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Making creative-knowledge cities: a guide for policy makers

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WHO IS THE GUIDE FOR?

The guide is designed for multiple audiences at national, regional and local levels, including:

- Political and Executive leaders
- Planning, Economic Development and Regeneration officers
- Cultural officers
- Third Sector and Voluntary Bodies active in the development of cultural, creative and knowledge-based projects

Different sections will be useful for different audiences. Throughout the guide and in section 7 at the back of the document there are links to other useful sites. These will enable practitioners to identify additional material that may be useful when deciding on policy measures for creative-knowledge cities.
If we are to succeed in building competitive and sustainable economies then it is essential that we work to continuously develop ‘international class’ knowledge capabilities and creative potential across the European Union. And as we seek to achieve this ambition through the early twenty-first century, we must also continue to invest in deepening our understanding of competitiveness in the ‘knowledge era’ – particularly in relation to the developmental dynamics of creative-knowledge industries and the local conditions that are required to help these businesses grow and create wealth.

This ‘Guide for Policy Makers’ emerges from the EC FP6 Integrated Research Programme ACRE – a large-scale international comparative research programme around the theme of Accommodating Creative Knowledge and the Competitiveness of European Metropolitan Regions.

This original work undertaken by 13 ACRE research teams and their city-region partners draws on the everyday ‘lived’ experiences across different types of European cities. As such it provides an intelligent, balanced and well-grounded picture of the possibilities, limits and challenges faced by businesses of all sizes, urban authorities and their partners as they seek to work together to harness, combine and deploy new knowledge for productive gain in highly competitive national and international markets.

The ACRE ‘Guide for Policy Makers’ makes a timely contribution to our understanding of the very particular and often highly differentiated European conditions that must be taken into account in the design and implementation of policy aimed at stimulating the growth of knowledge-based and creative industries. While the guide’s editors and their contributors wisely avoid offering overly simplistic ‘recipes’ or ‘menus’ for policy makers to follow, they clearly demonstrate that there is much to be learned from the different policy experiences presented across a blend of comparative European city-region case studies that are included.

This guide should be read by leaders, executives and policy advisers across Europe’s cities and regions who are looking to harness the full potential of localised creative-knowledge industries and their related activities. It makes an extremely important contribution to our understanding of how we must look to facilitate and exploit the complex interdependencies that exist between knowledge-based industries, creative endeavour and competitive European cities.

Jean-Michel BAER
Director, Science and Society Directorate
European Commission – DG Research
Brussels
October 2010
1 LESSONS LEARNED

This guide sets out key considerations for policy makers exploring the potential for future development of creative and knowledge-based industries in European cities and city-regions. It draws on the experience of a diverse group of European cities which have all seen a growth in these sectors.

The two key lessons learned from their experience are, first, that there is no single policy ‘formula’; and secondly, that it is essential to understand the resources and distinctiveness of each city when making decisions and choices about policy and development.

The challenges are for policy makers to develop tailored policies based on an understanding of a city’s historical pathway; the place-specific characteristics that can be built upon; and an awareness of the thinking and decision-making processes of both the owners and managers of firms and of those whose talent, skills and enthusiasm are fundamental for the development of creative and knowledge-intensive activities. It is vital to build on legacies and assets and on the distinctiveness of the city and city-region and to identify actions that will foster the development of creative knowledge-based activity – including how to stimulate and build personal networks that help in attracting and retaining talent.

While this guide is principally concerned with actions that will promote the development of the creative-knowledge city, it is also important that policy makers reflect upon the unintended tensions and inequalities that may be generated by such development. The creative-knowledge economy embraces both well-paid, secure employment and low-paid, insecure employment. How the creative-knowledge sector develops and what the balance is between different activities affects the pattern of inequality and cohesion within the city. In turn, this may draw attention to actions and services that should be undertaken to connect and embed new activities within the wider structure of the city and cause policy makers to re-think how they address any ‘new’ tensions and inequalities.

In this guide we briefly address these challenges using the results from original research that has identified pathways, places and personal networks as key elements in the development of the creative-knowledge city. It has also identified twelve issues (in chapter 5) that policy makers should consider when shaping their policies.

The approach set out in this guide involves understanding the resources and distinctiveness of each city – and how to draw on this to make decisions and choices about policy and development. Key elements of the approach can be summarised as follows:

Local context matters when selecting interventions:

Play to local strengths: policy makers must select the most appropriate interventions based on local context and local demand. Tailored policies are required. Standard ‘one size fits all’ approaches which fail to respond to the specific characteristics of places and their people may at best fail to maximise local innovation and at worst stifle it.

Be realistic about potential: it is important to be realistic about a city’s capacity to attract creative and knowledge-intensive industries.

Success factors vary from place to place: cities with a strong heritage and attractive built environment may be easily marketed to visitors and aid place-making. Certain places have an existing association with a creative-industry product or are known for their strong cultural infrastructure/creative scene. This can be exploited to nurture confidence in the indigenous businesses and open up new markets through branding and place-making.

Build on what’s there: cities which are trying to invest in creative industries for which they have no ‘track record’ need to consider what they will need to do to overcome their existing reputation.

Take note of the lessons from the past: keep in mind that in the near future, current economic activities may disappear and new economic activities may appear with new physical and spatial demands. This may involve developing buildings and locations that can easily be adapted in the future.
Develop and make use of an understanding of Pathways, Place and Personal Networks

Understand the city’s function(s) as a national or regional or non-capital city, and the developmental implications

Be aware of the city’s role as a centre of higher education

Understand how different factors affect the development of the city and the legacies associated with different periods – this may particularly apply in Central and Eastern Europe

Tailor policies to take account of these legacies and that make use of the distinctive resources of the city and city-region.

Exploiting local place characteristics is key for development; to some extent local characteristics can be used to strengthen place-making activities

Better place-making may also be achieved through improved place marketing and branding

‘Place’ includes the city-region as a whole: that is the ‘functional scale’ for the area’s economic structure, the labour market, the housing market and for services and leisure.

Recognise that personal networks and trajectories influence individual, household and business location decisions – whether to settle or stay in a certain city-region or not – and this raises a number of issues:

- how to capitalise on the contribution of highly skilled transnational migrants
- fully understanding the local role and impact of higher education institutions
- Support personal networks in the creative-knowledge industries; to be considered alongside network development for other economic activities.
Throughout the ACRE project and this guide we have used UK Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) definitions of creative industries.

**Creative industries are:**
- advertising
- architecture
- art and antiques
- computer games
- crafts
- design
- designer fashion
- film and video
- music
- performing arts
- publishing
- computer software
- TV and radio

**Knowledge-based Industries:**
- legal
- accountancy
- business management consultancy
- advertising
- R&D
3 MAKING CREATIVE-KNOWLEDGE CITIES: THE POLICY CHALLENGES

European cities operate in a highly competitive and dynamic global environment. The policy challenge for urban policy makers and planners is to make sure their cities are as competitive as possible. Many places are striving to achieve this competitive edge by attempting to transform themselves into creative-knowledge cities.

Creativity and knowledge are the drivers of the urban economy, both in the developed world and in emerging economies. Cities are therefore seeking to establish the right conditions for creativity and knowledge to flourish in a new entrepreneurial culture.

Creativity and knowledge are the future drivers of the urban economy.

Policy makers at EU, national, regional and local level have recognised that more needs to be done if the European creative-knowledge economy is to thrive.

There is no single policy solution, however, for making a competitive European city and the challenges are not the same in each city. Important differences in the economic structure and functions, social composition, institutional arrangements, size and geographical location within Europe shape cities’ distinctive resources and the challenges they face. But although European cities are all very different, they are all affected by common trends and face similar challenges in the global marketplace for jobs, talent and investment.

Given these varied circumstances, the challenge for local policy makers is to identify those activities and capabilities that can be effectively developed; and will increase their economic competitiveness while reducing social exclusion – and be clear about those activities that cannot be effectively developed.

What makes a city more or less successful in responding to social and economic change? What are the most effective approaches and how might European cities best go about developing and implementing appropriate strategies and policies?

Differences between European cities mean there are no ‘quick fix’ policy solutions.

A ‘creative-knowledge city’ is not something that can be achieved by following ‘off the shelf’ models imported from other places. A ‘one size fits all’ approach fails to build on the existing diverse and complex conditions. Distinctive urban and metropolitan contexts and assets make ‘made-to-measure’ types of intervention more appropriate. These will enable cities to harness and develop their local strengths, while at the same time connecting them to global innovation and knowledge flows.

The guide calls for a more nuanced approach to European creative-knowledge policy making.

The very particular and often highly differentiated European conditions must be taken into account in the design and implementation of policy aimed at stimulating the growth of knowledge-based and creative industries. The guide highlights this by looking at policy approaches currently being implemented in very different European cities.

The guide does not provide neat ‘solutions’; rather it offers practical ideas and observations drawn from recent research and case study examples that can inform urban policy in the future.

In identifying what is important for the development of creative-knowledge activities we have drawn on but moved beyond earlier approaches (from the USA and elsewhere) and reflected upon the different history and development of European cities as well as their social, cultural and economic differences. In each of the 13 European cities studied the creative and knowledge-based economy plays a major role and has been growing steadily. But the composition of these parts of their economies differs – development has been affected by the distinctive characteristics of each city.

Development of creative-knowledge industries is influenced by the distinctive characteristics of each city.

