we are particularly working with land use and transport, heating, consumption patterns and waste and adaptation to climate change.

BERGEN COLLABORATES ON THE ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES

The Norwegian cities Bergen, Stavanger and Kristiansand (including business corporations) are collaborating on energy solutions of the future. The aim is to strengthen cooperation between energy players in the regions. In addition, these cities wish to take the lead in developing sustainable and environmentally efficient transport solutions and forward-looking use of energy.

CITIES MUST COLLABORATE WITH INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS

We need trade and industry that seize opportunities. Today, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is a competitive necessity for industries in order to

attract business. Private sector has an important role, alongside other actors, in the economic and social development of its communities. It is an integrated part of any society and is committed to operating in a responsible and sustainable manner.

The reasons for a business to move beyond compliance and undertake a CSR initiative are many and varied but, where businesses do, they do so because it makes economic sense. Given the dynamics of business today, CSR cannot be seen as a rigid engagement and therefore needs to be seen in a different context than the engagement in environmental, social or economic issues by governments.

While the line between government and business activity is not always a definitive one, it is important to realize that governments have a clear role in society through the provision of certain services – such as health and education, wealth redistribution, and as a guarantor of security, amongst others. Governments should look to promote and support the adoption of responsible attitudes and good practice by companies.

CLIMATE CHANGE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The City of Bergen would like to see a broad initiative to start work on a new human rights convention which will secure the right to a sustainable future and sustainable decisions within the framework of the climate goals recommended by the United Nations.

The convention can be designed as an additional chapter to the European Convention on Human Rights with the Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg as its highest body or, possibly, as a separate convention with its own court. The convention must build on the individual's right to a sustainable future. It should be supplemented by the reports written by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe concerning the need for internationally binding conventions on climate and environmental issues, with corresponding opportunities to impose penalties or sanctions in the event of non-compliance or of decision-making that flouts the convention and international agreements. So-called soft laws fail to commit nations and do not secure the future of individuals.

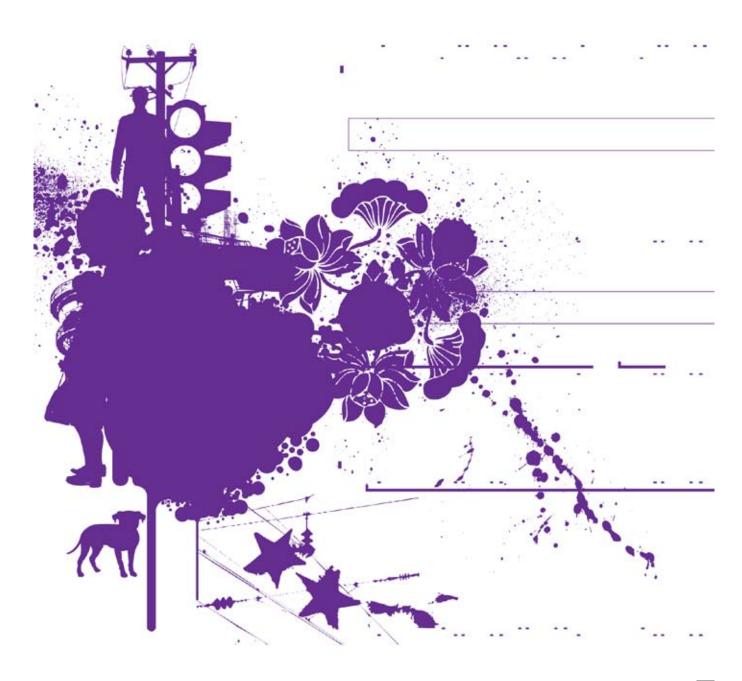
To read more about Bergen of the future: https://www.bergen.kommune.no/bk/multimedia/archive/00051/KLIMABYEN_ENG_23_03_51983a.pdf

https://www.bergen.kommune.no/bk/multimedia/archive/00037/Cities_of_the_future_37902a.pdf



CREATIVE CITY

Peter Kageyama



What's a creative city? What are its common traits?

The creative city is a feeling. It is the feeling that something is happening, that something could happen, and that it will be interesting. It is a feeling of motion, of momentum. It is a feeling of energy; either energy in repose waiting to be unleashed or energy in action like 'loose electricity' that animates its citizens. And how this feeling plays out varies from place to place. Cities large or very small may have this feeling.

