On 'Creative Cities' governance models: a comparative approach

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Dezembro de 2006

WP n° 2006/54

DOCUMENTO DE TRABALHO

WORKING PAPER

DINÂMIA
CENTRO DE ESTUDOS
SOBRE A MUDANÇA
SOCIOECONÓMICA

FCT
Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia
MINISTÉRIO DA CIÊNCIA, TECNOLOGIA E ENSINO SUPERIOR

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Abstract

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On 'Creative Cities' governance models: a comparative approach

Abstract

The implementation of 'Creative Cities' projects, all over the world, in recent years, has been characterized by a great diversity of institutional frameworks and governance mechanisms. Departing from the contemporary debates on "creative industries" and "creative cities", this paper aims to discuss this diversity of regulatory mechanisms and governance forms. Some tentative typologies of case studies and governance mechanisms are drawn in order to improve the understanding of those dynamics, to build up knowledge on suitable 'Creative Cities' governance models, and to develop ideas to support a strategy for public intervention in the Portuguese case.

Resumé

L'implémentation des projets des «villes créatrices», un peu partout le monde, ces dernières années, a été caractérisée par une grande diversité de cadres institutionnels et de mécanismes de gouvernance.

Partant sur les débats contemporains sur « les industries créatrices » et « les villes créatrices », cet article vise à discuter cette diversité de mécanismes de régulation et de formes de gouvernance. Quelques typologies expérimentales d'études de cas et de mécanismes de gouvernement sont dessinées afin d'améliorer l'entendement de ces dynamiques, de accumuler connaissance sur les modèles de gouvernance adéquates aux « villes créatrices », et de développer des idées pour soutenir une stratégie d'intervention publique dans le cas portugais.

Key-words

Creative city; Governance; Cultural activities; Creativity; Urban; Cultural policy; Regional/local development policies

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1. INTRODUCTION[4]

This paper aims to discuss the diversity of regulatory mechanisms and governance forms which have been marking the development of "creative cities" projects, in recent years, throughout the world. Our purpose is to improve the knowledge on the governance mechanisms of creative industries, particularly in their relation with territory. Through a better understanding of those dynamics, we will be able to systematize and typify 'Creative Cities' governance models, in order to promote a future reflection which can aid supporting a strategy for public intervention in the Portuguese case. In section one, an introduction to the recent debates on creative industries and creative cities is made in order to delineate conceptually this paper's discussion.

Section two provides a broader framework to these debates, articulating them with several other kind of analysis on cultural or creativity-led urban developing strategies and experiences.

With this general framework in mind, section three deals more directly with the policies for creativity and its governance models, by proposing a comparative analysis and suggesting some typologies on the public intervention on this matter.

Finally, in section four, some brief considerations to Portuguese institutional context are made, in order to discuss the potential receptivity of national policy-makers to this conceptual framework and to suggest some of the main challenges that Portuguese authorities in charge of cultural and urban intervention face at the moment, regarding this creative city discussion.

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[4] The authors would like to acknowledge Ricardo Ferreira for his contributes to the reflection that made possible this paper and for all his collaboration in the teamwork which have been developing work on creative industries and on creative cities governance models in Dinâmia.

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2. CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND CREATIVE CITIES

In recent years, concepts such as "creative cities" and "creative industries" arose in academic and in political discourses, and gained great influence and popularity, superimposing to more traditional and conventionally legitimated concepts like "cultural industries", "cultural activities", "artistic activities" or others. Decisive contributes from authors like Charles Landry (Landry, 2000), Richard Florida (Florida, 2002) or Richard Caves (Caves, 2002), or from agencies or institutions like UK government's Department or Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) have been progressively inking scientific debate and policy making with this notions from the 1990's until nowadays.

A significant number of public institutions, both at national and at local/regional levels (most times coordinating broader partnerships, including cultural or urban private actors) has been taken into practice all throughout the world these ideas, launching great visibility (but also, considerable diversity…) to these notions. Several examples, not only in the United Kingdom, where these ideas first most developed, but also in countries like Australia, New Zealand, Canada, or several other places in Europe or Eastern Asia, for instance, have been persistently divulgated as successful case studies of urban or cultural–led operations, related to this creativity euphoria. Even at international institutions level, these concepts have been progressively introduced and are nowadays usually applied (e.g., European Commission, OCDE, UNESCO…).

However, this "creative city" or "creative activities" notions are not consensual and unambiguous ones. We are facing here multifaceted concepts, which reflect the most varied and misleading conceptions followed by its users. We can effectively find the use of expressions like these ones, or approximated others, referring to a wide variety of theoretical concepts, reflecting the most different approaches and perspectives on the same cultural or urban issues, or even resulting from a wide variety of disciplinary evolution paths (e.g., from cultural economics, urban planning, innovation studies, cultural studies, geography, etc.).

In this section we intend to illustrate briefly all this conceptual and analytical diversity, focusing in two of the most used expressions in recent academic and policy making discourse on this matters: "creative industries" and "creative cities" (although not forgetting that each one of these approaches, in their multiplicity, doesn't cover all the recent "creative" perspectives – e.g. creative classes).

In effect, these concepts have been widely used in policy making, and particularly in urban development strategies. Creativity-led planning and initiatives have been promoted in search of local development, urban renewal operations or regional development actions targeting

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innovative or less conventional sectors, in order to act as economic boosters to cities growth and vitalization. The recognition of knowledge and innovation as fundamental matters for keeping the competitive and attractive potential in contemporary societies has radically changed the way of thinking and the action of economic and institutional actors.

The search for well succeeded urban management "experiences" or "formulas" has discovered in creativity their common vein, even though the environment where that characteristic may embed and emerge, and its regulatory mechanisms, be the main focus of that kind of intervention, and its governance forms are decisive to their success. The cultural activities, creative by nature, tend to be one of the pillars of these conceptions, and tend to assume a crucial role in these development strategies, although is import to note that creativity may emerge from other fields, and can even be present in all activities.

Regardless the fairly unclear and confuse panorama around the co-related "creative cities" and "creative/cultural activities" concepts, it is clear for us that the main fact is that behind that diversity of concepts there are the common notions of knowledge and innovation, associated to new products or new activities, new actors or institutions, or new forms of organization or governance.