While some parts of the creative-knowledge economy are associated with high-paid relatively secure professional careers, others are poorly paid and insecure (these are especially evident in the creative sectors). There are challenges associated with the growth of these parts of the economy but also with managing the various consequences of their growth. We can expect further growth of these parts of the economy but the pattern of growth will vary and continue to reflect the social, political, demographic and economic legacies as well as the policies and decisions carried out in the present by various actors. It is in this context that policy makers should actively consider how they can contribute most effectively.

The insights developed through this research have relevance for a wide range of European cities with different roles and positions in the urban hierarchy. They do not suggest simple policy transfer between cities or a single blueprint for developing the creative-knowledge economy. But they do suggest a methodology that is appropriate and which focuses on the distinctive attributes and assets that can be harnessed to achieve development.

To become (or remain) competitive, European creative-knowledge cities need to develop tailored policies.

The case studies presented in the guide demonstrate that to become (or remain) competitive, European creative-knowledge cities need to develop tailored policies. Policy makers need to base their plans for the future on a detailed analysis of their city. They need to:

• understand the pathways the city has previously followed
• identify the specific resources and qualities of the place
• recognise the importance of the personal networks that exist.

Using this approach, it will be possible for cities to develop distinctive, tailored policies to attract and retain the individuals and firms that will strengthen their creative-knowledge economies. Actions can be taken to ensure a sustainable approach and to address the tensions and inequalities that may be associated with some patterns of development.
## Pathways

European cities are saturated with the past. They have become what they are as a result of following their own unique ‘development pathways’. These pathways are all different, but are key in shaping the capacity of cities to reinvent themselves in and for the ‘creative-knowledge’ economy.

**European cities are characterised by a rich and complex urban history.**

European cities and regions have evolved over long periods of time. Their accumulated economic, social, political, cultural, physical and functional structures play an important role in their future development and capacity for change.

In the context of the Enlarged EU, it is particularly important to distinguish between places which have enjoyed a relatively unbroken development path, and those, notably post-socialist countries, that have experienced substantial disruption to their development paths.

**Policy that works in one context will not automatically work in another.**

The resulting diversity means that it is impossible to transfer policies to Europe from other parts of the world, or to copy Western European policies in Eastern Europe. Policy that works in one context will not automatically work in another.

## Place

The significance of place may have become more important since the ‘internet revolution’, although the function of these places and the meaning attached to them may now be different.

**Cities must understand what place characteristics make them distinctive.**

The built environment and physical infrastructure of European cities reflect centuries of development. Public, private and third sector organisations and institutions also often have their roots in past development. These legacies from the past may be obstacles to change or may be resources for future development. In either case they are the starting point for understanding the distinctive attributes of any city.

All cities are part of the global economy and are now more connected physically and electronically. Nevertheless, unique place characteristics continue to distinguish one city from another and create competitive advantage.

Cities need to provide a high-quality environment both to attract and to retain people and firms. The creative-knowledge economy, however, embraces diverse activities and what is attractive to one set of interests may not meet the demands of another. Tailored policies have to be developed for these different purposes and to meet different local conditions.

## Personal Networks

Connections to, between and within places – through personal relationships and personal experiences (for example in the course of education and work) – are often the most important factors when creative-knowledge workers are deciding which city to move to and whether or not they stay.

**In European cities, networks of family, friends and colleagues are vital.**

These networks appear to be tighter and more fixed in European cities than those reported for North American cities. But there are also differences between Eastern and Western European cities and between those in the north and the south of Europe. Tailored policies are required to take account of these cultural differences.

As internationalisation is a common experience in contemporary urban economies, it is crucial for policy makers to foster networks and develop approaches which can strengthen their role in developing the creative-knowledge city. Recognising that different types of international migrant require different policy interventions is vital. For example, international student or university alumni networks require one form of intervention, economic migrants another.
5 USING PATHWAYS, PLACES AND PERSONAL NETWORKS TO SHAPE TAILORED POLICIES

PATHWAYS

The determinants of city competitiveness are complex. European cities have different economic trajectories, social systems, institutional structures, cultures and urban systems. Policies need to be tailored to the different pathways of each city.
5.1 Improving the competitiveness of non-capital cities

In recent years, competition between European cities has increased. The policy challenge lies in maximising the potential of non-capital cities which often do not have the advantages of state capitals.

**State/National capitals:**

Capital cities generally have different assets when compared to non-capital cities. They are important historical, cultural and political/administrative centres and also, but not always, important economic centres and nodes in the international economy. As the centres of political and economic power they are often the subject of intense policy activity and the target of investment. Very often investors, particularly in the creative and knowledge-intensive sectors, see the capital city as the ‘only’ place to invest. The extreme case is centralised post-socialist capital cities (such as Budapest, Sofia and Riga) which attract the lion’s share of entrepreneurial people and the major incoming flows of foreign direct investment. In Ireland, despite a national policy to locate new industry outside the capital in a balanced regional manner, most investors in the creative-knowledge sectors prefer Dublin. Helsinki likewise dominates in the knowledge sector in Finland. Critical mass, in terms of city size and scale, skilled labour, good universities and good urban amenities, seem to attract investment.

**Regional capitals:**

Some regional capitals are also major cities that dominate their region. They are often, however, in competition with other major metropolitan areas in their countries. In the UK, Birmingham operates in the wider creative economy, which is influenced by the capital city, London, and the buoyant south-east region as well as the leading cities of other regions. This national context affects policy making and it is more complex as a result. Major regional cities including Barcelona, Munich, Milan and Toulouse have strong economies and high international profiles. Regional capitals may act as drivers of growth for their regions and their national economies may be less reliant on the unique contribution of the capital city. Munich and Milan, for example, stand out as non-capital cities with a high number of international headquarters. Decentralised post-socialist countries like Poland also have regional capitals with important political functions and which compete amongst each other for new economic activity (e.g. Wroclaw and Poznań show a greater ‘entrepreneurial dynamic’ arguably than Warsaw). Nevertheless, these cities have to co-ordinate their actions at the local level with regional governments, which means more complexity in the development of governance approaches.
Non-capital cities need to improve their strategic decision-making capacity.

The powers held by regional and local government can significantly affect the economic competitiveness of cities. For non-capital cities, success depends on maximising the opportunities based on their own strengths. Cities and city-regions need to encourage innovative institutional and individual behaviour(s). Although a supportive national policy framework is important, local decision-making capacity is vital for economic competitiveness.

Cities with more autonomy are more proactive, entrepreneurial and successful.

While Dublin is a capital city, local government in Ireland is in a relatively weak position, heavily dependent on finance from central government and, when compared with many other EU cities, responsible for a limited number of services. Thus, Dublin is in a paradoxical position of being the capital city but being heavily dependent on central government finances and policy. Barcelona and Munich, as regional capitals, have far greater power and discretion to determine regional and urban policy (Box 1).

The decision to decentralise and create alternatives to Paris has had a major impact upon the French urban hierarchy. Toulouse underlines the importance of sustained investment by the central state in technology and R&D facilities in making the city one of the leading centres of innovation in France (Box 2). A strong municipal government ensured that a system was developed to attract activities and opportunities and use these to leverage public funding from Europe, central government, the region and local communities. Factors contributing to Toulouse’s success have been the co-ordination and co-operation between public and private stakeholders; across government, businesses and universities.

As well as improving leadership and strategic decision-making capacity, the competitiveness of non-capital cities can be improved by other measures. In particular, it is important to:

- Develop a diverse economic base
- Improve connectivity
- Ensure good quality of life
- Nurture skills and human capital
- Promote innovation in firms and institutions.

Barcelona, which is one of Europe’s top visitor destinations, has invested heavily in its international airport and ranks high on ‘quality of life’ rankings. The so-called Münchener Mischung (Munich mix) is constantly cited as key to Munich’s transformation. The city has strength in diversity of global and local firms, manufacturing as well as services, the ‘old’ as well as the ‘new’ economy (see also 5.3).

Policy responses:

- Improve local leadership and strategic decision-making capacity; leadership for knowledge, innovation and creativity
- Encourage innovative institutional and individual behaviour
- Maximise the use of physical, cultural and economic assets and build on local strengths
While Dublin is the capital city of Ireland and the dominant city demographically and economically, arguably it is not always favoured by national policies. In response to recent economic challenges, senior policy makers in Dublin have:

- Developed a Dublin economic plan for the first time, reflecting the city’s economic importance
- Initiated a Creative Dublin Alliance, a collaborative network of urban leaders composed of representatives from local authorities, colleges, state agencies, businesses and the not-for-profit sector. The Alliance has a purely Dublin focus and meets to discuss and implement solutions in response to the challenges that Dublin faces as an internationally competitive city-region. The aim is to develop higher levels of innovation and, in collaboration with all key parties, to promote Dublin as a creative and world-class city.

Innovation Dublin 2009, a week-long festival of public events, was a key project of the Creative Dublin Alliance. The aim of the week was to raise public awareness of innovation and creativity in Dublin, to inspire and stimulate innovation and encourage networking. Over 200 events and activities were held including business seminars, science demonstrations, workshops, concerts, discussions, exhibitions, performances, showcases and competitions.
Toulouse: regional strength in partnerships

Most of the recent policy initiatives in Toulouse, such as the Pôles de compétitivité, are national policies implemented at the local level. The Cancéropôle Toulouse (Toulouse Cancer-Bio-Health Cluster) is a large urban development project (220 ha) in the heart of Toulouse comprising a unique cluster of academic, scientific, technological, pharmaceutical, public and private institutions as well as medical clinics. Developed by the Urban Community of Toulouse, in partnership with the General Council of Haute-Garonne, the Regional Council of Midi-Pyrénées, the state and Europe, its features are:

- A strategy with a clear vision for national and international partnerships
- An investment policy leading to public–private investment of 1 billion euros
- A new pool of jobs that diversifies the economy of Toulouse: more than 4,000 people targeted to be working on site in 2013
- Continuing support and collective action by local government: a financing agreement of 50 million euros from the Urban Community of Toulouse, the General Council of Haute Garonne, the Regional Council of Midi-Pyrénées, the state and Europe
- Strong involvement of the French state and Europe in the initiatives, which include: the Cancéropôle Greater Southwest, the National Foundation InNaBioSanté, the Thematic Network research and care.