I would note that it is often hard to see one's own city as being creative as we often only feel the deficits of our own community rather than celebrating its strengths. We become desensitized to our city's energy and it is critical to step back occasionally and see our city with fresh eyes and rediscover it all over again. That is why tourists and tourism are such important factors. Tourists see our city with fresh eyes and we in turn

see through that experience. And when we ourselves travel, we see and experience places, we try them on for size and we inevitably compare our places, and hopefully in doing so, we appreciate our own city's merits.

In experiencing the creative city there are common traits that are somewhat obvious. Great public spaces, historic buildings that link us to our city's past, great architecture that inspires our future. It is public parks, streets that balance cars with pedestrians with retail and office, it is in density and the unruly possibility of chance encounter.

Some indicators are less obvious but manifestly felt in the creative city. For instance:

It is a place that has tamed the car. Even in some of the largest

metropolitan areas of the world, there are some cities that feel as if the car has been tamed. Where the pedestrian has a part to play and that one could survive, even thrive without a car. Cities such as London, Chicago, even New York come to mind because there are options to owning, and being in a sense owned by a car.

It is a street that invites parents to walk their children in stollers. Think about the set of conditions that must be met before a parent would readily walk their children down such a street. Of course it must be functional (sidewalks and curbs), it must be safe but it also must be comfortable (tree lined or landscaped), it must be convivial (filled with other people) and most importantly, it must be interesting. In our planning committees and zoning boards we address the functionality and safety issues but never get to the more important issues of what makes streets work. Many will say that is not their job and in that lies the difference between a city and a creative city. The creative city says that comfort, conviviality and being interesting are critical ingredients to making great places and they take on that added responsibility. Melbourne, Australia is on most international short lists of great cities. Rob Adams is the chief planner for the city and has been for many years. But he is not called a mere planner, his title is Director City Design and Urban Environment. The title alone expands the vision of his work and the success that Melbourne has made in the past 20 years is in no small part due to him and that expanded vision he brings to his role.

Creative city indicators are often small and subtle. Yet when they are present, there is the palpable sense that a community is somehow 'switched on' and there is something is afoot.

How does a place become (or reveals itself) a creative city?

Becoming a creative city is mostly the accumulation of many, often thousands of little acts. It is in a piece of public art, a comfortable bench, a local coffee shop, in a well placed tree, in a building, in a great local pub, in a hot local band, in the street where teenage boys try new skateboard tricks. The city becomes a creative city by creating the set of conditions where these small acts can happen and they accumulate faster than deficit acts counter balance them. Deficit acts include crime, traffic jams and pollution. But they also include things like ugliness (an ugly building is crime against the city), banality (the curse of generic retail), one-way streets or rampant newspaper boxes which my friend Charles Landry calls 'urban dandruff'.

Cities often try to kick start the rejuvenation process with the big, iconic project, which has a role to play in this process. This 'beacon project' can inspire others to act and serves as a visible and persistent reminder of the creative city. A great example of this is Millennium Park in Chicago. But for every one of those that succeeds, most become a very mixed bag of results.

The problem is the iconic projects are too easy to fixate upon, particularly for the politicians as they offer the most obvious opportunity to for the 'ribbon cutting' photo opportunity. Beware of the icon project as they can suck up too much attention and resources and starve other smaller projects that ultimately are even more important. Every community wants to hit the home run when they really need to think about hitting singles and creating momentum and confidence to take on the bigger project.

What kind of leadership is required, both public and private and what's the role of the organised civil society?

Most leadership tends to focus on the top down approach; be it in government, business or even civil society. We tend to think of traditional organizational leadership when we discuss the term. And clearly that

leadership is critical. Great, inspirational leadership at the top is a rare thing. When you have it, you can imagine great things and believe they are achievable. Even though most of the hard work occurs several layers down the chain of command, the visionary leader is in many ways that 'beacon' that sets the aspiration of the community.

Most of our leaders however are not visionary or even charismatic. Like people in every profession, they range from a few exceptional folks to a few abysmal folks, with the vast majority being in the workman like middle. It is into this cycle that most communities fall. This comfortable state of equilibrium where these average leaders do an average job getting average results.