Having this in mind, a possible typology to frame this discussion is the one defended by Costa (2005), suggesting five main broad distinct origins for the development of this interest towards creativity, concerning the promotion of urban vitality and competitiveness:

a) The idea of "creative city", as developed by authors like Charles Landry (2000); Peter Hall (1998); Ralph Ebert et al. (1994); amongst many others, and the progressive articulation with the analysis of the "creative industries" (via cultural industries studies) and multiple practical policy making application (e.g. DCMS, in UK,…). This notion, adopted by academics but also by urban planners and policy makers in several contexts, has been used as an analytical framework, but also as a strategic reference and an intervention tool in urban development, and supports much in "best practices" valorisation logic, both in cases directly related to cultural creative activities, as in the cases of creative solutions at institutional or organizational perspectives. It has been progressively incorporated in political agenda in several countries (urban regeneration, local development policies, etc, (e.g, in UK, Germany, Canada) and at European institutions level, crossing disciplinary fields like urban planning, local development policies, urbanism and architecture, urban management or sociology.

b) The notion of a "Creative Europe", assumed by international research institutions (e.g., European Research Institute for Comparative Cultural Policy and the Arts – ERICArts, 2002; Council of Europe,…), or even parallel positions assuming the political

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launching of a "Creative Cities network" UNESCO), with a broader notion of creative activities and a particular attention to the specificity of the governance forms. Assuming even most multidisciplinary approaches than the precedent, crossing some of the previous preoccupations with cultural diversity achievement (UNESCO, Council of Europe,…) and joining other disciplinary perspectives (psychology, management,…), the focus is here on the ideas of governance and management of artistic creativity, and on the construction of an empirical approach based on case studies all over Europe which can configure a set of examples from successful relations between artistic creativity, cultural governance, innovative management and urban development. It is particularly paid attention to cultural activity based urban regeneration mechanisms, sustained in special conditions regarding creativity and resulting from specific milieus and particular governance forms.

c) The idea of the existence of a "creative class" (Florida, 2002; Florida and Trinagli, 2004), assumed as a determinant resource in territorial competitiveness, and as having a crucial role in the development and urban regeneration processes in many cities. This perspective, linking cities' creativity to the attractiveness of the "creative classes" (with capacity to dominate technology, fortunate in talent, open to tolerance), distinguish, with empirical base, the "successful" more "open" cities, receptive to difference and solidarity from the others. This polemic contribution, very criticized in some methodological aspects and accessory conclusions, alert in its fundamentals to important and meaningful theoretical base issues, and particularly, to the key-point of creativity, in articulation with skills and human capital issues.

d) The awareness of the "creative industries", within economic analysis, particularly with Richard Caves' contribution (Caves, 2001) on the real functioning specificities of these activities, understood in their broad institutional contexts. This approach, with origin in economics field (though from industrial economics, and not from the cultural economics tradition), and concealable with other approaches, as the "creative economics" (connected to the importance of property rights – e.g, Howkins, 2001), bases on the development of the "creative industries" concept, framing the analysis of cultural industries organization in a broader institutional context. Cultural activities are analysed in economic terms, but focusing on the creative component and on the specificities of cultural goods and institutions, concerning particularly the relations (contracts) established between actors.

e) The valorisation of creation and creativity in the field of artistic activities analysis, even in the mainstream conceptual body of cultural economics (e.g, Throsby, 2001; Towse, 2004, Handke, 2004), with the acceptance of the importance of studying artistic

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creativity and its incorporation in cultural products. This turn (or, at least, increasing interest) of cultural economics to the issue of creation mechanisms, recovering cultural economics inheritance and articulating it with the innovation analysis, allowed a new interest for the study of creative value not only on the demand side but also on the supply one (as provision is seen at the level of idea production and not only the physical production of supports and distribution…).

In spite of all this diversity of origins to the recent arising of interest towards creativity, and all the variety of opinions about the amplitude of these concepts, it is a fact that this became a central issue nowadays. The impact of all this interest can be noticed in policy making, rather significant in various areas, and which have drove, in recent years, cultural policy to new arenas, including among other aspects (Costa, 2005):

- a clear shift towards beyond disciplinary perspectives (combining culture, territory, innovation, etc.)
- a greater focus of attention, when studying and acting on cultural activities, at creativity issues and creation (which are clearly centred in the traditionally "elapsed" 1st phase of this products' value chains);
- an increasing attention to "people" logics also at the supply side, and not only as "audiences", at the demand perspective (assuming that institutions are not "black boxes", and its functioning needs to be studied…);
- a much clear focalisation on territorial embeddedness of cultural and creative activities, namely the territorialized production systems where cultural production and consumption tend to develop most, with its specific actors and particular governance forms;
- and the assumption of the fundamental relevance of immaterial issues (like labour skills, innovation, inter-institutional articulation) as assets for intervention.

Curiously and coincidentally (or not…), all these aspects reflect a greater proximity to regional/local development policies and strategies and bigger similarity to urban development promotion issues. That can be therefore one explanatory argument to all these interest for creativity led urban development policies…

Anyway, regardless all these origins, these concepts have developed and progressively became central for policy making in urban and economic promotion fields. With our aim of discussing governance mechanisms in creativity-led urban development policies in mind, we

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need to establish a conceptual basis for our debate. So, in this wide confuse spectrum we chose to focus in the discussion of two of these concepts (the most spread ones: the "Creative Industries" and the "Creative City" notions) to illustrate this diversity and to define a frame to our own notion.

The "creative industries" concept has been usually understood in a similar (or sometimes slightly broader) version of the Anglo-Saxon notion of "cultural industries": that is cultural activities, in a most wide-ranging version that the Latin-origin-one, including most structured cultural industries (which coincide with this latter) and other, from most conventional and traditional artistic activities to design, craft or heritage.   But sometimes it has also been understood in a much broader version, including activities so distinct like software programming or scientific research, also indubitably creative, although not aesthetically oriented…

This definitional problem has been focusing the debate in what refers to the delimitation of the limits between cultural and creative industries, but also concerning the kinds of activities which must be included and considered as creative activities. This last aspect is of the most importance, as these activities affirm themselves as preponderant in economic development. Although the big obstacles to the stabilization of undisturbed and more universal concepts for "cultural" and "creative" industries passes by the share of the same object, most of the confusion and misleading associates to the identification of the purposes inherent to each of this concepts.