Arguably the cities that struggle most with becoming creative-knowledge cities are those in Central and Eastern Europe. These ‘post-socialist’ cities have been through profound change - they have experienced two major restructuring periods (post-1945 and then post-1989) which have dramatically altered their social, economic, cultural and institutional make-up.

The policy challenge facing these cities is complex. It involves finding ways to build on the best aspects of their past legacies; but also moderating the pace of change and restructuring to fit local conditions. It requires co-ordinated strategic policy intervention but also the development of more flexible and entrepreneurial approaches to local policy making.

It is tempting for Central and Eastern European cities to want a ‘clean slate’ and to adopt policies from Western Europe in an attempt to ‘catch up’ structurally and economically. Applying policies from Western Europe may, however, be inappropriate. Tailored policies based on recognition of the distinctive development pathways of Central and Eastern European cities offer more promise.

As with Western European cities, it is also important to acknowledge that Central and Eastern European cities each have different and unique political, cultural, economic and institutional pathways – a ‘one size fits all’ approach is unlikely to work here either.

As with Western European cities, Central and Eastern European cities all have different pathways.

Particularly in Eastern European cities, local approaches often follow centrally designed national or international policies without taking into consideration existing local strengths and potential. In these cases, the search for context-specific measures is vital.
Central and Eastern European cities need to balance strategic ‘top-down’ policy intervention with ‘bottom-up’ flexibility.

Central and Eastern European cities need to carefully balance their legacy of strategic ‘top-down’ policy intervention with more flexible ‘bottom-up’ policy approaches in order to develop as creative-knowledge cities based on their own distinctive pathways. This is particularly true for cities with historically ‘rigid’ regimes such as Sofia or Leipzig.

Cities with historically more ‘flexible’ regimes, such as Budapest or Poznań, are arguably better placed to implement more entrepreneurial local-level policy. In Poznań, for example, bottom-up, private initiatives have emerged particularly in the creative-industries sector. Even here, lack of capacity and ‘political energy’ at city level can undermine coherent local policy and decision making (Box 3).

But not all cities are yet benefiting from a policy environment that encourages local entrepreneurial spirit. There is some nostalgia for the past and the security and certainties provided by the former ‘command’ system with its tendency towards over-regulation. In Sofia, after decades of unplanned development, the city is now experiencing a period of over-planning. A number of major new policy directives have appeared since 2008 but these have emerged to some extent in the absence of any overarching policy framework. This lack of integration may have hindered rather than helped policy making for the creative and knowledge industries.

Equally, if Central and Eastern European cities have considered themselves historically more as centres of manufacturing rather than as service centres or as creative-industry hubs, this may influence how they develop in the future. If ‘imagination’ or ‘creativity’ are not fully supported – or alternatively if an overly technocratic mindset is allowed to dominate – then this may constrain a city’s future options and development trajectory. In attempting to develop creative and knowledge-intensive activity, it is vital for Eastern European cities to recognise that their unique culture is a major asset in projecting their distinctiveness. Places that have maintained the distinct historical features of their older, pre-communist profiles (Budapest and Prague are notable examples) have been able to capitalise on these. Other cities may have less historical capital but it will help if they can re-discover their own unique character.

Policy responses:

- Build on the positive aspects of past legacies and develop tailored policies based on each city’s distinctive development pathway
- Balance strategic ‘top-down’ policy intervention with more flexible and entrepreneurial ‘bottom-up’ approaches that facilitate local entrepreneurship
- Improve co-ordination between different policy- and decision-making bodies (at international, national, and local level); develop a strategic, long-term vision
- Strengthen capacity at the local and regional level; stimulate public–private partnerships which encourage trust between local government and local businesses and a sharing of power
- Recognise the importance of Eastern and Central European cities as historic cultural centres that can attract creative and knowledge-based activity.
The ‘Old Brewery’ (Stary Browar) Centre of Trade, Arts and Business in Poznań is an example of a ‘bottom-up’ initiative driven by the private sector to promote creative industries in a post-socialist city. It is also representative of a new style of urban governance in which ‘official’ policies are supplemented by ground-roots entrepreneurship. Located in revitalised 19th century industrial buildings, the ‘Old Brewery’ is one of the best Polish examples of the reuse of historic buildings as creative spaces - the Centre has become a new ‘brand name’ of Poznań. From the beginning, the key idea of the development was to combine 50% commercial with 50% cultural functions, with profits from the former used to finance the latter. The Art Courtyard is the cultural centre of the whole complex. Its aim is to promote a wide variety of events in fields including music, film, sculpture, theatre, fine arts, dance and literature. The Art Stations Foundation was set up to coordinate and finance projects to promote contemporary art and to increase the accessibility of art and culture to the local community. The Foundation supports and promotes young, local artists exhibiting their works along with renowned Polish and foreign artists. Patronage and commercial sponsorship play an important role in financing the Foundation’s program of activities. In the face of the limited public sector resources, local entrepreneurship and public-private partnership has become vital. Poznań is seeing more such entrepreneurial initiatives led by the private sector. One is the Wielkopolska design centre, located in a former printing factory. A public-private partnership, the centre will serve as an incubator of creative sectors, training and counselling centre and technological park.

http://www.artstationsfoundation5050.com/en/
European cities and regions are composed of many different ‘layers’ formed in different stages of their history. As a result, they have a rich variety of assets and identities.

The policy challenge lies in developing policies that are tailored to build on the urban histories cities have experienced for current and future developments.

Development of successful creative-knowledge cities is influenced by their historic development paths.

Cities with a large number of economic, social, cultural, physical and institutional ‘layers’ on which current economic activities can continue to build tend to be more robust and more successful in attracting knowledge-intensive and creative firms and workers. Cities that are too dependent on one economic ‘specialism’ are more vulnerable to structural economic change and short-term booms and busts. A diversified economic base is crucial if cities are to be able to adapt more rapid and flexible responses in times of sudden structural or economic change.
European cities and regions have a wide variety of assets and identities.

The roots of some of today’s industry clusters can be found in the past. Many are built around existing industrial and institutional traditions and structures. In Toulouse, an established tradition in science-oriented higher education and industry and the development of specialist skills laid the foundation for the growth of high-tech aeronautics and other knowledge-intensive clusters. Amsterdam has benefited from the city’s long commercial trading history. Its current urban and regional economy has a diverse profile with important pillars such as finance, business services, ICT, transport and logistics.

Creative-knowledge cities cannot be created without reference to their past economic and social development.

In the search for instruments and measures to support the growth of creative-knowledge industries, the development pathway and the unique strengths of the city need to be considered. The München Mischung (Munich Mix) is sensitive not just to the city’s diverse economic structure and the post-war development of high-tech industry but also to the lively blend created by the historical townscape and the city’s cultural traditions. The Munich approach emphasizes a mix of cultural and high-tech activities (e.g. Oktoberfest, car manufacturing industries, R&D, etc.). (Box 4)

Policy responses:

- Make use of the city’s unique strengths and potential: these may relate to physical infrastructure, universities, skills and manufacturing or design traditions, institutional and professional arrangements or to governance and policy traditions
- Plan for diversity and incorporate the local context: different firms and individuals and different activities within creative-knowledge sectors are differently driven – and recognising and meeting diverse needs is essential
- Connect existing business specialisms with new creative-knowledge industries – for example, manufacturing plus knowledge-intensive industries to create high-tech manufacturing.
The Munich Mix: An exemplar of diversity

Part of Munich’s strength as a business location is based on the diversity of its economic structure and the mixture of local and global firms, manufacturing as well as services, and high tech as well as traditional industries. This balanced economic structure is often referred to as ‘Munich Mix’ (Münchner Mischung). Much of this has come about as a result of Munich’s historic pathway – in the late 19th century, instead of becoming heavily industrialised, Munich became a centre of commerce, culture and higher education and royal patronage in the sciences meant the city capitalised on new technologies. After the Second World War, the city benefited strongly from the in-migration of large companies and talented people from Eastern Germany. During the 1960s and 1970s, with the help of strong and persistent regional policies, Upper Bavaria developed into one of the strongest knowledge regions of Europe. Munich, as the regional capital, drew most of the benefits. Targeted policies to boost certain high-level growth clusters - such as the media cluster and biotech clusters that emerged in the 1990s - have recently made the ‘Munich Mix’ stronger. The city’s integrated urban planning document – The Munich Perspective – combines economic growth, sustainability and social cohesion policy with urban development policy. The document is more of a flexible guide than a rigid urban development plan. The employment and economic prosperity guidelines include securing Munich’s diversified economic structure and particularly supporting the SMEs and help them to remain in Munich and to expand the business-friendly infrastructure (mobility, communication, education, science) and to promote the image of Munich as an economic and cultural location. There are also specific guidelines for developing the digital media sector.

http://www.muenchen.de/Rathaus/plan/stadtentwicklung/perspektive/pm_en_m/41525/index.html
The built environment and physical infrastructure of European cities reflects centuries of development. These legacies from the past form the starting point for understanding the distinctive attributes of each city. Cities need to recognise their own particular qualities and be innovative in bringing their historic built environments back to life - in ways that can nurture their creative-knowledge industries.