To break out of this cycle, either a visionary leader comes along or a different notion of leadership emerges. To really reach that tipping point of becoming a creative city and becoming 'switched on', it takes an additional layer of leadership. It takes urban activists and change agents, who often don't even self identify as such, to start to make things happen in their city. They do so out of necessity when the system fails to respond to their needs. They usually act in highly localized ways at first, but upon seeing that they don't need permission to act and seeing that they can make a difference, they begin to impose their will in other areas. When these urban agents network together, their impact increases, their confidence grows and they inspire more change agents in their communities.

132 **—** ____ **—** ____ 133

It is at this point that many lesser leaders in the traditional sectors become nervous and see these change agents, not as allies, but as threats to their power. They see them acting in their stead rather than in support of their agendas and they often seek to squelch these movements. These so-called leaders fear being shown up by their very constituents and work against them. The truly smart leaders in the traditional sector look for ways to engage with these change agents. By harnessing their passion and street level capabilities, big change can become possible.

How does tourism factor into the process?

Tourism is critical because it is in the eyes of the tourist that we see ourselves. In my own community of St. Petersburg, Florida, I rarely go to the beach even though it is just 10 minutes away. Only when friends or family visit do I usually find my way to the beaches and when I go, I am reminded of how beautiful they are. The tourists thus remind me of some of the things that I love about my community. In this sense, they are our mirror and our measure of progress. When the tourists come we tell ourselves that we are succeeding. When they stay away, we wonder about our community self-worth. It is an arbitrary and inelegant measure but one that most communities use in some manner to track their competitiveness.

Tourism also fills in the gaps of our economies as tourists inject money into our local economies, pay taxes on retail, food, hotel beds and rental cars and for the most part do not partake of our community services. Every community loves their tourists.

But tourism also has a down side. It can make us lazy. My own community endlessly touts its beaches, and while they are our best selling point, they are not our only selling point. It is easy to go to your obvious strength but in doing so you never develop any other aspect of your game. Tourism is also an addictive drug. Too much of it chokes off the life in the very places that it seeks to promote. One need only look at Venice, Italy or Savannah, Georgia to see examples of communities that have become so overrun with tourists that locals flee and the authenticity of the place suffers because of it. The exceptions are of course Orlando, Florida and Las Vegas, Nevada. Those cities have committed to and fully embrace their primary identities as tourist attractions. Most places are not willing to commit to this path and must ultimately find that right balance between tourism and local life.

As places become successful, how can we avoid polarisations and economic stratification, such as wage discrepancy and gentrification?

The short answer is that they can't. In all but the most controlled economies. asymmetrical growth and prosperity is inevitable but that is not to say that we should do nothing. Quite the contrary. As the benefits of economic development and gentrification accrue, we need a corresponding reinvestment of some of that success back into the community. This may be required by government and public policy at the outset, but as the benefits of increased wealth and opportunity manifest throughout the economic and social stratum, it should simply become good practice. Just as farmers learned that they needed to replenish their fields by rotating crops and rejuvenating their soil, communities will need to learn that reinvesting in themselves pays longer term benefits.

Those who decry the effects of gentrification without recognizing that while something has been lost, something too has been gained, are ignoring the growth of the overall community. And those who benefit from that gentrification without recognition of the externalities of their success are willfully ignoring their moral and civic responsibilities of urban citizenship.



LISBON: CREATIVE?

Rolando Borges Martins



Is Lisbon a creative city? A reflection on how a capital which was a global city in the 15th and 16th centuries watched its importance and centrality be progressively diluted, up to the beginning of this century. And which appears (could the form sustain the content?) to show signs of creative vitality.

BoBos needed (in creative cities)

I will begin by explaining the above statement, to avoid any misunderstandings right from the start. By bobo I mean the bohemian bourgeoisie, or, put simply, the (middle) class of more or less liberal professionals, with differing but intense consumer profiles, at the limits of what is conventional, very often far beyond it. It includes or interacts with the cutting edges, elitist niches and extreme tastes, tempered by the tendencies of increasingly larger minorities. They are the 'creative class' of a city.