Justin O 'Connor defined Cultural Industries as (…) "those activities which deal primarily in symbolic goods (…). This definition then includes what have been called the 'classical cultural industries' – broadcast media, film, publishing, recorded music, design, architecture, new media - and the 'traditional arts'- visual art, crafts, theatre, music theatre, concerts and performance, literature, museums and galleries" (O'Connor, 1999). This is a recurrent definition in the analysis produced on this issue, which establishes a division amongst cultural activities. Being the cultural industries defined as the subsidized sector, the goals of the financing are different. On one hand, the financing of classical cultural industries is based on the market; on the other hand, the traditional arts are financed by its value in the bureaucratic system but, in the end, both depend on a symbolic valuation of art. Throsby (2001) presents a rather comprehensive model of cultural industries, assuming the centrality of traditional creative and cultural activities which, mixed with diverse inputs, produce a wide range of new products. Here we can find several industries which, in parallel to the production of cultural goods, create also another non-cultural goods and services (printing, TV and radio, media, audiovisual, multimedia). It is also in the limits of cultural industries that we can find branches which operate out of the cultural sphere, but still offer cultural contents (tourism, advertising, architecture, etc.). Therefore, with the attentions centred on commercial and economical development, cultural

activities have slide to the periphery of this model and the creative industries sector is now in the centre of the dynamics.

Authors like O'Regan (2001) or Cunningham (2001) work also on this conceptual model, understanding cultural industries as a subsection of creative industries. The cultural activities sphere represents a resource centre (people, talent, ideas) reassumed in the most diverse uses and applications, involving creativity in different activities which can be completely external to cultural activities. O'Regan (2001) considers cultural industries within a services framework for the creative industries. Culture is therefore a "service industry" and "creativity an application".

In many other analyses, a distinctive factor between cultural industries and creative industries is established related to the fact of the first represent a branch fairly dependent of public support and subsidies, with small economic weight. This "representational" aspect was decisive to the increasing popularity, amongst governments, of the creative industries model as key-driver to economic development.

Another focus of intense discussion has been the need for a consensual mapping and a rigorous definition of the activities included in the creative sector. This debate, which has been conducted mainly in the countries pioneers in these models application, like UK and others, has covered diverse arguments and perspectives. The categorization systems have been developed in several case studies, increasing the benefits inherent to a rigorous mapping of the sector: improvement of the legitimacy of the creative industries sector; availability of rigorous data on the sector; creation of conditions for a better use of the sector's potentialities. But a bigger obstacle in this reflection is the scope considered for labelling or not as creative activities, being the absence of a clear delimitation between "cultural industries" and "creative industries" an additional difficulty to consider.

For instance, UK's DCMS presents a categorization which identifies 13 activities within Creative Industries sector: advertising; architecture; the arts and antiques market; crafts; design; designer fashion; film and video; interactive leisure software and computer services; and television and radio (assuming this definition as common factors between all this activities, the relation between capacities, skills and individual creativity and imagination; as well as the fact of being activities which generate growth, employment and stimulate the creation of contents and intellectual property).

Another example which shows the diversity of creative industries understandings and stresses the need to adapt different creative activities mapping according to the territorial contexts is the preliminary Mapping of Hong Kong's Creative Industries (Centre for Cultural Policy Research, The University of Hong Kong, 2006) which included 11 main industries categories which differ, depending on territory's industrial characteristics and activities (they

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were considered the economic activities that somehow exploit and deploy creativity, skill and intellectual property)[5] .

Stuart Cunningham (2001) presents in this matter an interesting different kind of framework for defining creative industries analysis: Creative Industries; Copyright Industries; Content Industries; Cultural Industries; Digital Contents. Each one represents different activities or share different parts of same activities. For example: it's possible to locate Music in Content Industries and Copyright Industries sub-sectors if we consider it as an important economic activity for Music Labels and Studios, but at the same time, it's value added for the Copyright Institutions.

NESTA's recent Research Report[6] categories. Five subsections can de identified in Creative Industries sector at his on "creative growth" (NESTA, 2006) assume the creative industries' important role for economical development, linking it to the key issue which represents an essential tool in the new challenge for the world markets access: innovation. Creative Industries represent some of the fastest growing sectors of the global economy as well as a key source of competitiveness. Considering this fact, innovation is vital in the creative business global markets breakthrough process. Therefore, 5 areas of innovation can be considered (innovation into new markets, disrupting the value chain through digital technologies, diversity, from IP producers to IP owners and collaborating to compete) and explored in creative industries.

In front of all this, getting a final definition for a concept such as Creative Industries is therefore far from being an easy task.

In parallel to more general and pragmatic definitions like *"the convergence of arts, business and technology"*[7] , one symbolic definition that can be found very often in recent projects about this issue (and that we can assume as the main conceptual basis for the discussion held in this paper…) is as follows: *"those industries that have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property"* (UK Creative Industries Task Force, 1997)[8] – in its own way, these two definitions draw a panorama which seems comprehensive enough for representing such diversity of approaches.

If we move the scope of our analysis to the field of the "creative city" concept, the same diversity and similar problems occur. Creative city notion as been particularly in the spotlight in

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[5] Advertising; Architecture; Arts, Antiques & Crafts; Design; Digital entertainment; Film and video; Music; Performing arts; Publishing; Software & computing; and Television & radio.

[6] Suggestively entitled "Creating growth – *How the UK can develop world class creative business"*

[7] Dr. Tan Chin Nam, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts, Singapore.

[8] Cited in Marcus (2005).

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last decade, but it isn't easy to identify a common conceptual ground to cover all the diversity of interpretations and practices that are subjacent to it.

Actually, as Hansen (2001: pp. 852) puts it, the concept of creative city can be seen as the newest place-marketing product, employed in the struggle between cities to attract investors and to promote competitiveness. It is thus, due to it is generalized use that, for some authors, the Creative City idea ends loosing its consistency and becomes a mere brand and less an "attitude".

In order to summarise the multiple different approaches over the Creative City concept which as developed, in the policy making field and in more academic analysis, we can suggest a typology, identifying 3 basic axes which support each conceptual construction: (i) one centring creative city notion on the idea of creativity as a toolkit for urban development; (ii) a second one basing the notion of creative city in the utilization of creative activities/industries (broadening the cultural activities perspectives); and finally (iii), a third framework, which supports the concept of creative city in the capacity to attract creative competences, that is, creative human resources.

However, it is import to note that this typology is naturally a theoretical construction for specific expositive purposes, being in several cases, the distinction between approaches and their strict relation to authors thinking framing an incompatible and reductionist task (for instance, for "reading" the same author, two or even the three perspectives defined can be possible and even complementary).