A supply of workplaces for artists stimulates the creative economy.

Accommodation is an important issue for the creative industries in many European cities. For artists and other creatives, an anonymous office in a business park is simply not an option. They prefer inspiring locations, even if the premises are past their best. Many European cities lack affordable working space especially for creative start-up businesses.

Large redundant former industrial buildings or warehouses are part of the physical legacy left to many cities formerly dependent on manufacturing for their economic prosperity. Rather than seeing these as a negative consequence of their past, European cities now recognise that these historic buildings – especially when they are located in uniquely historic areas of cities – are often what attracts creative workers.

Historic buildings are often what attract creative workers to particular European cities.

Re-use of former factories, shipyards, docks and warehouses has become increasingly popular in the last decade. Many former industrial cities are viewing these inherited spaces as assets – large buildings that are highly adaptable to a number of different uses.

This adaptive re-use can be found in many European cities. Examples are the Custard Factory in Birmingham; the Old Brewery in Poznań; NDSM shipyard and Westergasfabriek in Amsterdam; Baumwollspinnerei in Leipzig; Hangar in Barcelona. They are quite often part of programmes to provide affordable workspaces for start-up creative companies or artists. Amsterdam’s ‘Broedplaatsen’ (‘Art Factory’) is one of the internationally best known examples. (Box 5).

5.4 Using physical legacies to develop a creative future
Creative businesses have different accommodation needs at different stages.

For policy makers, it is important to recognise that creative businesses have different accommodation needs at different stages in their business ‘life cycle’. Large, established firms with an international profile and leading creative individuals often want and can pay for their own distinctive, high-quality building and demand a premium location that is both stylish and has good transport access for employees and clients. Medium-sized professional firms need less expensive accommodation, often in less exclusive locations, with related or complementary neighbours in order to share skills and access to shared facilities such as meeting rooms. Small creative start-ups often want inner-city space but need cheap, often temporary accommodation. They have no quality prerequisites and often opt for ‘live/work’ accommodation and require buildings adapted for multiple uses.

These different firms need different forms of policy interventions. For the upper tier of firms, this may be a ‘light-touch’ approach and require co-ordination between different policy spheres to ensure high-quality transport infrastructure and services and the availability of sufficient land or property for development. For the middle tier, business support services and policy to enable firms to purchase their own premises are required. For the lower tier, policy is needed to promote the provision of cheap, temporary, rental accommodation for a number of uses. If the city wants to nurture its creativity, it is important to support this variety.

Policy responses:

- Integrate planning, infrastructure, cultural and economic development into a coherent and co-ordinated framework
- Focus on developing neighbourhoods not just buildings to ensure co-location and meeting places for the right mix of uses, investments and institutions
- Recognise that firms require different policy interventions at different stages in their life cycle.
Bureau Broedplaatsen was set up by the City of Amsterdam in 2000. Its role is to assist in the development of affordable studios and living/working spaces for artists and alternative cultural entrepreneurs on a permanent or temporary basis. The Bureau Broedplaatsen does not have studios or living/working spaces for rent. Rather it brings together project developers, property owners, estate agencies and housing corporations to identify suitable property for creative start-ups and then provides rental subsidies to arts factory groups or individual artists who are willing to invest and to do renovation work themselves and to operate and manage the building. The Broedplaatsen Service Counter brokers the correct match between available properties and the art factory groups looking for suitable space as well as providing them with expertise in property redevelopment, including feasibility studies, organisation and management, legal and contractual issues and building construction, conversion and maintenance. It has also developed a property supply monitor, user demand research, a website to match supply with demand and step-by-step redevelopment plans.

In 2006 the local authorities of Poznań approved the Urban Revitalization Programme. This involves a series of physical renewal projects which aim to stimulate the economic, social and cultural revival of the city centre – and includes attracting new creative and knowledge-intensive business, while rejuvenating degraded sites and buildings in the older part of Poznań. One project is the Royal Imperial Route, which is built around four themes (The History Route, The Architectural Route, The Route of Art (and Culture), and The Route of Wielkopolska (Traditions)). This project will play an important role in conserving historical monuments that are most at risk in the city. The project aims to coordinate the physical rehabilitation of these historical sites with the city’s schedule of cultural events. The Heritage Center will convert the entire area of Cathedral Island and the Šródka district into a history park. The strategic aim is to revitalize this part of Poznań as a cultural attraction, create a high quality environment for local residents, and encourage creative-knowledge workers to settle in the area.
PLACE

Place is the setting in which creative-knowledge activity is nurtured.

Paradoxically, despite the apparent ‘placeless-ness’ associated with globalisation, the characteristics of places have become more important for policy makers. Cities need to understand what characteristics make them distinctive, attractive locations for creative-knowledge industries and individuals. Policy interventions can be made in the areas of place-making, place marketing and branding, housing, and city-region collaboration. The policy challenge is to bring together more effectively activities that can ensure both economic growth and social well-being.
5.5 Place-making and the creative-knowledge economy

‘Place-making’ has become a central feature in the development of recent urban policy. Many cities have focused on the impact their cultural and creative industries can have on the attractiveness of a place as well as enhancing place image and prestige.

Competitive cities are those able to attract and retain people whose skills are critical for the growth of creative-knowledge activity. In this context, many cities focus on developing amenity-rich urban environments and on reshaping elements of their neighbourhoods and housing stock to respond to the varied preferences of those working in key development sectors.

There are some shortcomings in policies that focus purely on the development of ‘vibrant’, ‘tolerant’, ‘urbane’ living areas. They need to give more consideration to the relationship between ‘place-making’, economic development and the development of a more equitable and balanced city.

Many ‘place-making’ policies use creative industries to regenerate inner-city areas. These policies tend to focus on creating urban quarters or districts which, with a high quality of life, are attractive to knowledge workers. In some prosperous cities, such as Amsterdam, however, creative workers and artists have recently resisted being pushed out by large inner-city housing developments colonised by high-income households. Urban policies designed to attract high-income groups to inner-city areas can adversely affect the existing creative workers and exclude original residents.

Policy responses:

- Consider the importance of ‘hard’ factors and infrastructure for the wider economic development of the city and region. ‘Soft’ attributes are only one element of place attractiveness.
- Provide high-quality facilities (such as quality working and office accommodation, good transport links and housing) - attracting creative-knowledge industries is not merely about the promotion of amenities.
- Critically assess ‘creative-class’ attraction strategies and their impact on the social fabric of European cities: attracting ‘talent’ should not be at the expense of existing community groups.
- Local strategies need to consider the risks of gentrification and possible disruption to social cohesion from the influx of new residents and workers. Creative industries can engage excluded communities – but there might not be jobs for all.
- Estimate realistically the impact of culture and creativity in ‘place-making’ strategies: this requires finding ways to measure the success or otherwise of city-centre ‘creative’ areas.
- Monitor how these spatially targeted strategies might affect development in other areas, for example by diverting investment away from peripheral areas lacking in neighbourhood cultural facilities.
The origins of the Temple Bar area in Dublin as a 'bohemian' creative quarter can be traced to the availability of cheap rental property there during much of the 1980s. Its subsequent official designation as a 'cultural quarter' illustrates a number of factors relevant to future place-making. First, it has supported a number of culturally orientated ventures, such as the gallery of photography, the national photographic archive and the project arts centre. While these ventures have been successful in their own right, Temple Bar also shows the limitations of planning 'cultural' or 'creative' quarters. The area has now become a popular tourist destination and a location for restaurants and bars, as well as a focal point of Dublin’s night-time economy. This has pushed some of the creative enterprises out of the area. While to a large extent this is an inevitable outcome of the rejuvenation of such a high-profile urban quarter in an open economy, it also indicates the importance of continued support for new and emerging creative enterprises. If ‘place-making’, urban regeneration, and the creative industries are to be directly connected, policy makers must ensure that the process of redevelopment does not force out those elements which defined the area in the first place. In the Temple Bar example, continued support for cultural venues performs a crucial role. This includes financial support, but also the provision of space and other forms of infrastructure.
MART

Designer Mart at Cow’s Lane

Outdoor Market. Every Saturday. Old City Temple Bar
10am - 5pm
Although not in itself a new strategy, place marketing (or place branding) is increasingly being used to promote urban competitiveness. In particular, many cities are trying to market themselves as ‘creative cities’.

There are many policy challenges inherent in place marketing. Understanding the importance of place and identifying what is distinctive about the city is key.

‘Place-making’ and ‘place-marketing’ activities go hand in hand. This means cities promoting themselves as ‘creative’ places need to have thriving creative-knowledge industries. The organising capacity of the city is important too. Aspiring to be a ‘creative city’ is not enough in itself. A city has to communicate this ambition through image making, branding and rebranding.

Both old and new resources may be used in the place-making and place-marketing process. Some cities have good ‘traditional’ assets and related images (Milan – fashion; Barcelona – architecture; Helsinki – technologies; Leipzig – publishing; Poznań – city of trade). Some of these cities have recently developed new products (Leipzig – digital media and folk music). Cities where the economy is in full transformation need to re-brand themselves to tell the positive story of their re-structuring and regeneration (e.g. Birmingham – from city of the industrial revolution to business tourism and retail).

Identifying what is distinctive about the city is vital.