Richard Florida, perhaps the most well-known advocate of the concept of creative cities, says that a creative city is one that can create (and generate) a creative class, that has such a creative class.

This creative class, which it is necessary to attract, is characterized by the combination of three factors: the knowledge and ability to control technology (the technological infrastructure which creative products will flow, circulate, and interact within); individual talent, but especially talent that is empowered by co-existing with other talents; and openness to tolerance, which is characteristic of such diversified communities.

Florida's '3 Ts' are key to the economic development of a country, the factors capable of promoting the establishment of a creative class in them. And key to a city's being able to differentiate itself by affirming itself.

But we could also discuss, rather than the '3 Ts', the '3 Cs' of Charles Landry: culture, communication and cooperation. 'Culture' as the city's identity, its heritage, its past, and the image that it projects into its present and induces for its future; 'communication', as (physical, technological) models for its inhabitants drawing closer together, and as a way of minimizing conflicts and separation; 'cooperation' as the explicit acceptance of and interaction with diversity.

However, it is perhaps more important than theories or mnemonic devices to remember that at a moment when the (fierce) competition between densely inhabited territories (our cities) is happening at an ever greater speed and intensity, the affirmation of a city arises from a multiplicity of factors.

Aerial view of Lisbon. (Parque EXPO)



Creative classes and creative cities

Creative classes that are more or less bohemian are determinant factors in making cities dense, and in turning the urban fabric into 'creative' cities. Cities that attract talented people, who in turn make spaces dynamic and promote activities that activate thought and move whole neighbourhoods, urban areas that in a half dozen years can then be transformed and revitalized.

It is a double dynamic that is established – between spaces and persons, between the city's agents (those that generate and those that own it). An isolated attempt by a government to 'make a city' is pointless without the necessary adherence and identification with the creative class which will use and live in the city. We would then run the risk of having 'symbolic' programs or projects but getting no meaningful, timely results from them. This is the primacy of the 'iconic' versus the domain of the 'meaningful'.

And it is important that movements of creative prolificacy and dynamics not be ignored, these (self) stimulated movements in urban spaces that sometimes receive no response or support, recognition, or incentive from the public authorities in cities.

Thus, it is important that the relationship between those with the power of ideas and those with power over them develop harmoniously in the city's space and time, proposing, promoting, and generating creative environments.

There is a special stage for this meeting of ideas, forces, and powers – public space. Often neglected, since attention is paid more to (cultural) equipment, it is in public spaces that everything (or almost everything) is linked. It is a quality of public space that it provides enlarged environments that are more suited for receiving creative initiatives; that favour social inclusion and accept diversity; that tolerate and integrate the most. Ideas, knowledge, action. In short, creation.

In the 1990s, Barcelona's dedication to and creative design of its public spaces made it stand out internationally. This is a path that other cities are now following all over the world.

But not all processes are positively dynamic, free from problems, namely sociological ones. I am referring to two aspects, two potential dangers.

On one hand, it is important that this creative statement of an urban centre, which cannot happen throughout an entire city, does not provoke movements of rejection or social ghettification. Because creative talents tend to have a higher income than other social groups and, especially, behaviours and attitudes with various public manifestations (since they are effectively people who deviate from the 'norm'), it is important to assess the reaction/rejection effects

they may cause, and avoid any kind of conflict between the newcomers and the population that is not covered by the creative initiatives. How can this be avoided? By engaging the population is the process as much as possible, through the effects that the arrival, installation and activity (carried out more or less frantically) have on the economy and on the social life of the neighbourhood and the city.

The second aspect that must be broached is the relationship between these urban processes and the tourism industry. If, on the one hand, tourism largely nourishes and maintains the economy in many cities, and all urban managers do everything within reach to create attractive facilities and conditions within their cities, on the other, it is acknowledged today that tourism transforms urban locations with specific environments (sometimes environments rooted in creativity) into excellent tourist destinations, in creative 'theme parks' that must be visited. And 'massification' does not sit easily with a creative and innovative environment.

This co-existence is difficult to manage, and probably means that these urban processes will co-exist with life cycles that will tend to be shorter, as a function of a greater exposure to tourism-generated load and pressure.