The first set of contributes, in which the creative city concept is used in a broad perspective of planning, has in Charles Landry's (2000) book entitled "The creative city: a toolkit for urban innovators" their main reference. Under that framework creative cities are those ones able to find new solutions for quotidian problems. The search for interventions that can instigate a creative "environment", in a wide sense, is the focus of that framework and it goes far beyond the cultural activities, though clearly embed in cities' local culture and identity. For instance, imaginative solutions for the local educational system, for transportation or even garbage collection can be included in this "creative city" perspective. Generating a creative milieu and discovering and keeping creative processes for urban management is the key for success, in a perspective centred in creativity as a toolkit for planning and innovating in the cities.

A second set of contributes centres on cultural products. For theorists as Pratt (2004) and institutions like the Department of Culture Media and Sport (DCMS), amongst many others, "Creative Cities" are framed as the ones that are related to certain dynamism in the creative productive sector. This is eventually the most widespread notion of "creative city", intimately linked to the "creative industries" concept. In this case, the production of cultural goods and services and related activities are the centres of creativity. The recent success of these urban

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spaces is considered as resultant of specific territorialized dynamics or policy-actions which were based on cultural (or other creative) activities growth, which developed quality of life, allowed urban vitalization and promoted competitiveness.

Finally, another important framework which supports the "Creative City" rhetoric is related to the capacity of attracting creative skills and developing inventive competences. Richard Florida´s (2002) work, suggestively entitled "the rise of the creative class", has marked this approach, branding this "creative class" label in reference to the top qualified and innovative human resources that are basing the competitiveness and vitality of most dynamic contemporary urban areas. Effectively, the capacity for a city to be creative and innovative is definitely related to the ability to train, to keep and to attract this new social "class" that domains the knowledge and have the skills required in the advanced creativity-intensive sectors which most value create and further competitiveness promote in contemporary economies.
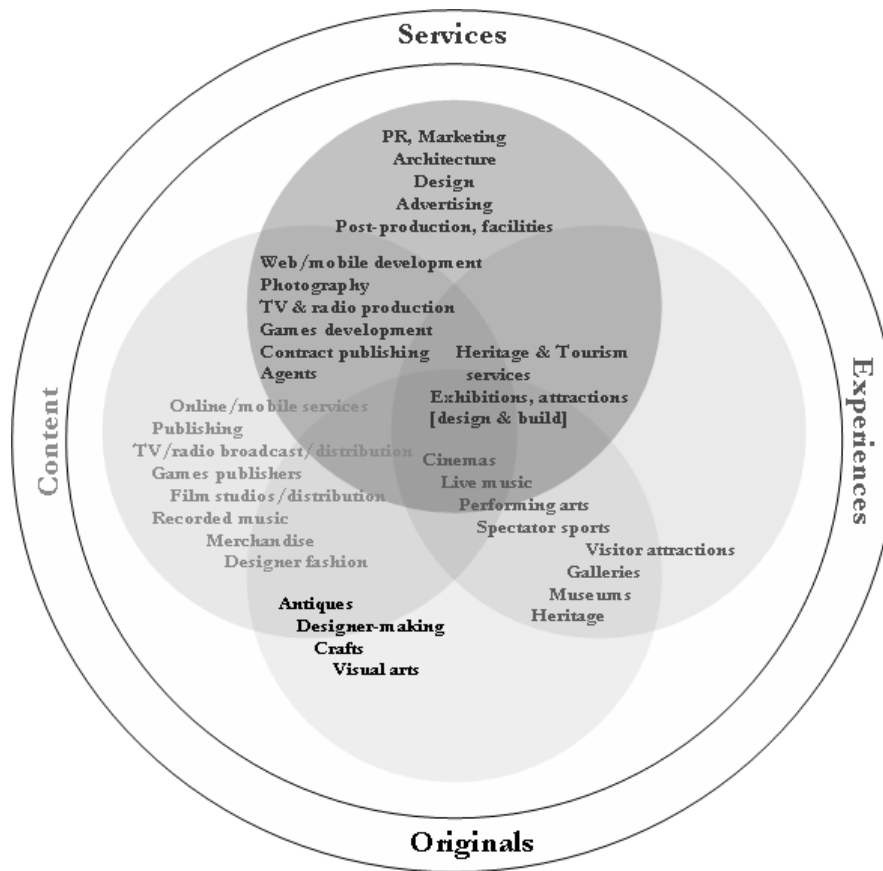
In spite of all this conceptual miscellaneous, we need to deal with the creative activities issue and to creativity's role in urban development from a pragmatic perspective, and assume in this text a concept that can reflect, in an operative way, this issue.
For that, we assume the previously mentioned relatively stabilized and accepted definition of the UK Creative Industry Task Force, of 1997: *"those industries that have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property"* (see Marcus, 2005).

In parallel, we defend a wide approach for the analysis and action on creative activities considering the specificities of the existing dynamics. It's imperative that such analysis represents a more complex and multidimensional approach to these activities and to policy-making in this area. In that sense, the schematic approach suggested by the British National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts (NESTA) can be very helpful. In effect, an important output of the above mentioned NESTA recent report (NESTA, 2006) is the presentation of a new refined model for the creative industries, with the objective of helping the development of new policies. This new model articulates the creative economic activities considering four dimensions (see figure 1): Creative Service Providers; Creative Content Producers; Creative Experience Providers; Creative Originals Producers. This represents a useful tool as it incorporates a greater awareness of the differences between and within the sectors and to locate the ways in which commercial value is created, located and how it can be enhanced.

Combined with the previously presented "creative activities" concept, it can be a powerful tool to study and act on this diffuse area. In a way this model overlaps and integrates several of the definitions discussed on this section 2 and in that sense we will consider this model for our further analyses in this paper.

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FIGURE N°1

Refined Model of Creative Industries (NESTA, 2006)

Source: reproduced from NESTA (2006)

3. THE CREATIVE CITIES APPROACH WITHIN THE CULTURAL ACTIVITIES-LED TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

The "creative cities" rhetoric is intimately linked to the affirmation of successful territorial dynamics centred on the cultural cluster activities or in political strategies endeavouring the promotion of cities development, of urban regeneration or of territorial competitiveness departing from a cultural activities basis. Most of the times it is closely related to deliberated strategies followed by public authorities or other agents to promote competitiveness and urban development from culture or creativity.

