

Beyond the Creative City Brand:

Exploring creative city-making in Winnipeg Manitoba

by

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis explores the intersection between city planning in Winnipeg, Manitoba and branding the city as a *creative city*, by examining several key Winnipeg planning documents, which are interpreted as enacting the collective drive to develop - and brand - Winnipeg as a Creative City. Inspired in particular by the work of Charles Landry, this study reveals how Winnipeg's creative city identity and approach is actively crafted and defined through local planning discourses. The research seeks to expand and enrich the dialogue around the *creative city*, using a *creative city-making* framework, to encourage a more holistic and inclusive approach to what rates as a creative city, and what merits recognition as creative and creativity in a city planning context. Some of the creative themes found in Winnipeg of interest to planners include a commitment to collaboration, integration, participation and the desire to operationalize creativity within municipal governance.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

“Places want to evolve as creative cities or simply claim they are a ‘creative city’” - Charles Landry (2010, p.9).

1.1 Preamble

This thesis explores the intersection between *planning*, understood as creative city-making, and the *creative city brand*¹, understood as the creation of a particular identity, through examining several key planning documents from Winnipeg, Manitoba. Using the creative city work of Charles Landry to frame the research, this study seeks to reveal how Winnipeg’s creative city brand can be considered to be crafted and defined through planning policy discourses. Intent on expanding and enriching the dialogue around the creative city, the research values a more holistic and inclusive approach to the creative city - to evolve the conversation through a conscious, explicit and authentic *creative city-making* focus. Pushing past conventional understandings of the creative city and creativity, used predominately as an economic driver (Florida, 2002) for example, sets the stage for integrating creativity into other aspects of urban development processes - particularly where creativity has not been explicitly tapped before. When thinking about urban (re-)development, the creative city offers planners contemporary approaches to evolve their city planning policies and methods.

Creativity in this thesis is defined as the use of imagination, the ability to think ‘outside the box’, take risks, make connections and think holistically (Landry, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014). When understood in this way it is clear that the creativity component of the

¹ This thesis does not focus on branding theory specifically, but recognizes - within city administration and city planning circles - that there is a brand interest at work within the creative city paradigm.

creative city resides in people, in their mindset and in their approach to city-making - as city-makers. Creativity is also understood as place-based, or context-specific (Landry, 2014). Broadening the focus of the creative city brand is a way for the creative city to remain relevant, authentic and sustainable over the long-term, by becoming more deeply entrenched in city-making and related city-building – under the aegis of city planning. This thesis argues that creative city-making can be the foundation for a more holistic and inclusive creative city brand, manifested in a more creativity-embracing city planning approach.

A focus on the creative city brand affords a rich opportunity to also explore the relationship between branding and planning. The ‘creative city’ originally emerged as a theory, postulating that creativity would enable cities to solve complex urban problems in times of transition (Landry & Bianchini, 1995). In part, the creative city emerged as a response to arts disinvestment, the decline of industrial economies and the impacts of globalization taking place in the 1980s (Landry, 2005). Over the past 25 years, the creative city - as an approach to urban development - has gained momentum in economic development, urban renewal and revitalization, and as a way to increase both the quality of life and quality of place for urban dwellers (Creative City Network, 2005). The creative city has also become a brand and a branding strategy (Byrne, 2012; Bookman, 2014; Florida, 2002; Landry, 2010, 2014) for cities looking to transform their image, reinforce their identity as creative cities and to compete to attract investment, tourists and new residents. The creative city brand is also a way for a city to share its story and values both locally and globally.

There is a strong connection with city planning since the creative city brand is shaped and supported by city-making initiatives and related implementation-oriented city planning projects. Planning documents, in general, represent official municipal texts and values, which guide the growth and development of cities. Municipal plans also take into account and synthesize a multiplicity of viewpoints. Planning documents are “the result of various ‘discourses’ and how different ideas have come together through language to create a particular ‘view’ or plan” (Allmendinger, 2009, p.214). Close examination of these documents provides evidence of social values, norms, municipal priorities, optimism and ambitions. Planners, municipal officials and others shape such documents, and these represent and enact the collective drive to develop or brand a city as creative.

The main goals of this thesis - to understand and enrich the connections between (city-scale) place branding and city planning, and to broaden the understanding of both the planning and marketing professions - are about more than simply intersections; they are about creating synergies by reframing branding through a planning lens. Moving beyond the application of market-focused branding processes - to the economic, social, political and cultural development of cities - enables one to imagine a city-making process that is more inclusive and holistic. Achieving a more holistic understanding of the creative city means championing a culture-oriented perspective, which is considered to be well-reflected in the work of Charles Landry. His work on creative city-making has been drawn on to frame the research.

1.2 Theoretical approach

There are different models of the creative city. In their discussion of creative cities in the Canadian context, Smith and Warfield (2008) assert there are two major conceptual perspectives that prioritize creative city values. The *culture-centric* approach focuses on creativity as it relates to inclusion, arts and culture, and its impact on the quality of life in a place; economics is not of primary concern (2008). An *econ-centric* perspective filters creativity as well as arts and culture through an economic development lens (2008). Creativity is understood through its impact on the prosperity of a place, how it can generate investment, job-creation and attract the attention and interest of external audiences.

Creative City orientations →	Culture-centric	Econ-centric
Creative City values	Central value = arts, culture, and community wellbeing, access and inclusion	Central value = urban economic sustainability and wellbeing through creative initiatives/industries
Definition of Creative City	Place of diverse and inclusive arts and culture	Place of economic innovation, creative talent, and creative industries

Table 1: Creative City Value Orientations (Smith and Warfield, 2008 p.3).

Smith and Warfield's creative city value orientations can be used to highlight the differing outlooks adopted by two prominent creative city theorists: Charles Landry and Richard Florida. Although they both focus on the creative city and explore similar ideas, their philosophical outlooks differ. Florida, an economist, highlights the econ-centric value system and Landry, an urbanist, aligns primarily with the culture-centric perspective. Conventional or mainstream creative city approaches often reflect the work of Richard

Florida and his “economically-driven regional development thesis” (Byrne, 2012 p.56). However, it is argued here that the sustainability and evolution of the creative city brand relies more on Charles Landry’s culture-centric perspective and body of work. A critical issue, according to Landry (2008), is that the creative city:

“... has become a catch-all phrase in danger of losing its bite and obliterating the reasons why it emerged in the first place... overuse, hype and the tendency for cities to adopt the term without thinking through its real consequences can mean that the notion becomes hollowed out, chewed up and thrown out until the next big slogan comes along” (p. xlix).

This statement suggests that the creative city may suffer from “brand decay”, a branding term referring to when a concept or image loses its relevance and becomes a cliché (Evans, 2006).

Charles Landry has been writing about the Creative City for two decades. In 1995, he published *The Creative City*, the precursor to the influential *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators* first published in 2000 and a second edition in 2008. Although creativity is often associated with and validated by the arts (Landry 2008, 2010), Landry’s approach to the creative city is “based on the idea that culture as values, insight, a way of life and form of creative expression, represents the soil from within which creativity emerges and grows, and therefore provides momentum for development” (2008, p.173). Nurtured by culture, creativity inspires urban growth and transformation. As such, creativity is a key component for cities in periods of transition. Creativity can infuse the planning imagination with new ways of tackling old problems and “creates the conditions for people to think, plan and act with imagination” (Landry, 2012 p.6).

The process of becoming a creative city, according to Landry, is nested within creative city-making more broadly. His culture-centric focus moves beyond arts and culture, pushing to entrench creativity into the cultures of on-the-ground city building as urban development. The art of creative city-making requires a city to cultivate its own ‘creative ecology’². Creative city-making is a planning approach that moves away from the technocratic and engineering paradigm towards a people-centredness, “including the connections between people and places, movement and urban form, nature and the built fabric, as well as the processes of building successful settlements” (Landry, 2008 p. xli). Landry’s holistic perspective, evident within his creative city-making model, also resonates with the postmodern planning paradigm. Postmodern planning embraces pluralism, moving away from purely technocratic approaches while taking a holistic view of the city, pursuing integration of the environmental, economic and social wellbeing of places (Sandercock, 2003a; Healey, 2006; Allmendinger, 2009).

1.3 Precedents

There is no shortage of material on the Creative City. A simple search on Google yields over 233,000,000 results. Over 100 cities worldwide identify as a creative city (Landry, 2012) largely replicating the Floridian approach and value-set. Richard Florida’s Canadian Creative City Index, built on his “3Ts of economic development” (Florida, 2012, para.4) consisting of technology, talent and tolerance, ranks Winnipeg along with Peterborough, Ontario 19th out of 20. Florida’s econ-centric indexing process portrays

² Creative ecology refers to the creation of a sustainable urban system, or habitat where a city is responsible for “providing the environment in which creativity can flourish” (Gollmitzer & Murray, 2008, p. 5).

Winnipeg in an unflattering creative light. However, this thesis adopts a culture-centric, approach to analyze Winnipeg's creative city identity and potential. A creative city-making point of view, as indicated in the following precedents, demonstrates how a creativity audit enables a city to gain an understanding of its place-based creative potential, and capacity to build upon and develop its own unique creative processes and identity, which offers the opportunity to then build its own creative city brand.

Adelaide, Australia

In 2014, the capital city of Adelaide in South Australia employed the services of Comedia³ to better understand its own creative capacity by “taking its creative pulse” and focusing on “harnessing the collective imagination of Adelaide” (Landry, Caust & Brecknock, p.3, 2014a). The *Creative City Index Summary Report* (2014b) indicates that Adelaide is working to become a global city but must be more creative to achieve this goal due to its isolated location both globally as well as within Australia. Adelaide's brand of creativity is defined as both thoughtful and practical - crafted through the city's history as a manufacturing hub and intellectual centre. The report describes a city that has lost sense of what its present story is and needs to “reactivate its innovative DNA and recalibrate the story it tells itself” (Landry, Caust & Brecknock, p.5, 2014b). Evidently, redefining its creative city story is an internal process, not a formula or model that can be replicated and applied. Suggestions to improve the creative environment in Adelaide includes:

- A Creative Ecosystem: to think holistically and laterally across different sectors

³ Founded in 1978 by Charles Landry, Comedia is an international consulting firm working on creativity, urban processes and civic transformation.

- Connecting Opportunities: transforming governance through inspired connections
- Global Thinking: to become part of global city conversations

Strategic actions were incorporated as examples of ways of moving forward to embrace creativity as a regenerative tool and continue to define Adelaide's creative city identity and story. Strategic actions to bolster the suggestions above included "Creating an online Adelaide 'Knowledge Observatory' or 'Ideas Hub'...to provide a growing knowledge base for Adelaide and the world", grow "a cadre of talented 'connectors', who actively find and connect opportunities by being open, engaging others and making collaborations work", and actively "connecting with the shift in international thinking regarding creative approaches to governance, co-creation and cross-sector collaborations" (Landry, Caust & Brecknock, p.5, 2014b). This exploration of creativity in Adelaide identifies what the city can do to become the kind of creative city that it wants to be. Adelaide wants to use creativity as a catalyst towards becoming a global city, rather than simply brand itself globally as a creative city. Adelaide is working on developing a culture of creativity in the city, to use its own resulting brand of creativity as leverage on the global stage.

Helsinki, Finland

Through personal observation and study in Helsinki Finland, it was evident that Helsinki is a city that embraces architecture, urban design and aesthetics in the public realm; it has a world-class public transportation system and a commitment to building livable and sustainable communities. These attributes also contribute to Helsinki's reputation as a creative leader (Landry, 2014a). Creativity in Helsinki is understood as

crosscutting and connection building, as expressed through a spirit of innovation in existing technology sectors (i.e. Nokia) and new start-ups, and through cultural investments as well as a culture of openness and inclusion cultivated within the city (Landry, 2014a). It is no surprise that Helsinki is a city that Landry often uses as a benchmark for creativity; it is one of the highest-ranking cities in his Creative City Index⁴. Whereas Adelaide is working to better understand and express its creative potential, Helsinki is a city with creative prowess. As such, Helsinki - as creative city - should continue to trail-blaze and push its creative potential in order to continue to set an example for other cities (Landry, 2014a). As such, the 2014 *Helsinki Creative City Index: Harnessing the Collective Imagination* report provides suggestions on how the city can become more creative through:

- Harnessing and harvesting potential: to move from collegiate to collaboration
- Civic creativity and rethinking the bureaucracy: an analysis of what a creative bureaucracy would be like
- Communicating and connecting Helsinki: maximize the resonance of the city on a global scale

Like Adelaide, the suggestions for improving Helsinki's creativity is based on a planning methodology that included background research, surveys, workshops, focus groups and interviews, intended to harness a better understanding of Helsinki's unique brand of creativity, and to offer suggestions – as to ongoing ways of growing a city's creative potential (Landry, 2008). One interesting aspect of Helsinki's creativity noted in the report is that the city lacks a progressive bureaucratic structure. For all the creative projects and endeavours in Helsinki, there is a perception that the model of governance is

⁴ The Creative City Index is a methodology used as a way to assess or audit the creativity of a city in an integrated or holistic way (Landry, 2012b).

paternal and siloed (Landry, 2014a). This is one of the biggest obstacles in the continuation of creativity cultivation in the city. The analysis of creativity in Helsinki identifies this city as both a visibly creative place and a city where more work needs to be done.

These examples demonstrate an integrated approach to the creative city that focuses on the culture of that particular place. It is a tailored approach, as opposed to one-size-fits-all, which is a common critique of the Floridian creative city process. Landry uses the Creative City Index methodology for both Adelaide and Helsinki with the goal of acknowledging what each city is doing well, and what they need to work on to evolve and entrench creativity in their cities. The Creative City Index is an assessment tool for a city to better understand their creative identity, for a city looking to become more creative, or to develop into their version of a creative city. This approach recognizes and reinforces the notion that creativity is place-based and context-specific. It is a process that allows the creative identity of a place to emerge based on its unique characteristics and potential rather than imposing a specific brand of creativity on a city. A creative intervention in one setting may not work in another. As such, creativity responds to the conditions and complexity of the place where it is deployed. This more inward-looking attitude may safeguard intrinsic creativity and work to integrate creativity into the culture of city making, and thus city-building and urban development, more broadly.

1.4 Key Research Questions

The following key questions guided the research:

1. Intersections?

What is the Creative City and how does it illustrate the possible connections between city branding and city planning?

2. Identity?

How have municipal planning documents in Winnipeg engaged with or demonstrated Landry's notions of the Creative City?

3. Implications?

What can Winnipeg's approach to the Creative City offer to broaden conventional thinking about the creative city in both planning and branding arenas?

These questions are addressed directly in Section 5.2 (Research Questions Revisited).

Winnipeg, Manitoba

The research is grounded in Winnipeg Manitoba, which has both an internal and external reputation of being a creative city (Bellamy, 2013; Freeman 2014; OurWinnipeg 2011b) and which provides a rich exploratory opportunity for this thesis. Winnipeg's creative city identity is strongly connected with the arts and its diverse population. Additionally, the city has many of those tangible creative city brand elements thought to make a place attractive to the creative class. The creative class are central to the Floridian view of the Creative City and are explored further in the literature review. Winnipeg is located in the middle of central Canada (Winnipeg, 2005) and was once known as the *Chicago of the North, the next Chicago and the gateway to the West* (Lehr & Zubrycki,

2012, p.49, emphasis added) because of its strategic location as the geographic centre of North America. As of 2012, the city was home to 704,800 residents (Winnipeg, 2013).



Figure 1: Winnipeg shown in North American context.

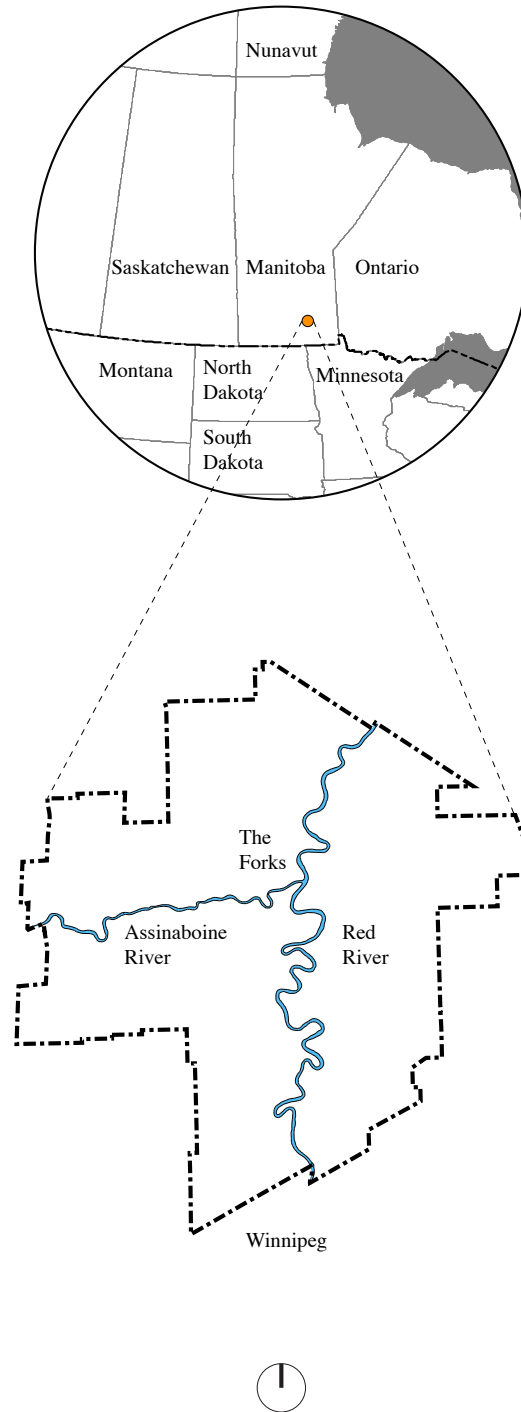


Figure 2: Location of Winnipeg in Manitoba; City of Winnipeg showing current municipal boundaries - Unicity 1971.

The population of the city is expected to grow to an estimated 909,600 people by 2035 (Winnipeg, 2013, p.6). One of Winnipeg's greatest assets is the city's population - in particular, its diversity (Freeman, 2014, Celebrating uniqueness section, para. 6). Winnipeg is a city where the "English-speaking settler core mingles with one of Canada's largest Aboriginal populations, a bustling new immigrant community from countless parts of the world, and Canada's western-most intact French-speaking urban centre" (Freeman, 2014, Celebrating uniqueness section, para. 3). These qualities, mirrored within the creative city-making perspective, provide unique opportunities to acknowledge and build upon.

Cultural Diversity

Winnipeg's past and most recent history presents the narrative of a truly multicultural city. As Arnason and Mackintosh so eloquently note in *The Imagined City*, Winnipeg is a city that "has enfolded itself into the cultures of the world" (2005, p.11). Incorporated in 1873, Winnipeg is a city founded by immigrants. Completed in 1885, the Canadian Pacific transcontinental railway link generated "a 30-year period of growth and prosperity unequalled in Canadian urban development" (Winnipeg, 2005, p.4). Due to the large influx of people, the city rapidly developed "extensive retailing, wholesaling and manufacturing functions (and became) a reception area for immigrants, the home of the oldest educational institutions on the prairies and a centre for government" (Lehr & Zubrycki, 2012, p.64). During the boom-time years, "fortune seekers developed Winnipeg as their gateway to western Canada" (Walker, 1979, p.2). In 1919, the general strike "placed the city in the forefront of the nation's consciousness as a hotbed of radical

socialism and a processor of a large foreign-born population” (Lehr & Zubrycki, 2012, p.65).

Contemporary Winnipeg is welcoming large numbers of newcomers moving to the city. Due in large part to the Provincial Nominee Program, it is estimated that approximately 11,000 people will immigrate to Winnipeg each year (Winnipeg, 2012) for the foreseeable future. New immigrants are more likely to move into communities with people of their own cultural background (Robinson & Reeve, 2006). Immigration is an intrinsic part of globalization and post-industrial economies. People bring their own worldviews embodied in language, culture and traditions into the city they inhabit. New immigrants shape the social fabric of the neighbourhoods they live in. The cultural diversity in Winnipeg can be reflected in the way the city’s unique character is understood, planned and marketed (Winnipeg, 2011).

Urban Aboriginal Population

Winnipeg has the largest urban Aboriginal population in Canada with 10%⁵ of the population identifying as Aboriginal according to the 2006 census (Winnipeg, 2012). This includes First Nation peoples, Inuit, and Métis. The Métis Nation was founded in Winnipeg and with 40,000 Métis people living in the city, they account for 60% of the total urban Aboriginal population (Environics Institute, 2011). The urban Aboriginal population is also much younger with a median age of 26 when compared to non-Aboriginal residents with a median age of 40 (Environics Institute, 2011). The majority of Aboriginal peoples⁶ living

⁵ This percentage does not reflect the migratory populations - people who stay in the city but do not officially reside there.

⁶ ‘Peoples’ refer to those individuals who identify as Métis, First Nations or Inuit.

in Winnipeg reside in downtown neighbourhoods (Comack & Silver, 2006) and make up 16% of the total downtown residential population (Statistics Canada, 2006). Aboriginal peoples significantly migrated to the city first in the 1960s, and in greater numbers by the 1980s to the inner city, because this was where housing was affordable (Comack & Silver, 2006). The Aboriginal population grew downtown, in conjunction with “globalization, suburbanization, internal migration and immigration” (Comack & Silver, 2006, p.8). Winnipeg is home to the Urban Shaman, a “nationally recognized leader in Aboriginal arts programming and one of the foremost venues and voices for aboriginal art in Canada” (Economic Development Winnipeg, 2013, p.29). The city is also “the headquarters of the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (www.aptn.ca), the first and only national aboriginal broadcaster in the world” (Economic Development Winnipeg, 2013, p.45).

