

# THE ROLE OF ARTS AND CULTURE IN MODERN CITIES:

## Making Art Work in Toronto and New York

by Shoshanah Barbara Diane Goldberg

### Abstract

Cities throughout the world currently are exploring ways that arts and culture can serve as an economic engine, build name recognition and become a source of civic pride through a mix of policy, branding, and economic development. I examine the relationship between cultural policy and the increased presence of arts and culture on the economic development agenda in Toronto and New York during the decade of the 2000s. I hypothesize that New York is more driven by economic motivations, and that Toronto's interest lies in the brand building aspect of arts and culture in city building.

This dissertation is a comparative case study that investigates the increased presence of arts and culture in the economic development toolkits of Toronto and New York over the decade. Archival and historical data, in addition to interviews with elite actors provide a rich cache with which to answer the thesis question. Through the use of agenda setting theory, I find ways that arts and culture have been integrated into policy-making and urban planning for economic development in each city. I observe that Toronto and New York are building and facilitating cultural districts, attracting and retaining creative workers, and articulating economic arguments for arts and culture in order to generate revenues and secure government and private support.

Each city underwent a shock during the early part of the decade. For Toronto, it was the endogenous shock of amalgamation, and for New York the exogenous shock of 9/11. In both cities, arts and culture were employed as a part of the economic development toolkit to revitalize decaying areas, attract residents and tourists, and distinguish themselves from other cities. I find that each urban center used arts and culture extensively to create a cultural city in the case of Toronto, and to recreate a cultural city in the case of New York. Policy recommendations include utilizing research and strategic planning, building relationships and stakeholder partnerships across policy domains and sectors, and focusing both on public good and economic benefit when integrating arts and culture into economic development interventions.

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Dedicated to my father  
Theodore (Ted) Goldberg, Ph.D.  
My greatest inspiration  
*May his memory be for a blessing*

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Cities throughout the world are exploring the ways that arts and culture can serve as an economic engine, build name recognition and become a source of civic pride. Through a mix of policy, branding and economic development, these municipalities have the opportunity to create a more vibrant quality of life by incorporating public art, theatres, festivals, cultural districts and other amenities into their planning and policy implementation. Developing an understanding of the production and consumption of urban creativity and its impact on economic vitality involves answering the question, “What is the role of arts and culture in modern cities?” Within the framework of a comparative case study of Toronto and New York, I explore the relationships between municipal cultural policy and agenda setting in the economic development departments, specifically the increased presence of arts and culture as a part of the urban toolkit.

Policymakers recognize the value of arts and culture as a component in their economic development toolkits, and in numerous ways are using a variety of options in their efforts in city building. I investigate how two large urban centers have incorporated arts and culture into their strategic planning. In a comparative case study of Toronto and New York, I ask, is municipal cultural policy related to the presence of arts and culture as a part of the urban toolkit within the economic development departments of these two cities? In this investigation, I use case study methodology to examine a set of issues in order to identify the factors that account for the inclusion of arts and culture options on

the agendas of policymakers and stakeholders. I explore the extent to which city governments in these two cities, specifically the economic development departments in Toronto and New York, have looked at the way that they view arts and culture, and as a result have placed arts and culture options on the agenda in making decisions about economic development, urban planning projects and municipal funding allocation.

### **Agenda Setting and the Cultural City**

Agenda setting lies within the larger policy framework called Multiple Streams (MS), which seeks to understand how policies are made (Sabatier, 2007). One of the most-often cited policy theories, MS finds its focus through the examination of agenda setting and decision making, often at the highest levels of government. MS separates issues into three streams: problem, policy and politics. It is only when the three streams are coupled that policy change can happen. Importantly, it is when the three are harmonized that any policies created have the best chance for adoption.

I apply the Multiple Streams Framework at the municipal level and focus on examining why the two cities have chosen to adopt some policies and not others within the cultural context. Through this underlying framework, I examine the adoption – or non-adoption – of cultural policy options over the past decade, specifically those tied to economic development. I use the Multiple Streams Framework to look at how the cultural stakeholders have focused scarce attention -- both by decision makers and the polis--on their solutions. This is accomplished through the use of punch lines – such as “War on

Poverty,” “Working Poor,” and “Welfare to Work,” as well as symbols and the manipulation of emotions.

In each city, the ability of these cultural spokespeople to attach solutions to key problems, within both the cultural community and the municipal framework, has resulted in two very different outcomes in the past decade. Since Multiple Streams speaks to many of the key issues within the agenda setting function of economic development in addition to the cultural policy realities of the past decade in Toronto and New York, I have chosen to ground the inquiry for this dissertation within this robust framework.

Multiple Streams framework points to the role of policy entrepreneurs as facilitators of change, especially during times where a policy window may be open and opportunities for the adoption of their ideas present themselves. The ideas of policy entrepreneurs focus on the provision of solutions to specific policy problems within a variety of areas. This theory suggests that these advocates play a crucial role within institutional settings, often serving as the bridge between the community and the policymakers. Understanding that the attention both of the public and policymakers often is limited and is bombarded by a variety of special interests, policy entrepreneurs work to coalesce messages in order to focus awareness on their policy solution (Kingdon, 2011). This process takes place in steps, and often is most active during times of uncertainty and under extreme conditions. In the economic development context, for example, policy entrepreneurs in the arts and culture field have presented their ideas for options during the open policy windows of exogenous shocks such as 9/11.

Within the context of public policy, agenda setting plays a variety of roles. On a federal level, it involves a wide range of policy issues. These often are constrained by the numerous and conflicting issues competing for attention, both of the public and of policymakers (Kingdon, 1995). The priorities of the mass public and the legislators regarding policy issues can compete with one another. Often, special interest groups dominate legislative attention; however, public opinion plays an important role in the agenda setting function. The attention of elected officials does not move against the public attention, and lawmaking does take into consideration public opinion. Nationally, the public focuses on a few issues and lawmakers are involved with a variety of issues (Jones & Baumgartner, 2004). The actions of policymakers often are circumscribed by the size and constraints of political institutions. Public representatives, special interest groups and policy entrepreneurs all can sway the attention of elected officials (Jones & Baumgartner, 2004).

Studies have shown a strong connection between public opinion with regards to what should be on a political agenda, and the role of the media in influencing this opinion (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Understanding this, politicians and policymakers seek to use targeted messaging to converge public priority with their own interests. These messages can be communicated through speeches, written materials and media interviews. The creation of policy images is important in putting forward initiatives or changes to the ways that the polis views ideas or groups (True et al, 2007). The process of effecting change incorporates translating an idea into an effective image, story or slogan. Policy entrepreneurs work to distill messaging into palatable “punch lines” in order to gain



public attention and buy-in for their proposals. This provides an opportunity for certain target populations to capture the aspirations of policy networks and translate these messages into images that serve to catalyze public opinion (Ingram et al, 2007). These images originate in ideas that then are expressed in shorter, media-ready messages. In effect, there can be a kind of battle for the awareness and interest of the polis that takes place through media outlets. However, positive media attention and strong public support do not always ensure that an issue will make it to the agenda on the federal level.

Agenda setting is important on the municipal level because it dictates what is decided, and who makes that decision, regarding policy issues that take priority (Silver et al, 2002). Echoing the characteristics of national policy agendas, the public within cities often is focused on a limited number of issues. Technical experts, as well as the community, seek to exert influence on legislators in order to gain a place on the agenda. When an issue and the policy entrepreneur who represents that issue wish to gain access and attention on an invisible policymaking agenda, implementation of a bottom up approach involving the community often is the most effective strategy (John, 2003). Top down methodology has proven to be ineffective in garnering the public support and acceptance of policy options. In order to foster trust between policymakers and the community, local stakeholders increasingly are involved in decision-making and agenda setting, thereby seeking to promote “buy in” among effected parties (Silver et al, 2002). Although involvement in the agenda setting stage of policymaking does not ensure adoption of an issue into policy itself, it is a critically important stage whose value cannot be underestimated (Hays & Glick, 1997).

Agenda setting in the municipal landscape involves numerous stakeholders and a plethora of issues. Housing, transportation, the environment, the economy, and jobs creation and retention are among the topics that compete for the attention of elected officials and the public. City planners and elected officials often seek ways to create revenue streams and rebuild their city centers as magnets for leisure and work activities. Understanding why arts and culture have gained a place within the toolkit in municipal economic development and urban planning is important because, at this time, cities are looking for ways to expand tourism, build stronger tax bases, and develop their brand locally as well as globally.

In this dissertation, I discuss the ways that arts and culture penetrated the clutter of policy options in Toronto and New York's economic development agendas and have gained recognition and access. I contend that although in the past, arts and culture were relegated to a marginal role in economic development, today's cities, especially those profiled in this dissertation, increasingly are making this a central focus of their development strategies.

### **Dissertation Overview**

The thesis question in this dissertation is the following, "Is there a relationship between municipal cultural policy and the presence of arts and culture on the agenda and in the economic development toolkit in Toronto and New York over the decade of the 2000s?" My methods consisted of a comparative case study of the two cities, and I conducted extensive archival and historical research as well as 42 semi-structured

interviews with elite actors; 21 in each city. At the end of each data presentation chapter, I discuss my conclusions about the municipalities, and in the summary and conclusion chapter I examine similarities among and differences between the two cities using agenda setting as my underlying theory.

In Toronto I found that after an amalgamation in the late 1990s, wherein the central city of Toronto amalgamated with surrounding areas, that city used arts and culture to enter the knowledge economy. At City Hall, the two functions of economic development and culture were integrated. The city used a wealth of research and reports to enter the creative cities conversation, and creative cities proponent author Richard Florida moved to Toronto in that decade. A culture-friendly mayor during that time instituted citywide events, such as all-night cultural festival Nuit Blanche, and branding campaigns including Live with Culture. The city brought together stakeholders for a cultural renaissance, in which more than \$1 billion was spent on renovating the cultural built environment, creating a kind of “cultural Camelot.”

During this time, money from the province of Ontario, the federal government and the private sector helped to propel this vision forward. The social good affect of the enhanced cultural offerings in Toronto helped the state to justify its investment. This initiative brought a new level of private sector support to arts and culture in Toronto. The relatively small and more integrated arts and culture sector banded together during that decade. In Toronto, cultural policy in economic development was loudly touted and visibly named. It was the cornerstone of Toronto's entrance into the knowledge economy

and creative economy.

In New York during the same decade, Mayor Michael Bloomberg commissioned a study by consulting group McKinsey & Co. This occurred after the devastation of 9/11, and the resulting report suggested that New York City be branded as a “luxury city.” Michael Bloomberg was a billionaire mayor who liked and supported culture, and one who had strong ties to the private sector. Bloomberg used arts and culture to regain a sense of safety and security as well as to reaffirm a core differentiator for New York City as the center for arts and culture. He recognized the power of arts and culture for tourism, and outsourced any research and reports that were done about arts and culture and economic development. Bloomberg used public art to draw attention in a positive way back to the city. In New York, during the decade of the 2000s there was not as much of the need to partner with other sectors outside of city government. New York was a city with a large agglomeration of creatives, and one in which cultural policy in economic development was not named but was integrated and manifest during that decade. There were numerous capital cultural projects during that time, including the expansions both of Lincoln Center and the Museum of the Moving Image. In New York City, arts and culture in economic development was a key element of the recovery and strengthening of the city.

The similarities and differences in the findings for Toronto and New York were examined in this dissertation using a conceptual framework with six distinct components (See Appendix A). The first finding examines the meaning of arts and culture.

Similarities included a focus on social benefit and economic value regarding arts and culture, attention to the importance of arts in education, concern about accessibility to culture, and the integration of art into youth development. Respondents in both cities thought that creativity was important. Toronto was aspiring to become a cultural city, and in contrast New York was affirming itself as a cultural city. New York City already had been a cultural giant. In Toronto there was a stronger dedication to heritage and Canadian pride as values.

The second finding examines the manifestation of arts and culture and its benefits to each city. Both cities' respondents saw neighborhoods as places to manifest arts and culture, and valued revitalization using arts and culture. Interviewees from the two cities saw cultural tourism as important. Toronto used citywide festivals and fairs during the decade of the 2000s to highlight itself as a creative city while New York was too large a city for this to take place. For New York, cultural tourism was seen as building the brand, and for Toronto it was viewed as a tool with which to tell the story of a lesser-known brand. New York had a large and disparate cultural sector, whereas Toronto's was smaller and banded together. The third finding looked at leadership and stakeholder partnerships. Similarly, both cities had charismatic mayors during the decade under investigation. Outside of this, there were not many similarities. New York needed a visible leader to restore safety and security after 9/11 and did not seem to need to be as collaborative outside of City Hall. Toronto needed team building and collaboration for its cultural renaissance. That city has significant investment by the province, the federal government, and the private sector and so was accountable to them.

The fourth finding looked at what cultural policy meant in each city. There were few similarities between the two cities. Toronto used research and reports to make the case for culture and implemented cultural policy into economic development. That city needed to be transparent to stakeholders and the public and implemented adaptive reuse as a cultural policy tool. In New York, cultural policy was thought of as the purview of the Department of Cultural Affairs. Mayor Bloomberg implemented what could be thought of as “cultural policy” interventions in the domains of tourism and economic development, however these were not named as such. The Cultural Institutions Group in New York City was a powerful entity, with its 33 member institutions all located on city-owned land.

The fifth finding was about arts and culture's role on the economic development agenda. The similarity between the two cities was that both had policy interventions using arts and culture in economic development, such as tax incentives for developers and screen-based industries. In contrast, Toronto incorporated culture and economic development into one department and built partnerships that jumped off from this. Arts and culture and economic development were touted there, and this department produced a wealth of reports. The City of Toronto used other assets besides money, including land, buildings, knowledge and partnerships. Toronto had more communication with its stakeholders and was a city that wanted to thrive. New York, in contrast, integrated arts and culture across policy domains including that of tourism, economic development and the Department of Cultural Affairs (DCA). This was not talked about, and in New York it was a case of more doing and less talking. That city had a larger budget, and after 9/11

New York City needed to survive and incorporated arts and culture as part of that goal.

The sixth finding looked at the relationship between cultural policy and the presence of arts and culture on the economic development agenda. Similarly, each city used arts and culture deliberately to revitalize some areas. In Toronto an example of this was the Wychwood Car Barns, a repurposed streetcar barn complex, and in New York it was the redevelopment of 42nd Street. Both cities targeted the screen-based industries, and both wanted to cross policy domains more deliberately. The differences included the way that Toronto perceived the integration of culture and economic development as effective in contrast with the desire of New York to coordinate among those areas in a more comprehensive way, as well as a stated interest by New York respondents in producing more municipal research and reports on the creative sector.

Through these six areas of the conceptual framework, the findings reveal that Toronto used arts and culture and economic development to transform itself over the decade of the 2000s while New York used arts and culture in economic development to affirm itself during that time. Toronto wished to grab hold of a reputation as a cultural city, whereas New York wanted to keep hold of its reputation as a cultural city. Understanding these two municipalities involves looking at the way that Toronto had an endogenous shock in the late 1990s, that of amalgamation, whereas New York had an exogenous shock, that of 9/11. After amalgamation, Toronto's policy entrepreneurs used this opportunity to put forward a vision of a cultural renaissance, which subsequently was fueled by the province, the federal government and the private sector. After New York's

exogenous shock of 9/11, Bloomberg seized this open policy window to put forward his idea of a rebranded “luxury city” with a wealth of arts and culture. In both instances, this open policy window led to a burst of activity after policy entrepreneurs in each city put forward their policy ideas.

Toronto is a city where cultural policy in economic development was touted and transparent. The municipality was accountable to its numerous stakeholder partnerships, which consisted of powerful and monied partners. The city produced a wealth of research and reports and was more aspirational in its characteristics. Relying on the power of others, Toronto needed to develop its own strengths. In New York, cultural policy in economic development was manifest through action and was not talked about in the same way. That city had more ties to the private sector, one primary leader, and functioned more like a corporate entity with economic development and culture operating more in silos. A city with a huge budget, New York commissioned reports on arts and culture through outside entities. This was a city with a wealth of creative workers. The respondents in New York City felt that there was a need to name and spotlight cultural policy in economic development to realize the power of that relationship. The findings showed that Toronto did have a very clear relationship between cultural policy and economic development; one that perhaps was too intertwined. New York had a relationship between cultural policy and economic development, one that crossed policy domains but was not named as such.

Recommendations for cities include the utilization of research and strategic



planning in the creation and implementation of arts and culture interventions in the economic development toolkit, and the building and cultivating of relationships and stakeholder partnerships across policy domains and throughout sectors. Additionally, cities can create and institute economic development initiatives incorporating arts and culture that integrate both social good and economic benefit components. In summary, cities can institute an urban cultural policy ecosystem that includes the following: identity and brand; public good; the creative economy; the built cultural environment; stakeholder partnerships; economic benefits; and creative citizenship (See Appendix B).

### **Contribution to the Literature**

The central contributions made by this dissertation are part of the research community including scholars such as Elizabeth Currid, Carl Grodach, Ann Markusen and Kevin Mulcahy. This comparative case study brings a policy analysis perspective to the creative cities conversation, and provides a replicable methodology that offers robust data and a conceptual framework. The archival and historical data from each city are triangulated with interviews with key informants. Subsequently, a comparative case study analysis is presented which provides a deep look at the two cities within the thesis question rubric. This multilayered qualitative research model brings together both the longitudinal data of the two cities over a decade and interview data from the elite respondents who are a select group of representatives of the field.

The dissertation examines in a robust way the many dimensions of arts and culture and economic development, both from the historical and archival data and the

elite interview data. It looks at the way that economic development can—and does—incorporate social good in addition to providing economic benefit to cities, something that may have seemed counterintuitive prior to this study. The investigation provides policy recommendations that incorporate the nature of arts and culture into economic development interventions, providing pride of place, economic benefit and legacy to future generations. This work offers a new paradigm for arts and culture in economic development by combining the public good aspect with the multiplier effect. It brings a dimension to cultural policy beyond that of funding nonprofit organizations, and contributes to opening a dialogue between cultural policy and economic development through lesson drawing and best practices for these two cases. The dissertation shows that arts and culture in economic development has the power beyond that of traditional economic development interventions, and points to arts and culture's potential as an economic and social engine in city building.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **THE CREATIVE CITIES CONVERSATION**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter provides an overview of issues in the field and the ways that key investigators are addressing them, serving to locate my research in the extant literature. Key topics include: the struggle to define arts and culture; understanding the role of arts and culture in urban areas; questions surrounding support of culture by the State; the use of the arts in economic development; measurement of the economic impact of arts and culture; and the creation of cultural policy in today's cities. These areas represent fields including cultural studies, economics, policy analysis, and economic development. I believe that an in-depth discussion of the key economic arguments for the inclusion and support of arts and culture in cities is important in the context of this dissertation, which looks at urban economic development in Toronto and New York.

In this dissertation, I define "arts and culture" in a very broad way. I understand the boundaries of the field to be extremely inclusive, especially in the urban context. There are two main areas of focus in this conundrum, that of the artists themselves, and that of the world that funds them, judges them, writes about them and purchases and consumes their art. Collectors of art gain more than financial assets; they benefit in a more intangible way as well (Blaug, 2001). Studies by economists on the behavior of art markets have established a new frontier in understanding cultural economics.

These issues exist encompass a variety of media, cultural creation and experiences, creative workers, cultural institutions of all sizes and for-profit businesses. Arts and culture may include the classic arts, such as theatre, dance, literature, painting and sculpture. Many forms of art and design are a part of the expanding cultural paradigm, including film, television, graphic design and architecture. In this mix is new media, which encompasses the Internet and mixed media, as well as a renewed focus on ways in which enterprises, including cultural centers and arts organizations are involved within this context. Cultural inclusiveness, demographic shifts, and global awareness of the power of cultural icons all draw attention to the increasingly expansive definition of arts and culture in the modern urban milieu. In this world of mass consumerism, the arts must compete for attention with all kinds of popular culture, as well as with the sales messages of the Internet, marketing pitches and television (Heilbrun & Gray, 1993). The growth of cultural tourism, increasing focus on creative communities, and an expansion of interest in cultural entrepreneurship and the creative economy have changed the way cities regard arts and culture's role in their economic health.

### **The Meaning of “Arts & Culture”**

The view of a society towards its arts and culture reflects values of inclusion, economic access and public opinion. The area called arts and culture is defined in a myriad of ways, and developing an understanding of its boundaries is reflective of who is looking at the field, and from what vantage point. Through a wide variety of forms of expression, the arts are instrumental in satisfying an aesthetic need for culture in today's urban centers (Bourdieu, 1993). Heilbrun and Gray (1993) posit that the parameters of

aesthetics for the visual arts reflect a perception that something is decorative as well as having merit on an intellectual level, and affords the viewer an opportunity to have an experience of beauty. However, I believe that the area called arts and culture is much more extensive and includes images that may disturb and even anger the viewer. In addition to traditional non-functional arts such as music, painting and sculpture, functional areas such as crafts, design and multimedia productions fall under the rubric of the arts and cultural expressions. Festivals and expositions can be included in this area.

The outcomes of the efforts of cultural producers are known as ‘experience goods’ (Blaug 2001). Although difficult to predict, demand for these kinds of goods can increase over time, when consumers develop a stronger taste and desire for arts and culture as a result of positive experiences. In measuring demand, scholars have looked at creating categories within the cultural economy that include those goods or services which have meaning to the consumer in an experiential way rather than a utilitarian one (Scott, 2004). Mulcahy (2006) ponders the ways that art initially is given an imprimatur by the cultural elite, and subsequently is made available to the masses, which may result in decisions taken on by the few about the kinds of art the polis should experience. In order to make policy decisions in a more effective way elected officials turn to members of the cultural community to assist them in choosing funding or developing projects.

Sharon Zukin (1995) says that culture is what defines a person, social group or even a country as far as establishing a role, gaining power and representing a point of view. Culture for Zukin is often changing, and is engaged in a process of forming and

reforming itself, varying widely in its definitions, and manifesting itself in an extremely volatile manner. She looks at culture as a kind of framing mechanism, and insists that the way that a modern city views itself will determine what kinds of culture it embraces, fosters and allows, as well as influence decisions regarding public space, museums and theaters, cultural centers, and entertainment venues. Given the broad scope of this context, there are a multitude of perspectives on aesthetic and cultural inclusiveness upon which any of the above categories of actors could expound. Although the cultural conversation involves numerous aspects of meaning, it is the areas within the context of the creative economy, cultural industries, and urban policy domains on which I focus.

### **Arts and Culture in the City**

The view of a society towards its arts and culture incorporates values of inclusion, economic access and public opinion. According to Heilbrun and Gray (1993), art may be viewed through a special lens of creativity as an extremely valuable endeavor, one that occupies a hallowed place in society. The attitude of individual cities to their arts policy can be seen as a reflection of the values of the country in which they are based, and may represent a manifestation of that culture's zeitgeist (Mulcahy, 2006). Florida (2005) sees culture as part of the way that humans express themselves, either through taking advantage of their abilities to be creative or to appreciate creativity as opposed to focusing solely on making a living and the drudgery of daily life. He views cities as centers that can foster creativity and culture, with the cities that have the most open attitude towards diversity being the places where creativity can flourish the most effectively and significantly. Over the past decade, there seems to be a shift within many

urban centers globally towards a cultural economy that includes an important role for the creative community (Scott, 2004).

Markusen and Schrock (2006) point out that cities may benefit from a plethora of contributions by the arts to the public good, including not only the cultural built environment but nonprofit cultural organizations, patrons and businesses in the creative community, all of which add to the web of urban artistic value. Mulcahy (2006) believes that the role of arts and culture in cities stems more from the ability to boost the desirability of the city, rather than a specific and metrics-based attribute. He feels that culture in the broader sense is a key element in a society's ability to represent its core beliefs as well as to pass along values to future generations. Here I look at whether the arts make sense on a cost-benefit level, are incorporated into cities due to the desires of the polis, or are seen as a handy problem-solver during a time of economic crisis.

While it is extremely difficult to come to a general understanding of and agreement upon the definition and boundaries of arts and culture, creative people still move forward with their work and municipal policymakers continue to engage in making decisions about the ways that the government will support and encourage creativity. In order to make policy decisions in a more effective way, elected officials often turn to members of the cultural community to assist them in choosing funding or developing projects (Mulcahy, 2000). Allowing those from the field to be decision-makers comes with its own set of controversies, as there may be disputes as to who is evaluating creativity and how they are chosen to do so. These kinds of 'creativity thought-leaders'

play a role in determining the public's taste for culture and influence trends, but are subject to the danger of choosing friends or colleagues for grant awards.

### **Economic Development Using Arts and Culture**

Often heralded as a possible panacea for a variety of ills that may affect a city, the cultural community and its offerings have been touted to solve a wide range of problems. Markusen (2006) notes that urban areas and their planning professionals have embraced the creative community, using cultural solutions to revitalize decrepit areas, repurpose landmark buildings and draw residents and visitors. This author points to the ways that a variety of disciplines have the opportunity to form alliances to address the creative cities conversation. This includes stakeholders from the worlds of cultural policy, urban planning, and economic development who often bring very different goals, strategies and metrics to the table when implementing ideas about cultural city creation. Although partnerships of this kind offer the opportunity for all to benefit, success is not assured. Markusen feels that the further development of theoretical frameworks that can assist in understanding and addressing these disjointed interests could contribute greatly to improved outcomes in ventures of this kind, especially in larger cities.

Traditionally, municipal economic development efforts and strategies have centered upon a variety of methods of encouraging businesses relocation to, as well as investment in a city (Grodach, 2011b). Among these are assistance with developers' projects, tax abatements and write-downs on land. There are several ways that urban economic development plays a role as far as the creative community is concerned, including drawing visitors and locals to a place-specific location in order to experience the culture,



attracting new residents, businesses and developers to a city, and fostering the production of cultural products or services that may be consumed locally and or elsewhere. Many industries that are screen-based have outputs that are exported nationally and internationally as a part of a city's economic development strategy (Liu et al, 2010).

An example of this is Toronto's Pinewood Studios, one of the largest film and television production studios in Ontario and the largest studio of its kind in Canada (Build Toronto, 2010). The project, part of the British-based Pinewood Studios Group, is slated to create a state-of-the art film studio complex. In addition, the strategic plan calls for the development of a cultural district where film and media artists can interact in a customized environment with an urban streetscape as a part of the design (Pinewood Toronto Studios, 2011). Designed to attract creative workers, city residents and tourists, the proposal envisions the integration of cultural production, residential living and commercial opportunities, which together would enhance the underdeveloped Port Lands district in Toronto. The plan is a part of Toronto's goal of building and enhancing its competitiveness in the global screen-based industries market. The province of Ontario and federal government of Canada have made significant commitments of cash and incentives for this initiative, as well as for the screen-based industries as a whole. In the case of consumption at the point of production in cities, this includes cultural districts, live music and theater, theme or heritage areas and festivals. Exported cultural goods range from traveling performances to graphic and industrial design products, fashion, publishing and screen-based production that is sold and distributed worldwide. The global marketplace for cultural goods is expanding as barriers to distribution are removed and marketing

efforts become increasingly sophisticated (Scott, 2000).

All of these kinds of cultural goods and services can be beneficial economically to the city of origin, where oftentimes other businesses grow to support and enhance the arts producers and their consumers, creating a multiplier effect. Public-private partnerships can serve as the keystone of this urban economic development. In concert with local government, neighborhoods in major urban centers have been resuscitated to become flourishing centers of art, commerce and entertainment. An illustration of this concept is the West Queen West area of Toronto, which after significant input from the community in concert with developers has become a model of an economic anchor. The area has a high concentration of artists, and has grown to be a center of art and design with more than 300 creative businesses, including galleries, design firms, and boutique hotels located in this 2-kilometer strip (West Queen West BIA, 2011).

Urban areas can incorporate cultural planning into their marketing campaigns and utilize the creative city model to rebuild decrepit areas (Grodach & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007). One caveat has been the often displaced and disillusioned residents who have watched their neighborhoods disappear and be replaced by prohibitively expensive housing and other high-priced amenities (Scott, 2004). For Markusen and Schrock (2006), depending on culture to spur urban development, especially in badly deteriorated areas, could be a mistake and they warn of the dangers of misguided metrics regarding measurement of the effects of cultural economic development. Eisinger (2000) observes that cultural entities designed to draw visitors to an urban center often can isolate that city' less affluent residents, and deny them the chance to participate in the arts.

In addition to human capital development, ideas for the use of cities' abandoned buildings as a way to serve the cultural community include the establishment of arts buildings that could offer live-work opportunities and would become a draw to residents and visitors through gallery exhibitions and studio visits. The immeasurable benefits of arts and culture in economic development need to be studied further and articulated clearly, as do the quantifiable advantages to its support and the efficacy of the creation of cultural centers as engines of urban economic growth (Markusen, 2009).

An arts and culture strategy to promote economic development would contain three components: planning, implementation and evaluation. In policy planning and implementation, it is important to set goals, use theories and build evaluation measures into any economic development initiative (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). Outcomes that can be expected include the development of clusters of cultural producers who, in turn, draw other creative residents to an area. An example of this is DUMBO, Brooklyn, in which the anchor of the cultural community was a key element. The key developers, the Walentas family's Two Trees Management gave DUMBO a cultural imprimatur by offering galleries and nonprofit cultural organizations extremely low rent in order to entice them to become some of the area's first residents. Although the area has accomplished its goal of becoming a flourishing residential neighborhood in record time with more than 17 record labels, several new media companies, numerous galleries and many artists (Indergaard, 2009), many of the original pioneers have bemoaned the gentrification of the neighborhood (Barnard, 2007).

Chain stores, rising rents and the ousting of the original arts community exemplify the dangers of success and provide a measureable impact that may not be desirable. DUMBO is an example of a stakeholder partnership that includes the city, real estate developers and the arts community, and was an instance of a growing trend towards corporate developers being involved at the outset of the process of gentrification (Hackworth, 2002). The City of New York provided zoning concessions and planning permissions to the developers, who offered rent concessions to the artists and arts organizations, which created a cultural milieu that attracted visitors and ultimately residents to what became a high-end real estate market (Hackworth & Smith, 2000). The addition of arts festivals capped the neighborhood as a trendy and hip place to live.

This is an excellent example of one of the expected impacts of cultural gentrification, that of an increase in property values and a rise in occupancy rates in addition to a noted challenge to communities to work with real estate developers and cultural elites to share space on planning agendas (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). In conjunction with the generation of greater income for small business owners, improvement in the appearance of the neighborhood, and expansion of offerings for visitors and residents these outcomes on the whole seem to have met the efficiency and equity goals desired with regards to a city's investment of time, tax benefits and funds. Important in the evaluation of policy impacts are some of the factors, including qualitative metrics and community engagement that often are not taken into account when measuring success. The integration of the original residents and their culture into any economic development strategy can be an important consideration, and disregarding

the community engagement caveat can lead to bland, uninspiring homogeneity in redeveloped neighborhoods (Carr & Servon, 2009).

In the formulation of strategies to spur economic development, it is critical to involve both the nonprofit and for-profit arts and culture communities. Although the nonprofit arts community pales in size and scope in comparison with the creative industries such as film, television and publishing, collaboration in the policy areas of copyright law, fair use and international trade issues can unite them (Rosenberg, 2004). It would be wise for cities to promote the idea of a unified creative sector when forming economic development plans. While nonprofit arts groups may have deeper and more sustained relationships with consumers and donors, brand building, managing creativity and building market share can provide opportunities to forge relationships between the two areas of the creative community, proving beneficial to the host city.

### **Cultural Districts in Urban Planning**

Cities continue to look for ways to draw visitors into their downtowns, many times through the development of cultural attractions as they attempt to heed Jane Jacobs' prescient, decades-old warning to avoid the abandonment of their central areas (Jacobs, 1961). Often including public art, performance and local artists and artisans, these cultural built environments can bring in government funding and elicit corporate sponsors and investors as well as attracting nonprofits as partners. Numerous modern cities have created destinations within them with attractions and experiences seemingly designed for tourists alone, which appear to be based upon what the visitor may imagine the resident

culture to be. Building upon the idea of the area in which they are housed, these recreated cultural experiences conjure a multi-dimensional visit to the past complete with the amenities of the present, and include destinations such as London's Tobacco Wharf, Toronto's Harbourfront, and New York City's South Street Seaport.

An assessment of the local or vernacular culture and the unique contribution it could make to the success of the project is desirable in the creation of arts districts (Carr & Servon, 2009). Producing a balanced strategy that combines the artistic aspect of development with the economic goals of revenue generation can provide a more palatable plan for the resident community, and one in which they can participate. Finding a way to preserve and incorporate the real nature of the district and reference the original content and flavor of the area can serve to bring authenticity both to the visitor's experience and the residents' sense of the value of their own heritage, through attention to what Carr and Servon call vernacular culture. Integrating the local culture into tourist environments may serve to incorporate a beneficial component into economic development, creating a sense of ownership among stakeholders (Scott 2004). New York's New Museum is an instance of a cultural institution's relocation to a less-developed urban area. In 2007, the Museum's new building opened on the Bowery in Manhattan, adding a fresh architectural and curatorial destination to the cultural built landscape of the downtown area of the city. With this inauguration came the launch of new educational programs and global partnerships initiated by the Museum, designed to facilitate the concept of a contemporary cultural laboratory to encourage collaboration both on the local community level and with institutions throughout the world.

Today's urban planners, architects and developers have aligned to interweave place, culture and economic development into a rich amalgamation resulting in destination areas within modern cities. Mulcahy (2006) feels that arts and culture can serve to increase satisfaction in city dwellers and encourage relocation to metropolitan areas, in addition to contributing to urban brand-building and marketing efforts designed to boost the profile of a city (Grodach, 2011b). Through the use of art and culture, cities have begun to create a way in which to construct deliberately fashioned cultural economic engines designed specifically to draw certain kinds of tourists and residents. The Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in Toronto is a model of this kind of planning, as its renovation was an integral part of the redevelopment of several of the city's key cultural entities. In addition to drawing record numbers of visitors and enhancing the neighborhood, the physical transformation of a storied Canadian institution played a role in the way Toronto strategically implemented its goals of developing cultural tourism, building the urban brand, and strengthening residents' pride of place (Jenkins, 2005).

By developing an understanding of the issues and opportunities of the 'demand side' of economic development, urban policymakers can add cultural options to economic development strategies (Gross, 2008). Based upon studies that offer data showing the power of the creative community, urban planners, architects and developers are taking into account the role cultural producers play and the interests of those who wish to be associated with them. Cities such as Portland and Montreal are recasting their identities to include a focus on public art with art installations as the core of this new branding.

Often including public art, performance and local artists and artisans, these built environments can bring in government funding and elicit corporate sponsors and investors as well as attracting nonprofits as partners. Their creation may draw high-skilled workers and wealthy consumers to the area to live, work and play in these culturally developed and enhanced urban environments (Florida, 2008). Critics of the kinds of strategies that are used to draw cultural workers point to the skew in this creative city research towards the special interest coalitions that benefit from urban gentrification such as developers, politicians and corporate entities (Grodach, 2011a). In many instances land development stakeholders find themselves in partnerships with the cultural community, forming alliances benefitting all the groups involved (Strom, 2002). A model of this is Silvercup Studios, in New York City's Long Island City (Bagli, 2006). New York's biggest film and television facility, Silvercup was established nearly 30 years ago and has hosted numerous film and television productions. Involved since 2006 in an extensive plan to create a behemoth cultural center that includes film studio space, residential apartments and a riverside esplanade, Silvercup Studios is the site of a green roof project with more than 35,000 square feet of self-sustaining vegetation (NYC Economic Development Corporation, 2010b).

### **Commodification of Culture**

Mulcahy (2006) observes a demographic shift in cultural dissemination that is much more inclusionary and welcomes popular culture and entertainment, festivals, music societies and even sports to the table. New York's Tribeca Film Festival and the Toronto International Film Festival are two examples of festivals that have become



institutionalized in their respective cities. Tribeca Film Festival was founded in 2002 after the 9/11 attacks in order to bring visitors once again to lower Manhattan (Tribeca Film, 2011). Since then, the Festival has welcomed more than 3.25 million attendees from around the world, screening more than 1,200 films from 80 countries. Its estimated contribution to the economic activity for New York City is over \$660 million, and the parent organization, Tribeca Enterprises has grown to include a film distribution arm, a media arts academy and Tribeca Cinemas, a year-round venue with screening rooms, lounges and space for private events.

The Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF) has become one of the world's largest public film festivals, and has been compared in size and stature to the prestigious film festival at Cannes (Gertler, M. et al, 2006b). The festival takes place over 11 days each fall, with up to 400 commercial and art-house films screened annually. Generating over \$67 million CAD each year, TIFF expanded beyond its festival offerings to include a year-round, state-of-the-art facility, the TIFF Lightbox. Located in downtown Toronto, the complex has cinema and gallery spaces as well as a condominium tower as part of the development. The Toronto International Film Festival and its ancillary programs have expanded their impact on the city through a variety of educational, industry-based, and public offerings (Toronto International Film Festival, 2011).

In the world of mass consumerism, the arts must compete for attention with all kinds of popular culture, as well as with the sales messages of the Internet, marketing pitches and television (Heilbrun & Gray, 1993). However, the public may struggle with a

kind of ‘information overload,’ and find themselves keeping company with the familiar leisure time activities of television, the internet and sporting events rather than learning to appreciate an aesthetic experience, one which may claim too much effort in participating. Private developers have taken on an important decision-making role in expanding modern cities’ tourist attractions, often integrating cultural aspects into them. Since government funding for arts and culture has been cut back, these corporate entities have become partners in creating more livable areas in city centers, such as Disney’s involvement in the redevelopment of Times Square (Hannigan, 1998).

### **Consumption and Production of Culture and Agglomeration of Artists**

In modern cities, the power and impact of the categories of city dwellers within the creative community has been well researched and documented extensively (Currid, 2007; Florida, 2002a; Markusen, 2006; Zukin, 1995). Actors in the business of arts production in cities make vital contributions to the field in areas such as the publication of creative writing, the gallery world, theater companies and commercial music production (Netzer, 1978). Large cities often are the home of clusters of cultural producers, who may work on a part-time, freelance or temporary basis and rely heavily on building a social network (Scott, 2004). Markusen and Schrock point to three specific benefits this cultural agglomeration provides, including the creation of export goods, the improvement in neighborhoods and districts where artist settle, and the multiplier effect on the urban landscape wherein ancillary businesses and services benefit from tourist and resident traffic to arts and culture events (Markusen & Schrock, 2006).

Modern cities can serve as the focal points where place, culture and the power of various members of society interrelate in an increasingly seamless way (Zukin, 1995). Since urban centers often have a concentrated number of creative people, they frequently are the locations where cultural production takes place. Having so many creative actors in one relatively small area fosters a powerful combination of art makers, presenters and consumers. Zukin sees the city as the locus of the arts, the nonprofit and the commercial sectors, with conflicts arising often as to the dominant decision-maker in terms of influencing and enacting cultural policies and procedures. The author insists that an urban cultural center must be one where art is made, not just enjoyed or purchased, and that the home city itself needs to make a commitment to financing the cultural producers. Among the factors that define the strength and sustainability of modern cities, Zukin points to culture and its value in urban centers as something that may separate a successful city from one that flounders. In an increasingly service-centered labor market, the idea of culture in today's cities may be reduced to an amalgamation of diverse groups, as far as both language and customs. Major global cities offer artists and cultural producers environments that combine social interaction with opportunities for the creation and consumption of their goods. The drive of artists to be creative is another topic of interest in modern cities, including questions about the ways that financial support, such as government or corporate funding, has a positive or negative effect on motivation (Frey, 2000).

An additional area of concern is the role that residents of a city play in consumption of arts and culture offerings. Gross (2008) feels that the role of the cultural consumer on

the local level has been neglected in the creative cities conversation, and that developing a clearer understanding of the needs and interest of this sector could be valuable in targeting offerings to this market. Her research finds that areas outside of a city's traditional cultural centers can become destinations for residents who want to experience interesting local arts opportunities without traveling long distances. This can afford a large potential consumer base a kind of "cultural staycation," by offering authentic cultural experiences relatively near their own place of residence. According to Gross, targeting some of these consumers, who may have characteristics different from the visiting tourist, can provide a municipality with access to a large, untapped market.

Wychwood Barns in Toronto is an instance of this kind of local cultural tourism opportunity. A model of adaptive reuse, this city-owned land formerly was a streetcar storage and maintenance facility (Gertler et al, 2006b). It was redeveloped by the nonprofit Artscape together with the City of Toronto, and opened in 2008 with live-work facilities for artists, a public park, and a community gallery space. Now offering a variety of cultural events such as gallery tours, classes, music offerings and art festivals, Wychwood Barns has become a popular destination for Toronto residents who wish to take advantage of the cultural programming, green space and sense of community.

### **Benefits of Cultural Capital – Impact on Development on Local Levels**

Public-private partnerships often serve as the keystone of this urban economic development. In concert with local government, neighborhoods in major urban centers have been resuscitated to become flourishing centers of art, commerce and entertainment.

The issue of public access to cultural experiences in cities is one consideration within the cultural policy debate. In order to eliminate barriers to entry, some cultural gatekeepers, including arts presenters and policymakers, advocate low cost, privately or publicly funded arts activities and experiences (Mulcahy, 2006).

Among these barrier-free offerings are public art installations, two examples of which are the Gates and the Waterfalls in New York City. In February of 2005, The Gates drew approximately 4 million visitors to Central Park, the site of the artwork by installation artists Christo and Jeanne-Claude. With an estimated economic impact of \$254 million, the project welcomed tourists, residents and school groups to enjoy the month-long, artist-sponsored spectacle (New York City Office of the Mayor, 2005). Commissioned by the Public Art Fund, The New York City Waterfalls was a four-site sculpture installation by artist Olafur Eliasson that was on display for sixteen weeks in 2008, enjoying approximately 1.4 million individual visitors and generating a reported \$69 million in direct and indirect economic impact to the city (New York City Economic Development, 2008). Markusen and Schrock (2006) posit that there are significant multiplier effects on urban economies created by artists and the creative community in terms of enrichment of the city through building the cultural brand. They feel that smaller arts organizations as well as individual arts and culture producers are not taken into account when assessing the benefits of these kinds of projects in cities. Evans (2009) observes that policy rationales in cities globally focus on the employment and economic development arguments in addition to effects on tourism and branding when implementing strategic cultural policy planning and implementation.

## **Quantifying To What Extent: Measuring Economic Impact**

A key area of focus in the debate about cultural development in today's cities is measuring and evaluating the role of arts and culture in economic development. Scott (2004) notes that urban areas often are focal points for this kind of activity, which can be a highly observable part of a cityscape and may bring jobs, tourism and local attendance to decrepit areas. Too often, however, the data used to project these economic returns have not been rigorous enough to withstand criticism (Eisinger, 2000). Questions have arisen as to whether spending on arts and culture actually is generating new revenue or is displacing monies that would have been spent on other kinds of entertainment from various sectors, such as sporting events (Markusen, 2009). Although many cities turn to economic data in support of an argument about why culture is important, this kind of analysis fails to take into account the inherent value of the arts; value that cannot easily be quantified (Mulcahy, 2006). Mulcahy believes that the role of arts and culture in cities stems from the ability to boost the desirability of the city rather than a specific and metrics-based attribute, and feels that culture is a key element in a society's ability to represent its core beliefs as well as to pass on values to future generations. His view is that policymakers must make decisions that reflect the role of art in the immaterial growth of society, rather than the measurable economic benefits. The examination of culture in the economies of cities puts pressure on the creative community to show measurable results, which often is not possible to quantify.

## **The Economics of Arts & Culture and Economic Justification for State Support**

Baumol (1997) says that the arts need to be viewed in the larger context of their contribution to society, which may not be measured easily or quantified in economic terms. He acknowledges that the ability to examine culture's qualitative attributes proves challenging for economists. However, a city's economic development department needs to justify the use of government funds through the articulation of a sound rationale for this strategy. An arts and culture strategy will stimulate demand by offering both residents and visitors options for how they can spend their monies. The market for the arts is not as competitive as that of goods or services with perfect market conditions, and support through citywide subsidies can be justified through market failure. Perfect market conditions include no barrier to entry or exit, perfect information, perfect competition and no externalities or market distortions (Barr, 2004). In order for an argument to be made for government support of the arts, there are two kinds of justifications that can be used: on efficiency grounds and on equity grounds. On efficiency grounds, State-based funding of cultural initiatives can be justified on market failure grounds (Heilbrun & Gray, 2001). The arts are examples of three kinds of market failure; externalities, public goods and imperfect information. Each of these may be used to justify expenditures on arts and culture in the economic development department of a city. The arts are a positive externality that provides a wide range of collective benefits, including a legacy to future generations, the development of prestige for the city itself, the build-up of the local economy, contribution to the liberal education of its residents, the opportunity for social improvement, and the creation of an environment that encourages artistic innovation

(Frey, 2000). An additional example of market failure in relation to arts and culture is that of public goods, in which joint consumption is possible without the diminishment of the opportunity for others to enjoy the good. In the comprehension of cultural economics, the meaning of so-called 'public goods' is at the core of this conversation.

A public good is one that can be enjoyed and appreciated by one person without taking anything away or causing any detriment to someone else. In addition, no one can be denied access to or excluded from experiencing a public good. Blaug (1976) views the arts as a mixture of private and public goods, or a 'mixed commodity,' since they are accessible to all but there sometimes can be a fee for entrance, such as for some museums or for live performances of music or theatre. Baumol and his coauthor Bowen (1966) look at the intergenerational benefits of culture as something which becomes more of a public good as the artistic legacy of the community is passed on over time. Markusen and Schrock (2006) point out that cities benefit from a plethora of contributions by the arts to the public good, including the cultural built environment, patrons, cultural organizations and businesses in the creative community, which add to urban artistic value. Cultural districts, public art installations and cultural festivals are examples of public goods that can raise the profile and reputation of a city without excluding anyone from participation (Mansbridge, 1998). Toronto's Nuit Blanche is a model with regards to this kind of public good. Initiated in 2006, this 12-hour event makes contemporary art accessible to the public, drawing up to a million people to the city streets for a popular festival targeted at community engagement and interaction with art (Jiwa et al, 2009). Numerous cultural institutions, galleries and creative spaces open their doors, welcoming residents and



visitors to a lively celebration of Toronto's creativity (Kurtz, 2009).

A third aspect of justification on efficiency grounds is that of information asymmetry. In order to avoid market failure in this area, market participants would need complete information about services or goods available to them. The arts are an example of imperfect information, since some of the public may not know about the arts or cultural experiences or how to appreciate these and therefore do not have a preference for them (Rosen & Gayer, 2008). This results in a lack of demand for the arts, providing an opportunity for the State, in this case a given city, to subsidize the production and dissemination of information about arts and culture on efficiency grounds so that citizens will develop the ability to choose arts and culture in their consumption bundles (Frey, 2000). In this case, knowledge about the arts could be understood as a public good, and one that the State would be justified in providing (Stiglitz, 1999). Through the provision of public opportunities to view and experience art, learn about how it is created, and train in arts or cultural industries, cities can use taxpayer monies to remedy market failures.

An additional part of the argument, again through the use of economic justification, is on equity grounds. Heilbrun and Gray (2001) posit that there is an equity issue in the way that arts often may be accessed only by the wealthy, leaving this key area of human development closed to less fortunate city residents or visitors who might be able to benefit from these kinds of experiences. The support of culture on these grounds offers the opportunity for the government to correct for this lack of equity, by providing a variety of opportunities to experience the arts without the barriers of high prices and

accessibility. Another aspect of culture is that of a merit good, or something that society has deemed worthy of production in larger amounts than what would be purchased by consumers at market prices. Providing this kind of merit good can be seen as the role of government, as the polis would not pay for it on its own since their willingness to pay to secure utility from arts and culture is exceeded by the cost of production (Frey, 2000). Since arts and culture may not be in the consumption bundle for some city residents, due to their lack of information regarding the value of these commodities, government can find justification for the provision of subsidies for these goods. The high cost of production of some of the live arts, including theatre and music performance, creates a kind of “cost disease” (Baumol, 1997) as the inputs, such as actors’ pay, union costs, theatre rentals and marketing expenditures increase exponentially. Subsidies from the government can alleviate this problem, but may not be as necessary in some areas of arts and culture that have benefitted from advances in technology, such as film, recorded music, television and video production, or publishing.

An important consideration regarding the way arts and culture fits into an economic perspective is the challenge of the arts to be profitable, or what Baumol (1997) refers to as cost disease. This is a way of discussing the obstacles involved in making a profit within the arts and culture areas. Baumol points out that the arts as an industry suffer from rising labor costs, which may not find ready remedies through gains in productivity, as would be the case in the for-profit sector. As time goes by, gaps in income may result, creating financial instability that can preclude the economic health of the sector. Without an increase in technology or innovation to bolster this, which occurs in the for-profit

marketplace of entertainment or telecommunications industry, the problem escalates. The cost disease of the arts, Baumol and Bowen argue, stems from the fact that some forms of the arts can never benefit from technological innovation, as other fields can. This is due to the fact that arts and culture often are labor-intensive fields that use the same production methods as those used centuries ago.

Arts such as theatre performance, musical production, painting or sculpture have at their heart a highly painstaking and labor-intensive process. The authors posit that these fields can never truly achieve market success, since they cannot charge the actual cost of the product and can never benefit from advances in technology, as other fields can. Support from government, corporations and individuals is one possible answer to solving this dilemma, and is a way that the arts can survive in order to be passed on to future generations. Blaug (2001) points out that this theory should be viewed differently now, as the world of the arts has changed significantly, has many technological advances and now includes an expanded cultural palette such as film, design, fashion and music, some of which may benefit economically from innovations in technology.

A key issue for cities to address in justifying the use of arts and culture to promote economic development is that of cost-benefit analysis. There is great importance in analyzing the impact of any proposed program on efficiency in a positive way, called benefits, versus the efficiency impacts viewed negatively, or costs, and this would be a valuable exercise in meeting the overriding goal of efficiency (Weimer & Vining, 2004). In the case of changing public attitudes, qualitative analysis using a Likert scale is an

effective form of measurement. It is essential to build in measurement of the effects of any economic development policy through the use of a variety of indicators. These include data points such as the rate of new businesses forming in the area, new residents statistics, changes in the value of property, and resident and visitor spending patterns (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). The use of comprehensive assessment and reporting is important to allow rigorous analysis to take place, something of great concern to the policymakers in city government. This ensures accountability is embedded in program design as opposed to the mere reporting of results (Hanushek & Raymond, 2005).

Although economists are not in a position to determine what forms of art should be included in the cultural milieu or to judge the quality of aesthetic production, they do have significant areas in which they contribute to the field (Frey, 2000). Among these are analysis of the efficacy of State support, the study of economic development in urban areas and increasing the understanding of ways that cultural producers contribute to the vitality of cities. Since the arts involve values-based decisions, Robbins (1997) argues that scientific economics cannot be used to analyze or understand the world of arts and culture, especially regarding decisions about ideal levels of State support.