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However, it isn't restricted to this kind of initiatives, neither associates directly solely to these activities. On one hand, it is clear the existence of creative city's strategies which are not centred on cultural activities. For instance, the promotion of creative clusters or the attraction of creative people in specific knowledge-intensive areas (like, e.g., software programming, consultancy, R&D, academic work,…) has been documented and defended by many.

On the other hand it is also clear for us that cultural activities have been used to promote (territorial) development, without direct relation with "creative cities" strategies; frequently, some situations have been also verified in which the own regulatory mechanisms of these activities, spontaneously, induced territorial development and competitiveness without a deliberated and concerted strategy (cultural quarters dynamics, localized productive systems, territorialized clusters,…).

In the following paragraphs, we intend to map and systematize some of the different approaches that have been proposed in recent years to understand and explain the role of cultural activities in the promotion of territorial development and in the fostering of competitive advantages of cities and regions. Facing such a diversity of approaches, a tentative typology is suggested for explain the relations which have been established between cultural/creative activities and territorial dynamics. We don't have obviously the ambition to cover all the perspectives ever made on this subject, but simply to map briefly, in a rough way, the main recent points of view which improved the interest on cultural activities as source of development and key-factor on territorial structuring.

We should previously note that we are facing here an even broader range of diversity than the experiences associated to the concepts analysed in the previous section: some of them are explicitly centred on the creative activities concept, and others not; some of them have the presumption of the public action and others not; some of them are centred in the need for action towards development, while others simply rely on territorial dynamics analysis; some of them have essentially an empirical nature, reporting the success of specific case studies (e.g., development operations, cultural events; ….), while others configure more conceptual and analytical approaches to these issues. Even in the cases of explicit and specific policy actions, some of them are focused on the intervention on culture; others are oriented to the action towards regional and local development; some others are concern to even other kinds of policy action (e.g., urban regeneration or city qualification, social inclusion,…).

A good example which helps us to understand all this diversity is brought to us by the European Research Institute for Comparative Cultural Policy and the Arts (ERICArts, 2002), exploring empirically a wide set of case studies from successful relations between artistic creativity, cultural governance, innovative management and urban development.

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This international research project has paid attention to cultural activity based urban regeneration mechanisms, evidencing particularly experiences sustained in special conditions regarding creativity and resulting from specific milieus and particular governance forms. As a result of the multiplicity of situations and cases identified, four different dimensions were explored to explain the diversity of successful experiences observed all over Europe. These four axes of analysis allow understanding the triangle "territory – milieu - cultural creativity", in terms of all the diversity of situations inherent to the different case studies observed, in each of the following four dimensions of analysis:
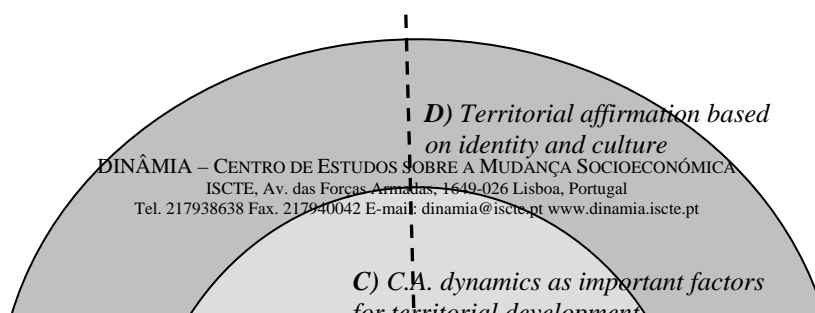
- Axis I) The cultural conditions: some experiences were based on the abundance of indigenous supply; others on the scarcity of indigenous supply; others in the presence of intercultural influences;
- Axis II) The territorial conditions: some experiences relied on agglomeration and concentration; others on high level of networking, others have beneficed from marginalization and closure;
- Axis III) The "genetic" characteristics of the initiative: some cases evidenced creativity as a set of emergence phenomena; in other cases, it was the presence of specific "creativity-relevant" policies; other resulted from specific cultural motivations;
- Axis IV) Their effects: some of those experiences reveal cultural wealth; some others have functioned as key elements in local development; other essentially enhanced territorial resources.

This interpretative scheme shows us clearly all the need to dig out conceptual tools which allow us to deepen our knowledge about this activities and mechanisms, and all the quite unexplored potential that can be extracted to help designing and implementing specific policies to promote urban creative-led development.

Having in mind a framework like this, we could tentatively summarize the main approaches to cultural activities-led territorial dynamics and development strategies, in order to understand the "creative cities" approach within this vast panorama. As we can observe in figure 2 and in table 2, we can suggest a tentative typology whish allows us to distinguish 4 main big groups of perspectives when dealing with cultural-led territorial dynamics.

FIGURE N°2

Main approaches to cultural/creative territorial development dynamics and strategies

D) Territorial affirmation based on identity and culture

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C) C.A. dynamics as important factors for territorial development

Creative activities approaches   Cultural activities approaches

A first, narrower, set of approaches (A), corresponds to explicit actions that are promoted in order to erect the "creative city". They configure explicit interventions to foster urban growth and vitality with basis on the promotion of culture and creativity, in any of the 3 perspectives above referred (using creativity as toolkit for urban development; centring in the development of creative industries; or, supporting in the attraction of creative classes and talent). A second group (B), vaster than the first, includes all the perspectives that look to cultural and creative activities as a source to urban development, and assume there use in policy actions to promote urban and regional development. For instance, we can include here all kind of experiences or dynamics related to the organization of cultural events or implementation of cultural spots, or which considers the role of cultural activities in urban renewal operations or in the local development agencies explicit action.

A third group of perspectives, wider than the previous ones (and containing both of them…), can be identified around the fact of considering cultural and creative activities as important factors for territorial development and competitiveness, regardless public action. These includes not only the previous examples, but also the analysis of the role of cultural activities clusters in urban growth, their territorial dynamics, and the territorial embeddeddness of local productive systems or innovative milieus based on cultural and creative resources, for instance.

Finally, a forth and more ample lens to look to the importance of cultural/creative activities in territorial development relates to the consideration of culture in a broader sense, assuming all the issues related to urban and regional valorisation based on identity and culture, presupposing the endogenous aspects of development in its cultural dimension. For instance, that is clear when we move to analysis centred on cultural identity (and heritage) as assets for competitiveness, to the territorial image and city marketing aspects, or to the affirmation of the urban space image in people's representations.