As with marketing goods and services, a vital first step in place marketing is to identify what makes the city product stand out from its competitors by identifying what is distinctive about the city. This distinctiveness can then be conveyed through the medium of selected images of the city. In developing these images, cities can draw upon their ‘functional’ assets (such as existing international business headquarters or an international transport hub). ‘Symbolic’ assets are important too and can be deployed. Barcelona, for example, is known for its democratic governance and participatory citizenship. Other more intangible assets might include the idea of the ‘liveability’, tolerance or quality of life in a city.

Place marketing is undertaken at different levels: regional, city or neighbourhood. Examples of micro-place branding in Europe are the creative quarters in Dublin (Temple Bar) and Milan (Zona Tortona for design, and il Quadrilatero della Moda for fashion).

Place marketing is a complex process.

Although it shares many of the principles of generic ‘business’ marketing, place marketing is considerably more complex. Cities are multi-owned (by the public, private and voluntary sectors, by individuals and by different interest groups). They are multi-used (by businesses, residents and visitors). They are multi-sold (to inward investors, tourists and targeted groups of migrants). Balancing and aligning these competing priorities is challenging.

5.6 The relationship between place and place marketing
The global is important but so is the local.

Two key markets need to be considered. These are ‘internal’ markets (residents, citizens and existing businesses) and ‘external’ markets (inward investors, migrants and business and leisure visitors). These two markets often require the use of different city products. For example, external business marketing may look to deploy high-profile inner-city flagship products such as convention centres; while internal marketing (for local people) may prefer to showcase lower profile smaller-scale neighbourhood improvements. The place-marketing and image-making process may need to satisfy these different internal and external marketing goals.

Consequently, the external image of the city (how it is perceived by investors and visitors) may not be the same as the internal image (how it is perceived by local people). A particular challenge is how best to eradicate any entrenched negative external image based on the former economic and social ‘realities’ of the city – and replace this with a more positive image of the new city product (Box 8).

Some cities struggle to re-brand themselves. Paradoxically, others have been too successful in their branding. The external branding of Barcelona, for example, as an international tourism destination has been so successful that it may need some re-thinking (Box 9).

Communicating city branding.

Outward-facing promotional measures such as public relations exercises, advertising campaigns and city logos are important. Inward-focused communication such as local news and media campaigns are also essential. Word of mouth is powerful and local people’s views should always be considered. These can reinforce or undermine positive external images. The most effective approach is to harness the goodwill of local people by developing an inclusive place-marketing discussion which integrates local interests – rather than exclusively focusing on the requirements of external business markets. It is especially important to avoid images and branding that erode or contradict local identity and the sense of belonging in a city.

Policy responses:

- Identify what makes the city distinctive and build the city’s image around this
- Integrate initiatives: to what extent can you link place-making agendas to place marketing?
- Involve local people and existing communities in promoting their city
- Understand and respond to any possible unintended outcomes of city branding
Birmingham has undergone significant economic restructuring in the last 30 years. It has experienced decline in traditional manufacturing and growth in the retail and services sectors and in the knowledge and creative economy. In order to promote these changes the city has developed a new branding strategy driven by a dedicated marketing organisation, Marketing Birmingham.

The re-branding of the city as a centre for high-quality retail and leisure, based on initiatives such as the new iconic Bullring shopping centre, the Mailbox and Brindley Place, has been successful. In spite of the active promotion of its two cultural quarters (the Jewellery Quarter and Digbeth), and other actions that provide profile for Birmingham as a ‘creative city’, including the city’s theatres, its successful Symphony Orchestra (CBSO), the Birmingham Royal Ballet and the International Convention Centre, the more mainstream, commercial image of Birmingham can still conflict with the attributes typically associated with a creative city – i.e. being cool, ‘hip’ or bohemian. Importantly, it is often ‘word of mouth’ endorsement by creative people working in the city that has contributed to improving the external image of Birmingham as a ‘creative city’.

**Box 8:**

Birmingham: conflicting images between past and present
Following the Olympics in 1992, Barcelona emerged as a city capable of organising the world’s biggest mega-events. At that time, internal and external images of the city were positive and well aligned. There were dramatic improvements to the city’s transport infrastructure and its peripheral neighbourhoods. Importantly, the external image of Barcelona was completely transformed. It changed from being seen as a provincial industrial city living in the shadow of the capital, Madrid, to an internationally recognised place with the potential to play a leading role in Southern Europe. Barcelona has continued to build on this new reputation. Key economic sectors – tourism, logistics and design – have benefited from their association with the Barcelona ‘brand’. The future of the brand now needs to be re-thought, however. A problematic side of the city’s successful image has been the impact of the massive growth in tourism. The success of this sector has brought a huge increase in the numbers of visitors to the city. The sheer volume of visitors puts pressure on the ‘everyday lives’ of local residents of Barcelona. Hence, Barcelona’s undoubted ‘success’ as an international tourist city is not readily accepted by everyone. In order to continue benefiting from the Barcelona brand, the city needs to review its ‘product’ and think through new ways of accommodating tourism which are more acceptable for local people.

**Box 9:**

**Barcelona: an overwhelming success in need of re-thinking?**
PlACES ARE DYNAMIC. THE POLICY CHALLENGE LIES IN UNDERSTANDING HOW AND WHY THEY ARE CHANGING AND THIS IS A CRUCIAL FIRST STEP IN DESIGNING EFFECTIVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICY. THE COMPETITIVE CREATIVE-KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY OF THE FUTURE IS LIKELY TO BE ONE THAT IS SENSITIVE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY-REGION. THIS NEW METROPOLITAN UNIT WILL REQUIRE NOT ONLY POLICY INNOVATION, BUT NEW WAYS OF WORKING AND COLLABORATION. THE POLICY CHALLENGE IS TO FACILITATE PLATFORMS WHICH STRENGTHEN THE CO-OPERATION BETWEEN DIFFERENT ACTORS IN THE CITY-REGION.

THINK BEYOND THE CITY TO THE CITY-REGION.

The idea of the city-region is not new but there is renewed interest in what city-regions are and how they function as the ‘reach’ of cities has expanded. The appropriate spatial level in which to tackle competitiveness is a growing concern for policy makers. Creative-knowledge industries are not constrained by city boundaries and nor are the travel-to-work patterns of their workers.

CREATIVE-KNOWLEDGE INDUSTRY IS NOT CONSTRAINED BY CITY BOUNDARIES.

Most European cities are too small to compete on their own at the global scale. They need the functions of their surrounding regions to compete with other cities or city-regions. The urban and semi-urban areas surrounding core cities are important economic growth areas; they also provide attractive residential environments and contain critical infrastructures including airports, highways and high-speed rail connections.

It is important for policy makers to be aware of the differences in the location preferences of creative and knowledge-intensive activities within city-regions. Creative industries are often highly concentrated and clustered in and around the core city. For these industries, place matters: the ‘cultural milieu’ of the core city encapsulates a set of social, environmental and cultural factors in addition to other locational factors such as proximity to market and the availability of appropriate labour.

Small creative-knowledge businesses, self-employed individuals and freelancers rely heavily on supply chains within their city-region. Given the importance of informal, personal networks in developing these supply chains, the role of a city as ‘a place to meet’, with a high-quality built environment and an appropriate supply of workspace, remains important.

5.7 Understanding ‘place’ in the context of city-regions

Places are dynamic. The policy challenge lies in understanding how and why they are changing and this is a crucial first step in designing effective economic development policy. The competitive creative-knowledge economy of the future is likely to be one that is sensitive to the development of the city-region. This new metropolitan unit will require not only policy innovation, but new ways of working and collaboration. The policy challenge is to facilitate platforms which strengthen the co-operation between different actors in the city-region.
Creative and knowledge-intensive activities have varied location preferences.

Knowledge-intensive industries are typically more widely spread across the city-region than creative industries. They tend to cluster in knowledge-intensive ‘nodes’ and in smaller towns within the city-region as well as in high-quality purpose-built science and innovation parks and incubator space near university campuses. Some choose locations next to main transport arteries which connect to other regions (high-technology corridors). Other sectors such as financial and legal services and business consultancy are more ‘client facing’ and city-centre oriented.

Attracting creative-knowledge businesses means more than simply developing city-centre amenities. Hard factors such as ICT connectivity and transport networks are vital. The city-region is the level where a complete set of economic, social and cultural assets can be offered. Policy makers need to focus on strategies to develop competitive creative-knowledge city-regions rather than creative-knowledge cities per se.

A city-region, a place for co-operation not just competition.

How best to promote collaboration across administrative boundaries? The underpinning idea of collaboration for knowledge and creativity is important when looking for the strategic ‘added value’ that comes from forging complementary links between the different functions within the region. City-regions with the best connected and broadest range of infrastructural assets are likely to nurture the most growth. Regional collaboration in Europe is still very much a ‘work in progress’. At present, encouraging more flexible, associational and informal types of collaborative activity is a seemingly effective approach to economic governance for the city-region. The development of co-operation in city-regions such as Lyon, Barcelona and Stuttgart, especially where this has emerged from mutual and shared interests, offers many lessons that are applicable to other city-regions (Box 10) But it is clear that no single city-region model exists that can easily be transferred or would be appropriate for all areas. The approach to collaboration that is chosen depends on local administrative and institutional structures and histories; and is also influenced by the national policy context.