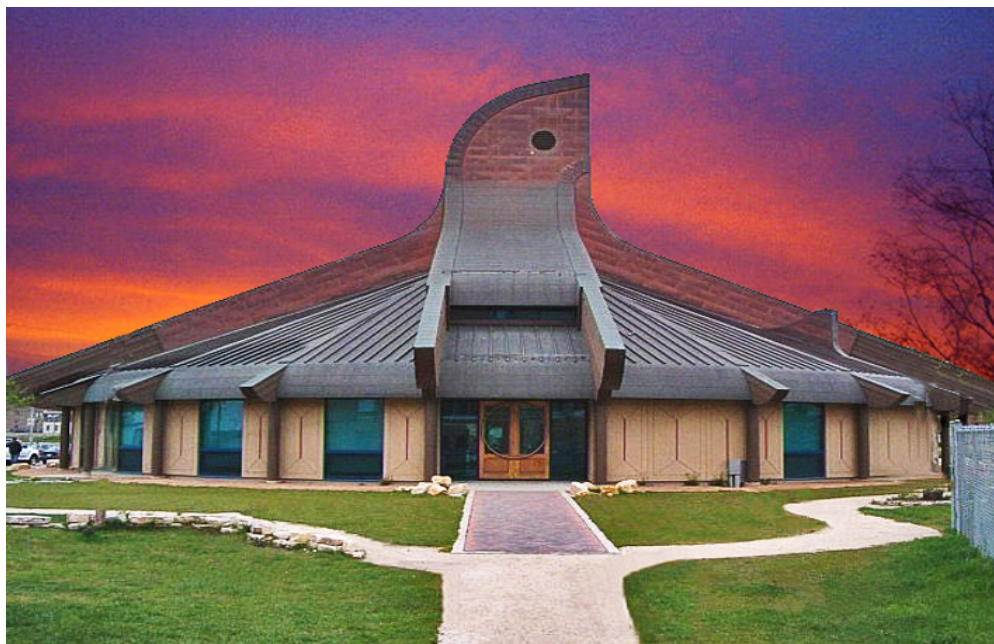


Figure 3: Thunderbird House, Winnipeg (<http://www.djcarchitect.com>)

Thunderbird House, on the corner of Higgins and Main Street in downtown Winnipeg not only infuses Aboriginal culture into the landscape of the city, it also provides

a venue for Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people alike to gather and connect with the culture and heritage of Aboriginal people in Winnipeg. The urban aboriginal population represents an opportunity, through the creative city-making perspective, to bridge class divides and promote intercultural interaction.

The Arts

Winnipeg has nurtured its own brand of creativity and enjoys the reputation of being a hotbed of creativity (Harper & Associates, 2012) and is well-known for its vibrant arts scene. This scene is wide-ranging and includes “an international recognized ballet company, choral and symphonic music, theatre and visual arts that one would expect to find in a city four times Winnipeg’s size” (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2001, p.3). The city’s creative reputation, which began locally, is now gaining momentum internationally; creativity in Winnipeg was formally recognized in 2010 when the city was awarded the Culture Capital of Canada title by Canadian Heritage (Kives, 2009). The submission by the Winnipeg Arts Council and Destination Winnipeg, the city’s tourism agency, stated: “Winnipeg, in legend and in fact, is one of the most significant cultural capitals in the world” (Kives, 2009, para. 6). The mythology of creativity in Winnipeg is supported by its creative reality - Winnipeg can authentically state that it is a “city of the arts” (OurWinnipeg, 2011b, p.83).

In his CBC article *Winnipeg’s next mayor must value, nurture the arts*, Alan Freeman, a retired economist, makes the connection between Winnipeg and the art of creative city-building, noting “how deeply the arts were woven into the fabric of city life” in Winnipeg (2014, para. 2). Freeman steers away from simply talking about the arts in

relation to the economy and economic development and instead speaks to the quality of place, and the quality of life in a place - and the creation of thriving settlements. He highlights the importance of “fun family spaces, bustling sidewalk cafes, vibrant street art and a breathtaking urban landscape” (2014, para. 10). Freeman is asking the leaders of relevant Winnipeg institutions to rethink priorities and invest in forms of public infrastructure *beyond concrete* in the urban realm. He gives the example of investing in beauty by planting trees along boulevards in 1905, with present-day Winnipeggers being the beneficiaries of the resulting “Emerald Carpet” (Freeman, 2014, para. 13). First-rate public infrastructure with a focus on “aesthetics, design and creativity” that contributes to the quality of life in a city, is what makes people want to live in and contribute to that city (Freeman, 2014). These ‘quality of life’ elements can make a city more marketable to outsiders, and more loved by insiders.

Freeman also makes an explicit link to branding, and how a brand needs to be the authentic representation of a city (2014). Winnipeg could position itself as “The Creative Heart of Canada” but “it has to be true” (Freeman, 2014, Branding is key, para. 4). Winnipeg needs to work to build the city it wants to become based on values of the people that live there (Freeman, 2014). City-making practices, engaging the city as a place, are context-specific and define its brand - not the other way around. The way Freeman frames branding aligns with the creative city-making perspective informing this thesis. Winnipeg’s creative identity is defined by the city, its people and a vision for what “it is capable of becoming” (Freeman, 2014, Can we plan for the arts, para. 4).

Physical Creativity

There are many tangible examples of the creative city brand in Winnipeg. One example is located where the Red and Assiniboine rivers meet - the Forks National Historic Site. Beginning as a Core Area Initiative project in 1980s, the revitalization of the former rail yard site now known as ‘the Forks’ has become a significant landmark in downtown Winnipeg and a popular tourist destination. Named Canada’s top public space in 2011 by the Canadian Institute of Planners, the Forks manifests a multitude of stories and uses. It is marketed as “the meeting place”, with reference to its history as an Aboriginal gathering point (The Forks Foundation, 2014). It is home to a number of amenities including a world-class skate park, a children’s museum, the iconic Esplanade Riel pedestrian bridge and the Canadian Museum for Human Rights, Canada’s only national museum outside of Ottawa.



Figure 4: The Forks, Winnipeg (www.theforks.com).

The redevelopment of the Forks is an example of those ‘creative city’ cultural and lifestyle elements thought to make a city appealing to the creative classes, but it is also an example of conventional creative city elements borne out of a culture-centric creative city-making perspective. The planning process for the Forks initially embraced a place-based approach to revitalization showing a commitment to community and people through planning principles focused on heritage, quality urban design and enhancing the public realm through varied site programs (Forks North Portage Corporation, 2015).

The newly constructed Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR), is the crown jewel of the current Forks development.



Figure 5: The Canadian Museum of Human Rights, Winnipeg (www.justinlegace.com).

This latest addition to the Forks reflects global creative city ideals: a large-scale, iconic cultural statement designed by the world-renowned architect (‘starchitect’ for some)

Antoine Predock. Touted as Winnipeg's 'Bilbao' (Bellamy, 2010), the museum is featured prominently in the foreground of Winnipeg's skyline. The CMHR is a physical representation of those global creative city brand expectations and values which markets Winnipeg to both tourists and the creative classes alike. The CMHR also an example of those common drawbacks associated with the creative city - that it can be both classist and exclusionary; see Section 3.3 for more insight on such creative city critiques.

In her article, *Human rights hypocrisy: The Canadian Museum for Human Rights*, Kimlee Wong, a member of Sagkeeng First Nation, discusses the use of public funds to construct a museum reflective of "Eurocentric arrogance" (2014, para. 17). When the property for the museum was recognized as an important archeological site for Indigenous populations, decision makers for the CMHR did not follow heritage recommendations and carried on with the project despite opposition (Wong, 2014). Paradoxically, the CMHR ignored the Forks planning principles intended to demonstrate a commitment to heritage and to community. Evidently the larger scale objectives of the project trumped the voice, and opposition, of local communities. Although the Forks can be understood as an innovative or imaginative redevelopment project, it does not mean that Winnipeg is holistically creative (Landry, 2012a).

Another aspect of physical creativity in Winnipeg is the Exchange District. Occupying a 20 block area in the downtown, the Exchange District is a hub for local artists. In 1997, the Exchange District became a National Historic Site of Canada (NHSC), containing "a range of preserved, architecturally significant resources illustrating Winnipeg's economic and social role in the evolution of Western Canada" (Gillies, 2011,

p.2) and is “one of the most historically intact turn-of-the century commercial districts on the continent” (Canadian Urban Institute, 2012).



Figure 6: The Exchange District, Winnipeg (www.tourismwinnipeg.com).

As such, it is a hub for the film industry when recreating turn-of-the century America (Arnason & Mackintosh, 2005). The Exchange District, from a Creative City perspective is a “typical branded ‘cultural quarter’” (Bell & Jayne, 2004, in Bookman 2013), consisting of “an assortment of heritage buildings, creative industry and boutique retail” (Bookman, 2013, p. 300). In addition, the Exchange District is also “a key hub of creative activity” (Sparling, 2015, para. 9) and “the creative and cultural hub of Winnipeg” (Sparling, 2015, para. 4). The Exchange District represents an opportunity for Winnipeg to nurture and develop its creative identity. The challenge lies in balancing the increased awareness and desire to invest in the Exchange District while enabling existing creative

communities to remain amidst rising property values. Gentrification and the associated consequence of displacing local populations is a creative city consequence and reality.

1.5 Contributions of the Research

This thesis grew from a desire to understand where my skills and interests as a planner fit within the profession. An interest in identity politics led to the exploration of urban identity. This led to questioning how urban identity is both created and communicated. The research evolved from corporate branding in commercial contexts to the broader concept of urban branding. Urban branding is a topic identified as being predominately explored from a marketing perspective (Ashworth & Kavaratzis 2005; Evans 2006; Sevcik 2011). The interplay between urban, or “place” branding (Anholt; 2010; Hjortegaard-Hansen, 2010; Sevin, 2011) and city planning has not been thoroughly explored in the context of placemaking⁷. Both place and placemaking is understood here on a city-scale, with the associated focus on city(as place)-making. Applying a planning lens to urban branding is felt to be important as well as timely, and a good fit personally.

Municipalities across Canada are actively engaging with place branding and planners are becoming increasingly involved in city branding initiatives. In 2013 for example, Halifax Nova Scotia began the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM) branding project: *DEFINEHFX*. The project team was headed by a branding firm and included planners who were responsible for facilitating public engagement processes. Information

⁷ Placemaking is a people-focused approach and “a process whereby people take ownership of their surroundings, staking claim in the narrative that brought them to this point, and reclaiming both their visual and their community memory from the homogeneous corporate forces and banal local development besieging the contemporary landscape” (Landry, 2006, p.288).

derived from the engagement sessions was employed in the development of a common identity for the overall Halifax brand. The resulting brand identity was to be used as a promotional tool to compete globally for “investment, tourism and talent” (Halifax Regional Municipality, n.d.). However, it will be suggested later that the planning profession has so much more to offer urban branding processes than simply public engagement and facilitation. Planners have a more intimate understanding of the intricacies of urbanity – a very useful perspective to bring to urban branding processes.

The ‘frequently asked questions’ page on the *DEFINEHFX* website highlights the pitfalls of urban branding when addressing the question: “how can a brand development process make a region a ‘better’ place to live?” (Halifax Regional Municipality, n.d.). The answer given only considered economic development, and the potential contribution to growth in HRM. By contrast, a better reference question might be along the lines of “how to create a ‘better’ place to live?” The response might suggest there is more work to be done; work that is outside the narrow realm of economic development, and potentially outside the realm of mainstream branding practices. Branding may not be able to directly create better places to live - but planning more likely can. A hunch, in framing this research, was that planning is a medium through which a more sustainable approach to branding could be articulated and applied to cities. The desire to explore this hunch led to the development of this thesis. Exploring the relationship between planning and branding is the first step in moving towards a more sustainable and comprehensive approach to urban branding joined-up with city planning.

Relevance of the research is twofold. Using a creative city-making framework as a method of analysis broadens the conversation around how planning can better connect with,

contribute to and inform the Creative City brand. The research will be of particular significance to planners interested in more collaborative approaches to planning, and in a richer understanding of branding in general and creativity beyond the creative city brand - as well as for those planners seeking to create synergies with other disciplines, such as marketing. This thesis also contributes to the body of planning knowledge that is moving away from more traditional and technical approaches to more of a focus on communication and collaboration (Healey, 2006). Landry calls this *Planning 3.0* - moving “away from a strict land-use focus and is more integrative as it brings together economic, cultural, physical and social concerns” (Landry, 2014b, p.13).

1.6 Assumptions and Limitations

One limitation of the research is that it is not an exhaustive analysis. It is a project limited in scope for the purposes of partially fulfilling the Master of City Planning degree requirements. The research also focuses primarily on analysis of text – more secondary research, rather than primary research with human subjects. There are voices, stories and perspectives on the subject matter that are not represented. To develop a more comprehensive understanding of the research topic, interviews with professionals and focus groups with community members would have been necessary. Another limitation is the assumption that there is a relationship between the Creative City brand and city planning, and that this relationship can be explored through the examination of planning documents from Winnipeg. There is also the assumption that understanding, supporting, and evolving the Creative City brand can support “the long-term social and economic health of a community” (Lehr & Zubrycki, 2012, p. 67). Finally, it is considered that Landry’s culture-centric approach to the creative city is more inclusive and accommodating

of Florida's - than Florida's econ-centric approach would be to Landry's creative city-making perspective.

1.7 Overview of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into five chapters. This introductory chapter has provided a broad summary of the research topic, where the research is situated, the theoretical framework of the study and the limitations of the research. Chapter two gives an overview of the methods employed in the research and outlines the research methodology. The third chapter focuses on the literature, and regards the literature review as a form of creative inquiry, as research method in its own right. The literature review surfaces preliminary outcomes by examining the relationship between city-scale place branding and city planning. The results of the data analysis, including recommendations, are presented in Chapter four. The final chapter sums up the research findings and the project, with recommendations for future planning research and suggestions for planning practice.

1.8 Summary

The purpose of this thesis is to study the creative city brand from a city planning perspective, to explore both the connections and opportunities to evolve the creative city in a more inclusive and holistic way. The creative city, understood as a brand, and planning, understood as creative city-making, is presented as way to explore this relationship. The creative city can be understood as a brand because it seeks to inscribe the city with a particular creative identity. Conventional creative city practices, espoused by Richard Florida for example, are often used predominately as a form of economic development. This thesis deliberately privileges the work of Charles Landry to frame the research and

expand the concept of creativity beyond the realm of economic development. By focusing on planning as a form of creative city-making, a more inclusive and holistic understanding of creativity is proposed, one that offers a more sustainable approach to building and evolving the creative city brand.

Research questions are thematically centered on *intersections, identity and implications*. The research is grounded in Winnipeg, Manitoba, a city with a creative reputation currently experiencing a renaissance period in urban development. Creativity – it is contended - is an important element for cities in transition; it is what underlies the ‘creative’ in ‘creative city’. The creativity resides in the city’s culture and the city’s people - exercising their creativity. It can help ‘brand’ a city as creative - as creative by design, at its core, as its default mode – to the extent of potentially making the branding redundant. The premise is that city-making is naturally creative.

CHAPTER 2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

“Methodology is always employed in the service of the research question” (Stemler, 2001, p.7).

2.1 Overview

The purpose of this thesis was to ascertain how creativity is utilized from a creative city-making perspective, to evolve or move beyond the conventional ‘creative city’ brand or approaches. The goal of the research was to explore connections between planning and branding through the creative city. Winnipeg, Manitoba was chosen to ground the research and content analysis was used to examine several planning documents, using Charles Landry’s creative city work (rather than the work of Richard Florida) to frame the exploration. The study reveals how Winnipeg’s own brand of creativity, understood through a creative city-making lens, is actively crafted, defined and enacted through planning discourses.

The initial questions guiding the research focused on storytelling as potential connective tissue between planning and branding (rather than the creative city focus); storytelling is emphasized as an important element in both fields. As the research evolved however, it became clear that storytelling, as a process of how we communicate ideas, did not provide a strong connection with my research interests. I reframed my questions and research methods, realizing a data analysis method focused on thematic exploration was required. As such, the research was revised emphasizing content analysis and a priori coding. This approach represented a more robust research method for exploring creative city-making themes in planning documents. Nevertheless, ‘story’ is still an important element to note when analyzing planning documents. All good planning documents tell a

story and are created with certain objectives and ends in mind. A planner is an author selecting particular facts, ideas, data and descriptions to share; compiling such material produces a particular story for a particular audience (Sandercock, 2003b). Content analysis acknowledges authorship as well. In choosing which documents to analyze, a researcher must ask who produced the work, for what audience and in what context (Stemler, 2001). This chapter provides a summary of data sources used in the research and the methodological approach.

2.2 Data Sources

Providing details about the data selection for this study is in part a method for addressing uncertainty. The process of choosing data sources began with a broad range of documents publicly available and accessible online. During this exploration phase, a wide net was cast; twenty-nine documents were initially chosen that were thought to have a connection with creative city elements, as explored in the literature review. Documents were initially pulled from the City of Winnipeg's website before this research led to documents emanating from the Downtown Biz, The Forks, The Winnipeg Arts Council, Creative Manitoba, Economic Development Winnipeg, CentreVenture and beyond. The research began with a focus on Downtown Winnipeg. However, as the research progressed and was reframed through the creative city-making focus, the scope evolved to encompass the city as a whole. The evaluation matrix (Appendix A) enabled a process of elimination to occur.

The long list of 29 documents was reduced to 15 through the removal of research papers and marketing documents. Plans tend to be revised, updated or revisited every five

to ten years. Three documents were then removed because they were developed more than ten years ago. Five of the remaining twelve documents were chosen for analysis in this thesis. When discussing the analysis of creativity in the city, Landry states that it must be evaluated through social, environmental, cultural and economic dimensions (2008). Being a planning thesis the spatial dimension was also included. Landry’s approach provided the frame through which these five planning documents were chosen. Potential documents from the short-list pool of twelve that were not chosen, once examined, did not provide the best fit with Landry’s analysis approach, or would have weighted one category more heavily than another.

Dimension of the City	Municipal Plan/Policy
Spatial	OurWinnipeg
Social	Complete Communities
Environmental	Sustainable Winnipeg
Cultural	Ticket to the Future Phase 2
Economic	Economic Development Strategy

Table 2: Data dimensions and sources

OurWinnipeg, the city’s most recent municipal development plan, which includes *Complete Communities* and *Sustainable Winnipeg* as directional strategies, were analyzed along with Winnipeg’s cultural plan *Ticket to the Future Phase 2* and the city’s official *Economic Development Strategy*. These municipal documents create the vision and planning strategies for the city. They provided the “official” planning perspective, and the data on Winnipeg’s creative city identity, for this thesis.

OurWinnipeg

Formally adopted in 2011, *OurWinnipeg* is the official municipal development plan for the city and provides guidance for growth and development in Winnipeg over the next 25 years. The engagement process in developing this plan included a variety of interactive platforms in which over 40,000 Winnipeggers participated (OurWinnipeg, 2011b, p.11). As such, OurWinnipeg also represents the collective voice of citizens and a shared vision for the future. Creativity is represented as a sub-topic within the section entitled *Quality of Life*. My pre-data-collection assumption was that this indicated a more holistic understanding of creativity that aligned with Landry's. However, the creative city brand also connects quality of life with creativity, albeit from an economic development perspective. Pre-data collection assumptions may underline a researcher's biases. My hypothesis was that Winnipeg's creativity that was manifested externally - evidenced by its existing creative reputation and creative city qualities - would also be reflected internally through its City's municipal planning documents. And since Winnipeg - in corporate personality terms - was not explicitly looking to brand itself as a creative city in the Floridian sense, it is possibly more Landry's creativity city-making paradigm that may be found at work within those documents, providing insight into expanding the creative city brand (with a focus on *the making* - and on city planning as city-place-making).

Complete Communities & Sustainable Winnipeg

Also adopted in 2011, *Complete Communities* and *Sustainable Winnipeg* are companion documents, which provide additional planning details on themes identified in *OurWinnipeg*. *Complete Communities* does not explicitly discuss creativity; my

assumption was that creative city-making qualities, as further discussed below in Section 2.5, would be found within this planning document, and that such implicit creativity would lay the foundation and “create the conditions for people to think, plan and act with imagination” (Landry, 2014b, p.2). As for creativity in *OurWinnipeg, Sustainable Winnipeg* connects sustainability with quality of life and as with *Complete Communities* creativity is not immediately visible within the document. However, my assumption was that aspects of Landry’s understanding of creative city-making would be apparent once the data were analyzed. Landry’s Creative City Index model is useful in this regard. It frames creativity broadly, and how a city identifies, supports, employs and expresses its own creativity. The criteria used to code the planning documents in this thesis defines a city’s creative city identity. In fact, a cursory review indicated an integrated approach to sustainable development, with a focus on livability and wellbeing - a sub-topic of Landry’s “Living and Expressing Creativity” category.

Ticket to the Future Phase 2: A Cultural Action Plan for Winnipeg

Ticket to the Future Phase 1 and II were legacy projects of Winnipeg’s year as the “Cultural Capital” in 2010 (WAC & Dialog, 2011, p.10). The Winnipeg Arts Council, the official organization guiding Winnipeg in cultural policy, partnered with Dialog, an interdisciplinary consulting firm, to produce *Ticket to the Future Phase 2: A Cultural Action Plan for Winnipeg* in 2011. I chose to focus on this planning document as opposed to that on Phase 1 because it takes a much broader approach to culture and creativity in the city. *Ticket to the Future Phase 1: The Economic Impact of the Arts and Creative Industries in Winnipeg*, represents a “complete inventory of Winnipeg’s wealth of cultural assets” (Prairie Research Associates., 2009, p. 2) and, accordingly, a narrower, econo-centric

perspective focused on the relationship between creative industries and economic development in Winnipeg. Phase 2 openly describes using a culture lens in the planning process, and echoes Landry's culture-centric approach to creative city-making. My pre-data-collection assumption was that *Ticket to the Future Phase 2* would move beyond just arts & culture to discuss creativity in the broader context of the city, focused more on creative community building. In common with the previously-discussed plans, *Ticket to the Future Phase 2* incorporated a community consultation process with the ideas, opinions and perspectives of the general public integrated into the completed plan.

Economic Development Strategy: Shaping the Future of Tomorrow

Winnipeg released the city's *Economic Development Strategy* in September 2012 (revised in 2015). It represents the official economic development plan for Winnipeg until 2017. My pre data collection expectations were that this plan would not necessarily reflect Landry's creative city-making approach to development. If creativity were discussed, it was anticipated that it would align more with Richard Florida's concept of the creative city - clearly connecting creativity with growth and economic development as opposed to concepts around place-making, for example. If aspects of Landry's creativity did manifest, it would be fragmented, rather than holistic, perhaps addressing the "Harness & Employ Creativity" theme or "Enable & Support Creativity", but not all four categories articulated below in Section 2.5. The *Economic Development Strategy* integrated with Landry's creativity categories better than anticipated. The document acknowledged the diverse populations in Winnipeg, and touched on the importance of community engagement, themes found in the "Identify & Nurture Creativity" category of analysis. The strategy also highlighted the importance of maintaining and supporting a high quality of life in Winnipeg,

albeit from a competitive advantage point of view. The quality of life theme is found within the “Live & Express Creativity” category.