Scott (2004) points to ways that economic development with a cultural bent takes place in today's cities, such as festivals, fairs, large-scale music or theatre events or the creation of a new arts center. These kinds of projects can transform neglected areas into lively magnets for tourism, local entertainment or the production of cultural goods. The products or services within the cultural industries account for a small percentage of the

outputs of large cities. However, according to Scott, not only does this make a significant addition to local urban economies, but these kinds of industries are experiencing significant growth in many urban centers. An important part of the arts and culture landscape, consumers and collectors of the wide varieties of art gain more than financial assets; they benefit in an intangible way by being part of the artistic milieu (Blaug, 2001).

### **Policy and Planning; Implementing Cultural Policy**

Cities are involved in cultural policy within two general areas; funding for arts and culture and policy created to stimulate economic growth or benefit arts producers. A municipality can support the use of arts and culture as an economic development strategy through direct subsidies and indirectly through regulations such as tax laws benefitting companies that foster arts and culture and the creation of incentives for artists, such as New York's Percent for Art (Frey, 2000). This kind of initiative mandates that all new public buildings have one percent of their budget set aside for the commissioning, creation and installation of public art. Besides serving the public good as an example of art that is accessible to all, this contributes to the brand-building efforts that can make residents proud of their cities and tourists wish to visit. Additional programs in this vein are New York's Arts for Transit, which presents visual art and musical performances in the subway system. This provides the public with a positive externality, such as the recent installation of a permanent mosaic installation by artist Sol Lewitt, a non-exclusive benefit for commuters and tourists alike (Vogel, 2009).

When policymakers make decisions that foster one kind of art or cultural entity over another, in effect they are shaping the options available to the public (Mulcahy, 2006). The attitude of individual cities to their arts policy is an articulation of the country in which they are based, and represent the manifestation of that culture's zeitgeist. Ingrained in the choices that are made in fashioning an urban cultural policy are ideas of politics and governance, such as elitist versus populist views, opinions about access to art and thoughts about who should take responsibility for supporting the cultural community.

Choices made regarding who receives funding for urban arts organizations may be extended to include organizations without nonprofit status, as is the case in countries such as France and Britain (Netzer, 1978), a model that may serve to provide a more inclusive integration of the for-profit and nonprofit entities dedicated to fostering artistic excellence. Although most Americans feel that art is an important part of life and value its support by the government (DiMaggio & Pettit, 1999), the role of the government in funding arts and culture in the United States is one that stands in contrast to that of Europe. This is due to the fact that America has attempted to distance itself from the perception of elitism, and the fine arts seemed to symbolize that kind of stratification (Zolberg, 2000).

In developing policies that seek to harness the power of the cultural industries in urban life, policymakers may find greater success first by assessing the economic status of the proposed area of development (Scott, 2004). The use of analysis, decision reports and community involvement could prove essential in the formulation of cultural policy in

cities. The inclusion of stakeholders can be a key component of successful economic development projects in the cultural arena, rather than bluntly forcing policies on a community and hoping that this provides economic stimulus. Policymakers in urban cultural policy can examine an additional area of importance, that of finding ways to attract cultural workers, including artists to a city. Fast growing cultural industries often employ creative workers and contribute to the betterment of urban communities, as well as bringing a more positive brand image to the locale. In order to ensure successful outcomes, careful planning and the inclusion of representative coalition members can be key strategies for elected officials and their teams to employ when designing, creating and implementing changes to existing cultural policy. Through site-specific development of areas that will be appealing to artists, policymakers can incorporate data that reveal key criteria this population uses when choosing where to live (Markusen & Schrock, 2006). These include affordable residential options, access to consumers and patrons and the presence of a supportive community of like-minded creative workers.

The question of access to the arts is a point of contention. The issue of public access to cultural experiences in cities is one consideration within the cultural policy debate. In order to eliminate barriers to entry, some cultural gatekeepers, including arts presenters and policymakers, advocate low cost, publicly funded arts activities and experiences (Mulcahy, 2006). The education sector can be seen as a part of the cultural policy footprint, since teaching about culture and art often is seen as an essential part of a society and education is a way to pass that viewpoint along to subsequent generations. Including some kind of cultural component in education can make a difference in the

subsequent involvement of graduates in their interest in and support of the arts. However, Mulcahy notes that in the United States, arts and culture options in education are the ones that are cut the most often, manifesting both the lack of deeply-rooted cultural identity and generous state arts and culture funding policies.

Worldwide, some governments encourage decision making by the polis with regards to levels of state support (Frey, 2000). In those cases, the populace is making judgments about what constitutes good art, and may be asked to vote on government funding for specific artworks or public sculpture commissions and installations. Frey notes that, in these instances, there is a great deal of influence exercised by curators and art critics as to the message sent to the general public about a proposed referendum.

## **Conclusion**

Many of the conversations in the urban arts and culture literature revolve around attracting visitors and new residents while serving those who currently live in a city. These residents fall into several categories under the rubric of the ‘creative community,’ a concept put forth by Richard Florida. Now confirmed as playing a valuable role in the process of neighborhood gentrification, artists and cultural producers have become highly sought-after residents. Their presence seems to provide an imprimatur of desirability, although as some urban neighborhoods develop, artists are priced out of these areas. Unfortunately, the argument for cultural residents to remain an integral part of neighborhoods may vanish with the pursuit of higher rents and wealthier stakeholders (Zukin, 1995). Cities believe that the arts can serve to revitalize core areas through the



use of cultural institutions, which can broader audience bases, develop income generating activities and blur the boundaries between so-called “high” culture and popular offerings (Strom, 2002). The fostering of an integrated relationship between elected officials, cultural entrepreneurs, and the corporate community can result in the creation of successful cultural policy and economic development strategies. In addition to generating financial returns, cultural offerings can promote non-economic benefits such as sense of pride, building the brand of a city, and educational programs that can provide accessible arts and culture experiences to young people.

Florida (2005) notes that there appears to be a global shift towards a more creative and self-focused kind of existence, and that changing values have led to a generational view of materialism that is de-emphasizing its importance in living a fulfilling life. Perhaps cities are focusing more on their arts and cultural offerings in response to this desire for a more “creative” environment in which to live and work. Urban cultural policy can play an important role in addressing the issues inherent in the role of the creative community’s contribution to building the vitality of cities globally.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **Introduction**

In this chapter, I provide the context with which to understand how the dissertation methodology is linked to my research question. I give an analysis of my decision to use case study methodology and discuss what I hope to find through this research, delineate my course of action and detail the research process. Subsequently, I introduce my conceptual framework (See Appendix A), which guided my choice of methodology as well as the way that I analyzed the data once it was collected. After presenting the conceptual framework, I describe my historical and archival data collection and then detail how I created my interview protocol, arrived at my categories of respondents, and conducted the interviews for this study. The chapter closes with concluding remarks relating to my methodology, implementation of the study and acknowledgement of its limitations.

#### **Research Design for this Dissertation**

I developed a case study research design that integrated several methods, known as triangulation, in order to ensure that analytic rigor was ensured (Bryman, 2004). My research design incorporated the triangulation of methods within the case study rubric, including semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders such as elected officials, community-based organizations, curators, planners, artists, architects and cultural

producers, and research and analysis of archival and historical materials including scholarly articles, news articles, official documents and census information.

Through the use of these investigative tools, an explanatory case study was developed (Yin 2009). The study incorporated archival research of historical, academic, policy, and media-related documents in addition to interviews with twenty-one key stakeholders in each city within a variety of populations using the snowball sampling method (Yin & Heald, 1995). The use of different methods within the context of this study ensured analytic rigor and transferability (Bailey, 1992). The results allowed me to answer my thesis question, identify options for policymakers, and provide information about the tradeoffs among various courses of action (Colebach, 2005).

**Research question and choice of method.** It is important to understand in a very comprehensive way exactly what the research question is seeking to answer before one can decide which method would be appropriate. The overarching research question for this dissertation is “In a comparative case study of Toronto and New York, is municipal cultural policy related to the presence of arts and culture as a part of the urban toolkit in agenda setting within the economic development departments of these two cities?” My research question was broken down into the following areas: what does arts and culture mean in each city; how does it manifest in value or benefit to the city; who is involved in a leadership role; what does municipal cultural policy look like; is it integrated with economic development; what are instances of its integration; has this changed over the past decade; and differences between and similarities among the cities. Finding the

answer to this query necessitated the use of case study methodology, which helped to describe, explain and tie the parts of the phenomena to the whole (Hamel, 1993). In order to answer the questions posed, case study analysis was the most effective research method, as these are “how” questions in which theory guides the research, allowing the investigation to inform and analyze rather than being merely descriptive (Bryman, 2004). Within the case study methodology, I employed archival research and semi-structured interviewing as my primary data gathering tools.

**Understanding case study methodology.** Among the methods chosen by researchers in the social sciences is case study. This kind of inquiry seeks to examine a phenomenon of interest in a real-life setting using a variety of evidence sources. In case study methodology, triangulation is critical. Although case study methodology is seen as a kind of qualitative research, it may include quantitative aspects such as surveys to strengthen the rigor of the analysis (Yin, 2009). The three key elements a case study must satisfy are generalizability, transferability and replicability (Bailey, 1992). The investigator, using this method, looks at the entire phenomenon, the relationships and linkages and the way that the issue or organization under investigation fits into a broader context. The researcher must be able to provide a linkage of these diverse parts into a broader whole, using a varied palette of tools in the methodology toolkit (Hamel, 1993). Case study researchers often utilize longitudinal or time-based studies in order to gain a greater understanding of the phenomenon over time (Bryman, 2004).

Within the case study methodology framework are found single and multiple case studies as well as case surveys, in which investigators look at multiple case studies and delineate their unique characteristics (Yin & Heald, 1975). Case studies often are used to exemplify the context in which the researcher seeks to come to an understanding about certain questions and uses a case as a way to investigate their thesis or hypothesis about a phenomenon. Case studies became popular in the 1920s within the social sciences as a way of explaining issues within society including immigration and urbanization. Early work employed field studies, statistical surveys, and casework, combined to form the case study in which models observed were used to generate theories (Hamel, 1993). Within the current case study context, mixed methods employed often include archival and historical research, in-depth interviewing, focus groups and surveys. These methodologies combine to ensure analytic rigor within a case study rubric.

Concerns about case study methodology include researcher bias, in which the investigator exerts undue influence over the data, as well as the need for rigor and a problem with vast numbers of documents and large amounts of data generated through this method. Often, case study results are not seen as generalizable (Yin, 2009). This can mean that the fruits of investigations are not taken seriously, and are not seen to have a conceptual base that is broad enough to be viewed favorably in academia. There also are concerns as to whether case studies contribute new knowledge to a field and provide theory building through the rigorous employment of standards of research (Bailey, 1992). However, case studies are favored when the investigation is looking at a “how” or “why” inquiry and when the researcher is interested in observing events or entities which are

outside of his or her control. Cases presented may provide opportunities for lesson drawing, which can lead to policy interventions, with the recognition that these kinds of investigations are done within the social science context (Abbott, 1992).

According to Yin (2009), an exemplary case study must have five basic components. The case study must be significant, complete, consider alternative perspectives, present significant and sufficient evidence, and be written in a compelling and engaging manner. Significance requires that the study put forward issues or findings that could have value in a theoretical, national, or even global context. The researcher needs to specify the boundaries of the case study in terms of its methodology, temporal boundaries, and research question. It must be clear to the reader that the data necessary to complete this investigation were carefully collected and analyzed and that all aspects of the research question clearly were addressed. Meeting these standards ensures that the research study was properly conducted and may be considered to be valid. Presenting the findings in a clear and readable manner means that the investigator will have the best opportunity to put forward the findings of their study to the broadest possible audience.

**Choosing the research method.** The variety of methods available to investigators in the social sciences is numerous. When deciding which would be appropriate for a research undertaking, it is essential to begin with the research question and its parameters (Yin, 2009). Within the policy field, analytic and quantitative methods are extremely popular, and often are used to determine causal forces through the connection between changes in variables and desired outcomes (Abbott, 1992). The

researcher needs to make a decision about the choice of qualitative or quantitative methods, although the differences between these seemingly are growing smaller. Often, qualitative methodology is seen as inductive, or generating theory, while quantitative research is viewed as deductive, or testing of theory.

Quantitative research may employ a focus on attitudes through the use of Likert scales, and qualitative investigations may use interpretive methods to establish norms in understanding organizations or communities under study (Bryman, 2004). The investigator chooses their method based on either a search to understand the behavior of individuals or groups, thought to be in the quantitative method realm, or a search for and interpretation of meaning, which frequently is found in the qualitative methodologies. The researcher also needs to make a decision as to whether they are allowing theory to be their guide in research, or if they will be positing theory as a result of their investigation. In the former case, they are conducting a deductive inquiry, and in the latter it is known as inductive research (Bryman, 2004). When choosing case study methodology, an investigator needs to beware of subjectivity regarding researcher bias, and replicability, in that standard procedures will ensure the ability to replicate the study. The researcher must make certain to employ the highest level of transparency possible so that it is clear how conclusions were formulated. The problem of generalization inherent in case study methodology is another key issue, one that must be addressed by the researcher. The investigator faces numerous challenges in making decisions about methodology, research approach and the best way to guarantee analytic rigor. That is why it is essential that the driving force behind these choices be the research question. Understanding these caveats,

case study methodology can provide a valuable tool with which to examine the social science entity and can be a vehicle through which a researcher may be able to provide new knowledge to the field.

I chose to employ case study methodology as the most powerful and effective research method with which to answer my thesis question. I hoped to learn whether cultural policy was related to the presence of arts and culture on the economic development agendas in Toronto and New York over the decade of the 2000s. I wanted to investigate the ways arts and culture were integrated into the policy domains of each city, who the stakeholder partners were, and the ways in which arts and culture were leveraged by each municipality in building the brand, attracting residents and visitors and effecting the public good. I wished to uncover the research, strategic planning and messaging that the policymakers in Toronto and New York developed over the decade of the 2000s that integrated arts and culture within the economic development context. Finally, with agenda setting as my underlying theory, I analyzed my findings, compared and contrast the two cities, and subsequently utilized these data to answer my thesis question.

**Case selection.** I undertook a comparative case study of Toronto and New York, focusing specifically on the decade of the 2000s. The selection of two North American cities, each of which had undergone transformations in the realm of arts and culture over the decade, provided a rich opportunity for individual case study and subsequent comparisons between the cases. Although the cities were strikingly dissimilar, I felt I could uncover archival and historical materials on each in order to develop an



understanding of their cultural sector. I was confident that I could gain access to elite respondents in the two cities and subsequently combine these data to produce a meaningful study regarding the relationship between cultural policy and the presence of arts and culture in the urban economic development toolkit. The comparison between two large cities allowed an investigation into the factors that influence the economic development and urban planning agenda-setting functions. Toronto and New York were selected for the study, as comparative case design is effective for an explanatory study of this type (Yin, 2009). The cities contrast as far as their budget size and population numbers, and while both are democracies, they are located in countries with different types of national governments. Each city is the largest in its respective nation and enjoys popularity among tourists. Both urban centers have a large number of immigrants in their resident populations. Of the two, New York has a far larger municipal budget and governance structure, and Toronto currently is enjoying a growth phase resulting in a significant building boom.

This methodological approach relied on data collected from historical and archival materials in addition to semi-structured interviews with key elite actors in each city. It was important to look at arts and culture on the agenda in the economic development departments in each urban center over the past decade. As a result of this research process, the dissertation describes and explains, through empirical evidence, how I developed an understanding of the relationship between cultural policy and the ways that arts and culture have gained a place on the agendas of municipal economic development and planning in Toronto and New York (Bailey, 1992).

## **Main Methods of Data Collection: Archival Research and Elite Interviews**

In order to gather data relevant to this investigation, I conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews of elite actors in each city, and performed comprehensive archival and historical research. Following are details of the utilization of these methodologies.

**Archival and historical research.** The archival and historical research for this dissertation took place between October 2010 and May 2011, and involved the collection and analysis of books, scholarly articles, municipal policy documents, reports, government documents, news articles, and commissioned research studies. These sources were used to develop a picture of the decade of the 2000s in Toronto and New York regarding a number of dimensions, in addition to the specific areas related to cultural policy and economic development functions. Primary archival sources included government reports, studies prepared or commissioned by the each of the municipalities, and academic articles. The validity of the archival data was ensured through my comparison of source materials, as well as the selection of data from a variety of well-regarded sources such as federal governments, provinces and states, and city and nongovernmental agencies. Data secured through the archival and historical materials were subsequently integrated with those gleaned from the elite interview process in order to form an understanding of each city in relation to the underlying questions put forth in this study.

**Elite interviews.** An essential resource for this study was the epistemic community of economic development directors, urban cultural planners, artists,

policymakers, and cultural managers in the two cities profiled for this dissertation. The elite interview protocol was developed through building out my conceptual framework. Understanding that the data gathered needed to provide me with the information I would need to answer my research question, I used the key areas inherent in my conceptual framework with which to formulate a comprehensive yet flexible protocol. Knowing that I would have access to some of the most important actors within the cultural policy and economic development milieu in each city, I wanted to ensure that the protocol was structured enough to serve as a lens through which I could understand Toronto and New York, while remaining flexible enough to give me a chance to understand some of the underlying issues at stake through the eyes of these actors. The protocol was deemed not to be of a sensitive nature, and was exempted from Institutional Review Board approval by the New School IRB Chairman.

**Selection of interview respondents.** Elite interviews conducted for this investigation were drawn from a pool of individuals within a clearly defined framework. Respondents selected came from categories that included two main characteristics: those individuals that worked for the State, either as elected officials, appointees or city workers; and those outside of the government. Within the category of State actors were the following: elected officials, appointed officials, those that worked for the province of Ontario, those that worked for the City of New York, and those that worked for the City of Toronto. Outside of the political arena I developed several clearly defined categories from which to draw my respondents. These included: artist/architect; real estate developer; museum manager or administrator; academic or think tank director; film and

television production manager; film/cultural festival manager; philanthropist; corporate funder; and arts service organization executive. In order to secure elite interviewees for this investigation, I used the snowball sampling technique. Regarding gaining access to elite actors in Toronto, I was invited to give a briefing at the University of Toronto's Martin Prosperity Institute. This presentation allowed me to give an overview of my dissertation research. The talk was given on November 16, 2010, and was attended by 12 people, including a variety of cultural stakeholders. Subsequently, these attendees proved to be of great value in serving as informants through whom I was able to secure interviewees, while some were solicited by me and agreed to be respondents themselves for the semi-structured interviews.

Finding respondents in New York was challenging. Although I reside in New York, it was through an aggressive snowball sampling campaign that I was able to gain access to the elite actors I had targeted for the interviews. I did secure significant and representative individuals in both cities for the study's semi-structured interviewing phase of data gathering (See Appendix C). Twenty-one elite interviews were conducted in each city, for a total of 42 within this study. The semi-structured interviews, which took place between December 2010 and March 2011, ranged in length from forty minutes to two hours, with the majority in the one-hour range. Additionally, during the course of this research a number of informal interviews were held in each city with academics, nonprofit managers, government arts executives and other cultural stakeholders. The majority of the interviews were conducted in person; five were held via telephone. I took notes by hand for all interviews and was able to capture the conversations verbatim. I

then used voice recognition software to transcribe the interview notes into typed interviews. The respondent sample size was determined by interviewing additional respondents until the point at which, with each new interviewee, I received answers similar to those I had obtained previously. When I had conducted 21 interviews for each city, the majority of the responses were similar to the previous material and at that point I judged the elite interview portion of the data gathering process as complete.

**Objectivity and trustworthiness of design.** The validity of the interview sample was ensured through pre-interview archival research of government documents, research reports, and media materials used to identify key elite actors in each of the categories as well as inquiring of each respondent as to their recommendations regarding additional individuals for the study. Each respondent received, in person or via email, overview materials on the dissertation and its main research question. All interviews followed the protocol exclusively; if the respondents' answers varied from the protocol topic, I welcomed their responses and noted them carefully before returning to the next question. Researcher bias was minimized due to the fact that I was engrossed in taking copious notes during the entire interview, and thus could not interact with the respondent or influence them in any way through my facial expressions or comments.

### **Data Analysis and Synthesis: Elite Interviews**

**Conceptual Framework.** As part of an iterative process, I initially examined the interview data carefully to identify the broad themes and developed codes that allowed me to mine the data in order to answer the thesis question. I developed my conceptual

framework and subsequently tied this to my thesis question. These thematic categories were a reflection of the inherent structure of the dissertation. Using this framework, I sought to translate my broad categories into analytic tools that became categories rather than descriptors. In this way, I was able to comprehensively report, analyze, interpret and synthesize what the data told me about the overarching thesis question. My conceptual framework allowed me to look at what my questions sought to enable me to answer. A way of coding, or classifying the data, the conceptual framework was the way I looked for common patterns. I then created codes and sub-codes that described these patterns, and subsequently inserted the codes into my conceptual framework, broadly describing what I found of interest and significance.

**Coding structure.** After doing an initial sweep of the data, I utilized the five primary codes with which I did my first pull to bring forward what I felt were the chunks of data from all of the interviews, which comprised what the respondents were saying about each of these first codes. This gave me a big picture of the content in the elite interviews regarding the five primary categories. I then grouped all of the chunks from the interviews in each city into files together, under the appropriate primary code. At that point, and during subsequent iterations, I kept the identity of the respondent attached to the data chunk. This gave me the chance to look closely at what all of the interviewees were saying about the same broad conceptual framework topic. I then delved deeply into these coded chunks of data in order to further extract a deeper level of meaning from each one. I created a sub-system of classification of interest and significance within each master code. I looked primarily for signals as to what was embedded in the data, what the

descriptors were, and how these sub-codes would tie in with the conceptual framework. Remaining flexible and open to allowing the data to inform me, I looked for the voices of the respondents – their experiences and their perspectives. I created new descriptors that emerged from these large data sets and those became my roadmap for further analysis and exploration of these data.

During this process, in addition to seeing some new descriptors emerge in the data I was able to collapse some together. Throughout this open coding process I identified segments, labeled them to organize the information, and determined the sub codes using the words and phrases I found in the data, thereby allowing the data to speak to me. Understanding that my sample size, at 21 respondents for each city, did not allow me to make quantitative inferences, I developed a system for looking at each issue. Rather than percentages, I used the following descriptors: "all," meaning 21 respondents; "most," meaning 15 to 20 respondents; "many," ranging from 7 to 14 respondents; "some," which I saw as encompassing from 4 to 6 respondents; and "few," meaning 2 or 3 respondents. This classification system allowed me to inform the reader about respondents' views and opinions on each of these subcategories.

I developed a system with which to consistently look for similarities and differences in these data and used my system to sort and resort this large data set. After I had developed the sub-codes from the material, I then began the process of local integration, wherein I used the sub-codes to organize the data into a structured pattern. Open coding allowed me to reflect upon whether the terms and sub codes that emerged

tied in with my conceptual framework. I thus was able to place the numerous interview excerpts where they seemed most appropriate. I sought to have the data inform me about broad themes, which I then used to delve deeper into the voluminous interview transcripts. By moving back and forth between the data, my interpretation, the coding and my analysis, I was able to synthesize a great deal of information. I remained mindful of the need to have the data drive my investigation while at the same time making sure that my conceptual framework provided a roadmap to guide this process. The interview data became a key source through which I could understand and interpret the phenomenon I was studying.

**Presentation of the data.** I then began the inclusive integration of the data, in which I reflected upon each of the subcategory materials and began to weave them into a comprehensive document in which I told the story of what the data had presented. I made sure to provide a cohesive summary of each sub code, in which I detailed what the interviewees had meant, in the aggregate, about the sub code. After describing and presenting an overview or synthesis of what was said about a sub code category, I chose the most apt and illustrative quotes to describe further the specific phenomenon. In this way, the quotes taken directly from the interviewees were used to enhance the main narrative, but I made sure that the story itself was able to stand on its own. I aggregated similar points of view and reported tallies and frequencies within my qualitative context using quotes to give detail and richness and reflect the accuracy of my interpretation. It was important to ensure that each quote reflect the voices of the respondents in the aggregate, wherein the quotes would exemplify patterns within the data. In presenting the



data, I summarized relationships, phenomena that occurred frequently, and patterns and in the discussion portion of my data presentation chapters I interpreted what I saw had emerged from this mountain of data. My discussion provided a reflection upon the evidence I observed in this investigation. Together with chapters on each city, these data offer a comprehensive look at my research topic. In the final chapters I present my summary, conclusions and policy recommendations.

**Limitations of the study.** The primary data collection for this investigation was achieved through elite interviewing and archival data collection. The elite interviewees were seen as proxies for individuals in their respective fields; however, the data gathered from these interviews cannot be thought to be generalizable in the field or the population as a whole for each city. Archival materials employed were collected and analyzed in a systematic manner, as the result of my comprehensive search within a larger set of data available in the field. However, I acknowledge that numerous additional documents, articles and studies exist, especially outside of the temporal boundary of a decade utilized for this investigation. Therefore, the analyses made and conclusions reached in this dissertation can be thought to be applicable primarily specifically to this particular set of data, with suggestions made as to the applicability to other cities in my conclusions.

## **Conclusion**

After investigation into the variety of methodologies available, I chose to conduct a case study for this dissertation, as I determined that this would allow me to delve into the topic in the most comprehensive manner possible. My research design included a

variety of valuable tools, including archival study, historical document analysis, and the conducting of elite interviews. Under the case study rubric, I triangulated the methodology to make certain that I would have the data necessary to answer the thesis question, as well as to ensure that this study would provide new, context-rich and relevant knowledge to the policy field (Flyvbjerg, 2001). In this study, the investigation and subsequent cross case comparison of Toronto and New York offered the opportunity for a deeper examination of the intrinsic and extrinsic factors that impacted both cities regarding the relationship between cultural policy and the presence of arts and culture on their municipal economic development agendas.

The resulting dissertation creates an opportunity for lesson drawing, wherein policymakers can determine the circumstances under which a program that has been successful in gaining access to agenda-setting in one instance may be transferred effectively into another (Rose, 1991). Investigation into the way that arts and culture gained access onto the economic development and planning agendas in modern cities has yielded valuable results that may serve to foster a greater understanding of the impact of cultural and economic development policy in today's urban areas (Yin, 2009).

## CHAPTER IV

### CITY OF TORONTO: A DECADE OF DYNAMISM

#### **Introduction**

After the consolidation in 1998 of the federated boroughs that comprised the previous municipality of Toronto, the new city embarked on a process of the creation of strategic plans in order to enhance its competitive power within the context of a global marketplace. Research conducted showed that there was opportunity in the newly developing realm called the knowledge economy. This is understood to be inputs to the economy based upon activities and industries that are knowledge-based rather than those that utilize physical inputs or natural resources. A subset of this emerging sector is the creative economy, which is based on the conceptualization of ideas and ability to harness them for innovation in refurbishing existing practices or creating new offerings.

The City of Toronto seized the chance to participate in all that this emerging sector had to offer. The decade of the 2000s afforded Toronto the possibility of being a player on the world stage, and the creative community served as a key element in the process of tactical urban development. One of the defining aspects during this decade in Toronto was the creation and implementation of a common vision for the city and its residents. The cultural sector played a critical role and served as a vital part of this strategy. In addition to the employment aspects of the knowledge economy, the city focused upon campaigns that drew attention to heritage and culture. In order to brand Toronto as a creative city, several initiatives were put into place including the creation of

a ten-year cultural blueprint. Now one of the largest economies in Canada, Toronto has seen a dynamic level of growth and development over the past ten years.

### **The New City of Toronto**

**Amalgamation and beyond.** The City of Toronto was created as a united entity on the first of January 1998. As such, it consisted of the merger of what was the regional municipality called Metropolitan Toronto, which consisted of the cities of Toronto, Scarborough, Etobicoke, North York, York and the borough of East York (Gertler et al, 2006b). This amalgamation brought together 2.5 million people in a new entity called the City of Toronto (Figure 1). A challenge lay ahead for this emergent city – that of creating a shared vision and strategic plan. In light of growing international opportunities for economic growth, city leaders took on this task in a comprehensive way and began to plan for a shared future. The keystone of this planning incorporated the opportunities available in the rapidly growing sector known as the “knowledge economy”.

Biotechnology, the information systems field and other technology-based industries are a part of this framework, which focuses on the value and productivity of intellectual assets (Powell & Snellman, 2004). The knowledge economy also incorporates a wide range of creative industries, including cultural producers in nonprofit and for-profit industries, and integrates the concept of using creativity to shape production. A variety of professions are categorized within this context, such as architecture, design, the performing and fine arts, writing and journalism, photography, filmmaking, interior design, crafts and television production (Statistics Canada, 2006). Rather than focusing on manufacturing, Toronto set its sights on the knowledge economy and chose to compete through developing and

fostering the resources of creativity and knowledge, as well as taking into consideration issues inherent in attracting and retaining these kinds of workers. In addition to aspects of the knowledge economy such as technology, energy and biotech, Toronto targeted the creative economy as a part of the more expansive sector delineation.



*Figure 1.* Map of Toronto Region (Gertler et al, 2006b).

In addition to the search for its place in the global knowledge economy, one of the obstacles that faced the city was being able to expand its revenue-raising powers, since at the time of amalgamation the sole revenue streams were limited to user fees and property taxes. Neither Toronto's Mayor nor City Council had the power to impose taxation or

regulation. This issue would change, however, when in 2006 greater powers were granted to the city. In addition to the broadening of the newly amalgamated city's powers came some shifts in the fiscal structure, which saw the Province of Ontario taking on more of the social service costs but reducing its contribution for municipal infrastructure and transportation (City of Toronto, 2005).

After amalgamation, city leaders began to evaluate and assess the municipality's assets, including its workforce, knowledge base and infrastructure. Taking stock of existing partnerships and resources, these leaders focused on the possibility of being competitive in a North American as well as global marketplace. Prior to amalgamation, Toronto saw itself as competing with other cities across Canada in a kind of east-west trajectory. This more powerful alliance engendered by the amalgamation of the numerous municipalities and the strategic initiatives it engendered gave the amalgamated City of Toronto the impetus to compete in a wider marketplace. This included cities beyond Canada's borders, specifically American cities such as San Francisco, Seattle and even New York. For the new City of Toronto, amalgamation brought an important role for arts and culture. The city used this sector in planning economic development, and gave the creative community a place at the table in city building.

**Planning for a compelling and creative city.** Just after the amalgamation process took place, a new Official Plan was developed that would serve the joined entities. Developed using each municipality's former planning document, the vision looked at the next 30 years of growth in Toronto. The document recognized that the City

would have to think about development in a new way, and focus not on expansion of sites but on new ways to look at areas that already were urbanized (City of Toronto, 2002).

This plan put forward the concept of the New Toronto as one where residents and visitors would feel safe, and for which Torontonians would feel a strong sense of pride.

Inclusiveness was a key element of the plan, as well as the recognition of Toronto's extremely multicultural residential makeup. Benefits within the plan included not only economic development and financial growth, but sensitivity to environmental, social and quality of life issues as well.

### **City Overview: the Past Decade**

**Government structure.** The amalgamated City of Toronto's municipal governing structure consists of a mayor, who serves as executive chair of the City Council, which has 44 Councilors. Each of these 45 members of the Council has one vote. The City Council has a powerful role, as it has the primary responsibility for governing and legislation of the city. Canadian cities overall operate under a fairly weak mayoral system within which the mayor does not have the power to make executive decisions. As the face of the City Council, the mayor often is in more of a ceremonial and public relations-oriented position. Members of the Council do not run under a party system; thus, party politics or a cabinet model are not involved in the process of decision-making (Statistics Canada, 2010). Several City Council committees were charged with creative city issues in the 2000s, including a mayor's roundtable, a group convened to look at public art, and one to examine issues of city beautification. The new City of Toronto enjoyed a broadened municipal authority to exercise a variety of recently granted

powers to tax and regulate as well as to raise revenue. Overall, the amalgamated municipal entity was able to realize greater independence and increase its powers relative to the provincial and federal governments, especially due to legislation passed several years after the initial merger (Bourdreau et al, 2009). In 2006, the Ontario Legislature passed the City of Toronto Act, which strengthened the City's abilities to use financial tools, such as taxes, for local services investments.

This legislation helped Toronto to loosen the provincial stronghold that Ontario had exercised over the past 135 years, so that it could enjoy a greater ability to regulate itself, to grow as a city, and take a stronger position among the cities of Canada (City of Toronto, 2011b). The City of Toronto Act included a broadening of powers, access to financial tools, and finally, the recognition of the City's ability to foster partnerships with entities such as other municipalities, provinces, the Canadian federal government and even U.S. states (Swift, 2004). Now able to utilize its expanded powers, the City had the chance to impose taxation and regulation without provincial signoff, something it had been restricted in doing previously (Province of Ontario, 2011).

**Demographic snapshot.** The City of Toronto is the fifth largest city in North America, with a population of more than 2.6 million (City of Toronto, 2007). The Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) is the 48<sup>th</sup> largest in the world, with more than 5 million residents. Toronto is the third-largest center for film production in North America, as well as falling just behind New York and Chicago as the third-largest financial center by employment in North American (City of Toronto, 2008a). As



Canada's financial capital, Toronto is home to the head offices of five of Canada's six national banks as well as 90% of Canada's foreign banks, its top accounting and mutual fund firms, and the country's largest stock exchange. Additionally, as the second largest food production center and the third largest technology center in North America, Toronto is a powerhouse of people, production and innovation (Table 1).

Table 1

*Toronto: The City and the Region at a Glance – 2005 (Gertler et al, 2006b).*

	City of Toronto	Toronto CMA
<b>Population</b>	2,607,637	5,304,090
<b>Land Area (km<sup>2</sup>)</b>	630	5,903
<b>Labour Force</b>	1,425,330	2,970,630
<b>Unemployment Rate (annual average)</b>	7.98%	6.98%
<b>Number of Businesses</b>	76,000	153,000
<b>Gross Domestic Product (in current \$billion)</b>	\$127	\$262

Source: City of Toronto. February 2006. *Economic Indicators*. [Available at: [www.toronto.ca/business\\_publications/pdf/2006\\_feb.pdf](http://www.toronto.ca/business_publications/pdf/2006_feb.pdf)]

Toronto's median income is lower than Ontario as a whole, but higher than that of Canada. More than half of Toronto's residents are immigrants, in contrast to the nation of Canada in which 20% of its residents are foreign-born (Table 2).

Table 2

*Selected Demographic Characteristics (Statistics Canada, 2006a)*

	Toronto	Ontario	Canada
Population	2,503,280	12,160,280	31,612,895
Male	1,205,370	5,930,700	15,477,970
Female	1,297,910	6,229,580	16,136,925
Age Structure			
0-14 yrs	409,629 (16.4%)	2,210,800 (18.2%)	5,579,835 (17.7%)
15-64 yrs	1,740,205 (68.5%)	8,300,300 (68.3%)	21,697,805 (68.6%)
65 and older	353,450 (14.1%)	1,649,180 (13.6%)	4,335,255 (13.7%)
Median Age	38.4	39	39.5
Immigration	1,237,720	3,398,725	6,186,950
Median Income*	\$52,833	\$60,455	\$41,401

\* Median income of all private households.

Toronto is known to be a city that is tolerant, multicultural and neighborhood oriented, with its residents speaking over 100 languages and dialects (Gertler et al 2006b). Cultural diversity, as measured by the large number of foreign-born populations and many multiple ethnic groups present (Figure 2), is seen as an essential component of

the urban experience found there (Bourdreau et al, 2009). Toronto is an urban center with a large population of foreign-born residents (Figure 3).

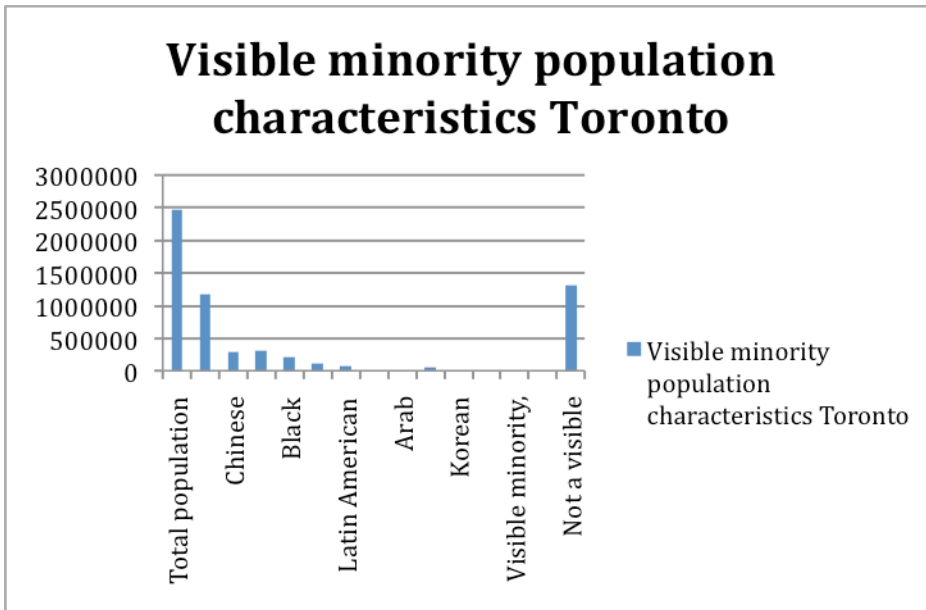
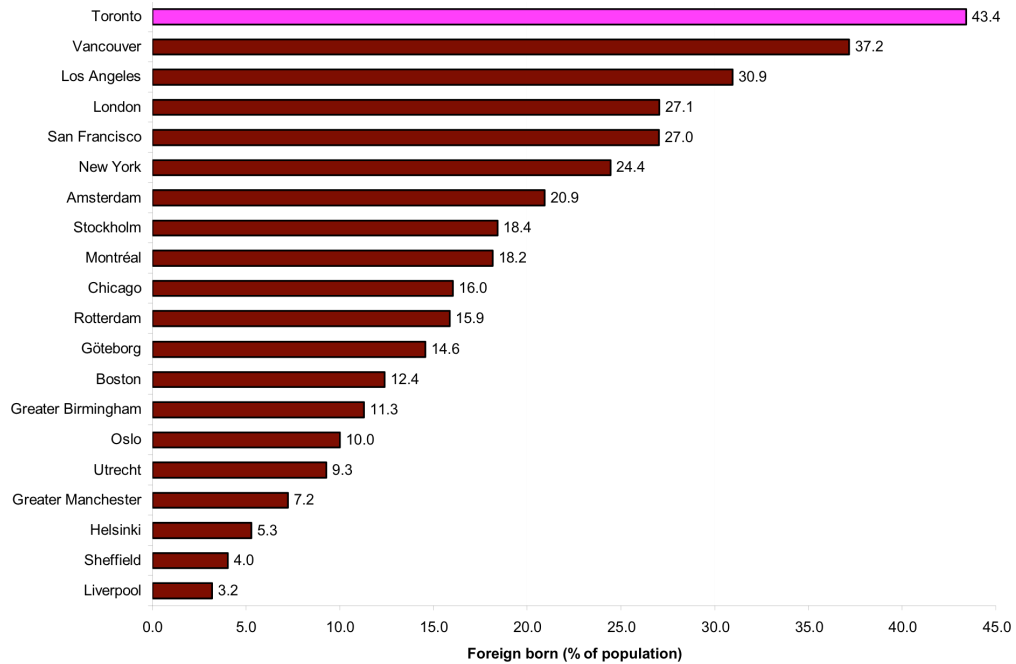


Figure 2. Visible Minority Population Characteristics Toronto (Statistics Canada, 2006b Census)

Served by Canada’s largest airport, Pearson International, Toronto has been designated as the 3<sup>rd</sup> most desirable destination for business travel (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2006). The airport has 75 airlines that operate flights to 76 international cities, 47 U.S. cities and 29 Canadian cities. Toronto’s transit system is the second largest public transit system in North America, second only to that of New York (Ministry of Public Infrastructure Renewal, 2005).



Source: Gertler, M.S. and Vinodrai, T. 2006. "The creative city: theory, evidence and the challenge for Europe." Special session on *Technology, Talent, and Tolerance in European Cities*. Presented at the 102nd Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Chicago, Illinois. March 7-11, 2006.

*Figure 3. Percent of Population in City Region that is Foreign-Born (Gertler et al, 2006b)*

The City of Toronto is the second-fastest growing major employment region in North America, with employment between 2000-2006 increasing by 316,000 in the Toronto CMA (City of Toronto, 2000). Home to an educated and productive workforce of more than 1.3 million people, Toronto has more than 70,000 businesses, which include 80% of Canada’s largest research and development, law, advertising and high-tech firms. It also is the base of 40% of the Canadian companies listed on the Fortune Global 500, and is the location of the fourth-highest concentration of commercial software companies in the world (City of Toronto, 2000). Notably, however, unemployment in the City of Toronto increased from 7.87% to nearly 10% from 2007 to 2009 (Table 3).

Table 3

*Labor Force Structure (Statistics Canada, 2011)*

<b>City of Toronto</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>
Population 15+ (000's)	2,194.60	2,210.80	2,239.88
Labour Force (000's)	1,447.52	1,467.96	1,487.96
Employment (000's)	1,333.53	1,357.54	1,339.33
Unemployment (000's)	113.99	110.42	148.64
Not in Labour Force (000's)	747.08	742.84	751.92
Participation Rate (%)	65.96	66.40	66.43
Unemployment Rate (%)	7.87	7.52	9.99

Toronto is a center of education in Canada, with four universities, four colleges and nearly 400,000 full-time students. Among the publicly funded institutions are The University of Toronto, Ryerson, York University and the Ontario College of Art and Design. In addition, the city houses George Brown College of Applied Arts and Technology, Humber College of Applied Arts & Technology, Centennial College and Seneca College. Ranked highest among Canadian cities and 17<sup>th</sup> globally for patents, Toronto is the home of the third-largest design workforce in North America (City of Toronto, 2008a). As the base for 90% of Ontario's creative industries, which generate an annual GDP (gross domestic production) of \$9 billion, Toronto is a popular urban destination to which more than 16 million tourists flock each year. It is the third-largest

English language live theatre market in the world, and is the cultural capital of English Canada (City of Toronto, 2008a). Toronto is the home base of the National Ballet of Canada, the Canadian Opera Company, Art Gallery of Ontario, The Royal Ontario Museum, and world-renown festivals including the Toronto International Film Festival and the Toronto Caribbean Carnival.

Now Canada's most popular destination for tourists, the city welcomes more than 16 million visitors each year. The economic contribution of the sector is substantial, with nearly \$4 billion generated by tourist spending in 2004. The tourism sector is growing exponentially, and realized a spending growth of 33% since the new millennium began (City of Toronto, 2011d). Tourism includes the numerous arts and culture offerings, and also sightseeing, sports, gaming, restaurants, nightclubs and entertainment, and lodging. In addition, numerous festivals and fairs draw visitors from around the world, and range from film festivals to cultural celebrations that highlight the city's celebrated diversity.

In the mid-2000s, Toronto developed a marketing punch line, or brand identity for itself that it called "Toronto Unlimited" (Bourdreau et al, 2009). Created by Tourism Toronto, the city agency devoted to tourism, this initiative involved several stakeholder partners including the city's Convention and Visitors Bureau, the Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Recreation, and a coalition of city civic leaders. This brand identity was not based upon the earlier touch point of diversity and multiculturalism, but was focused on creativity and imagination as key assets in building and marketing the identity of the city to visitors. The Toronto Unlimited campaign did continue to integrate the open and

culturally enriched quality of Toronto, touting the interwoven fabric of the city's many ethnic communities and customs as a draw for tourists as well as its high-quality talent pool as a resource for businesses interested in relocating there (Grodach, 2011a).

During the decade of the 2000s, Toronto invested in cultural stakeholders in a variety of ways. These included programs within the economic development division as well as the culture and tourism areas of the municipality. Among the priorities of the city are corporate sectors such as film and television production, for which the city created the Toronto Film and Television Office (TFTO) as a full-service agency offering a variety of ways to support and promote the industry and ensure that production companies have the best experience possible. The city also developed a series of Business Improvement Areas, a municipal venture capital group, and Enterprise Toronto, a public-private alliance to serve the needs of small business owners. The Toronto Economic Development Corporation (TEDCO) was created to serve redevelopment projects, and focused on the city's port lands as well as creating employment incubators in the business development and fashion sectors (Gertler et al, 2006b). The city also sought to utilize some of its vacant port lands to launch the development of a \$100 million film production facility, which was slated to become Canada's largest center of its kind and was proposed as a way to retain Toronto's predominance in the film and media industry.

Toronto funds nonprofit cultural activities and entities through the Toronto Arts Council, which then re-grants the funds to city organizations, projects and individual artists. In addition, the city contributes to this sector by supporting a number of major

cultural organizations. Funds allocated by the municipality towards operating expenses, grants and capital expenditures in the nonprofit area of the arts and culture sector totaled more than \$44 million in 2007, which represented a \$18 per capita expenditure, a \$4 increase over that of 2003 (City of Toronto, 2008b). As a way of cultivating its distinctive characteristics as a destination city, Toronto interwove the creative cities conversation with the cultural diversity identity it long had touted as its hallmark (Currid-Halkett & Stolarick, 2010). Embedded within the city's economic development lexicon, its cultural policy domain, and the tourism marketing campaigns during the decade after amalgamation was the message of Toronto's highly competitive value as a creative and fulfilling place in which to work, play and visit.

**SARS and the city.** One of the challenges faced by Toronto in the decade of the 2000s was the advent of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS). This disease was recognized in Toronto in February of 2003, and was found in a woman who recently had returned from Hong Kong (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2011). Although ultimately the death toll from the disease in Toronto was only forty-four people, the impact on the tourism industry and the fear that spread through the media were substantial. The Toronto tourism industry, which brings in about 16 million visitors each year and generates \$7.2 billion Canadian dollars annually, is a key component of the economy (Wall, 2006). After The World Health Organization (WHO) placed Toronto on its Travel Advisory that April, the tourism industry suffered a blow. The hotel sector declined as occupancy rates fell that month to 46.6%, when the previous year they had been at 68%. In addition, tourism expenditures were estimated at \$503 million Canadian



dollars, 28% of what they had been for the same time in 2002 (Tufts, 2004). Conventions, bus tours and hotel reservations were cancelled, theatre audiences dwindled, and few people were dining out in the city (CBC News, 2003). The SARS epidemic was projected to cost Toronto thousands of jobs, and it was estimated that the cost to the city would be nearly \$1.1 billion CAN in lost economic activity (Darby, 2003).

After Toronto was taken off of the WHO Travel Advisory in mid-May, an organization called the Toronto Tourism Recovery Coalition endorsed a proposal to hold a major rock concert in the city, with the Rolling Stones as the headline act. This event would bring great numbers of visitors and tourists to the city, while providing a focal point for residents. The concert was held on July 30, 2004, and proved to be a revenue-generating event, with most of the income seeming to come from residents and people visiting the city for just one day rather than those staying over in hotels (Wall, 2006). In addition to the concert, a nonprofit corporation, which was an alliance of Canada's major banks, developed a plan to promote both cultural and sporting events that year. The initiative called, "Summer in the City," offered promotions that featured hotel, dining and theatre packages designed to draw visitors back to the city.

Toronto had to recover from the impact of SARS, as the city suffered a .5 percent loss in GDP in 2003, and travel and tourism sectors were hardest hit by the loss (Darby, 2003). In facing this challenge, Toronto was able to use a short-term, immediate strategy to engender excitement and enthusiasm within the city and the media through the implementation of a cultural focus. Notably, in positioning itself as a city safe for tourists

and residents alike, Toronto turned to arts and culture offerings as a way to galvanize public opinion and draw residents and visitors back to the city's events and attractions.

### **City of Toronto: Planning for a Successful City**

**Cultural planning and economic development: Background.** In Toronto prior to the 1980s, economic development was under the purview of the federal government (Bourdreau et al, 2009). On the arts policy side, there was no formal relationship between economic development planners and decision makers, and the cultural policy functions within the municipal government. Before the time of the amalgamation in the late 1990s, Toronto had an ad-hoc cultural plan that had been in place since 1973. This early plan was the result of a collaboration that included the Toronto Arts Foundation and a variety of actors, and it put forward a cultural policy agenda distinctly separate from that of economic development.

The following several years brought tension and opposition between stakeholders representing the inner core of the city and those from the suburbs. The Toronto Arts Council (TAC), incorporated as the Toronto Arts Foundation in 1964, was primarily responsible in those earlier years for cultural planning, which it did mainly through the acquisition and development of heritage sites. In the mid-1980s, through the TAC, Toronto began its practice of bringing together federal, provincial and municipal stakeholders to begin to plan collaboratively. The body called Metro Toronto issued several reports examining the role of arts and culture in the city, but the intensive

research and strategic planning began during and continued after the amalgamation process (Metropolitan Toronto, 1994).

**The City Plan: Blueprint for the new Toronto.** Municipal leaders used the amalgamation of the late 1990s to create an opportunity for self-examination and goal setting. A declining manufacturing sector coupled with deindustrialization led the new City of Toronto to look for other options in order to develop a competitive niche. Extensive research and planning documents led the way towards the knowledge economy, using the language of creative city building to leverage existing assets (See Appendix D). Stakeholders including urban planners, policymakers, elected officials and the cultural community put forward an agenda, based on a variety of planning documents that took as their goal no less than the branding of Toronto as a creative destination and cultural powerhouse. With the imprimatur of the federal and provincial government, this new economic development agenda sought to harness the imagination of residents, visitors and the world and to change the direction and impetus of the next decade. Among the documents generated at the turn of the millennium was the Official Plan, which included the Economic Development Strategy, and the Culture Plan, in addition to planning documents that focused on the issues of social development and tourism. Each of these had the common theme of quality of life for all Torontonians, with key goals that included building consensus around a shared vision of a healthy and vital city. Elements of opportunity, diversity, urban beautification and leadership were woven throughout the initial plans and carried through in subsequent updates (City of Toronto, 2008d).

A recurrent theme in the plans was competition, which included initiatives within the City of Toronto and strategies for the city to compete in Canada, North America and globally. For the city to be a worldwide player, it needed to be able to attract workers, foster capital investment and provide attractive jobs (City of Toronto, 2000). Being competitive meant focusing on intellectual capital, financing, infrastructure, and providing an attractive business environment. This economic development strategy also took into account ways to compete through quality of life, networking, and unity of vision. This set the stage for a kind of competitiveness that incorporated economic development goals and social concerns with the vision of fostering the kind of city that would draw and retain businesses and residents, and provide a culturally thriving city of which everyone could be proud.