Policy responses:

- Develop strategies for creative-knowledge city-regions – rather than for creative-knowledge cities alone
- Understand the features and dynamics of the changing economic and social conditions that play through these places in the current era - and reflect on what all of this means for local economic development
- Think and act beyond ‘conventional’ administrative and functional boundaries in order to facilitate the particular growth dynamics of creative-knowledge industries – and look to provide integrated support across the wider territory
- Facilitate platforms which strengthen co-operation between different actors across the city-region
Barcelona: the ‘Barcelona Model’

Barcelona has established new metropolitan governance mechanisms and inter-municipal co-operation. The key features of the ‘Barcelona model’ include:

- Strong leadership and direction from the City Council, accompanied by political stability enabling long-term, strategic direction and planning and a focus on knowledge, innovation and creative industries
- Bringing together representatives from public institutions and from civic society to work on a voluntary basis; achieving a good degree of consensus around the economic development of the city-region
- A collaborative forum bringing together politicians, trades unions, businesses and voluntary organisations from across the city-region to operate within a ‘unifying’ framework of action – with Commissions ensuring equal power of influence
- An early awareness of the central significance of the metropolitan and city-regional scale for economic development
- A strategic planning approach flexible enough to accommodate changing priorities (from improving infrastructure- to guaranteeing social cohesion - to improving regional economic performance).

At the regional as well as the local level, policies to enhance creative and innovative industries have been established through this strategic planning process. Rather than providing strict rules or ‘master planning’, the Metropolitan Strategic Plan and its local counterparts have an agenda-setting function. Within this overarching framework, more concrete projects are worked through – usually via public–private partnerships. An important example is the 22@ ‘innovation district’ in Poblenou. This is a major long-term strategic project of the Municipality of Barcelona to develop ‘Barcelona, city of knowledge’. The aim is to create the necessary environmental conditions to attract knowledge-intensive and creative industries around five strategic clusters: ICT, media, biomedical, energy and design. This has been a ‘top-down’ process, but the close collaboration between Barcelona City Council and the Catalan government has mobilised key actors; and the effective public–private partnership working they have engendered has been a factor in the transformation of the city.

22@: http://www.22barcelona.com
Creative and knowledge workers prefer a variety of different residential environments depending on their circumstances. And so the development of so-called ‘creative milieus’ in inner cities will probably only meet the residential needs of a small number of ‘creative core’ workers.

Cities that offer a diverse range of property types and designs in different locations with different types of tenure and that are able to include real choice across high-quality affordable housing are more likely to meet the diverse aspirations of creative-knowledge workers.

**The policy challenge lies in cities being able to offer a diversity of housing and residential choices to meet the different demands of creative-knowledge workers.**

**Creative-knowledge workers do not all aspire to the same type of housing or neighbourhood.**

In common with the rest of the population, creative-knowledge workers consider a wide range of factors when choosing where to live. These factors include closeness to workplace, access to transport, quality and cost of housing as well as wider social factors such as proximity to friends or family. They also prefer different residential environments at different stages of their lives.

The variety of urban amenities available is quite often of secondary importance. Their relevance may also vary considerably, depending on social or ethnic background, sex, age, life-stage and other lifestyle preferences. It is unwise for cities to focus on amenities at the expense of good quality housing and residential environments.
Cities with a diverse range of property types and designs in different locations are likely to be more successful in attracting creative-knowledge workers.

The importance of affordable housing should not be underestimated: not all creative and knowledge workers are well paid, especially at the beginning of their careers. Dublin, Barcelona and Munich have experienced, over the past decade, some common housing market problems in this respect. Expensive housing has caused difficulties with affordability, especially for creative-knowledge workers. To counteract this house price ‘effect’, a range of policy responses have been developed: for example, action has been taken to subsidise owner occupation. During the previous property boom in Dublin, a scheme offered housing to first-time purchasers at less than market cost. Other interventions include live/work opportunities; and mixed-use developments that are attractive for creative workers. Leipzig has come up with an innovative way to bring empty dwellings back to life by offering them as ‘guardian houses’ to students and low-income creative workers and artists (Box 11)

Policy responses:

- Offer a diversity of housing and residential environments to meet the different demands of creative-knowledge workers
- Focus on good quality and affordable housing and residential environments as well as local amenities
- Recognise that creative-knowledge workers will prefer different residential environments at different stages of their lives - depending on social or ethnic background, sex, age and other lifestyle preferences.
Leipzig is characterized by its rich architectural heritage which originates from the end of the nineteenth century. Although a large proportion of these buildings have been redeveloped, rapid suburbanization and population decline after the 1990s meant that by 2008, the city had around 38,000 empty dwellings, (some 2,500 of which were rapidly decaying historic buildings). Finding a new use for them became an urgent issue.

These houses are important for the city, because they are often located on main roads in central areas. ‘Conventional’ approaches to refurbishment, however, are often impractical and uneconomic from the view of the owners. One initiative developed by the private housing association HausHalten e.V. (‘House Guardian’), has been to bring these empty dwellings back to life by offering them to students, artists and low-income creative or cultural workers and designating them as ‘guardian houses’. The ‘guardians’ receive an apartment which they can design and refurbish according to their needs, and at a low cost. The owners benefit from the maintenance of the apartments and communal parts of the dwelling, which is in lieu of rent. The Haus-Halten association is particularly keen to attract commercial (creative) users who can help to regenerate the wider area using their artistic skills.

http://www.haushalten.org/de/english_summary.asp
PERSONAL NETWORKS

Much has been written about the hyper-mobility of creative-knowledge workers. The implication is that this highly sought after talent is ready to move quickly to any place that can provide work and a good residential environment. The ACRE research has revealed, however, that connections between and within places as well as personal relationships are often the most important factors that influence which cities creative-knowledge workers move to. Personal and professional networks also perform a role in helping to anchor and retain highly skilled workers. Consequently, there may be scope for policy interventions around, for example, institutional support for emerging networks and migrant entrant programmes, or harnessing the wider spill-over effects from the alumni relationship-building activities of universities. The policy challenge is to respond to the different factors which influence mobility in Europe.
5.9 Networks, culture and mobility

European creative-knowledge workers appear to be less mobile than those in the US. Policy makers need to be aware of the different factors which influence mobility in Europe.

**Cultural constraints:** Europe’s many languages and other cultural barriers influence mobility and the degree of openness towards foreigners; language and cultural barriers can make it difficult to obtain local know-how or to settle down emotionally in a place.

**Institutional constraints:** differences in educational and health care systems, regulations around national pension schemes and limits set by legislation on employing migrants are all bureaucratic barriers that can make it difficult to settle down and start a business.

**Weak incentives for mobility:** particularly in Western Europe, quality of life is satisfactory for many people, especially where there are more job opportunities and social benefits are well organized - and so moving to another country ‘to make another life’ is not always considered an attractive option.

Personal networks are highly influential for European creative-knowledge workers.

European creative-knowledge professionals tend to settle in places where they have social and family ‘anchors’. This means that ‘personal networks’ related to their place of residence and/or where they have studied are very important, as is closeness to family and friends. Policy makers may not yet be fully aware of how influential these networks are – and how they can maximise their effects in terms of retaining ‘talent’ locally.

Personal networks are especially important in Southern and Eastern Europe, which are more family-oriented and where social contacts play a stronger role than in Northern and Western Europe.

Migration of professionals from Southern and Eastern Europe to the West is motivated by the desire for higher incomes, a different quality of life and greater opportunities to develop an international career. On the other hand, the higher importance of family and social networks counterbalances this process. Eastern Europeans, as latecomers to the international labour market, often have more limited social networks than their Western colleagues.

Life-stage is a crucial factor influencing mobility.

For families with school-age children, mastering another language and navigating an unfamiliar cultural environment may be serious obstacles to moving home. Middle-aged couples often see learning another language as well as practical considerations such as adjusting to different pension rules as reasons not to move.

Policy responses:

- Align and co-ordinate local, national and EU policies to connect with the international mobility of workers and firms in creative and knowledge sectors
- Introduce initiatives to encourage short-term international mobility to allow creative workers to develop wider international personal networks
- Support and encourage university student exchanges between EU countries to establish stronger and more extensive personal contacts; encourage other youth exchange programmes (schoolchildren, young employees, etc.)
- Develop graduate retention programmes to complement policies to attract qualified young professionals; strengthening university alumni networks can be a relatively low-cost way to build place loyalty and networks of creative-knowledge workers.
The Erasmus programme was launched in 1987. Its aim was to reinforce the spirit of European citizenship and increase understanding between different cultures in the EU by financing student mobility and enabling stays of 3 to 12 months in another EU university outside their own country. More than 2 million EU students (4%) have participated to date at some point in their studies. Erasmus represents half of all student mobility in Europe, with 33 countries involved. Studies have shown that Erasmus students create many new friendships during their stay, very frequently with other Erasmus students and more rarely with people from the host country. Most new couples formed during the period spent abroad are cross-national too. Two-thirds of these friendships remain active a year later, especially with students from other countries or from the host country; more so if the host countries are far distant from the home base and in the south of Europe. Those who develop more cross-national friendships also seem to feel more ‘European’. In the 5 years after their initial stay, half of Erasmus students will go abroad again for a relatively long period of time. They find jobs faster, earn on average 10% more than others and move more quickly into senior jobs with international or European dimensions.
Graphisoft SE, a leading software exporter, was established in 1982 as one of the first private companies in Hungary. In 2006, Graphisoft SE established a technology park in the revitalised former Gasworks in north Budapest. Recognising that the success of leading businesses, especially those in R&D and knowledge industries, depends on attracting, motivating and retaining the best professionals, the Graphisoft Park offers high quality office space for ICT and biotech companies in refurbished buildings in an attractive physical environment.