2.3 Literature Review as Creative Inquiry (as Research Method)

The initial platform for examining the intersections between planning and branding, and the creative city, was a literature review. This preliminary examination ‘provided a detailed description and critical analysis of the current state of knowledge’ (Gray, 2009, p.183). Such literature also lays the groundwork for analysis and assists in defining and refining research questions, along with highlighting gaps that need to be addressed (Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

The literature review in this thesis is understood as a process of creative inquiry (Montuori, 2005). When framing a literature review as a meaning-making process, it enables a researcher to appreciate “the literature review as a construction and creation that emerges out of the dialogue between the reviewer and the field” (Montuori, 2005, p. 375). Through an acceptance of knowledge as socially constructed, the literature review becomes a more participatory research approach on the part of the researcher that goes beyond “reproductive inquiry” (Montuori, 2005) and into an interpretative and reflective process. This is achieved through “moving from *what* is being thought and written about to *how* we’re thinking about it and how the relationship between different and often conflicting perspectives is envisioned and organized” (Montuori, 2005, p.384). The literature review also presents the researcher with the opportunity to explore a body of knowledge and actively contribute to a “larger community or communities of inquiry” (Montuori, 2005,

p.391). The literature review as creative inquiry blurs the lines between the researcher and the research topic.

Peer-reviewed books and journal articles were utilized as well as grey literature, including reports and media documents. The literature review was continually reshaped as new insights emerged from the research. The first review of the literature explored planning and branding in broad terms, before refocusing on planning as placemaking, and then settling on viewing city planning in terms of creative city-making. This refocusing process enabled a stronger connection with branding and the creative city specifically. The literature review highlighted a number of overlapping themes, introducing urban branding generally, followed by the characteristics of the creative city. The creative city as understood by Charles Landry was explored; it connected the creative city brand with creative city-making to illustrate intersections and potential synergies.

Working through the literature helped to develop a deeper understanding of both the need to challenge the conventional creative city brand identity, and the necessity to work with Landry's creative perspective - a perspective that recognizes and embraces the collective and participatory drive to forge and entrench creativity in the city. This creative inquiry into the nature of the creative city resulted in a rich appreciation of how complex and comprehensive planning perspectives can be. With a research focus inherently designed to also inform the question my future career prospects and plans, the literature review enabled a reflective process, to appreciate and discern differing mindsets and perspectives on a topic of genuine personal interest.

2.4 Case Study Approach

A case study involves ‘an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real life context’ (Yin, 2009, p.18). Case studies are used to exemplify theoretical concepts, develop concepts and compare theories through more than one case (Wells, 2011). The case study in this thesis focused on Winnipeg, Manitoba. An examination of downtown took place through a single, qualitative case study rather than a comparison or multiple case studies. There are a number of strengths attributed to a single case study approach. Data can be obtained from multiple sources providing considerable insight into a case (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Single cases are useful in evaluating connections and informing policy approaches (Merriam, 2009). A single case study highlights the particular, which could be applied to more general cases (Merriam, 1995).

A common criticism of this approach is that ‘it is often difficult (indeed, dangerous) to generalize from one specific case’ (Gray, 2009, p. 248). However, applicability is defined through individuals interested in the research and through the precision of case study design (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Merriam, 1995). The benefits of a single case study approach should not be underestimated; knowledge can be advanced by a single case (Flyvberg, 2006). A single case study creates the circumstances for a phenomenon to be studied in a comprehensive way (Wells, 2011). An information-rich and holistic single case study offers valuable insights for other planners and lays the groundwork for further research. In addition, a single case study can prioritize the context or location. One of the pillars of creative city-making is that creativity is context-driven (Landry, 2014) and as such, it can be difficult to compare or model the success of one case to the next. A single

case study works for this thesis, which seeks to gain an in-depth, comprehensive understanding of creativity in a specific context: Winnipeg, in the early 21st century.

2.5 Content Analysis

The research design phase of the thesis project involved choosing which methodological approach would be best suited to addressing the research questions. Content analysis was determined as the best fit. It is a method that can be employed both quantitatively and qualitatively. It is an effective method for sorting through a large amount of data (Stemler, 2001), which is useful for examining policy documents. The results of the qualitative approach can be found in Section 4.6; the results of the quantitative approach are in Section 4.7. In the exploration of creative city-making concepts within planning documents from Winnipeg, the data was managed using a specific set of criteria. Content analysis can be used as an inductive or deductive approach. The deductive approach taken in this project enabled pre-determined categories to be applied to the data.

Theoretical models are often used to determine the categories (Gray, 2009, p.521). This thesis applied *a priori*⁸ coding using creativity categories from Landry's Creative City Index (2012b) to code the data. This framework was used to support both quantitative and qualitative approaches to measuring creativity in Winnipeg. This process - of analyzing creativity - is described by Landry as a "creativity audit". There are four categories, with sub-topics, the latter used as coding guidelines - a way to categorize the data within each topic. These categories and guidelines assisted in organizing text passages prior to a more in-depth interpretation or analysis; Table 3 represents the first coding stage (Fereday &

⁸ *A priori* refers to ideas "derived from theory rather than practice" (Gray, 2009, p.574).

Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Colour coding was used to guide the process while reading the documents. Reliability of the codes was initially tested on a document, and refined as needed.

Category	Coding Guidelines	Definitions	Examples from texts
C1: Identify & Nurture Creativity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Demographics b) Participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Distinctiveness, diversity, • The ability to take action or take part 	<p>“Diversity will continue to challenge Winnipegger’s to be inclusive and responsive to difference and will provide our city the opportunity to be a magnet for talented, creative new residents” (<i>OurWinnipeg</i>, 2011b, p.13)</p>
C2: Enable & Support Creativity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> c) The political & public framework d) Strategic leadership & vision 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting creativity through governance • Operationalizing creativity/ implementation 	<p>“Explore opportunities to integrate arts and culture into City operations” (<i>OurWinnipeg</i>, 2011b, p.85)</p>
C3: Harness & Employ Creativity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> e) Entrepreneurship & talent development f) Communication 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creativity-creative industries • Arts and culture • Connectivity/ promotion 	<p>“Market the city’s assets in the arts, culture...to creative and skilled workers, and visitors from Canada and across the word” (<i>Economic Development Strategy</i>, 2015, p.74)</p>
C4: Live & Express Creativity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> g) Quality of Life h) Quality of Place 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livability & wellbeing • The place & place-making 	<p>“Each city has its own personality and temperament; Winnipeg is no different. Our artistic expression is irrevocably affected by the things we share: a history, a landscape, a climate It is not surprise that with the uniqueness of Winnipeg, our art and artists emerge as distinct and vibrant” (<i>Ticket to the Future Phase 2</i>, 2010, p.22)</p>

Table 3: *A priori* coding template developed for data analysis - adapted from Mayring, 2000; categories adapted from the Creative City Index, 2012b.

A particular challenge encountered early on with the Creative City Index related to the stated categories. I found them vague, becoming easily lost in the data. Ambiguity may

be a useful tactic when deploying the framework in an interview, workshop or in a focus group setting; however, it proved difficult when applying it to planning documents. The Creative City Index represents “big picture” thinking about creativity, which generated a large amount of data to process and refine. As such, writing up the analysis, weaving the findings together, was a major task. A simplified version of the Creative City Index - perhaps exploring one aspect of creativity, rather than the four categories of the Index - would, in hindsight, have been a more manageable approach to this thesis.

After testing the method, a slight re-working of the table was necessary. The testing of the coding template on *OurWinnipeg* took an exorbitant amount of time. I needed to refine and develop a more targeted approach. Key concepts from the creative-city making portion of the literature review assisted in narrowing down the focus when the categories felt too vague - these terms also assisted with defining the themes within each category and the subsequent analysis of documents. Tables were used for each document to assist with organizing the data. Pieces of data were initially placed in the category making the most sense based on the coding guidelines. However, some pieces of data were initially fitted and placed in more than one category. As the analysis progressed and common themes emerged, the data sets were dismantled and re-arranged as needed. In addition, the Creative City Index reports from both Adelaide and Helsinki were cross-referenced to verify some categorical choices.

Once the data from each document was organized using the coding template, and analyzed, the data from all the planning documents were re-organized within the coding categories to produce a more holistic picture; this process of *connecting the codes* enables the researcher to identify themes across data sets (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

Following the approach outlined by Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, “the interaction between text, codes and themes in this study involved several iterations before the analysis proceeded to an interpretative phase” (2006, p.8). Analyzing creativity through the Creative City Index in Winnipeg also required modifications in the interpretive stage of data analysis. Once all the data were organized in one large table, under each category in the sub-themes that emerged during the coding process, some themes embedded within were shifted into other categories as appropriate. The data seemed to fit better in some categories rather than others, based on their thematic connections. For example, *competition* emerged as a theme and it was placed in the preliminary *talent development* category. However, it became apparent that there was a stronger connection between competition and the themes developing in the Harness & Employ Creativity category. Thus competition - along with other themes - were pulled into other creativity categories, effectively dismantling Talent Development as a sub-theme of Identify & Nurture Creativity.

In order to develop the diagram in Section 4.7, the five documents were first coded in Excel under the 4 creativity categories. Next, the categories were arranged as a radial diagram (similar to those employed for wind direction, frequency and strength). The radial diagram in this thesis (see Figure 9) was used as a matrix for representing the frequency and strength of policy content. Through the use of colour, the diagram illustrates both individual documents and the cumulative whole within each category, signifying the strength/weakness of each document and the collective. The numerical values in the diagram relate to the amount of policy data per document/per category.

The challenge was to graphically represent both the content from individual policy documents and holistically represent content from each of the five documents as well. The content could have been represented using a bar graph, as shown in Figure 7, however, this approach lacks the visible interconnection shown in a radial diagram. Once the diagram was chosen, numerical frequency needed to be determined. After testing different numerical increments, for graphic clarity, increments of ten were chosen as best suited to represent the volume of content per creativity category. The content from each document was stacked, one atop the other, beginning with *OurWinnipeg* and ending with *Winnipeg's Economic Development Strategy*. Adobe Illustrator was used to create the radial diagram (Figure 9).

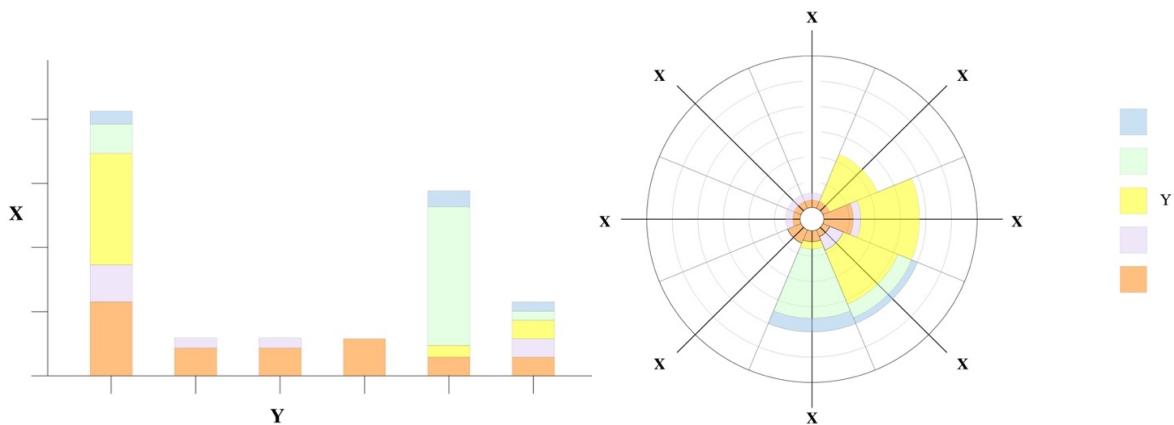


Figure 7: Bar graph shows a linear relationship between x and y; radial diagram shows a more holistic connection between content and categories.

2.6 Reflexive Approach

Research is subjective. Reflexivity acknowledges that a researcher is intrinsically connected to their work; a researcher's identity effects and affects research design and analysis (Gray, 2009). According to Gray (2009), there is no objectivity or separation

between the researcher and the subject under investigation. The reflexive approach adopted for this thesis was introspective (personal) reflection (Wells, 2011), calling attention to my worldview along with presumptions and values brought to the work. In order to put the introspective reflection into practice, I reported my perspective, values and beliefs before and after analyzing data (Gray, 2009). My pre data analysis assumptions are set out in Section 2.2 of this chapter. A reflexive approach acknowledges that data processing/analysis is a creative meaning-making process (Cunliffe, 2003). Some of the reflexive questions I investigated throughout the data collection and analysis process included:

- How am I influencing the analysis process?
- Within the framework, am I allowing themes to emerge from the data?
- Did I stick to and follow the rules designed to organize the data?
- Am I confident I worked through and organized the data consistently and comprehensively?
- Am I favoring certain themes over others?
- Am I accurately reporting my findings?

As reflexivity extends to data representation as well, findings were written recognizing that the results are interpretative, and only one among potentially multiple ways to represent the research (Wells, 2011).

2.7 Limitations

As with all research, the methodological approach designed for this thesis has limitations. Mentioned previously, the single case-study approach is thought to have limited applicability (Gray, 2009). A literature review is not widely considered to be a research method, although, as mentioned previously, there is value in the ‘literature review

as creative inquiry' perspective (Montuori, 2005) adopted in this thesis. Another limitation is the contemporary focus on the creative city - rather than a broader, historical perspective tracing the lineage of creative city ideas over time. This choice could be perceived as a 21st century bias in the data selection process; there is no denying the possibility of considering a longer trajectory, both in terms of the broad concept and for Winnipeg itself, but this might be a better focus for a different, more history-centered, project.

Using an *a priori* approach to data, the imposition of concepts on the data “may obscure some of the interpretations that may have emerged inductively from within it” (Gray, 2009, p.501). Data analysis, understood as creative meaning-making, entails that there is a degree of subjectivity inherent in the process. Additionally, there can be an issue with fabricating evidence when interpreting data (Crabtree & Miller 1999, in Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006), “even though this is not an intentional process but constitutes the unintentional, unconscious “seeing” of the data the researcher is expecting to find” (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p.8). Close scrutiny and acknowledgement of different interpretations of the data is necessary; the reflexive journaling used assisted with this process. In addition, when analyzing creativity, “the notions of creativity in planning and marketing documents can actually be the outcome of more complex and nuanced appreciations of creativity, and relying on them for analysis may mask those more nuanced appreciations” (Borén & Young, 2013, p. 1803). Finally, analyzing documents or secondary data can be considered not only limited, but also “old” as opposed to “fresh” primary data (Gray 2009).

2.8 Summary

Chapter two has provided an overview of the research design and approach taken in this thesis. In order to analyze the creative city from a creative city-making perspective, to evolve and enrich the dialogue around the creative city, Winnipeg Manitoba was chosen as a case study to ground the research. Content analysis of five municipal planning documents was conducted using an *a priori* coding template. A template was created using creativity categories adapted from Charles Landry's Creative City Index in order to uncover Winnipeg's creative city identity as understood from a planning perspective. The literature review, found in Chapter three, introduces the preliminary examination of urban branding and city planning, vis-a-vis the creative city.

CHAPTER 3 LITERATURE REVIEW

“The place-marketing world is dominated by product specialists, who have good tips or formulas, yet rarely understand the complexity of the city” (Landry, 2008, p.44).

3.1 Introduction

The contemporary city is a hub of diversity. The everyday lives of people coalesce with the political, social and economic stories of the city. These experiences provide substance, and shape the identity of a place. However, in the neo-liberal⁹ city, not all city stories are created equal. With the rise of globalization and a focus on the market, cities are increasingly in competition with one another. As such, city stories shared on the world stage cater to attracting new investment, talent and residents. Place branding¹⁰ is a process through which cities define, produce, and manage their identities. In place branding, place identity is used as a tool to sell the image of the city. One contemporary city brand employed globally is that of the creative city.

The creative city is used as a foundation and conceptual framework for exploring the relationship between urban branding and city planning. To explicitly plan a creative city in the Floridian sense is to support the development of a brand. Planning can then be used as an avenue for building and supporting the brand using planning documents to identify what a city is and how it can *transform* into a creative city. Creative city themes and ideas are identified and examined throughout the literature review. The examination aims to be holistic, but is not an exhaustive overview. Throughout the literature review,

⁹ Neo-liberal city refers to a system or policy approach that privileges market over social welfare (Cooper, S., Li, L., & MacKinnon, S., 2011).

¹⁰ Place branding and city/urban branding are used interchangeably, under the broader umbrella of city-scaled place-making.

gaps within urban branding processes are identified, creative city themes and critiques are explored, and creative city-making values and approaches are considered - in relation to the creative city brand, along with the potential for an integrated approach connecting branding and planning. With the goals of expanding the dialogue around the creative city, and embracing a more inclusive approach to creativity through creative city-making, the literature review sets the stage for a more detailed analysis of creativity in Winnipeg from a culture-centric, creative city-making perspective. The next section provides an overview and analysis of urban branding processes.

3.2 City Branding Overview

Place promotion is not a new phenomenon; cities have always competed for new workers and residents. However, over the past 30 years the pressures of globalization have facilitated the transition from the mere promotion of places to their aggressive marketing. Globalization in this sense “is conceptualized in terms of transnational practices, practices that cross state borders but do not necessarily originate with state agencies, actors or institutions” (Seklair, 2010, p. 136). For post-industrial cities, economies based largely in production have transitioned to service-based economies; this progression to a more flexible economic model has led to increased competition among cities in pursuit of new revenue sources. Cities are marketing themselves globally, seeking individuals who can contribute to this new economy. The concept of *place* marketing has been heavily informed by marketing and economic disciplines, as well as the work of marketing specialists.

As Kavartzis and Ashworth point out, others have not given much thought to the application of marketing processes to places (2005). They also state “the transition from

city marketing to city branding is facilitated not only by the extensive use and success of product branding, but also by the recently but rapidly developed concept of corporate branding” (2005, p. 507). Graeme Evans reiterates this by asserting that “the explicit branding of whole cities in a similar manner to global corporate brands is now apparent as cities strive for a distinctive tag and image that can satisfy the footloose tourist, investor, and members of the creative class alike” (2006, p. 198). City branding projects aim not only to sell a place, but also to sell a lifestyle. There is also a connection with interurban competition, and a plethora of ways in which cities are now ranked. Simon Anholt, a policy advisor from the UK has developed the City Brands Index to rank a city’s brand globally. There are metrics for the most livable cities, most sustainable, cities with the best transit, and best city parks - to give a few examples. It seems almost everything, including creativity, is quantified and indexed.

City branding is a relatively new concept within academic discourse. Branding is often associated with the elements of advertising, such as logo development, slogans and campaigns centered on those visuals (Kavaratzis, 2008). However, branding is more than just imagery, it involves the building of an identity. A brand represents the core values of a place whereas advertising is simply a means of communication (Klein, 2000). While city brands are used predominantly as a competitive means of differentiation within the global market place, brands are also used as a means of interaction. Place brands enable people to interact through the sharing of a collective identity (Mommaas, 2002). Accordingly, “the rationale behind city branding is that the city must first decide what it wants to become and how it can create the mental, psychological and emotional ties that are necessary for the city to really become this brand” (Kavaratzis, 2008, p. 9).

Conversely, city branding can also be a process of sharing an existing identity with the world. The characteristics of a creative city for example, may be in place, but external audiences are not aware of it. In this case, a branding exercise is more about promoting and marketing what exists rather than the conscious creation of a particular identity. As such, those psychological connections with part of a city's identity already exist. Many authors (e.g. Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005; Evans, 2005; Hankinson, 2004; Julier, 2003) consider this the core of a brand - the soft, intangible, aspects of the city. The soft aspects inform the application of hard, tangible, features of the brand onto the landscape.

In his discussion of place branding, Hankinson (2004, p.110) argues that “no general theoretical framework exists to underpin the development of place brands apart from classical, product-based branding theory”. Product branding is the precursor to city branding, but there has been a shift away from product branding; places are far more complex than products. It is commonly acknowledged that city branding now follows the same rationale as corporate branding (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005; Hankinson, 2007; Evans, 2003). Heather Skinner reaffirms this through quoting Trueman et al. (2007): “city branding can draw parallels from the corporate brand literature, and while there is a limit to the literal translation of the corporate branding approach into a city branding context: there are clearly elements that are distinctive to city branding” (2010, p. 918). The distinct elements of corporate branding relevant to the city are highlighted by various authors, but more specifically by Kavaratzis (2007) who draws similarities between corporate and city branding through a review of corporate branding literature:

“There are many substantial common characteristics of marketing and branding of corporations and cities, a fact recognized by several commentators who point to the

relevance of the ‘metaphor of place as a corporate brand’ (Anholt, 2002). They both have multi-disciplinary roots, both address multiple groups of stakeholders, both have a high level of intangibility and complexity, both need to take into account social responsibility, both deal with multiple identities, both need long term development” (2007, p. 29).

In addition to the above-mentioned similarities, the objectives of both corporate and city branding strategies are based upon convincing potential consumers/residents that they offer something unique. Although the corporate branding model informs the process of brand development in cities, like a corporation, the end result is the creation of a product to be sold in the marketplace. This fact generates much criticism from authors in their discussions of the consequences of city branding and the reduction of the city to a commodity.

Critiques

Places are dynamic with rich social and material histories. Place identities are “forged through representational practices that are historically and socially conditioned, multi-layered and dispersed” (Jansen, 2008, p. 122). Whereas a corporate identity is created through branding, place identity cannot be so created. Branding a place involves filtration, choosing specific characteristics that appeal to the market. A main criticism of city branding is the homogeneity it creates. The irony is that branding is “concerned with identity and distinctiveness, yet common formulas emerge” (Landry, 2008, p.43).