A key concept regarding the thinking to which Toronto turned in crafting this new vision was the creative cities rhetoric circulating in the urban planning and economic development discourse. The idea of the power of a creative class consisting of for-profit and nonprofit entities, which included a variety of workers who both produced cultural goods and services and provided a milieu that drew other residents and tourists to their midst was a compelling vision. Richard Florida's research, writing and speaking on this topic made him the unofficial spokesperson for the creative class concept, and it was a coup for Toronto when he subsequently moved to the city in 2007 to head the newly established Martin Prosperity Institute at the University of Toronto.

**Economic development strategy.** The document released in mid-2000, entitled “Toronto Economic Development Strategy 2000,” identified Toronto as the new engine of the knowledge economy and suggested specific ways that it could become a major creative center in North America (City of Toronto, 2000). This five-year plan laid out actions that were intended to guide economic development in the new era of creativity and competition with the goal of positioning Toronto in the global market. It highlighted the potential of a greater focus on the role of creativity and ideas in driving economic growth over the next five years, recommending that attention be paid to the cultural producers of these outputs. Planning for strategic place improvement was an important tool with which to promote quality of life for the knowledge economy workers, who were seen as linchpins of this new creative city economy. It was pointed out that these cultural workers had a choice to locate, invest and stay in Toronto or choose to go elsewhere. Competition to attract and retain these workers was a theme embedded in this plan, and the creative cities framework was a key component among its strategies for success. Embedded within this vision for Toronto were key messages that identified the need for city planners and leaders to think differently about competitiveness. Among these were an emphasis on people, attention to quality of place, the creation of a positive city identity and the leveraging of current resources through the building of stakeholder partnerships.

The plan focused on the knowledge economy and was grounded in the role of individuals and groups, but it also recognized the importance of economic growth through strong economic foundations, export clusters, and the strengthening of businesses

on the local level. The adoption of a more innovative approach to planning was embedded in this economic development plan, which included the use of new value added tools with which to realize the ambitious recasting of Toronto's future (Table 4).

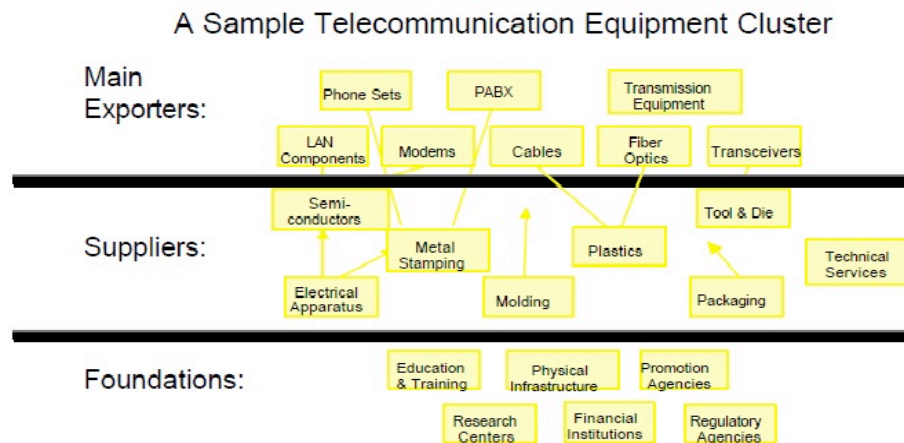
Table 4

*Economic Development Approaches Encouraged Toward a Creative City (City of Toronto, 2000).*

<b>Economic Development Traditional and Contemporary Approaches</b>		
	<b>Traditional (Basic) Approach</b>	<b>Contemporary (Added Value) Approach</b>
<b>Objectives</b>	Attract jobs and assessment	High quality jobs Globally-competitive, high value-added companies
<b>Nature of Competition</b>	Lowest cost for standard mass produced product	Flexibility, responsiveness, innovation, customization
<b>Competitors</b>	Regional, national	Continental, global
<b>Competitive Assets</b>	Low cost land Low wage labour Buildings Energy, Hard infrastructure	Skilled labour force Regional institutions Quality of life Research & Development Technology Access to capital Global connectivity
<b>Business models</b>	Single, large integrated factory/office, regional scope	Networks, clusters, strategic alliances, global mandate
<b>Economic Development Strategies</b>	Business retention and attraction	Build specialized economic foundations Move up the value chain Comprehensive economic strategy
<b>Actions</b>	Tax incentives, marketing	Skills development Innovation Entrepreneurship Supportive business climate Partnership

An additional area of focus within this plan was the use of cluster development, which integrated three levels of focus (Figure 4). These include the main

exporters, who directly export products outside of the region and usually are made up of large, transnational producers; the middle layer consisting of numerous companies and establishments that serve as suppliers to the main exporters and may take the form of a local supply chain or be spread out across the region; and the foundation of the cluster. The cluster foundation incorporates the local linkages that are spread across institutions, including public and private entities. This underlying layer of the cluster structure provides the economic base for competitiveness that ensures the success of the cluster structure and format. Examples of cluster entities include research and development, technology and education, as well as entrepreneurship and skills training (City of Toronto, 2000).



*Figure 4.* Example of Cluster Structure (City of Toronto, 2000)

Toronto developed national and international prominence in a number of creative clusters, including design, new media, film and television production, performing arts, publishing, and music and sound recording. The film and television production sector in

Toronto has been ranked third in North America, and contributes substantially to the city's economy, with \$1.1 billion in revenue generated by this cluster in 2005 (City of Toronto, 2011c).

**Toronto's cultural plans.** In the decade of the 2000s, the City of Toronto's Department of Economic Development, Culture and Tourism, now called simply the Department of Economic Development and Culture, generated several key strategic documents (See Appendix D). One of the key issues these plans addressed was the per capita spending on arts and culture by the city, specifically the spending of public revenues derived primarily from the combination of municipal property taxes, user fees and provincial grants. In 1998, when the consolidation into the City of Toronto occurred, that figure was \$13.81 per person. At that time, there were 20 city-owned cultural institutions, many of which had fallen into disrepair.

Since the release of the first of these studies in 2001, per capita spending has increased to \$18. The two subsequent cultural planning documents recommend that this figure be increased to \$25. In order to be competitive as a creative city, these reports argued, spending needed to be competitive with other major municipalities (Table 5). The figure below provided a look into the comparative ways that the six cities profiled allocated funding to nonprofit arts and culture organizations, projects and capital expenditures. For Toronto, grants referred to funds from the city budget, distributed through the Toronto Arts Council and provided to arts organizations, programs and projects.



Table 5

*Total Expenditure and Per Capita Expenditure by City (2003) (City of Toronto, 2005)*

Total Expenditure on Arts and Culture By City (2003)						
	Toronto	Chicago	Vancouver	Montreal	New York	San Francisco
Operating	16,458,200	42,437,529	2,538,210	36,000,000	3,133,216	32,412,216
Grants	13,899,850	2,228,493	8,056,381	8,742,000	221,329,304	25,410,862
Capital	3,907,000	1,286,000	205,675	14,730,000	214,103,568	1,987,844
<b>Total Expenditures</b>	<b>34,265,050</b>	<b>45,952,022</b>	<b>10,800,266</b>	<b>59,472,000</b>	<b>438,566,087</b>	<b>59,910,923</b>

Per Capita Expenditures on Arts and Culture By City (2003)						
	Toronto	Chicago	Vancouver	Montreal	New York	San Francisco
Population (2003)	2,611,661	2,869,121	577,962	1,871,700	8,115,135	751,682
Per Capita Expenditures	\$ 13.00	\$ 16.00	\$ 19.00	\$ 32.00	\$ 54.00	\$ 80.00

Just after the decade of the 2000s began, the city released the *Creative City Workprint* as a preview of the 2003 Culture Plan (City of Toronto, 2001). The study laid out the framework for creative innovation and identified culture as a critical resource in civic engagement, emphasizing the valuable and integral role culture plays in fostering public institutions in a democratic society. The study proposed that branding and marketing Toronto as a cultural city be achieved through its arts and cultural institutions, which could serve as the hallmark of Toronto’s role as a creative city (City of Toronto, 2000).

Subsequent to the Workprint, in 2003 Toronto published the Culture Plan for the Creative City, a robust document that served as an ambitious 10-year planning strategy (City of Toronto, 2002). This report recognized the role that culture could play in strengthening Toronto from an economic as well as social standpoint, and emphasized the

value of creativity and culture in an urban environment. The report focused on a variety of key issues, including the built cultural environment, heritage preservation, the value of public-private partnerships, and suggestions for financing. In it were recommendations to guide the city towards its goals of reimagining itself as a creative and cultural destination in which both to work and play. This manual, formulated to steer the cultural development of Toronto had ties to the city's socioeconomic and environmental agendas in its recommendations. The plan featured the role of arts, culture and heritage sites as assets that would play an essential role in branding Toronto as a global capital of culture.

This first Culture Plan recommended increased spending on and investment in arts and culture, but also emphasized the importance of increasing monies allocated for tourism marketing. Additional components of the plan brought in several socially conscious suggestions, such as the important role of cultural diversity in welcoming the large proportion of Torontonians who were immigrants, as well as the value of the arts and cultural offerings as a means with which to engage youth, especially disenfranchised young people or those from poorer areas of the city. The report also acknowledged the need for the city to restore and renovate its portfolio of cultural institutions, which it suggested could be accomplished through seeking individual and corporate partnerships as well as applying for restoration funding from the provincial and federal governments.

In 2005, the city published the Culture Plan Progress report, which was an assessment of the Culture Plan and identified any gaps that may have emerged in the past two years (City of Toronto, 2005). This report found that many of the recommendations

made had begun to be realized by the first benchmark period, including a rise in the per capita spending by the city on arts and culture (Table 6). Three years later, the review of the plan from the halfway mark was published, called “2008 Culture Plan Progress Report” (City of Toronto, 2008c). This piece concluded that while significant progress had been made in meeting the goals of the plan, most notably the per capita spending had not risen substantially. This report stated that the cultural and creative industries in Toronto employed more than 133,000 people and generated \$9 billion in GDP annually.

Table 6

*Per Capita Increase in Expenditures on Arts and Culture (City of Toronto, 2005)*

Per Capita Increase in Expenditures on Arts and Culture Over Base-Year Population			
	Culture Plan Adopted	Year 1	Year 2
	2003	2004	2005 (budgeted)
City of Toronto Arts and Culture Total Expenditures	\$ 34,265,060	\$ 36,325,039	\$ 38,986,718
Base-Year Population (2001)	2,481,494	2,481,494	2,481,494
Per capita investment over base year population	\$ 13.81	\$ 14.64	\$ 15.71
Year-over-year increase since the Culture Plan was adopted		\$ 0.83	\$ 1.07

Also published in 2008 was the Creative City Planning Framework (City of Toronto, 2008b), a document that supported the city’s strategic planning report published the same year, entitled “Agenda for Prosperity” (City of Toronto, 2008a). Mayor David Miller was the spokesperson for the integration of arts and culture into the city’s planning framework, declaring “We must put creativity at the heart of Toronto’s economic

development strategy” (City of Toronto, 2008a). The document, prepared for inclusion in the city’s overall planning strategy, served as a companion piece in that it was a summary of work that had been achieved through the cultural planning process to date, in addition to pointing out the value of harnessing the energy and momentum generated by current success to move toward the next phase of the city’s development.

Toronto chose to recreate itself as a city with a special distinction as a place where creativity as well as competition were encouraged and fostered (Currid-Halkett & Stolarick, 2011). In making the decision to promote the advantages and opportunities available to the creative class and those who wished to live near them, the city took advantage of the chance to remake itself. This was especially visible in the way the city incorporated the arts into urban planning initiatives together with economic development. These choices were manifest in repurposing districts, creation of creativity “incubators” and the development of branding campaigns, such as “TO Live With Culture” to promote awareness of the creative offerings available for residents and tourists.

Based on the integration of economic development goals and in response to suggestions from the economic development, culture and citywide plans, Toronto celebrated its diversity and promoted itself as a creative hub that welcomed a variety of cultural workers and businesses as well as nonprofit arts organizations. Establishing diversity both in the cultural industries and the wide range of creative and administrative workers these industries employed gave the city a kind of “cultural imprimatur” that snowballed over the decade of the 2000s.

**Economic development strategy and municipal cultural policy.** In the early 2000s, the city recognized that it did not have the kinds of tools and resources it needed to fully develop its potential (Figure 5). Cities in the U.S. and the UK had tools to create other incentives in order to spur economic development, such as property tax abatements, tax-exempt municipal bonds and historic preservation tax credits. As early as 2002, some municipalities in the metropolitan Toronto area were able to implement tax incentive zones, allowing them to attract companies to their areas. It was not until 2006 through The City of Toronto Act that additional tools became available to Toronto for use in its economic development strategies.

As an overarching integration of the economic development and cultural plans, this amalgamation blended the two by setting clear priorities regarding the inclusion of creativity and competition as the cornerstones of the new Agenda for Prosperity. The municipal leadership adopted an overall approach based on the strategy of cluster development in planning for economic growth (Bourdreau et al, 2009). Toronto's cultural and economic development leaders recognized that the integration of economic growth and prosperity could be fueled by innovation, and that combining this with the concept of clusters could provide an integrated approach to development of the creative community as an economic and urban branding engine. In 2008, Toronto released a report called "Toronto's Agenda for Prosperity," which integrated previous plans and updated them with a creative city slant (City of Toronto, 2008a).

Urban Reinvestment Programs in the US, UK and GTA

	US City	UK City	GTA
Property tax abatements	•	•	
Property tax increment financing	•	•	
Enterprise zones	•	•	
Sales tax credits/rebates	•		
Corporate income tax credits/rebates	•	•	
Employee income tax credits/rebates	•		
Brownfield tax credits/grants	•	•	
Historic preservation tax credits/grants	•		
Community regeneration grants	•	•	
Tax-exempt municipal bonds	•		
Agency borrowing capacity	•	•	•
Private finance initiatives		•	
Social housing grants	•	•	
Social housing loan guarantees	•		
Renewal of public housing	•	•	
Urban transportation grants	•	•	
Millennium funding		•	

Source: Urban Strategies Inc., *Reinvesting in Toronto: What the Competition is Doing*, Canadian Urban Institute, March, 1999.

Figure 5. Economic Development Tools Available to the Competition (City of Toronto, 2000)

This provided a new strategy for economic competition and had at its core the belief that creativity was at the heart of competitiveness. Building on the cluster model, the plan sought to connect creative industries, districts and hubs to the larger knowledge economy in order to enhance the city's role as a creative center. The recommendations focused on strengthening the international aspect of the business climate, as well as issues including productivity and growth, economic opportunity and inclusion. The creation of a strategy for international event attraction was an additional aspect of the plan. This document represented what the city felt would be an achievable vision for the expansion and growth of Toronto's long term prosperity. In addition, it was meant to map out the plans to position Toronto as a leading global city for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Included in this

vision are the steps necessary to create, implement and sustain a culture of partnership, and institute economic growth that is sustainable. Importantly, the plan contained language that pointed to the integration of social wellbeing, city livability, and environmental stewardship into the goals of economic growth. Strengthening the economy and employment growth were seen as being a part of the overall health of the city and its residents, with inclusion, opportunity and diversity key elements of what would constitute success for Toronto's future. The Agenda for Prosperity was based upon four distinct areas for growth, which provided baseline actions and benchmarks through which to measure the success of each. This framework included: strengthening the business climate; developing an international brand; growing the creative economy; and engaging the workforce through inclusion and opportunities.

The strategy for improvement of the business climate looked at benchmarks such as increased employment through job creation; improvement of the employment infrastructure, specifically transit issues; and the importance of the construction industry to a growing municipality such as Toronto. Regarding the construction aspect of the plan, attention was paid to the value of commercial and industrial building permits for new construction as well as reinvestment activity. Regarding internationalization, the architects of the Agenda for Prosperity emphasized the importance of increased economic activity, specifically beyond North American markets, and especially in the emerging markets sector. This aspect of the plan's success would be measured by an increase in trade, most importantly in the targeted emerging markets, as well as the increased presence of international researchers and students within the city's education sector, and

growth in international tourism and its associated spending. Another area of development in the city's strategic plan involves a focus on residents and their access to employment opportunities. Entitled "One Toronto: Economic Opportunity and Inclusion," the recommendations involve providing equal chances to participate in the benefits of Toronto's growing share of the competitive global marketplace. The plan incorporates benchmarks of success in this area including an increased overall employment rate especially for aboriginal people, immigrants and seniors; the provision of education and take up of post-secondary learning, internship and apprenticeship programs; and the alleviation of poverty, specifically measured by gains in the median income and declines in the family and child poverty rates.

The Agenda for Prosperity presented an outline for creative city opportunities, particularly those related to growth and productivity through this sector. Following through on the integrated themes of competition and collaboration, the plan suggested ways both to anchor and expand the creative clusters within identified strategic industry sectors. Understanding that the idea of creative competition extends beyond the knowledge economy, the report discussed goals of increased productivity through investment in education, equipment and machinery. The plan identified innovation as a harbinger of success, to be achieved through additional resource allocation to research and design, the commercialization of innovative ideas, and attention to the importance of design across a variety of industries.



**Cultural policy implementation: cultivating a creative city.** Examples of the implementation of these priorities include the substantial increase of private sector sponsorship of temporal, or time-based events, and capital projects. Widely recognized annual events include Nuit Blanche, sponsored by Scotia Bank, and Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF), sponsored by Bell Canada and Blackberry, among others. TIFF is the largest public festival of its kind in the world measured in number of screenings, eclipsed only by the Cannes Film Festival in stature and prestige (Gertler et al, 2006b). An additional source of pride is the “Billion Dollar Cultural Renaissance” which resulted in the renovation of many of the city’s anchor institutions (Table 7). Cultural institutions and amenities are part of what makes Toronto the number one tourist destination in Canada, which together with sports, gaming and dining create opportunities both for residents and visitors to contribute to the city’s economic health (City of Toronto, 2011a).

Table 7

*Total Cost of Cultural Renaissance Buildings (Gertler et al, 2006b)*

Cultural Institution	Cost	Project Description
Royal Ontario Museum (ROM)	\$200-211 Million	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ 300,000 sq. ft. of renovated space &amp; 35 new galleries</li> <li>▪ New 'Crystal' Addition designed by Daniel Libeskind</li> </ul>
Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO)	\$207 Million	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Increase viewing gallery space by 40%</li> <li>▪ Façade redesigned by Frank Gehry</li> </ul>
Canadian Opera Company	\$181 Million	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ New home (Four Seasons Centre for Performing Arts) including 2,000 seat auditorium</li> </ul>
Royal Conservatory of Music	\$92 Million	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Restoration of Conservatory's Victorian home</li> <li>▪ New 1,140 seat concert hall + academic facilities</li> </ul>
National Ballet School	\$90 Million	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ New, state-of-the-art training facilities, blending restored heritage buildings &amp; contemporary architecture</li> </ul>
Roy Thomson Hall	\$24 Million	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Acoustic enhancements and increased versatility</li> </ul>
Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art	\$18 Million	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Increase exhibition space to almost 30,000 sq. ft.</li> </ul>

Sources: TO Live with Culture website: [www.livewithculture.ca/content/view/full/4821](http://www.livewithculture.ca/content/view/full/4821), Four Seasons Centre website: [www.fourseasonscentre.ca/faq/faq.htm](http://www.fourseasonscentre.ca/faq/faq.htm), Royal Conservatory of Music website: [www.rcmusic.ca](http://www.rcmusic.ca).

Significant private sector, federal and provincial investment in these initiatives provided a viable option to the city itself having to pay for these costly events and capital improvements. In May of 2002, the federal and provincial governments announced a funding initiative of \$233 million for cultural infrastructure (Gertler et al, 2006b). This investment served to leverage even more investment by philanthropic individuals and corporations and dramatically altered the physical landscape of Toronto's cultural assets. Toronto reaped the benefits of successful cultural strategic planning through increased tourism and the development of a strong urban cultural brand.

A hallmark of the planning process in Toronto is the integration of a public consultation element into each stage. This kind of open and inclusive procedure features city plans that are continuously updated with transparency ensured through an online presence including progress charts and all planning documents. Toronto realized that as a united city, it could compete not only with other cities in Canada, but also with cities in the United States and throughout the world. This realization and aspiration led to the desire to enter the global market, which inspired the creation of strategic plans to ensure the best chance at success. The city gauged its chances on a forceful entry into the knowledge economy, and through that choice focused on the use of creativity with which to shape its production model. Employing creativity as a strategic link to the broader goals of economic development and social inclusion was an innovative connection for Toronto. Although this kind of thinking had been more common in European cities, its incorporation into the urban planning context in such an embedded way brought the creative cities agenda into the forefront of city building (Gertler et al, 2006b).

## **Conclusion**

Toronto is in the process of cultivating a creative city, and the past decade has been the timeframe during which the majority of this very deliberate effort has transpired. What set the agenda for the city was the realization that the city could compete, not just across Canada but beyond it as well. City visionaries found that, in order to enter the global market, their planning had to be strategic. In addition to competing on the financial and revenue-generating fronts, Toronto's leaders took on another kind of challenge – that of fostering a livable city with a deep social ethos imbued within a variety of dimensions of urban life. In cultivating itself as a creative city that fostered innovation as well as competitiveness, Toronto was able to develop a distinctive brand that garnered attention globally, as well as excitement locally.

This frisson of new worldwide attention to the emergence of Toronto into the creative cities conversation gave the city the chance to grow into success and establish itself as a center for innovation. This became a part of the city's urban cultural capital, and helped it develop its strategic agenda to become a competitor in the creative economy sector. Investment in research and strategic planning that incorporated a creative city framework, coupled with the allocation of financial and human capital resources have meant that Toronto earned a place at the top of Richard Florida's Creativity Index (City of Toronto, 2008d). A number of initiatives have been undertaken by the city across a variety of industries to foster a creative city, promote culture and competitiveness and drive economic development.

These developments included many situations in which the municipal government saw its role as being involved in the creation and sustainment of cultural opportunities, and it often served as a convener of stakeholder partnerships. City workers offered advice as well as training, and many times provided non-monetary assets to organizations and individuals. City cultural personnel often worked with arts and cultural organizations trying to help them to survive and thrive through processes of planning, evaluation and benchmarking. Toronto put a priority on research, strategic planning, and the integration of feedback and suggestions from the community into planning documents, making them more than just academic exercises, but living tools for cultivating a creative city.

Strategies employed mirror economic development initiatives but incorporate a strong social equity premise focused on aspects of the cultural economy, which are a part of the public good, such as pride of place, heritage and national identity. In assessing the results of these strategic documents, numerous economic impact measurements were employed. However, there was a notable emphasis on quality of life for Torontonians, and the justification that residents deserve a city recognized for its creativity and culture with amenities in the arts befitting a globally competitive creative center. Through the development and implementation of strategic initiatives, the city has institutionalized the use of arts and culture as a means to enhance the quality of life for residents and visitors. In presenting and implementing this creative city framework, Toronto was able to broaden the powers of the municipal government, which resulted in the ability for the city to utilize previously unavailable economic development tools.

Although the City of Toronto is asset rich, it remains cash poor. On the municipal governance level, the city has borrowed strategies from the U.S. such as the adoption of tax strategies and the institution of user fees. However, tight fiscal constraints by the province of Ontario mean that many resources still remain at the provincial level. Toronto's economic development and cultural plans, as well as other planning documents created after amalgamation and updated regularly all identify this as a major roadblock on the journey to creating a truly empowered, creative, and competitive city.

## CHAPTER V

### TORONTO FINDINGS: THE LITTLE ENGINE THAT DID

#### **Introduction**

In this dissertation, I examine whether municipal cultural policy is related to the presence of arts and culture as a part of the urban toolkit in agenda setting within the economic development departments of Toronto and New York. Here I discuss key issues and themes and identify some initial ideas about the data. Finally, I offer a discussion regarding what was confirmed by the data and lessons that can be learned from Toronto. The conceptual framework allows me to present an understanding of what arts and culture mean, how it is manifest in value to each city, who is involved with this including all stakeholders, what cultural policy looks like, whether it is integrated with economic development, instances of this integration, and a discussion of the ways to understand any changes over the past decade (See Appendix A).

In Toronto, according to the 21 respondents interviewed, arts and culture in economic development was a manifestation of social value buttressed by an economic argument (See Appendix G). The provincial and federal governments, in underwriting the cultural renaissance wanted to enhance their commitment to social benefits and viewed the building up of Toronto as a valuable way to integrate these national goals on a municipal level. There was interest specifically in the manifestation of increasing supply to the social economy, including the social values of heritage, pride, and love of city and community. The decade of the 2000s in Toronto was exemplified as one in which social

benefits were tied to economic benefits. Six areas of findings emerged from these data (See Appendix H).

### **Findings: Toronto - Overview**

**Finding 1:** Toronto has been able to transform itself through arts and culture through the articulation of an economic argument and using studies and reports as tools with which to make this case. The perceived social value of arts and culture to the city is based upon a combination of cultural identity, civic pride and an inherent dedication to social welfare.

**Finding 2:** Over the last decade, the highly visible built environment of the cultural renaissance has overwhelmed the city. In addition, citywide festivals, public art and increased tourism have enhanced awareness of Toronto as a cultural place.

**Finding 3:** The Canadian federal government, the Province of Ontario, and the art community played a role in bringing the private sector to the table in building Toronto as a cultural center over the past decade. The combination of an entrenched municipal cultural staff and engaged mayor were a powerful team.

**Finding 4:** To compensate for its lack of economic power, Toronto has used research and reports as its main cultural policy tools, together with the integration of tax and zoning initiatives and adaptive reuse strategies.

**Finding 5:** Toronto utilized, empowered and implemented economic development using arts and culture as the keystone of its entry as a globally competitive cultural center.

**Finding 6:** Cultural policy and economic development are interconnected in Toronto in a mutually beneficial relationship.

### **Findings: Toronto – Presentation of the Data**

#### **Finding 1**

Over the past decade, Toronto has been able to transform itself through arts and culture through the articulation of an economic argument and using studies and reports as tools to which to make this case. The perceived social value of arts and culture to the City is based upon a combination of cultural identity, civic pride and an inherent dedication to social welfare.

This finding reflects interviewees' opinions in response to my queries about the meaning of arts and culture in Toronto and its manifestation in the social and economic contexts, as well as its role in community and city building. Respondents discussed their views on resident value, including pride of place, identity, and youth empowerment. Additionally, they responded to my questions through a discussion of heritage, economic justification for policy interventions and access to cultural offerings.

**Economic benefit: justification.** For these interviewees, economic benefit incorporated the cultural renaissance and city building, issues related to demand for arts and culture, making the economic argument, and the multiplier effect of arts and culture. Respondents discussed the need over the past decade to revive Toronto's economy and to contribute to economic growth through a variety of policy interventions, many of which



were deliberate and planned, while changes were seen as organic in nature. Respondents commented that they believed it was difficult to judge just how this revival happened, although many felt that it was driven by arts and culture and supported by tools including cultural mapping, strategic planning and reports.

Interviewees discussed the contribution of academics such as Richard Florida, who helped to articulate the economic benefits that would accrue through the kind of economic argument that noted the efficacy of arts and culture in strategic planning. When asked about the ways that Toronto justified the allocation of monies and the creation of policy interventions for arts and culture, respondents said:

*“People in the city realize that it is a larger part of the economy and the life [of Toronto].”*

–Michael Booth, Special Assistant for Culture to Mayor David Miller

*“In the last 10 years, there has been a focus on economic justification [for arts and culture] – the number of jobs, the money going to gross domestic product.”*

–Alida Stephenson, Policy Advisor, Arts and Cultural Industries, Ontario Ministry of Culture

*“It is easy to justify—we did it with the Toronto International Film Festival. It has millions of dollars in economic benefit. The evidence is there.”*

–Mitchell Cohen, President, Daniels Corporation, Real Estate Developers

David Miller, former mayor, discussed the fact that an emphasis on the economic benefits of arts and culture to Toronto was well articulated during his mayoralty.

*“My goal was to make Toronto more prosperous, more livable, and to have more opportunities. Arts and culture have helped on all levels. As it became accepted wisdom that arts and culture had an economic value, it became easier to succeed in bringing it in.”*

–David Miller, Former Mayor (11/2003-12/2010), City of Toronto

Several respondents pointed to the research conducted by Florida as being an important part of Toronto's ability to articulate the benefits of arts and culture.

**The Cultural Renaissance.** Many characterized the past decade as one that incorporated arts and culture into the architecture of the city in a creative way producing what many felt was a global “brand” for the city. The cultural infrastructure was mentioned, as it made the city a more interesting and beautiful place to visit and in which to reside, in addition to the benefits to future generations that this “cultural renaissance” would provide. In addition to the renovation of cultural amenities, many respondents talked about the numerous festivals and citywide cultural events initiated over the last decade. Discussing their opinions on the meaning of arts and culture, respondents said:

*“The big cultural infrastructure has changed perception. Now we have something to be proud about. Big international architects are building in our city.”*

–Elena Bird, Senior Policy Advisor in Economic Development, City of Toronto

*“There is more to see, to do, to experience. Artists are working internationally; the Toronto International Film Festival, Luminato; summer events. Buildings being written about – love them or hate them.”*

–Jenn Goodwin, Special Events Supervisor for Nuit Blanche, Economic Development and Culture, City of Toronto

*“We have Canadian Opera, national ballet, and lots of big-name theaters. We have large productions and big shows; this creates a brand. It is in the context of city building. Arts and culture exist in every community in the city. There are community productions and art galleries. There is so much diversity in Toronto.”*

–Randy McLean, Manager, Economic and Cultural Policy, Economic Development & Culture, City of Toronto

**Making the economic argument.** When queried about the ways that arts and culture bring money into the city, several respondents discussed the economic argument,

pointing to the ways it was championed by the municipal administration. One person focused on competition and jobs related to growth within Toronto.

*“There is the whole economic argument—Toronto International Film Festival brings in tens of millions of dollars. They have a clear economic argument, and at the same time Toronto is aiming to be one of the world's destinations.”*

—Judy Gladstone, Executive Director, CTV's Bravo!Fact (Foundation to Assist Canadian Talent)

Another discussed the importance of viewing arts and culture as an investment.

*“The key is to bring those who are not supporters into the table. We have framed the argument; it is a compelling reason.”*

—McLean

When talking about the economic benefits of arts and culture, respondents spoke about the multiplier effect as being of important, as was the ability of arts and culture to attract talent to Toronto. One person mentioned that real estate values within neighborhoods had risen, and several others shared their perceptions that a stronger arts and culture sector – both the cultural industries and nonprofit cultural organizations –had helped to support other businesses in the city. In addition to benefits accrued on an economic basis to Toronto, it was pointed out that the Province of Ontario and Canada itself have benefited from the growth of the city as a cultural destination and arts capital.

One respondent discussed the fact that the province saw arts and culture as an economic development tool in Toronto. Two respondents brought up challenges to the positive story of arts and culture's integration into the burgeoning city. One pointed out that the arts community was alienated from the economics conversation, and another mentioned problems with the creative city argument.

*“People realize that the arts are good for economics. Artists don't want to talk about that; that is, the economic value of arts and culture, but they are – more and more.”*

–John McKellar, Chairman, Toronto Arts Council; former Chairman, Canada Council for the Arts

*“The problem is that when the Rise of the Creative Class book came out, it showed arts and culture matter [and]... helps drive the economy. But it became this ‘Ha ha, we are great for the economy.’”*

–Kevin Stolarick, Associate Director & Research Associate, Martin Prosperity Institute, Rotman School of Management, University of Toronto

**Demand.** In answering my query regarding the role of demand, respondents mentioned the importance of signs of demand for arts and culture from the public -- both tourists and residents -- as justification for further funding by the State, including the municipality, the province, and the federal government. Tracking demand was a key dimension for the articulation of this case. Although the city had invested limited funding for events such as Nuit Blanche, many respondents felt that the public perception of these cultural interventions was important, since the people of Toronto were seen as voters and stakeholders. The role of the media in presenting a picture of arts and culture as a valuable and positive component was mentioned. Media was seen as putting a positive spin on their coverage of arts and culture, following the integration of the cultural argument made both by policymakers and academics. Cultural organizations also were seen as key participants in creating demand for arts and culture.

*“A lot of interest in arts and culture has enabled all those things to continue—festivals, theaters. Public demand drives it. It wouldn't be there otherwise.”*

–John Schoales, Senior Economic Policy Adviser, Entertainment and Creative Cluster Team, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture

Several respondents mentioned the way that, over the past decade, Torontonians had the ability to take advantage of increased numbers of arts and culture options. One thought that residents were becoming like New Yorkers in that they felt entitled to these cultural amenities and wouldn't want them taken away. Respondents for this study discussed the wide variety of amenities, such as festivals and museums, and the ability of residents to identify with their city as “movie town” and stage set. A few pointed to threats to ongoing demand, including a perceived problem that consumption of culture was not as high as it could be. This was coupled with challenges to tourism, as fewer U.S. tourists visited due to a higher Canadian dollar and the borders being harder to cross.

**Social benefit of arts and culture.** When asked to discuss the effect arts and culture have on the overall public good, respondents were very vocal about the numerous social benefits of arts and culture for cultural diversity, Canadian culture and heritage, pride of place, education issues, accessibility, and quality of life.

*“In Toronto, we don't talk about “tolerance.” We “embrace.” One powerful thing is the desire to experience other cultures—people want to see things.”*

—McLean

***Toronto's diversity—a city of immigrants.*** On the topic of who does benefit from the public good provided through arts and culture, almost all of the respondents emphasized that diversity was a key element in Toronto's identity. They talked about “cultural vibrancy” and the diversity of facilities, programs, and artists. One respondent mentioned the way that galleries, theaters and restaurants created a flourishing street life. Respondents looked at diversity and the city’s large immigrant population as a

distinguishing factor, as well as an asset. One interviewee commented that the efforts of the city to expand arts and culture offerings were noticed by the immigrant community. However, it was felt that their participation in arts and culture was much more grassroots and not as visible to the city as a whole. This was discussed in terms of the variety of diverse cultural festivals throughout Toronto.

*“Arts and culture play a cohesive role—they help to coalesce communities, bridge differences, and “tell our stories to ourselves and to the world. Arts and culture help bring our stories together to tell our common story.”*

–Rita Davies, Executive Director of Culture, City of Toronto

*“Cultural institutions have to appeal to diversity. It is part of Canada, part of Toronto.”*

–Mark Engstrom, Vice President, Royal Ontario Museum

Interviewees explained that this emphasis on Canadian cultural heritage includes artists and the creative class within the cultural industries.

*“In Toronto there is a certain nationalism with culture; protecting and fostering Canadian culture. Toronto is a center for that value. Anything done here or conceived here needs to be fostered.”*

–Schoales

*“I would love to see more of an appetite for more domestic [film and television] production. We don't have marketing dollars for domestic content.”*

–Sarah Kerr Hornel, Executive Director & CEO, Film Ontario

***Pride of place and identity.*** Regarding my inquiry as to the public perception of arts and culture, the image of Toronto as a cultural city is thought by these respondents to be tied to heritage and pride. Toronto often is portrayed in film and media, and these interviewees felt that it was part of residents' identity. The idea of Toronto's identity as a culturally vibrant place includes symbols that the city sends about social inclusion, and other positive messages signaling that Toronto values creativity. Several respondents

thought that arts and culture was seen as having a ‘feel-good’ message and story as well as being part of what these actors identified as a public good value that they viewed as inherently Canadian.

Several pointed to public arts and culture offerings as being freely available, with these respondents feeling that the notion of cultural public good was deeply embedded in the Canadian culture and heritage. Some interviewees discussed the tie between arts and culture and health and wellness, and their perception of the ability to break down barriers between people and art. They felt that the way that increases in land value due to Toronto being a more cultural city also could contribute to happiness and wellbeing.

*“It is Canada... the economic argument is being made. For the most part, “it is just the right thing to do” and arts and the cultural side—people say “okay!” The level of acceptance for the greater good in supporting the “Mosaic”—it is not a hard sell at all.”*  
—Stolarick

One respondent talked about volunteerism as something that contributed to the social good; specifically volunteerism in the arts and culture sectors. Another pointed to the way that arts and culture has been of value in bringing together a variety of ethnic groups.

***Education and youth.*** When asked about the beneficiaries of arts and culture interventions over the past decade, more than half of the respondents discussed the strategies that Toronto had implemented over the last ten years incorporating arts and culture as a way to build cultural identity, provide opportunities to experience arts and culture, and help youth in high-risk neighborhoods to engage with arts offerings. The educational opportunities in youth development programs that incorporate arts and

culture were seen as ways to provide access and social benefits to children and youth.

Under Mayor Miller, there were several initiatives implemented for young people incorporating cultural offerings, which were discussed by respondents.

*“There are lots of good connections to young people—arts and culture are a tool for youth empowerment and youth engagement.”*

–Miller

*“[Toronto uses] arts and culture as a tool for people to build communities. We have been effective in several areas; working with youth, finding identity, building common concerns.”*

–Alan Meisner, Social Planning Policy Analyst, Social Development Division, City of Toronto

**Accessibility.** Concerning my inquiry on public access to arts and culture, several respondents discussed the need for accessibility to arts and culture offerings and pointed to barriers to access that included both financial and time constraints. Prioritization of low-income neighborhoods was mentioned, which was an initiative incorporating arts and culture in order to reach out to outer area communities. Provision of low-cost or free events was touted as a way for broader audiences to participate in arts and culture events and exhibitions. Some of the barriers to access were discussed, including an inability to travel to downtown Toronto for events, intimidation (not knowing what to wear for cultural events), and too much demand limiting access to offerings.

*“There is one missing piece; that is, accessibility with all Torontonians... arts education and arts access. We are looking at access, outreach, and diversification, so that there is not just arts and culture for downtown.”*

–Jeff Melanson, Executive Director, National Ballet School of Canada and Special Advisor on the Arts to the Mayor of Toronto, Rob Ford



*Quality of life.* Concerning my inquiry on the meaning and role of arts and culture in the city, respondents discussed a variety of issues related to increased amounts of arts and culture in Toronto and their impact on the quality of life, including fostering engaged citizens, the development of a sense of pride, and the draw people felt to come and live in Toronto. This was seen as a dynamic process on a continuum, related to community building and pride of place. The inspirational quality of arts and culture was referenced by respondents, as were the ways that communities and individuals had the chance to express themselves through the arts. Interviewees pointed to community engagement, city building and chances for residents to get involved in cultural opportunities and to feel more connected to their city as being important aspects of the social benefit of arts and culture over the past ten years. One respondent mentioned the numerous festivals and fairs in Toronto as valuable ways for people to get to know each other and to experience themselves and their neighbors in a different context.

**Where social and economic benefits meet.** Participants cited innovation and creativity as exemplifying the intersection of the economic and social benefits of arts and culture. These include urban design in a community context through social planning, lives being affected by artistic experience, and municipal support for a more creative city. Another aspect of arts and culture development and offerings in Toronto, as well as in Canada in general, is a focus on fostering the creativity of local Canadian artists and cultural producers. One respondent discussed challenges in ensuring creative opportunities in diverse communities in addition to mainstream offerings. Another

mentioned the importance of facilities that foster creativity, such as places where artists can network and learn from one another, as being essential in Toronto's development.

*“Toronto is creative–this is where the arts are. One key element is that we support innovation and creativity. A creative Toronto was at the heart of the economic strategy–it was the number one priority for the arts.”*

–Miller

One respondent pointed to a challenge he perceives Toronto faces after the cultural building boom over the past decade, saying:

*“We have done enough with creativity on display–now we have to put it to work.”*

–Stolarick

**Summary of Finding 1.** Interviewees responded to my queries on the meaning of arts and culture in Toronto by discussing the social and economic benefits and broadening the discussion to include the meeting of the two. Within the context of economic impact, respondents discussed tourism, the multiplier effect, the benefits to all Torontonians, and the way that cultural assets had an impact on the city as a whole. They also spoke about the way that arts and culture were often politicized topics, the desire of the city to enter an international market, and the perception that the “cultural renaissance” had created a visible, multi-institution impact on the city's landscape. In the area of meaning and benefit on the economic side, respondents pointed to the way the city has been able to justify investment in arts and culture through economic impact metrics, and talked about the cultural renaissance as a physical manifestation of a financial investment by the city and its stakeholder partners. On the social benefit topic, interviewees touted Toronto’s diversity and brought forth the quality of life enhancements that they perceived

were strengthened by a greater exposure to arts and culture during the decade of the 2000s. Respondents acknowledged that programming for youth and underserved communities, issues of accessibility, and national pride and heritage were key arenas in which arts and culture had played a role in the past decade through the municipality's prioritization. Innovation and creativity were the places where social and economic benefit met, and Toronto was seen as exemplifying this blending with the caveat that the next phase of cultural development needed to be action-oriented rather than strategic.

## **Finding 2**

Over the past decade, the highly visible built environment of Toronto's cultural renaissance has overwhelmed the city. In addition, citywide festivals, public art and increased tourism have enhanced awareness of Toronto as a cultural place.

In answering my questions about the importance of cultural industries and producers and public good value to the city, respondents discussed a number of topics within this finding including: neighborhoods and community development; revitalization of cultural facilities and neighborhoods; cultural industries and cultural producers; tourism; events and festivals, and public art.

**Neighborhood and community development.** In response to my query about what the city had done over the past decade, interviewees pointed out that one of the priorities over the last ten years had been to bring cultural opportunities out of the downtown Toronto area into a variety of neighborhoods. This was, as they discussed, part of a community development initiative put forward by the municipal government.

Respondents talked about business improvement areas as a vehicle for bringing arts and culture into neighborhood community development opportunities.

*“Currently, one priority for the Toronto Arts Council is to push more programming into neighborhoods; [but] not at the expense of downtown. To make opportunities available locally, to increase audiences, and to bring art to people.”*

–Susan Wright, Director of Operations, Toronto Arts Council

**Revitalization.** Regarding my questioning on arts and culture stakeholder partnerships, many respondents talked about revitalization of neighborhoods and institutions as part of the continuum of arts and culture, and as exemplifying the partnerships in Toronto between the arts community and the real estate community. They saw arts and culture as a driver of real estate values, and that repurposing spaces and revitalizing abandoned or underused areas was something that had impact on the city in terms of legacy sites and buildings as well as bringing underused facilities and areas back to life. The revitalization both of cultural buildings and specific sites was seen by these interviewees as one of the main instances in which federal, provincial, and private sector monies were brought to bear in concert with one another.

*“Think of arts and culture as the “soul of the city.” We haven't just rebuilt these institutions—they have been revitalized. This adds to the public good.”*

–Engstrom

*“This is the role of arts and culture -- to revitalize communities, neighborhoods, and economies at the place level.”*

–Bird

**Cultural industries and cultural producers.** In reference to the meaning of arts and culture, the cultural industries in Toronto were seen by interviewees as incorporating both the for-profit sector, including film and television production, as well as artists and

those involved in the not-for-profit cultural community. Respondents in this investigation discussed the combined sectors employing a large number of people and creating an international market. Within the for-profit part of the sector it was thought that these industries provided high-paying jobs for Toronto's cultural workers.

*“It does bring money into the city. Toronto is the center of production of culture in Canada. We get revenues that aren't obvious—Canadian money—and it ends up in Toronto from cultural production.”*

—Schoales

With regards to my query about partnership building in the sector and the community of artists in Toronto, respondents discussed the way that young people across Canada were drawn to Toronto as a creative center. One interviewee talked about the need for better living conditions for artists, and another explained the way that he saw artists as being the center of the creative development of the city. Individuals interviewed for this investigation pointed to the existence of creative clusters, and how those involved both in the for-profit and nonprofit creative industries wanted to live in close proximity.

*“Highly educated people are here [with] interesting jobs. It is part of creating a creative culture. It drives economic growth. It is why urbanism happens. We want quality—it feeds into itself. Decent theater, museums; we can afford this. It all feeds into everything.”*

—Edith Myers, Managing Director, Pinewood Toronto Studios

A few respondents pointed to problems regarding the cultural industries and producers.

*“We are noticing a diminishment in film production. The Film Festival is doing well, but we are experiencing problems in terms of our currency being valued highly.”*

—Melanson

**Tourism.** On the topic of arts and culture and tourism, Toronto was viewed as a cultural hub and an international destination. It was thought that the city attracted people

through a variety of built environment and temporal offerings, such as the festivals and fairs that take place annually. Respondents discussed perceptions that tourists are drawn to the revitalized architecture and the programming offered by these institutions.

*“The arts and culture sectors tell our stories, represent our history. There are more opportunities for visitors to join us.”*

–Stephenson

Interviewees talked about problems within the tourism sector in Toronto, including the decrease in tourism from the United States due to a rising Canadian dollar and difficulty crossing the borders, as well as a perception by Toronto's residents that the city's energies were focused too highly on visitors and not enough on those who live there.

**Events and public art.** In discussing my question about what the city had done over the past decade regarding arts and culture, respondents spoke about major festivals put on annually by Toronto, including the Toronto International Film Festival and Nuit Blanche, as being events that drew people and brought revenue to the city. It was felt that these large-scale events showcased Toronto as a cultural center as well as a livable city.

*“It makes neighborhoods more livable, safer. Nuit Blanche -- 1 million [attendees], no criminal incident. This has done a lot for neighborhoods. Queen West–King Street. The feeling during Toronto Film Festival on the street; everyone was on the street. It feels like there is more going on!”*

–Booth

Two interviewees discussed the way that they perceived Toronto's residents to be highly involved in attending the festival offerings available annually in the city.

*“There are lots of people going to see the opera, and swarming the museums, and Cirque du Soleil. The Toronto International Film Festival is just packed with people.”*

–Jerome Markson, Architect

Public art was thought to be an asset to the city, with installations in numerous neighborhoods. This was seen as a way to reengage residents, to provide a bridge between the citizens and the artistic community, and to invigorate conversation and get youth involved. Respondents discussed the way that art in public places could serve to inform residents of the municipality’s dedication to culture and creativity.

*“Putting art on display sends a signal. It is not enough on its own, but it can play a role in attracting people. It has helped a lot in sending the message [and] the signals that we value creativity.”*

–Stolarick

**Summary of Finding 2.** On the subject of what the municipal government had done over the decade regarding arts and culture and how this was manifest in the city, respondents pointed to neighborhood and community development, revitalization, cultural tourism, events, public art, and a focus on the cultural industries and cultural producers. Topics commented upon include interventions using arts and culture in priority neighborhoods, the revitalization and reclamation of city-owned cultural properties, the transformation of underused spaces and the efficacy of festivals in which the city had been a major player. They discussed the importance of drawing young creative workers, and the key role that cultural clusters played during the 2000s in addition to challenges faced by competitive cultural economy sectors such as the film industry. Cultural tourism was viewed as a way to generate revenue and offer the opportunity to tell the story of Toronto’s multicultural identity.

### **Finding 3**

The Canadian federal government, the Province of Ontario, and the art community played a role in bringing the private sector to the table in building Toronto as a cultural center over the past decade. The combination of an entrenched municipal cultural staff and engaged mayor were a powerful team.

This finding reflects respondents' views on queries about the individuals who and institutions that had been supportive of the use of arts and culture in urban revitalization during the decade under study. I asked them to discuss stakeholder partnerships both in the cultural community and among the private, public, and nonprofit sectors. A few people felt that more could be done as far as leadership in the arts and culture arena. There was a call for more input from recognized experts and a perceived need for individuals to take the spotlight and become the champions of culture.

*“It comes down to leadership. Where is the “Barry Gordy” of Toronto? The talent is there—we need to find the leadership.”*

—McLean

**The mayor and his staff.** Many of the respondents emphasized that former Mayor David Miller was a champion of arts and culture who, together with his administration, was a visible advocate of the creative economy.

*“My administration was championing the arts. We were free to do that. We have increased the funding every year; we made it a part of the conversation from the “bully pulpit” of the Mayor's office.”*

—Miller



Chief among those discussed as being key players in the administration was Rita Davies. Many respondents talked about her efforts as a spokesperson and champion of arts and culture in Toronto. One acknowledged the longevity of her work for the city as the chief cultural executive at City Hall. Few spoke about other departments within the economic development and culture division that have played a role over the past decade. One respondent talked about an entity called the Toronto Film Board, created by Mayor Miller, which serves as a consultative body with regards to the film industry, doing briefings for the municipality as a part of its role.

**Toronto's City Council.** City Council was viewed as an important organization, as well as being the body that was lobbied by nonprofit arts and culture organizations. Several councilors were mentioned as advocates for the creative cities economic argument. A number of respondents said that the municipal staff in the economic development and cultural division of City Hall played an advisory role.

*"In City Council, for the most part, there is a lot of "heavy lifting" regarding staff reports. We have to have a solid policy rationale, procedures, practices."*

–Lori Martin, Senior Cultural Affairs Officer, Toronto Culture, City of Toronto

When queried about the role of public perception on municipal cultural policy interventions, several individuals pointed out that public opinion was an important factor in decisions the City Council made over the past decade regarding arts and culture in economic development. Increased awareness on the public's part about Toronto's entry into the global arena as a cultural center was viewed as influential to Council.

*“The public is starting to be aware. Politicians who didn't get it have got it! We think there are a number of City councilors who support these things.”*

–McKellar

City Council was perceived as influenced by artists, advocacy groups, and political leaders, in addition to municipal staff and their reports. These advocacy initiatives involved lobbying for resources and other concerns of the cultural community. Besides bringing issues to City Council, artists and arts groups spent time talking with the Toronto Arts Council (TAC) about unmet needs. The TAC, one respondent said, formed an advocacy committee designed to do research in the cultural community.

*“Toronto has a very vital arts scene. They lobbied. They lobbied the mayor and the Council. They were effective in designing communities that were creative.”*

–Meisner

When talking about how arts and culture became integrated in the economic argument in Toronto, former Mayor David Miller said:

*“People accept it is an economic generator. It was part of the elite; now it is accepted as part of life. Advocacy of elected officials mattered.”*

–Miller

**Federal and provincial leadership.** Several interviewees pointed to the fact that Toronto as a municipality did not make a significant financial investment in the cultural renaissance as the federal government and the provincial government came to the table first in that regard. Private investment followed this initial government commitment.

*“There are limits to the city; they are not able to do large-scale capital projects. The province and the federal government can do large projects, driven by the upper echelon of the community.”*

–Booth

*“The municipality has no money. They did not put money into the billion-dollar Renaissance. It was federal and provincial money.”*

–Melanson

Two respondents discussed the fact that private sector funding for the cultural renaissance followed the federal and provincial largess. Early State investments in capital cultural projects led to significant donations from the private sector, with the city's role seen as drawing these numerous stakeholders together.

*“The investment of Toronto into this economic and social tool is not enough. We need funding from other levels of government. In Canada, the private sector follows the state.”*

–Davies

One respondent discussed the struggle for arts and culture to be valued as an economic argument among the numerous issues of concern both to the provincial and federal governments. This person spoke about the importance of the federal government's perception and articulation that culture was viewed as an essential part of Canadian national identity, heritage, and pride.