In 2007, the new Aquincum Institute of Technology (AIT) was established on the Graphisoft Park providing an exceptional ‘study abroad’ experience for students working in IT from the world’s leading universities. AIT integrates design, entrepreneurship and foundational courses in computer science with advanced applications in computational biology and computer vision for digital film post-production. The AIT ‘philosophy’ is that dealing on a daily basis with creative-knowledge businesses helps with identifying the major new developments in technology that are in the pipeline.

Website: http://www.graphisoft.com/company/about_graphisoft/
Internationalisation is central to the health of today’s urban economy. The policy challenge is for Cities to strengthen their links to global pools of creative-knowledge talent in order to remain competitive.

Cities, institutions and firms must pay increasing attention to the conditions that attract and retain highly skilled international migrants. These people can complement or augment existing skills and knowledge in the workforce.

The international migration of highly skilled people serves different purposes in the economy. It can fill short-term labour gaps or be used to address long-term skills shortages and help with the gradual development of a skilled labour force. It is important to understand that there are different types of migrant as this will directly influence the measures which can be used to attract and retain them.

**Different types of highly skilled migrants have different types of networks.**

**Demand-led migrants.**

Owing to the free movement within the European Union, the success of international student exchange programmes and the improvements in international communication and travel, there has been an increase in the number of highly skilled individuals who graduate, work, live and marry outside their home countries.

Rapid technological development that needs quick exchange of knowledge within globally networked firms has also increased the numbers of corporate migrants – employees who move between countries while working for the same company. Other highly skilled migrants respond to specific labour and skills shortages. The migration of both of these groups results from the skill needs of creative or knowledge-intensive firms. These migrants come equipped with skill sets validated by recognised education qualifications.

Some of the choices made by these migrants reflect previous contact with or knowledge of cities and personal contacts are important. Policy tools to help facilitate the migration of demand-led migrants include those related to maintaining personal networks and positive images of the city. Additional policy tools might include tax reductions for knowledge migrants, simplifying and speeding up the immigration process, creating an efficient brokering agency between employers and employees and providing social infrastructure for accompanying family members.
Supply-led migrants.

Many highly skilled migrants do not initially move to the city as labour migrants, but in order to access education opportunities or for other reasons. Since they do not enter as labour migrants, their skills and abilities may initially be less well matched to the current skills demands from employers. However, their potential to contribute to the knowledge economy may improve and is often underused.

Policy tools for supporting supply-led migrants are very different from those for demand-led migrants. Interventions need to concentrate on this group’s labour market integration. It is important to assess their existing qualifications and provide further educational opportunities to update their professional skills and knowledge if necessary. Language courses are also crucial in capitalising on their potential to fill gaps in the labour market. In the long run, this group stays longer than demand-related immigrants and they contribute to the regional economy for a longer period.

Policy responses:

- Recognise that different types of migrants have different policy-support requirements
- Provide activities and meeting places that help in integrating transnational migrants into the local social and cultural life of the city; facilitate the development of new personal networks
- Create organisations and agencies to assist transnational migrants in establishing local links, acquainting them with the cultural environment and cultural norms; develop cross-cultural events to promote understanding
- Implement policies to attract high-level international companies, develop business services, improve international airports and present a more attractive city image. These measures may indirectly promote wider personal networks and also help expand the professional horizons of local employees working for global companies.
In September 2008, the Municipality of Amsterdam, Amstelveen, Almere and Haarlemmermeer and the Dutch Immigration and Naturalisation Service established the Amsterdam Expatcenter (www.expatcenter.com) in the financial district in Amsterdam. The aim was to create a so-called one-stop agency for highly skilled migrants from non-EU and EU accession countries. Because of the co-ordination of the immigration procedure between all participating partners, the employers and the immigrants, the processing time was reduced from several months to four weeks. Immigrants were only requested to stop once at the Expatcenter to sort out all documents (municipal registration, resident’s permit, work permit, citizen service number). After a successful pilot phase, the Expatcenter began to offer additional services for the expatriate community such as assistance and information on government and expatriate-related issues such as driving licences, parking permits, taxes, health care and education. In 2009, 75% of all incoming highly skilled immigrants (3600) were helped by the Expatcenter, which released other municipal registration offices from these duties.
In February 2009 the new ‘Welcome to Birmingham’ online service was launched. Initiated by the West Midlands Strategic Migration Partnership (WMSMP), one of 11 such organisations across the UK formally responsible for the overall integration of migrants, the website is a guide to information, support and services in Birmingham for people new to the city. It contains over 100 pages of information in plain English, some of which are available in different languages, as well as welcome videos and scripts in Arabic, Dari, Kurdish, Polish, Pashto, Russian and Somali. In addition to providing general information about the UK and its political and administrative system, the city of Birmingham and its history, British culture and law, housing, employment, money and benefits, children and education as well as transport, the website provides information for different types of migrants: asylum seekers, refugees, EU and non-EU migrants, family settlements and international students.

www.welcometobirmingham.org.uk
5.11 Networked universities

Strong networks, especially those created between universities and cities, are essential for success in the new creative-knowledge economy.

The policy challenge is to strengthen the relationships between universities, government and industry. Cities need to ensure that this is done in an effective and co-ordinated way.

Universities and research institutions play several important roles in the creative-knowledge economy. They attract international talent and contribute to the development of the diversified skills base needed to grow the creative-knowledge economy. Research-led universities operate in a global market for talent. They play a crucial role in attracting and retaining skilled people often from all over the world. The presence of a university or universities also adds to the cosmopolitan feel of a city by the very nature of its multi-cultural staff and students.

Universities are primarily learning institutions with accompanying higher order research and development functions. Given the right policy environment, they can stimulate innovation beyond their own institutions. Knowledge transfer and innovation can spill over in to the city and the region via professional and commercial networks. As interest grows in the ‘workings’ of the knowledge economy, links between universities and technologically advanced commercial companies in the private sector and local, regional and national governments are becoming more commonplace.

Policy responses:

- Fully integrate local Universities, businesses, investors and governmental bodies in the creative-knowledge city agenda
- Design initiatives that facilitate more rapid two-way knowledge transfer between University research groups and local creative-knowledge businesses
- Promote the R&D track record of local Universities and use their global R&D networks to help with inward investment attraction
Established in 2010, the Aalto University is a merger of three Finnish universities: the Helsinki School of Economics, the University of Art and Design Helsinki and Helsinki University of Technology. The new university is the most recent strategic investment in the educational competitiveness in the region. Its goal is to be one of the leading EU research institutions. The rapid creation of an innovation university is unique and a good example of Finnish organising capacity, where a wide variety of committed actors are actively involved. Key stakeholders in the area have created complex networks connecting research, universities, capital, firms and municipalities. Effective collaboration and networking is an established tradition of Finland. Networking has become a hallmark of the ‘Helsinki phenomenon’ and a key component in the recent economic success of the city.
Culminatum Ltd is a Finnish regional development company owned by the Uusimaa Regional Council, the cities of Helsinki, Espoo and Vantaa and the universities, polytechnics, research institutes and business community of the Helsinki region. The company promotes technology and innovation transfer from concept, through the research phase to production - helping to intensify the levels of co-operation between the scientific community and companies and to stimulate the co-financing of projects. Culminatum was responsible for the development of the first innovation strategy for the Helsinki metropolitan area. It is also preparing a science and technology strategy for the region and a common development strategy for the universities and associated businesses.

Helsinki: technological and innovation transfer

Box 18:

Poznań: Technology Incubator (InQbator)

Poznań Technology Incubator (InQbator), part of Poznań Science and Technology Park, was opened in 2006. Its main aim is to support the development of entrepreneurial initiatives by young people, particularly students and graduates, and to facilitate increased levels of networking within the city. InQbator provides start-up companies and innovative businesses with support, especially office space, IT equipment and infrastructure. Professional consultants are employed to assist young entrepreneurs with product development and business advice. The initiative also organises networking business breakfasts and helps with ‘investment education’. As well as facilitating casual contacts with representatives of seed funds, venture capital funds and business angels, twice yearly investment meetings are organised where business ideas are presented to potential investors. To encourage start-ups, Poznań Academic Entrepreneurship Days are also organised. These involve workshops and seminars aimed at bringing together and matching-up aspiring entrepreneurs with more experienced businesses.
The Acceleratore d’Impresa Bovisa organisation is a good example of links between the industrial and the scientific worlds in Milan. The project was started by the Municipality of Milan in collaboration with the Politecnico of Milan to support the development of new high-technology enterprises. The organisation includes the specialist incubator unit ‘Punto Nuova Imprenditoria’, which provides innovative start-up infrastructure for new high-tech businesses.

The Milan Network for Design project started in 2010, promoted by the Municipality of Milan, the Triennale Design Museum, the Association for Industrial Design (ADI) and 11 of the most important design schools of Milan. The project offers 110 young designers (half of whom come from Milan) access to several free Masters degrees ending with an internship in a firm. The three best students also receive funding for their travel and accommodation expenses. Milan wants to attract the brightest and most promising young designers from around the world. The goal is to create a ‘design network’ to support and promote world-class design in Milan. The project is co-ordinated by Alintec, an entity promoted by Assolombarda, the Chamber of Commerce and the Politecnico Foundation.
It is clear that social networks benefit creative workers who work part-time or via contracts. Supporting these networks can enable businesses to innovate more effectively and access new business opportunities.

The policy challenge is to facilitate ‘bottom-up’ as well as ‘top-down’ approaches.

Traditional forms of business support do not work for this dynamic fragmented sector. The creative industries need specialist forms of governance, which require a large degree of horizontal collaboration between private, public and ‘third’ sectors. And bottom-up as well as top-down decision making is vital if business support measures are to work.