The unified vision for the city that branding creates is an attempt to fashion a static concept when city ownership is far more complex and subjective than that, particularly

when one thinks about national and ethnic identities (Evans, 2003). The branding process may recognize the various stakeholders involved, however it is a top-down strategy where “values and meanings are framed by specific elites of respective locations” (Julier, 2005, p. 885). The creation of a brand ultimately represents an “idealized” version of the city aimed at a target market and may be out of sync with the reality of the city as a whole. Local and cultural histories are generalized through branding and then linked to cultural and flagship architectural projects (Mommaas, 2002). In addition, place branding may not attract new businesses, consumers or residents; branding may not stimulate urban renewal (Mommaas, 2002).

One of the most relevant criticisms of branding comes from Kavaratzis’ summary of Ashworth (2006): “cities may have similarities with large commercial corporations but unless these similarities are more important than the dissimilarities of political responsibility and public interest, places cannot be branded in the same sense” (2007, p. 29). While it is apparent that corporate branding can inform an approach to city branding, a specific method of branding for cities is needed.

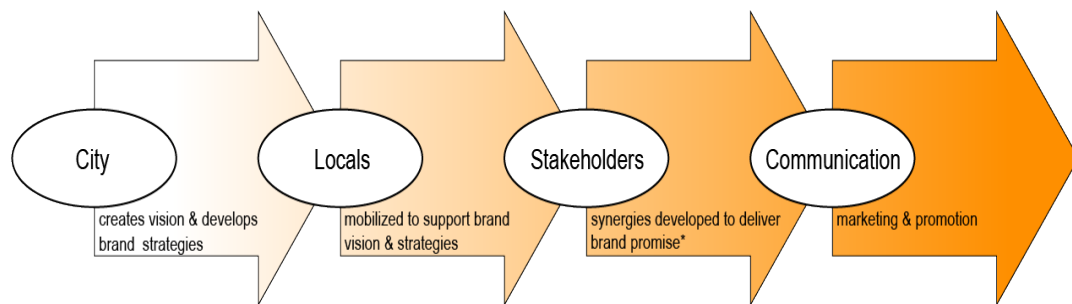


Figure 8: Kavaratzis’ proposed branding process. Under stakeholders, a brand promise refers to the city’s infrastructure, visual environment and opportunities for target audiences.

Kavaratzis (2006) has proposed an alternate branding process in order to separate corporate branding from city-branding (see above, Figure 8).

There is a gap in the literature here, although this may be due to the contemporary nature of the subject. There is no work indicating whether or not alternative city branding frameworks, outside of the corporate branding model, have been used to inform the branding process. Regardless, the process Kavaratzis describes above involves a hierarchical approach to branding promoted by city officials, then sold to local communities that, in turn, are recruited to support the brand. Consequently, this city branding model appears similar to corporate branding. It is not integrated or holistic, and there is no implication of creative city-making at its core.

The branding process may recognize local stakeholders; often, however, local knowledge is valued insofar as it can further a brand agenda. However, place brands can also reinforce a collective local identity (Mommaas, 2002). John Worthington suggests that “identity can be the characteristics of a place that makes it memorable, or even forgettable, as well as the names or symbols that turn an identity into a brand” (2009, p.68) Thus there is the potential for branding to strengthen a community identity while catering to an economic agenda. However, conventional branding still takes an essentially econo-centric approach to urban development and has yet to sufficiently embrace the complexities of the city (Landry, 2008).

The problems throughout with branding in its various forms can be summarized as follows: *branding does not embrace a holistic approach to urban development.* Asymmetrical distribution of resources is the foundation for inequality, “which is the basis

of concepts such as welfare and state intervention, (and) is the driving force behind the market” (Allmendinger, 2002, p. 96). When critically assessing branding, a significant detachment between the classes - exacerbated by the branding process - is evident. Social responsibility is glossed over within the literature. Brands are aimed at the middle and upper classes because they are founded upon neoliberal ideals centered on economics. These strategies feature tunnel vision; they only consider their – inevitably narrow - target audience. Simply put “branding is the creation of a monolithic, consumer-oriented representation” (Greenberg 2000, in Jensen, 2007, p. 213). The city is different from a consumer product and from a corporate entity. Cities are far more complex and unpredictable. Mommaas (2002) emphasizes the need to provide more socio-cultural goals within city branding, to move beyond the primary purpose of branding as economic development. A focus on the creative city brand, as highlighted in this thesis, provides the opportunity to explore this possibility.

3.3 Branding the Creative City

Like city planning, urban branding focuses on the real and the imagined, the tangible and intangible - those hard and soft aspects of place. These attributes make up an urban identity or urban imaginary. Miriam Greenberg suggests that every city divided by class, race, ethnicity and gender will have a “number of urban imaginaries coexisting and competing against one another for dominance” (2000, p. 228). Consequently, only “those with the requisite political, economic and cultural capital will have the power to brand an imaginary that will have enduring impact on the social life of the city” (2000, p.255). The Creative City has represented both a significant and recent branding of the urban imaginary broadly conceived, and has created a set of particular expectations.

The Creative City gained mainstream momentum in North America with the emergence of Richard Florida's *The Rise of the Creative Class* published in 2002. The premise is simple: the transition to a post-industrial, or 'creative', society has given rise to a new economy headed by creative entrepreneurship. Florida's notion is that creativity is a vehicle for economic development and the Creative Class, a new social class defined by Florida, is behind the wheel (Florida, 2012). Cities must compete for this group of highly mobile and talented individuals. The creative class is the target group around which Florida centres his theory of creativity, as opposed to arts and culture. However, arts and culture do create an image of the city and quality of place that may draw the creative classes to it. Florida, in true neoliberal fashion, has created the Global Creativity Index to rank cities and encourage creative rivalries (Florida, 2003). The message here is that for the sake of economic development, creative cities are places to be emulated and reproduced. Thus, the creative city brand story is one of transformation. Cities adopting creative city approaches and policies are seeking to grow into and represent that particular urban identity.

The Creative Class

The Creative Class is defined through its members' economic roles in society. The economic roles of the Creative Class are divided into two parts, the original Creative Class of "creative professionals who work in a wide-range of knowledge-intensive industries, such as high-tech, financial services, the legal and health care professions, and business management (2012, p.38); and the *Super-Creative Core*:

“...scientists and engineers, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers, and architects, as well as the thought leadership of modern society: nonfiction writers, editors,

cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts, and other opinion makers” (Florida, 2012, p.38).

It is these individuals who are seen as economic drivers and “their social identities as well as their cultural preferences, values, lifestyles, and consumption and buying habits all flow from this” (Florida, 2012, p.37). As aforementioned, the creative class are also considered to be highly-mobile. As such, they can choose whichever city they want to reside in. Florida presumes that businesses will follow the creative class (2012). Creative cities, from Florida’s econo-centric perspective, should be working to draw the creative classes. Since they share similar “tastes, desires and preferences” (Florida, 2012, p.37), cities can use Florida’s formulaic approach; the creative class “cluster and thrive in places that attract other creative people and provide an environment that fosters and supports creative effort” (p.198).

According to Florida, the creative class requires a variety of diverse experiences, access to the outdoors, a vibrant urban nightlife, coffee shops, cultural attractions, places to be social and hang out, diverse populations, authentic historic places, “locally grounded scenes” (2012). Basically, the quality of place Florida describes is a hip downtown. Perhaps in response to the critique that the creative city movement seeks to replicate environments for the Creative Class, he goes on to acknowledge that “though they are factors that the Creative Class in particular desires, they are (also) things that everyone wants in their communities, regardless of their demographic or economic status” (2012, p.303). However, this Florida perspective “has been criticized for its apparent neglect of the flipside of lively creative economies and urban downtowns - their continued reliance on low-wage, low-skill, manual insecure service sector employment, such as bar and restaurant work, waste

disposal and retailing” (Borén & Young, 2013, p.1807). The challenge with the Creative Class is that it privileges their needs because of their economic contributions and downplays or ignores the consequences of this exclusive point of view on other segments of society. This brief explanation of Florida’s Creative Class perspective serves to highlight why the creative city is critiqued as a neoliberal approach that prioritizes the market, and the values of the middle classes.

Arts and Culture

Arts and culture are the premier topics that come to mind when thinking of the creative city. Whereas arts and culture used to be framed predominately from Landry’s *culture-centric* perspective - meaning arts and culture were viewed as contributing to quality of life - the Creative City brand primarily frames arts and culture from an economic development, or *econ-centric* perspective. Cultural amenities and assets are understood as a resource for urban development and renewal. Cities investing in arts and culture do so to attract interest and investment from external populations. Local populations may not be ignored, but the level of cultural investments between the internal and external populations can vary significantly. Arts and culture are understood as boosting creative identity by enhancing the image and symbolic economy of a city¹¹ (Kunzmann, 2004; Zukin, 1995). Landry (2010) reiterates this by stating, “the overall culture of a place and the arts help to define and shape identity, perception and image within the city’s own terms” (p.4). Each city has its own unique and distinct cultural assets to capitalize on and compete with on the global stage. These unique cultural assets are what set cities apart from one another and it

¹¹ Symbolic economy refers to the “intertwining of cultural symbols and entrepreneurial capital” (Zukin, 1995, p.3).

is this local distinction that provides a competitive advantage. Using arts and culture as an asset in urban and economic development is not new. Sharon Zukin, a sociologist, has been writing about *cultural capital*¹² since the 1980s. She affirms that:

“Culture is more and more the business of cities - the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique, competitive edge. The growth of cultural consumption (of art, food, fashion, music tourism) and the industries that cater to it fuels the city’s symbolic economy, its visible ability to produce both symbols and space” (Zukin, 1995 p. 2).

Here, Zukin makes the connection between cultural capital and cultural consumption. As Kunzmann notes, this can be a cause for concern since the identity of cities increasingly reflect “the spatial consequences of globalization, global values, global mobility and global consumption patterns” (2004, p. 387). A challenge for cities is to balance local cultural and creative identity and needs in the face of international pressures (Kunzmann, 2004). In addition to being an asset, culture in creative cities is also viewed as an industry. In a post-industrial, post-manufacturing or post-fordist¹³ world, *cultural industries* are considered a way to attract mobile, talented, creative workers (Florida, 2002).

Cultural/Creative Industries

The cultural or creative industries tend to include, but are not limited to the arts, literature, design professions, entertainment and - depending on the city - cultural industries

¹² Cultural capital, according to Zukin, suggests that “culture is intertwined with capital and identity in the city’s production systems...culture suggests a coherence and consistency of a brand name product” (1995, p.12)

¹³ Post-fordist refers to the shift from large-scale manufacturing, established by Henry Ford with his car company, to smaller scale, more flexible approaches.

could also include music and food culture (Kunzmann, 2005, p.394). Creative industries, a term now used interchangeably with culture, emerged - like the creative city in general - as a response to the post-industrial economy (Kunzmann, 2005). As Elizabeth Currid states, the creative industries are “increasingly seen as the silver bullet to attract the skilled human capital that drives the post-industrial economy” (2009, p.369). This ‘skilled human capital’ refers to Florida’s creative class.

The creative industries not only attract the creative class to a city; the creative class may have the power to draw creative industries to a city as well (Florida, 2012). In the post-industrial economy, cities should focus not only “on attracting firms and industry as in conventional economic development, but (also) on attracting the highly educated and mobile creative class” (Grodach, 2013, p. 1749). Cities can also rely on their reputations as creative centres, like New York for example, to draw industry to them, as “regions are able to use their global prominence as cultural capitals to attract key variables in development, further reinforcing their competitive advantage over other regions and cities” (Currid, 2009, p. 375). This image dimension not only plays a role in urban growth and development, it is “also essential in promoting the image of the city” (Kunzmann, 2005, p.396). As such, creative industries are integrated into the symbolic economy of the city as well.

Some of the challenges identified with the cultural or creative industries are similar to the critiques of the creative class. As mentioned previously, the Creative City agenda is considered “primarily as a place-marketing tool that privileges the needs and desires of particular groups, including specific segments of the creative economy workforce” (Grodach, 2013, p.1748). Again, this critique relates to the Creative City’s neoliberal policy

agenda. The recognition and promotion of cultural industries also enhances *quality of place*, another common creative city theme.

Quality of Life and Place

Quality of life is a common story-theme used by planners to justify urban renewal. The creative city also uses the quality of life/place argument to justify investing in the *symbolic economy*, those attributes that make a city attractive to future residents, tourists and investors as well as local residents. In the creative city, there are expectations of a particular quality of life and place, however it is clear in the literature that there is little consensus on what these attributes are. A creative city can be a place for learning, for outdoor activities and festivals, healthy lifestyles, and a place where arts and culture are affordable and celebrate diversity (Creative City Network, 2005a). Creative cities are also places that could invest in public transit and affordable housing, that increase density, that are safe, green and family-friendly (Florida, 2014). These characteristics however, describe city-planning approaches in general, rather than creative city attributes in particular.

Waterfront Development, Cultural Districts and Historic Preservation

Creative cities capitalize on their existing urban form and redevelopment opportunities. Urban waterfront redevelopment projects are a common aspect of the creative city. Historic buildings, warehouses and former industrial sites are re-purposed and re-imagined through the creative city lens, that sees these areas as future cultural havens. Waterfront redevelopments are thought to enhance a city's competitiveness by adding creative and symbolic value to the landscape. Cultural districts, often found in clusters of historic buildings in a city's downtown also add creative and symbolic value.

The density and history found in downtowns are thought to reflect the needs of the creative class. Density breeds innovation and history provides a backdrop of character for creative inspiration. These qualities also provide stimulating environments both visually and experientially, that support creative expression.

Icons

Evans (2003) uses the term, ‘hard-branding’, to describe visible manifestations of an urban brand. In the creative city, new museums, arts and sports complexes are all part of a wider strategy of regeneration and identity creation (Julier, 2005). These developments are referred to as *grands projets*, flagship, landmark or iconic projects and are one of the most common creative city elements. A cultural gesture through architecture reflects global trends, as “the city becomes the frame upon which its physical surface is inscribed with new ways of playing the global competitive game” (Jensen, 2007, p. 213). These landmark projects may benefit local residents, but often they are outward-focused, catering to the lifestyle and consumptive choices of potential new (creative class) residents and tourists. Marketing aimed at tourists and the promotion of a particular urban lifestyle is a well-known approach. As noted by Jansson & Power (2006): “architecture is an integral part of the incorporation of cultural investment and policy into urban growth strategies, as cities struggle to attract inward investment” (p.18).

The branding process here is two-fold; a signature building that strengthens a city’s creative identity also represents the brand of the architect. One of the most notable and heavily referenced landmark projects is the Guggenheim in Bilbao. Designed by Frank Gehry, the Guggenheim has been touted as a successful revitalization project, boosting the

economy and tourism - putting Bilbao on the map. The Guggenheim did boost tourism and related revenue in Bilbao, however it has been argued (Hannigan, 2003; Sorkin, 2002) that it was a short-sighted solution to revitalization and its positive effects are wearing off. Evan notes that “Guggenheim Bilbao is now experiencing a decline in visitor numbers...its dependence on tourists (few local visitors go there) will accelerate a crisis in this particular franchised brand: Bilbao looks great now, but in 30 years will it prove less flexible?” (Evans, 2006, p.205). Creative cities making significant financial investments in flagship projects, hoping to capitalize on the “Bilbao effect” should proceed cautiously. Not every city will see a return like Bilbao’s in their cultural investments. Winnipeg’s \$357 million *grands projet*, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights, designed by ‘world renowned’ architect Antoine Predock, was completed in 2014. The investment return on this project remains to be seen.

Creative City Critiques

The challenge within the creative city brand notion is the emphasis placed on an econ-centric perspective. It is a neo-liberal approach to urban growth and development that prioritizes the market and (more often than not) the values of white middle and upper middle-class people. A shared criticism of the creative city is that it is fundamentally classist and exclusionary (Atkinson, 2007; Kratke, 2010; Peck, 2005; Ruyters, 2005). Florida affirms his creative city approach will not “make our societies better, it’s not going to cure inequality, and it’s not going to end segregation. In fact, in may indeed compound many of those problems” (2003, p.35). Atkinson states that Florida’s approach promotes “development that stresses the kind of artistic mode of neighbourhood development that has long been associated with a softening-up of neighbourhoods for capital” (2007, p. 7).

Florida's creative identity has been argued to be "an engaging account of the lifestyle preferences of yuppies" (Peck, 2005, p.746). When critically accessing creative city themes, there is a prioritization of creative class values and needs. The Floridian creative city does not involve an inclusive approach to social welfare.

Creative developments can also displace local cultural institutions. Evans (2006) uses the Bilbao Guggenheim project as an example. Just prior to the museum development, the regional government removed funding for a "Basque cultural centre in the centre of the city, and subsequently reduced its subsidies to a broad range of cultural groups in the region" (p.203). Local populations can be negatively impacted by an econo-centric creative city approach and vision. It might be considered a planner's responsibility to strike a balance between investing in the future of potential residents and visitors, and investing in the current local population. Displacement, gentrification and classism are all potential consequences of the creative city, impacting local residents at the neighbourhood level. The Creative City can be a polarizing force as Atkinson describes:

"Many key actors in the community sector view the pursuit of a creative class as being synonymous with a desire for gentrification and the supplanting of needy communities with high income groups who might also facilitate the improvement of the physical fabric of the city. In this sense there is a fractured policy drive with some organizations stressing a holistic and innovative approach to community development, and other splinters of government and politicians who are keen to see higher income residents in their constituencies" (2007, pg.7).

Bearing these critiques in mind, planners need to think critically before adopting a conventional creative city identity. Despite the amount of literature about creative cities,

“planners are functioning without the benefit of evidence of which approaches work and at what urban and regional scales” (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010, p.388). Conversely, planners are also lacking knowledge about creative city failures. The creative city is still mostly a ‘success’ story-line, in terms of urban renewal as well as in identity and image building.

Many cities have incorporated creative branding strategies into urban and regional planning policies. Ponzini and Rossi state that urban policies create the ‘physical and social space needed for creative and economic opportunities to take root’ (2010, p. 1037). Graeme Evans notes that these policies are often adopted ‘in rapid urban policy emulation linked to competitive city strategies’ (2009, p. 1006). Cities are implementing the same kinds of strategies when “drawn to a developmental formula that combines a focus on the new economy and investment in cultural resources” (Atkinson, 2007, p. 2). Cities are at risk of becoming standardized and placeless when fashioning similar lifestyles and amenities. Cultural districts and redeveloped industrial sites are continually reproduced for the creative class and their consumptive choices. Creative policies are not only utilized in large metropolitan city-regions; smaller cities are using them as well. Like larger cities, smaller cities and towns are attempting to emulate without knowledge as to what policies are appropriate.

Planners should recognize the need to strike a balance between investing in the futures of potential residents and investing in the current local population. Future developments, regardless of the branding campaign, should be viewed in a holistic manner, not only for the value of an economic return. Economic development is just one aspect of the city. While branding is a process focused on the differentiation of identity to facilitate

competing within the global marketplace, it impacts people at different scales. Displacement, gentrification and classism - all potential consequences of branding - affect residents at the local level. Integrating innovative solutions into city branding, that address internal social needs and infrastructure improvement, may be a civic responsibility.

Contemporary city branding strategies conceptually reflect corporate branding models, and are methods of image building and communication based upon neoliberal principles. However, cities are exceedingly more complex than corporations. In order for a place brand to maintain its relevance to a locality and its population, and to sustain its identity over time, a broader and more holistic approach to urban branding must be adopted. As highlighted through the creative city brand, planning understood as creative city-making can expand the creative city brand outlook. This will be made evident in the case study of Winnipeg, Manitoba. Branding may overlook the power of the collective. As David Harvey states:

“There is a politics of place construction including material, representational and symbolic activities which find their hallmark in the way in which individuals invest in places and thereby empower themselves collectively. People invest in places with social and cultural meaning” (1993, p. 23).

An authentic brand strategy may be built from these social referents. However, as Evans notes:

“Local conditions and variations such as the historical, social and cultural identities, governance, geographies/scales, should be equally considered in order to avoid falling into a reductive trap of universality at the cost of understanding the particular” (2009, p. 1006).

Each city has its own combination of stories that make it unique. The challenge is expressing this distinct identity in a way that is not homogeneous. Urban branding has become a tool for cities to utilize; the development of a brand rooted in the creative reality of that place may ensure that both place, and its unique brand of creativity, will have lasting value for current and future residents alike. Planning has the power to create policies that protect and nurture those local creative amenities that make a place unique, while avoiding the pitfalls of the conventional creative city (gentrification, exclusion, classism). This research challenges normalized neoliberal principles (as represented by branding) as the dominant basis for development, in favour of more communicative and collaborative planning alternatives that privilege livability and wellbeing for all.

The majority of the literature critiques Floridian notions of creativity, effectively including some of the conceptual/thematic overlaps with Landry's work; specifically, ideas relating to the creative economy and the Creative Class. Landry does not explicitly critique Florida's Creative Class thesis. In fact, he appears to support it, although from a culture-centric perspective:

“those planning this kind of (creative) city will think about how to create a good atmosphere...they will acknowledge how important being sensitive to culture is and they will balance being globally oriented and locally authentic. They will encourage the artistic imagination in how the city is put together. This is more likely to attract the highly skilled and flexible labour force that the Creative City needs as, increasingly, people with good skills have choices about where they want to live” (Landry, 2008, p. xxiii).

Despite the barrage of critiques against the Floridian creative city, when viewed from a culture-centric creative city-making perspective, there are valuable ideas that any city can and should explore. The creative city is more than a neoliberal approach to economic development or a cultural policy – it’s about employing a cultural lens on municipal policy in general, as Landry states:

“an appreciation of culture should shape the technicalities of urban planning and development rather than being seen as a marginal add-on to be considered once the important planning questions, such as housing, transport and land use, have been dealt with. So a culturally informed perspective should condition how planning, as well as economic development or social affairs, should be addressed” (2008, xxxi).

Landry presents the creative city as a process that seeks to challenge and transform the way a city organizes and plans. Interestingly, Landry’s notions around the Creative City are not readily critiqued. However, a review of his work does reveal an understanding of creativity and its scope that is incredibly broad. Creativity can be found in just about any aspect of the city. It can be a daunting task, when compared to the conventional creative city notions that are, by comparison, relatively easy to adapt and integrate into existing city policy. Landry’s creative city “is not a static notion - it is concerned with a journey of becoming, a fluid state of affairs. It is a challenge, when taken seriously, to existing organizational structures, to habitual ways of doing things and to power configurations” (2008, xlix). This is a key tenet of creative city-making. Planning the creative city is about so much more than adopting neoliberal policies and economic development.