**The private sector.** I inquired of the interviewees who they perceived as important in supporting the integration of arts and culture into the city building agenda. In discussing the role of the private sector over the past decade in Toronto's development as a cultural center, interviewees spoke about the influence of wealthy individuals on provincial spending, wherein the private sector served as a resource to leverage funding. These respondents painted a picture of the decade as one in which the private sector came under the tent of the cultural renaissance, following a commitment by provincial and federal actors. They talked about how wealthy individuals “stepped up to the plate,” in

concert with corporate and business leaders and the cultural community. These agents of change in Toronto's cultural renaissance were the ones who championed institutional agendas, and respondents saw that there also was a role for the media in fostering a better understanding of the way that arts and culture could empower Toronto.

*“It is a group of cultural elites—they drive culture for the sake of culture, at a very high level. It is a balance of culture as being a very deliberate tool of city building.”*

—McLean

One of the thought leaders to whom many respondents referred was Richard Florida. In his role as a “champion of the creative class” in Toronto, Florida played an important part. Several interviewees pointed to a kind of transformation in thinking about the efficacy of the cultural sector, which they saw as spurred by Florida's research and writing as well the fact that he had made the city his home during the decade of the 2000s. Studies he conducted at University of Toronto’s Martin Prosperity Institute were discussed as having had an impact on provincial and municipal thinking about the power and promise of the creative sector.

*“Richard Florida's constructs—creativity and idea generation—are key. Talent is nurtured in the arts, and then goes on to business. They say that the assets in the firm walk out the front door at the end of the day. The rest of Canada benefits from creativity.”*

—Davies

**Corporate support.** Many respondents mentioned a number of private funders of arts and culture, including individuals and corporations. Talking about the capital campaign instituted by several of the cultural organizations, Mark Engstrom from the Royal Ontario Museum had this to say about those who led the efforts:

*“Local community leaders and donors—to an extent that has never been seen; the largest fundraising campaign in Canada. This is something new for Canada—a precedent to set.”*  
–Engstrom

Interviewees discussed the numerous citywide festivals, such as Nuit Blanche and Luminato, which secured some of their support from private sector funding.

*“Microsoft, Canon, Scotia Bank. They all have been fantastic. They have been superb. There have been some systematic business leaders.”*  
–Miller

Two respondents talked about real estate developers as leaders in arts and culture’s integration into the city’s economic development efforts.

*“Arts and culture plus developers equals financial success... arts and culture married with real estate development. It continues to create better value for Toronto; for tourists, and others. It creates economic value.”*  
–Cohen

One respondent pointed to the role of the media in covering the cultural renaissance, saying that influential writers told the public about a new phase of Canadian architecture taking place in Toronto. Extensive coverage of the cultural renaissance exemplified the way that greater media attention was being paid to urban space issues.

**Leadership and the arts community.** When answering questions about leadership, many interviewees emphasized that the arts community was a valuable and important part of the last decade’s dedication to arts and culture. Several respondents pointed to a younger group of artists who had taken on leadership roles as advocates for municipal interventions designed to benefit the cultural community.

*“We have a really sophisticated arts and culture community. It expects a lot. Individuals and the private sector–this has led the City in terms of quality of place, and artistic excellence of international quality.”*

–Bird

**Arts intermediaries and cultural institutions.** In response to my query about stakeholder partnerships, a few respondents mentioned collaboration among major cultural institutions as an important example of leadership. One indicated that the kinds of decisions fostered by these institutional priorities had led to the development of an opportunity for growth and expansion of the cultural built environment in Toronto.

*“[The] leaders at cultural institutions, led by the Royal Ontario Museum. Individual institutions themselves decided to embark on an ambitious track that has worked and transformed the level of public demand. These changes have not been public driven; more by internal priorities.”*

–Engstrom

Among nonprofit organizations discussed, Artscape stands out as being an important facilitator in the cultural sector. This arts intermediary was touted by numerous interviewees as playing a valuable role in the revitalization of neighborhoods.

*“The role of organizations like Artscape has been very important. In the last 10 years, they moved from being on the edge and the fringes to a group recognized as essential in the affordable and community housing-based organizations.”*

–Cohen

**Partnerships.** A variety of partnerships were discussed, including those among the government and the private sector, the artist community and arts intermediaries, and that between cultural organizations, individuals and the state. The role of partnerships in resource generation, and the “culture of collaboration” inherent in the municipality were emphasized. The city was viewed as a builder of relationships and convener of powerful

entities including the federal government, the provincial government, and the private sector. The importance of the cultural community as a partner was mentioned frequently. The role and value of stakeholder partnerships was a topic on which all of the interviewees commented.

*“The coffers of the government over the last 10 years have gotten tighter. The funding has radically changed. If you don't have demonstrated partnerships and public demand, it is unlikely that you will be supported by public sector or foundation funding.”*

–Stephenson

Examples of partnerships put forward included public-private organizations such as Canadian Businesses for the Arts, promotional partnerships to build interest in the city as a film production center, real estate/community partnerships, and university and college-based partnerships with the cultural industries, including film production.

*“There are a number of organizations that partner with the city staff. They tried to balance some investment in arts and culture versus other things, other priorities for the city. There is an economic return relative to other choices.”*

–Melanson

*“[The goal] is to bring the corporate people in. When an individual and the business community come in, it is heard very differently. Our approach has been on a continuing basis; it is about the ongoing relationship over time.”*

–McLean

One respondent talked about how Toronto had put together partners in projects to repurpose public spaces that provided cultural centers, examples of which include Wychwood Car Barns and the Brickworks.

*“When we have a partnership, there is magic that goes with the really rich vision... there are three things. One: the people or the place; two, the vision; and three, the money. If you have some really talented people, and the place, and a rich vision—the money flows!*

*The money is the easiest thing of all. The city brings troubled land, and the people, and our partners.”*

–Martin

Another talked about the importance of relationships in creating the city’s first Nuit

Blanche festival, saying:

*“Here, we have partners with institutions—large ones—and small institutions, as well as galleries. One million people attended last year. Scotia Bank was the sponsor.”*

–Davies

**Summary of Finding 3.** Individuals interviewed, when asked to comment upon leaders and stakeholder partnerships regarded Mayor Miller and his staff as key components of a leadership team that included the provincial and federal government and select private sector actors. Respondents talked about the public sector, including the Mayor, the cultural staff at City Hall, the Toronto Arts Council and the City Council. It was felt that there was an open dialogue on the municipal level, and that the city consulted extensively with the community in addition to bringing in experts in the field. On the provincial level, interviewees pointed out that over the last decade the Province of Ontario had given money, done research, and served as a powerful actor in its leadership position. Among those advocating for the arts community, several respondents discussed younger artists increasingly playing important roles.

The private sector was seen as following the federal and provincial government in taking on funding responsibilities regarding the cultural renaissance. Cultural institutions were mentioned as having played a vital part in initiating the strategic planning for the redevelopment of the built environment in the city. Partnerships among the various



sectors were seen as a vital component of the transformation of Toronto. Many interviewees viewed the role of leadership over the past decade as a key aspect of making the case for culture.

#### **Finding 4**

In order to compensate for its lack of economic power, Toronto has used research and reports as its main cultural policy tools, together with the integration of tax and zoning initiatives and adaptive reuse strategies.

In this finding, interviewees contributed to my line of inquiry about the municipality's justification for policy interventions using arts and culture, the role and importance of tracking, measurement and studies, and the process and outcomes of strategic goal setting and planning. When asked whether Toronto had tracked the impact of arts and culture over the past decade, respondents discussed research done by the city, including identifying growth industries, mapping cultural clusters and the creation of reports. Toronto was able to use data in understanding the sector when making cultural policy decisions in order to allocate scarce resources in the most efficient manner. Zoning policy was discussed as a resource the city made available to the real estate community, in addition to the use of city-owned land as collateral for projects in lieu of funding.

**Toronto's culture plans.** A belief in planning by the leadership of Toronto's municipal cultural staff led to the creation, in the early 2000s, of a culture plan. Many respondents pointed to this document and subsequent updates as being the heart and soul of the creative cities initiative. They discussed ways that these reports had been used to

persuade the political leadership of the efficacy of the documents' findings. One interviewee talked about how the cultural plan was integrated into the city's "official plan," becoming part of city governance. The comprehensive culture plans and periodic updates were presented regularly to the City Council. They were seen to be an integration of urban planning and the vision of numerous stakeholders from throughout Toronto's creative community who worked together to create and update these reports.

*"First, I really believe in planning—without a plan, you don't have a direction. The idea was connectivity in a 21st century creative framework."*

—Davies

An area of concern to several respondents, and one that was discussed in Toronto's culture planning documents was the issue of per capita funding for arts and culture by the City of Toronto. The cultural plan called for an increase of from \$13 to \$18 and eventually to \$25 per capita. Respondents acknowledged that this was an issue that was moving forward slowly. City cultural employees used research to identify the lag in per capita funding by Toronto in relation to other cultural centers in North America.

*"Another priority is trying to increase funding—that is always a priority. In 2011, we are at \$18 per capita of arts funding. We are wanting to increase it to \$25 by 2013."*

—Wright

**Rebuilding Cultural Toronto.** I questioned specific policy interventions Toronto implemented over the decade related to arts and culture. Topics discussed in the physical manifestation of cultural policy and planning included cultural renaissance rebuilding, use of city-owned space and financial resources, and revitalization and adaptive reuse of city-owned properties. Interviewees mentioned heritage sites and repurposed areas such

as the Distillery District and the Pinewood Film Studios. They talked about the need for the city to focus on affordable art spaces for the cultural community, including live-work space for artists, and the challenges to smaller and midsize arts organizations not a part of the Big Build of the cultural renaissance.

*“Over \$1 billion, 2002–2008 [was] invested in the cultural infrastructure. That really changed the cultural footprint of the city.”*

–Bird

A number of respondents talked about ways that Toronto was able to leverage the assets it did have including land that needed to be remediated and knowledgeable municipal staff members who helped strategize ways to put the pieces together.

*“First, my piece is the retention and creation of affordable space. A theme is the adaptive reuse of heritage buildings”*

–Martin

*“The city created an opportunity, saying, “Come build a film studio and we will give you lands to make money.” Therefore, part of the [Pinewood] Studio is owned by the City of Toronto.”*

–Myers

**Municipal cultural strategies.** In response to my query as to the goal of arts and culture policy strategies, there was discussion of ways the city had integrated a diversity of ideas in working to leverage its contribution to the cultural strength of Toronto. Over decade, cultural policymakers implemented interventions with components addressing tax issues and zoning parameters. An example was the way that the city presented a tax on billboards as a method of securing funding for arts and culture initiatives.

*“Recently, the billboard tax was set up to be a source for funding for the arts. Whether that will happen, we don’t know. It is important that we used this policy intervention for taxing commercial entities to support noncommercial ones.”*

–Miller

Another respondent pointed to tax incentive programs used by the city to leverage creative industry investment, saying:

*“We created tax increment equivalent grants. These ensure that incubators, convergence sectors and cultural industries were part of this. That was big in terms of trying to start to use traditional economic development tools in the creative sector and incubate creative sector industries.”*

–Bird

Relationships with real estate developers were mentioned, specifically Section 37, a zoning incentive designed to encourage developers to include arts and culture spaces.

*“There was zoning there for the developers. Developers could re-imagine the area and also create live/work/studio space. Now, we are developing a new performing arts space.”*

–Cohen

**Data gathering.** In response to my query about measuring impact, tools such as the creative city reports, cultural mapping, briefings and studies, and tracking the use of arts and culture were seen as a resource in planning for the future. These tools were discussed as a part of strategic planning, and impact studies were viewed as a way to compensate for the lack of resources. The city was seen as giving time, expertise and synopses of this research toward the cultural city building efforts rather than a wealth of financial resources. This was viewed as useful both to the city and the cultural community, as well as serving as an important resource for meetings with the Province. It was acknowledged that, in addition to the quantitative measurements generated by these

data gathering tools, qualitative results were an important facet of community building. An additional aspect of cultural tracking involved audience statistics and ticket sales, data used as part of the Canadian Arts Database, a national database wherein all not-for-profit organizations of a cultural nature submit financial and tracking information. Studies done by the Province of Ontario and the federal government were mentioned as contributing to the economic impact measurement of arts and culture. These governmental bodies surveyed the attitudes of Canadians regarding arts and culture as well as the impact and role of the media sector on the province of Ontario.

*“There are all kinds of statistics—the answer is in the statistics. I think cultural mapping tied to cultural policy is going to be really helpful going forward.”*

–Martin

*“We use cultural mapping to map culture. We have more tools, more data and more experience. We have shifted from a sector approach to cross-disciplinary. We are place-based, interdepartmental, and working with other departments together to make something happen.”*

–Bird

Two respondents identified challenges in the data-gathering process, one talking about resources necessary to do sophisticated studies and the other discussing the need for qualitative measurement of cultural livability.

*“There are no resources for full-blown economic impact studies; just for occasional things.”*

–Schoales

The film industry was pointed to as a part of the creative economy that uses tracking and measurement extensively. One interviewee touted the film industry, designated by the province as a priority industry, as the first commercial cultural sector to

do a robust economics study. Another emphasized that data gathering was an important asset to the media industry, in addition to being a critical aspect of tracking attendance and the multiplier effect for large festivals in Toronto.

Regarding the nonprofit cultural organizations, one interviewee talked about the need for other ways of measuring success besides attendance, saying:

*“We look at interest, but when it is a smaller organization—a community-based organization—there is another way of judging. Audience is important, but not everything.”*

–Davies

In answering questions about any change in the polis’ perception of the efficacy of arts and culture, several respondents mentioned studies, such as one by the Toronto Arts Council, which found that the public perception of arts and culture had changed. They pointed out that there was greater awareness, arts and culture had gone from a perception as elitist to part of everyday life, and citizens seemed to take it for granted that Toronto was a cultural center. Interviewees felt that the results of this study indicated that residents perceived arts and culture to be a normal part of life in the city.

**Summary of Finding 4.** When asked about the means through which the municipal government justified expenditures on and involvement in arts and culture interventions, respondents commented upon Toronto’s extensive cultural plans, strategic framework, and robust data gathering. The cultural plans were seen as key documents in fostering a creative cities plan as well as being important in measuring progress during the decade of its implementation. Interviewees referred to the way the city leveraged

assets of land and human capital, and its ability to implement consensus building during the actualization of the cultural renaissance. Important municipal tools cited included briefing documents, cultural mapping and studies tracking the economic impact of interventions, in addition to the wealth of creative city reports and updates.

### **Finding 5**

Toronto utilized, empowered and implemented economic development using arts and culture as the keystone of its entry as a globally competitive cultural center.

This finding reflects the data gathered from my query about the ways that arts and culture have benefitted the city, and whether the goals of policy interventions had been achieved. Respondents discussed their perceptions of the challenges that will face Toronto in maintaining the momentum of the cultural renaissance going forward.

**Entering the global cultural competition.** In answering questions concerning municipal policy within the arts and culture footprint, these actors talked about economic development with an arts and culture bent as being a key part of the cycle of Toronto's growth over the decade. They discussed ways the arts and culture sector had helped industries relocate to Toronto by offering cultural amenities, and how the economic development framework with a context for cultural policy creation provided both a financial and a creative framework. Interviewees pointed to the economies of scale afforded by having the two functions integrated into one division, with one vision of Toronto's success as a global cultural center. Some emphasized that the culture plans for Toronto were developed using an economic development and culture lens, and that the

cultural policy point of view became the agenda for economic development. All reports were done in-house and staff driven. This vision was approved by City Council, and its development was inclusive of decision-makers within and outside of city government.

*“Arts and culture is a fast-growing sector, and has become entrenched in economic development within the city. Also, the fact [is] that Toronto has a number of serious creative clusters. There are lands now for the film industries.”*

–Stephenson

*“It is important for the city and province to think about entertainment as an economic driver, and also to act as a forum for discussion of cultural ideas and debates.”*

–Engstrom

Several respondents recognized that there was an important component of economic development and culture’s integration at City Hall; that is, making the case for culture to the public so that there was widespread support of this initiative. Since there were many competing agendas for public attention and municipal prioritization, this blended department was seen by respondents as needing to articulate its importance.

*“The true essence of arts and culture—it is the true essence that is about public perception of its value. The money gets moved around the table if the public is willing to spend money on it.”*

–McLean

*“It is a ‘good news’ story. Rather than offsetting a crisis, [which can be] a stigma to social programs, the arts is a way of creating a positive story that is different. It is hard to articulate.”*

–Wright

The focus of the integration of these functions was seen by the respondents as enabling Toronto to compete on the global level as a cultural center. Several touched this goal, talking about the cultural industries, including publishing and broadcasting that made



Toronto their home. The recognition that Toronto needed to use arts and culture events and amenities with which to compete resonated through making the economic argument.

*“Toronto has used arts and culture as a tool in the center of the cultural renaissance. There has been a complete transformation. Arts and culture played a central role in making our city a destination and a strong economic place.”*

–Cohen

*“There has been one goal—to establish Toronto as the cultural capital.”*

–Melanson

**Challenges.** Several respondents articulated a number of concerns related to the past decade’s integration of arts and culture in economic development, including worries about demand, lack of funding, challenges to small and mid-sized cultural organizations and a continued perception by the public of the arts as elitist. The cultural renaissance was seen to have both positive and negative implications. On the plus side, the new architecture was viewed as a strong driver of tourism, and the interesting new spaces that were created were thought to be important to Toronto’s identity as a center of creativity.

It was noted that the engagement of the entire creative community and lack of arts education were seen as problem areas. There was a perceived polarization regarding politicians’ views of arts and culture, and an ongoing debate among various factions of the city, province, and federal government regarding arts and culture. Some respondents spoke about the need to target diverse populations of the city and mentioned issues about class divisions, pointing out that wealthier Torontonians may have different perceptions of and access to arts and culture. The realities of the way that Toronto's amalgamation in the late 1990s brought wealthy city center residents together with less-monied suburban

dwellers was seen as a potential challenge in terms of the articulation of the importance of arts and culture to various resident stakeholders. An additional challenge concerned the attention span of the public, which respondents felt went in cycles. The cultural renaissance had captured the public's attention over the past decade through a focus primarily on large cultural institutions. Interviewees warned that priorities might change for the public, which may lead to a focus on different concerns that may direct attention away from Toronto's aspiration towards being a global cultural center. It was felt that this may have an impact on residents' consumption of culture, and that it would be important to find a key to stimulate both awareness of and demand for culture going forward.

I inquired as to the role of demand in the provision of arts and culture offerings in Toronto. Issues raised included generational attitudes towards the "classic" arts, challenges to motivating consumption by residents, and justification for continued investment of time and money in sustaining initiatives put in place over the past decade.

*"The demand for cultural content is dramatically up. The consumption and creation of culture is up. How do we help? The old model doesn't work. We are overbuilding capacity."*

–Melanson

The lack of municipal funds was seen to be a problem. One respondent pointed out that Toronto faced competing interests for limited resources. Another mentioned the perception that the city was only interested in projects that would return a financial gain.

*"Toronto is an arts and culture city; it is not funded highly enough."*

–McKellar

Interviewees talked about the need for dialogue between policymakers and the cultural community, and the importance of integrating local arts producers and midsize organizations into the cultural renaissance.

*“The physical renaissance—there are important gaps. The small to mid-sized nonprofit companies need rehearsal and performance spaces. There is not enough of that.”*

–Miller

Two respondents voiced their concerns about the perception that the cultural initiatives were not perceived as the purview of all Torontonians.

*“One concern I have is that there have been a group of elites that push the arts agenda. It has to be broad-based to succeed.”*

–Miller

**Summary of Finding 5.** Respondents discussed the way that the integration of economic development and culture into one division made it easier to work together on this city building initiative, established a culture of autonomy and collaboration and provided a place where financial and creative goal setting could exist together. Interviewees talked about the fact that having these two functions integrated together meant that justifications for policy interventions for arts and culture were made on economic and social bases. On an economic basis, they pointed out that this integration allowed access to partners outside of city government who had financial resources and in the social area this division focused on priority neighborhoods and heritage issues.

Individuals responded to my queries about the use of policy interventions to support arts and culture by referring to a number of relationships and programs. This “cultural policy ecosystem” incorporated other areas of Toronto's city government such

as tourism policy and residents' policy through the development of initiatives including Live with Culture and Nuit Blanche. The integrated division of culture and economic development addressed long-term goals such as the creation of affordable cultural spaces and the retention of these spaces. The decade saw Mayor Miller as a part of the cultural scene and the architect of this integrated department. Economic development and culture served as resources for one another, for the city, and for stakeholders – all within a culture of creativity. The screen-based industry had an office at City Hall and was a part of Toronto's interest in being a resource for that sector of the creative economy.

### **Finding 6**

Cultural policy and economic development are interconnected in Toronto in a mutually beneficial relationship.

This final finding reflected the interviewees' reflection upon the eventful decade under study. They responded to my queries about public perception, cross-collaboration and demand with views on the next steps in Toronto's journey to world status as a cultural production and consumption center. Part of my inquiry centered upon the city's action over the 2000s in the culture policy arena, including actions, policy entrepreneurs and strategic goals. The role of policy in the urban cultural ecosystem of Toronto was seen as indicative of an investment by the city in arts and culture. This integrated relationship was viewed as necessary in order to compete on an international level with the handicap of a relatively small amount of financial resources. Utilizing people as its assets, Toronto made an impact through the creative class argument. They were able to

build an identity, create partnerships with the cultural community and the creative industries and utilize the talent of the cultural sector. Incorporating policy interventions in the areas of land use, housing and development, public space, education policy and economic development over the last decade, this powerhouse department pulled policy from 'behind the curtain' and thrust it into the public spotlight.

Through the strategy of making the case for culture using economic development arguments, Toronto's entry into the global cultural marketplace presented urban economic development policy as “cultural policy.” With Mayor Miller as spokesperson, this was a decade where priorities included the identification of economically challenged neighborhoods, bringing arts and culture to low income areas, and as a policy of inclusion in the cultural landscape. Large-scale interventions on a temporal basis, such as Nuit Blanche, Heritage Days, and the citywide initiative “Live with Culture” instituted creative urban programming as the kind of cultural policy that was visible on a community level. The integration of artists, individuals and cultural organizations, together with some financial investment from Toronto's City Council was seen as helping to build the city as a “cultural amenity.” The manifestation of this symbiotic relationship—culture and economic development—was a key to the transformation of Toronto. Respondents spoke enthusiastically about this exciting opportunity, especially those who worked at City Hall. In talking about the decision to integrate the two functions of cultural policy and economic development, Rita Davies said:

*“There was serious discussion. Should arts and culture be in recreation? Social? The paradigm is that economic development and culture are so connected; now we are one division. We are separate parts, but one division.”*

–Davies

Discussing ways the division works together, both to come up with ideas and to ensure continued support on the federal and provincial level, one respondent commented:

*“You end up with a small group who have not just the idea, but access to political-level individuals; also, people with some kinds of resources to develop these ideas, through a dialogue. The key is being open to good ideas.”*

- McLean

Relationship building was seen as a critical piece to this structure in city government.

*“As a sector it is a healthy part of the city. We want to collaborate, reach across sectors, enhance and ensure that we work with other sectors.”*

–Melanson

It was acknowledged that one of the responsibilities of this blended division was to articulate the value of these cultural policy interventions to the public, as well as to those in the business community and politicians. One respondent mentioned that there was a plethora of other concerns policymakers could focus upon, making it essential that the case for culture be made on a continual basis.

*“Public perception of the value of arts and culture has a big impact on whether policies can be implemented. It is a big debate in Canada. If a politician says the wrong thing, he can change his fortunes.”*

–Schoales

*“A top priority is to raise the collective consciousness of the importance of arts and culture. Arts and culture exist in many ways, but I don't think people understand the value in their lives.”*

–McLean

*“You've got to fill the funnel, and if the “bums aren't in the seats,” if people don't care, it would be really easy to slash budgets and get a lean cycle. Quality of life is not as good—there are always potholes to fix and other ways to spend money.”*

—Martin

**Post-cultural renaissance.** Individuals interviewed talked about their concerns in looking towards the future, specifically discussing what might be the next step for Toronto. They raised issues such as the need to focus on programming and exhibitions, in addition to strengthening the mission for the city's cultural institutions. There was discussion about the need to integrate diverse communities, and to reach out to the technology sector within the context of the creative city lexicon. Respondents acknowledged that the journey to solidify Toronto's place as an important cultural city on a global scale would continue to require public attention, the cultural community's commitment, and the city's unflagging dedication.

*“The building phase is now over. The question is, what is the next step? How do you build the programming and the exhibitions? That is the transformation. Now, get away from the construction; look at the mission and new visions and communities.”*

—Engstrom

*“People have become more aware of arts and culture. The journey is not over; there are things we need to do a lot on.”*

- McLean

**Summary of Finding 6.** This finding presented respondents' views regarding prioritization by the city, strategic goal setting, and implementation of arts and culture interventions within the economic development context. Interviewees related how the integration of economic development and culture was achieved, and touted its effectiveness over the decade. The development of relationships across the policy spectrum was viewed as important to effective strategy creation and implementation.

Concerns were voiced about the city's ability to continue the momentum generated by the cultural renaissance. Issues included the generation of content, engagement of diverse communities and building and sustaining demand for creative offerings. Interviewees acknowledged the challenges ahead for Toronto in maintaining and growing its place in the global knowledge economy, and felt that it was essential to retain a focus on keeping the city's burgeoning creative cities movement strong.

### **Discussion: Toronto as “Cultural Camelot”**

The past decade in Toronto was the manifestation of a kind of “perfect storm,” in which cultural policy, economic development, and State and private support played highly visible roles. Contributions both of financial resources and intellectual property were made in unprecedented quantities. Stakeholders in these domains took on exceptional leadership functions in the city's physical and social being. The process began with recognition by the leading cultural organizations of problems with aging infrastructure and decreased demand. This was coupled with the municipality's merging of cultural policy and economic development functions in addition to the production of cultural planning documents. These factors, as well as the city's interest in and desire to enter the global marketplace through the knowledge economy, together with the fact that Richard Florida made Toronto his home brought media attention and worldwide interest to the creative sectors in Toronto. The fact that the private sector had been at such arms length in funding and involvement in the creative economy meant that the time was ripe for them to participate financially and as visible leaders on the corporate, foundation and



individual levels. The federal and provincial funding gave the cultural renaissance the imprimatur of the State and led the way for the private sector to follow suit.

Citywide initiatives, festivals and fairs such as Nuit Blanche, Live with Culture, Luminato, and Toronto International Film Festival drew the money, attention, interest and excitement of residents and tourists alike. Regular updates to the culture plan, in conjunction with initiatives designed to provide some live/work space for artists and incentives for the real estate developers and cultural industries such as film rounded out the agenda, making decade a kind of “Cultural Camelot” for Toronto. Over the last decade, Toronto has been – on the municipal level – a convener and a facilitator. Arts and culture are seen by city dwellers as a normal part of life, and now seem to be taken for granted. Respondents feel Toronto is part of a worldwide competition to participate in the knowledge economy, and that this attracts members of the creative sector to the city.

Toronto did surveys, conducted studies and put together partnerships to create a cultural community. Why did they go to all of this effort? Through these reflective and integrative processes, the city was able to enhance the social value of arts and culture and create economic value, combining social purpose and economic purpose. This decade was about more than making money—it was about the manifestation of deeper values, inherently Canadian values that spoke to a sense of the national pride. Since the State, evidenced by the provincial and federal funding was the leader in financially supporting this initiative, this kind of investment was able to feed on itself through the multiplier effect. This “perfect storm” created a cultural ecosystem that was greater than the sum of

its parts. First, the leaders of the major cultural institutions acknowledged the challenges inherent in the dual issues of run-down facilities and low demand. Second, a mayor was elected who had run on a cultural platform and was arts-friendly. Third, there was an embedded cultural staff on the municipal level, actors who were very interested in research and produced comprehensive reports and plans. Fourth, academics, specifically Richard Florida, put forward arguments that focused on the creative class and the knowledge economy as a driver of urban development. These were the ingredients of the perfect storm.

The reasons this conflagration succeeded include the fact that this cultural renaissance had its roots embedded in social policy and social value, with qualitative underpinnings and echoes of Canadian cultural identity. In addition, it enhanced national pride, promoted tourism, gave Toronto international market status and contributed to Torontonians' social wellbeing. As a part of the messaging used in this creative cities campaign, diversity was a key element and mechanism for conveying “punch lines” of pride and economic value to residents. This was a tactic the city appeared to employ to encourage the international residents to resonate with the ways that they fit in with an increasingly international city. The municipality, over the last decade, seemed to be in touch with its constituency. They did not appear, according to respondents, to have done things arbitrarily. The city was seen as being in tune with economic value and social value and – importantly -- the meeting of these two, as embodied within and linked through innovation and creativity. Through the implementation of the cultural renaissance, Toronto was able to create economic benefits and enjoyed the outcomes of

the multiplier effect. This included examples such as the Toronto International Film Festival as well as other successes within the commercial and nonprofit cultural industries. Since the expenditure by the provincial and the federal government was viewed as an investment in cultural infrastructure, cultural assets and cultural amenities it was not surprising that these stakeholders, together with the private sector were interested in spurring economic development.

What was surprising was the strong relationship indicated by the interviewees between social and economic goals, discussed by the respondents as being important to all of the players in the creation of Toronto's Cultural Camelot. This was a case of mutual interests among stakeholders, as opposed to competing interests. These actors, organizations, institutions and corporations worked together in creating what could be viewed as a kind of "Pareto improvement" to the City of Toronto in which the city's multiple stakeholders were made better off, without any one of them being made worse off. The cultural renaissance could be viewed as a positive externality, in that residents of Toronto receive the benefits of a more visually attractive, culturally diverse and re-energized city. This all circles back to the initial support by the State through the federal and provincial government, which branched out to the private sector from there.

Following is a discussion of my findings about Toronto with comments in defense of the efficacy of each. First, Toronto's transformation over the past decade using arts and culture, based upon an economic argument arrived at through studies and reports, was seen as a combination of social value and economic value. Interviewees felt that the

outcomes of stakeholder investment in arts and culture had resulted in improvements that benefited not only the city but also its residents. Conversely, these interviewees did not indicate that there had been stagnation during this decade, nor did they talk about an absence of interest by the municipal government in social good or economic benefit. Second, my next finding showed that the cultural renaissance had overwhelmed the city, and that tourism as well as citywide festivals and public art had enhanced the awareness, both by residents and on a global scale, of Toronto as a cultural city. I say that the cultural renaissance “overwhelmed” the city’s focus because my analysis of the data shows me that the “big build” was not spread out throughout all areas of the city but rather was concentrated to certain parts. Respondents discussed the way that these cultural offerings were not accessible to all and talked about challenges inherent to arts and cultural organizations regarding their being able to provide content for these newly renovated houses of culture. I surmise that awareness of the cultural renaissance has been enhanced since interviewees indicated that there was a broad knowledge, both citywide and internationally, of Toronto's increased visibility as an arts and culture center.

My third finding discusses the role of leadership and stakeholder partnerships and points to the federal and provincial governments as well as the art community as being the key players that brought the private sector in as partners. The data indicated that the mayor and the long-term municipal cultural leadership were powerful allies. This was corroborated through several pieces of evidence. My research showed that the Canadian State was open to the argument made by a powerful cultural community in Toronto led by the executives of the key institutions. Toronto's private sector, including individuals

and corporations, was healthy and receptive to being asked to participate. Respondents overwhelmingly discussed the mutually beneficial goal setting that transpired at City Hall during the decade with the mayor being supported, and at the same time guided by the leadership from important municipal employees.

Fourth, research and reports were the key cultural policy tools employed over the last decade augmented by tax, zoning, and land-use policy. Interviewees saw the city's cultural workers as wanting to be positive and helpful. Respondents pointed to how municipal representatives used the tools to which they had access to bring cultural policy to life through the institution of events including Nuit Blanche and campaigns like Live with Culture. Projects that reclaimed decrepit lands, such as Wychwood Barns and the Pinewood Film Studios were viewed as examples of the city doing what it could with what it had. My fifth finding pointed to the way that Toronto leveraged its seemingly unique blend of cultural policy and economic development as it entered the global knowledge economy in an aspirational way. I found that the two areas identified strengths and assets that the other did not have. Respondents felt that in the municipality of Toronto, arts and culture had learned the economic development vocabulary and economic development specialists used arts and culture as a kind of "Trojan horse" with which to make changes in the landscape and financial power of the city. The findings indicated that, in Canada the economic argument had to be tied to the social value paradigm. My last finding discussed the interconnection of cultural policy and economic development. In addition to the content of interviews conducted for this study, I observed that these two functions share the same office space at City Hall. The physical proximity,

common goal of creating a cultural city and lack of financial power gave the functions of cultural policy and economic development the conditions needed to form a tight bond.

The past ten years in Toronto saw the creation of a powerful municipal department, called Economic Development and Culture, in which the often-dissimilar policy objectives of these two domains were blended to an extraordinary degree. Dependent on one another to fulfill the promise of the “Cultural Camelot” created by Toronto's entry onto the creative cities scene, this distinct department produced an innovative and influential new paradigm for city building. In Toronto, cultural policy appears to be embedded in economic development, and in presenting a public face to this symbiotic relationship, put forward a friendly and open demeanor. Behind the curtain this was a savvy and competitive team, which was strategizing and planning for the achievement of its highly-calculated objectives.

As a contrast to the ebullience of the decade, the political infrastructure and the enduring power of the cultural renaissance may be in jeopardy. On the physical level, issues related to the quality of program offerings in these behemoth, renovated spaces is a concern. On the demand side, the problems stemming from a weakened U.S. dollar in relation to the Canadian dollar coupled with slower border crossing time has led to a diminishment of U.S. tourists to Toronto. Film and television production in Toronto has slowed, primarily due to the stronger Canadian dollar and more competition for production worldwide. The cultural component of the municipal policy domain within economic development could increasingly be challenged as a change in mayoralty

questions the efficacy of increasing funding both to the nonprofit and for-profit components of the creative sector. The two functions of cultural policy and economic development could be pulled apart just as easily as they were integrated together. Because Toronto's private sector is newly involved as champions of culture to the extent they have been over the past ten years, they may not be willing to advocate strongly on the municipal, provincial and national levels to protect the fruits of the decade regarding cultural policy. Additionally, the city needs to build and sustain the immigrant demand for arts and culture. Since immigrants make up nearly fifty percent of Toronto's residents, providing education, uncovering interest, and stimulating demand for arts and culture within that sector of the community will be an important area of focus in the future.

## CHAPTER VI

### NEW YORK CITY: THE CREATIVITY MAGNET

#### Introduction

The diverse nature of New York City's population, 40% of whom are foreign-born provides a wealth of cultural multiplicity. Not only are New Yorkers themselves diverse; in addition the ethnic and cultural melting pot manifests itself in the areas of arts and culture, cuisine and the many rich experiences that draw visitors and retain residents. The last decade posed some difficult challenges for New York, chief among them being recovery after the attacks of 9/11. Although it is challenging to separate the effects of the devastation of 9/11 on New York from problems stemming from an economic downturn that took place during that decade, there were some significant results observed after this event (Eisinger, 2004). These include changes in intergovernmental relationships on the federal, state and municipals levels, a focus on the hospitality and entertainment industries to spur recovery, and the integration of security measures in the built environment through strategic urban planning and architectural design.

Despite many obstacles, the City of New York was able to rebound to once again be a cultural magnet, drawing tourists from throughout the country and the world, and it remains an economic engine with considerable financial power. The ascent and longevity of the mayoralty of Michael Bloomberg has brought a new approach to the resolution of some of the challenges New York faces. The creative industries have been a source of revenue, civic pride, and attraction to national and global tourists. Bloomberg has



recognized the power of New York's cultural institutions and offerings as a draw for visitors and has acknowledged role they have served as key components of the city's recovery over the past decade. In a statement about the importance of the cultural sector to the vitality of the New York City economy, Bloomberg declared, "Tourism is our replacement for industry," reaffirming his position as an advocate for the arts (Cultural Institutions Group, 2011).

After 9/11, New York City implemented a marketing strategy that had at its heart the wealth of its arts and cultural attractions, both large and small. It was through this focus that the city was able to regain its competitive edge and lure tourists, business travelers and companies back to the metropolis. Creative industry clusters, including arts and culture producers as well as sectors such as fashion, media and technology, publishing, and film and television production figured into the regeneration of New York after the catastrophe of 2001. The various aspects of design, production and retail sales and marketing made up a cycle of productivity that served as an engine with which to engineer the recovery. Much of the benchmarking and analysis of the major arts and culture initiatives of New York City's municipal government has been done by nonprofit think tanks and advocacy organizations. These entities monitor and describe activities and initiatives in the cultural community undertaken by the city, as well as identifying best practices and gaps in service. Two key concerns running through assessments of the cultural sector are the issue of affordability of housing and production space as well as the lack of health insurance among many workers in the creative industries. Findings from some of the studies indicate that, within the nonprofit sector, earned income streams

have become a greater part of organizational revenue mix. This may indicate that cultural institutions both large and small implemented effective marketing and management practices and are able to compete more effectively for attendees and cultural consumers. What follows is a discussion of some of the key characteristics of selected New York data regarding governance, as well as information about population, industries and the economy.

### **Overview of the City**

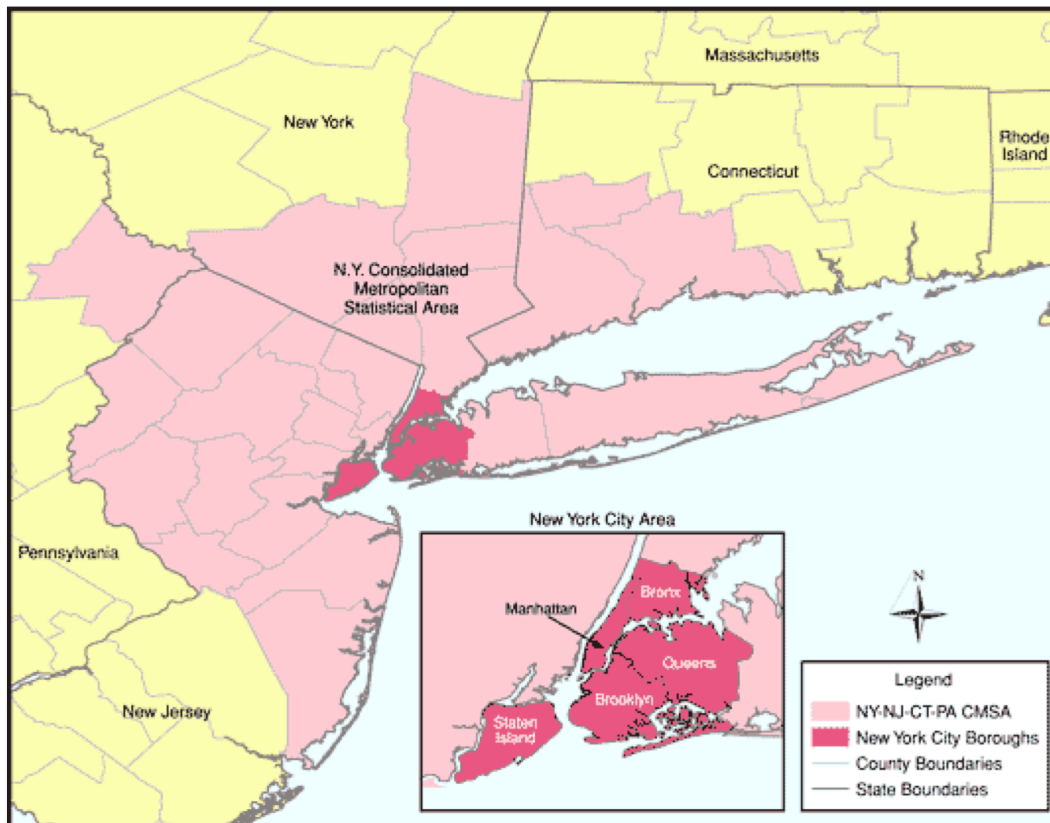
**Governance.** New York City's mayoralty enjoys the powers intrinsic in the "home rule" authority within the municipality. Home rule delineates the relationship between New York City and New York State with regards to the way that the municipal government has the right and authority to pass ordinances and laws as they see fit. Specifically, this includes the powers of taxation, zoning, regulation, and ability to create incentives enjoyed by New York City. Having these two pillars of the strength of the municipal governance structure means that city government has the responsibility for areas including libraries, public safety, sanitation and the water supply, as well as for the provision of public education and welfare benefits and services. The mayor and the City Council are able to tax, regulate and impose legislation, with revenues for the city comprised of sources including local taxes, federal and state grants, user charges and other miscellaneous revenues (New York City Economic Development Corporation, 2011a). The New York City Council has 51 members, each with one vote, and is comprised of elected representatives of community districts within the five boroughs (New York City Council, 2011). The mayor is not a voting member of this body. The

City Council is the municipal body that oversees the performance and operation of city agencies and is able to make decisions about land use.

The most influential binding governance tool that the city has is the budget, which lays out the priorities of the City Council and the mayor's administration. New York City's FY2011 budget, approved in June of 2010, was \$63.1 billion (New York City Office of Management and Budget, 2010). The Council's members have the power to approve the budget, and while the mayor's office makes recommendations on spending and allocation, the Council is the body that holds the ability to make these ideas a reality. Another area of strength for the New York City Council is the power to review and approve land use and zoning changes as well as community development, housing and urban renewal plans. In addition, the Council can make decisions on the proposed use of city-owned property (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009).

**Demographic snapshot.** The City of New York is located in an area known as the New York Consolidated Statistical Area (CMSA), which includes New York City and 31 counties. This area ranges from New York State's southeast corner to northern New Jersey, as well as southwest Connecticut and a small piece of eastern Pennsylvania (Figure 6). In each county, municipalities enjoy a variety of powers, including those for statutory land-use planning and the ability to spend on city areas such as public infrastructure, services, economic development, recreation, and arts and culture. New York City consists of the five boroughs of Staten Island, Brooklyn, Queens, Bronx and Manhattan. It is the largest city in the U.S and the second largest by population in North

America, with only Mexico City having a greater number of residents. More than 200,000 businesses are located in New York City, among them over 20,000 nonprofits organizations, with the numbers both of nonprofits and for-profit companies in the city growing (New York City Economic Development Corporation, 2011c).

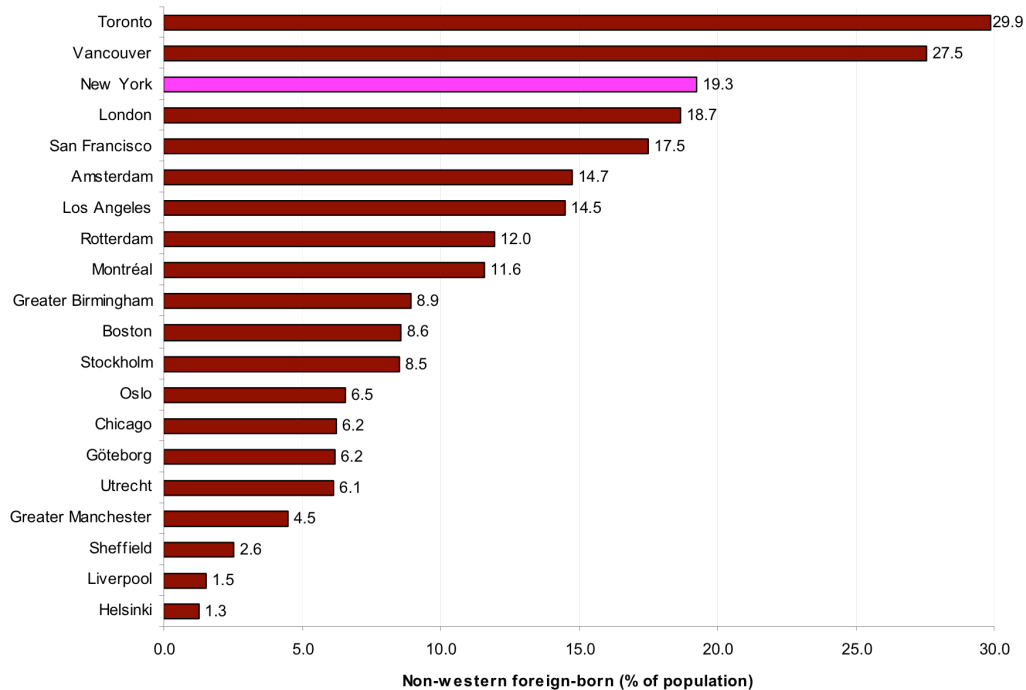


Source: Map extracted from US Department of Health and Human Services. 2001. Office of Applied Studies: <http://oas.samhsa.gov>.

*Figure 6.* Map of New York City Region (Gertler et al, 2006a).

The New York City Department of City Planning states that nearly 40% of New Yorkers are immigrants (NYC Department of City Planning, Population Division, 2009). New York ranks third, behind Toronto and Vancouver, on a comparison of a group of

European and North American city-regions, called The Openness Index, a measure of percentage of foreign-born residents from non-Western countries (Figure 7).



Source: Gertler, M.S. and Vinodrai, T. 2006. "The creative city: theory, evidence and the challenge for Europe". Special session on *Technology, Talent, and Tolerance in European Cities*. Presented at the 102nd Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Chicago, Illinois. March 7-11, 2006.

Figure 7. Percent of Population in City Region that is Foreign-born (Non-Western countries only) (Gertler et al, 2006a).

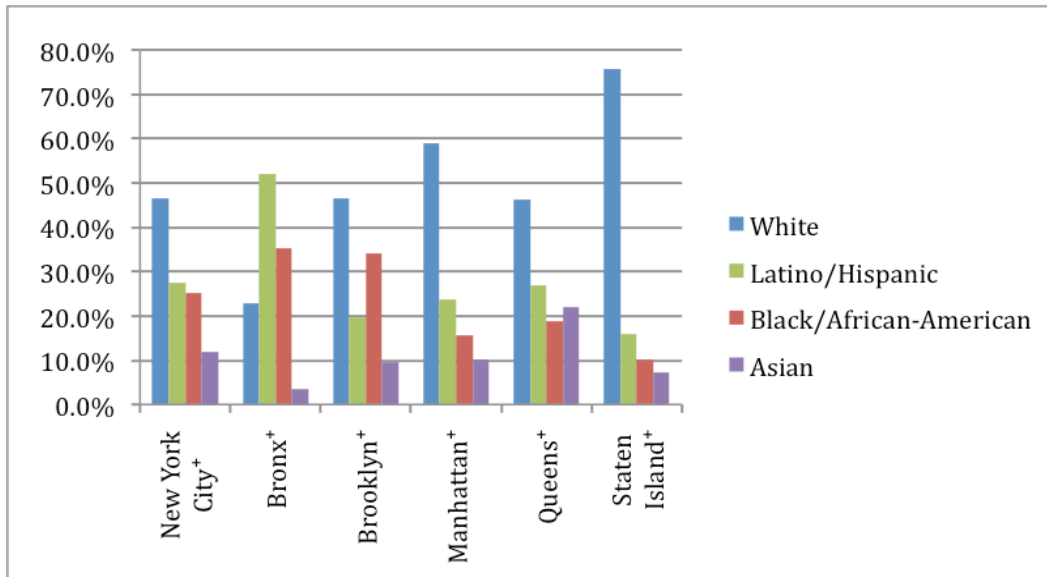
According to the most recent census, more than 8 million people live in New York City (Table 8), with a variety of ethnicities represented (Figure 8). However, Mayor Bloomberg as well as New York’s borough presidents are skeptical of these numbers from Census 2010, suspecting an egregious undercount (NYC Office of the Mayor, 2011). Immigrant workers, who account for more than 40% of New York’s labor

force, have an over-representation in many of the service industries as well as the building trades and retail sector (NYC Department of City Planning, 2004).

Table 8

*Census 2010 Estimates (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010)*

	Total Population					
	2000		2010		Change	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Citywide	8,008,278	100	8,175,133	100	166,855	2.1
Bronx	1,332,650	16.6	1,385,108	16.9	52,458	3.9
Brooklyn	2,465,326	30.8	2,504,700	30.6	39,374	1.6
Manhattan	1,537,195	19.2	1,585,873	19.4	48,678	3.2
Queens	2,229,379	27.8	2,230,722	27.3	1,343	0.1
Staten Island	443,728	5.5	468,730	5.7	25,002	5.6



*Figure 8. Ethnicities New York City. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009)*

At just over \$50,000 a year, New York's median income is below the national average and ten percent below that of New York State (Table 9).

Table 9

*Selected Demographic Characteristics (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010)*

	NYC	New York State	USA
Population	8,175,133	19,541,453	307,006,550
Male	3,882,544	9,497,163	151,449,490
Female	4,292,589	10,042,290	155,557,060
Age Structure			
Under 18 yrs	1,888,173	4,416,368.3	7,460,259.65
65 and older	1,015,417	2,619,755	39,570,590
Median Age	35.8	38.1	36.8
Median Income*	\$50,173	\$55,980	\$52,029

\*American Community Survey 2009 estimates

As one of the most expensive cities in the world in which to live or run a business, New York nonetheless continues to draw and retain both residents and companies. Benefitting from its easy access to transit, New York remains a destination for tourists, a center for a variety of powerful businesses sectors and a magnet for students from around the world. The combination of a robust tourism sector, continually developing commercial entities, and the emigration of young residents to New York all are important factors in the development and strengthening of the city's creative economy. In addition to being a resource for the replenishment of the creative workforce, these large resident, business and tourist populations are the employees, users, and consumers of cultural offerings, both within the nonprofit sector and on the commercial creative industry side. An overview of the educational milieu, discussion of the key commercial industries and deeper look at the creative economy provides the opportunity to understand the greater context within which cultural policy and economic development take place in the city.

**Education.** New York is a center of education, with more than 60 centers of higher learning, colleges and universities including well-known institutions such as the City University of New York (CUNY) system, New York University, The New School, Columbia University, Pace University, Fordham University, St. Johns University, and Brooklyn Law School (Gertler et al, 2006a). A number of world-renowned arts and creative specialty schools are located in New York including The Julliard School, Pratt Institute, Parsons School of Design at The New School, Fashion Institute of Technology, Cooper Union, New York University’s Tisch School of the Arts and Alvin Ailey School of Dance. Fourteen percent of New Yorker’s hold a graduate or professional degree, a level nearly 4% higher than the national average (Table 10).