As can be noticed in Figure 2, and it is clear from the above mentioned, we can distinguish in each of these four categories of approaches to culture-led territorial development experiences a transversal crossing with another divide: the deliberate use of the "creative" concept as centre for analysis, or the more traditional "culture" notion.

Amongst the first, some of them (the ones which most directly interest us for the purposes pursued in this paper) deliberate use, most specifically, the "creative city" notion, explicitly affirmed as a factor to urban vitalization.

TABLE N°1

Main approaches to cultural/creative territorial development dynamics and strategies – some examples

ANALYSING APPROACHES TO CULTURAL AND CREATIVE ACTIVITIES	MAIN KINDS OF DYNAMICS DESCRIBED SOME EXAMPLES
A) C.A. in explicit creative cities approaches CULTURAL / CREATIVE RESOURCES ASSUMED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF A "CREATIVE CITY" EXPLICIT POLICY	**This includes most of the initiatives to the promotion of "creative cities" at local/regional levels (but also national):** **• Using creativity as toolkit for urban development (e.g. Landry, Comedia,…);** **• Centring in the development of creative industries (e.g., Pratt, DCMS, NESTA, …);** **• Supporting in the attraction of creative classes and talent (e.g, Florida, Trimagli,…);** **(It is assumed and pursued the search for creativity, and its impacts on urban development)**

B) C.A. assumed like a key factor to urban/regional development actions **CULTURAL /CREATIVE ACTIVITIES ASSUMED IN POLICY MAKING AS A PRIORITY TO FOSTER URBAN/REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT**	• **Events, festivals, cultural spaces (Cultural capitals; festivals; international exhibitions,…);** • **Local development agencies role in cultural promotion or urban revitalization;** • **Urban renewal operations; urban regeneration; city vitalization (e.g., Temple bar; Expo98;…);** **(e.g., Bianchini e Parkinson; O'Connor; Wynne; MIPC; ERICArts,…)** **But also institutional approaches to creativity's role in development (EU, UNESCO, OCDE,…)**
C) C.A. dynamics as important factors for territorial development **CULTURAL/CREATIVE ACTIVITIES DYNAMICS AS KEY-FACTORS TO URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND COMPETITIVENESS, REGARDLESS PUBLIC ACTION**	• **Cultural/creative-led localized dynamics or productive systems (Hollywood, …);** • **Cultural quarters;** • **Intra-urban location of cultural activities; inner-city organization;** • **Cultural clusters;** • **Innovative systems;** • **Innovative milieus in cultural resources;** • **Cities of art;** • **Cultural districts;** • **Emblematic cultural equipments, institutions, organization models (e.g, Guggenheim; museums complexes;…);** **(e.g., Scott, Hutton, Maillat e Camagni; GREMI, Costa, Lazzeretti; Santagata, …)**
D) Territorial affirmation based on identity and culture **VALORISATION OF TERRITORY SUPPORTED ON ITS IDENTITY AND CULTURE**	• **Cultural identity (and heritage) as assets for competitiveness (territorial differentiation by endogenous assets);** • **Territorial image and city marketing;** • **Affirmation of the urban space in people's internal and external images of the city.**

In the next section, we will focus in this sub-set of approaches (corresponding essentially to block "A") which explicitly invoke the "creative city" concept, in order to discuss the diverse forms of governance which have usually been supporting these several experiences.

4. CREATIVE CITIES POLICIES AND ITS GOVERNANCE MODELS

The great diversity of situations reflects also the great diversity of the governance forms that are inherent to all those different kinds of successful creativity-led development experiences. It is thus important to overview the several kinds of governance models verified in each of all these diverse approaches and the policies that correspond to them.

This section aims thus to single out those strategies and policies that deal exclusively with creative activities and the governance models that have emerged from the growing significance of those activities in local, regional and national economies. As it was seen in the two previous sections, there is an immense diversity of conceptions of cultural industries, creative industries as well as different approaches to creative cities strategies. The outcome of this diversity is a broad range of governance forms. We propose here to make a quick overview of some regional trends on creative policies, starting with the more influent one, the Department of Culture, Media and Sport 'model', in Britain.

4.1 Creative Policies throughout the world: some examples for a comparative approach

The Department of Culture, Media and Sports' (DCMS) creative industries definition and subsequent policies managed to make an impact throughout several countries all over the world. The role played by many of British governmental agencies such as the Creativexport, the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) or the British Council as well as the one played by an 'army' of specialized consultancy companies and academic research centers in several countries have produced a true British sphere of influence. Countries like Colombia, some Eastern Europe "transitional economies" (as called by the British Council), China/Hong Kong or Singapore, are all good examples of that. It is a rather rigorous model, with an exhaustive mapping effort, quantification exercises and evaluation of the economic impact of the creative industries mainly based on the information provided by the industrial and occupational codes (SIC and SOC). More importantly, the most significant mark left by this policy was its definition of creative industries. Despite all the critics it remains the most used definition of the sector.

This template, in the first years of the creative industries 'trend', became rather attractive to several countries that were then making the first steps in the field. Both Stuart Cunningham and Andy Pratt pointed out the issues that template driven policies could arise, namely the demand from the British government for each one of the regions to develop their creative industries strategies (Cunningham, 2003), ignoring the specific idiosyncrasies of each individual economy. In time these countries, cities and regions have managed to emancipate from this

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template, developing their own strategies and policies, although with diverse degree of political commitment.

The European countries supply the most diversified examples of policy-making systematic practices. As opposed to the 'DCMS model' of policy-making, the 'European model' has cultural tourism and the heritage sub-sector as its starting point. Most of European practices seem to be on a regional/local governance level: cultural tourism/heritage oriented (services); flagship buildings (Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Rem Koolhaas' Casa da Música in Porto or the Palau de les Arts in Valencia); regional specialized clusters; large amounts of European funds. As pointed out previously it is not possible to find a single pattern of policy-making. Most countries don't have an integrated national strategy for the sector but national strategies for a specific sub sector can be found quite often, like in the cases of the Dutch design industry or the music industry in France.

The United States presents a very original way of promoting creative activities. On one hand the American cultural sector (strictu sensu) works with very limited federal funding or political intervention. Most cultural institutions or artists live off private funding, patronage or endowments from non-profit organizations, like foundations. On the other hand the American entrepreneurial tradition makes creative activities far more independent of public funding or policy-making practices in Europe. There are several mechanisms of promoting creative activities such as venture capital or an impressive network of universities (research oriented) with privileged links to the entrepreneurial world (Wu, 2005). Besides the existence of world impact clusters such as Hollywood or the multimedia cluster of LA and NY make possible to all sorts of start-ups related with these industries to thrive.