3.4 Planning the Creative City: A creative city-making paradigm

Creative city-*making* is an approach to planning that stems from Charles Landry's culture-centric perspective on the creative city. The premise is simple: embedding a culture of creativity into city planning processes will inherently support the emergence of creative cities (Landry, 2005). Creative-city making is characterized by a more adaptable and responsive planning model that supports the holistic development of creativity in a place. The primary goals of urban creativity according to Landry are: to focus on and enrich both local communities and the world, to enable cities to weather changing circumstances through flexibility, and ultimately to improve the quality of life for urban residents (2014b). *Sustainability*¹⁴ is the heart of creative city-making. It is about making places better and more resilient for people and for the world.

The creative city-making process takes place initially through a holistic analysis of the existing creativity of a place. Where does creativity exist and where is it lacking? What kind of creativity is expressed by the city and what kind of creativity is needed? Before one can answer how a place can “become more creative than it already is” (Landry, 2014b p. 7), a foundational understanding of the creativity of a place must first be established. This process requires both a mind-set as well as a skill-set. The following sections provide an overview of creative city-making in terms of the mentality and attitude required to practice creative city-making as well as how this culture-centric approach to urban development can address the pitfalls of the creative city brand, and support a more integrated, holistic and sustainable approach to developing and evolving the creative city

¹⁴ Sustainability as it relates to the root word sustain: to ensure, or to maintain.

brand. There are not many authors that write about creative city-making specifically. It is a topic largely championed by Charles Landry. However, the sub-topics found within creative city-making are where planning theorists reinforce and lend strength to his ideas.

Creative city-making mindset: A commitment to community

Creative city-making is a mindset as well as an approach to urban development. Historically, the approach to urban planning was more paternalistic and “technocratic” but contemporary planning practice is moving beyond simply regulating land-use and a “we know best” attitude; it is embracing a more communicative, participatory and holistic approach to urban development. Creative city-making aligns with this planning shift proposing that “the overarching paradigm for urban development would change from an urban engineering or infrastructure-driven approach to creative city making. This is the art of making places for people” (Landry, 2014b, p.50). Whereas the creative city brand uses arts and culture as a form of economic development for example, the culture-centric approach reinforced by creative city-making focuses on the contributions arts and culture make to community wellbeing (see Table 1). The primary focus is the contribution of arts and culture to the quality of life in a place. A people-centric approach necessarily includes both external populations looking to relocate to or visit a new city as well as the local populations.

Putting people at the centre of the planning process addresses some of the aforementioned pitfalls associated with the creative city brand. Making places for people requires an understanding of “not just the relationships of people *to* their places” but also “relationships *among* people in places” (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995, p.1). A primary

characteristic of creative city-making emphasizes and promotes the interaction between different classes and cultures; it is looking to bridge cultural divides (Landry, 2014b). As such, the understanding of culture in the creative city-making paradigm encompasses both people and place. Like creativity, the definition of culture is expansive, incorporating both the culture of people, the culture of place and the interaction between the two. Understanding the culture of a place reinforces the rationale that urban creativity is place-specific, another creative city-making principle.

Creativity is contingent upon context (Landry, 2012; 2014). Context in terms of place includes history, governance, geography, architecture, urban form, social, environmental, economic and cultural circumstances - all of which play a role in shaping a city's creative identity. It is not an identity that is built from scratch, but rather, creative city-making involves understanding and building off of what already exists in a place. Like urban branding, creative city-making can focus on both hard and soft infrastructures. Hard infrastructure encompasses those tangible elements of the built environment including buildings, urban form and design, while soft infrastructure encompasses the feel, atmosphere, and the mood of the city - as well as perceptions of place. Acknowledging, defining and utilizing the local character of a place can instill a "sense of collective ownership, belonging and civic pride" (Worthington, 2011, p.68) in a city. Creative city-making can be an empowering process, which gives people agency to effect change and realize meaning in their communities. It is the communal practice of building and sharing knowledge and understanding; ultimately "ideas make places, especially when collectively constructed, shared and tested" (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995, p.185).

A recognition and understanding of place also leads to unique changes that are place-specific (Hester, 2006). A context-specific perspective on creativity means that there is no universal or one-size-fits-all approach in creative city-making. This ensures that the creative identity of a place is rooted in the reality of that place, and that it will remain sustainable over the long term. An internal creativity audit is used to define the creative identity of a place, and goals around city building, rather than the external imposition of mainstream creative city ideals, that may or may not be effective in a particular context. Place-specific creativity challenges the notion that standardized creative city policies, adopted globally, can and should be replicated regardless of context; replication can lead to standardization of our urban landscapes as well as short-sighted investments. In addition, standardization may reduce the possibility of creative innovation (Landry, 2014b).

Imagination and the pursuit of creative innovation are part of the creative city-making mindset. Imaginative efforts on a city-wide scale can be quite challenging and requires a different approach to, and perspective of, urban governance. A city is only as creative as its governance model. A creative perspective of urban governance challenges the normalized practices of how cities are run. When cities adopt, as is often the case, the brand of creativity championed by Floridian values, they are accepting a one-dimensional form of creativity (Borén & Young, 2013), which lacks the ability to embed a culture of creativity within the ecosystem of city building. Embracing creativity means embracing a change in perspective. Cities must be prepared to transform their governance structure: to break down silos and commit to lateral thinking, to move past political timeframes and lead with a long-term vision, to experiment with new ideas, and to take risks with an open-mind in the pursuit of integrating a culture of creativity into city building (Landry, 2005).

Tilburg, in the Netherlands took a substantial risk to transform the way the city operates. After running consistent deficits for several years, the city took steps to transform its governance approach. Referred to as the Tilburg Model, the city, through its redefined City Management Plan, “seeks to achieve a balance between what is technically possible and what residents feel is necessary through input from residents in the form of neighbourhood consultations which are aligned to the City Plan” (Landry, 2008, p.16). These consultations also inform the city’s annual budget. The result of this governance redesign to include resident’s voices has resulted in a more efficient budgeting process and annual surpluses since Tilburg adopted a creative new approach in 1988 (Landry, 2008).

Creative city-making: a holistic perspective

A holistic approach to creative city-making involves making connections. According to Landry “the creativity... is all about lateral and horizontal thinking, the capacity to see the parts and the whole simultaneously as well as the woods and the trees at once” (Landry, 2014b, p.13). Holistic thinking necessarily involves an appreciation and understanding of the urban condition and the complexities of the city (Landry, 2014b). These qualities are important components of planning practice generally, since planners “need to be aware of, experience and understand the interrelationships between multiple aspects of the inhabited landscape” (Hester, 2010, p.49). There are many moving parts in the city. Planners need to be firmly grounded with a comprehensive understanding of a place for good municipal planning work to integrate the physical, social, environmental and economic aspects of the city, and the creation of a coherent set of plans that work together. This is what Landry defines as the “creative ecology” of a place; urban systems that, when well inter-connected, reinforce one another (2014b). This notion connects with

creative governance, the breakdown of siloed thinking and narrowly functional approaches to city building.

Impacts on the built environment

Creative city-making processes may result in those conventional creative city elements in the built environment, such as waterfront redevelopments and iconic architecture; however, the creative-city making process is designed to cultivate place-specific interventions through developing a holistic understanding of the creative identity and needs of a place. As such, even if those creative city brand elements are the result, the process for arriving at those urban interventions is fundamentally different. The needs of the community are at the forefront of the process, rather than a city “Xerox copying” an approach (Pratt 2009a in Borén & Young, 2013). The creative city-making process recognizes the intricacies of urban systems and the need to balance a variety of urban perspectives. In Helsinki, for example, many residents are impacted by the long dark Winter season; the absence of light brings on SAD (seasonal affective disorder) (Landry, 2008). The Valon Voimat (Forces of Light) project pays homage to Helsinki’s relationship with light while combating the darkness; “it is both a celebration of light in darkness, with installations that sometimes become permanent, and a clarion call to take urban lighting seriously” (Landry, 2008, p.89). This project integrates the needs of residents in the winter with a push for innovative lighting solutions in the city. The Valon Voimat project has also created a brand identity for the city (Landry, 2008). This precedent highlights how creative solutions to local needs have become part of Helsinki’s creative city story.

3.5 Planning for - and Branding - the Creative City: An integrated approach

Jansson & Power suggest a form of branding through the planning process in terms of: “linking urban, economic, social and infrastructural development in order to create an integrated platform with which the city or region gets re-made and re-imagined” (2006, p.27). Rather than inventing an integrated branding process this thesis proposes that an inclusive and sustainable approach to urban branding should involve a creative city-making perspective, which integrates the economic, social, environmental and cultural aspects of the city. This holistic planning perspective, using creativity as a framework, could lay the foundation for urban branding and marketing processes. Planners do the work of meaningfully engaging with local populations and stakeholders, envisioning the future and documenting collective identity/identities while acknowledging and working within the complexity of the city. As a result, urban branding processes could engage planners to coordinate various stakeholders to ensure that their ideas, viewpoints and stories are taken into account. However, there is still the matter of conflicting values. Planners engage a community to improve the quality of life for current residents, while branding is tapping into social capital as a tool to further a market-oriented agenda - inviting local residents to “buy into” the brand while focusing on future user-groups. However, planners are in a position to unite these two agendas since:

“Planners are likely to be used as a conduit through which politicians and economic interests promote *their* versions of place identity. At the same time planners have to be able to engage local residents and other members of civil society, for whom places may have very different meanings and identities” (Hague & Jenkins 2005, p.6).

As such, planning can balance and provide a counter-weight to the market-driven goals of branding by giving a genuine voice to the ideas, opinions and stories of local residents. Using the creative city as starting point, an alternative relationship between branding and planning is proposed by Landry:

“The dynamic and evolving creative city needs to move from brand building to urban reputation management... it is important to focus on tangible achievements rather than hype, as these can encourage a self-reinforcing and self-sustaining cycle of creativity. To be a creative city is an unfolding journey and emergent process, force fed and accelerated by what has already been achieved” (Landry, 2012, p. 60).

Landry’s proposal reflects the interconnection between planning and branding emphasized in this thesis: moving beyond brand building to the creation of a holistic or sustainable creative city-making brand/identity. This means that the co-creation of place identity is in the hands of planners, while marketing professionals manage, rather than create. This idea suggests that urban branding should do away with identity creation all together, leaving the space for identity creation to be filled by planning processes, for a creative city-making paradigm to nurture and develop a city’s creative identity. Reputation management then, is about managing those stories (and images) that sell the place, rather than the creation of those stories. The shift to more communicative forms of planning has drawn attention to the idea that planners are storytellers, telling stories to the future (Aberley, 2000).

There are a number of planning theorists who focus on story and storytelling. There is a belief that story is central to planning but that its importance is under-rated

(Throgmorton, 2003; Sandercock, 2003b). Storytelling includes both the stories planners tell, stories told by community members and those stories that are woven into planning documents. Story is used in the creation of planning documents and reports, consultations and community meetings. Story is a powerful tool for promoting change and envisioning the future (Sandercock, 2003b). But, planning is not an impartial process. Planners have the power to construct stories and shape meaning about a place (Throgmorton, 2003). In choosing what information we share, our stories can be used to justify a myriad of urban interventions (Jensen, 2007; Sandercock, 2003b). In fact, planning can be understood as a form of persuasive storytelling (Throgmorton, 2003). Typical planning stories found in planning documents include notions of the good life, and what rates as success, used to motivate and inspire progressive change (Jensen, 2007; Throgmorton, 2003; Sandercock, 2003b). Storytelling is also a way in which planners can incorporate community stories to reflect the interests of community members.

Ruth Finnegan, in her definitive work *Tales of the City*, describes the “Planners Tale” as the official story of the city (1998). Not only do planners create stories, spaces are created for community members to share their stories (Eckstein, in Throgmorton, 2003, p.134). People tell different stories about the same place (Jensen, 2007), and these community stories then influence planning work. Engaging with community members involves incorporating their knowledge and interests into planning processes. Community perspectives and needs must be contrasted with the needs of other actors. A planner should recognize that a multiplicity of stories exist about one place at any given time. A planner works with the plurality of narratives (Jensen, 2007) in an attempt to arrive at a common vision or the “core story” that provides common meaning in/of a place (Sandercock, 2003b).

Stories told by planners can sometimes challenge dominant norms and practices, but they can also reinforce them (Finnegan, 1998; Sandercock, 2003b).

Despite the diversity of urban stories, they are often part of a larger politically motivated narrative (Throgmorton, 2003). Stories can be a valuable tool for planners, but they must be understood critically. Stories exist in a context where power controls how they are used, including “powers of misinformation, deception and lying, which are deployed by fellow planners as well as outside forces opposing planning interventions” (Sandercock, 2003b, p.25). Viewed in this way, stories provide insight into the human condition as well as the urban condition (Sandercock, 2003b). Since urban stories involve place, they are always spatialized, or set in a particular geography. Places have social and built histories, and change affects both (Throgmorton, 2003). No plan is made without a story of place, and understanding “spatialized narratives” is important (Jensen, 2007). Spatial or geographical elements add a layer of complexity to urban stories and competing urban interests. Like planning, urban brand stories have a spatial element as well.

Fundamental to the study of urban branding is recognizing the relationship between story and place (Jensen, 2007). Stories can shape, claim or maintain identity (Finnegan, 1998). Both planning and branding stories have the power to shape a place’s identity. However, the creative city-making process is imbued with the goal of understanding urban complexities (Landry, 2005). Planning seems better equipped as a profession and discipline to develop, understand and deliver spatialized narratives, especially when compared to urban branding approaches built on corporate branding models. Planning as placemaking has at its core space-place transformation; places are transformed spaces – situated well beyond the merely geographical or spatial. They are cultural constructs, embracing the

political, the economic, the environmental and the societal – integrating physicality, functionality, conviviality and spirituality (Wight, 2011). The making is extraordinary, and extraordinarily creative, especially when on a city scale.

3.6 Summary

Creative city-making is a long-term commitment to transforming the way a city operates. Developing a culture of creativity takes time. This time and effort is rewarded by a city developing a long-term sustainable creative city identity. Creative city-making lays the foundation for a creative city brand to build upon and evolve. City branders looking to market the city as creative will not need to develop those creative city stories to sell a place - they will already exist. Furthermore, because these creative city stories are context-specific, they showcase what makes a city unique and distinct, enabling a city to stand out - making it more marketable.

Arguably, the values represented in creative city-making can address the shortcomings of urban branding in general, and the creative city brand specifically. Creative city-making seeks to entrench a culture of creativity within more prosaic city 'building' processes, the more usual touch-stone (rather than city-making) for the mainstream 'built environment' professions (Landry 2005). Establishing a culture of creativity is a way of safe-guarding the sustainability of creativity over the long-term, ensuring that creativity is firmly rooted in a place, and not suffer from hype, overuse or brand decay. A commitment to community and a people-centric focus, expressed through creative-city making, can also tackle class issues, bridge gaps between social groups, and ensure their expressed needs are addressed. Lastly, a holistic creative outlook broadens

creativity's conventional parameters, pushing the creative city brand to evolve. The following chapters explore this idea in more detail. The findings from the analysis of creativity within municipal planning documents in Winnipeg are presented in the next chapter, concluding with an exploration of insights and implications for planners, planning practice and future research.

CHAPTER 4 ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

“Winnipeg is a city of the arts. We are a city that expresses itself through arts, culture and creativity” (Winnipeg, 2010, p.83).

4.1 Overview

Municipal planning – often reduced to zoning and land-use regulation or space-allocation – merits recasting in city-making terms, with the city regarded as a system, and as a culture, of places. Conventional – narrowly conceived – municipal planning is often only questionably creative; it is more likely to be procedural, instrumental, status-quo-serving. Winnipeg may have a reputation as a creative city but this does not mean that the city is creative from a culture-centric, creative city-making perspective. The City of Winnipeg, as a municipality, is the agent of and venue for ‘municipal planning’. The city, as City, has a choice in relation to the creativity, or otherwise, associated with, or inherent in, its municipal planning. City planning can aspire to manifestation as creative city-making – emphasizing the ‘verbing’, rather than the ‘nouncing’ - associated with creative city contexting. Where does the City of Winnipeg currently stand? What choice is being made?

Municipal planning documents representing the social, spatial, environmental, economic and cultural perspectives on the city were analyzed. The analysis of each planning document is described below as it relates to the four adapted creativity categories developed by Charles Landry in the Creative City Index: Identify and Nurture Creativity, Enable and Support Creativity, Harness and Exploit Creativity, and Live and Express Creativity. Section 4.6 highlights similarities and differences found throughout the five planning documents. This examination of creative city-making describes not only how

creative city elements are understood and applied in Winnipeg, but also illustrates Winnipeg's creative city identity and potential. The five planning documents analyzed in this thesis project were chosen from a collection of twelve short-listed potential documents. Through an initial examination, these documents were determined to be the best fit in terms of reflecting Landry's understanding of creativity in general, as highlighted in the Creative City Index categories, and perspectives on how creativity should be analyzed - through a holistic perspective focusing on the social, economic, environmental and cultural aspects. The spatial dimension was an addition, connecting both planning and spatialized narratives of creativity.

4.2 Identify & Nurture Creativity

This category in the Creative City Index focuses on identifying and nurturing the creativity of people within a community.

Participation

Accessibility and participation were rich topics within three of the five planning documents. In fact, participation is a thread that serves to weave each of the creative city categories together. Community participation is a fundamental aspect of creative city-making, and is also a principal theme as well as a clear creative strength in the planning process for the development of *OurWinnipeg* and subsequent planning documents. A clear connection to and respect for community members was evident throughout. For example, *OurWinnipeg* states that "the choices we make through *OurWinnipeg* will be a reflection of our individual and collective voices, as spoken by more than 40,000 Winnipeggers - a reflection of our unique strengths as residents of the city of Winnipeg" (2011b, p.11). The

city's engagement process viewed citizens as "full partner(s) in the planning process" and "had a full 12-month conversation about our priorities and what kind of city we want" (p.21). This participatory process, dubbed *SpeakUpWinnipeg* was described as "unprecedented in Winnipeg and in North America" (p.21). Community participation does not end once the plan is developed. It is apparent that communities will also be incorporated into future planning projects.

Complete Communities states that: "the city will collaborate with all stakeholders through a front-end approach to planning developments" (2011a, p.66). *Sustainable Winnipeg* asserts that "the on-going involvement, participation and wellness of our diverse communities in shaping the future of Winnipeg is critical - especially for growing communities such as Aboriginal Winnipeggers and International Newcomers" (2011c, p.21). To illustrate support for this perspective, the City states that it will continue to "work in partnership with Winnipeg's Aboriginal community" (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.60) to ensure that all Aboriginal residents have opportunities to live, work and play in our city" (p.76). This example also highlights the city's recognition that community needs should be addressed through collaboration with – and within - the wider community, of which the City is one part. It is important to note that this thesis is a policy analysis exploration. As such, the relevance of policy statements, as they relate to the Creative City framework, is what is being evaluated as opposed to what is happening on the ground in the city currently. A reference is made to this in Section 5.4: Future Research Directions.

Access & Inclusion

Increasing accessibility and inclusion relating to arts and culture is another theme found within both *OurWinnipeg* and *Ticket to the Future*. There is a need to “identify and address barriers to participation in culture services” (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.59) since “many residents within the city are unable to access arts and culture opportunities due to limitations” (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.50). These obstacles refer to both accessing arts and culture events, as consumers, where affordability is a potential barrier, as well as accessing arts and culture programming, where location in the city and timing can also be barriers to access. Addressing obstacles and “improving access to cultural initiatives in order to increase participation” (p.50) is important since “participation in the arts at the community level has many demonstrated and documented social and economic benefits” (p.49).

Social benefits include “strengthening bonds between people, families and communities and the city at large” (p.28). There is also a desire to foster and “promote social development and inclusion” (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.59) Ultimately the city wants to “work collaboratively to develop an inclusive built environment that fosters social cohesion” (p.43). This is critical since Winnipeg is recognized as “one of the most culturally diverse cities in Canada” (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.30). As such, arts programming “should cater to different age demographics, gender, economic, and ethnic backgrounds in order to leverage the cultural capital of Winnipeg’s diverse populations and communities” (2011, p.51).

The examples from the planning documents show aspirations towards bridging divides between classes and cultures in Winnipeg. This creative city-making value is identified through the arts as well as in the city's desire to "pursue opportunities to make access to, and participation in, the arts more affordable and equitable" (p.85) with the goal of "fostering an inclusive and equitable community" (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.75). Libraries represent a physical place where class and cultural divides can be bridged. Libraries provide spaces that "support and develop cultural activities that extend and enrich personal and community development" (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.85) and "promote cross-cultural and intergenerational opportunities for arts activities and learning" (p.85). When thinking about the future of libraries, the city continued to demonstrate a commitment to participation stating that community interests would be included in both the development of programming and library infrastructure planning (p.60). Library programming must include "access to information and participation in the local cultural community" (p.62).

Access and participation in the arts is understood as "essential for developing a capacity for community diversity and expression" (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.15). Community diversity is recognized as another one of Winnipeg's creative city strengths, as *OurWinnipeg* asserts:

"Locally, our sense of community and cultural diversity make Winnipeg a great place to live, work and play - especially for artists. The arts and creative industries contribute significantly to enhancing our economy, fostering connections and our city's sustainability" (2011b, p.83)

Diversity is viewed as both a creative city strength and an asset. Although Winnipeg has a diverse population, when talking about diversity, planning documents primarily focus on Aboriginal Winnipeggers. Winnipeg has a large Filipino population for example, but the only plan to highlight this fact was the *Economic Development Strategy*. Winnipeg also has large French Canadian, and Métis populations, but these groups are not highlighted in the same way as the Aboriginal community. *OurWinnipeg* defines this community as “the vibrant, diverse people who make up the larger Aboriginal community enrich and enliven the social fabric of Winnipeg: they remain vital to its economic and cultural future” (2011b, p. 76). Winnipeg’s *Economic Development Strategy* also associates the city’s Aboriginal population and economic development:

“given that the Aboriginal population is rapidly growing and is comparatively younger, it is essential that the city look to provide equal opportunities in terms of education and employment to the population; as a means of improving social equity (and) accessing the creativity of the youthful and diverse population” (2015, p.20).