Table 10

*Education (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009)*

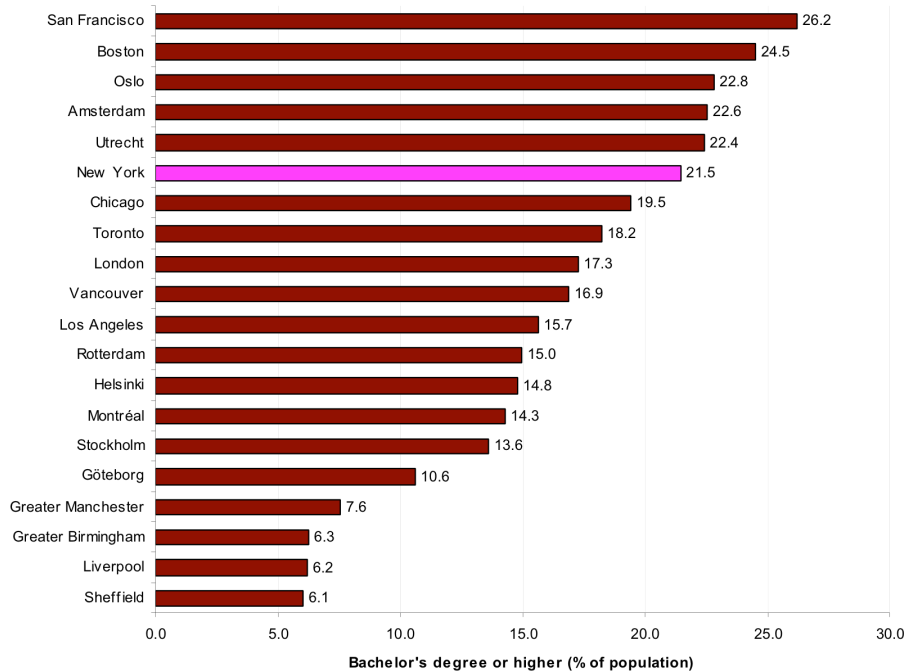
	<b>NYC Residents*</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>USA**</b>	<b>%</b>
No degree, certificate, or diploma		20.8		14.7
High school graduation certificate		24.5		28.5
Some college or associate’s		20.7		28.9
Bachelor’s degree		19.9		17.6
Graduate or professional degree		14.1		10.3

\* Based on population 25yrs and older- 5,731,319

\*\* Based on population 25yrs and above- 201,952,383

Ranking sixth on the Talent Index when measured against other North American and European cities, the Greater New York Metropolitan region ranks third among U.S. cities in having the greatest percent of population holding a university degree (Figure 9).





Source: Gertler, M.S. and Vinodrai, T. 2006. "The creative city: theory, evidence and the challenge for Europe". Special session on *Technology, Talent, and Tolerance in European Cities*. Presented at the 102nd Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Chicago, Illinois. March 7-11, 2006.

Figure 9. Talent index – Percent of Population in City-region with a University Degree (Gertler et al, 2006a).

**Industry overview.** The New York City economy, while including a wide range of industries and businesses, counts as its largest sectors the financial, insurance and real estate fields (FIRE), with media and green enterprises growing in importance and stature (NYC Economic Development Corporation, 2011c). New York remains one of the major finance centers globally, and is home to 20 of the top 25 foreign branches of international banks (Table 11). Eight of the top ten investment securities firms are located in the city, as well as five of the ten largest U.S. insurance firms. Every major country has its bank represented in New York, and the New York Stock Exchange is the largest equities exchange marketplace in the world. In all, the FIRE industries in New York employ more than 400,000 people (NYC Economic Development Corporation, 2011c). The

telecommunications sector, which includes businesses in the cable, Internet and telecommunications fields, is an important industry that accounts for over 3% of New York City's economy (Gertler et al, 2006a).

An additional area of economic strength is the energy market, and New York is one of the nation's largest suppliers in this field, with \$15 billion in energy costs generated annually for the city through the areas of electricity, hot water and heating (New York City Economic Development Corporation, 2011c). Private investment in this sector is growing, and New York has received federal stimulus funds to create jobs and reduce consumption as well to use in implementing energy efficiency programs. New York City is home to the largest public transit system in North America, and is served by three major airports, John F. Kennedy International, LaGuardia and Newark Liberty International. A major sports center, the metropolitan area is the location of professional hockey, baseball, football, and basketball teams.

Table 11

*Employees by Industry – January 2006 (Gertler et al, 2006a)*

<b>Industry</b>	<b>Employment (000s)</b>
<b>FIRE</b>	<b>452</b>
Finance and Insurance	334
Real Estate	118
<b>SERVICES</b>	<b>1,853</b>
Information	166
Professional	304
Administrative	196
Educational	149
Health & Social Assistance	544
Arts & Entertainment	63
Accommodation and Food	220
Other	211
<b>TRADE</b>	<b>432</b>
Retail	284
Wholesale	148
<b>MANUFACTURING</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>TRANSPORTATION &amp; UTILITY</b>	<b>118</b>
<b>CONSTRUCTION</b>	<b>114</b>
<b>TOTAL PRIVATE</b>	<b>3078</b>
<b>GOVERNMENT</b>	<b>555</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,633</b>

Source: New York State Department of Labor

**New York's tourism sector.** One of the major generators of revenue for New York City is the tourism industry. As the top destination in the country, New York played host to nearly 48.7 million visitors in 2010, up from 36.2 million in 2000 (NYC & Company, 2010). Of the nearly 50 million tourists to the City in 2010, 39 million were

domestic and the remainder international, with the majority hailing from the United Kingdom and the second-highest number of visitors coming from Canada. It is estimated that visitor spending topped \$31 billion in 2010, which was more than double the number at the beginning of the decade. New York's agency for tourism, known as NYC & Company, is a nonprofit organization charged with implementing all of the tourism marketing for the city. NYC & Co. has nearly 2,000 member organizations, including hotels, restaurants, retail stores, theatres and museums. Its operating budget of \$16 million, half of which comes from the municipality, allows the agency to market tourism, support major events and provide its members with promotional opportunities at trade shows in domestic as well as international venues (NYC & Company, 2010).

While this sector has been an important component of the economic development of New York, during the decade of the 2000s and especially after the devastation of 9/11 tourism's ability to bring money into the city directly and indirectly became even more crucial to the health of the metropolis (Table 12).

Table 12

*Economic Impact of Tourism in NYC (NYC & Company, 2010)*

	2009	2008	2007	2006	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001
Visitor Spending	\$28.2 billion	\$32.1 billion	\$28.85 billion	\$24.71 billion	\$22.8 billion	\$21.07 billion	\$18.49 billion	_____	_____
Wages Generated	\$16.6 billion	\$17.19 billion	\$17 billion	\$16 billion	\$14.2 billion	\$12.91 billion	\$11.58 billion	_____	_____
Jobs Supported	303,649	313,997	353,536	368,179	333,158	328,763	291,977	226,100	_____
Taxes Generated	\$7.5 billion	\$8.26 billion	\$6.45 billion	\$6.24 billion	\$5.44 billion	\$5.4 billion	\$4.9 billion	\$2.8 billion	\$790 million
Benefit to each NYC Household*	\$1,200	\$1,300	\$1,069	\$953	\$541	\$502	_____	_____	_____

\* Household benefit calculated by an average tax savings per household as a result of travel and tourism

Tourists to New York divide their time among sporting events, non-profit cultural events and Broadway, with the majority of live audience visits made to cultural events (Table 13).

Table 13

*New York Audience Attendance by Type of Event – 2004 (Gertler et al, 2006a)*

<b>Live New York Audiences</b>	<b># of Attendees Millions)</b>	<b>% Total</b>
Non-Profit Cultural Events	25.6	53
Sports	11.3	23
Broadway	11.6	24
<b>Total</b>	<b>48.5</b>	<b>100</b>

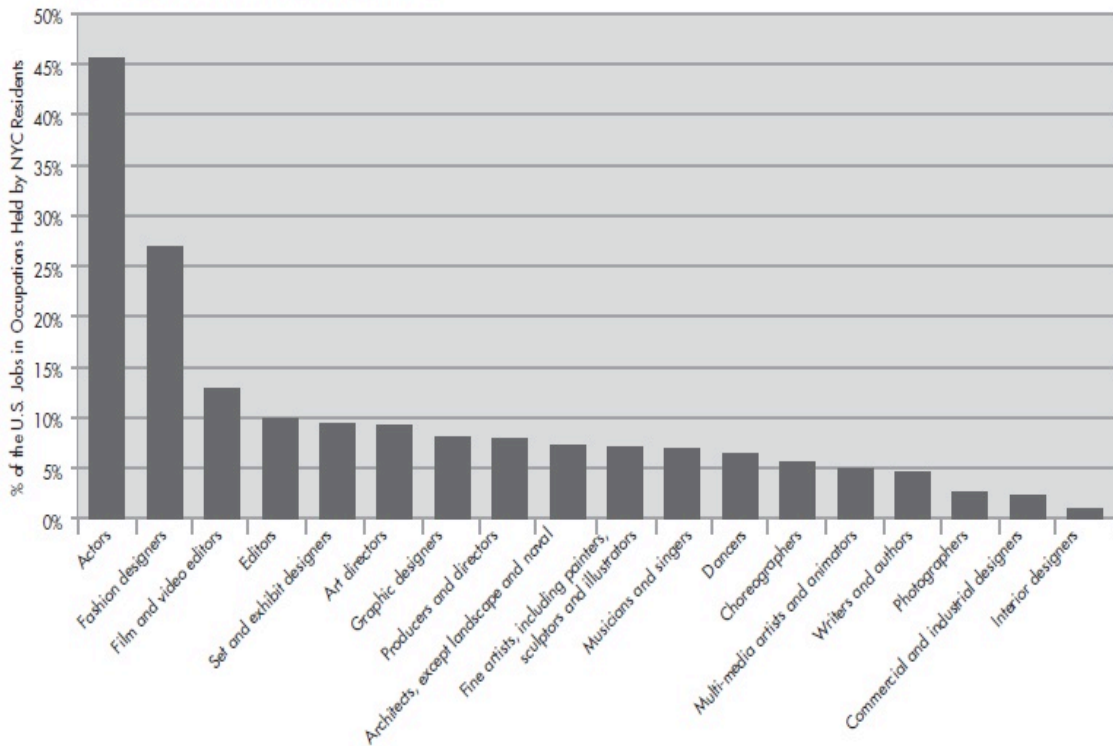
Source: Alliance for the Arts. 2005.

Within the tourism sector, cultural tourism looms large as New York’s vital differentiator, and each year millions of visitors come to experience its “unique creative product” (Zukin, 2010). The record number of visitors to the city in 2010, while generating \$31 billion in economic activity, made nearly 80% of their live audience visits to cultural offerings (Cultural Institutions Group, 2011). This positions the arts and culture sector in New York as a powerful engine for revenue, as well as making the case for sustaining operating and capital investments in the field. Increasingly, in addition to the traditional cultural entities such as the large museums and performing arts venues, new tourism areas have begun to emerge in the areas outside of Manhattan. New programs have been created which offer those from outside the U.S. as well as working class tourists and visitors opportunities to experience the local vernacular culture. Targeted to those interested in exploring New York’s ethnic or less-publicized neighborhoods, strategies are being implemented to attract these “new tourists,” who often are eager to immerse themselves in the community-based cultural life of New York in order to have a more authentic experience (Gross, 2008).

This can be understood as an emerging market in the area of cultural tourism, and each of the boroughs outside of Manhattan, in addition to some of the areas in Manhattan not commonly thought of as drawing tourists are rethinking and reimagining ways to attract these new kinds of cultural tourists. Activities in this realm include local fairs and festivals, the development of historic and cultural assets, and the creation of opportunities for visitors to experience multicultural and diverse neighborhoods. In Brooklyn, coordinated efforts have been made to draw visitors to an annual series of music performances as well as to the Brooklyn Museum. Queens' Long Island City is the home to numerous artist studios, Socrates Sculpture Park and the art museum PS 1, and Harlem has promoted its cultural identity through the revisiting and celebrating its heritage as a center of the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s. Staten Island is in the process of developing a cultural district to attract visitors and generate revenue for the borough. These examples demonstrate some of the ways that New York City's multi-dimensional neighborhoods have initiated and sustained efforts to differentiate themselves, and in doing so to draw cultural tourists to their areas.

**The creative industries.** A longstanding center of the creative industries and nonprofit arts and culture organizations, New York has a wealth of business devoted to a variety of sectors within the rubric of the creative economy (Figure 10). Notably, 8.3 percent of all U.S. based creative sector workers can be found in New York City (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). Within the arts and cultural industries, artistic workers fill sixty percent of the jobs and the other forty percent is made up of management and support positions (Currid-Halkett & Stolarick, 2010). Of the approximately 79,000 workers

employed in the City’s creative workforce, nearly 30% are self-employed (Currid-Halkett & Stolarick, 2010). The creative landscape includes over 2,000 arts and culture nonprofits, at least 500 art galleries, and 2,300 design service businesses. New York boasts 1,100 advertising-related firms, book and magazine publishers numbering more than 700, and nearly 150 film production studios and stages (Keegan et al, 2005).



*Figure 10.* Creative Occupations Where NYC Has Large Market Share (Keegan et al, 2005)

A number of creative industries are located in the New York area, including entertainment production, the fashion business, and the media and technology sectors. New York City remains the world leader in numerous forms of the performing arts, including theatre and ballet, with Broadway being a vital generator of economic revenue



for the city. With nearly 1,000 theatre and dance companies and musical groups and over 22,000 performing artists, New York has a wealth of talent. In addition, there are significant numbers of performers not able to be counted through traditional data gathering sources (Gertler et al, 2006a).

The fashion industry continues to be an outstanding sector in New York, both in size and prestige, since more than 900 fashion companies make their headquarters there. Fashion's manufacturing arm represents over 30% of the city's remaining manufacturing jobs, and the industry as a whole employs 165,000 people and generates \$9 billion in wages with tax revenues to the city of \$1.7 billion (NYC Economic Development Corporation, 2011b). In addition, there is a great deal of activity in the entertainment production industry since New York is home to more than 40,000 location shoots each year including documentaries, feature films, television shows and commercials (NYC & Company, 2010). In 2007 alone there were more than 27,000 shooting days in New York, and this segment employs over 100,000 workers and brings direct expenditures to the city of \$5 billion annually.

Media and technology are large and important sectors in the New York economy, with media and entertainment companies located there numbering over 15,000. The top media market in the country, New York's broadcasting sector employs more than 33,000 workers (New York City Economic Development Corporation, 2010c). As the country's second most active film center, the city is home to four major film studios and numerous independent movie companies, as well as three of the four top record labels and five of

the top ten U.S. media companies (New York City Economic Development Corporation, 2010c). A giant in the publishing industry, New York has the top global publishing cluster, which employs over 52,000 people. More than 350 consumer magazines are headquartered there, as are half of the nation's top-grossing printing and publishing entities and four out of the ten largest-circulation newspapers (New York City Economic Development Corporation, 2010c). Madison Avenue remains the world's advertising capital, and out of the four largest advertising agencies, two are located in New York. In addition to traditional media companies, the city is home to clusters of burgeoning digital start-ups in Manhattan's "Silicon Alley." New ventures located in DUMBO, Brooklyn and Long Island City, Queens have moved the clusters to other boroughs, and are targeting areas of new media including online video, mobile technology and internet news provision, many of which are underwritten by venture capital funding invested specifically in the new media space (New York City Economic Development Corporation, 2010c).

**New York's nonprofit arts and culture sector.** Nationwide, the nonprofit arts and culture sector is acknowledged widely as an extremely important economic generator, with a contribution to the U.S. economy of more than \$37 billion annually (National Endowment for the Arts, n.d.). In New York City, the nonprofit portion of the creative community, made up of the nonprofit cultural industries, is a vital part of the municipal landscape with an economic impact estimated at \$5.8 billion a year and annual wages generated of \$2.2 billion (Figure 11). Nonprofit cultural institutions and organizations consist of the numerous 501-c-3 designated entities that are part of the vast

nonprofit sector in the United States. In New York City, these range from small theatre, dance and visual arts organizations to the behemoth cultural entities such as Lincoln Center, The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Brooklyn Museum. Also included in this category are nonprofit publishing organizations, theatres including the Joyce Theatre, music and film festivals such as Tribeca Film Festival, and arts service organizations including Alliance of Resident Theatres.

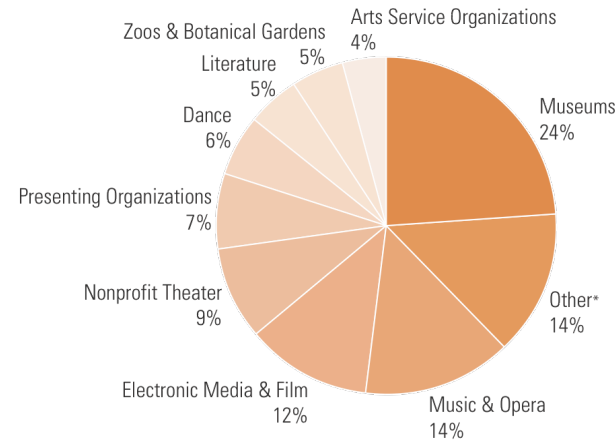
While these nonprofit entities do not wield the financial clout of the commercial components of the creative economy, they play an important role in defining the identity of New York's cultural brand. Highly visible to tourists as well as residents, this wealth of large and small offerings provides cultural amenities that help to define the creative landscape of the city. Together, the commercial creative industries and the nonprofit cultural sector represent a vital segment of New York City's economy. Important in understanding and measuring the impacts of the sector are the research and interpretation of its development. This research and reporting often is conducted by entities outside of the municipal government of New York, and is funded by a combination of foundations, public grants and private donations.

<b>Nonprofit Culture in New York City – 2005</b>	
Economic Impact	\$5.8 billion
Jobs Generated	40,500
Wages Generated	\$2.2 billion
Taxes to New York City	\$170 million

© Alliance for the Arts

**Nonprofit Cultural Expenditures by Discipline in New York City – 2005**

Total Expenditures: \$2.9 billion (2005 Dollars)



\* "Other" includes historic sites, arts centers, arts councils, arts education and organizations specializing in the folk arts, architecture, planning and design.

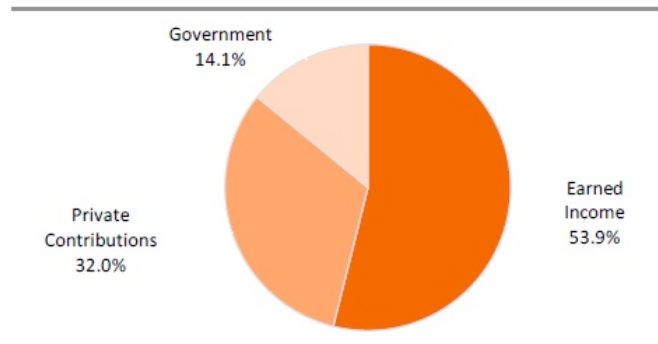
*Figure 11. Nonprofit Culture Data & Nonprofit Expenditures by Disciplines – 2005 (Alliance for the Arts, 2006)*

**Analyzing Cultural New York**

**Alliance for the Arts.** One of New York’s most comprehensive research organizations dedicated to the cultural sector is the Alliance for the Arts (AFA). This nonprofit, funded by a number of foundations as well as by the Department of Cultural Affairs and New York State Council on the Arts, focuses on advocacy for the sector and

the promotion of its offerings in addition to the collection and analysis of data regarding the efficacy of the arts as an industry. Regularly emphasizing the importance of the nonprofit arts and culture sector both to New York’s economy and to its educational system, these AFA research reports are an often-cited resource for policymakers and advocates on the city, state and national levels. A major report that examined the source of income for cultural organizations in New York was released by Alliance for the Arts in 2010 (Alliance for the Arts, 2010). This 5-year study found that while government support and individual giving to the sector had remained flat or decreased during the study period, the largest boost in revenues for these organizations was from earned income (Figure 12).

**Income Sources for New York City Cultural Organizations: 2009**



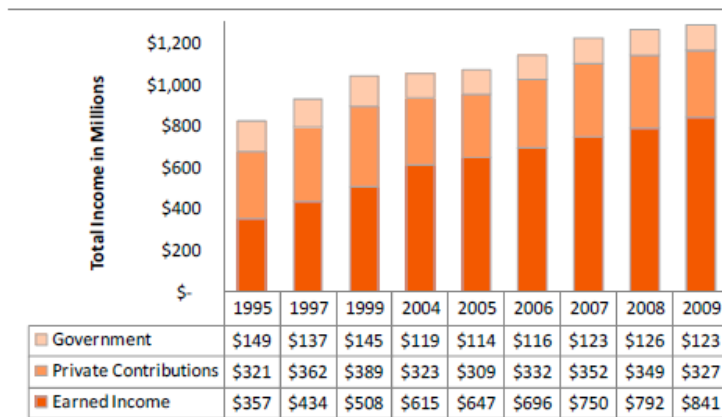
Source: Alliance for the Arts, NYSCA

*Figure 12. Who Pays for the Arts: Income for the Nonprofit Cultural Industry in NYC (Alliance for the Arts, 2010)*

Entitled “Who Pays for the Arts” this investigation revealed that between 1995 and 2009 the earned revenue figures for New York City nonprofit arts organizations increased by 136 percent. Although the report acknowledges that there is more research

to be done regarding the specifics of this increase, it nonetheless reveals a notable trend (Figure 13). The research discovered that small organizations had declines in overall revenues over the year of the study, pointing to the challenges regarding size in penetrating the clutter of numerous cultural entities competing for market share in New York. The data collected allowed Alliance for the Arts to analyze funding over a fifteen-year period, and the results showed that over that time government funding remained the smallest slice of the revenue pie at just over fourteen percent in 2009, a figure which reflects a steady decline of support from city, state and federal sources.

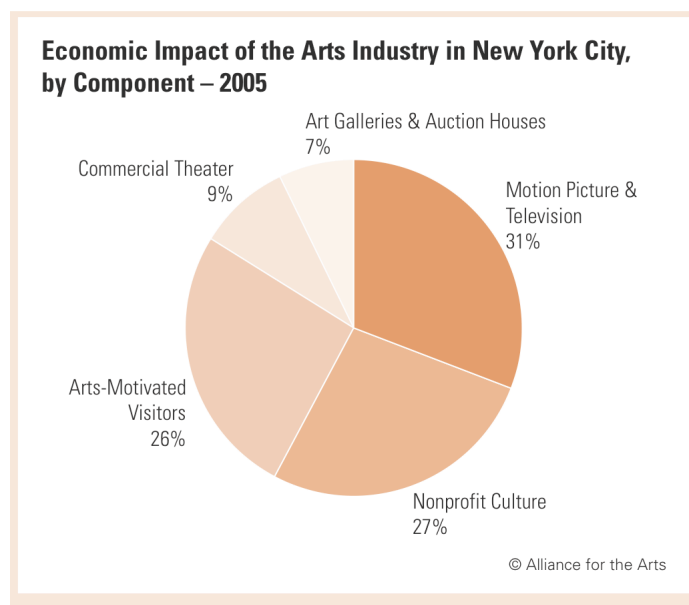
**Income Sources for Trends Sample: 1995 – 2009  
(in 2009 dollars)**



*Figure 13.* Income Sources for NYC Cultural Organizations 1995-2009 (New York City Economic Development Corporation, 2010a)

Additional studies conducted by the Alliance for the Arts include a study on the arts as an industry released in 2006, as well as a 2009 report on the effect of the recession on New York’s nonprofit arts community (Alliance for the Arts, 2006, 2009). The Alliance for the Arts reported in its 2006 study, “Arts as an Industry” that significant

growth occurred during the first half of the decade of the 2000s in both the nonprofit and commercial sectors of arts and culture. The study found that the combined areas of arts motivated visitors and the nonprofit arts sector accounted for over half of the \$21.2 billion in economic impact in New York for the year of analysis. Americans for the Arts pointed out that the city’s commercial cultural sector counts motion picture and television production as the industry’s greatest contributor to the city’s economy (Figure 14).



*Figure 14.* Economic Impact of the Arts Industry in New York City by Component (Alliance for the Arts, 2006)

The 2009 AFA report entitled “The Recession & the Arts” documented the cutbacks in budgets, staff and program development resulting from the economic downturn. It warns that the city could face repercussions with regards to the important economic impact the arts have in generating revenue, in addition to problems of job losses and resulting negative outcomes that could happen through a ripple effect. Alliance

for the Arts encouraged policymakers to incorporate the nonprofit arts industry into plans for the rebuilding of New York City's strength in the face of the recession (Alliance for the Arts, 2009). AFA acknowledged the complex nature of the arts and culture industries, in which there is a constant migration of talent as well as capital between the nonprofit and commercial components. All of the organization's reports point to the important synergy between these areas as a vital element of the economic health of New York's creative community (Alliance for the Arts, 2007).

**Center for an Urban Future: Studying Creative NY.** The Center for an Urban Future (CUF), an urban policy think tank located in New York City studies numerous issues of relevance to the contemporary city. Funded by a group of prominent foundations and corporations, CUF explores topics of concern to municipalities, as well as convening conferences and panels on areas of interest in the urban dialogue. Among its reports is "Creative New York," published in December of 2005, which looks at the creative industry in the for-profit and nonprofit sectors (Keegan et al, 2005). The report acknowledges the trend among numerous cities throughout the world to integrate the creative community and its needs into their economic development strategies, thereby posing a possible threat to the dominance enjoyed by New York over the past number of years. Creative New York identifies the creative community as a growth area in the city's economy, with much of the industry expansion among the self-employed (Table 14).



Table 14

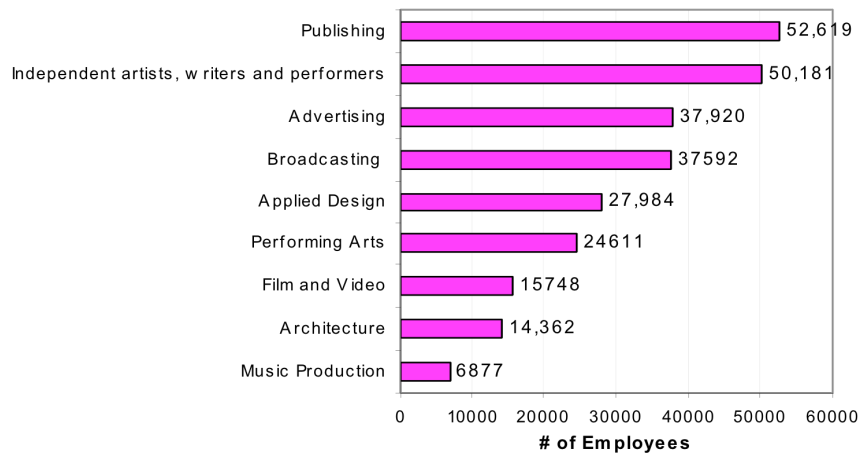
*New York City's Total Creative Workforce – 2002 (Gertler et al, 2006a)*

**Table 6: New York City's Total Creative Workforce - 2002**

Creative workers employed in firms with employees	198,627
Creative worker employed as sole proprietors	79,761
Total Creative Workers within creative core businesses (firms + sole proprietors)	278,388
Creative workers employed outside of the defined creative core	30,754
<b>Total Creative Workforce in NYC</b>	<b>309,142</b>

Source: Table Adapted from Keegan, R. et al. 2005. *Creative New York*. Center for an Urban Future. Original data source: County Business Patterns. 2002; Non-employer Statistics. 2002; and US Census. 2000. *Equal Employment Opportunity*.

Center for an Urban Future’s research notes that the access to a substantial pool of talent is the key reason that creative industries choose to locate in New York, and that the mix of numerous for-profit and nonprofit cultural entities and workers provides a valuable agglomeration that contributes significantly to the success of the city (Figure 15). This research points out that New York’s cultural community has a substantive mix of educational opportunities, philanthropies, trade organizations and patrons, all of who offer access to support and an infrastructure vital to this sector.



Source: Figure Adapted from Keegan, R. et al. 2005. *Creative New York*. Center for an Urban Future. Original data source: County Business Patterns. 2002; Non-employer Statistics. 2002; and US Census. 2000. *Equal Employment Opportunity*.

*Figure 15. Creative Employees in NYC by Industry (2002) (Gertler et al, 2006a)*

The study points to numerous challenges to the creative community and its workers in retaining the leadership role New York has enjoyed. These issues include the soaring cost of artists and creative workers space and a lack of health benefits and job security throughout the sector. Additional challenges include pressures within the nonprofit creative sector to adopt often-inappropriate for-profit business models, as well as the lack of fundamental management and marketing skills that may exist among artists and community organizations. Creative New York identifies the real estate issue, in particular affordability for living space and work space as the most pressing, and acknowledges the fact that businesses and individuals in this sector function best with proximity to one another as well as through access to their audience and markets. The report points to the provision of affordable workspace as an essential component of a successful creative industry environment. This report found that 8.3 percent of American creative workers reside in New York City, with only London having a larger creative

workforce globally. This finding pinpoints the importance to New York's policymakers of investigating the best way to retain this critical segment of the population.

**Remaking a safe city: Bloomberg and the branding of New York.** Following the attacks on New York on September 11, 2001 the city's economy was devastated, resulting in \$2.8 billion in lost wages (Dolfman & Wasser, 2004). The tourism sector was among the hardest hit, as were the creative industries. Creative workers suffered from a nearly 50% loss in income in 2002, and almost one-quarter of them actually lost their jobs as a result of the aftermath of these events (ArtsLink New York, 2004). Immediately after the attacks, then-Mayor Giuliani and New York State Governor Pataki created the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC) to take the lead in planning and coordinating the recovery and rebuilding of the area of Manhattan most affected. Its charge was to ensure that this community was rebuilt and redeveloped to be even stronger than it was prior to the devastation (Lower Manhattan Development Corporation, 2011).

With the election of Michael Bloomberg, the new vision of Lower Manhattan as more than primarily a commercial area was born. Bloomberg proposed to convert the neighborhood into a live-work community with public spaces, featuring the rebuilt World Trade Center Towers, through a mix of substantial public and private investment. Additionally, this plan included a specially created tax incentive zone designed to attract substantive corporate headquarters to the district (New York City Office of the Mayor, 2002). The plan also made provisions for space to be allocated for cultural organizations as part of the downtown Manhattan revitalization efforts (Keegan et al, 2005).

Michael Bloomberg was a mayor who began his first term with strong connections and allies in the cultural community. In order to succeed, however, he reached out to a much wider group of New York's voters (Brash, 2011). His vision was of a New York that was a cultural magnet as well as an urban and cosmopolitan capital. Early in his first term, which began in January of 2002, Bloomberg initiated the process of rebuilding the city's brand through consultative advice from McKinsey & Co., a well-known consulting firm. Acknowledging the ways that New York had been accustomed to attracting business and attention without much of an effort, this campaign strove to tell the story of New York as a wonderful place to do business as well as to live (Brash, 2011). The practice of marketing New York meant being able to persuade residents to stay, visitors to come and new businesses to relocate to the city. There was a focus on presenting New York as a safe place in order to draw visitors once again to attractions such as the renovated Times Square area (Hannigan, 1998). With this reimagining, policymakers integrated efforts across policy domains, with the idea that the rebranding of New York City would move from the sole purview of economic development into areas such as community development and neighborhood transformation.

This new kind of positioning of an urban area had implications for increased economic benefits for more than business interests exclusively, but for the city's residents as well. Through a re-imagined New York, its proponents argued, the city's populace could regain their pride of place and work together to develop a stronger city. A key challenge was the need for government workers and policy entrepreneurs to work in conjunction with the private sector to market the city, something more commonly done in

the corporate world rather than in government. New York had to re-evaluate its identity, and one of the ways to differentiate itself was through the arts and culture sectors. Essential components of the strategy were the support of the arts as well as cultural policy interventions, since the sector's for-profit and nonprofit aspects were vital components of the mix of factors that drew residents and visitors to the city.

The inherent urbanism and cosmopolitan, diverse culture of New York City was deemed to be a differentiator and something that would be attractive to businesses as a selling point in the economic development process. This rebranding of New York did not focus on targeting businesses by offering them the chance to save money, since competing on this level was not possible. Instead, the value proposition was the heart of the campaign, with access to the city's exceptional talent pool and the positioning of New York as a kind of luxury brand being among the main selling points. The Mayor began a strategic plan to brand and market the city with the goal of drawing corporate sponsors and new businesses, as well as attracting events and media production in the same way that a museum or sporting franchise might seek to build sponsorship relationships that would generate revenue (Brash, 2011).

In addition to the plan to position New York as a place visitors would want to come and residents would wish to stay due to its excitement and multitude of cultural offerings, the Bloomberg branding plan looked at ways to continue to attract talented and creative people to the city, thereby focusing both on the consumption and production aspects of the issue. This idea was borne out through the integration of numerous city

agencies and involved the areas of strengthening the housing, neighborhoods, parks and overall community livability in order to make New York the most attractive place to live, to attract and retain the most desirable workforce. This urban development program, begun in 2003, was instituted by Bloomberg's administration over the remainder of the decade. It included the creation of numerous, primarily luxury housing developments often in underdeveloped areas of Manhattan or in Brooklyn, many of which were designed by world-renown architects. The hallmark of the campaign was the integration of the functions of numerous city agencies, including those involved in service provision, fiscal policy, and business development in a cohesive way designed to serve the common goal of building the New York City brand.

### **Economic Development in New York**

**Background.** Unlike many countries in Europe, in the United States a legacy of significant support for arts and culture has not been embedded in the fabric of cities or on the federal level. Cultural policy on the federal level began during the New Deal in the 1930s, when the U.S. government supported arts and cultural workers through national programs, and subsequently funds for the creative sectors continued to be allocated without a lead agency by the State (Adams & Goldbard, 1995). Under the Kennedy administration, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) was conceived and was implemented during Johnson's presidency, with a budget in 1966 of \$2.9 million. This agency's agenda enabled it to allocate monies towards arts and cultural organizations and projects, a process that was implemented through direct funding to the states, resulting in a scramble to form state arts councils throughout the nation. In 2010, the NEA's budget

was \$167.5 million, down from its high in 1994 of \$176 million, but significantly more than the recent low of \$99.5 million in 1998 (National Endowment for the Arts, 2007). The NEA remains the most visible centralized national agency funding arts and culture, and its research estimates that the contribution by the non-profit arts sector to the U.S. economy exceeds \$37 billion annually (National Endowment for the Arts, n.d.). In addition, the National Endowment for the Humanities gives grants to cultural institutions such as museums and archives, as well as to public television and radio (National Endowment for the Humanities, n.d.).

The use of arts and culture in economic development in cities, and with it the financial argument for the efficacy of investment in the sector has grown over the past quarter-century. The idea of arts and culture as a tool for the facilitation of economic development was implemented more fully in the U.S. with the creation of non-profit arts institutions. The Ford Foundation, established in 1936, was a leading funder of non-profit arts organizations, assisting with growth through the granting of funding. Previously, most art making and presenting was the purview of individual artists and galleries, with patronage limited to those wealthy enough to purchase works of art. Art aficionados were highly educated, well to do and limited in number. Access to arts and culture was not available to less affluent communities or those with less education. Newly formed non-profit organizations subsequently allowed groups of artists from a variety of backgrounds and collective organizations to produce and consume art and culture.

**Arts & culture, economic development and urban planning.** The concept of economic development being integrated with arts and culture in cities was realized through urban renewal projects designed to create a physical infrastructure that would serve the public good. Combining arts grants with urban renewal funding was manifest in projects such as Lincoln Center in New York City that created a permanent built environment, and also was exemplified by projects including the Seattle Center, which prepared for temporal cultural events like the World's Fair in 1962. Lincoln Center was part of an urban renewal project in the late 1950s spearheaded by Robert Moses. Hailed by then-President Eisenhower as a "great cultural adventure," the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts was part of a public-private partnership that had at its heart an arts institution, and was designed to transform a neighborhood (Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, 2011). In addition to the creation of a landmark cultural organization, these new kinds of initiatives often had the effect of reinvigorating the area, increasing the visibility of the city, and attracting residents and visitors to the immediate neighborhood surrounding the arts or entertainment centers. Today, Lincoln Center alone is estimated to have an economic impact of more than \$1.3 billion annually for New York City (Economic Development Research Group, 2004).

The role of economic development using arts and culture in urban planning has focused on the diversification of post-industrial economies in order to create more opportunities in cities. A way to attract the creative class, the idea of this planning was to draw cultural workers with the intention of building the human capital needed to develop both local and export production (Markusen & King, 2003). It was hoped that by



integrating investment in the built environment through city planning using arts and culture with a focus on cultural production, the results would revitalize neighborhoods, breathe new life into districts, and perhaps reinvigorate aging and decrepit downtown areas. These goals were consistent with the emerging cultural planning norms that included impacts on the economic, cultural and regenerative fronts, which often found their focal point solely on an economic basis (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010).

However, the motivations and benefits beyond purely financial outcomes were seen as important, including better social unity, increased opportunities for community engagement, and the chance for an enjoyable experience for the workforce as well as for residents and visitors (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). Since the success of arts and culture in economic development is judged primarily on the metrics of economic impact assessments, evaluations of this nature can enable municipalities to justify their expenditures. Case studies detailing the use of arts and culture in urban regeneration as well as analyses of creative cities initiatives globally are found in economic development and urban planning literature (World Bank, 1999). Since evidence of the success of these initiatives has not been conclusive, scholars and practitioners alike have called for more research, citing the efficacy of the inclusion of the social and political impacts of these kinds of projects in addition to the spatial and economic implications.

**Building today's New York: New York City Economic Development Corporation.** Over the past 25 years, the for-profit and nonprofit arms of the arts and culture sector have made a significant impact, both in building its economic strength and

in generating a powerful brand. In the years since 1983, there has been an 86 percent increase in the value of the nonprofit and commercial arts sector as measured in real economic terms (Alliance for the Arts, 2006). From 1987 to 2007, the nonprofit arts sector in New York doubled. The theatre business and the film industry are enjoying unprecedented success, and cultural tourism is growing. Bloomberg has made economic development a key component of his administration, with a focus on the growth and expansion of the business sector being a clear priority. These issues, coupled with the cultivation of new businesses for New York, have provided a spotlight on the New York City Economic Development Corporation as the centralized location of the implementation of plans for these goals of robust economic development.

The NYC Economic Development Corporation (NYCEDC) was created in 1991 through the merger of two agencies, both of which had been responsible for the oversight of the economic development functions of the city. In addition, the NYCEDC adopted the function of another area as it also acts as an industrial development agency (NYC Economic Development Corporation, 2011a). This large organization became a centralized entity under which all of the city's economic development activities were located, including efforts in promoting business expansion and stimulating employment growth as well as urban development initiatives and transactions and the lease and sale of city-owned properties. As a nonprofit agency, NYCEDC is under contract to encourage economic growth and serves as the chief provider of economic development services.

With an annual budget of more than \$800 million, NYCEDC has a leading role in the encouragement of commerce within New York, as well as administering loans and financing, facilitating industrial and commercial development, and managing city-owned properties. The Economic Development Corporation sees New York as an ideal destination for all kinds of new business endeavors, and its marketing campaigns position the city as such. Through initiatives, some of which incorporate city-owned land, the NYCEDC focuses on unlocking the potential in retail clusters, such as the Garment District as well as on redevelopment projects on the waterfront, support of arts and culture incubators, and the attraction of bioscience industry businesses to the city.

The functions of the NYCEDC range from providing assistance to local businesses in creating a presence to providing incentives through instruments including tax benefits or tax-exempt bond financing. This financing may be used to acquire or create capital assets such as real estate, or for the construction or renovation of facilities or the purchase or lease of new equipment. NYCEDC is the home of the greatest number of economic development programs and services in North America as it provides more than 60 business incentive programs, two of which are the NY Empowerment Zone and the NYC Capital Access. The Federal Empowerment Zone funding, administered through NYCEDC, is part of an economic development initiative designed to promote private investment in key underserved areas of the city and provide technical advice and support to emerging businesses in targeted communities. Businesses located within the Empowerment Zones, often found in at-risk communities within the city, also can take advantage of additional matching state, municipal and federal monies through an

investment pool created for this purpose. Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone is a recipient of this funding, and has used the initiative to target cultural tourism and build the local arts and culture ecosystem through investment in cultural institutions, historic sites and community-based service organizations (Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone Corporation, 2011).

New York City Capital Access is a public-private lending program offering incentives for lending institutions to take on borrower businesses in low- and moderate-income areas and provides funds to banks and community development credit unions. Loans then are made to small and medium-sized businesses that often do not qualify for conventional bank loans. Through access to a cash reserve, smaller lending institutions are able to consider loans to organizations and businesses not normally within their portfolios. Additional programs include initiatives targeted to the graphics and information technology industries, low-income underserved women entrepreneurs and a project that offers small businesses real estate tax abatements. The agency also created an economic revitalization plan for Lower Manhattan designed to attract investment in the area through targeted residential, retail and commercial development.

### **Culture and Policy in a Mega-Metropolis**

**Department of Cultural Affairs: New York's nonprofit arts behemoth.** The leading municipal funder in the nonprofit arts and culture field is The New York City Department of Cultural Affairs (DCA). The DCA and its activities are governed by an advisory committee appointed by the mayor as mandated in the New York City Charter

(New York City Department of Cultural Affairs, 2011). Comprised of local cultural leaders, the Cultural Affairs Advisory Committee serves to guide the Department as it navigates the cultural life of this mega-municipality. The responsibilities of the DCA include funding the cultural community and partnering with other city agencies as well as developing cultural policy and providing educational and capacity-building initiatives for the sector. In addition, the agency plays a role in advocacy efforts for nonprofit cultural organizations and cultural producers.

The purview of the DCA is the five boroughs, and its program and capital funding, institutional subsidies and other initiatives target nonprofit cultural organizations and activities throughout the city. Having this powerful advocate for the arts exclusively devoted to the sector means that the DCA is the city's main funder of nonprofit cultural organizations of all sizes and disciplines. This agency is involved in grant making and is a key player in the implementation of the city's cultural policy in addition to education and training for arts and cultural organizations. The DCA advocates for issues pertinent to the cultural sector, including organizations, individuals, and creative producers.

The DCA operating budget for FY 2009 was just over \$153 million, and its capital budget for New York's cultural institutions was greater than \$773 million that year (The Council of the City of New York, Finance Division, 2009). Among the more than 600 recipients of funding are the 33 members of the Cultural Institutions Group (CIG), which consists of organizations that are located on city-owned land in the boroughs. Its members include The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Brooklyn Museum,

American Museum of Natural History and Bronx Museum of the Arts, as well as smaller institutions such as Wave Hill and P.S. 1 Contemporary Art Center (See Appendix F). Each member institution of this consortium receives both capital and operating support every year, helping them meet basic costs including maintenance, administration, security and energy expenses. This city largesse means that the organizations are public institutions charged by the city with the mandate to provide access to their cultural offerings by serving as a resource for all New Yorkers. These organizations all are under a “pay as you wish” admissions policy, unlike the many arts and culture institutions that are not a part of the CIG and are not on city-owned land.

Materials for the Arts and Percent for Art are two DCA programs that target the cultural community and the public. Materials for the Arts, in existence for more than thirty years, collects resources and materials from companies and redistributes them to over 3,000 community arts organizations throughout the five boroughs. The corporations receive a tax credit, and the materials are made available at a warehouse in Long Island City to which artists and arts organizations may come to choose from among the furniture, computer hardware and office supplies donated. Percent for Art, instituted by the city twenty years ago, mandates that one percent of the budget of all city-funded construction projects be allocated to purchase artwork for each building or venue. The purpose of the programs is to provide the public with accessible and visible art throughout the city. Projects include Jorge Louis Rodriguez’ *Growth*, a painted steel sculpture in the East Harlem Artpark; *Animal Party* by Susan Gardner, a mixed media

installation at PS 94 in Sunset Park, Brooklyn; and *Freedom's Gate*, a Charles Searles sculpture located at the Fulton Street triangle in Brooklyn.

DCA offers a number of capacity-building initiatives designed to provide opportunities for artists and arts administrators to acquire skills including management, financial literacy and leadership development and offers training programs as well as conferences in conjunction with other city agencies such as New York City Economic Development Corporation (NYCEDC) and Department of Small Business Services. Addressing a wide range of issues, the offerings target key area of concern to the creative community with conference topics ranging from the provision of performance space in New York's vacant buildings to the uses of arts and culture in economic development. Examples of these kinds of conferences and programs include the 2003 Summit on Business Development & Culture in Long Island City, which focused on an analysis of the efficacy and challenges of creating arts districts as well as identifying best practices for balancing economic growth with concerns for the creative community (Bashinsky, 2003). An additional project is the innovative "New York City Performs," an initiative created through the Parks Department and NYCEDC that seeks to use non-traditional performance venues for public presentations of dance and theatre.

**Supporting New York City's nonprofit cultural sector.** On the community level, Borough Arts Councils have a grassroots role in each of the five boroughs. Their function is to support local artists and cultural organizations through programs such as professional training, marketing and technical assistance and audience development

seminars. In addition, the Arts Councils offer networking opportunities, promote awareness of cultural organizations and assist in grant writing and preparation of newsletters. Some of the Councils provide space and funding to arts groups and encourage participation by residents and visitors in the offerings available within each of their boroughs. An additional resource is New York Foundation for the Arts (NYFA). An arts intermediary serving the cultural community, New York Foundation for the Arts focuses on individual artists, and was established as an independent organization nearly 40 years ago by the New York State Council on the Arts. The organization distributes funds and services valued at more than \$11 million annually, as it makes grants to artists, provides fiscal sponsorship to individuals and emerging arts organizations and provides a comprehensive online resource. NYFA also presents a wide offering of training programs for arts leaders and managers as well as conferences for the field and arts programs in schools. The Foundation developed a special program to address the needs of the creative nonprofit community after 9/11, and was able to distribute more than \$4.6 million to organizations and individuals impacted by the disaster (New York Foundation for the Arts, n.d.). New York Foundation for the Arts continues to serve as a resource to a wide constituency of individual artists, the arts community, donors and the general public.

### **Cultural Policy & Economic Development in New York City**

New York City developed PLANYC 2030 as a strategic document focused on sustainable growth for the metropolis; however, the plan does not have a clearly articulated economic development strategy. Much of the city's focus with regards to economic development has centered on tourism, especially during the decade of the



2000s and specifically during the Bloomberg administration. Increasingly, arts and culture have become a priority for the city's agenda in the campaign to promote New York as an excellent place not only to visit, but to reside as well as to do business.

The cultural policy and economic development functions in New York work in tandem in several areas, including promotion of arts clusters as neighborhood-based programs seeking to strengthen selected areas through provision of cultural attractions. New York City Economic Development Corporation and Department of Cultural Affairs, the two main agencies charged with the integration of cultural planning and promotion into economic development, facilitate programs that strengthen the entrepreneurial acumen of the cultural community. Through a variety of offerings intended to build the knowledge base within the sector in the areas of business planning, marketing strategies and management, these programs align the goals of business and the creative arts, often involving the New York City Department of Small Business as a resource as well. The NYC Performs initiative also serves to combine the economic development and cultural entrepreneurship streams through the transformation of underutilized city-owned properties across the five boroughs into unique performance spaces.

New York has implemented cultural policy through direct funding distributed by the DCA as well as through programs that deliver services by other agencies, including the Mayor's Office of Film, Theatre and Broadcasting and the New York City Economic Development Corporation. Among these programs are opportunities for workforce development and training that emphasize the need for sound management skills. Part of

the Mayor's Office of Media and Entertainment, The Mayor's Office of Film, Theatre and Broadcasting serves the media sector through granting permits and the provision of incentives and discounts, in addition to being a clearinghouse for employment in the field (New York City Mayor's Office of Film, Theatre and Broadcasting, 2011). Under Bloomberg, the creative sector's contribution to the health of the New York City economy has been touted, but issues such as affordability of live and work space and working conditions for the cultural community remain to be addressed more fully.

In New York the private sector functions as a key partner with the city in many ways. First, it is important to note the fact that nonprofit arts and culture organizations realize most of their revenue through a combination of earned income and private donations. In addition, the combination of cultural tourism and the commercial creative industries represent an enormous economic generator to the municipal coffers. New York has a large city budget and its annual contribution to the nonprofit cultural community is roughly the same as that of the National Endowment for the Arts. However, it is through the relationship with the private sector that the city can continue to build its strength as a cultural capital. New York's cultural policy and economic development functions are components of New York City's creative agenda, and their integration in a deliberate, public and inclusive way may provide the opportunity for success over the next decade.

## **Conclusion**

An enormous metropolis, New York is made up of many small urban centers and neighborhoods, each with its own distinct personality. The configuration of five boroughs

has resulted in a pride of place that residents feel, as well as a wealth of cultural offerings and opportunities throughout the city. The diverse nature of this metropolis is reflected in the multifaceted creative sector that makes its home in New York. Numerous actors within a labyrinth of creative industries and nonprofit organizations are a part of the multi-layered fabric of the New York economy. Although cultural policy seems to be inherent within the actions of the Mayor and the City Council, there are few formal research reports on the creative community authored by the municipal government.

While New York does not have a clearly articulated cultural policy agenda per se, it has a number of diverse policies housed within a variety of agencies. These serve together to build, support and advocate for the cultural community and its organizations both in the for-profit and nonprofit sectors. City agencies dedicated to numerous areas view arts and culture as a valuable resource that makes a significant contribution to the economic vitality and livability of New York. The Department of Cultural Affairs and the New York City Economic Development Corporation, in concert with an extremely arts-friendly mayor are powerhouses of investment and advocacy for the creative community. Municipal attention and funding tries to maintain a wide focus that attempts to involve all of the boroughs in the quality of creative life. Much of the recovery after the events of 9/11 brought together economic development, tourism and the creative community that blended to produce powerful results in remaking New York as a safe and exiting place in which to live, work and visit.

Studies indicating that the cultural community, specifically in the nonprofit area is generating a greater proportion of income from earned income point to the efficacy of interventions in capacity building over the past decade. This finding serves as a way to understand the role of municipal programs in empowering the creative community to move further towards cultural sustainability. In addition, the deliberate and aggressive marketing and branding campaigns targeted towards residents, national and international tourists have generated increased visitorship for New York's arts and culture organizations and institutions over the past ten years. These studies also point to the efficacy of creating a more comprehensive policy strategy and planning document, which could serve to address many of the key issues, including affordability of live and work space, building capacity, healthcare and living wage concerns and begin to outline steps towards ensuring the strengthening and continuation of the city's creative community.

The recovery effort to bring New York back from the tragedy of the World Trade Center attacks to once again become a safe and viable city in which to do business as well as to visit has incorporated arts and culture into the heart of its strategy. The impact of the events of 9/11 still is felt, especially in lower Manhattan, even though many of the programs and initiatives undertaken to enhance New York City's brand have been effective in drawing businesses and visitors. Strengthening this perception of New York as a cultural center has been invaluable in allowing the city to count on tourism, especially cultural tourism, as a tool with which to face the Great Recession. Through a blend of municipal policy, advocacy and support, the creative sector has bolstered New

York's image and been a strong force not only for economic recovery but to help to produce a re-imagined New York City that appears more vibrant than ever.

Artists and creative workers have consistently been drawn to New York as a place to fulfill their dreams of success, often in spite of the contrast between working conditions there and opportunities for more affordable residential and studio space in other areas of the country or the world (Currid, 2010). Research has shown that many urban centers around the world are integrating the potency of the creative cities paradigm into their economic development strategies, which may pose a threat to the dominance New York City has enjoyed (Keegan et al, 2005). The agglomeration of creative workers is one of the defining characteristics of New York, and in order to retain that cultural milieu there may be issues that need to be addressed by municipal policymakers. The coming years will determine whether the strategic policy initiatives undertaken by a variety of city agencies will allow the creative community to thrive, and in so doing enable it to continue to serve as a magnet for visitors, a draw for residents, and the most valuable jewel in the crown of the City of New York.