The creative-industries sector is diverse and has some very distinctive features which require specialised policy tools to help maintain its growth. It has many different sub-markets, each with context-specific policy support needs. A defining characteristic of the sector is its ‘hour-glass’ structure: it encompasses some huge global media conglomerates with strong lobbying power and industry associations but it is also characterised by a proliferation of micro- or small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs).

The people who work in the sector are different too. There are successful creative firms and individuals with international reputations but also an extraordinarily high number of freelancers and self-employed workers. It is a high-risk sector with low firm survival rates. It is dynamic and experiences great market fluctuations. Consequently, there is great pressure to keep innovating, produce new products and services, and make rapid changes to business practices.

5.12 Supporting creative-industry networks
Policies to promote networking are important at a city level.

Policies to promote networking are especially important at a city level. Freelancers tend to work in flexible, collaborative and temporary networks. Employment, for example in the independent media sub-sector, is typically in specially configured teams assembled for specific time-limited projects. Public policy can help stabilise fragile networks by providing supportive measures such as joint marketing and access to international markets via trade fairs. The CAM is an example of a state-supported network initiative for the Munich audiovisual cluster (Box 21).

Local networks can also be facilitated where public policy intervention can provide specialist subsidised co-working spaces, suited to flexible, mobile and project-specific businesses. These co-working spaces are also particularly good at helping to stimulate and maintain the personal networks that are essential for creative and knowledge-intensive workers (Box 22).

Policy responses:

- Ensure the balance between ‘top-down’ strategic direction and the necessary time, resources and encouragement required to enable ‘bottom-up’ generated knowledge and creativity.
- Ensure a balance of public policy effort between globally capable businesses and the many and diverse micro- or small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) across these industries.
- Support continuing innovation and promote effective university–business–government collaboration across complex market conditions.
- Provide affordable specialist co-working spaces, suited to flexible, mobile and project-specific business.
The Cluster Audiovisual Media (CAM), founded in 2006 via the Bavarian cluster campaign, is a subdivision of the FilmFernsehFonds Bayern (Film Fund Bavaria). Its main tasks are to establish and maintain a network of companies, research institutes, associations, investors, support institutions, consultants and other players in the area of audiovisual media and games. The initiative does not promote a specific sector and the cluster currently has around 300 companies, covering most parts of the value chain in the audiovisual media sector. The CAM provides services to SMEs in the Munich region via an online database which offers cross-sector access to technical expertise at universities and research institutions, highly qualified personnel, innovative creative workers and investors. The CAM also offers non-monetary support such as individual advice for business start-ups or signposting to available support, contacts, or events for particular sub-sectors.

http://www.cam-bayern.de/
Local government in the city has renovated former manufacturing spaces to provide basic level infrastructure including electricity and W-Lan. Workspace, including individual desks, is let on a temporary basis at affordable prices on a daily, weekly or monthly basis. This is allowing designers, architects and writers to work alongside one another. The city’s policy goal is to improve the local neighbourhood and put formerly vacant buildings to use by opening these up to these new tenants.

www.coworking-leipzig.de/
6 A FINAL WORD: MAKING CREATIVE-KNOWLEDGE CITIES

This guide has not set out to provide detailed “blueprints” for policy makers who are looking to stimulate the development of the creative-knowledge economy. It does suggest, however, that policy makers devise sets of actions that are tailored for their city and that are designed to take account of distinctive local legacies and local assets that can be harnessed and built upon.

This means that different cities will adopt different and tailored strategies which will blend a distinctive mix of activities in order to foster a pattern of growth and development. These approaches will draw upon the particular traditions and resources of the city – and the facilities and attractions it can offer.

It is the nature of differentiated economic development across Europe’s city-regions that some types of creative-knowledge industry are more likely to flourish in one city-region than in another.

Beyond the pursuit of economic competitiveness, policy makers should also reflect upon the wider social impact of these new patterns of development. For example, the creative-knowledge economy embraces both well-paid professional employment and careers within large corporations; but it also includes freelancers and low-paid and insecure employment. All of this may contrast with the jobs and lifestyles of others living in the city. How the creative-knowledge sector develops and what the balance is between different activities affects the pattern of inequality and cohesion within the city. In turn, this may draw attention to actions and services that should be undertaken to connect and embed these new activities within the wider structure of the city and to address tensions and inequalities.

There are three key features that will underpin the effective design and implementation of tailored policy approaches for creative-knowledge cities:

- Understanding the pathway the city-region has followed and the specific social, cultural, political, economic and physical infrastructure which can be built on effectively
- Understanding the place-specific (unique) characteristics of the city-region and how these may offer opportunities which can be further developed in certain niches
- Understanding the presence, strength and functioning of various personal networks, which are important factors in attracting and retaining different types of people and which can be fostered and facilitated.

Cities that master these three features – and are capable of integrating them into their policy and strategic planning – are more likely to create competitive economies than cities that fail to do so.

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Amsterdam: October 2010
7 ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

ACRE website: http://acre.socsci.uva.nl/

Other useful Web Sites/Links

**Amsterdam:**
- Amsterdam Metropolitan Area (Metropoolregio Amsterdam): http://metropoolregioamsterdam.nl/index.en.html
- Culture Park Westergasfabriek: http://www.westergasfabriek.nl/home/home.php
- NDSM Shipyard: http://www.ndsm.nl/

**Barcelona:**
- 22@: http://www.22barcelona.com
- City of Barcelona: http://www.bcn.cat/english/thome.htm
- Hangar: http://www.hangar.org

**Birmingham:**
- Birmingham, Coventry and the Black Country City-Region: http://www.cityregion.org/
- Birmingham City Council: http://www.birmingham.gov.uk
- The Custard Factory: http://www.custardfactory.co.uk/
- Marketing Birmingham: http://www.marketingbirmingham.com/about_us/
- Welcome to Birmingham: http://www.welcometobirmingham.org.uk
- Creative Workspace: http://www.creativeworkspace.info

**Budapest:**
- Budapest Enterprise Agency: www.bvk.hu
- City of Budapest: http://www.budapest.hu/
- European Urban Knowledge Network in Hungary: http://www.eukn.hu/
- Geographical Research Institute Hungarian Academy of Sciences: http://www.mtafki.hu/

**Dublin:**
- City of Dublin: http://www.dublin.ie/
- The Creative Dublin Alliance: http://www.dublinicity.ie/PLANNING/ECONOMICDEVELOPMENT/Pages/TheCreativeDublinAlliance.aspx
- Innovation Dublin: http://www.innovationdublin.ie
- Temple Bar: http://www.tascq.ie/

**Helsinki:**
- City of Helsinki: http://www.hel.fi/english/
7 ADDITIONAL RESOURCES (continued)

Culminatum Innovation Oy Ltd.:
http://www.culiminatum.fi/
Helsinki Region:
http://www.helsinginseutu.fi/hki/hs/The+Region+of+Helsinki/Home

Leipzig:
Baumwollspinnerei:
http://www.spinnerei.de/
City of Leipzig:
http://www.leipzig.de/
Coworking Leipzig:
http://www.coworking-leipzig.de/
HausHalten e.V.:,
http://www.haushalten.org/
Saxon State Ministry for Economic Affairs, Labour and Transport:
http://www.smwa.sachsen.de/de/index.swa.html
Saxon State Ministry for Science and Art:
http://www.smwk.sachsen.de/

Poznań:
The Heritage Centre of Cathedral Island
http://www.trakt.poznan.pl/
InQbator:
http://www.inqbator.pl/
Poznań Multimedia City Guide:
The Royal-Imperial Route:
Stary Browar (The Old Brewery):
http://starybrowar5050.com/en/miejsce/idea
Art Stations Foundation:
http://www.artstationsfoundation5050.com.pl/

Riga:
Latvian Chamber of Commerce and Industry:
Latvian Chamber of Commerce and Industry:
http://www.chamber.lv/en
Latvian Investment and Development Agency:
http://www.liia.gov.lv/v/sakumlapa/jaunumi/
Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Latvia:
http://www.km.gov.lv/en/
Ministry of Economics of the Republic of Latvia:
http://www.em.gov.lv/
Riga City Council:
http://www.riga.lv/EN/Channels/About Riga/default.htm

Sofia:
Sofia Municipality:

Toulouse:
Aerospace Valley:
http://www.aerospace-valley.com
Cancéropôle Toulouse:
Grand Toulouse:
http://www.grandtoulouse.org/

Other:
City Mayors Marketing:
http://www.citymayors.com/marketing/city-brands.html
ERASMUS Student Network:
http://www.esn.org
Urbanitude:
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About this guide:

This guide has not set out to provide a detailed ‘blueprint’ for policymakers who are looking to stimulate the development of the creative-knowledge economy. It does suggest, however, that policy makers devise sets of actions that are tailored for their city and that are designed to take account of distinctive local legacies and local assets that can be harnessed.

The guide suggests that three key ‘ideas’ will underpin the effective design and implementation of tailored policy approaches for creative-knowledge cities. They require European policy makers to:

- Understand the pathway the city-region has followed and the specific social, cultural, political, economic and physical infrastructure which can be built upon effectively.

- Understand the place-specific (unique) characteristics of the city-region and how these may offer opportunities which can be further developed in certain niches.

- Understand the presence, strength and functioning of various personal networks, which are important in attracting and retaining different types of people and which can be fostered and facilitated.

Cities that master these three ‘ideas’ – and are capable of integrating them into their policy and strategic planning – are more likely to create competitive local economies.