The *Economic Development Strategy* states that “a lack of engagement from the entire population misses the opportunity to leverage the latent areas of creativity in the population which may drive greater global competitiveness for the community” (2015, p.43). A culture-centric perspective on creativity in the Aboriginal community is adopted by *Ticket to the Future Phase 2*. The cultural planning document describes Aboriginal artists as having “played an important part in increasing the profile of Winnipeg’s vibrant arts and culture scene” (2011, p.30). New immigrants are mentioned, only briefly, as “one of the greatest areas for new audience development for arts and culture organizations” (p.30). In addition, it is thought that “these groups have a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic

and cultural groups (and) encouraging these groups to contribute and to define Winnipeg's art scene is essential to continuing to flourish while creating a more welcoming and inclusive city" (p.30).

4.3 Harness & Employ Creativity

In the Winnipeg context, this category in the Creative City Index focuses thematically on economic development and marketing.

Connectivity & Competition

In terms of explicit creativity, "the *OurWinnipeg* consultations generated a significant number of comments pushing forward the agenda of Winnipeg becoming a creative city, one which provides a good quality of life for residents and competes directly with other Canadian and global cities" (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.17). *Sustainable Winnipeg* reinforces this statement by affirming: "Winnipeggers have stated that they want a competitive city...that celebrates its unique status as a centre for arts and culture" (2011c, p.12). In Winnipeg, there is a connection being made between competition and creativity - which aligns with the creative city brand perspective. Focusing on attracting talent to the city seems to reflect the creative city ideology espoused by Richard Florida identified in the literature review - remaking the city to reflect the values of the creative class. However, Landry's Creative City Index provides the space and flexibility for this connection to emerge.

Competition means the city is "not just competing for investment...we are also competing with other cities to attract and maintain a dynamic, skilled labour force" (p.24).

The labour force implied here, by definition, sounds like the creative class. As such *OurWinnipeg* highlights the importance of “think(ing) ahead of the curve, nurturing the knowledge and creative economies in order to provide ever-evolving opportunities for our residents and for those considering making Winnipeg their home” (2011b, p.14). When thinking ‘ahead of the curve’ about future residents, there is a need to “find ways to make the city attractive to them, because we want even more young and talented people choosing careers in Winnipeg and settling here” (p.41). Creativity is also a growth agenda in Winnipeg, with the creative class a target audience. However, the city is also seeking to preserve its existing creative community by “retaining creative people trained in Winnipeg and attracting the same from other cities, provinces, and countries” (*Ticket to the Future*, 2011, p.52).

Winnipeg’s *Economic Development Strategy* indicates: “whether (the) competition is global or domestic, the most successful regions in regards to talent attraction (and subsequently retention) are those that can offer a diverse and vibrant *quality of life*” (2015, p.9, emphasis added). *OurWinnipeg* overtly makes the connection between competition and quality of life by stating that that “our city needs to offer a high quality of life in order to be competitive” (2011b, p. 72). This means there is a recognition that Winnipeg is competing “on a global scale, for economic development and to create a city that offers...(the) quality of life that current citizens expect and that prospective citizens will value” (p.2). Offering a high quality of life includes “being a creative city with vibrant arts and culture” (p.3) which is critical since “the more globally-oriented competition for talent demands that a place have (a) full range of high quality services and also the assets and

amenities that can differentiate it from other global competitors” (*Economic Development Strategy*, 2015, p. 40).

There is a recognition in Winnipeg that “cities across the world are relying on (the connection between creativity and place) in order to strengthen the qualities that make them distinctive - for those unique qualities are what make cities attractive, and ultimately, competitive” (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.21). From Winnipeg’s perspective, a key aspect of being competitive on the world stage means “economically, we need to not only support local arts and culture, but export it to the rest of world” (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.83) with the goal of “advancing Winnipeg’s international reputation as a City of the Arts” (p.83). Evidently, Winnipeg is interested in marketing itself as creative, including ‘promoting awareness of the richness of Winnipeg’s arts and culture within and outside of Winnipeg’ (p.86). It is important to note that the City is simply continuing to build on its creative reputation since, “Winnipeg is internationally renowned for its artistic and creative innovation and diversity” (p.83). This observation in *OurWinnipeg* is stated as a fact, without evidence to substantiate the claim.

Indeed, Winnipeg enjoys an almost mythical reputation as a creative place. In a 2011 Maclean’s article entitled *New York, Paris, Berlin...Winnipeg?* the success of the art’s and culture scene in Winnipeg is described as being based upon both the “personality of place” and internationally exported “art stars” putting Winnipeg in the eyes of foreign publics. Couple that with a city focused on nurturing the local creative scene and you may have a recipe for success. There is some balance between communicating about arts and culture to both internal and external audiences. *Ticket to the Future Phase 2* declares that “increasing the awareness and profile of arts and culture with the community (will) increase

participation and recognize the value of, and support, professional artists” (2011, p.17). There is a sense of the value of nurturing creativity on the ground first, and supporting the local creative economy in terms of what is exported to the world. As identified in the literature review, a common use of arts and culture in the conventional creative city involves sharing a city’s creative identity with the world. Winnipeg appears to be following this trend.

Winnipeg is also looking to “foster and promote a positive and welcoming global image of the city” (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.50). The goal of continuing to “promote arts and culture” (*Complete Communities*, 2011a, p.7), supported in varying capacities by all five municipal planning documents, recognizes “the arts and creative industries as fundamental to the economy of the city” (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.42). *Ticket to the Future Phase 2* goes on to say that “the City of Winnipeg should embrace the benefits of its renowned cultural and creative sectors, and develop strategies to support those sectors at the local, national and international levels” (p.52). In terms of local support, the city acknowledges the urban context and the varying needs, stating it will “support a wide range of cultural facilities and services that reflect community diversity” (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.85). This statement also indicates an understanding of urban complexity - a creative city-making value.

Interventions in the city must be culturally-appropriate for the needs of the people the intervention is serving. In terms of promoting Winnipeg’s brand of arts and culture internationally, the city will enhance and showcase Winnipeg’s unique public assets, amenities and attractions (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.51) and “work with development and promotion agencies to create and aggressively market unique and sustainable entertainment,

arts and culture” (*Complete Communities*, 2011a, p.26). Along with *Complete Communities*, *Sustainable Winnipeg* and *Winnipeg’s Economic Development Strategy* both identify marketing as a planning tool. It is identified by *Sustainable Winnipeg* as an “awareness tool” for promoting the city’s planning objectives (2011c, p.30).

An objective in *Winnipeg’s Economic Development Strategy* is to “market the city’s assets in the arts, culture...to creative and skilled workers, and visitors from Canada and across the world” (2015, p.74). Both documents are building off the strategic directives from *OurWinnipeg* - harnessing what already exists in the city along with what the city wants to become. Winnipeg aspires to be known as a “City of the Arts” and it is important to note, that Winnipeg is already a city of the arts. Winnipeg is known as the “Cultural Cradle of Canada”, and “within Winnipeg, the arts and creative industries already employ 6.3% of the City’s total labour force, which is the equivalent to 25,000 people. When compared to other industries in the city, this exceeds the number of people employed in transportation and warehousing, and construction” (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.26). The city is simply seeking to harness, and exercise, its artistic reputation.

Entrepreneurship

The importance of the creative economy in Winnipeg is both acknowledged and supported. First, the creative economy is defined as “driven by thoughts, ideas, innovation, collaboration and technology” (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.23). Winnipeg’s creative industries contribute approximately 4% to the city’s GDP (PRA Research and Consulting 2009, in *OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.15). This figure is comparable to Toronto, where creative industries also contribute approximately 4% to the city’s GDP annually

(City of Toronto, 2011). Although there is an established connection between creativity and economic development in Winnipeg, there is evidence to support the view that a culture-centric perspective has been adopted. There is, as highlighted in the previous paragraph, acknowledgement of the importance of local arts support and that, “while arts are commerce, they revitalize cities not through their bottom line but through their ability to build social capital” (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.32). *OurWinnipeg* asserts: “while new business investment to Winnipeg is important, the primary source of economic growth will be our local economy” (2011b, p.48). The city is dedicated to “grow(ing) support for creative industries and entrepreneurs” (p.86) by focusing on the development and “support (of) the hard and soft infrastructure which sustains Winnipeg’s creative industries and activities” (p.86).

Winnipeg seeks to nurture and expand upon its existing local creative industries, while developing “policies that recruit and maintain a creative workforce” (p.86). Interestingly, the creative economy is not as prominent a component of Winnipeg’s *Economic Development Strategy* as was initially thought. The plan acknowledges creative industries as one of the city’s key economic strengths (p.22) and reinforces *OurWinnipeg’s* vision of “a higher share of employment and productivity in local industries and labour force, and greater support for the creative industries and workers that drive innovation in the community” (*Economic Development Strategy*, 2015, p.79). While there is little more on creativity explicitly, *innovation* is discussed in more detail.

Innovation

Innovation emerged as a minor or supporting concept within the planning documents. Whereas other minor themes were discarded or dismantled and woven into other areas, innovation is a fundamental creative term. *OurWinnipeg* references innovation as it relates to the desires of Winnipeggers who “want a competitive city...that encourages innovation” (2011b, p.49). *Ticket to the Future* connects innovation with the creative economy while *OurWinnipeg* and the *Economic Development Strategy* broadly touch on collaboration, explored in the next section, as a support of innovation. *Complete Communities* and *Sustainable Winnipeg* discuss innovation in a direct and tangible way. Both plans touch on the potential use of pilot or demonstration projects, which can be understood as a tangible manifestation of innovation. If innovation is the product of creativity, this area could be explored more explicitly and play a larger role within the planning documents.

4.4 Enable & Support Creativity

One of the key aspects of creative city-making is the commitment to transforming the way the city operates, breaking down silos, thinking laterally and being flexible and adaptable. This section is broken into two categories: the political and public framework, and strategic leadership and vision. The focus that emerged in this section is on governance. The main themes running through this category, which largely focuses on creative processes rather than the impacts of creativity, are: collaboration, integration and sustainability.

The Political & Public Framework

Throughout the planning documents in Winnipeg, there is an expressed desire to evolve the way the city operates. *Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, the cultural action plan for Winnipeg, provides one textbook definition for creative city-making:

“cities need to re-think the way they plan and act towards the cultivation of sustainable and diverse urban cultural life. Addressing this challenge requires the cross-pollination of ideas, an open mindset towards risk taking, creation of strategic partnerships and alliances, and compelling solutions that bridge the many traditional silos of city building” (2011, p.8).

Transforming how the city operates, understood from a creative-city making perspective, requires adopting a new approach. Winnipeg is at a point in its planning culture evolution where it seems ready to embrace this transformation. The cross-pollination of ideas occurs through a willingness to collaborate. Throughout *OurWinnipeg*, the city consistently references the importance of collaboration, stating that “the city is committed to collaborating within its mandate with other governments and service providers” (2011b, p.3) recognizing that working with senior levels of government is critical “to the overall competitiveness of the city and to the personal well-being of citizens” (p.3). Specifically, as it relates to creativity, the city describes its role and vision as: “working with partners, the city fosters creativity and expression by supporting the conditions and infrastructure that allow for a diversity of artistic and cultural practices” (p.83). In addition, collaboration means “partners can take advantage of infrastructure and intellectual capital already in

place, while at the same time addressing gaps which exist” (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.53).

Complete Communities states that the city will: “collaborate with all stakeholders through a front-end approach to planning developments” (2011a, p.66) and that “the collaborative implementation of OurWinnipeg will be inclusive, transparent, accessible and meaningful to everyone” (p.3). Lofty goals perhaps, but these examples highlight the willingness of the city to engage and share the work of city-building. *Sustainable Winnipeg* succinctly describes the potential benefits of partnerships as “building capacity towards common and mutually beneficial community objectives by pooling the City’s skills and resources with those agencies, stakeholders, senior government levels, private investors and citizens” (2011c, p.31). Collaboration extends to many aspects of city governance, including relationships with urban Aboriginal communities. The city intends to “collaborate with Aboriginal communities to enhance current practices and policies and respect cultural differences” (p.76). In the Winnipeg context, collaboration appears to work in conjunction with integration. Although immigrants are hailed within the documents as a great strength in Winnipeg, in terms of collaboration, immigrant communities are not specifically mentioned as potential partners.

The city is working to “ensure effective implementation efforts through integration, partnerships and collaboration across the city of Winnipeg organizational structure and with external organizations” (p. 27). This integrated and lateral approach to governance extends to city planning methods as well as being highlighted in the city’s intention to “apply a fully integrated planning approach” (p.26). An integrated planning approach means that “land use and social planning processes have been conducted in concert,

interweaving the principles and components of each discipline together while also resting on the three pillars of economic, environmental and social sustainability” (p.66). Although there is the expressed desire to “explore opportunities to integrate art and culture into City operations” (p.85), culture is not viewed in *OurWinnipeg* as one of the pillars of sustainability. This idea is explored in Section 4.7.

Sustainability is a prominent theme throughout *OurWinnipeg* with the city looking to “imbed sustainability into internal discussions and actions and into public programs and policies to create a solid foundation for advancing sustainability on a city-wide basis” (2011b, p.65). Winnipeg is looking to operationalize sustainability. Sustainability is understood in *OurWinnipeg* as “part of how the city does business, and is reflected in policies and programs that respect and value the natural and built environments” (p.3). This perspective on sustainability focuses on urban development. Winnipeg also states it is determined to “demonstrate visionary civic leadership and commitment to sustainable long-term planning” (p.51). In this instance, sustainability is presented as an approach - something to be maintained over-time. In relation to creativity, the city has committed to making Winnipeg a “desired destination for artists and creative professionals” (p. 86). As such, *OurWinnipeg* has committed to both “explore and implement planning tools that make Winnipeg a more liveable and desirable place for artists and creative professionals” (p.86) and “recognize the importance of living, working and presentation spaces for professional artists and arts organizations and support strategies to enhance their sustainability” (p. 86).

Strategic Leadership & Vision

Sustainability also emerged as a significant theme within the planning documents in terms of a vision for the city as well as for how it operates. The vision for a sustainable future is credited to the *SpeakUpWinnipeg* process where the city “learned that Winnipeggers want their municipal government to be a leader, championing choices and opportunities to live in a sustainable way” (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.64). *Sustainable Winnipeg* states: “citizens look to their governments to provide and demonstrate leadership, incorporating the values of the community into all aspects of their service provision...leadership in sustainability is no different” (2011c, p.16). As such, the city has committed to “taking a lead role in creating a sustainable community” (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.63) meaning Winnipeg “should operate based on the principles of sustainability” (p.48), which “requires a new approach” (p.64).

Operationalizing sustainability involves a different mindset. Winnipeg is proposing a cultural shift or transformation in the way the city traditionally does business, both internally and externally. *Sustainable Winnipeg* envisions developing “a culture of sustainability within the City’s public service” (2011c, p.7) and to “embed sustainable thinking and action into the City of Winnipeg’s operations” (p.17). According to Winnipeg’s *Economic Development Strategy*, this approach positions the city as “a corporate role model for social, environmental and economic sustainability” (2015, p. 26). To ensure follow-through, *Complete Communities* proposes the use of sustainability indicators to “help the city of Winnipeg clarify progress in its attainment of social/cultural, economic and environmental sustainability” (2011a, p.152). This holistic perspective aligns well with the integrated approach to municipal planning highlighted previously.

An aspect of sustainability, according to Winnipeg's sustainability agenda, includes acknowledging Winnipeg as a "City of the Arts" and a recognition of "artistic and cultural expression as a key component of sustainable and complete communities" (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.84). *Ticket to the Future Phase 2* reflects this desire with the goal of "strengthening the arts and cultural sector and elevating its role in sustainable city building" (2011, p.8). A sustainable "City of the Arts has communities that have the capacity to express themselves. This capacity is built through opportunities to learn, share, participate in and produce arts and culture" (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.83). Winnipeg seeks to "encourage creativity and excellence in all aspects of cultural activities" (p.84) while working to establish "Winnipeg as the city of choice for artists and creative industries" (p.83).

Building a sustainable City of the Arts "requires a multi-faceted approach aimed at recognizing and promoting Winnipeg's artistic assets, improving quality of life, recognizing and celebrating diversity, strengthening the economy, and creating a strong sense of place" (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.22). There is an acknowledgement that supporting creativity in Winnipeg could mean moving past traditional notions of the arts and embracing, implicitly, creative city-making and connecting with a holistic and collaborative approach to city building; one that inter-weaves creativity with other aspects of urban development. Once creativity is "systematically embedded in the operation and life of our city...we will have truly grown into the legacy we've inherited as a City of the Arts" (p.7).

In terms of municipal governance, a creative focus was explicitly recognized in the city's *Economic Development Strategy*. In this document, a creative focus means "the

development and application of innovative and efficient municipal structures and activities that are sustainable over the longer-term (*Economic Development Strategy*, 2015, p.79). Not only does Winnipeg's *Economic Development Strategy* touch on creativity in governance, it also makes the connection between creativity and sustainability. As identified in the literature review, sustainability is at the heart of creative city-making. Winnipeg's *Economic Development Strategy* also aligns with a culture-centric, creative city-making focus because of the desire to entrench creativity into city processes.

OurWinnipeg also expresses an interest to “explore opportunities to integrate art and culture into City operations” (2011b, p.85). This interest is reinforced in *Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, which states a need for “integrating arts and culture into our city’s planning and practices” (2011, p.7) as well as a need for the city to adopt a culture-centric perspective by “integrating culture into the municipal decision-making process” (p.17). There is a demonstrated aspiration to incorporate creativity into city governance structures and commitment to exploring how this could work. However, this commitment to integrating creativity into city-making processes could be taken further, as will be discussed in section 4.7.

4.5 Live & Express Creativity

Key characteristics of the creative city-making approach include the ability to be flexible, adaptable and open to change as well as recognition of context and urban complexity. Once these elements are understood, they can be built upon.

Place

OurWinnipeg is described as an Integrated Community Sustainability Plan (2011b, p.64), where the implementation of the *OurWinnipeg* and companion planning documents work together and must be “responsive and adaptable” (p.51) to the dynamics of the city. Winnipeg demonstrates both a focus on context and urban complexity by being a “city that acknowledges and embraces its complex history” (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.22) and embracing tailor-made or context-specific planning approaches. The urban structure planning approach adopted by the City “recognizes the uniqueness of different neighbourhoods and provides the basis for fitting policies and strategies to the specific development opportunities and limitations in each area of the city...(this) provides a way to focus change in places where it has positive social, economic and environmental results” (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.31). By focusing on context, the city recognizes that a city-wide, one-size-fits-all approach to planning will not work. Winnipeg’s approach to city-making “requires unique policies for different parts of the city” (p.33).

Complete Communities supports this context-specific perspective by stating that planning must “recognize and appreciate Winnipeg’s unique physical attributes in order to respectfully integrate new development into the existing urban fabric” (2011a, p.129). This flexible and responsive approach is useful for a city “that can be historically described as a community of communities...made up of many distinct and unique neighbourhoods” (*Sustainable Winnipeg*, 2011c, p.29). There is an appreciation for context that exists in Winnipeg that suggests complementing, and working with, what exists in a place rather than imposing a generic planning approach. As such, when development occurs, “it should

be contextually suitable and enhance and celebrate what makes an area unique” (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.39).

Along with being defined as a “City of the Arts” Winnipeg is also identified as “a prairie city, a winter city, a sunshine city and a river city” (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.6). However, there is little connection between this understanding of Winnipeg and planning policies that speak to these city attributes. *Complete Communities* notes: “by applying planning and design approaches that respond to our unique climate, Winnipeg can mitigate some of the discomfort and inconveniences of winter” (2011a, p.5). Interestingly, in a self-defined winter city, winter is regarded as something to be ‘mitigated’ (and not celebrated, which might be a more creative stance). Geographical assets, including “Winnipeg’s central location in North America” (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.6), and those characteristics that physically define Winnipeg, are not deeply elaborated upon within the planning documents. There is a ‘disconnect’ with how planning will build upon these unique assets.

However, as this category of creativity has shown, *unique* was a common term used in the planning documents to describe Winnipeg. Contemporary Winnipeg is described as “a unique and special place” (p.11) and having a “unique, multi-layered and diverse sense of place” (*Complete Communities*, 2011a, p.132). In describing Winnipeg, *Ticket to the Future Phase 2* asserts that:

“each city has its own personality and temperament; Winnipeg is no different. Our artistic expression is irrevocably affected by the things we share: a history, a landscape, a climate. It is no surprise that with the *uniqueness* of Winnipeg, our arts and artists emerge as distinct and vibrant” (2011, p.22, emphasis added).

Evidently, there is an “indelible connection between art and place” (p.22) and this connection is the genesis of context-specific creativity. The term *unique*, suggests or reveals the parameters that define the creativity and creative potential of a place. It has also been noted in the Harness & Exploit category, that leveraging Winnipeg’s “unique qualities” (p.20), can provide a “competitive advantage” (*Economic Development Strategy*, 2015, p.47) alongside other cities. Consequently, there is a correlation between creativity and competition in the Winnipeg context. There is also a correlation between competition and quality of life.

Quality of Life

As illustrated in the context and competition sub-theme, Winnipeg has made a clear connection with being a competitive city through offering a high quality of life; a concept explored predominately by Richard Florida in his creative city work. *OurWinnipeg* explicitly states that by “reinvesting in a high quality of life, Winnipeg will secure its status as a resilient, sustainable and competitive city” (2011b, p.49). This also highlights the interplay between quality of life and creating a sustainable city since “social, environmental and economic sustainability are essential to Winnipeg’s long-term well-being” (p.64). *OurWinnipeg* also makes the explicit connection between creativity and quality of life by making creativity a sub-theme in the quality of life section of the document. A more “focused approach to supporting important quality of life factors” (*Economic Development Strategy*, 2015, p. 26) includes “the development of a creative city” (p.26). Not surprisingly, there is a disconnect between what a creative city is in the context of *OurWinnipeg*, *Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, and Winnipeg’s *Economic Development Strategy*. The economic development approach mentions the creative city only once in the entire document, and

frames it as something that needs to be created as opposed to something that already is reflected in Winnipeg.