## CHAPTER VII

### NEW YORK FINDINGS: THE CITY WHERE CULTURE NEVER SLEEPS

#### Introduction

I interviewed 21 elite actors in New York (See Appendix C). Respondents viewed arts and culture as having both social benefit and economic value. These interviewees pointed to the wealth of creativity found in New York as a vital asset in drawing visitors and residents to the city, as well as to rebuilding the sense of pride felt by those who make New York their home. The arts and culture sectors were seen as an important source of social benefit in providing opportunities for education, access without financial barriers, and as a resource for attracting creative workers to the city (See Appendix I).

On the economic side, the sector was perceived as providing significant economic benefit to New York through the creative economy's many for- and nonprofit businesses, and as an important draw to tourists. Respondents noted that issues such as understanding and building demand for arts and culture offerings, products and business services, and creating value for residents and cultural workers through the creative economy were of importance in New York. Interviewees discussed the role of arts and culture in revitalization and gentrification, the power and strength of the creative industries, and the importance of public art in efforts to redefine the city over the past decade. They emphasized the leadership of Mayor Michael Bloomberg and members of his administration in weaving tourism, economic development and cultural policy together to reclaim New York's power after 9/11 as a cultural center for residents and a magnet for

tourists. Regarding Bloomberg, areas discussed include the mayor as a billionaire, Bloomberg running the city as a business, and his personal preference for arts and culture. The Bloomberg team is characterized by the hiring of bright people in his administration and outsourcing key areas. Respondents suggested that the private sector, especially foundations, cultural nonprofits and the real estate industry were stakeholder partners in building the creative sector's rise as a force in economic development. Several perceived that cultural policy and economic development's symbiotic relationship was not fully discussed or visible, with cultural policy thought of as the domain of the DCA.

While economic development using arts and culture was seen as having expanded over the decade, many felt more could be done to bring this relationship to light. Suggestions were made as to the efficacy of further studies on the power and breadth of the social and economic impact of arts and culture in the economic development lexicon, greater use of city assets as opportunities for redevelopment and creation of cultural districts to strengthen this. Interviewees mentioned trends such as the growth of naturally occurring cultural districts outside of Manhattan, challenges to New York's dominance as a center for the agglomeration of cultural producers and global interest in the creative economy as factors for consideration by municipal stakeholders going forward.

### **Findings: Overview**

Six major findings emerged from this study of New York City (See Appendix H).

**Finding 1:** In New York, arts and culture have a dual meaning: social benefit and economic benefit. Within social benefit lie the areas of education, accessibility,

creativity, public good, and safety; problems in this context include inaccessibility.

Regarding economic benefit, the findings include areas such as New York as a boomtown, the vast demand for arts and culture in New York, and the properties of income-generation. Social and economic value met in the areas of identity and value to residents.

**Finding 2:** In New York City, arts and culture are embodied in a visible built environment and embedded on the community cultural level, resulting in macro and micro level manifestations. This is evidenced by tourism, local tourism, cultural industries (including cultural workers and small businesses), revitalization, gentrification, and public art.

**Finding 3:** In the last decade, the most visible arts and culture leader has been Mayor Michael Bloomberg, followed by his administration. The New York City Council, the private sector, and the nonprofit arts and culture sectors play much more supporting roles. The corporate sector, the for- and nonprofit arts and culture sectors, and partnerships are a part of the mix of leadership and stakeholders in New York's art and culture community.

**Finding 4:** Cultural policy in New York City consists primarily of the enormous funding power of the Department of Cultural Affairs (DCA). The DCA funds arts and culture projects as well as capital programs. In addition to the DCA, there are aspects of zoning and permits as well as tax issues that loosely fall under the rubric of cultural policy. However, there is a lack of formalized cultural policy in New York City.



**Finding 5:** Although the NYC Economic Development Corporation recognizes the potential power of arts and culture, it has not systematically planned for its use in economic development. There are few cultural districts designated in New York; however, the NYCEDC does provide land and money as well as partnering with New York State on some projects. The NYCEDC leader recognizes the role and power of the arts and culture sector.

**Finding 6:** Cultural policy is tied to the economic development agenda in New York through the Bloomberg administration as a marketing and branding tool and through the cultural built environment and tourism offerings. Tracking and reports allow justification of investment and cultural capital projects by the municipal administration.

### **Findings: New York – Presentation of the Data**

#### **Finding 1**

In New York arts and culture have a dual meaning: social benefit and economic benefit.

**Social benefit.** In response to my query about the meaning of arts and culture in New York, as well as its priorities over the past decade, interviewees talked about two key aspects; social and economic benefit. For these respondents, social benefit has a variety of meanings, including citizenship, quality of life, creative expression, educational benefit, access, diversity, and public good.

*“What makes the civilization are the arts. There is a public good in supporting the arts that this allocation reflects. Then we look at the economic impact and benefits. Will the city and taxpayers realize these benefits?”*

-Seth Pinsky, President, NYC Economic Development Corporation

*“Art makes you think differently. You express yourself. You realize you're not alone. The universality of Shakespeare—that lasts. Without art, we will lose our humanity.”*

-Virginia Loulouides, Executive Director, Alliance for Resident Theatres

Many spontaneously discussed access as being a key issue in terms of taking advantage of culture in New York. The numerous cultural organizations that exist in New York were mentioned as being an advantage and an enriching opportunity that promoted happiness among those who live in the city. When queried about the ways that arts and culture have made the city more attractive to residents, public access to free arts and culture was talked about, as was the role of the arts in bringing meaning to people's lives.

For some respondents, access often meant free public art or being able to attend cultural institutions at no cost. Several mentioned the government's responsibility for impacting the quality of public life in New York.

*“New York City is a world class city and competes at the highest level. We want to enrich our citizens, beyond [being] just a place to work and to get educated. We want to enrich the quality of life, to make it interesting with variety and ability to participate in arts and culture.”*

-William Woods, Director, Waterfront and Open Space Planning, NYC Department of City Planning

A number of respondents emphasized the social value of arts and culture in and warned against measuring the impact of arts and culture solely on quantitative bases.

*“You can get lost in the economic development and Richard Florida arguments. Some piece of that is to encourage economic growth, but it's not everything. It's not always the policy goal.”*

-Brad Lander, New York City Councilmember

*“There is a strong sense of the value. Culture is not straightforward in terms of*

*evaluation. If you want to look at jobs—if that's the only way you evaluate—you should just bring in Walmart.”*

-Kate D. Levin, Commissioner, New York City Department of Cultural Affairs

Several challenges to accessibility were pointed out. Respondents discussed barriers including lack of knowledge about availability, the image of arts and culture as elite, and the high cost of attendance or participation at cultural events.

*“It is perceived to be more elitist – less accessible. The public doesn't know the galleries are free. Museums need to be more accessible- more affordable.”*

-Kathleen Gilrain, Executive Director, Smack Mellon Gallery

*“It is a huge barrier—money overall. It is affecting the work of artists, and those who see the artwork as well.”*

-Danielle Porcaro, Community Liaison, Office of Speaker Quinn, New York City Council

**Creativity.** In response to questions on the meaning of arts and culture in New York, creativity was found to be an important aspect of the urban identity in the city. Interviewees felt that the identification as a creative center was an integral part of New York's zeitgeist. The city as a center of innovation was seen as an important differentiator, while neighborhoods throughout the five boroughs were viewed as burgeoning creative hubs.

*“It is crucial to their identity of New York -- the creative identity, the international identity, and the tourism. New York retains its business identity as a creative place to live. People want to live here because of the arts and culture.”*

-Levin

*“There is more awareness of its importance to the quality of life in the city. Creativity and culture is a citywide phenomenon.”*

-Pablo Vengoechea, Vice-Chair, New York City Landmarks Commission

**The arts in education as a social benefit.** As part of my query about the value of arts and culture to residents, many respondents discussed the importance of teaching arts and culture in the New York City schools and the wealth of opportunities available to children and young people through the arts and cultural assets of New York City.

Although it was pointed out that the City Council does fight for arts education funding in the city budget, some respondents suggested that arts education ought to be required in the schools, something that is not perceived as being done now. The city's cultural institutions were seen as an important resource for youth, as were programs incorporating educational components provided by cultural nonprofit organizations.

*“[There are] efforts of government and business to help art in schools. The city kids have access to an extraordinary number of cultural resources.”*

–Marete Wester, Director of Cultural Policy, Americans for the Arts

*“Being exposed to arts and culture makes you a better citizen and a better person.”*

–Paul Wolf, Principal, Denham Wolf Real Estate Developers

One respondent emphasized the role of the Department of Education in developing programs for arts in the schools, and finding a measurable tie between culture and education was seen as important. This was discussed in relation to economic cuts to schools and lack of resources for public education in teaching fine arts and music. Many respondents voiced concerns about arts education being cut from schools and being eliminated in cultural institutions' programming.

*“The downside is the lack of resources to public education for teaching fine arts and music. This has created a challenge—the need is not being matched.”*

–Jack Rainey, Vice President Government & Community Banking, TD Bank

An interviewee discussed his thoughts on the tie between arts education and a feeling of safety in New York City, specifically in regards to visitors and residents feeling secure after 9/11, and pointed out that the issue of safety was of great importance in attracting cultural tourism after the disaster.

*“[There is] the notion of using the city as an educational adjunct for your kids. If people did not think it was safe—they wouldn't come here.”*

–L. Jay Oliva, Executive Producer and Chair, Skirball Center for the Performing Arts; Former President, New York University

**Economic benefit.** When asked whether arts and culture brought money into the city interviewees had numerous opinions on this topic, centered on its economic importance. Economic benefit and value to New York City were seen as the combination of economic activity, corporate identity, the quality and quantity of supply of creative workers and cultural outputs, the cultural boom and the way that all of these connect to make New York a cultural center. Findings on this topic included the strength of arts and culture to draw residents and tourists, to make people want to come to New York – and want to stay there -- and in the way that businesses use arts and culture as a way to attract workers to New York City. It was perceived that the vast number of cultural offerings remains an important aspect of New York, one that differentiated it from other cities. Arts and culture were seen as drivers of the economy, and many interviewees discussed the numerous cultural industries located in the city.

*“At the heart is the recognition of the economic generator of arts and culture.”*

–Lander

*“Economic activity; number one, it helps spread the tax base. There is a renaissance in communities.”*

–Rainey

*“Arts organizations are seen as economic development and growth.”*

–Cora Cahan, President, The New 42<sup>nd</sup> Street

Part of the economic value of the arts and culture sectors in New York is their contribution to its identity as a cultural city. Respondents see this kind of cultural identification as a positive affect that makes tourists want to visit and residents want to live in New York. The wealth of businesses and industries that contribute to the cultural landscape of New York City was emphasized.

*“It is crucial to the identity of New York; the creative identity, the international identity, and the tourism. New York retains its business identity as a creative place to live. People want to live here because of the arts and culture.”*

–Levin

**Where economic benefit and social value meet.** The area in which these two “meanings” of arts and culture meet is in the perception of New York as a cultural center and in the way that the milieu of the city brings institutions and creative people together. Respondents were concerned as to the continued status of New York as a place where experimental and establishment arts and culture organizations could come together. The idea that “art is a given” was seen as part of the city's identity. Challenges to the articulation of the economic and social benefits of arts and culture were discussed.

*“We assert intrinsic values—that art and culture are good for you. Yet, we are being challenged to describe the benefits. This is why the economic argument is attractive over the past 20 years.”*

–Anne Coates, Vice President, Alliance for the Arts

**Demand.** As part of arts and culture's dual impact in New York City, the role of demand was seen to have had an important manifestation in several ways including the kinds of offerings made available for consumption. It also determines, to some extent, the type of programming offered by cultural organizations. In my line of questioning on the economic impact of arts and culture over the decade, I investigated interviewees' thoughts on demand for arts and culture. Respondents pointed the ways that organizations in the arts and culture sector generate and respond to demand and how New York City looks at demand when making decisions about cultural funding and policy interventions.

Among the problems discussed were the aging-out of audiences for many of the more "classic" kinds of cultural offerings, in addition to influences on the public's cultural consumption. Some respondents perceived that the city is making fewer investments in arts and culture thought to be on the "fringe" of popular offerings.

*"The role of demand is the highest determining factor. Demand would probably crop up in more conversations than artistic excellence or creative genius."*

-Andy Milne, Jazz Musician; Professor, NYU and New School

*"New Yorkers are interested in smaller things; music, storytelling, and improvisation. For example, the New Museum and the High Line are responding to gaps in the field; gaps in art. They felt an unmet demand."*

-Jonathan Bowles, Executive Director, Center for an Urban Future

**Residents.** I inquired as to the ways that the arts and culture sector had made New York more attractive to residents over the decade and several respondents pointed to the numerous cultural offerings as a key reason people move to the city. They discussed creative producers wanting to make New York their home, and the value to corporations of being able to attract employees due to the multitude of cultural amenities available.

Cultural options increasingly available in the other boroughs outside of Manhattan also were discussed.

*“People want to have culture; not [just] a Broadway show. There are lots of alternatives. There are cultural options in the boroughs. Clearly, in the last decade there has been a huge growth in the number of music venues and dance clubs in Brooklyn. There has been a decline in Manhattan.”*

-Bowles

*“It's why people come here; why they live here. It sets us apart from so many cities. I am always constantly comparing other cities to New York.”*

-Porcaro

Respondents pointed out that some cultural offerings, such as Governors Island, were targeted especially to residents. Although one respondent acknowledged that New York was not an easy place to live, it was thought that arts and culture helped to mitigate some of the challenges in living in such a large and expensive city. It was noted that the support system available to the arts and culture community is perceived as an important reason people want to come and live in New York.

*“Governors Island provides a venue for younger groups. The audiences for our programs are in a public setting, not an institution. Governors Island gives people the chance to open their minds, to sample art, and to eat ice cream.”*

-Leslie Koch, President, Trust for Governors Island

**Summary of Finding 1.** Respondents saw arts and culture in New York as having both economic and social benefit to the city. On the social benefit side, they viewed the creative community and its outputs as contributing to the city through the value of the arts in education, the provision of access to culture at reduced or no cost and the enrichment of the quality of life for citizens. Creativity was seen as an important aspect of the identity of New Yorkers, who these respondents felt identified with their city as



one of the centers of the creative economy. On the topic of economic benefit, interviewees spoke about the value of arts and culture in attracting a variety both of cultural workers and those outside the creative industries to live and work in New York. They discussed the strength of the creative sector as a differentiator and delineated the cultural industries as valuable contributors to New York's economy. Concerning the areas in which social and economic benefit meet, respondents emphasized that the role of demand for arts and culture offerings in addition to the role and power of residents are key areas of importance in terms of the success of arts and culture's implementation into the municipal policy landscape.

## **Finding 2**

In New York City, arts and culture are embodied in a visible built environment and embedded on the community cultural level, resulting in macro and micro level manifestations. This is evidenced by tourism, local tourism, cultural industries including cultural workers and small businesses, revitalization, gentrification, and public art.

**Manifestation of arts and culture.** Respondents voiced opinions about the decade regarding urban revitalization using arts and culture, gentrification, the role and strength of cultural tourism, and public art. These topics were in response to questions on the creative economy, its contribution to the city's strength, and the manifestation of arts and culture in neighborhoods. New York City was seen as the cultural and creative capital of the United States and a global leader in the creative industries. According to interviewees, there are a wide variety of cultural "value-added" aspects to the cultural

amenities found in the city, including the built environment, festivals and neighborhood cultural scenes, with numerous manifestations of this kind of creativity cited.

*“New York is a creative capital. New York wouldn't be what it is if not for arts and culture. Not only the preeminent cultural institutions, but also all of the artistic and creative people that populate the city.”*

–Bowles

The architectural manifestation and physical environment of New York were mentioned as embodying the milieu of culture in New York. Examples include the renovation of Times Square, many of the large museums, and instances of the integration of contemporary design within historical districts. Public gatherings, such as concerts in many of the city's parks were cited as physical manifestations of arts and culture, with the past decade viewed as a time of growth in the arts and culture sectors.

*“I think in the last 10 years there has been a great resurgence with the “overheated economy.” The last decade was terrific for the arts.”*

–Rainey

New York's continued standing as a leader in attracting the arts and culture community was touted. However, one person pointed out that after 9/11 this confidence was shaken.

*“It was a real shocker to the psyche, so that the question of whether or not the city was the “Boomtown” it was for the decades before was in question. The restoration of Boomtown was a condition of the arts and culture community. These represented two kinds of things; [first], when you are nervous and confidence is shaken, it represents people who know what they are doing -- arts and culture people -- producers, painters, etc. [Second], do they believe their work is best done here?”*

–Oliva

**Neighborhoods.** In discussing how city residents may have experienced cultural offerings, respondents pointed to the ways that neighborhoods have contributed significantly to the manifestation of arts and culture.

*“The metrics of economic development—it is a way to help brand any urban vision. There are sub-brands. For example, people identify with the global brands like “Soho,” also Tribeca, Chelsea, the Lower East Side. These are cultural sub-brands. It is a way of marketing the city.”*

-Craig Hatkoff, Co-Founder, Tribeca Film Festival

The neighborhood arts scene in New York was mentioned as being of importance in the last decade. Respondents talked about the Museum of Modern Art moving its location to Long Island City during its renovation.

*“Arts and culture are a fundamental part of what New York is; its identity, attractiveness. It is a driver of the economy. It reflects New York City's dual personality—it is a center of culture in the world, also a city of neighborhoods.”*

-Daniel Squadron, New York State Senator

Interviewees discussed the increasing integration and manifestation of arts activities to the other boroughs outside of Manhattan. Artists’ studios, arts education opportunities, and a dedication by artists and organizations to involve the community were cited. Many instances of ways that artists and cultural producers are agglomerating in previously “non--artistic” neighborhoods were mentioned. This is seen as a new kind of impetus to bring arts and culture out of a “Manhattan--centric” sensibility.

**Cultural industries.** Part of the way arts and culture are manifest in New York City is through the creative sector, including nonprofit cultural organizations, individual artists and cultural industries. The cultural industries include a wide variety of for-profit

businesses, such as the film industry, publishing, the media field, theaters and the music industry. All of the for-profit cultural businesses in New York play an important role in contributing to the creative sector economy. Cultural organizations, such as museums, large music venues, nonprofit theatres, festivals and other nonprofit cultural producers are a highly visible part of the sector; however, they are a smaller portion of the cultural industry financial footprint.

Cultural producers employed in the creative community include those who work in the nonprofit arts and culture organizations, those employed in the cultural industries and individual artists. When queried about the role of arts and culture in the revitalization of New York over the decade, respondents felt that the not-for-profit arts and culture sector, together with the for-profit cultural producers, make up a substantial part of New York's economy. They felt that divisions between the for-profit and not-for-profit aspects of this industry were becoming less important.

*“Arts and culture has been subsumed by the creative class and creative culture. It is hard to draw lines between artistic and commercial.”*

–Pinsky

*“It is part of a \$20 billion business. The nonprofit sector in arts and culture is a \$6 billion a year business. There is no valid way to look at the separation between the for-profit and nonprofit arts and culture producers.”*

–Levin

Several discussed the cultural industries as major economic drivers, pointing to the many thousands employed in these sectors, all of who pay taxes and have in numerous instances been a part of the development and revitalization of neighborhoods.

Responding to questions about arts and culture bringing money into the city, some talked

about the presence of cultural industries and producers as a magnet for employees of other businesses to want to live and work in New York.

*“New York has a long history of attracting creative people; not-for-profit and media industry as well.”*

–Koch

Although cultural producers were seen as being an important part of the economy in New York, it was acknowledged that there were many challenges, including finding places to live, securing better working conditions and having a chance to voice their concerns to the municipal government. It was pointed out that artists and cultural producers do not necessarily have a voice at City Hall.

*“People outside—I don't think they have done a lot for artists and creators. They have not made it easy for artists to live here. The goal would be to keep the creative workforce in New York City.”*

–Gilrain

Another respondent mentioned that cultural producers and those employed in the cultural industries also are consumers of arts and culture offerings, making financial contributions through their consumption of goods and services at the local levels.

**Revitalization and gentrification.** When asked about the use of arts and culture in urban revitalization, respondents discussed several issues including the way that arts and culture was seen as a strong impetus for renewal in a variety of neighborhoods. The refurbishment of cultural properties was viewed as an important aspect of the cultural community's contribution.

*“Arts is a community anchor, a revitalizer.”*

–Coates

*“The goal has been—it has to be—to renew cultural properties.”*

–Joseph Michaelson (Pseudonym), President & Executive Director,  
prominent New York City performing arts organization

Several respondents warned that the revitalization of neighborhoods often has led to gentrification, ultimately pricing out the cultural producers from these areas. Some warned that artists were leaving New York due to the fact that they were unable to secure affordable housing.

*“You don't hold the artists responsible for gentrification, but it is about a trend. There is some connection between a neighborhood being trendy, the rents going up, small businesses being pushed out, and then artists being pushed out. It is a double-edged sword.”*

–Lander

Challenges identified by respondents regarding artists and cultural producers living in New York included both the real estate issue and the employment issue.

*“It's so expensive to live here. One of the problems is that artists are competing for attention with issues like healthcare, seniors, and housing.”*

–Porcaro

*“One thing that is needed is to address the fundamental challenges facing working artists and creative people. For a lot of them, over the past decade New York has gotten more out of reach.”*

–Bowles

*“The city becomes less desirable as people are losing jobs. It is a mixed bag. People like having the arts, at the same time—how do you allocate resources? Funding is tricky.”*

–Hatkoff

Another issue of concern to one respondent was the challenge to experimental artists and cultural producers. He felt that the established, world-renowned arts organizations were taking the spotlight away from “edgier” art production.

*“There is a tension between global and local, between established versus non-established. There is a concern over the past 10 years that younger and experimental artists are being driven out of New York City.”*

–Squadron

**Public art.** On the topic of public good, several respondents pointed to public art as being an especially successful way for the city to manifest arts and culture. Among the significant public art projects over the past decade were the public installation in Central Park of The Gates, and the site-specific series of four public sculpture projects called The Waterfalls. Interviewees discussed free events, performances, and music presentations in city parks. These were viewed as ways to engage the public and draw broad audiences to exhibits and events that had no barriers to access, due to the fact that they were free and truly were a “public good.” One of the considerations voiced was a feeling that these kinds of public art installations were one-time only rather than being embedded in cultural policy.

**Tourism.** When asked to comment on the attractiveness of the city to non-residents, most of the respondents pointed to tourism as a visible part of the arts and culture economy in New York. Almost all individuals interviewed brought up the importance of arts and culture offerings as being of interest to national and international tourists and visitors. Respondents discussed the cultural tourism industry overall, the multiplier benefits of tourism, studies showing the efficacy and value of tourism, and the way that the New York City government has made tourism a priority. One pointed out that, over the past decade, Times Square had become an important tourist attraction.

*“The Disney-fication [of New York]. Disney with a small D -- this has happened to Broadway, and the central part of the city. It expands tourism.”*

–Oliva

*“It is recognized as an economic lever and cultural amenity. Arts and culture contributes greatly to international tourism.”*

–Wester

*“Most visitors flock to New York City because it is New York City. It is an iconic place.”*

–Vengoechea

Studies done by agencies contracted through the municipality such as NYC & Co. (NYCgo.com) and independent organizations, including Alliance for the Arts (2006) and Americans for the Arts (2009) show that many tourists come for arts and culture offerings and that their visiting these amenities provides a multiplier effect to each neighborhood. Interviewees noted that tourists were drawn to culturally vital places. Besides being a tourist attractor through the power of their role in spreading financial largesse, many respondents felt that the arts made a vital contribution to the city’s economic health.

*“You can look at surveys by arts and culture econometrics. It is part of the identification of New York City branding; the branding of New York.”*

–Hatkoff

*“Half the people who come to New York, they come for the arts and culture. Most visitors to New York are cultural consumers.”*

–Levin

Tourism was cited as a keystone of the Bloomberg administration’s policy. In addition to the visible cultural tourism, such as the well-known museums, performing arts organizations and Broadway, respondents felt that attention has been paid by this administration to cultural offerings outside of Manhattan.



*“Tourism is what the mayor sells as the number one priority, and the arts are about tourism.”*

–Lander

**Summary of Finding 2.** In discussing the manifestation of arts and culture in New York over the past decade, respondents talked about the physical appearance of the cultural built environment, including renovation of cultural institutions and key destination neighborhoods, in addition to attention to design in the rebuilding of attractions including the High Line. Neighborhood cultural amenities were viewed as important, as were ways that certain districts have grown to be unique brands in the eyes of residents and visitors. The cultural industries were discussed as a manifestation of the creative economy, with both for-profit producers and nonprofit entities seen as important. Challenges to the sector were mentioned, especially the perceived lack of cohesion in presenting a unified voice to municipal stakeholders concerning issues at hand for the cultural community in the aggregate. Revitalization and gentrification were discussed as significant areas in which arts and culture had played an important role over the decade. Public art was seen as an important contribution made by the city to the public good, and the tourism industry was cited as a powerful economic engine that helped New York to realize economic and brand building benefits.

### **Finding 3**

In the past decade, the most visible arts and culture leader has been Mayor Michael Bloomberg, followed by his administration. The City Council, the private sector, and the nonprofit arts and culture sectors play a much more supporting role.

**Leadership and stakeholder partnerships.** I presented a significant line of inquiry on leadership, stakeholder partnerships and support of arts and culture policy interventions within the city building lexicon in the 2000s. In looking at the leadership and partnership landscape of New York City over the past decade, respondents discussed Bloomberg, his team, the corporate sector, the arts and culture sector leadership, and partnerships.

Regarding Bloomberg, interviewees talked about him as a leader and as a billionaire, discussed the way he runs the city as a business, and mentioned his personal preferences for arts and culture. Respondents felt that the mayor had hired bright people in his administration such as First Deputy Mayor Patricia Harris and DCA Commissioner Kate Levin, and discussed the outsourcing of areas within the arts and culture, tourism and economic development functions. Respondents felt that, as an individual leader, Bloomberg had fostered arts and culture and that his wealth and power gave him access to private sector donors and supporters. Interviewees thought that City Council played a role in the arts and culture landscape.

Several respondents felt that over the past decade, city officials in general had awareness of the financial and public good benefits of arts and culture. Arts and culture in the current administration were seen by a number of interviewees as a value added component of a successful municipality. The numerous sectors involved in the leadership of arts and culture in New York also were discussed.

*“It is part of the city's core. Not just freedom of expression; we are supporting a key part of the economy. I think city officials know that this is a real asset for New York”*

–Bowles

*“There has been a growing awareness during the Bloomberg administration of the importance of arts and culture --that the arts helped define New York City. It lends great presence to the city.”*

–Cahan

**Michael Bloomberg: billionaire, mayor, leader.** All respondents pointed to Michael Bloomberg as the key leader in arts and culture in New York over the past decade. In addition to his role as mayor, Bloomberg was seen to have been a supporter through both his corporation and private foundation.

*“The last decade Bloomberg made a civic and personal contribution to arts unlike any we have ever seen. He has given fantastic leadership in the civic realm.”*

–Rainey

Several respondents discussed the Bloomberg administration’s integration of arts and culture as a priority area. The administration was seen as an advocate for arts and culture.

*“The arts and culture sector is part of the Bloomberg vision of the quality of life as an economic driver.”*

–Pinsky

*“This administration is much more worldly. The mayor is CEO of a worldwide organization; his deputy mayors have national and international experience. The reputation of New York City has grown regarding the variety and quality of arts and culture in the last ten years.”*

–Woods

Among those within the administration discussed by respondents, many identified Patty Harris and Kate Levin as key figures. Several pointed out that these appointees were integral to the arts and culture sector, and mentioned the fact that they worked

closely with the Public Art fund to carry out the mayor's cultural interests and mission.

Many respondents discussed Kate Levin as a vital member of the Bloomberg team.

*"The last ten years have been tied to the present mayor and his administration. He has supported arts and culture in his administration. There is a strong Cultural Affairs Department."*

–Koch

*"The mayor has very much brought in smart people. Kate Levin is the smartest person in city government."*

–Wolf

However, one respondent warned that Levin was under a great deal of stress.

*"Kate Levin—she is spread very thin. She has to do things for all of the boroughs, not just Manhattan. Kate is not on the same page—she has a small budget."*

–Michaelson

Respondents pointed out that several other city agencies within the Bloomberg administration had responsibilities that impacted the arts and culture sector. Specifically, interviewees mentioned the Economic Development Corporation, NYC & Co. and the business improvement districts as being important players. Not all respondents were unquestionably supportive and enthusiastic about Bloomberg and his administration. Two individuals felt the mayor had not done everything he could for arts and culture in the last decade. Some pointed out that, although the administration may not want to project arts and culture as "elitist," there was an inherent elitism in arts and culture itself. These respondents voiced their feeling that Bloomberg, by giving his personal money, was sending a private message of support for arts and culture. One respondent saw Bloomberg's personal consumption of cultural events and organizations as preferential,

and was concerned that the mayor was not perceived as receptive to public opinion about the cultural sector.

*“Actually, it has been more of a personal preference by the mayor; he is a consumer of culture. He is not responsive to arts and culture messages by the public.”*

–Wolf

*“One area that is sorely lacking is leadership—the leadership of elected officials and boldface names.”*

–Michaelson

**The New York City Council.** The City Council was seen by many respondents as being an important advocate for arts and culture in New York City. Several pointed out that the mayor worked closely with the City Council and that Christine Quinn, the Speaker of the City Council, was viewed as a key leader in support of arts and culture. One interviewee felt that City Council was the champion for the Cultural Institutions Group, and Council members were seen as advocates for building back the cultural budget for nonprofit cultural organizations.

*“In the City Council, they loved the arts. They were great protectors of the arts. The City Council has played a huge role in restoring the cuts that were made to the arts.”*

–Loulouides

*“There is a direct link to the quality of arts advocacy. You can't underestimate the influence of the City Council.”*

–Wester

One respondent felt that the New York City Council could do more in terms of advocating for cultural producers.

*“The mayor and the City Council could create some incentives for developers and landlords in existing buildings to support rents that are affordable.”*

–Gilrain

**The private sector.** I queried the respondents as to partnerships by the private sector in collaboration with the municipal actors in the arts and culture policy context. Private sector actors, including individuals, corporations, foundations, and patrons were seen as stakeholders in the arts and culture landscape in New York over the past decade. Nonprofit organizations played a special role, according to these respondents. Within the corporate sector, interviewees discussed corporate sponsorship, the real estate sector, and private patronage as important areas of cultural leadership. Several respondents pointed out that New York City's corporations have taken on positions of leadership as funders, specifically of arts and cultural offerings that are free and open to the public.

*“There is business support—corporate sponsorship. No arts organization could exist without corporate sponsorship.”*

—Hatkoff

It was noted that corporations often had their own “bottom line” interests in mind when playing a leadership role in the arts and culture arena.

*“There is a recognition from corporations, but that doesn't make them a willing partner. There are corporations that use arts and culture and creativity as part of their brand. They identify with culture as part of their brand.”*

—Levin

**The real estate industry.** Several respondents pointed to the real estate industry as a key player in arts and culture, both in the use of innovative architecture resulting in memorable buildings and in the revitalization of neighborhoods and districts. Interviewees discussed the revitalization of 42nd Street and the redevelopment of Brooklyn's DUMBO as examples of private real estate development with an arts and culture bent, and developers were seen as partners with the city in expanding the tax base.

*“The most potent business in New York City is real estate. There is an absolutely tight connection between this group and the production of art in this town.”*

–Oliva

Some respondents pointed out that many prominent real estate developers also sit on the boards of directors of cultural organizations.

*“Boards [of arts organizations] have key people. These individuals use relationships with the mayor.”*

–Eric Siegel

One respondent felt that the revitalization of 42nd Street was owed to one corporation, the Walt Disney Company. Another discussed the private sector support of Broadway and off-Broadway theaters as an important factor in keeping New York vital as a world-class city. Cora Cahan, Executive Director of New 42nd Street pointed out that the structure of her organization realizes revenue not only from box office income and contributions but from income that tenants pay, which is part of a larger strategic plan incorporating the renovation and redevelopment of 42nd Street. Several respondents mentioned the Walentas family in Brooklyn as an example of stakeholder partnerships in arts and culture. Two Trees Management, the Walentas family company, incorporated arts and culture in their strategic plan to revitalize the DUMBO area of Brooklyn and some respondents saw their leadership on this project as a model.

*“The Walentas family in DUMBO -- they leveraged culture to develop the neighborhood. They gave free space to arts organizations.”*

–Coates

*“The city could look at that family and use that as a model. They have done it on their own. They gave away thousands of square feet of space in DUMBO to artists.”*

–Gilrain

Respondents also pointed out some problems in the private sector over the past decade. It was noted that many media companies were in trouble, specifically the newspaper business, which was viewed as a part of the cultural industries. One person brought up the fact that several companies with art collections have begun selling them to raise revenues. Interviewees talked about the recession, as well as the tragedy of 9/11 as having impacted the capacity of the corporate sector to continue to play a leadership role in support of arts and culture.

*“The corporate sector was in the game. Now, there is a national crisis in the arts. Corporate and foundation philanthropy has moved.”*

–Rainey

*“The Wall Street debacle seriously impacted cultural institutions.”*

–Wester

A few interviewees discussed the role of individual actors as leaders in the arts and culture sector. The model of “arts patronage” was mentioned, as was as the desire of the city to bring in private resources to help support nonprofit arts and culture organizations. The importance of private individuals and families of wealth was brought forth as being an essential part of New York's funding base in the cultural community.

*“Historically, the rich families said that they could afford to maintain the collections of these huge [arts and culture] organizations. They wanted the city to maintain the grounds. The city justifies this by saying ‘this has been the fabric of our life from the very beginning.’”*

–Louloudes

*“I think America works better when things are in private hands.”*

–Michaelson



**The nonprofit arts and culture sector.** In response to inquiries about arts and culture in urban revitalization, spurring economic development, and strengthening the creative economy, interviewees felt that New York City's large cultural institutions played a significant role in shaping the field as well as influencing public taste.

*“We don't program...for public taste. There are leaders–pacemakers–they help mold the public's taste. Public taste evolved. Leadership and influencers–they influence public taste.”*

–Michaelson

*“The large museums do dominate culture. They are an influencer as well as the major performing arts organizations–Carnegie Hall and Lincoln Center.”*

–Woods

In addition to talking about the large cultural institutions, including those located in the other boroughs besides Manhattan one respondent pointed to the public communications network as having an influence and playing a leadership role. This part of the cultural landscape was seen as fostering culture, reaching a wide audience and being an important part of the cultural landscape.

**Partnerships.** When asked about relationship building, several respondents discussed partnerships involving the city and the cultural community, such as the Performing Arts Center in lower Manhattan being a part of the rebuilt World Trade Center site. Other kinds of partnerships mentioned include mixed-use buildings, which make space available for nonprofit cultural organizations and arts service organizations, the role of private foundations funding in partnership with the city, and aspects of the city and state government working in concert for the creative sector.

*“We do an enormous amount with the Board of Education. We are part of a three-way J.P. Morgan Chase/Tribeca Film Festival/New York City school system relationship. We're teaching kids how to tell the truth about their own experiences.”*

–Hatkoff

*“The city’s funding is all private and public partnerships. As far as the groups we fund, some are successful at creating value. Some are not.”*

–Levin

Not all respondents felt that the relationship between the DCA and grantees was a partnership. When discussing stakeholder partnerships, one interviewee said,

*“Economic Development Corporation and the DUMBO Business Development Group. The Department of Cultural Affairs grants are ‘partnerships’ – not really.”*

–Gilrain

Another respondent shared his perception that financial difficulties in the economy put a damper on funding opportunities for New York’s nonprofit arts and culture sector.

*“There was funding for arts and culture when we had a robust economy; the New York State Council for the Arts, big business players, Department of Cultural Affairs, etc.”*

–Rainey

Some respondents referred to problems they perceived as endemic to the arts and culture nonprofit community.

*“The cultural community are not great organizers. They don't play well together. They are not sustained. We have one-off projects.”*

–Coates

*“The arts don't think about coming to us at City Council, and we don't think about making policy. The arts and culture sector is not organized.”*

–Porcaro

*“Our standing in the world is low. The major institutions [in New York] are vibrant, and will do things that are exciting. The interesting things are all blessed by the city but done by the individual organizations. The government does not play a role.”*

–Michaelson

**Summary of Finding 3.** Interviewees talked about the leadership landscape in the arts and culture domain, and their discussion centered on Mayor Michael Bloomberg. His support of culture, both through municipal interventions and his own private philanthropy was cited as important contribution to the sector. The Bloomberg administration and New York City Council were seen as contributors as part of the leadership team. Kate Levin was viewed as a major leader as the head of the sizable Department of Cultural Affairs budget. City Council was perceived as playing a leadership role, especially in their advocacy of the Cultural Institutions Group funding. Respondents emphasized the involvement of the private sector in arts and culture, mentioning the real estate industry as a source of leadership. The foundation field and the nonprofit cultural arena also were cited as key members of the stakeholder partnership milieu together with the city. Partnership building among private, public and nonprofit actors and institutions was identified as an area for further development, and strengthening the possible lobbying power of the arts community was seen as a goal for leadership development within the nonprofit and corporate areas of the cultural sector.

#### **Finding 4**

Cultural policy in New York City primarily consists of the enormous funding power of the Department of Cultural Affairs. The DCA funds arts and culture projects as well as capital programs. In addition to the DCA, there are aspects of zoning and permits as well as tax issues that loosely fall under the rubric of cultural policy. However, there is a lack of formalized cultural policy in New York City.

I presented a number of questions regarding municipal cultural policy interventions, including public investment in strategic plans tied to arts and culture. Respondents overwhelmingly felt that there was a lack of formal, visible policy regarding arts and culture in New York. Several discussed the perception of cultural policy in the city as a kind of public/private partnership, and as policy that was not perceived to be transparent. Some interviewees cited Bloomberg's tourism policy as a strategic means for the promotion of arts and culture, rather than supporting arts and culture itself. Many discussed the capital improvements made to cultural buildings as being a combination of a resource to the public, an investment in public space and legacy space, and a way that real estate developers could bring in architect stars.

**The Department of Cultural Affairs.** As the municipal funding organization responsible for the arts and culture sector in New York, the DCA was seen primarily as a funding body, which also provided some services and engaged in some partnerships, and was perceived by some as an organization that was responsive to the cultural sector. Kate Levin felt emphatically that the DCA was responsive to public opinion, saying:

*“What the public wants is what the organizations want, and what they get.”*

–Levin

The process used for making grants, which was updated through input from the New York City Council, was thought to be more transparent recently as it involved arts professionals in making decisions about funding. Several respondents emphasized the vast resources—on a comparative basis—allocated for nonprofit cultural organizations.

*“The Department of Cultural Affairs budget is large – the largest in the country. The city has, in a larger way, been a facilitator... in the growth of arts and culture facilities.”*

–Wolf

*“The city definitely supports culture—no question—between capital and expense money. Together, the funding is greater than the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Institute for Museum Services.”*

–Coates

One respondent pointed to a reduction in funding for arts and culture by the Department of Cultural Affairs.

*“The city as public policy has been reducing public funding – reduction by half. They did this supposedly to foster more private resources. Culture does not have the same place at the table; this is the mayor's perception. Put positively, it is to encourage more private support. [They] have to make choices in fiscal scarcity. Letting arts and culture fend for itself as opposed to social services. The goal has been achieved; lots of arts and cultural institutions are on the edge.”*

–Siegel

**Public art and capital projects.** In discussing the manifestation of the municipal commitment to arts and culture, numerous respondents pointed to the city's investment in public art and capital projects through the DCA. The most visible public art projects were The Gates in Central Park and the Waterfalls installations throughout the city.

*“With the new administration, there is a trend to use the city as a cultural attraction. For example, public art – Christo.”*

–Wester

*“There is more awareness of art in public places. There is more focus in the arts and culture in the city—there is more awareness.”*

–Cahan

Commissioner Levin discussed the city's commitment to capital expansion projects in the arts and culture sector, saying:

*“We have lots of capital projects. We have redefined public spaces. These capital projects and public art—these are making people rethink and enjoy the public spaces in New York. Also, we have found that when organizations—cultural organizations—program in neighborhoods, there are local effects. It makes the neighborhood more safe.”*

—Levin

Several respondents viewed capital investment in the infrastructure of the cultural community as an important part of the implementation of cultural policy in New York.

One of the projects mentioned was the redevelopment of the Times Square theater district area, involving not only municipal cultural policy, but also relationships with New York State, the real estate industry and the cultural community.

*“The city puts a lot of capital dollars into art institutions—three quarters of \$1 billion through the political process. Also, the redevelopment of Times Square; the revitalization of the theater district.”*

—Siegel

*“There has been a huge increase in capital money for major arts and cultural institutions. It is the greatest percentage increase in capital funding for the arts ever.”*

—Bowles

*“[The city was] supporting cultural arts on the street—42nd Street. It was a second tier of cultural policy—but we ended up using the buildings, and we use the rents.”*

—Cahan

One respondent acknowledged that these cultural buildings and restorations were a great addition to the experience of architecture and open space in New York.

*“I think that what is unique in the last decade is that artistic design and artistic excellence have been a part of this. These legacy spaces are what make the city so special.”*

—Loulouides

**Nonprofit cultural organizations, DCA partnerships, and policy.** When queried about relationships of a collaborative nature, only a few respondents discussed

partnerships between the city and the cultural community. Some pointed to the funding process as being a partnership, since people from the field gave time to be on panels in order to make funding decisions and recommendations. One respondent mentioned a city program called Materials for the Arts as being a partnership between the private sector, the city and the cultural community by making office equipment and similar resources available at no cost. Another discussed the way that the arts and culture sector was at the table with other stakeholders in making decisions about bringing the city back from the devastation of 9/11.

**Financial challenges.** In response to my inquiry about the justification for the allocation of resources to the creative sector, many interviewees talked about the financial challenges faced by the city over the past ten years and the effect that this has had on the funding of arts and culture.

*“Public policy drives perception, and vice versa. The time of Westbeth or free loft space is over. The perception of that time is over. Funding has shrunk accordingly.”*

–Squadron

*“The city has no choice but to cut funding, but they have communicated well to the private sector and encouraged them to support arts and culture. Businesses realize that it is a moneymaker.”*

–Woods

**Perception of cultural policy in New York.** I asked respondents about the creation of interventions using arts and culture within the municipal toolkit regarding policy goals and the achievement of strategic outcomes. A few interviewees felt there was no clear cultural policy agenda in New York, and discussed the lack of centralization

for the planning of cultural districts and the adaptive reuse of spaces. Respondents were critical of extant cultural policy paradigms.

*“There's not much of an overarching cultural policy in New York, except for the recognition that arts and culture is an economic engine.”*

–Coates

*“In New York there is no central planning. It is not centralized. There is no central player; there is no central planning. There are no central festivals.”*

–Michaelson

*“Culture is part of what living in the city is. The city does not do enough to address that as a favorable experience. It happens because it happens; it is not being promoted. In other government systems, the government would take a role...we don't have that frame of reference.”*

-Vengoechea

Cora Cahan discussed her thoughts on the role of cultural policy in the redevelopment of the 42nd Street/Times Square area. She felt that the project was not an example of cultural policy; rather, it was an example of a kind of “laissez-faire” policy.

*“There was cultural policy that didn't understand what it was. That was an example of cultural policy in the making—without knowing what it was doing. We are the cultural policy! We brought arts and culture to the Street. We found people to make it work; we had to find money.”*

–Cahan

**Summary of Finding 4.** Respondents perceived The Department of Cultural Affairs as the primary influencer due to its substantial budget for operating and capital expenditures, and voiced their opinions as to a lack of formal and visible cultural policy in New York. There was minimal discussion of perceived partnerships between the municipal cultural entity and the creative community. Services to the cultural community were discussed, as well as challenges including lack of space, policy tied to tax



incentives, the Percent for Art program and some instances of cultural districts. The issue of scarcity was raised, including lack of attention by the municipal government to smaller institutions, the prioritization of the Cultural Institutions Group organizations, and the dearth of substantive designated cultural districts in New York City. City Council Members' discretionary funds being allocated to arts and culture, a positive environment for the cultural industries making it easy to obtain permits, and the administration's strong relationship with the real estate industry all were beneficial to the cultural sector.

### **Finding 5**

Although New York City's Economic Development Corporation recognizes the potential power of arts and culture, it has not systematically planned for its use in economic development, and it is not fully integrated with the cultural policy functions of the city.

**Recognition of the role of arts and culture in economic development.** I queried interviewees about the use of arts and culture in economic revitalization, justification for policy interventions and advocates for these options. Interviewees discussed relationships across policy domains involving cultural diplomacy, the allocation of capital assets, and sector training programs. Several acknowledged that the city understands the importance of the arts as an economic development tool and a resource in cultural diplomacy involving export and import of creative economy goods and services. The executive director of NYCEDC praised the immeasurable societal benefits of arts and culture's inclusion in the economic development paradigm.

*“First, from the Economic Development Corporation perspective, we certainly recognize the fact that arts and culture are societal goods in and of themselves. Our civilization is better for having a strong and vibrant arts sector, regardless of the economic impact.”*

–Pinsky

*“There is lots of cultural diplomacy; soft diplomacy, using arts and culture. Importing and exporting culture—that's a strategy.”*

–Hatkoff

**Economic development and culture in partnership.** Interviewees cited several partnership examples in regards to economic development and culture in New York. One respondent pointed to the development of the Waterfront, The Fulton Street Fish Market, the High Line, Chelsea Piers and Governors Island as examples of city partnerships through making usable land available. An additional partnership discussed was that of the city and New York State in the redevelopment of the Times Square area.

*“The city has a partnership with the High Line, also Chelsea Piers, Governors Island. These are partnerships of usable land. There is lots of partnering, but nobody has paid attention to that.”*

–Oliva

From the point of view of two of the respondents who work as Bloomberg appointees, there are significant partnerships among several agencies within the municipal government regarding arts and culture and economic development.

*“This administration has been interested in arts and culture as a strategy for economic development. We [the DCA] are involved in all of their projects.”*

–Levin

*“We work with other members of the administration, the Department of Cultural Affairs, the Mayor's office, and other agencies. We help other agencies. Also, we work with our team. We spend time talking to experts in the field. Virtually everything is done in partnership.”*

–Pinsky

**Providing assets of land, capital and training.** New York City's economic development policy towards the cultural sector includes the provision of capital for expansion and renovation of existing buildings, as well as making city-owned land available at reduced rates for cultural institutions to build upon.

*“All the [EDC] programs were developed with outside parties and outside partners. These outside entities run the programs as well. We recognize our limitations; we provide third parties with resources.”*

–Pinsky

One respondent pointed out that investment in capital projects was not a panacea, saying,

*“You have to do more than just invest in major cultural institutions to ensure that New York will hold onto its status as a major global hub.”*

–Bowles

Pinsky noted that NYCEDC also provided training programs and incubator environments for the creative sector. The goal of this is to empower the cultural community to be self-sustaining and to teach cultural producers best practices for management.

**Cultural districts.** When asked about influences on economic development using arts and culture on the municipal agenda over the past decade, some respondents bemoaned the fact that only two designated cultural districts exist currently in New York City, although it was pointed out that there are several naturally occurring cultural communities within the five boroughs. Interviewees discussed the two designated arts districts, Brooklyn Academy of Music Cultural District and the Fourth Street Arts Block, and the naturally occurring cultural area of Williamsburg, Brooklyn.

*“Best example [of a designated cultural district] is Brooklyn – BAM revitalization district. It is controversial, but an example. Sometimes it happens organically. It just happens, like Williamsburg.”*

–Siegel

*“The Fourth Street Arts District is a model of a cultural district. There are only two in New York City. It is surprising that there are only two official designations of cultural districts.”*

–Vengoechea

**Summary of Finding 5.** Respondents discussed their views that over the past decade the city had recognized the role of the arts as an economic development tool. Some felt that this integration and the partnerships it represented had not been deliberately touted and not fully presented as policy on the municipal level. Members of the Bloomberg administration felt that there was a great deal of collaboration across the policy domains of economic development, culture and tourism; however, those outside of the administration did not perceive this synergy. The economic development arm of the municipal government implements a variety of interventions aimed at the cultural community, both the commercial creative sector and the nonprofit organizations including the provision of assets of land, working and development capital, and training programs. Respondents pointed out that New York had a dearth of designated cultural districts, suggesting that the repurposing of city-owned assets including buildings could offer an opportunity for expanded arts and culture economic development interventions.

### **Finding 6**

Cultural policy is tied to the economic development agenda in New York through the Bloomberg administration as a marketing and branding tool and through the cultural built

environment and tourism offerings. Tracking and reports allow justification of investment in cultural capital projects by the municipal administration.

**Economic development and the built environment.** On the subject of policy interventions, allocation of space and financial resources and influences on policy interventions using arts and culture, interviewees discussed the cultural built environment, zoning, permits and tax issues, and the viability of tracking and reports as policy tools. Several respondents talked about the role of arts and culture partnered with economic development in revitalizing the cultural built environment, including specific institutions as well as neighborhoods. They pointed to Broadway and the re-creation of the Times Square area as an especially important manifestation of this investment and prioritization by the city, in addition to the fact that a great deal of city property houses cultural institutions, including theaters and museums.

*“Large cultural institutions; things like the Museum of Modern Art. Also, the revitalization of Broadway, the Brooklyn Academy of Music; these have been instrumental in economic development.”*

–Squadron

*“They created an economic development project, the city and the state; The Empire State Development Corporation, with the 42nd Street development project. This is the story of the new 42nd Street.”*

-Cahan

The NYCEDC considers itself an important actor in the Bloomberg administration's vision of arts and culture as an asset to New York City.

*“We are generating economic benefits. We believe—the Bloomberg administration believes—across New York City that the arts community has reinvigorated neighborhoods and acts as a vanguard for economic development.”*

—Pinsky

A few interviewees discussed their thoughts about the Economic Development Corporation’s provision of access to information for the arts community, specifically through the creation of a nonprofit desk designed to answer questions about financing.

**Zoning, permits, and tax issues.** In discussing interventions used to support or promote arts and culture, several respondents focused on real estate development zoning issues involving arts and culture opportunities for organizations. They discussed mixed-use spaces that provide office areas for cultural organizations and how real estate development projects are able to increase the size of their building through the incorporation of office space and exhibition space for nonprofit arts organizations. One respondent mentioned missed opportunities regarding cultural rezoning.