The new Museum of Carriages in Lisbon, a P-M-B-P, Paulo Mendes da Rocha, Architects Ltd./ MMBB Architects Ltd./ Bak Gordon Architects, Ltd./ Proafa — Engineering Services, Inc. — External Consortium project



And Lisbon?

In a recent issue of *Monocle* (for what that's worth, though it is considered a trend setting publication), Lisbon appears for the first time on the list of the world's 25 'most liveable' cities. One of the cities with the most reasons to live there. This entry is summarily justified by its growing cultural activity (concretely, they refer to the Santos area and the new Museum of the East as examples of the Iberian cultural hub that the city is becoming).

So, Lisbon is affirming its 'creative city' side, and does so above all using the perception that it is a culturally intense destination. Perhaps the path to building up the attractiveness of the city includes that, but I think a few ingredients are necessary that have not yet taken shape. If the existence of urban spaces and equipment [are] a reference for the generation of creativity in a area, like the two examples given above (and we could also add to that the new Carriage Museum, or the Fashion Museum, for example), other conditions for the generation of creativity include the kind of networking dynamic that we have yet to see in Lisbon: the creative industries that tend to appear and set themselves up around cultural poles, giving rise to centres (or niches) of creative talent and skill.

I can think of a few (political) attempts that though they would not always have high direct costs, would surely have significant returns. Sometimes they could be initiatives of a public nature, whether originating from the city government or not, demonstrating a strong leadership, which would call together and then require private agents, 'talented people' and entrepreneurs in order to make them happen.

These efforts could above all go into making planning more flexible, making it more 'open' and de-bureaucratized, with a less committed relationship between public bodies and the citizenry. It includes tackling connectedness as a central aspect of any city: not just from a 'physical' point of view, optimizing mobility systems, where there's still a lot to be done, or creating inter-modalities that clearly (still) do not exist, but above all developing networks for connecting and bringing together activities and persons, prioritizing dedicated flows and modes of communication. It includes efforts towards innovation in the recreation of spaces (transforming obsolete spaces and giving them new uses), working on environmental sustainability (enhancing resources and encouraging the use of renewable energies). Efforts that further involve the inhabitants of Lisbon (including the 'new residents of Lisbon'), in processes of creative participation and cultural and ethnic integration.

We all say it, and many of us feel it: Lisbon has the potential to establish itself as a creative city.



AFTERWARD AND NEXT STEPS Peter Kageyama

This book (or pdf or ebook or whatever you want to call it) has been a collaboration across all continents with contributions from around the world. It represents a snapshot of the global conversation that is being held right now on the future of our cities. Our goal in this process was not to provide answers but to open up the gates and start better conversations and connect these urban actors from all over the world with each other. For me, it has been incredibly illustrative to see where other places are in this conversation. I believe I learned as much from the differences as I did from the similarities.

I would also note the incredible generosity of the contributors to this project. When asked, they all stepped up and in many cases provided even more than we asked of them. I think this says something about this work. We do it because we want to give something back to our cities, our communities. We want to make them better places. We want to make a difference.

What's next? Where we take this conversation is ultimately up to all of you. We have created a website for this project at http://creativecitiesperspectives. ning.com and we invite you to post feedback, insight and challenges to the global community. We invite you all to answer the same questions we put to our authors and post your responses there. We invite you to put new questions to the community and start new dialogs. We also challenge the community to translate the work into your native language and share it back with the group. We challenge you to engage and help make all our communities better places.

CREATIVE CITY PERSPECTIVES - WHO ARE WE?



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Founder and owner of REUSE BV, Evert was responsible for successful endeavours, e.g. the regeneration of the Tolhuis gardens, the Projectbureau Hoogbouw Bijlmermeer and the conference Creativity and the City 2003. He managed the development and headed the culture park Westergasfabriek for 14 years, winning the Golden Piramid (the award for excellent project management) in 2004. Currently he works as an international advisor with his other company Creative Cities, being responsible for the Noorderpark project in Amsterdam; a Community of Practice for the Governmental Building Organisation; and represents the City of Amsterdam advising the redevelopment of the abattoir project in Casablanca. Evert holds a degree in Hydrology. He edited and co-wrote of various books on urban renewal and the creative city.

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