According to *OurWinnipeg*, Winnipeg considers itself “a city that values its artists and creative industries for their contributions to our quality of life” (2011b, p. 15). *Ticket to the Future Phase 2* states that “Winnipeg has a history of fostering and supporting the arts, and its reputation as a hotbed of culture is known across the country” (2011, p.63) and “achieving recognition as the Cultural Capital of Canada in 2010 is a testament to Winnipeg’s track record of support for the arts as well as its vision for the future” (p.63). *Sustainable Winnipeg* aims to “take leadership in supporting the significant contributions of culture and the arts to Winnipeg’s quality of life” (2011c, p. 19). In addition, and perhaps not surprisingly, sustainability is also identified as “being related to the quality of life in a community - the economic, social and environmental systems that make up the community provide a healthy, productive, meaningful life for all community residents, present and future” (p.4).

A culture-centric perspective approach to city building identifies place as “inherently tied to our expressions of culture, and correspondingly, expressions of culture are inherently tied to a place. It is an approach to urban planning and design that recognizes all city building processes as fundamental to defining our quality of life” (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.34). As such, “culture is an essential part of our daily lives and overall well being as a city” (p.20). Culture is championed here as a critical component of city building and a defining attribute to the quality of life in a place. Although quality of life appears to be an important theme represented in the planning documents and a critical element in city building, *OurWinnipeg* does not have a mandate to implement this section

of the plan (2011b, p.72). Interestingly, this is where the “creativity” sub-topic is found. Creativity is important enough to mention, but the city is not required to follow-through; progress would “require further discussion and strategic planning with other levels of government and community stakeholders” (p.72). This step is proposed in Section 4.7.

Placemaking

Placemaking in Winnipeg was not explicitly identified in all of the municipal planning documents. Both the *Economic Development Strategy* and *Sustainable Winnipeg* speak to aspects of placemaking without connecting with this concept explicitly. The economic development approach seeks to connect and lend support “community and neighbourhood level organizations” (*Economic Development Strategy*, 2015, p.44) engaging with community revitalization efforts. *Sustainable Winnipeg* discusses the importance of making “vibrant and safe neighbourhoods” (2011c, p.7) but does not push this further, to make a clear connection to making these places with community members. *Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, discusses placemaking and its connection with the arts by asserting, “there has always been a strong connection between cities and culture and these include rich linkages between the arts and placemaking...and community building in an increasingly complex environment” (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.8).

The arts are understood as a way for communities to assert their identity as well. *OurWinnipeg* recognizes this and, when thinking of city-making, the City will work “in partnership with communities, (to) create environments that reflect their distinct artistic and cultural values” (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.85). There is a clear dedication to focusing on local populations. As such, placemaking must also include a culture-centric perspective

which “demands consideration of, and integration with, that which is most local: stories, landscapes and streetscapes” (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.35). The arts are to “be supported on a local scale in order to create places that have meaning, that reflect a way of life” (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.36). City-building can also support the arts through developing “a critical mix of uses, pedestrian places and spaces...on a local scale. With these elements in place, creativity and spontaneity will, over time, increase artistic expression, therefore advancing distinctiveness and sense of place” (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.36).

Complete Communities apparently disconnects from such a placemaking focus. Instead, the document simply declares that, “placemaking will be supported by high standards of urban design (and) incorporate public art” (2011a, p.27). There is no recognition of the importance of community in this process. *OurWinnipeg* and *Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, fill this gap however by stating a “public art policy should be championed and supported as a tool for placemaking and community identity” (2011b, p.84; 2011, p.46). Ultimately, Winnipeg demonstrates an understanding that “the arts and culture are strongly tied to place. Art informs and empowers our understanding of Winnipeg as a place” (*Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, 2011, p.22).

4.6 Creative Identity & Potential

Looking at the findings from the municipal planning documents, it could be said that Winnipeg has an existing Creative City ecosystem; the findings indicate creativity is evident throughout the four main creative city index categories. Some areas of the creative categories are more strongly represented by some documents than others; in terms of

creativity, not all documents were created equal. However, there is a clear interplay and relationship between all five planning documents, and although there are strengths and weaknesses within the documents, there are few gaps within the creative city-making categories overall. Creative city-making strengths in Winnipeg can be synthesized as: holistic, inclusive/participatory, collaborative, promoted and contextual. Culture-centric creativity can be found, to varying degrees, woven throughout the five planning documents. But there are connections with Floridian versions of creativity as well. There is a clear focus and aspiration to nurture and draw on the strengths of the city's diverse populations through the planning process.

The city is clearly determined to collaborate with local communities, various levels of government and across municipal departments, to break down silos and work together to shape Winnipeg. The integral approach taken to the creation of the planning documents was evident in the analysis. Each document references *OurWinnipeg* as a touchstone, connecting with and enriching the themes found within that foundational document. As the creative categories in this chapter have shown, there are many layers to creativity and taking a holistic approach to creativity is a daunting task. It is much larger in scale than simply arts and culture. Creativity is complex. Becoming a creative city is a multifaceted inter-change between place, people, history, culture, identity and context. It is much deeper than simply claiming to be a creative city and soliciting buy-in from community members.

Context matters; Winnipeg shows a clear connection between community values and what gets built. It appears Winnipeggers are integrated into city-making processes in a meaningful way. What is interesting is that the desire to become a creative city emerged from the community consultation process; it was not a concept imposed upon the city. As

such, it can be said that the brand “buy-in” already exists; creativity has already been expressed as an aspiration by community members. A city’s brand, creative or otherwise must be a community-driven process. The unprecedented level of and dedication to community participation processes in Winnipeg, and the clear connection to city-building, is a major creative city strength that could be incorporated at the front end of any creative city branding process.

It is important to note that the city already has an established arts and culture scene. As such, branding Winnipeg as a “City of the Arts” is genuine, rooted in the existing identity of the city and supported by local residents. An analysis of creativity in Winnipeg also highlights how planning can work to address those creative city issues identified in the literature review. Florida’s observation - that the creative city may increase social problems – was addressed from a culture-centric approach to the creative city. From a planning perspective we see, through an examination of Winnipeg, that creative city-making can actually identify and attempt to address social issues and gaps, while working to foster social cohesion and promote inclusion. However, for Winnipeg to push its existing creative city identity forward, further refinement is required.

4.7 Policy Perspectives & Recommendations

Section 4.6 focused on the thematic synthesis and analysis of the creativity categories extrapolated from the five selected planning documents. This section provides a graphic representation of how the documents stacked up within the coding categories and highlights where emphasis and neglect exists within the policies. Figure 9 (below) the Radial Diagram - is a quantitative representation, and should be viewed separate from the

synthesis in the previous section. Each plan is colour-coded with data from each creativity category represented. More details in terms of constructing the radial diagram can be found in Section 2.5. This diagram indicates that more attention could be paid to Entrepreneurship and Talent Development, for example, a subcategory of Harness & Employ Creativity. All the planning documents touch on this subject area, but far less when compared with the other three creativity categories. Although this thesis examined Winnipeg from a culture-centric creative city-making perspective aspects of Florida's version of the creative city are evident within the planning documents.

Florida's ideas are quite prevalent in Winnipeg's *Economic Development Strategy* - there is a direct reference to a "spiky world", a Floridian idea that highlights economic growth patterns (2012). He goes on to say it's those cities that can effectively attract creative/talented individuals that are likely to succeed. The economic development perspective in Winnipeg has broadly adopted this Floridian idea. In addition, and as indicated in the previous section from this chapter, livability, quality of life and quality of place are directly linked to the abilities within these qualities to make the city more competitive. Linking innovation with the creative economy is another Floridian connection. In fact, Winnipeg's *Economic Development Strategy* dedicates five paragraphs to provide an overview of Florida's work. Supporting the creative economy is not a negative thing. However, it is important to reiterate that this is only one aspect of a city's creative identity.

The permeation of conventional creative city concepts espoused by Florida has, in a way, restricted "the meaning of creativity to the arts and activities within the creative economy professions" (Landry, 2008, p. xlix).

Radial Diagram

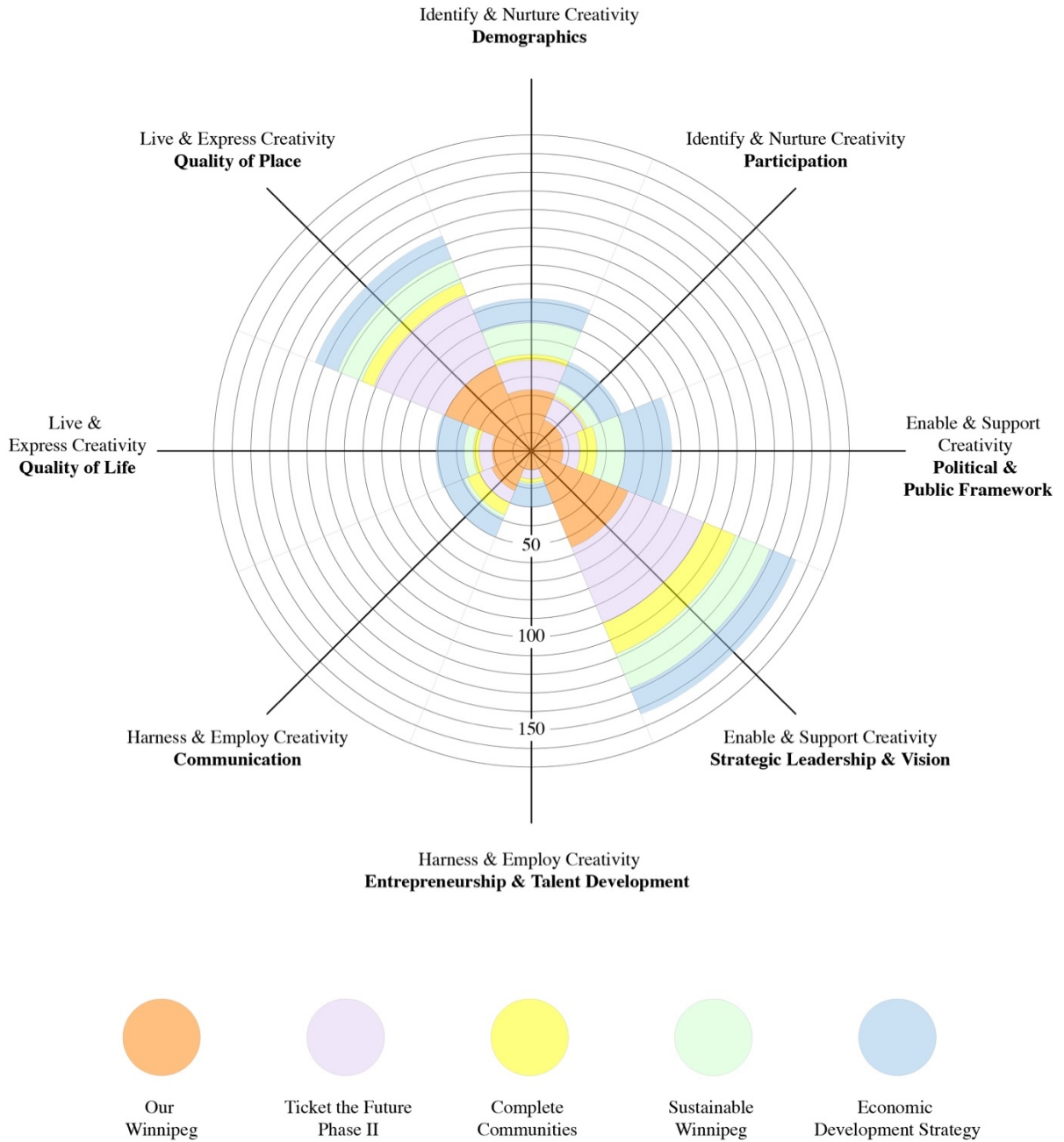


Figure 9: Policy data collated from the five planning documents showing policy strengths as well as gaps, per document and per category.

His ideas are evident within talent development as well. In terms of policy adoption, this thesis advocates for a more comprehensive understanding of creativity, moving beyond those conventional notions of the creative city brand and to imbed a culture of creativity into city-making processes. This is not to say Florida's creative city ideas could not be incorporated, however, they must be thought of critically in relation to the creative city story and identity that Winnipeg is actively working to cultivate. As Tripp & Romein state, "the creative city policy should build "organically" on what is already there, rather than on a tabula rasa. This, in turn, means it should be city-specific rather than based on duplication of best practices, or, in the words of Pratt (2011, p.123), "situated and not universal" (2013, p. 2495). Landry reiterates this idea as well: "the challenge for the creative city is to get beyond best practice and operate at the cutting edge. Adopting a best practice reduces the learning curve, but there is a danger of simply imitating tried and tested formulas without assessing what is relevant for the city given its peculiarities" (2008, p.131).

Another category which may warrant attention is the participation subcategory, specifically as it relates to *Complete Communities*. Participation processes could also be woven into *Compete Communities* - a document that talks about communities but does not include people, as is evident in Figure 9. The document references *Speakup Winnipeg* - and states it will include citizens "up front in the planning process", which is vague. If this is the only way in which citizen's voices are included in the spatial conversations, generally, more work could be done to better weave people into the spatial planning process. A creative governance model could help support this idea. Winnipeg's strongest creativity category, content wise, from the five documents analyzed is within within the Strategic Leadership and Vision Category, a subcategory found under Enable and Support Creativity.

There is a clear holistic drive to evolve the governance structure in Winnipeg to become more creative, with *OurWinnipeg* and *Ticket to the Future Phase 2* leading the way.

A creative governance model or approach, to evolve citizen engagement could be explored by the city in more detail. Creative governance policies could enable the city to become more integrated and participatory. A creative policy example cited by Landry about Calgary could apply to the Winnipeg context and support taking citizen participation to the next level. Calgary's "Community Standards" process includes citizens in the by-law creation process; this participatory approach has increased compliance with by-laws, and is an innovative example of community engagement (Landry, 2015). Another example of creativity in governance comes from Dublin, Ireland. This is a city cited by both Landry and Florida as utilizing creative approaches. Florida refers to an economic development method - citing the city's recruitment efforts extending tax breaks beyond the traditional business sector to include artists, musicians, authors and actors (2012, p.342). Landry also draws attention to policies supporting artists through the extension of long-term leases to artists in city-owned properties in the heart of the city's gentrifying cultural quarter (2008, p125). This may be an important consideration for Winnipeg as the Exchange District as well as the rest downtown, continues to be developed. Dublin is also cited as a city with progressive community consultation approaches.

In his 2009 Fulbright Report, *Re-Designing Dublin in public: Towards an open-source urbanism*, Kristian F. Kofoed reviews Dublin City Council's approaches to public engagement to "better harness the creativity of their citizens" (I. Wight, personal communication, March 28, 2010). Kofoed references the creative city discourses of both Landry and Florida; Florida's *intentional* creative city approach, which seeks to attract and

retain creative individuals, and Landry's approach embracing the need for creativity and flexibility in planning processes (2009). He indicates that "Dublin is participating in a growing recognition that planning resources exist in the creativity of citizens themselves and in other disciplines outside of the bounds of conventional planning" (Kofoed, 2009, p. 9). Through a conscious effort on the city's part, Dublin "could be a leader among cities using 'open-source' urbanism to engage its creative citizens" (p. 14). The author weaves together three new engagement initiatives in Dublin that "embody a new and exciting metaphor for urban governance - a local planning authority becomes a new kind of architectural firm, a firm whose practice is the art of conversations" (p. 14). The planning authority re-imagined as a design firm would include "a learning laboratory...an exhibition and seminar space...and a project consultancy" (p. 19).

In this model, the planning authority relinquishes power to a "multi-agency organization (designed) for participatory cooperation" (p.21) with citizens. This organization then engages and reports to the city where "the local government should implement solutions that it did not create and may not completely agree with" (p.21). This transformation in governance, the adoption of a more "21st century" approach to engagement, is a way for the city to remain relevant to citizens and to evolve more innovative approaches to participation in city planning projects. This example from Dublin provides a concrete example of a transformative approach to creative governance and is a model that could be explored (in more detail) in Winnipeg.

For planning policies in Winnipeg to evolve through a creative city-making paradigm, the soft infrastructure of the city must also be articulated and envisioned. Soft infrastructure, described briefly in the literature review, refers to intangible assets such as

atmosphere, how community members feel about their city and how a city feels (from a holistic perspective: economically, spatially, culturally, environmentally and socially) as well as the “system of associative structures and social networks, connections and human interactions, that underpins and encourages the flow of ideas between individuals and institutions” (Landry, 2008, p.133). When traditional planning is “organized along functional lines, such as housing, parks, health...other dimensions, which may be the things that ‘really matter’ such as the responsibility for the overall atmosphere or social networking and bonding are often no-one’s responsibility” (Landry, 2012a, p.53). Winnipeg may have been successful in developing an integrated planning approach through the *OurWinnipeg* planning process, creating plans concurrently to ensure they are interconnected and reinforce one another, however, they are still organized along those traditional ‘functional’ lines.

As Landry predicts, in the case of Winnipeg, when “issues of urban atmosphere do not fall into the responsibility of any one department” (2008, p. xlv), they are ignored. Atmosphere is a key quality revolving around perceptions of place, an idea that Florida discusses in his Creative City work as well. Landry continues: “cities take aspects that shape the atmosphere, such as safety concerns...and deal with these in isolation” (p. xlv). Indeed, safety is the one aspect of atmosphere that Winnipeg touches on. It seems as though the weakness here is two-fold relating both to soft infrastructure, “making the invisible visible” (Landry, 2012, p.38) and governance structure.

Soft infrastructure is the like connective tissue in the Creative City; it holds places together. If one aspect of good creative city-making is to understand urbanity, as Landry asserts, the contemporary urban condition is one where planners and planning policy must

make the space for and take into account the atmosphere of the city - both the current condition and future atmospheric goals. This mindset, in-turn, could complement urban branding initiatives as it relates to the 'symbolic economy' as well as identity. In terms of a structural shift, this means expanding those traditional aspects of planning to incorporate those immaterial aspects of place. Landry provides an example from Naples Italy, where city has "an *assessorato all' identita*, a councillor for urban identity" (Landry, 2008, p.43, emphasis in the original), lending legitimacy and oversight to the identity of the city.

If Winnipeg considers its soft infrastructure, concepts about what it means to be a Prairie City, A Winter City, A City of the Arts could be woven into the planning process in a more concrete way. This could manifest by giving citizens a voice, articulating not just what they hope this city will become, but also what the city means to them. Planning then becomes the medium through which collective ideas about the city's identity are shared and given credibility. However, this is not to say that there will be consensus about which aspects of the city are celebrated and legitimized. The challenge for planners, as aforementioned, is to strike a balance with the multiplicity of stories that exist about a place from a diverse range of perspectives. The creative city-making approach proposes "that planners broaden their horizons and insights and become more imaginative in understanding the lived experience of the city. At the same time, the imagination and creativity of the wider public are encouraged." (Landry, 2008, p. xxxii).

Ideally, this is not a token gesture. The lived experience of the city then translates into meaningful additions to policy. This idea also connects back with creativity and bureaucracy which "includes a shift to involving users more and co-creating policies...a shift from hierarchical to network thinking, a breakdown of traditional disciplinary

boundaries, and cultural cross-fertilization” (Landry, 2008, p.45). Co-creating creative city policies could also address what Borén & Young (2013) describe as the ‘creative policy gap’ (p.1806) which involves “a lack of appreciation by policymakers of what those engaged in various forms of creative activities could bring to urban policy (e.g. a social artist’s knowledge of the dynamics of marginalized urban communities or a software engineer’s thoughts as to what might be influential when choosing a place to live)” (p.1806). This notion connects with meaningful community engagement. In an article discussing the creative city, Leonie Sandercock asserts, like Landry, the need for planning to embrace the 21st century, and to become more imaginative and creative “to deal with the changing socio-cultural as well as economic landscapes” (2005, p.101). An example she gives, for the planning profession and policies to evolve, is through artist/planner collaborations. This work involves “making space for creativity” (p. 101) to enable transformative and co-creative processes to take place.

More policy work can also be done within both *OurWinnipeg* and *Complete Communities*. As made evident by both the literature review and within the planning documents, quality matters. In the case of creative cities, there are expectations around the quality of life and place. Richard Florida states “cities are not just containers for smart people; they are the enabling infrastructure where connections take place” (2012, p.189). Both the econo-centric and culture-centric approaches agree that “place-based ecosystems” (Florida, 2012, p.188) or a “creative milieu¹⁵” (Landry, 2008, p.133) are critical in

¹⁵ A creative milieu is “a physical setting where a critical mass of entrepreneurs, intellectuals’ social activists, artists, administrators, power brokers or students can operate in an open-minded, cosmopolitan context and where face to face interaction creates new ideas, artefacts, products,

supporting creative communities. In the Winnipeg context, the downtown is where the crucial mass of infrastructure and opportunities exist for Florida's creative classes and Landry's creative milieu. Downtown is defined as "Winnipeg's pre-eminent complete community" (*Complete Communities*, 2011a, p. 12) where clusters of services and a variety of lifestyles are supported (2011a). Proximity is a key aspect of a complete community, which does relate to the creative milieu. However, there is a disconnect between *OurWinnipeg*, stating support for the types of lifestyles creative individuals are looking for (2011b, p.86), and the potential "enabling infrastructure" found in *Complete Communities*. There could be a stronger connection between creative goals and implementation support. Again, this alludes to creativity in governance.

Another aspect of creative city policy that could be explored further in the Winnipeg context, is innovation; not innovation in the Floridian sense, relating to technology and innovation trends in the business sectors (2012, p.231), but rather, innovation in the form of experimentation. An experimental planning method is the use of pilot projects¹⁶. Landry indicates that the use of pilot projects is where innovation is nurtured and encouraged (Landry, 2010, p.171). Only one pilot project is identified within the planning documents examined relating to sustainability indicators (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p. 90, *Sustainable Winnipeg*, 2011c, p.27). Experimentation is critical to the

services and institutions and as a consequence contributes to economic success (Landry, 2008, p.133)

¹⁶ A pilot project is "a small scale preliminary study conducted in order to evaluate feasibility, time, cost, adverse events, and effect size (statistical variability) in an attempt to predict an appropriate sample size and improve upon the study design prior to performance of a full-scale research project" (Wikipedia, 2016).

evolution of the creative city since “each creative project is a pilot from which we can learn” (Landry & Bianchini, 1995, p.27).