*“There could be some zoning to promote arts and culture—there is. But there is not enough included in any existing policy.”*

—Wolf

One interviewee said the process of getting permits for film and television production had been streamlined, and another pointed to the commitment by the city to security, especially in the Broadway area and New York's Museum Mile. Regarding tax incentives designed to assist the nonprofit arts and culture community, one respondent discussed a proposal to try to offer landlords who rent to theaters a release from real estate tax, and another mentioned a City Council initiative to lift the business tax for

freelancers, many of who are found in the cultural sector. An interviewee commended the extension made to New York's loft law, which made it applicable to all five boroughs.

*“Artists have to pay large rents. They cannot make art and pay huge rents. Keeping the creative workforce in the city is really important.”*

–Gilrain

**Perceived problems.** When queried about changes over the past decade regarding municipal investments in arts and culture interventions, several respondents talked about missed opportunities regarding economic development, zoning, and real estate.

*“From a zoning perspective, we could have had mixed-use districts for artists. There is more of a recognition of arts as a policy. It is more of a one-off; it is site-specific.”*

–Lander

*“The city gave away the waterfront. Forty-story towers are being built; there is no place for artists. There are huge tax incentives for developers.”*

–Gilrain

*“We are not actively engaged in promoting cultural production. We need the community to sustain cultural capital; we need the cultural community. We need places of convergence, neighborhoods that are active and creative.”*

–Vengoechea

**City planning with arts and culture.** When asked about the integration of projects using public resources for the enhancement of the creative sector, one respondent mentioned the importance of arts and culture for neighborhood renewal, and another mentioned lower Manhattan where arts and culture are being used to define the site of the former World Trade Center.

*“The good thing about art is that it is easily something that fills the vacuum.”*

–Vengoechea

Interviewees pointed to community development projects such as the High Line in addition to waterfront development plans utilizing arts and culture. The role of the New York City Landmarks Commission in preserving historic buildings was discussed.

*“The High Line... was community development—it was spontaneous. It was the creative people who lobbied, and good people listened. The Landmarks Commission designated the Meatpacking District. The city created the High Line. Urban planning was working together with design.”*

—Vengoechea

*“They [the city] can develop using economic development; creating a livable city. We need to attract talent to work in corporate America. They need places to recreate and to access culture.”*

—Rainey

**Tracking and reports as policy tools.** When asked if the city measures the impact of arts and culture, many respondents spoke about the importance of tracking and reporting as exemplifying economic development and cultural policy working together. It was pointed out that NYC and Co. tracks the impact of tourism, and that the DCA tracks attendance and financial data through the Cultural Data Project. One respondent discussed assessment of the quality of work being done in nonprofit arts organizations as an additional factor in determining success through the measurement of numbers of attendees. Several interviewees emphasized that tracking and reporting were only a part of making a case for culture, acknowledging that there were challenges inherent in quantifying the impacts of arts and culture. Questions arose as to ways to measure success through both quantitative and qualitative means, as well as the importance of designing ways to measure public opinion on arts and culture.



*“There are no nuanced returns on investment in valuations for cultural projects. We weigh things when we do capital investments or the sale of land.”*

–Levin

*“The idea that the city should be supporting the arts would not stand up to public scrutiny. Arts and culture has an image as elite.”*

–Siegel

Part of reporting includes gauging public perception of cultural projects. City planner William Woods talked about holding public meetings and workshops and soliciting feedback via the Internet when planning waterfront developments for the city. Some respondents suggested that New York consider doing more to promote the arts through housing or through art studios as incentives. Ideas included having artists live in new buildings as a bonus amenity, more art in the subways and using media-based methods to solicit responses from the public.

*“Economic development should be part and parcel of cultural development. If you bring in a cultural component, you will immediately take it to another place.”*

–Vengoechea

Some respondents pointed to the wide variety and incredible diversity of arts and culture offerings available, and the way that culture “makes New York New York.”

*“This town bubbles with activity because people live next to art. New York doesn't make Opera–New York makes the environment that makes it possible to see Opera.”*

–Oliva

*“New York is too big, too diverse, and too culturally-oriented. You don't need an economic engine to make New York work – it is already wonderfully cultural.”*

–Michaelson

**Summary of Finding 6.** Interviewees felt that the Bloomberg administration’s use of arts and culture in regenerating New York after 9/11 was the way that economic

development using arts and culture had been manifest during the decade. They talked about the renovation and recasting of the Times Square area, in addition to the Brooklyn Academy of Music Arts District and local redevelopment integrating arts and culture on a community level in the boroughs. Respondents discussed real estate interventions such as zoning and permits as a part of economic development strategies and tools that had a cultural component, and the ways that New York City encouraged screen-based industries to take advantage of easier administrative procedures.

Caveats presented included lost opportunities for the inclusion of cultural components in city planning and the need for greater integration of urban planning and design functions across policy domains. Tracking and reports as key policy tools were touted by respondents who emphasized that coordination across departments in gathering and analyzing data could be an asset to the justification for cultural policy interventions. The need for more opportunities for stakeholders in the economic development and cultural policy realms to work conjointly was discussed and interviewees acknowledged the wealth of resources provided by the diversity of participants in and consumers of the cultural economy in New York.

### **Discussion: Through the Cultural Kaleidoscope**

**Leadership and policy in New York.** Respondents discussed issues related to New York's cultural policy, the creative marketplace, and partnerships that they felt were the combination of the two. On the cultural production side, they pointed to a vast supply of product as well as numerous arts and culture services, sources of which include

commercial and nonprofit cultural production, the public sector and relationships or partnerships between them. Interviewees spoke about the qualitative social benefits of the cultural community and its offerings, and the quantitative economic benefits conferred to the city by the sector. The social objectives or qualitative benefits of arts and culture discussed included creative identity, international identification with the cultural city, innovation, and the perception of New York as a creative hub. The city was seen as the center of culture in the United States as well as internationally. Respondents viewed the cultural industries and the not-for-profit creative sector as economic drivers, which drew tourists as well as high net-worth residents to New York City.

Interviewees saw New York as a vast city made up of unending cultural pockets. I observed a feeling of distance among many respondents regarding their involvement in cultural policy and economic development and reliance on one leader's vision for the city's cultural sustainability. I noted pride and excitement at New York's growth over the decade in addition to fear about the creative sector's ability to survive in New York. Respondents were concerned about arts and culture on the fringe, smaller cultural organizations and businesses, the high cost of live/work space for artists and cultural producers, and the small number of cultural districts in the city. They talked about key issues of concern to cultural consumers and cultural producers, including production of cultural amenities, goods and services on a large scale by well-known cultural institutions or businesses and the smaller arts and culture creators. Individuals pointed to the plethora of cultural offerings in New York, in addition to the vast differentiation within categories of cultural production. Discussants talked about large and small-scale offerings found in

New York's cultural landscape. This cultural ecosystem was reflected in the opinions and thoughts of those interviewed as being a kind of watering hole for the creative community -- a cultural oasis for creativity.

The size of New York's cultural community, the concentration of cultural consumers found in the city, together with tourism focused on cultural amenities combine to create a potent mixture. However, many respondents pointed out that this watering hole could dry up. They discussed problems regarding arts education in the schools being cut, the aging out of audiences, challenges to cultural producers inherent in the high cost of living and working in New York and the perception that artists did not have a way of voicing concerns. Respondents talked about the perception of arts and culture as elitist, which some saw as personified by the city's most visible cultural consumer, Mayor Bloomberg. In the aggregate, these problems seemed to be the flip side of the positive cultural identity voiced in these interviews.

The majority of respondents felt a kind of distance from what was really transpiring in the world of New York's municipal cultural policy and economic development functions. This could be due to the size of the city government or the insularity of a powerful municipal entity governed by a charismatic billionaire mayor. They felt that Mayor Bloomberg had given New York a kind of "makeover," in that he had instituted an administration that was run more like his billion-dollar business. By bringing in excellent leadership as well as outsourcing some functions of the city

government, such as NYC & Co. and the Economic Development Corporation, Bloomberg created what I interpret respondents felt was a “well oiled cultural machine.”

The riches identified by respondents included increased cultural tourism, the continued agglomeration of artists and the maintenance of a significant tax base in addition to world-renowned public art installations. They also pointed to naturally occurring and municipally assisted cultural districts, including the Meatpacking District, DUMBO, Williamsburg and the High Line area. The discovery that these respondents did not perceive any kind of broad-based cultural policy other than the funding – albeit gargantuan – that came through the Department of Cultural Affairs was a surprising one for me. The sheer physical size of the city of New York, as well as its mammoth budget, billionaire mayor and plethora of cultural goings-on seemed to overwhelm respondents. They clearly felt that things were happening on the economic development and cultural policy fronts but with the exception of the two individuals who work directly for the mayor and another highly placed municipal appointee, did not feel a connection to their development. Interviewees mentioned the way that New York City has cultural sub brands in the neighborhoods, such as Soho, Williamsburg, and Chelsea. Within the mammoth city government there some are sub brands referred to, each with its own distinct culture and outputs including New York City Council, the Department of Cultural Affairs, NYC & Co. and the NYC Economic Development Corporation.

I found that respondents indicated that there was a delicate balance between stimulating desire for cultural luxury offerings such as the Opera, Broadway or many of

the very expensive music venues, and giving broader access to cultural public goods. New York seems to have a cultural economy of scale, in which size does matter. This overwhelming plethora of cultural goods and services means that attention does not need to be paid to such an extent to any one area, since if one cultural organization ceases to exist another will take its place. As well, if creative workers or cultural producers become disenfranchised and leave the city, others will move here to take their place. This super-supply level, combined with a \$64 billion budget for the municipality and the largest amount of cultural funds allocated to any U.S. city means that New York could be seen as a kind of 800-pound cultural guerrilla.

Regarding cultural policy in New York City, despite the perception of many respondents that there is no formalized cultural policy, things still were viewed as happening in this realm that could be understood as being interventions aimed at the creative sector. I found that just because these interviewees did not call something “cultural policy” did not mean that it was not there. The hands-off policy of New York City towards the creative community perceived by respondents may mean that there is more opportunity for naturally occurring cultural districts and cultural production. I discovered that cultural policy in New York is perceived as having a kind of laissez-faire quality, something that could be thought of as a “free cultural market” economy. There is an aspect of New York's cultural sector that seems to be Darwinian in nature, in that there is an element of survival of the fittest, domination of the biggest, and an idea that some of the city’s cultural institutions were “too big to fail.” The noted shift towards interventions

aimed at large cultural institutions may produce a challenge for the smaller cultural businesses and arts producers.

This commitment to cultural amenities found mainly in Manhattan also reflects a perception by interviewees that the municipality continued to be invested in both high net worth cultural consumers and corporate business entities that were interested in cultural amenities with which they could attract and keep their employees. My finding was that there was a greater focus by interviewees on the expansion of cultural offerings and options in the boroughs outside of Manhattan, coupled with a lack of awareness by many of them as to what the administration might be doing regarding cultural policy interventions. I saw that the research that was done on the creative sector primarily was outsourced, meaning that that private organizations often did these investigations, many times supported by some city funds as well as private sector monies. I found that the provision of funding to the Cultural Institution Groups was a constant, as it was perceived to be an integral part of the city's budget. It was acknowledged that these funds, while suggested by the mayor, were approved by the City Council.

**Expected findings and surprises.** Among the findings for this study, many were not surprising. Among those I expected to find were respondents' opinions that the last decade in New York was great for the arts. They discussed the way that arts and culture were a part of New York's identity, both for the city itself and for its residents. My findings showed that these interviewees felt that creative producers in New York were key actors in revitalizing areas, both physically and emotionally. They acknowledged that

artists and cultural workers played key roles in the gentrification of neighborhoods. They discussed the competition for attention among numerous issues in the city, both on the municipal side and the demand side faced by the arts and culture sector. Respondents pointed to Times Square and DUMBO as models of regeneration. I expected and I found that these interviewees had a perception of Bloomberg's administration as businesslike and worldly. They viewed Kate Levin as a key player in the not-for-profit cultural sector and said that, although corporate leaders were stakeholder partners, over the last few years they had been overwhelmed by financial challenges. Expectedly, I found that this cohort saw large organizations and cultural industries as dominating the creative sector and perceived the cultural community as a whole as not being well organized. Not surprisingly, respondents talked about an awareness of public art throughout the city and praised the neighborhood effects of arts and culture in communities.

A number of my findings were surprising to me. These included the way respondents felt that since Bloomberg placed a priority on tourism and the cultural interests of tourists, one of the top initiatives for this administration became cultural offerings and infrastructure. I did not expect to find the large number of respondents who called for more cultural districts in the city and bemoaned the lack of municipal involvement in reclaiming spaces for cultural use. I was surprised that some interviewees discussed the way that artists and creative workers may question whether New York is the best place to be, as well as their feeling that artists did not have a unified voice. Although many pointed to the real estate industry as being extremely powerful in New



York, it was surprising that there were not many mixed-use buildings, cultural districts, or live/work artist spaces discussed in this investigation.

I did not expect to find the perception that nonprofit and for-profit cultural industries are more indistinguishable and interwoven over the past decade. It was surprising to see how emphatic some respondents were about their perceptions that the discussion in the cultural community had shifted in power to established cultural organizations and elites, and the way that they felt that the innovative and cutting-edge culture makers were not part of this conversation. I did not expect that these interviewees would have few ideas and suggestions for solutions to the challenges and problems of gentrification and displacement of cultural workers. I was amazed to find that the respondents did not point to a significant number of partnerships among stakeholders in the cultural sector, outside of those cited by the Bloomberg appointees I interviewed. The Bloomberg appointees saw public funding of culture as increasing, while those outside of the administration felt it had declined. I was not prepared to find that interviewees felt there was no real face for cultural stakeholders in the economic development realm. I did not expect that, outside of Bloomberg and his administration, leadership discussed by these respondents in the cultural sector would include only real estate developers.

I expected more discussion about diversity and issues related to arts and culture offerings targeted to these audiences. I was surprised that respondents felt that City Council did not get coordinated requests from the cultural community. Surprisingly, cultural leadership was viewed as coming primarily from the large organizations. The

perception of the enormity of the operations and capital funding for culture was interesting, in that respondents seemed overwhelmed by its magnitude. I did not expect to find that one respondent emphasized the lack of cultural policy as well as economic development strategy and planning in the redevelopment of Times Square.

I was somewhat surprised by the way that Bloomberg was talked about primarily as the key leader in the arts and culture sector in New York City. Some private corporations, real estate developers, and Speaker of the City Council, as well as Kate Levin and Patty Harris were the crux of any other leadership mentioned. It appeared that respondents saw the government of the city in the background and behind the scenes in regards to the perception of the existence of any involvement of those outside of city government in the formulation and implementation of cultural policy. However, interviewees viewed the government in the foreground regarding things like public art, music in city parks and free events, in addition to many of the cultural capital improvements and projects. I found that respondents wanted to see more transparency in the cultural policy domain, specifically that the process of policy creation be more open and accessible. Bloomberg, according to these respondents, did not showcase private sector leaders who would be a part of the cultural community after he left office. One of the most interesting findings to me was the way that the Bloomberg appointees talked enthusiastically about partnerships, cooperation and teamwork. The other nineteen however, did not echo this sentiment. Many of them felt that they could not readily identify what they thought of as strategic cultural partnerships or visible manifestations of integrated economic development and culture planning.

These findings lead me to believe that over the past decade, the main champion of culture, perceived by my respondents, was Mayor Michael Bloomberg and select individuals in his administration. The real estate titans and a few large corporations mentioned were seen as part of this visible cultural leadership group. The creative core discussed by interviewees included areas of the cultural ecosystem, such as naturally occurring cultural districts, festivals and fairs, young creative sector workers, international visitors, diverse neighborhoods, and creativity and innovation perceived as being outside of the mainstream. This seems to be reflective of a less visible but extremely powerful part of the cultural identity of New York City. While the large arts organizations, the huge creative sector for-profit industries, and Bloomberg and his administration, together with all of the aspects of cultural tourism seemed to have much attention paid to them, I found that respondents for this study spoke often and passionately about the other parts of New York's cultural community.

This gave a kind of iceberg-like picture of New York to me, meaning that the tip of that iceberg was visible and included the well-known organizations and industries, the city's cultural leader, and the municipality's focus on tourism. Much of New York's creative and cultural life, however, was to be found in the majority of the iceberg that was submerged, including the neighborhoods, music, nightlife and cauldron of creativity that respondents felt existed below the surface. While the twenty-one New York respondents in this investigation portrayed the cultural vibrancy of the city, I found a dichotomy between the spotlighted cultural industries and producers perceived as being a part of the cultural tourism engine, and the lesser known vernacular culture occurring constantly and

unendingly throughout New York City's five boroughs. There was a great deal of discussion the way that highly visible cultural amenities had been focused upon and nurtured by Bloomberg and his administration. My sense of the data gathered in this investigation was that additionally, there was a large and multifaceted aspect of the cultural community in New York City that was more neighborhood and community based, and that involved smaller and often more experimental kinds of arts and cultural offerings, many of which were taken up by residents. Although most cultural tourists to New York City visit primarily the tip of the iceberg offerings, more are becoming interested in some of the more “off the beaten track” cultural amenities. Some of the findings that conveyed a sense of excitement and energy were related to this “other cultural New York”—the multifaceted cornucopia of arts and culture producers, creative entrepreneurs and small to midsized arts groups, many of which were to be found outside of the borough of Manhattan. This included naturally occurring cultural districts such as Williamsburg, as well as arts and creative offerings and partnerships, many of which were put together by younger artists and creative business people. Many respondents talked about this sort of “cultural mosaic” as being an integral part of the vitality and magnetic power of New York City.

This kind of “cultural duality” showed me that there are, in a sense, two New Yorks. The first is a “top down” -- visible, highly funded, and involving city leaders and a luxury cultural brand. The other is bottom up; coming from the community, involving creativity, diversity and spontaneity and not necessarily highly funded. It is made up of naturally occurring cultural districts and scenes and is a vibrant mix of free market

culturally creative people, organizations, businesses, and consumers. This large, less-visible plethora of cultural amenities is part of the way that New Yorkers live next to art, and find their city more alive and exciting than any other. The closer you look at New York City, interviewees claim, the more cultural and creative facets you will see. This “cultural cauldron” was viewed as happening organically, often outside of any kind of cultural policy or economic development domain. Since the administration that has been in place for much of the past decade will be changing hands in 2013, the part of the creative economy that does not seem to be tied to the administration could be the locus of creativity and could keep the city’s cultural scene alive in a more organic way.

The pressures inherent in New York, including its focus on success, tremendous number of competitive cultural institutions, businesses and creative workers seem to have produced a gem of unquestionable brilliance. The multifaceted arts and culture sector truly is New York City's diamond. This multiplicity of large and small, profit and not-for-profit, discovered and obscure, neighborhood and world-renowned people and entities makes New York City a cultural kaleidoscope. This cultural free market draws creative people, cultural industries, millions of tourists and loyal residents to this creative and incomparable “city where culture never sleeps.”

**Revisiting my findings.** Following is a discussion of my findings, with comments regarding the strength of the argument for each. For my first finding, since New York's cultural sector is a huge market and a magnet for tourism, it clearly is an economic driver. All of the cultural variety and diversity is served by attention to social benefits. The

social drawbacks include high rents, the struggles of creative producers, and issues of access. The city values the public and social benefit aspects of the cultural community, with many examples of this put forward by respondents. My second finding stands because New York is a dense city with a small footprint, making arts and culture more evident overall. The micro manifestations are evidenced in neighborhoods, where arts and culture is about the discovery of local cultural amenities.

Regarding my third finding, all respondents talked about Bloomberg as a cultural leader. In fact, it was surprising that no other single leaders were discussed, or any other partnerships, nonprofit organizations, or celebrities. Bloomberg is the ultimate cultural celebrity, according to these interviewees. As far as the fourth finding, the only cultural policymaker mentioned was The Department of Cultural Affairs. Respondents brought up some interventions regarding tax policy and land use, but they did not connect these to a perceived strategy that they identified as cultural policy. They felt that interventions were done project by project with no master plan evidenced. I found that interviewees perceived cultural policy in New York to be “take it as it comes.” None of the respondents, with the exception of the two Bloomberg appointees, could identify a pattern or thought-out plan.

Regarding my fifth finding, the perception of a lack of formalized advocacy and lobbying, both by the nonprofit and the for-profit arms of the cultural community, meant that the NYCEDC did not view the sector as having an organized voice. EDC director Pinsky was eloquent in his discussion of the importance of qualitative measures in urban

life regarding arts and culture. Taking the other respondents' thoughts into consideration leads me to believe that the vacuum stems from a lack of cohesion on the cultural sector's part. The direction of ideas and input could go from the field to the agency, and from the private sector to the public. Many bemoaned the lack of cultural districts and adaptive reuse strategies, but I did not see plans for their design from the representatives of the cultural community and cultural intermediaries. My sixth finding discussed how Bloomberg, a powerhouse mayor who uses strategy and planning, implemented advice he received early in his term, utilizing the economic development agenda of promoting business opportunity in concert with investment in cultural assets. As the city's brand became more valuable, this reinforced plans to keep the cultural attractiveness of the metropolis alive and flourishing. Bloomberg's avowal that tourism would be New York's new industry made his commitment to culture even more important.

## **Conclusion**

While interviewees overwhelmingly expressed pride and excitement at New York's growth over the past decade, they also shared their fears about the creative sector's ability to continue to survive in New York City. They were worried in particular about the survival of art on the fringe, the challenges to smaller organizations, and the dearth of live/work spaces, which were thought to be prohibitively expensive and scarce. Among their concerns was the need to keep cultural facilities and their content up-to-date and current and to as bring artists and cultural producers to the table in policy creation and implementation. While the kind of cultural "survival of the fittest" may be an effective and efficient way to let the market determine who will be a part of New York's creative

class, the city may not retain its standing as a creative hub if artists choose other places to live. The huge river that is New York City's cultural sector needs tributaries to feed into its continued flow. Financial challenges over the next decade may overwhelm the attention of City Council members, who subsequently may not be as generous in allocating city funds and discretionary funds for cultural and economic development interventions.

The dependence on cultural tourism as an industry in New York, which Bloomberg has embraced may be in jeopardy. If the U.S. dollar gains in strength, cultural tourism may suffer. The next mayor may not be as culturally savvy, nor might that person bring in appointees who advocate for the arts in the not-for-profit and commercial sectors. It remains to be seen whether the next municipal leader will continue to foster New York City as a luxury brand the way that Bloomberg did. Interviewees felt that there was not an urgent need to make the economic argument for arts and culture, due to of the size of the city and its budget. However, ensuring cultural sustainability across a multidimensional city such as New York means policymakers must think about courting the creativity muse in this urban cultural cornucopia. New York may wish to focus on research showing the efficacy of keeping the cultural machine well oiled and running, with studies pointing to the strength of the agglomeration of creative people and those who want to live near them.



## CHAPTER VIII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### Introduction

**Structure of the chapter.** This chapter first introduces the major themes in the dissertation findings and presents an overview of ways that these are manifest in each city. It then delineates the findings for Toronto and New York within each of the six areas of the conceptual framework, describes the similarities between the findings, looks at the differences between the two cities, and investigates the factors that account for these differences. After an examination of these materials, a discussion of the relevance of the findings is put forward. Subsequently, the thesis question is revisited and answered through the analysis of data gathered both through the archival and historical research and the elite interviews. The discussion continues with a presentation of three policy recommendations, each of which is enhanced through linking the findings to the recommendations and the provision of examples from both cities illustrating the suggestions. The chapter concludes with a summation of the research, thoughts about the future of arts and culture in the economic development toolkits of Toronto and New York, and a discussion of areas for further research.

**Major themes.** Themes that were prominent in the findings from both cities encompassed topic areas found in the Conceptual Framework developed for this dissertation, including the meaning and manifestation of arts and culture in Toronto and New York over the past decade, leadership and partnerships in each city, the ways in

which cultural policy was manifest, how arts and culture was incorporated into the economic development agenda, and whether this was related to cultural policy (See Appendix A). A summary overview of elite interview findings from each city grouped by theme and ranked by importance may be found in Appendixes G and I.

### **Arts and Culture in the Cities**

**Cultural Camelot.** The findings indicated that for Toronto, the decade was one of great accomplishments physically embodied through the cultural renaissance. After the amalgamation in the late 1990s, the city began a time of self-reflection coupled with the desire to distinguish itself in the knowledge economy. Subsequent to the development of the vision of the renovation and revitalization of Toronto's major cultural institutions, the policy entrepreneurs who were leaders of these organizations built an advocacy coalition through which they implemented their concept of the integration of cultural policy and programming into urban economic development (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). Among the priorities of the newly created department at City Hall was a focus on using arts and culture as a means to implement social programs, especially in the areas of education and youth empowerment (Jackson & Kabwasa-Green, 2007).

The early 2000s saw the conflagration of policy entrepreneurs who were leaders of the major cultural institutions, a culture friendly mayor, and entrenched municipal staff that was producing comprehensive research pointing to the efficacy of the integration of cultural policy and economic development. In addition to a focus on rebuilding the large

cultural institutions, Toronto instituted marketing campaigns and a citywide festival, both of which highlighted the numerous less-renown local cultural offerings (Gross, 2008).

**Rebuilding New York City.** At the start of the decade of the 2000s, arts and culture were integrated into the life of New York City to a great extent. After 9/11, New York's municipal leaders had the desire to rebuild confidence and trust, while strengthening the economy of the city and attracting businesses to come and encouraging residents to stay. Arts and culture became a means of implementing a reaffirmation of a core differentiator for the city, as well as a tool with which to communicate a sense of safety and security. Cultural amenities were viewed as an important asset with which the city could appeal to corporations who wished to offer options for leisure time to employees, a valuable attraction to tourists, and a staple to residents who were patrons of the arts (Currid, 2010).

As an expression of the embedded nature of New York's identity as a global cultural capital, the 2000s saw this manifest on the physical level through investment by the city in the cultural built environment, in addition to temporary and permanent exhibitions of public art. Among the factors important in economic development, New York City had creative industry clusters, an agglomeration of artists, and a reputation as a cultural center as well as a history of cultural dominance and a presence as a cultural magnet (Schoales, 2006). Sustaining this level of activity in the creative sector required that the city consistently develop new cultural offerings while maintaining current ones. The leadership of New York leveraged the vision of the city as a cultural center, using

this as a focal point with which to begin the process of rebuilding itself after the exogenous shock of 9/11 (Zukin, 1995).

### **Leadership and Partnerships in Toronto and New York**

In Toronto, the findings showed that there was a strong perception of a powerful cultural community, one that needed to band together. Toronto's municipal actors changed their thinking about the way they could compete on the cultural level, as well as attempting to change the beliefs of cultural tourists and city residents. During the decade, the coalition with its group of stakeholder partners was able to build consensus and accomplish an enormous amount towards moving Toronto ahead with its ambitious plans. Rather than a grassroots effort, this was a case of entrepreneurial cultural stakeholders who utilized their agenda for community building (Jackson et al, 2003). Specifically, the leadership of the main cultural institutions initiated and implemented this effort. In Toronto, this kind of cultural partnership took place during an opening in the political system after amalgamation. Core beliefs about the city's ability to participate in the global knowledge economy were changed, and resources became available in Toronto through the platform of the cultural renaissance (Sabatier & Weible, 2007).

New York's cultural community and partnership roots were portrayed in the findings from this dissertation as being deep, as the city has a rich history as a cultural center and a significant amount of cultural capital, both human and built. The data showed that the private sector played a powerful role in New York during this decade through the contribution of personal wealth and financial capital. Consumption of arts

and culture by visitors and residents, interventions by the city targeting the creative industries, and municipal support for the nonprofit cultural sector all were significant.

**Cultural policy and its manifestation.** In Toronto, cultural policy was a key element of the city's power in the arts and culture field. Since the municipality has very limited powers of economic generation and is part of a strong provincial and federal scenario, they used cultural policy to a great extent as their calling card. This encompasses research about the economic and social good efficacy of arts and culture, selected legislation, and the repurposing of land and city-owned buildings as policy tools within the economic development context (Mulcahy, 2006). In New York, by contrast, cultural policy is manifest primarily as the domain of nonprofit arts and cultural organizations. However, there are a number of interventions that could be understood as “cultural policy” in other realms, including economic development, real estate development, and business retention, all of which have policy with arts and culture components. These are not seen as cultural policy, but the findings show that although they are not named as such, they fit under that rubric. An additional area in which cultural policy was manifest was support for public art, a means through which the municipal government contributed to the welfare of the general public (Heilbrun & Gray, 2001).

### **Arts and Culture in the Economic Development Toolkit**

Each city in this investigation integrated arts and culture as part of its economic development strategy during the decade under study. For Toronto, this was done through a combination of cultural policy research, citywide events, and the highly visible cultural

built environment of the cultural renaissance. This gave a widely recognized and public face to arts and culture policy and its implementation in economic development, thus showing all of Toronto's stakeholders the efficacy of this utilization of arts and culture. In looking at whether arts and culture have gained a role on the economic development agenda over the past decade, the Toronto data showed that this definitely had been the case. Arts and culture was the cornerstone of the economic development agenda in that city. It was the center of post-amalgamation cultural policy platforms, and was implemented in a clearly thought-out manner with a wealth of research to back it up.

In New York, the presence of arts and culture on the economic development agenda appeared to be unsystematic. It was invoked in economic development, but did not play a central role, and was not planned for in its use. Rather, it was seen as a fringe activity or entity, and not an essential player at the policy table. The findings showed that cultural policy in economic development was not employed as a central tool, and that its integration was in silos. New York's efforts to incorporate arts and culture into city building and its important role in rebuilding the city after the exogenous shock of 9/11 could be understood in two ways.

On the more deliberate and visible side, this was manifest in the municipality's dedication to public art, its investment in cultural capital projects, cultural tourism, and real estate projects that included the redevelopment of areas such as 42nd Street and DUMBO, Brooklyn. Naturally occurring instances of arts and culture in building the city's economy are exemplified by the burgeoning community of cultural Williamsburg,

the flowering of community-based arts and culture, and the growth of entrepreneurial creative businesses including media ventures and startups that involve arts and culture. Although cultural policy integrated in economic development was not named as such in New York, there was a sense of its being embedded within these two areas. The real estate growth and cultural built environment showed a marked development over the decade of the 2000s. Real estate growth had a nonprofit side, as exemplified by the Atlantic Yards' Community Benefits Agreement, and Harlem's Empowerment Zone, which had provision for some cultural spaces. In New York City, cultural policy did exist across the spectrum of city agencies, but in name it was the DCA.

### **Cultural Policy as an Economic Development Strategy**

The findings as to whether cultural policy was tied to the presence of arts and culture on the economic development agenda over the past decade in the two cities revealed that in New York there was a relationship between the two that was manifest in Michael Bloomberg's agenda. In this case, there appeared to be an instance of “form following function.” Bloomberg used arts and culture to build New York City's brand and to market this urban center as a cultural playground. This gave a boost to tourism – specifically cultural tourism – and enhanced the city's power as a competitor in the global cultural realm. Arts and culture was integrated into the economic development agenda, but was not talked about as such. However, since it was not “named,” this may have meant that this integration was not fully realized.

New York City after 9/11 was in a situation wherein agenda setting and decision-making were at the forefront of Mayor Bloomberg's efforts and activities. A McKinsey study commissioned by Bloomberg post-9/11 recommended that the city be positioned in economic development as a kind of luxury brand (Brash, 2011). The mayor then developed a comprehensive plan that included tourism, cultural affairs, real estate, and economic development. Arts and culture was an integral part of the building of this brand, and the data showed that Bloomberg and his team developed a policy platform that integrated arts and culture into New York City's economic development agenda, real estate goals, the building out of the cultural infrastructure, and tourism planning and implementation. The practice of developing strategic plans across government agencies is reflective of an increased cross-departmental focus observed after 9/11, primarily in the realm of homeland security (Eisinger, 2004).

During the decade, Toronto, which had been in the shadow of Montréal's creative dominance, attempted a "cultural makeover" from the outside in. Toronto findings pointed to the way that economic development consistently was coupled with cultural policy. This deeply integrated relationship between cultural policy and economic development in Toronto could point to challenges in diversifying its economic development potential. The cultural policy philosophy of Toronto over the past decade appeared to be tied directly to making money and building the economic argument, with a less-visible focus on the social equity and public good aspects of community cultural engagement (Stern & Seifert, 2010). The reports and studies produced by the city allowed policymakers, private sector leaders and the cultural community to undergo a kind of



change in their thinking about policy and economic development, and to recognize that the integration of arts and culture into economic development would be effective. This produced a consensus among a variety of actors and institutions, as well as a buy-in from the provincial and federal government. This support from the State meant that the policy interventions that took place in the arts and culture landscape of Toronto's cultural renaissance were well funded, as well as receiving the imprimatur of the government.

The polis in Toronto was a part of this advocacy coalition, with messaging to the public about Toronto's rise as a cultural city prevalent during this decade. However, it was because the numerous players in this coalition had adopted a new sense of Toronto's power and possibility as a cultural capital that this external messaging took place. The policy subsystems that were aligned in this framework included the cultural leaders of the major institutions, the Province of Ontario, the Canadian federal government, Toronto's mayor, municipal departments including Economic Development and Culture, tourism efforts, and the cultural community (True & Baumgartner, 2007). Within the context of this advocacy coalition, the change began with the amalgamation and subsequently was fostered by an external source, which was the nonprofit cultural institutions' leadership. It then was bolstered by the research and reporting done by the municipal personnel, which enabled a new kind of policy belief in the potentiality of Toronto as a cultural player on the global knowledge economy stage (Sabatier & Weible, 2007).

## **Summary of Major Findings**

This investigation looked at the relationship between municipal cultural policy and the presence of arts and culture as a part of the urban toolkit within the economic development departments of Toronto and New York over the decade of the 2000s. Following is a discussion of the findings for Toronto and New York, describing similarities and differences between the two cities and pointing to the factors that account for these findings (See Appendix J).

**Finding 1: What arts and culture mean in the city.** Regarding the meaning of arts and culture in Toronto and New York over the decade, the findings from the elite interviews showed that two cities shared several similarities. Findings from both sets of respondents indicated that arts and culture had both social benefit and economic value, and that it contributed to the quality of life in each city as a positive externality (Frey, 2000). Both groups of interviewees expressed the opinion that arts and culture was an important factor in education and in youth development, and that issues of accessibility were important in the context of the provision of offerings. In addition, there was an affinity among the responses concerning the ways that creativity, as embodied by the presence of arts and culture, was an integral component in each city.

There were a number of variances across the findings for this area. Toronto's findings concerning the meaning of arts and culture in that city centered on its aspiration to enter the international market of the knowledge economy, which was implemented in part through the city's cultural renaissance. Respondents pointed to the ways that they

thought the municipality was able to justify investment in arts and culture over this period, as it was in the service of realizing this objective. They mentioned the wealth of cultural diversity in Toronto and the importance of national pride and heritage that was embodied through arts and culture, and thought that the cultural offerings available over the decade of the 2000s were of substantive benefit to city residents. Of concern were issues focusing on the next phase of Toronto's cultural development, and some respondents indicated that the municipality would do well to concentrate on further action rather than research. In sum, the findings regarding meaning in Toronto appeared to demonstrate that the city had used arts and culture to transform itself over the decade.

New York interviewees identified that city as a creative center, one that attracted cultural workers and cultural consumers and had a strong creative sector. They viewed arts and culture as an important contributor to the economy of New York in the decade under examination, and delineated future issues such as building demand and providing more value to city residents through arts and culture. The findings from these elite respondents revealed that New York had used arts and culture to affirm itself over the decade. Of concern to interviewees in this dissertation was New York's ability to draw new creative producers, in addition to a focus on the way that the city needed to be in a constant state of renewal of cultural amenities. For New York, the decade was one in which municipal attention focused on keeping the city's hold on its functionality as a center of the creative industries and cultural activity, and respondents expressed interest in increasing the benefits of arts and culture to residents.

The differences in the two cities can be accounted for by looking first at the way that New York already was a cultural and creative center, while Toronto was aspiring to become one. Toronto began an initiative in the early 2000s that incorporated the deliberate use of arts and culture in economic development, creating a department of Economic Development and Culture and subsequently developing research and reports that were generated in-house. There seemed to be concern that the cultural renaissance initiated in the decade of the 2000s had not yet fulfilled its potential, although it appeared that respondents there saw a benefit to residents that had been achieved during this period of time. The findings indicated that the attention to cultural heritage and vernacular creative sector production in Toronto was reflective of a Canadian value that holds cultural pride as an important component of national identity (Dorland, 1998).

**Finding 2: The role, benefits, and manifestation of arts and culture in the city.** There were several parallel results between the two sets of respondents. Both groups felt that city neighborhoods were places where arts and culture was manifest, and often where the revitalization of areas took place through the development of cultural amenities, including Toronto's Distillery District and DUMBO in Brooklyn. Interviewees from both cities talked about the ways that the decade was one in which the municipalities had been involved in transforming underused spaces, pointing to examples such as Wychwood Barns in Toronto and the 42<sup>nd</sup> Street area in New York. Similar was the discussion of cultural tourism as an important way for each city to draw attention, in addition to being a generator of revenue. Both cities had a seemingly narrow focus on major institutions whose primary target audience was cultural tourists (Eisinger, 2000).

The findings for this topic were alike in that the importance of cultural industries in each municipality was emphasized, as was the value of clusters of creative producers.

Contrasts were found in the way that New York respondents felt that arts and culture made their city unique and talked about the manner in which cultural brands were a differentiator of neighborhoods, such as SoHo and Williamsburg. They mentioned public art as an important component of New York's manifestation of arts and culture, and pointed to lack of cohesion in the creative sector as a challenge that needed to be addressed going forward. In contrast, the results for Toronto in this finding indicated that respondents thought that festivals and fairs such as Nuit Blanche were a distinctive way the city incorporated arts and culture into its municipal programming. Interviewees from that city saw remaining competitive in the creative economy as a key challenge for the future. There was a contrast in regard to the way that each group regarded tourism using arts and culture; for New York it was seen as building the brand, and for Toronto it was viewed as a way to tell the story of the city both to tourists and to residents.

Differences in this finding can be understood first through an examination of New York's dedication to public art as evidenced by the careful implementation of the Percent for Art and Arts in Transit programs, both of which ensure that art is displayed in areas accessible to all. Concerning the perceived need for the cultural community to coalesce, the vast size of the creative economy in New York with its numerous actors, multiple industries and agglomeration of producers and creative workers appears to be a barrier to a cohesive alignment of the sector. Toronto had a visible and timely need for the cultural

community to develop a cohesive relationship, due to the ambitious goals of the cultural renaissance. A smaller and more integrated group, the creative sector in that city had a closer bond and were able to be more unified in voicing their needs and opinions. Municipal actors reached out to this group and provided forums for feedback as the cultural plans were developed and refined, creating a sense of participation.

Toronto was able to leverage cultural festivals and fairs as a benefit to the city, since as a smaller urban center it could produce an event such as Nuit Blanche, one that captured the entire city's attention. Toronto was able to manage the crowds of the million plus attendees with no problems, and found that this kind of large gathering, dedicated to the celebration of the city's arts and culture was a positive manifestation of the creative sector's offerings. Toronto had a new story to tell, that of the cultural renaissance of the 2000s, and so utilized cultural tourism as a vehicle through which this story could be told. As a city whose story was not well known globally, Toronto needed to generate interest and excitement, and used campaigns including "Live with Culture" as platforms with which to present and market arts and culture offerings to residents and visitors (Zukin, 1995). In contrast, New York used arts and culture to bring worldwide attention back to the number and quality of creative offerings for which the city was renowned. This displayed the municipality's desire to rebuild the brand of New York after 9/11 and to recapture public awareness in a positive way through a focus on the creativity of cultural offerings, such as The Gates in Central Park.

**Finding 3: Stakeholder involvement and leadership in the area.** This finding did not display similarities between the two sets of respondents. There were numerous differences, specifically regarding New York's strong relationship with the private sector, and the perception of interviewees that Mayor Michael Bloomberg was the most visible leader in the cultural realm. New York findings in the area of leadership and partnerships revealed that municipal appointees, especially Commissioner Levin, were thought to play important roles as key actors in the arts and culture milieu. The New York City Council was mentioned as providing advocacy and support, especially for the nonprofit cultural sector. There were a number of suggestions that spoke to the need for the creative community to aggregate and find a voice with which to articulate common concerns. Toronto, in contrast, demonstrated through the findings that there was a dedication in that city to team building and collaboration in the areas of leadership and stakeholder partnerships. The findings for that city showed that there was a perception of a team environment in which municipal, provincial, federal, and cultural community actors all played leadership roles in the cultural renaissance. The private sector was seen as following the State, especially when the larger government entities such as the Province of Ontario and the federal government came on board for this initiative. Toronto was viewed by interviewees as being a consultative environment in which younger artists, community partnerships, and multiple stakeholder involvement contributed to the creative teambuilding that took place over this timeframe.

There are several factors that account for differences in the findings between these two cities in the area of leadership and partnership building, including New York's

history of private involvement in the leadership area of arts and culture. Strong foundations, such as Rockefeller, Carnegie and Ford have played important roles in supporting the creative community, and numerous prominent nonprofit cultural organizations have participated in a highly visible way in the development of New York City as a center for arts and culture. The trustees both of the foundations and nonprofit cultural organizations often were vocal advocates and were powerful and respected members of the corporate community. New York had a wealthy and well-connected mayor who came from the private sector and had many important relationships and powerful friends, and in addition committed his own money to cultural funding. New York in that decade did not look to the state or federal government for support the way that Toronto did as that city began to implement its ambitious cultural plans.

Toronto needed to build partnerships and form alliances across sectors in order to bring in stakeholders with greater access to resources. There was available funding from the State and the private sector that the city wished to bring to the implementation of the cultural renaissance. It was through the development of a strong, unified plan that included a variety of actors that this coalition building resulted in the kind of buy-in that was necessary to implement Toronto's ambitious cultural makeover. There was not one sole leader who stepped to the forefront, but a group of dedicated and visionary collaborators who reached across the municipal, federal, provincial, private sector and cultural community boundaries to form a powerful union.



**Finding 4: What cultural policy means in the city and its manifestation.** In

this finding, as in the previous one, there were not many similarities between the two cities, but there were several differences. This area investigated the meaning of cultural policy and its manifestation, and in Toronto this was demonstrated very visibly. Research and reports were tools used by the city in the creation of strategic plans that implemented cultural policy interventions into the economic development framework of the cultural renaissance, including investment in the built cultural environment. The findings for this city revealed a decade where the municipality used these documents to facilitate making the case for culture to a variety of stakeholders, including private sector actors, the Province of Ontario, and the federal government. Necessarily transparent since there were so many participants in the strategic planning for the cultural renaissance, these research tools laid out the economic as well as social good arguments with which the city was able to present a compelling case. The original creative city planning documents and subsequent updates were the visible embodiment of an idea of the transformation of Toronto into the cultural Camelot it aspired to become.

Toronto implemented adaptive reuse, examples of which are Wychwood Barns and the commitment to Pinewood Studios' ambitious transformation of a large area of city-owned property. Additional policy tools with a cultural bent were tax incentive programs for real estate developers incorporating artists' space or cultural community benefits, as exemplified by the West Queen West area. The findings both from the archival research and elite interview material revealed that there was a clear and definite articulation of and commitment to cultural policy in Toronto over the decade.

Findings for New York regarding the meaning and manifestation of cultural policy showed a contrasting picture, one in which there was lack of formal observable cultural policy. That city had a highly visible cultural department serving the nonprofit sector, The Department of Cultural Affairs, which had an extremely large budget for operating grants and an even larger capital projects budget. On the cultural industries side, there was a positive environment for the creative industries such as screen-based businesses. New York also had interventions targeted at the real estate sector, including tax incentives for developers and a percent for art program mandating that one percent of all municipal building projects be allocated for public art.

A part of the cultural policy landscape in New York in that decade was the Cultural Institutions Group (CIG), the aggregation of nonprofit arts and culture organizations housed on city-owned land. A powerful lobbying group, this team advocated annually for its allocation within the city budget. Elite interviewees in this study pointed to the ways that members of the New York City Council have championed the value and importance of CIG institutions within the city's economic landscape. The way that the CIG regularly is a part of the city budget, rather than being under the purview of an individual mayor can be viewed as a component of cultural policy in New York. Cultural policy in New York City was not as visible as it was in Toronto, and respondents interviewed from New York indicated that their perception of policy stemmed primarily from the work of the DCA. This view was one that conveyed a more opaque, behind-the-scenes sense of the municipal presence with regard to the meaning and manifestation of cultural policy in New York.

In accounting for differences in the findings for the two cities, this clearly illustrates the way Toronto needed to build consensus and be visible during the earlier part of the decade. That city used reports as visible cultural policy tools and implemented strategic planning based on these studies and reports, which was reflective of a process that was very transparent. New York, by contrast had numerous strategies with cultural components, but which were orchestrated behind the scenes. Many of these were developed much as a private business would, which was indicative of the environment from which the mayor had come; that is, the private sector business world. This cultural policy landscape was reflective of a person – Mayor Bloomberg -- and was more of a silo-type of environment, in which departments report to a leader.

Toronto, in the decade of the 2000s needed to collaborate across sectors in order to grow and thrive. The city was in an ambitious phase of development and employed cultural policy tools that were focused on the cultural renaissance. New York, by contrast focused on stabilizing and regaining its equilibrium after 9/11 and reaffirming its stature as a world cultural center. That city was in the mode of needing to survive following a terrible tragedy. Through sending a message of cultural largesse, dedication to public art, and the marketing of the city as an exciting and vibrant place for tourists, residents and businesses alike, New York employed policy using arts and culture as one of the tools with which to regain its balance and move forward (Holcomb, 1999).

**Finding 5: Have arts and culture gained a role on the economic development agenda.** Regarding this area, which investigated whether arts and culture had gained a

role on the economic development agenda, the findings showed several similarities across the two cities. Both New York and Toronto implemented a number of policy interventions that targeted economic development, such as tax incentives for developers and programs designed to encourage screen-based industry growth. In both cities, the municipal actors interviewed felt empowered to integrate arts and culture in the economic development functions during the decade, and indicated that they saw arts and culture as important and valuable in the city's toolkit, taking advantage of the seemingly straightforward creative city model (Grodach, 2011b). Each city had an interest in using municipal assets of land for development projects incorporating arts and culture, exemplified by the way that Toronto used its land for Wychwood Barns.

Toronto, however, did incorporate culture and economic development together into one department, and was more apt to consider using space as an asset for repurposing using arts and culture. That city had a stated interest in partnerships across the public, private and nonprofit sectors, and put economic development using arts and culture front and center in its city building campaign. The integrated culture and economic development department at City Hall justified interventions that incorporated arts and culture both on social benefit and economic grounds. New York's results for this finding reflected arts and culture's integration into economic development across the policy domains of tourism, through NYC & Co., the Department of Cultural Affairs, and New York City Economic Development Corporation (NYCEDC). Those involved at the municipal level interviewed for this dissertation pointed to a collaborative environment; however, the findings indicated that those outside of municipal appointees did not

perceive this to be the case. In addition, city-owned property in New York was not utilized in the same way for cultural projects as it was in Toronto.

These differences can be accounted for first by recognizing that the integration of culture and economic development in the department of city government was one of Toronto Mayor David Miller's key components of the creation of its cultural renaissance. The city used assets of land rather than cash as it sought partners including the province, the federal government and wealthy individuals. After securing these partners, the City of Toronto needed to be more collaborative in planning, as well as being highly transparent about its processes and outcomes. Being more asset-rich, New York was able to allocate more financial resources towards economic development with a cultural component in the decade under study. This included a capital budget for city cultural institutions, such as Lincoln Center and Museum of the Moving Image. Other initiatives put forth by the NYCEDC, such as making land available at below market rate to organizations including the Whitney Museum, providing training programs for the creative sector and offering working capital to cultural businesses and nonprofits were less-visible interventions than those of Toronto, since New York was not functioning in the same kind of partnership context. New York's economic development agency acknowledged the power and potential of the creative community, and sought to implement strategies that took advantage of the economic benefits to the city that these cultural producers could provide, while offering opportunities for education and advancement to the sector (Currid, 2007).

**Finding 6: Is this tied to cultural policy.** Concerning the area that investigated whether the appearance of arts and culture on the economic agenda was tied to cultural policy, the findings indicated a number of parallels between New York and Toronto. Each city used arts and culture deliberately during the decade to redefine neighborhoods and communities as part of an economic revitalization strategy, as exemplified by the Distillery District in Toronto, and Times Square and DUMBO in New York (Strom, 2002). Both municipalities targeted screen-based industries, as demonstrated by the development of Toronto's Pinewood Studios and by the increased focus in New York City on ease of use for its film and television production sector. Similarly, elite interviewees from both cities expressed a desire to develop policy interventions that crossed domains and integrated municipal departments in a more deliberate way. Regarding differences between the two, findings from Toronto indicate that respondents saw the integration of cultural policy and economic development in the decade of the 2000s as being effective. These data indicated that municipal policy implementing arts and culture brought numerous stakeholders under the economic development and city building rubric in that city. Concerns expressed by interviewees included issues such as sustaining momentum, building and maintaining demand, continuing to provide meaningful content in rebuilt cultural institutions, and finding ways to engage Toronto's diverse communities.

In contrast, there was a desire by the New York elite respondents to coordinate across the areas of culture and economic development, something that was not perceived as being a visible part of cultural policy during that decade. Several interventions were

cited as falling under the area of cultural policy within the economic development context, including tools such as zoning, incentives for developers, and ease of use for screen-based industries. A key finding for New York in this area was the wish by numerous respondents to create and utilize more research and reports that would assist in justifying policy interventions deliberately integrating arts and culture into economic development. Under this finding was the suggestion that stakeholders across municipal policy domains be brought to the table in addressing issues such as finding ways New York could employ cultural policy interventions in retaining the agglomeration of creative producers in the city and seeking ways to sustain demand for cultural output.

The differences between the cities for this finding first can be understood by examining the circumstances for each city at beginning of the decade of the 2000s. After the amalgamation in the late 1990s, Toronto was interested in beginning the process of entering the knowledge economy deliberately, and chose to use economic development policy integrating arts and culture, which included a number of stakeholders, as a way to generate interest and excitement (Strom, 2010). This self-created initiative was reflective of a purposeful plan that grew out of robust research on the creative economy that pointed to the efficacy of building a cultural city. Toronto integrated cultural policy into an economic development framework through a platform of collaboration in order to generate a creative and cultural urban milieu that would attract knowledge-based businesses, creative producers, and cultural consumers. The context for New York early in the decade was an exogenous shock to the city, that of 9/11. Subsequently, New York utilized arts and culture in a policy context as a way to restore itself and regain its

foothold as a center of creativity. During this time of ambiguity, municipal attention was paid to policy tools that would draw cultural tourism, facilitate in the presentation of public art, and assist in building an environment conducive to the creative industries (Zahariadis, 2007). New York was concerned with regenerating and rebuilding and used arts and culture in economic development as one of the policy tools with which to do so.