Canada is similar in some aspects. Creative professionals and companies take advantage regularly from the American market dynamics. Nonetheless it seems that federal, state and local governments are quite more proactive in promoting and nurturing creative activities. Moreover there are sub sectoral national strategies for several activities, promoting their culture, creative class and companies (Canadian Heritage, 2006). The State of Québec has his own Ministère de la Culture et des Communications even if don't use the 'creative' terminology.

East Asia Countries such as Singapore, Malaysia or China are investing heavily on creative industries, on a governmental level. Most of these countries have devised comprehensive plans to promote this sector, from tax incentives to venture capital projects. However these countries key features are the fact that "investments tend to be heavily biased towards infrastructures provision" as well as the difficulty in attracting (or even retaining) talented professionals as a result of the restrictions imposed upon society, Singapore being the most blatant example (Wu, 2005).

Curiously one of the first countries, if not the first, to use the word ''creative' in a policy-making document was Australia in 1994, in the strategic plan put out by the Commonwealth Government, "Creative Nation" (Creative Nation, 1994). More recently, and together with New Zealand, Australia has managed to update and adapt economical activities taxonomies to the emerging activities (Brisbane's Creative Industries 2003, 2003). In New Zealand, the New Zealand Trade and Enterprise department, is responsible for the Creative Industries' Sector Engagement Strategy, which has prioritized four main projects, based on the country's strategic resources (including natural ones): Better by Design; Entertainment Industry Project - Director Peter Jackson's Hollywood projects, The Lord of the Ring and King Kong, have a massive New Zealand's input, from locations to creative professionals (Creative Clusters Conference, 2005); Fashion Industry Project and Textiles Project (New Zealand Trade & Enterprise, 2005).

4.2 Governance models: some key features

In this attempt to set apart governance procedures that promote creative activities, three different axis of analysis, configuring diverse models of governance, are proposed with the following systematization (and one another fourth axis is then transversally added). This exercise cannot be looked at as a crystallized framework. As it will be seen below, several of the key features presented often overlap each other as political, ideological or even tradition related factors vary significantly around the world.

a) The territorial scale of intervention: national vs local / regional

The national intervention level on creative activities is usually carried out by central government through its cultural affairs office (ministry, secretary of state, agency, etc.). However this body is usually not alone in the promotion of creative activities. The ministry of economy/industry/trade may be also involved. This, of course, does not exclude local authorities' own strategies, within their set of priorities. The government is usually responsible for the development of strategic objectives such as the priority given to mapping exercises, the updating of SIC and SOC codes or the promotion of the whole sector internally and abroad.
The British example is paradigmatic of this level of governance. One of the first government's main decisions was the demand from each one of the regional authorities to develop its own creative strategies. Although centralized in the Department of Culture, Media and Sports, the creative strategy in Britain does not exclude the role of other departments such as the DTI (Trade and Industry).). Even the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been leading a national level

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leadership program for creative industries professionals (DCMS, 2005). This across-the-cabinet concern with the creative sector growing importance is rather original of Britain. There are also a number of governmental level agencies such as NESTA, responsible for nurture and promote innovation, ideas and creativity across the board[9].

There are dimensions of this governance model that despite the dynamics of a model as such remain at the governmental level. International promotion and branding practices are examples of that (on both sector and sub-sector level). Also, some of the most significant creative and cultural sector mapping efforts were put into place by the British government. Apparently this 'mapping trend' as slowed down but the most developed models of explanation of the creative sector can still be found in Britain.

National	Definition of national strategy for the sector
	Culture ministry in articulation with other governmental departments
	Promotion, Branding and Internationalization
	Mapping creative activities
Regional/local	Creative Cities policies
	Cultural tourism/heritage oriented
	Clusters and value chain promotion
	Promotion of urban regeneration
	Economic activities diversity
	Attraction of talent/qualified workforce
	Attraction of investment/Venture capital
	Universities
	Creation of agencies for promotion of region/city's activities (internationalization, branding, etc.)

The regional / local level of governance seems to be the most diverse and comprehensive. It touches some dimensions that are not encompassed by national model of governance such as the promotion of urban regeneration or the attraction of talented professionals. Believing in Richard Florida's theory, the capacity of those cities to attract talent and nurture diversity is crucial (Florida, 2002). The true is that most cities and regions around the world are competing these days for their share of visitors, creative professionals and investors. And for that, each one of those urban centres are using the available weapons: historical heritage and natural resources, specialized clusters of companies, the promotion of the

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[9] Despite its broader scope, the Portuguese *Technological Plan Cabinet* (linked to Lisbon Strategy application) presents, in an embryonic way, some of the same across the board features as its British counterpart

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'experience' visit, putting in place sophisticated branding strategies, promoting their tourism, devising investment attraction plans or creating all sorts of lifestyle amenities (Wu, 2005).

On the same level of cities are regions that have some specificities namely clustering. Most clusters are region based thus the strategy are planned regarding the specific value chain of those clusters. Branding, promotion or investment attraction strategies are delineated around those specialized group of companies.

Barcelona is, in Europe, a good example of a local/regional governance strategy. Twenty years of continuous promotion of the city's architecture, culture, the promotion of grand scale events such as the Olympic Games etc, has produced one of the most sought after cities (and region, considering Catalonia can not be separated from its main city) in the world by young creative professionals, tourists as well as investors from the most diverse walks of the entrepreneurial life. In a recent document made public by the Barcelona City Council/ Institut de Cultura, Ferran Mascarell, town councilor-chair of the Culture Commission acknowledges the importance of the Creative Industries for the 'competitive edge' of cities and lists some of the local government public initiatives as well as the challenges that lay ahead of the city of Barcelona. More importantly though are two or three features presented in the same document: the information that 7,8% of the municipal budget is allocated to culture, an impressive number; the creation of Risk Capital Funds for cultural projects, a bold initiative, considering the non existent tradition of such instruments in this sector, at least in Continental Europe, or the creation of the Barcelona Plató Film Commission that seems to be more than a political move - the city has managed to attract the most recent Woody Allen's production some months ago, for instance (Mascarell, 2006).

b) Policy intervention vs non-policies

In parallel to (both of) these categories of public intervention above presented, it can coexist another governance level, characterized by the cultural and urban systems (auto-)regulation, without specific deliberate public intervention, that is, without explicit policy making towards creativity cities development. This level of governance is usually the outcome of an already existent territorial dynamism inherited from traditional (or not) local activities. Its governance instruments are mainly regulatory and promotional without too much political interference. This political role can be of protectionism against foreign/outside menaces or competition. At the same time these industries/clusters lobbying activities are terribly aggressive and attentive to any menace to their dominance or leadership. These features put together (regulatory + protectionism + lobbying) make these specific activities thrive without a conventional governance model.