## **Discussion**

Although findings from a comparative case study such as this are representative only of the two cities under investigation, it is plausible that the findings from each of these cities could be applicable to other urban centers. Each set of data reflects the embodiment of a city at a different stage of its development. One was a large city recovering from an exogenous shock, and the other was a smaller city aspiring to build its reputation and draw visitors, residents and business development. During the decade, the findings revealed that New York City was concerned with regaining its strength as a cultural center, refreshing the confidence of its residents, and attracting businesses and tourists in order to generate revenue. Toronto used research to create a vision of what could be accomplished in becoming a creative city, and employed strategic planning to implement this ideal. In striving to compete on a global stage, the municipality utilized creative city data and reports in addition to stakeholder partnerships as cultural policy tools within an economic development framework (Brooks & Kushner, 2002).

An examination of the cities during this decade indicated that New York was recovering from an external shock, while Toronto was coalescing its idea of entering the



global knowledge economy. In analyzing the data from both sets of elite interviewees, findings pointed to the dual role of arts and culture both in enhancing public benefit and providing economic value. Both cities demonstrated how arts and culture can be integrated into plans for city building through economic development. For Toronto, this was a time to focus on telling a new story about becoming a cultural Camelot and to create a new brand for the city. New York was concerned with retelling an old story of being a magnet for creativity and refreshing an already well-known brand.

The two cities were concerned with competition in a variety of areas. Included in this were the struggle to be a center of cultural industries, such as screen-based businesses, and the need to attract creative workers across the sector. Toronto and New York both had a desire to attract corporations seeking cultural amenities with which to draw and retain personnel. They each aspired to be places where artists wished to come and stay and where residents had a variety of cultural amenities from which to choose. Building pride of place for residents using arts and culture was a goal for New York and Toronto during that decade, and each implemented interventions with a social value as exemplified by the public art installations in New York and *Nuit Blanche* in Toronto.

The findings from Toronto demonstrated an instance of city actors needing to be accountable to stakeholders, which during the 2000s included the provincial and federal government and corporate and individual donors. These actors were invested in the multifaceted goals of enhancing the cultural built environment, strengthening Toronto's creative brand and fostering community engagement (Grodach, 2009). New York's

mayor and his administration exemplified a city government with closer and deeper ties to the private sector, one in which there was less transparency. This contrast between the two illustrates the way that the balance between public and private interests may vary. Each city had a different view of the efficacy and power of municipal research, with Toronto focused much more on the production of reports and updates, which put forth and then reevaluated its creative cities goals. This illustrates a course whereby the municipal government made a case and then took action, one in which the research component was a key part of the process. It also demonstrates what can happen after a plan that proposes to implement arts and culture into economic development is articulated clearly and subsequently leads to the development of partnerships across the sectors.

The findings from New York show economic development incorporating arts and culture happening more behind the scenes across the domains of tourism, the nonprofit cultural sector, and the economic development agency, exemplifying municipal relationships developed in a more opaque manner. Although New York's municipal government did not have the kind of hands-on relationship regarding cultural policy in economic development as that found in Toronto, private sector actors in New York were highly invested in the creative community through the funding of nonprofit cultural institutions, serving on boards of directors and in their roles as patrons of the arts, all of which were motivators to the artistic community (Frey, 2002).

Municipal actors in Toronto took the new vision of the city as a participant in the creative cities and knowledge economy and placed it deliberately in the public eye,

making it an important way that the city leaders communicated with constituents. The integration of the culture and economic development departments served as a platform for this plan, and the numerous stakeholders were involved both in the development of strategy and its articulation. Toronto in the 2000s had to make the case for its desire to commit resources of time, energy and finances to this endeavor. In order to secure the necessary capital, policy entrepreneurs needed to attract support. Carried out on multiple levels, Toronto's municipal mission during that decade was first to garner support for and subsequently to implement this vision of the creative Toronto, one that balanced a focus on commerce with one on culture (Carr & Servon, 2009).

In New York, the systematic and deliberate redevelopment of the city after 9/11 as an exciting, safe place, in part through the use of arts and culture in economic development, was under the leadership of one main actor, Mayor Bloomberg. In this case, decisions could be made more quickly, since there was not the same kind of need for accountability to a group of partners outside of city government. For New York, the idea of being a center of creativity was not new, but rather was a way to return to business as usual. New York's deeply entrenched commitment to art and culture both in the nonprofit sector and the commercial creative industries was longstanding. Findings in this study showed that municipal cultural policy was viewed in New York primarily as being a source of funding for nonprofit arts organizations. This lack of articulation of the ways that arts and culture served as a tool in economic development in the decade of the 2000s may be a limitation in recognizing its future value.

## **Answering the Thesis Question through the Findings**

In Toronto, there was a relationship between cultural policy and economic development's use of arts and culture on its agenda and in its toolkit. In that city, there was an intimate relationship between these two areas, one that was intertwined over the decade of the 2000s. Archival and historical data and elite interview findings showed ways that Toronto deliberately refashioned itself using a blended cultural policy and economic development template. Despite the competition for attention among the many actors and departments in the municipal government, the creative cities strategy gained prominence (Jones & Baumgartner, 2004). Key cultural players brought together powerful partners including provincial, federal government and private sector actors, gaining access to the city's policy agenda through a strategy that included substantive reports (Kingdon, 2011). Bolstered by these municipally authored studies, the cultural renaissance initiative penetrated Toronto's agenda and was manifest in the numerous stakeholder relationships, creating a perfect cultural storm (See Appendix K). City policymakers worked together with the cultural community and the media to message Toronto's cultural Camelot to the public (Silver et al, 2002). The findings showed that the answer to the thesis question posed is affirmative regarding the presence of a relationship between cultural policy and arts and culture being on the economic development agenda and in the toolkit of that policy domain in Toronto over the decade.

New York City is a different story, in which there is not as visible a relationship between cultural policy and the economic development agenda and toolkit. The findings showed that the relationship between these two areas within the municipal government

was not named and was not made clear. However, there was a very direct relationship through the Bloomberg administration's agenda, which integrated arts and culture into economic development over the past decade using cultural tourism, the cultural built environment, and additional economic development tools as part of its role in city building (Stone, 2001). The naturally occurring cultural explosion in certain neighborhoods and communities was the result of a kind of lack of a formal relationship, and many of the respondents discussed the "other" New York, where cultural agglomeration occurred on a large scale throughout the five boroughs (Ramirez, 2009). The social benefit and economic impact of this unnamed relationship between cultural policy and economic development was significant. The often laissez-faire quality of city policy towards both for-profit and not-for-profit cultural sectors did not seem to worry policymakers.

While the findings that emerged from this research did not indicate a direct, visible relationship between cultural policy and the presence of arts and culture on economic development agenda and toolkit in New York City, the "shadow" presence of this bond was found to be extremely strong. This tie may not be eminently visible, but it is embedded in the way that Bloomberg integrated cultural policy into his economic development agenda over the decade of the 2000s through cultural tourism, the cultural built environment, and strengthening the for-profit creative sectors, as well as the ongoing power of the Department of Cultural Affairs (See Appendix L). These actors and agencies utilized economic development interventions and shared mutual interests, and were part of the city's informal cultural policy network (Adam & Kriese, 2007).

These findings are important in developing an understanding of ways that a large, culturally vibrant city dealt with an exogenous shock through the incorporation of arts and culture in economic development across policy domains, and how a smaller and less-known urban center utilized research, planning and stakeholder partnerships employing arts and culture to implement its vision. The two examples illustrate how each city made decisions about the use of resources, one during a time of ambitious growth and the other in recovery after a disaster. Examining the patterns of similarities and differences between the findings within the conceptual framework of this study provides an understanding of ways that cultural policy within the economic development context was a tool for city building. This leads to the development of policy recommendations based upon the observation and interpretation of data gathered for this comparative case study.

### **Policy Recommendations**

In this section of the chapter, three areas of policy recommendations are presented with a discussion of the findings that led to each and examples that illustrate the suggested strategic policy proposal.

**Policy Recommendation 1.** Utilize research and strategic planning in the creation and implementation of arts and culture interventions in the economic development toolkit.

Effective strategy can be informed by research, which can guide policy development and implementation with arts and culture. Toronto did this with its cultural renaissance, in which the wealth of reports and briefings helped stakeholders to become

knowledgeable and subsequently to buy in to the plan. The historical and archival findings for this dissertation showed that Toronto used strategic planning to enter the global knowledge economy and to shift its focus towards nurturing a “creative competitiveness” (Boudreau et al, 2009). City actors incorporated a social ethos into the bottom line goals set for municipal development over the decade of the 2000s.

Toronto produced a wealth of research and reports which gave the municipal stakeholders the ammunition they needed to bring provincial, federal and private sector actors and entities to the table in formulating the elements for the cultural renaissance (City of Toronto, 2001). The municipality laid out the foundation of this ambitious urban project and sought funding for it through the provincial and federal government as well as the private sector. Toronto’s research on the creative city was a tool with which to generate funding and buy-in from this variety of stakeholders, and was influenced directly by numerous reports that made the economic and social case for the support of culture by the State and private actors (Blaug, 2001).

Findings from the elite interviews showed that part of the strategy for Toronto during the decade included the development of citywide cultural initiatives and the repurposing of city-owned properties using an arts and culture lens. Nuit Blanche was an example of a festival that focused attention upon the cultural amenities found in Toronto, and brought up to a million participants together to celebrate the city’s creative spirit (Bahn, 2009). Wychwood Barns, a repurposed streetcar storage area, is an instance of Toronto employing city-owned land with which to develop a community resource with a

cultural dimension (Gertler et al, 2006b). These examples illustrate the way that a strategic plan incorporating arts and culture can be brought to life and enjoy subsequent success. A significant study utilized by municipal leaders in New York was the McKinsey study commissioned by Mayor Bloomberg after 9/11 (Brash, 2011). The arts and culture sector and its offerings were an important part of the mayor's strategy to redevelop the city and position its creative assets. While New York was not the locus of research on the creative sector to the extent found in Toronto, the city was one of the funders for several studies done by independent nonprofit research organizations that aided in understanding the creative community's impact on New York's economy and identified areas for improvement in services to the sector.

**Policy Recommendation 2.** When developing and implementing creative city plans, build and cultivate relationships and stakeholder partnerships across policy domains and throughout sectors.

Toronto respondents perceived the relationship building aspect of the decade under study in this dissertation to be extremely important and an integral component of the cultural renaissance. The strong ties established between the city and private sector actors were seen as groundbreaking, and something to be continued as part of a culture of collaboration initiated by the municipality. New York's respondents revealed less of a sense of inclusion for those outside of city government, while the private sector relationships in that city in the arts and culture sectors appeared to be more embedded. In each case, the data revealed that a sense of collaboration among municipal executives as



well as across sectors was an important tool in building economic strength through arts and culture interventions (Zukin, 1995).

During the planning and implementation of the cultural renaissance, Toronto's municipal government saw one of its main responsibilities as bringing stakeholders together and building consensus. The numerous instances of partnership development include not only drawing in the federal and provincial government, corporate actors, and private individuals, but also eliciting input from the cultural community and artist stakeholders. The municipality served as a convener and locus for the creative city aspirations and activity during the decade, through a team-based approach to the creation and implementation of Toronto's cultural renaissance (Florida, 2002b). Open dialogue between private and public sector actors, the implementation of consultative processes and eliciting the advice of experts all were hallmarks in regards to the creative city building process. Partnerships included those with private sector actors, such as Scotia Bank's sponsorship of Nuit Blanche and businessman Michael Chin's significant contribution to the Royal Ontario Museum's renovation. Respondents saw Toronto's business community as following the lead of the government entities, and examples such as these illustrate the possibility of leadership from the private sector that could serve as examples for the future. Financial investments made during the cultural renaissance exemplify the power of reaching out into the private sector.

New York findings showed examples of strong private sector relationships and demonstrated ties across municipal policy domains. Two Trees Management was an

example of a private sector actor integrating arts and culture in the development of a neighborhood. The DUMBO area of Brooklyn under Two Trees' plan became a center for creative producers, and subsequently real estate in that area increased significantly in value. The kind of private stakeholder partnership exemplified by the Walt Disney Company's commitment to being part of the redevelopment of Times Square illustrates a private/public relationship that brought benefit to the city through the enhancement of the area and increased tourism revenues (Comella, 2003; Sassen & Roost, 1999).

Regarding relationship building across New York's municipal policy domains, the interview findings revealed that the heads of NYC Economic Development Corporation and Department of Cultural Affairs, Seth Pinsky and Kate Levin, felt that there was a synergy between their two agencies and pointed to several initiatives that crossed agency boundaries. Examples of this include the provision of NYCEDC capital funding for cultural institutions such as the Museum of the Moving Image, the donation of performance and exhibition space to arts groups at no cost, and the offering of city-owned land by the NYCEDC to the Whitney Museum at a discounted rate.

**Policy Recommendation 3.** Create and institute economic development initiatives that incorporate arts and culture through a framework that integrates both social good and economic benefit components.

Focusing on the two facets of economic development may serve to assist in meeting the goal of strengthening the city financially, while putting forward policymakers' agendas of celebrating diversity, building neighborhoods, and increasing

municipal pride (Markusen, 2007). Integrating these goals can contribute to a kind of urban cultural ecosystem, in which the economic development aspirations of a city are strengthened by a dedication to public benefit (See Appendix B). In this way, the purpose of one supports the other, first by acknowledging the potential of this interdependent relationship, in which each area has seeming disparate goals and objectives (Zolberg, 1990). Economic development projects focused on growing the creative industries may create revenue streams through corporate taxes and workers' revenues, and non-material results that can include becoming known as a center of a cultural industry such as publishing or film and television production. Public good interventions using arts and culture can build civic pride, reinforce the city's efficacy as a place to do business, and draw cultural tourism.

The findings showed that arts and culture provided benefits to each city, manifest both in the realm of public good and that of economic strength. Public art, festivals and fairs are examples of public good interventions that can serve as a means to create a sense of excitement for visitors, and a feeling of inclusion and pride of place for residents who are able to take advantage both of classical and popular cultural offerings (Scott, 2000). Instances that focused on arts and culture's role in public good initiatives are exemplified by Toronto's citywide Nuit Blanche cultural festival, in addition to two highly publicized public art installations in New York, The Gates and The Waterfalls. In each of these cases, the projects attracted cultural tourism, built civic pride, and provided a multiplier effect that contributed to the financial health of the city. Another example is the "Live with Culture" campaign mounted in Toronto in 2005, instituted to bring attention to the

wealth of creative options to be found in the city (Boudreau et al, 2009). The initiative focused on attracting visitors and strengthening pride of place for residents and also served to showcase the wealth of cultural amenities available to workers, thus reinforcing Toronto's attractiveness to the business community.

Two additional interventions are the Percent for Art programs in each city designed to provide public art in municipal buildings, and the Arts in Transit program in New York City that brings art to the subways (Sandals, 2007; NYC Department of Cultural Affairs, 2011; Metropolitan Transportation Authority, 2011). These are instances of the integration of cultural offerings without barriers to access designed to enhance the creative experience opportunities available to all residents and visitors, thereby strengthening the brand of the city (Zukin, 1995). New York's integrated and robust public art program in the city subway system is an example of a highly developed and well-instituted initiative. In New York, cultural policy also is integrated into economic development through workshops given by the Economic Development Corporation, small business employment assistance for artists, and land-use designated for the arts and culture sector. Another aspect of this recommendation applies to the way that economic development interventions can be targeted to cultural industries. Both Toronto and New York concerned themselves with attracting and keeping the screen-based industries in their cities by offering incentives and providing ease of use amenities designed to assist companies in conducting business. The Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF) is an illustration of a screen-based cultural event that leverages its relatively small annual budget to provide nearly \$70 million CAD in economic impact each year (Gertler et al,

2006b). TIFF has grown to encompass a year-round location called the TIFF Bell Lightbox & Festival Tower, housing screening areas, gallery space and a condominium.

On the economic side, each city made investments in its cultural built environment, as exemplified by the renovation of the Royal Ontario Museum and Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto, and the Museum of Moving Image and New 42<sup>nd</sup> Street in New York. Among the economic development initiatives that incorporate the two dimensions of public good and economic benefit are cultural districts or developed areas designed to attract visitors and residents to creative offerings, instances in which the twin goals of increasing social value and promoting financial growth are blended (Stern & Seifert, 2007). Toronto respondents mentioned the city's support for and investment in two privately developed projects. These were the Distillery District, in which a repurposed set of buildings were fashioned to create a destination for cultural offerings and entertainment, and the Pinewood Studios project, which incorporated a planned neighborhood and film production center to be built on city-owned land (McClelland, 2005). New York elite interviewees in this study pointed to New York's only designated cultural districts, the Fourth Street Arts Block and the BAM Cultural District. They touted naturally occurring cultural areas such as Williamsburg in Brooklyn and the High Line in Manhattan as being significant economic generators and incubators for creative activity (Zukin, 2010).

## **Conclusion**

Arts and culture in Toronto and New York has an intrinsic value, one that adds to the public good and residents' sense of their own city in addition to providing an intellectual and experiential role for visitors, creative residents and city dwellers (Heilbrun & Gray, 1993). The two cities have benefitted through the integration and development of a stronger relationship between cultural policy and the presence of arts and culture on the economic development toolkit, whether these interventions were deliberate and highly manifest or more opaque and difficult to discern.

Toronto and New York have used arts and culture as a way to define themselves, in the case of Toronto or redefine themselves, in the case of New York. The implementation of arts and culture serving in a functional role in the economic development sphere and a brand-building role in the public realm has brought power and prestige to each city (Zukin, 1995). Strengthening the relationship between cultural policy and economic development contributed to the public good in each city (Markusen & Schrock, 2006). Its ability to enhance the desirability in each urban center may pose challenges in terms of evaluation in a metrics-based manner (Mulcahy, 2006). While Toronto's municipal leaders instituted a vital and well-integrated relationship between the cultural policymakers and those in the economic development area, this was not extensively inclusive of the city's urban planning functions, something that could be built upon in order to further enhance the goals of implementing arts and culture into city planning (Markusen, 2007). In New York, the robust economic development framework did not particularly feature arts and culture in a clearly defined way, although the city

touted its creative legacy and prominence as a cultural center as a way to encourage business relocation and investment (Grodach, 2011b). Each city strived to court and keep the screen-based industries in their locale, and this can be seen as part of cultural policy within the economic development context (Liu et al, 2010). Important in economic development's integration of arts and culture is the recognition that the global marketplace has made the scope of possible financial growth a reality, one which needs strategic attention in the context of municipal planning (Scott, 2000).

Toronto was able to utilize city-owned land and buildings in a calculated plan for reuse through arts and cultural foci (Grodach & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007), something New York has done less deliberately. Lessons learned from the commercial real estate challenges faced in the West Queen West area of Toronto point to the importance of the integration of local cultural residents into community planning and redevelopment (Carr & Servon, 2009). In addition to building consensus, the inclusion of stakeholder partnerships from the creative producers can bring a wealth of cultural resources both to commercial projects and repurposed cultural spaces, creating a sense of artistic ownership (Scott, 2004). New York's deliberate integration of arts and culture into its revitalization plan for the city after 9/11, in conjunction with the naturally occurring arts and culture resurgence, especially in Brooklyn, has created a melding of the popular culture with the more classic arts scene (Strom, 2002). Through a combination of specific interventions designed to draw cultural tourists and engage residents, together with the organic development of a burgeoning cultural community, New York continues to be a destination area both for visitors and creative residents.

Over the 2000s, Toronto fashioned itself into a creative, entertainment hub while New York reasserted its power as a cultural destination (Eisinger, 2000). Mindful of the need to draw creative workers and cultural consumers to each city center, these two urban environments touted themselves as vital magnets both for work and for play (Florida, 2008). The provision of an environment conducive to artistic innovation (Frey, 2000), and the recognition of the power of the startup community are important elements that both cities should weave into their economic development planning, with the recognition that the high level of creativity in these fields necessitates a cultural milieu for workers in these industries (Florida, 2002a).

The pattern of agglomeration of artists and cultural producers means that these cities, as well as others who wish to attract and retain the creative class, need to acknowledge the importance of strategic planning for this area of the workforce. Clustering among creatives can be fostered through examining the power inherent in this kind of live-work environment (Currid, 2007). In order to retain its status as a newly magnetic cultural city, Toronto's municipal policymakers would be wise to recognize and focus upon the strength and importance of this sector and the multiplier effect of its output (Scott, 2004; Markusen & Schrock, 2006). New York also needs to foster the continuation of its dominance as a locus for cultural producers, perhaps by implementing more live-work opportunities for these residents (Markusen & Schrock, 2006). In both cities, arts and culture played a role that went beyond the context of quantifiable results. The respondents acknowledged the immeasurable benefits of a creative and cultural urban environment (Baumol, 1997). This contribution includes the way that the cultural



built environment becomes an intergenerational legacy. Toronto's cultural renaissance is a powerful example of this, as is the way that New York has invested significantly in its cultural built environment (Baumol & Bowen, 1966). Toronto has made a commitment to festivals and fairs as a way to enhance the public good through these cultural offerings, which often can be perceived as being less accessible to economically challenged residents and visitors (Heilbrun & Gray, 2001).

A key issue for Toronto and New York is the effect policy interventions have on shaping the tastes and preferences of the public (Mulcahy, 2006). Cultural policy interventions such as New York's Governors Island, with its non-judgmental attitude towards cultural offerings may provide a more content-neutral position, signaling the opportunity for the public to make its own decisions about the value of cultural production. Toronto's focus on vernacular cultural producers, reflective of a Canadian commitment to nationally produced artistic content, has made that city a place where local artists feel valued. Since both of these cities have a large immigrant population, a focus on inclusion and diversity within the cultural policy/economic development lexicon can be a valuable tool in enhancing both supply for and demand of cultural offerings.

The creative cities conversation continues to examine carefully the efficacy of arts and culture's integration into economic development, brand building, and urban planning and development. The two cities investigated in this dissertation are, as in the case of all cities, undergoing constant change and facing numerous challenges. Toronto elected a new mayor as of January 2011, and New York will face mayoral elections in 2013. The

findings demonstrated that Toronto had a clearly defined relationship between its cultural policy and economic development functions, one that may face its most difficult time as this partnership struggles to reassert its power and importance. New York is enjoying an unprecedented number of tourists as well as a resurgent creative clustering in the cultural communities in Brooklyn. As more adventuresome tourists seek to experience the nontraditional arts and culture offerings outside of the mainstream, these community-based creative sectors may enjoy a flowering of interest from non-residents. Areas I wish to investigate further include the demand side, or users of arts and culture in today's cities. These comprise not only the tourist population but also those residents who are seeking to experience a kind of "cultural staycation," in which they have the opportunity to take advantage of cultural offerings in their own backyards. Additionally, the efficacy of robust, comprehensive research cannot be overestimated, including qualitative and quantitative research on users of arts and culture, cultural producers, economic development using arts and culture, and the public good value of creative environments.

Toronto's culture of collaboration provided an opportunity to frame out, plan and implement a dynamic vision for a culturally flourishing city. Bringing the private sector to the cultural policy and economic development table in a more inclusive and substantive way could prove to be an important next step. New York continues to foster a culture of competition, in which the plethora of creative sector workers and cultural consumers exist in a hodgepodge of innovation and dynamism. In order to retain its powerful role as a global magnet for creativity, New York could take a lesson from

Toronto's collaborative culture of research and planning and its robust strategy of communication to the public.

Toronto and New York are among the urban centers that are making the creative cities movement an important area for further study. Ranging from Brooklyn, to Buffalo as well as Berlin, this focus on the quality and efficacy of arts and culture's role in building and regenerating empowered, stronger cities has gained momentum over the past decade. Through a mixture of urban planning, cultural policy implementation, economic development, tourism strategies, cultural built environment opportunities and creative class interventions, cities can participate in bringing ideas to life. My study of two cities, the ways they have succeeded and the challenges they have yet to face can serve as a resource with which other urban centers, large and small can move forward towards the realization of ambitious creative city plans.

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## APPENDIX A: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Key Questions	Indicators/Evidence
What is the role of arts and culture in these cities	Look at dimensions relevant to this research
Do various stakeholders see this differently	<p>Respondents represent key fields and as such are proxies for their area</p> <p>Caveat: respondents are not randomized and this is not a strict quantitative analysis</p>
What does the concept ‘cultural policy’ mean in New York and Toronto	<p>Look at policy documents and research reports</p> <p>Respondents’ material</p>
Have arts and culture gained a place on economic development agenda over the past decade – in the economic development toolkit	<p>Define economic development and look for evidence</p> <p>Respondents’ discussion</p>
How did arts and culture gain a place on the agenda in economic development	<p>Analyze interviews</p> <p>Look for indicators</p> <p>Look for open policy windows; identify policy entrepreneurs</p>
If so, is there a relationship between cultural policy and this; is cultural policy tied to this	<p>Indicators of relationship</p> <p>Discuss and define what indicators would look like</p>
Are there differences in New York and Toronto	Define the dimensions of difference being analyzed

**APPENDIX B: URBAN CULTURAL POLICY ECOSYSTEM**

# **Urban Cultural Policy Ecosystem**



**APPENDIX C: ELITE INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS**

<b>Toronto</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>	<b>Date of Interview</b>	<b>Location</b>
Elena Bird	Senior Policy Advisor in Economic Development, City of Toronto	1/18/11	Interviewee's office
Michael Booth	Special Assistant for Culture to Mayor David Miller	1/11/11	110 Bloor Street West
Mitchell Cohen	President, Daniels Corporation, Real Estate Developers	3/15/11	Via telephone
Rita Davies	Executive Director of Culture, City of Toronto	1/21/11	Interviewee's office
Judy Gladstone	Executive Director, CTV's Bravo!Fact (Foundation to Assist Canadian Talent)	1/13/11	Interviewee's office
Jenn Goodwin	Special Events Supervisor for Nuit Blanche, Economic Development and Culture, City of Toronto	1/26/11	Via telephone
Mark Engstrom	Vice President Collections & Research, Royal Ontario Museum	1/13/11	Interviewee's office
Sarah Kerr Hornell	Executive Director & CEO, Film Ontario	1/17/11	Interviewee's office

<b>Toronto</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>	<b>Date of Interview</b>	<b>Location</b>
Jerome Markson	Architect	1/17/11	Interviewee's home
Mayta Markson	Ceramic Artist	1/11/11	Interviewee's home
Lori Martin	Senior Cultural Affairs Officer, Toronto Culture, City of Toronto	1/14/11	Interviewee's office
Randy McLean	Manager, Economic and Cultural Policy, Economic Development & Culture, City of Toronto	1/18/11	Interviewee's office
Edith Myers	Managing Director, Pinewood Toronto Studios	1/20/11	Interviewee's office
David Miller	Former Mayor (11/2003-12/2010), City of Toronto	1/20/11	Martin Prosperity Institute
Alan Meisner	Social Planning Policy Analyst, Social Development Division, City of Toronto	1/17/11	Interviewee's office
John McKellar	Chairman, Toronto Arts Council; former Chairman, Canada Council for the Arts	1/19/11	Interviewee's office
Jeff Melanson	Executive Director, National Ballet School of Canada and Special Advisor on the Arts to the Mayor of Toronto, Rob Ford	3/17/11	Via telephone

<b>Toronto</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>	<b>Date of Interview</b>	<b>Location</b>
John Schoales	Senior Economic Policy Adviser, Entertainment and Creative Cluster Team, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture	1/12/11	Interviewee's office
Alida Stevenson	Policy Advisor, Arts and Cultural Industries, Ontario Ministry of Culture	1/18/11	Interviewee's office
Kevin Stolarick	Associate Director & Research Associate, Martin Prosperity Institute, Rotman School of Management, University of Toronto	1/12/11	Interviewee's office
Susan Wright	Director of Operations, Toronto Arts Council	1/13/11	Interviewee's office
<b>New York</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>	<b>Date of Interview</b>	<b>Location</b>
Jonathan Bowles	Executive Director, Center for an Urban Future	2/18/11	Interviewee's office
Cora Cahan	President, The New 42 <sup>nd</sup> Street	3/7/11	Interviewee's office
Anne Coates	Vice President, Alliance for the Arts	2/9/11	Interviewee's office
Kathleen Gilrain	Executive Director, Smack Mellon Gallery	2/11/11	Interviewee's office

<b>New York</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>	<b>Date of Interview</b>	<b>Location</b>
Craig Hatkoff	Co-Founder, Tribeca Film Festival	2/16/11	Interviewee's home office
Leslie Koch	President, Trust for Governors Island	2/8/11	Via telephone
Virginia Loulouides	Executive Director, Alliance for Resident Theatres New York	2/11/11	Interviewee's office
Brad Lander	New York City Councilmember	2/22/11	Interviewee's office
Kate D. Levin	Commissioner, New York City Department of Cultural Affairs	3/16/11	Via telephone
Joseph Michaelson* *Pseudonym: requested anonymity	President & Executive Director, prominent New York City performing arts organization	3/1/11	Interviewee's office
Andy Milne	Jazz Musician; Professor, NYU and New School	12/15/10	The New School
L. Jay Olivia	Executive Producer and Chair, Skirball Center for the Performing Arts; Former President, New York University	2/15/11	Interviewee's office
Seth Pinsky	President, New York City Economic Development Corporation	2/15/11	Interviewee's office
Danielle Porcaro	Community Liaison, Office of Speaker Quinn, New York City Council	2/25/11	Interviewee's office



<b>New York</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>	<b>Date of Interview</b>	<b>Location</b>
Jack Rainey	Vice President Government & Community Banking, TD Bank	3/1/11	Interviewee's office
Eric Siegel	Director and Chief Content Officer, New York Hall of Science	12/8/11	The New School
Daniel Squadron	New York State Senator	1/27/11	Interviewee's office
Pablo Vengoechea	Vice-Chair, New York City Landmarks Commission	2/25/11	Hunter College
Marete Wester	Director of Cultural Policy, Americans for the Arts	2/18/11	Interviewee's office
Paul Wolf	Principal, Denham Wolf Real Estate Developers	2/28/11	Interviewee's office
Wilbur Woods	Director, Waterfront and Open Space Planning, NYC Department of City Planning	2/23/11	Interviewee's office

## APPENDIX D: PLANS FOR CITY OF TORONTO

<b>Plans for City of Toronto</b>		
<b>City of Toronto: Creative City Plans for Culture</b>		
Name of Plan	Date	Description
<i>The Creative City: A Workprint</i>	2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A preview of the Culture Plan (2003) lays out the framework for creative innovation</li> </ul>
<i>Culture Plan for the Creative City</i>	2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 10 year action plan to guide city’s cultural development</li> <li>• Impact is tied to larger socioeconomic and environmental agendas for the city</li> <li>• Emphasizes the use of arts, culture and heritage assets to contribute to the molding and marketing of Toronto as a global cultural capital</li> <li>• Calls for increased investment in arts and culture but also urban marketing specifically to increase spending from \$9.3 million on tourism marketing to levels on par with Montreal and Toronto</li> <li>• Makes several socially conscious recommendations as well: remain welcoming to newcomers and to focus on cultural diversity as a means of advocacy and strategies to engage youth</li> <li>• Also included are recommendations for managing the city’s portfolio of cultural facilities through partnerships and restoration funding</li> </ul>
<i>Culture Plan Progress Report: 2005</i>	2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Assessment of the Culture Plan, identifies any gaps that may have emerged since 2003</li> </ul> <p>Successes include</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Per Capita spending increased</li> <li>• Increased allocations to Toronto Arts Council</li> <li>• Build grants</li> </ul>
<i>Culture Plan Progress Report: 2008</i>	2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Half-way point review of 10yr action plan</li> <li>• Summarizes the work that has already been done and reaffirms the need to harness momentum from these achievements to move Toronto into the next phase</li> </ul>
<i>Creative City Framework</i>	2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creative companion plan to the Agenda for Prosperity</li> <li>• Reiterates the points made in the progress report</li> </ul>
<i>Creative Capital Initiative</i>	2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Update of the 2003 Culture Plan</li> <li>• Launched in Jan 2011</li> <li>• Overseen by the City Council’s Economic Development Committee</li> </ul>

<b>City of Toronto: Economic Development Plans</b>		
<b>Name of Plan</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Description</b>
<i>Economic Development Strategy</i>	2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5yr action plan to guide economic development</li> <li>• Emphasizes competition and the new position of Toronto in the global market</li> <li>• Identifies arts and culture as the standout industry within the city that sets it apart and has the ability to drive, activate, inspire ideas and innovations across the spectrum of sectors</li> <li>• Think differently about competitiveness</li> <li>• People power the knowledge economy</li> <li>• Quality of place attracts people and investment</li> <li>• Establish a vital cycle of economic growth: strong economic foundations, competitive export clusters, and vibrant local businesses</li> <li>• Tell ourselves and the world what a really great city Toronto is</li> <li>• Mobilize existing resources through partnerships</li> </ul>
<i>Agenda for Prosperity</i>  Four Pillars of Prosperity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proactive Toronto: Business Climate</li> <li>• Global Toronto: Internationalization</li> <li>• Creative Toronto: Productivity and Growth</li> <li>• One Toronto: Economic Opportunity and Inclusion</li> </ul>	2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New plan for economic competitiveness and growth</li> <li>• Creativity is at the heart of economic competitiveness</li> <li>• Connect creative industries, districts or hubs to creative economy to strengthen creative city</li> <li>• Focus on internationalization of business climate, productivity and growth, and economic opportunity and inclusion</li> <li>• Strategy for international event attraction</li> </ul>

## **APPENDIX E: ELITE INTERVIEW PROTOCOL**

### 1. TORONTO INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

#### Definitions and Meanings

1. What does 'arts and culture' mean in Toronto?
2. With regards to arts and culture, what are Toronto's top three priorities?

#### Arts and Culture Over the Last Decade

3. Can you describe anything the city has done over the past decade that has been tied specifically to arts and culture?
4. Who is responsible for the suggestion/creation of these policies?
5. What has been the goal of these strategies? Has the goal been achieved?

#### Resource Allocation and Evaluation

6. Do arts and culture bring money into the city?

#### Policy- Economic Development/Urban Revitalization

7. Does Toronto use policy interventions to support or promote arts and culture?
8. Who in particular has supported the use of arts and culture in urban revitalization? (This can include policymakers, advocates, or businesses)
9. One strategy commonly used in economic development is partnership building. Can you describe any significant partnerships between the cultural community and the city?

#### Resource Allocation and Evaluation

10. How does the city justify the allocation of resources such as land, space or funding to arts and culture?
11. Does Toronto track the impact of arts and culture?

Stakeholders/Beneficiaries

12. What individuals or institutions have supported the use of arts and culture in urban revitalization in Toronto?

13. Has this group changed over time?

Public Perception

14. Over the past decade, has public perception of arts and culture changed?

15. How strong an influence does public perception have on urban policy interventions regarding arts and culture?

16. Have these changes influenced decision makers in the city to make greater investments in arts and culture?

Stakeholders/Beneficiaries

17. Have the arts and culture sectors made Toronto more attractive to visitors?  
In what ways?

18. To residents? In what ways?

19. Does arts and culture have a role in effecting the overall public good of the city?

20. Who in particular benefits?

Public Perception

21. What is the role of public demand in the provision of arts and cultural institutions and events?

Is there anything else?

Can you give me the names of two people I should talk to?

## ***2. NEW YORK INTERVIEW PROTOCOL***

### Definitions and Meanings

1. What does 'arts and culture' mean in New York?
2. With regards to arts and culture, what are New York's top three priorities?

### Arts and Culture Over the Last Decade

3. Can you describe anything the city has done over the past decade that has been tied specifically to arts and culture?
4. Who is responsible for the suggestion/creation of these policies?
5. What has been the goal of these strategies? Has the goal been achieved?

### Resource Allocation and Evaluation

6. Do arts and culture bring money into the city?

### Policy- Economic Development/Urban Revitalization

7. Does New York use policy interventions to support or promote arts and culture?
8. Who in particular has supported the use of arts and culture in urban revitalization? (This can include policymakers, advocates, or businesses)
9. One strategy commonly used in economic development is partnership building. Can you describe any significant partnerships between the cultural community and the city?

### Resource Allocation and Evaluation

10. How does the city justify the allocation of resources such as land, space or funding to arts and culture?
11. Does New York track the impact of arts and culture?

### Stakeholders/Beneficiaries

12. What individuals or institutions have supported the use of arts and culture in urban revitalization in New York?

13. Has this group changed over time?

Public Perception

14. Over the past decade, has public perception of arts and culture changed?

15. How strong an influence does public perception have on urban policy interventions regarding arts and culture?

16. Have these changes influenced decision makers in the city to make greater investments in arts and culture?

Stakeholders/Beneficiaries

17. Have the arts and culture sectors made New York more attractive to visitors? In what ways?

18. To residents? In what ways?

19. Does arts and culture have a role in effecting the overall public good of the city?

20. Who in particular benefits?

Public Perception

21. What is the role of public demand in the provision of arts and cultural institutions and events?

Is there anything else?

Can you give me the names of two people I should talk to?

## APPENDIX F: CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS GROUP

### Cultural Institutions Group: New York City-Owned Institutions

American Museum of Natural History  
Bronx County Historical Society  
Bronx Museum of the Arts  
Brooklyn Academy of Music  
Brooklyn Botanic Garden  
Brooklyn Children's Museum  
Brooklyn Museum  
Carnegie Hall  
David H. Koch Theater (formally the New York State Theater)  
    New York City Ballet  
    New York City Opera  
El Museo del Barrio  
Flushing Town Hall  
Jamaica Center for Arts & Learning  
Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, Inc.  
Metropolitan Museum of Art  
Museum of Jewish Heritage  
Museum of the City of New York  
Museum of the Moving Image  
New York Botanical Garden  
New York City Center  
New York Hall of Science  
P.S. 1 Contemporary Art Center  
Public Theater/New York Shakespeare Festival  
Queens Botanical Garden  
Queens Museum of Art  
Queens Theatre in the Park  
Snug Harbor Cultural Center & Botanical Garden  
Staten Island Children's Museum  
Staten Island Historical Society  
Staten Island Museum  
Staten Island Zoological Society  
Studio Museum in Harlem  
Wave Hill  
Wildlife Conservation Society  
Bronx Zoo  
New York Aquarium



**Appendix G**  
**Toronto Findings: Public Good and Social Benefit of**  
**Arts & Culture in Economic Development**

<b>All (20-21)</b>	<b>Diversity a key factor in Toronto's identity</b>
<b>Many (10-19)</b>	<p><b>Public good value inherently Canadian</b></p> <p><b>Arts &amp; culture helps build identity, is asset to youth</b></p> <p><b>Arts &amp; culture has a "feel-good" message</b></p> <p><b>Residents have the ability to take advantage of increased options</b></p> <p><b>Perception of arts &amp; culture by the public has changed</b></p> <p><b>Need for accessibility to arts &amp; culture</b></p>
<b>Some (4-9)</b>	<p><b>Need to target diverse audiences</b></p> <p><b>Tie between culture and wellness</b></p>
<b>Few (1-3)</b>	<p><b>Arts &amp; culture interventions noticed by immigrant community</b></p> <p><b>Volunteerism in sector valuable</b></p> <p><b>Media covered Cultural Renaissance</b></p>

**APPENDIX G**  
**Toronto Findings: Economic Benefit of Arts & Culture to the City**

<b>All (20-21)</b>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Arts &amp; culture in architecture builds global brand</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>City Hall integration of arts &amp; culture and economic development helps to compete globally as center of culture</b></p>
<b>Many (10-19)</b>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Neighborhood revitalization part of arts &amp; culture and real estate</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Private sector funding of arts &amp; culture important</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Citywide festivals and cultural events valuable</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Arts &amp; culture in economic argument accepted function of city</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Stronger arts &amp; culture sector helps other businesses</b></p>
<b>Some (4-9)</b>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Toronto leveraged assets of land and knowledge</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Concern about lack of municipal funds</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Importance of creative clusters</b></p>
<b>Few (1-3)</b>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Arts &amp; culture sector competing for resources</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Province views arts &amp; culture as economic development strategy</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Arts community alienated from economics conversation</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Challenges to demand for cultural offerings</b></p>

**APPENDIX G**  
**Toronto Findings:**  
**Leadership, Stakeholder Partnerships & Reports**

<b>All (20-21)</b>	<b>Value of stakeholder partnerships</b>
<b>Many (10-19)</b>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Mayor Miller champion and visible advocate of arts &amp; culture</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Toronto's arts community valuable leaders</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Younger artists advocates during decade</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Stakeholder partnerships drove role of arts &amp; culture in revitalization</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Research was heart of creative cities initiative</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Florida transformed thinking about cultural sector efficacy</b></p>
<b>Some (4-9)</b>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Municipal staff are advisors to City Council</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Toronto's Culture Plans incorporate economic development &amp; culture</b></p>
<b>Few (1-3)</b>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Policymakers have other concerns</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>More leadership in the arts &amp; culture sector is needed</b></p>

## APPENDIX H: Presentation of Data: Findings

Number	Description	Overview of Topic Areas
Finding 1	About what arts and culture mean in the city	Economic benefit, demand, social benefit, diversity, pride of place, education and youth, accessibility, quality of life, creativity
Finding 2	The role, benefits, and manifestation in the city	Neighborhood and community development, revitalization, cultural industries, public art, cultural events, tourism, cultural producers
Finding 3	Stakeholders' involvement and leadership in the area	Mayor, City Council, private sector, cultural community, arts intermediaries, nonprofit organizations, corporate sponsorship, partnerships, federal and provincial/state governments
Finding 4	What cultural policy means in the city and its manifestation	Municipal cultural strategies, data gathering, culture plans, partnership and policy, financial challenges, perception of cultural policy
Finding 5	Have arts and culture gained a role on the economic development agenda over the past decade	Global competition, recognition of role of arts and culture in economic development, assets of land as well as capital and training, cultural districts
Finding 6	Is this tied to cultural policy	Zoning, permits, tax issues, city planning with arts and culture, tracking and reports as policy tools, the cultural built environment

**APPENDIX I**  
**New York Findings: Public Good and Social Benefit of**  
**Arts & Culture in Economic Development**

<b>All (20-21)</b>	<p><b>Government is responsible for funding arts &amp; culture</b></p> <p><b>Importance of teaching arts in the schools</b></p>
<b>Many (10-19)</b>	<p><b>Arts &amp; culture in education revitalizes cultural built environment</b></p> <p><b>Concerns about cuts to arts education in NYC schools</b></p> <p><b>Number of cultural offerings core reason people move to NYC</b></p> <p><b>Concerns about arts education components being eliminated from cultural organization programming</b></p> <p><b>Concerns about access</b></p>
<b>Some (4-9)</b>	<p><b>Social value of arts and culture emphasized</b></p> <p><b>Importance of art experiences at no cost</b></p> <p><b>Diversity of culture endemic to New York City</b></p> <p><b>Arts education in the schools should be required</b></p>
<b>Few (1-3)</b>	<p><b>Arts &amp; culture mitigates difficulties of living in NYC</b></p> <p><b>Post- 9/11 confidence was shaken; arts &amp; culture helped rebuild</b></p> <p><b>NYC Economic Development Corp. provides access to information for arts &amp; culture community</b></p> <p><b>Role of Department of Education in cuts to arts education</b></p>

**APPENDIX I**  
**New York Findings: Economic Benefit of Arts & Culture to the City**

<b>All (20-21)</b>	<p><b>Arts &amp; culture interesting to international tourists</b></p>
<b>Many (10-19)</b>	<p><b>Tourism visible part of arts &amp; culture’s contribution to economy</b></p> <p><b>Numerous cultural industries are major economic drivers</b></p> <p><b>Investment in built environment is NYC ‘cultural policy’</b></p> <p><b>Vast resources allocated to nonprofit arts &amp; culture sector</b></p> <p><b>City understands importance of arts &amp; culture as economic tool</b></p> <p><b>Gentrification ultimately led to pricing out cultural producers</b></p> <p><b>Decade’s financial challenges effect sector</b></p>
<b>Some (4-9)</b>	<p><b>Culture industries magnet for employees and businesses</b></p> <p><b>New York should promote artists’ housing</b></p> <p><b>Fewer investments in “fringe” arts &amp; culture</b></p> <p><b>Lack of NYC designated cultural districts; only two</b></p>
<b>Few (1-3)</b>	<p><b>Safety key issue in attracting cultural tourists</b></p> <p><b>Times Square important cultural tourist attraction</b></p> <p><b>World-renown organizations taking spotlight from “edgier” art</b></p> <p><b>Screen-based industry permits easier to obtain</b></p>

**APPENDIX I**  
**New York Findings: Leadership, Stakeholder Partnerships & Reports**

<b>All (20-21)</b>	<b>Bloomberg key arts &amp; culture leader</b>
<b>Many (10-19)</b>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Patty Harris &amp; Kate Levin key in arts &amp; culture in economic development</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Integration of arts &amp; culture priority in Bloomberg administration</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>City aware of financial &amp; public good benefits</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>City Council advocate with Mayor for arts &amp; culture</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Tracking &amp; reporting makes a case for culture</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Cannot measure &amp; evaluate impact solely on quantitative bases</b></p>
<b>Some (4-9)</b>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Arts &amp; culture managers more professionalized</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Real estate developers sit on nonprofit arts &amp; culture boards</b></p>
<b>Few (1-3)</b>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>NYC does not have a clear cultural policy agenda</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Few partnerships between city and cultural community</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Bloomberg's consumption of arts &amp; culture preferential</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Mayor did not do all he could for arts &amp; culture sector</b></p>

**APPENDIX J: FINDINGS CHARTS, TORONTO AND NEW YORK**

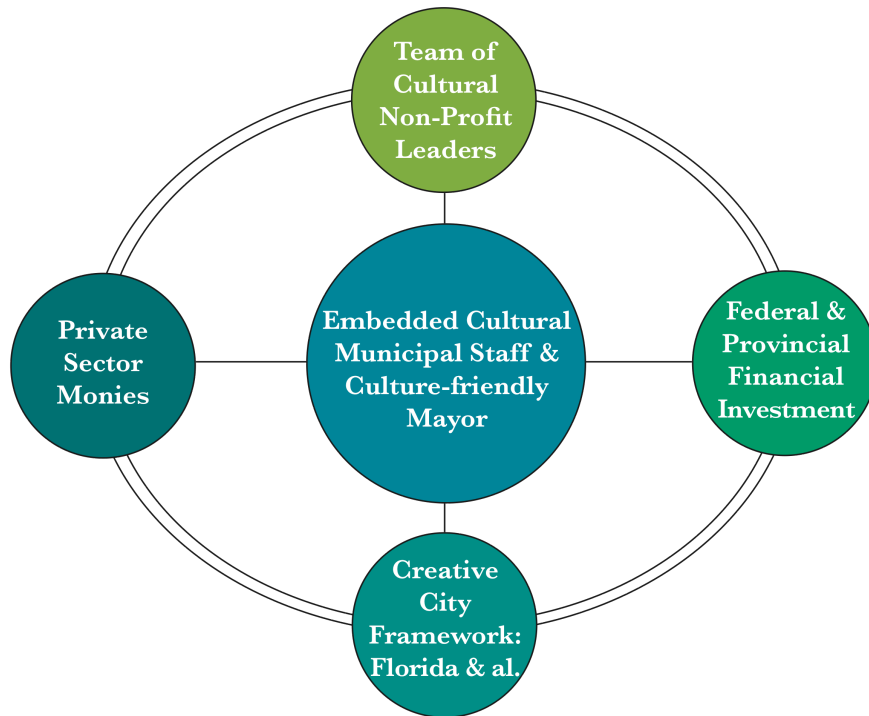
	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Toronto</b>	<b>New York</b>
<b>Finding 1</b>	<b>What Arts and Culture Mean in the City</b>	Toronto has been able to transform itself through arts and culture through the articulation of an economic argument and using studies and reports as tools with which to make this case. The perceived social value of arts and culture to the City is based upon a combination of cultural identity, civic pride and an inherent dedication to social welfare.	In New York, arts and culture have a dual meaning: social benefit and economic benefit. Within social benefit lie the areas of education, accessibility, creativity, public good, and safety; problems in this context include inaccessibility. Regarding economic benefit, the findings include areas such as New York as a boomtown, the vast demand for arts and culture in New York, and the properties of income-generation. Social and economic value meet in the areas of identity and value to residents.
<b>Finding 2</b>	<b>The Role, Benefits, and Manifestation of Arts and Culture in the City</b>	Over the last decade, the highly visible built environment of the cultural renaissance has overwhelmed the city. In addition, citywide festivals, public art and increased tourism have enhanced awareness of Toronto as a cultural place.	In New York, arts and culture are embodied in a visible built environment and embedded on the community cultural level, resulting in macro and micro level manifestations, evidenced by tourism, local tourism, cultural industries (including cultural workers and small businesses), revitalization, gentrification, & public art.



	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Toronto</b>	<b>New York</b>
<b>Finding 3</b>	<b>Stakeholder Involvement and Leadership in the Area</b>	The Canadian federal government, the Province of Ontario, and the art community played a role in bringing the private sector to the table in building Toronto as a cultural center over the past decade. The combination of an entrenched municipal cultural staff and engaged mayor were a powerful team.	In the last decade, the most visible arts and culture leader has been Mayor Michael Bloomberg, followed by his administration.  The New York City Council, the private sector, and the nonprofit arts and culture sectors play much more supporting roles. The corporate sector, the for- and nonprofit arts and culture sectors, and partnerships are a part of the mix of leadership and stakeholders in New York's art and culture community.
<b>Finding 4</b>	<b>What cultural policy means in the city and its manifestation</b>	To compensate for its lack of economic power, Toronto has used research and reports as its main cultural policy tools, together with the integration of tax and zoning initiatives and adaptive reuse strategies.	Cultural policy in New York City consists primarily of the enormous funding power of the Department of Cultural Affairs. The Department of Cultural Affairs funds arts and culture projects as well as capital programs. In addition to the DCA, there are aspects of zoning and permits as well as tax issues that loosely fall under the rubric of cultural policy. However, there is a lack of formalized cultural policy in New York City.

	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Toronto</b>	<b>New York</b>
<b>Finding 5</b>	<b>Have Arts and Culture Gained a Role on the Economic Development Agenda</b>	Toronto utilized, empowered and implemented economic development using arts and culture as the keystone of its entry as a globally competitive cultural center.	Although the New York City Economic Development Corporation recognizes the potential power of arts and culture, it has not systematically planned for its use in economic development. There are few cultural districts designated in New York; however, the EDC does provide land and money as well as partnering with New York State on some projects.
<b>Finding 6</b>	<b>Is This Tied to Cultural Policy</b>	Cultural policy and economic development are interconnected in Toronto in a mutually beneficial relationship.	Cultural policy is tied to the economic development agenda in New York through the Bloomberg administration as a marketing and branding tool and through the cultural built environment and tourism offerings. Tracking and reports allow justification of investment and cultural capital projects by the municipal administration.

## Toronto's Perfect Cultural Storm



## New York: Policy Integrating Arts & Culture