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Non policies	Territorial dynamics
	Regulatory governmental intervention
	Lobbying
	Protectionism

The most paradigmatic example of this form of governance is the British music industry or the Hollywood film industry. Both these industries are strong and dynamic without the need of traditional political intervention. Nonetheless their value is too important to Britain and the US economies to be ignored by their central governments or greatly influential groups. Weiping Wu offers a list of the factors for successful creative centers In the United States: "outstanding university research (sometimes with federal funding), commercial linkages and the availability of venture capital, anchor firms and mediating organizations, appropriate base of knowledge and skill, target public policies, quality of services and infrastructure, diversity and quality of place " (Wu, 2005).

c) Public vs non-public projects

Besides these governance models mainly based on public projects there are governance strategies that are the outcome of non-public will (even if they are partially publicly funded). Such projects are mainly the product of not for profit organizations such as associations, foundations or agencies funded with public and/or private money. These bodies can be organized in the most diverse forms but there are two main dimensions on the way they work: (a) The promotion of a specific creative activity/sub-sector; (b) The promotion of a geographic area (region, city, quarter, district, borough, etc,) in its diversity of creative activities through urban regeneration, education for creativity, promotion of events, among others;

Non profit organizations	Promotion of a specific activity
	Branding and internationalization of that specific activity
	Promotion of specific geographic areas
	Education

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	Promotion of social diversity and integration

A good example of both these two dimensions are:

a. Premsela Dutch Design Foundation – this foundation promotes the development of Dutch Design. It aims to "promote the development of public-oriented economic, social, international, regional and cultural design as well as the infrastructure of the design field" (Premsela). It is funded by Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and the Amsterdam City Council;

b. Cultural Industries Development Agency (CIDA) – agency based in East London that aims to "provide a wide range of essential services to the creative and cultural industries; to promote a culturally diverse and sustainable creative industries sector; to promote access to cultural and creative industries; to sustain and increase economic prosperity through supporting entrepreneurial activities of individuals and support policy, planning, urban regeneration, creative hubs, clusters and cultural quarter initiatives" (CIDA). It is funded, among other institutions and bodies, by the Arts Council of England, several different local boroughs, the London Development Agency or the European Regional Development Fund.

Each one of these 3 axes cross with another fundamental and transversal divide: on one hand, policies, actions or simply system dynamics centred on the issue of culture and creativity; on the other hand policies, actions or simply system dynamics centred on the issue of urban/local/regional development.

Both perspectives (as seen in previous sections) are present in several approaches and empirical studied cases, and that allows us to confirm one fact: creativity has been a convergence point of these two diverse perspectives, and a common vein to support a double perspective on this issues.

5. CONCLUDING NOTE: SOME REFLECTIONS ABOUT THE PORTUGUESE CASE

As has been seen, the discussion on Creative Cities concept is still far from a consensus, and suffers from its overuse in political rhetoric, media, and even amongst planning technicians, weakening the concept of meaning. It is also difficult, despite all the examples presented, to identify, at this early stage, a concrete set of successful case studies with the necessary distance

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and conceptual rigour that academic prudence advice. Nonetheless, the attempted systematization, presented in this paper, can be helpful for the understanding of some timid emerging patterns and for policy-makers in Portugal.

In effect, one might be tempted to say that there is a creative sector in Portugal, there are some examples of creative cities approaches, but there are no creative policies; at least for now. Here are some of current Portuguese features:

• The word "creative" has been seldom used by this country's cultural or economical political officials. The Technological Plan, designed to enhance Portugal's place in the scope of Lisbon Strategy has an explicit item for the implementation of a creative industries policy, but it is not very much developed and there are no plans known to implement that particular item, within the overall strategy.

• At national/regional level, and mainly, at municipal level, policy-makers begin to draw some increased attention to cultural activities and to manifest some interest in analysing and promoting projects that could have any similarities with the "creative city" models.

• On a more concrete level, there is the opportunity that the funding for the cultural sector that Portugal will receive from the new EU structural funds programming period might be, in part, channelled to some pilot attempts to implement creative industries/creative cities projects on regional/local level (although History reveals that preceding application of structural funds in the sector was quite more conventional and "traditional".

• A mapping exercise of creative activities is yet to be done. Similarly to so many other countries in Europe, the SIC and SOC codes have not been yet updated, encompassing the emerging creative activities. Despite the discussion on the instrumentalization of a tool like this no one can effectively argue its utility.

• Last, in a more generic plan, the cultural/creative discussion is still very politically/ideologically charged in the country. As a result of highly turbulent years, following the revolution of 1974, cultural activities – and some other peripheral activities – have not managed to emancipate/detach from a more orthodox ideological discourse, and the attempts on promoting a serious debate on creative/cultural sector are usually subverted by dialogue difficulties and artificial misleading.

Recognizing the contemporary relevance of Creative Cities models, we believe that it must become a fundamental tool for Portuguese development and to promote its external competitiveness. Though there are no explicit experiences kinds Creative Cities, neither an objective political will in this sense, we may observe favourable signs where those initiatives may be fostered. Portugal recent context reveals an important period to increase the maturity of public policies objectives in this intervention area. At a local level, there are some important initiatives going on developing and stimulating local creative agents. The existence of these local

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dynamics, the presence of a creative compatible scope at the actual stage of the structural funds negotiation round, and the presence of a new political concerning, make us believe that there are suitable conditions for the development of Creative City initiatives in the near future.

Finally, we expect this paper represents an opportunity to open space for a new debate on the Portuguese society about the development of prominent governance mechanisms and for the discussion of new national priorities concerning cultural and creativity-led dynamics and strategies. Considering the dimension of these orchestrated interventions, it's crucial that institutions with national relevance work together with a new proactive approach evolving intersectoral agents, and seizing the opportunities that emerge at local level, and on civil society. A key issue for an effective implementation of creative cities strategies is therefore a new policy management attitude. The success of these interventions depends undoubtedly upon this change of attitude.

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