Pilot projects are also a way to connect creativity with city-making. Toronto’s *Creative City Planning Framework*, for example, indicates that “pilot projects in Regent Park, St. Jamestown and South Etobicoke have had great success in linking instruction in creative disciplines with community development” (2008, p.15). Toronto’s plan also identifies a “pilot project to integrate design and creativity considerations into the planning process – to ‘build and reflect the city’s creative capabilities’” (p.15). Toronto has made it a priority to develop a creative toolkit with pilot projects as one tool. Winnipeg could learn from Toronto and also from Edmonton, a city that provides another example of supporting innovation and risk taking. When discussing innovation, Landry & Bianchini (1995) mention research and development departments in the private sector (p.56) as a key component and support of innovation. CITYlab is a department at the City of Edmonton that seeks to collaborate on and invest in “piloting innovative ideas” (City of Edmonton, 2016). For Winnipeg’s creative city story to evolve, the city could consider formalizing the pilot project approach within planning policies to support innovation and the creative evolution of ideas and planning projects.

Recommendation 1: Incorporate *culture* as the fourth pillar of sustainability

The primary recommendation for Winnipeg is to further embed a culture of creativity into city-making processes by (R1) incorporating *culture* as the fourth pillar of

sustainable development¹⁷ in the city. This concept is highlighted in *Ticket to the Future Phase 2*, but not in relation to integrating with the city's sustainability agenda. Integrating culture into planning processes is an important next step for Winnipeg. This requires more than developing a culture plan for the city. The city's perspective on sustainability should evolve so that "culture has its rightful place in all public policies" (United Cities and Local Governments, no date, p.3). A cultural lens may ensure that the diversity and cultural difference, that are part of Winnipeg's "collective strength" (*OurWinnipeg*, 2011b, p.12), are reflected in city policy. A commitment to both culture and sustainability is evident within the planning documents, but there is a distinct disconnect between these two concepts. Economic, social, environmental and cultural sustainability furthers both the agenda of entrenching creative city-making into the city in a sustainable way, and enriches the sustainability perspective already adopted by the city. The analysis of municipal planning documents also revealed potential next steps in terms of building on creative city-making approaches.

Recommendation 2: Develop a Creative Winnipeg Strategic Plan

Using *Sustainable Winnipeg* as a model, the city could (R2) develop a municipal Creative Winnipeg Strategic Plan - that builds off the work of *Ticket to the Future Phase 2* and *OurWinnipeg*. This plan would focus specifically on entrenching and operationalizing creativity. Like sustainability, the city would be looking to transform the way it functions by adopting a creative city-making perspective with a focus on creative

¹⁷ John Hawkes published *The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability: Culture's essential role in public planning* in 2003. The premise: "cultural vitality is as essential to a healthy and sustainable society as social equity, environmental responsibility and economic viability" (Hawkes, 2003, p. vii).

governance. The groundwork has already been laid with the city focusing on transforming the way it functions through collaboration, and breaking down departmental silos. However, a thorough creativity audit could be undertaken, beyond simply policy analysis as shown in this thesis. A creativity audit could then incorporate other aspects of Charles Landry's creative city indexing process, including workshops, surveys and interviews. *Sustainable Winnipeg* is an ideal precedent to guide the process. It is an illustrative example of what embedding a new culture or mindset into city operations looks like. The document represents the desire to operationalize a cultural shift in how the city functions moving forward. Building a culture of creativity in the city would be no different. If Winnipeg wants its creative identity to continue to evolve beyond arts and culture (which it is still very much focused on) *Sustainable Winnipeg* is the model to use.

Recommendation 3: Further engagement with diverse communities

The creative strengths identified in Winnipeg also present an opportunity for the city to (R3) continue to nurture and grow its creative city identity through further engagement with diverse communities. For example, content analysis indicated that participation is a clear strength in Winnipeg. Diversity is also a clearly identified strength. It would be interesting to assess who actually participated in the planning process to develop the municipal planning documents in Winnipeg. Is it enough to say 40,000 people participated? It would be interesting to know more about the demographics of who participated – which groups are and are not represented or engaged in planning conversations? It would be interesting to know the cultures represented since there appears to be a commitment to building sustainable relationships with First Nation communities for example. Did they participate in *SpeakUp* Winnipeg? This would be taking diversity

further by acknowledging who participated and working to integrate those who did not in the future. As mentioned previously, the recognition of diversity and the importance of inclusion is present in the planning documents - yet there is no mention of St. Boniface having one of the largest French populations east of Montreal. Métis and Filipino communities are largely invisible in the documents, along with the thriving Ukrainian population. Diversity is not homogeneity; what are the needs of other cultural groups in Winnipeg? Winnipeg may be a city particularly interested in exploring *intercultural*¹⁸ city processes, as well as more fully integrating diverse perspectives into city-making processes - rather than simply consulting and collaborating. An intercultural focus may also highlight those connections or *intersections* between diverse populations in the city.

Recommendation 4: Integrate climate into creative identity/brand

In terms of building off of local identity, Winnipeg could (R4) use aspects of its climate-related identity to continue to build its creative city identity and brand. The city is described by *OurWinnipeg* as a winter city. *Complete Communities* discusses city-building as an opportunity to mitigate the impacts of winter. A Winter City Strategy may provide an avenue to embrace and celebrate winter and turn this challenging season into an asset. Projects and programs occur during the winter in Winnipeg, like skating and the international warming hut competition, but again, this recognition could be taken further. Edmonton, another self-proclaimed winter city, developed *For the Love of Winter* in 2012. This plan included a city branding and marketing team as part of the think-tank which

¹⁸ Intercultural cities focus on “reviewing their policies through an intercultural lens and developing comprehensive intercultural strategies” (Council of Europe, 2015) to foster meaningful participation and inclusion. Charles Landry has also done work in this subject area, co-authoring *The Intercultural City* in 2008.

supported the plan's development. Winnipeg could use this work as a model to focus energy and attention on planning for the winter.

Recommendation 5: City of the Arts

Lastly, it is apparent that Winnipeg is working to build-on and (R5) promote itself as a “City of the Arts”. The city is working to support its existing artistic reputation while simultaneously exporting this image to the world. This ambition is commendable, almost natural; Winnipeg was a creative city long before the recent hype, and the city's creative brand identity is an authentic one, based in the history and reality of the city. This creative identity emerged from the people of the city and seeks to address gaps between social classes; it is a far more holistic understanding of creativity than the creative city brand, as exemplified through the creative city index analysis. This is an important point to make since Winnipeg mentions the use of marketing as a planning tool, but is unclear on the particulars. The city may not realize that it has an authentic branding strategy already in place, based on the way it approaches municipal planning when analyzed from a culture-centric, creative city-making perspective. Marketing is simply a communication approach. Arguably, the substance of what is communicated is more important. There is an opportunity to further develop an integrated branding model in Winnipeg, specifically as it relates to evolving the creative city brand. This could also be a direction for future research.

4.8 Summary

The exploration and analysis of creativity in Winnipeg has revealed what it means to dive deeper into creativity in the city from a planning perspective. Content analysis using

a modified version of the creative city index highlighted the complexity of creativity as a concept in Winnipeg, and showcased how creativity can be understood outside of the parameters of art and culture. Creativity in Winnipeg is understood across a broad spectrum - from the grassroots community level to the arts and business, providing a competitive edge vis-a-vis other cities on the global stage. There is a creative balance to be found in Winnipeg. Perhaps moving beyond the creative city brand means that a city needs to embrace creativity at all levels - that it's not just the creative city brand, or creative city-making; these two concepts can and must work together in order for cities to truly invest in creativity in an authentic and sustainable manner.

The case of Winnipeg illustrates a holistic examination of creativity in the city, and highlights how creativity is context-specific. When creativity is understood in this way, it is logical to develop tailor-made approaches to further develop the creativity unique to a particular place. This approach serves to further a city's specific or *distinct* creative city agenda. The city is as much in the making as the creating; a city's culture resides in its people – they make the city, through their creativity.

CHAPTER 5 MOVING FORWARD/LOOKING AHEAD

“Winnipeg is a creative city, where art is integrated into all people’s lives. All people have access to the arts, are able to participate in the arts, value the arts, and are enriched by the arts.” *Winnipeg Arts Council, Vision*

5.1 Preamble

This thesis has endeavored to explore the relationship between the creative city brand and city planning in the context of creative city-making. Researching urban branding processes in general, and the creative city in particular, especially in terms of *creative city-making*, provided the foundation for exploring creative city-making in the Winnipeg, Manitoba context. Inspired by the city-making-oriented ‘creative city’ work of Charles Landry, a culture–centric and explicitly *creative city-making* approach was adopted as the lens through which municipal planning documents from Winnipeg were examined, in pursuit of expanding the dialogue around the creative city brand from a planning perspective. The work is positioned around the idea that for the creative city brand to remain viable over the long-term, cities must work to embed a culture of creativity into city-making. City-making is an essentially artistic endeavor that is less focused on the technocratic aspects and more concerned with crafting places with people; city-making largely views “the city as a living work of art” (Charles Landry, 2006, p. 267).

City-making is big-picture thinking that engages with changing mind-sets, transforming governance processes and re-imaging – and re-imagining - the way a city operates. City-making advocates for a creativity that is exploratory and flexible (Landry, 2006). It is an outlook that focuses on creative processes rather than creative products that impact the built environment and city-building processes. Creative city-making seeks to

“value and link different forms of creativity together in the environmental, political, economic, social and cultural spheres” (Landry, 2006, p. 271). It is a process dedicated to entrenching creativity into the city’s cultural DNA in a long-term and sustainable way. This planning perspective offers the potential to evolve the Creative City brand – from comparatively bland to positively up-beat, transcending the commercial, embracing the cultural. Research questions are revisited in this chapter, as well as planning recommendations and directions for future research.

5.2 Research Questions Revisited

Intersections

What is the Creative City and how does it illustrate the possible connections between city branding and city planning?

This thesis project began with a hunch; that a better connection could be made between urban branding and city planning. This hunch guided the development of a literature review, which initially endeavored to examine the thematic relationship between the two disciplines/professions. The two appeared, on the surface, to share common ideologies. The Creative City enabled a narrowing of focus to explore and examine the connections between branding and planning further. This refined focus evolved the work into researching the opportunities that planning - understood as a form of creative city-making - could offer the creative city brand in terms of being a catalyst for its evolution, to push it past the hype and convention, and explore a more sustainable approach to achieving the creative city. With urban branding predominantly researched from a marketing perspective, this thesis also addressed a research gap by adopting more of a planning perspective.

As noted in the introduction, the Creative City has become both an approach to urban development as well as a brand. This initial connection shaped the framework of the literature review. A deeper dive into the literature revealed obvious challenges with both urban branding and the Creative City. Urban branding as a model was built off a corporate branding approach, which may or may not work as well when applied to cities. In addition, cities globally appeared to be adopting comparatively homogeneous creative city policies - that may or may not be context appropriate. Those gaps and critiques were analyzed and addressed by adopting a culture-centric perspective and framing city planning as a form of creative city-making. Creative city-making is really a mind-set (and potentially a heart-set and soul-set) - a lens through which to focus on urban growth and change. It is big picture thinking, encompassing a more comprehensive and holistic understanding of creativity than is readily realized in more conventional creative city terms.

Creative city-making also appeared as an opportunity to better address those issues identified within the urban branding and creative city literature. It concentrates more on the creative process rather than the product. With the latter it is Creative City brand elements that are prominent, with less direct concern for the creating going on, and the creators behind the creating. Real world projects used to brand and market a Creative City may be more responsive to context, and local residents' interests, if developed from a different creative city-making perspective and related cultural values. From all this 'hunching' emerged the proposal to integrate planning and branding, to consider them together, utilizing a creative city-making perspective to advance the creative city brand in a more holistic and sustainable way.

Identity

How have municipal planning documents in Winnipeg engaged with or demonstrated Landry's notions of the creative city?

Winnipeg was chosen as a place to ground the research for two reasons. The first is because of the awareness of the City's creative reputation and the second is because the City had not formally adopted a Creative City approach, or overtly expressed the desire to be a Creative City in the conventional sense. Winnipeg's creativity, as examined through municipal planning documents using a modified version of Charles Landry's Creative City Index, was woven not only throughout the documents themselves, to varying degrees, but creativity in Winnipeg was well represented within the four different creativity categories. The Creative City Index framework itself served to show how, when examining creativity holistically in the city, just how complex creativity as a concept really is.

Certainly, the Creative City Index, modified or not, was not originally intended to be used in the analysis of just municipal planning documents. As such, it was cumbersome to work with at times. However, the broad, far-reaching, creative categories enabled Winnipeg's creative city identity to emerge through the data analysis process. Winnipeg's creative city strengths aligned with and reinforced a creative city-making perspective. Although, it is worth noting again that Floridian ideas about the creative city also emerged. One of the most exciting aspects of the data analysis was within the **Enable & Support Creativity** category. Within this category emerged the City's sincere desire to transform the way it operates, showing a willingness to explore the possibility of integrating arts and culture into City operations.

Another exciting realization was that operationalizing creativity was second in line to operationalizing sustainability. Transforming the way the city works through sustainability, a creative-city-making theme, currently takes precedence; it is clearly further along in the entrenching, institutionalizing, process. Winnipeg has clearly identified the steps it would take to embrace sustainability in a multifaceted way. Sustainability also highlighted the fact that the City is attempting to work holistically, ensuring projects, policies, programs and operations are analyzed and understood from an economic, environmental and social sustainability perspective.

Community, complexity, flexibility and collaboration were also creative city-making themes well represented in the Winnipeg context. The City evidently worked to engage local populations in the planning process and is endeavoring to ensure they are incorporated into future projects that affect them - whether it is place or program specific. The city also focused on Aboriginal communities as an integral part of the urban fabric, and diversity was recognized as another creative city strength in Winnipeg. Collaboration within the city, with other levels of government and with community members was clearly identified as a method for a more unified and integrated approach to city growth and operations. An integrated planning process also highlighted this commitment to collaboration. Winnipeg also demonstrated an understanding of urban complexity and flexibility through the recognition that a generic planning approach for different parts of the city could not work. Much like creativity is context specific, planning approaches need to be responsive to the particular characteristics of a place.

Winnipeg also explicitly connected with the aspiration to be known globally as a “City of the Arts”. As aforementioned, it is important to note that Winnipeg is already a

city of the arts. A long-standing reputation as a cultural centre in Canada is being regarded as a potential export to the rest of the world. The City is building on an existing reputation. Municipal planning documents highlighted the need to continue to foster support for the arts at all scales - with a focus on inclusion at the community scale. The connection between arts and culture and competition does connect with the Floridian understanding of the creative city; however, Winnipeg is not claiming to be something it is not for the sake of this making this connection. Rather, the city sees a real opportunity in the global marketplace, and is utilizing its existing artistic resources in a strategic way. This knowledge, ascertained from the data analysis, led to the insight that the creative city is not a binary: it's not Florida's or Landry's creative city; both versions can work together (although there is a sense that Landry's cultural perspective more readily transcends, while including, Florida's economic perspective – whereas the latter does not so obviously include Landry's framing). Certainly, there is more work to do entrenching creativity within the culture of city-making in Winnipeg. The recommendations section addressed the potential for Winnipeg moving forward with efforts aimed at growing its creative identity.

Implications

What can Winnipeg's approach to the creative-city offer to broaden conventional thinking about the creative city in both planning and branding arenas?

Planners interested in pursuing creative city recognition should look beyond conventional, Floridian approaches to the creative city. For cities that have adopted creative city policies or are interested in incorporating creativity into the way the city operates, conducting a creativity audit is an opportunity to critically reflect on their current creative

city identity and status, in order to further evolve their own creative city story and processes. Winnipeg's creativity policy audit – as addressed in this thesis has shown how critical it is to understand where creativity exists in the city and how it is understood prior to moving forward with developing creative city policies. This approach will lay the groundwork for developing context-specific creative city policies and strategies built from an honest and deliberate understanding of both people and place. Winnipeg's creative city exploration is useful in demonstrating for planners what a commitment to participatory processes can look like. There is a clear drive in Winnipeg to ensure community members are active participants in the planning processes and that municipal planning documents are built off the values of the residents. This level of visibility given to participation is beneficial for planners looking to move away from more technocratic approaches to city-building and embrace a more participatory and inclusive planning approach as represented by creative city-making.

This Winnipeg case study of creativity-in-action is also useful to planners in that it illustrates the beginnings – and emerging willingness - to transform the way the city both plans and operates. The reason why the municipal planning documents work so well together, and why I chose not to report my findings by focusing on individual documents, is that, with the exception of the *Economic Development Strategy*, they were developed in tandem. The integrated approach to developing the documents resulted in plans that reference one another, share common visions and goals, and work together with the determination to grow Winnipeg in a cohesive and interrelated way. This approach also exhibits an explicit willingness to break down silos and work more collaboratively within the municipality as well as with other levels of government and stakeholders. Planners

interested in a more collaborative approach to both plan development and implementation could use the Winnipeg example as a precedent.

Pursuing this thesis has made me acutely aware of the strengths of the planning profession - especially when planning is conceived as placemaking - a localized and focused approach to 'making great places' (Wight, 2011). Placemaking is cooperative. It puts local community members at the forefront of (re)-making the places they live in and experience daily (Wight, 2011). The process of placemaking necessarily involves casting a wide net to understand place. This means, incorporating as many local voices, ideas and opinions into the process as possible. Placemaking empowers local populations through the planning process and invests in local communities first, with the perspective that residents are the experts of their own communities. Placemaking is grassroots in essence, and celebrates what communities are, without compromise. Placemaking "focuses on *place* and the people-in-place as the basic unit - the frame through which any intervention occurs" (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995, p.5). City-making is placemaking on a city scale.

Planners are well-equipped to examine and understand the complexities of the city. Data analysis using a modified tool developed by Charles Landry, an urbanist, emphasizes that the creative city is about more than branding and marketing communities to compete against one another for new residents, talented professionals and economic development. Although these creative city character traits did emerge in Winnipeg as well, they were not the primary or only focus; they were balanced along with other aspects of creativity in the city. Planners can, as made evident in Winnipeg, champion a balanced approach to city growth and development. Sustainability, focused on the social, economic, environmental and *cultural* aspects of the city enables a holistic perspective to be adopted and inform how

the city should grow and change over time. Winnipeg's approach to sustainability and the work to incorporate it into all aspects of city-making, from day to day operations to building sustainable communities, merits precedent consideration. It is applicable not only for the City of Winnipeg to use when working to operationalize creativity, but also for planners looking for concrete examples of what a paradigm shift and transformative mind-set can look like on the ground.

A culture-centric or creative city-making focus can be brought to every aspect of municipal planning. Neighbourhood planning, recreation planning, transportation planning are areas not explicitly discussed in this thesis, but could benefit from a creativity audit. Ultimately, creating well-connected, beautiful cities with a diverse range of recreation, education and job opportunities will inspire people to stay in a place as well as encourage others to come. Winnipeg is already a creative city and displays many creative strengths; strengths that are known both locally and internationally. An authentic creative brand is something the city can rely on because it is truly a part of the city's identity. However, there is still work to be done to continue the creative city evolution. Integrating culture into the sustainability conversation is the first step in ensuring Winnipeg's creative city brand continues to be viable over the long-term. And this may require a conversation about the place of conviviality as a successor to sustainability, as macro-mission signifier.

Creative city-making is simply a more comprehensive approach to developing and sustaining a creative city. In the case of Winnipeg, a heavy focus on arts and culture exists not because those areas are most commonly associated with creativity, but because they are aspects of Winnipeg's existing creative city identity. Winnipeg's reputation for having a thriving arts and culture scene happened long before the creative city concept gained

mainstream popularity. As such, the city is better equipped to be asking how to operationalize arts and culture in the city - to evolve their creative city identity into the realm of creative governance. This work to entrench creativity will take time. Planners can learn from this case study what it means to work towards creating an authentic creative city identity rooted in the reality of place.

5.3 Future Research Directions

As this thesis and the work of Charles Landry has shown, the process of examining creativity within municipal planning documents, to better understand the capacity for creativity and the potential of a place, can (and should) be replicated in other cities - particularly in those cities looking to brand themselves as creative. A more sustainable and holistic approach to creativity is represented by a creative city-making approach focusing on embedding a culture of creativity into city-making processes. Planners should be working within this creative city-making paradigm.

This thesis may also be considered to encourage a cross-disciplinary connection between planning and branding. There is an opportunity to develop the proposal made in the research, to develop an integrated urban branding model that incorporates planning. One of the gaps identified in the literature review is that the model for urban branding has been developed from corporate branding models (Kavaratzis, 2007), which do not adequately incorporate or understand the complexities of the city. Kavaratzis proposed an alternative urban branding model (Figure 8), but it is clear that more work needs to be done on the subject. As noted earlier, this approach describes the city as the entity that creates the vision and develops the brand strategies. However, as shown in Winnipeg, the city

views itself as enacting the vision of Winnipeggers. As such, in an alternative model, locals, stakeholders and the city would be working together in a more collaborative way to develop common visions for the future; in a sense it is ‘We-identity’ work, engaging a high level of ‘culturing’, of culture-making – less linear than circular, more open and (upward/outward) spiral in form, integrating individuals and their communities, on their insides as well as outsides. This collective effort to understand and define what the city is, what it means and what it wants to become, is the potential driving force behind what is known as “brand strategies” or, from a planning perspective, “action plans”. Placing people first – along with their cultural production – removes the need for community buy-in; support then becomes an intrinsic part of the envisioning and enacting processes. Marketing and promotion simply becomes a planning tool - to communicate planning projects rooted in the reality of the place, based on the vision of what the city is working towards, as defined by community members (potentially, its ‘evolution’ story, to complement its ‘creation’ story).

Future research projects could address the limitations of this thesis. Creative city-making in Winnipeg can be examined in other aspects of the city beyond municipal planning documents. Municipal planning documents represent the “official” approach to creative city-making; often they are ‘statutory’, rooted in a particular legislation. As the Winnipeg example shows, the City does not have a specific mandate to enact creativity, (although there is some indication along these lines in part of the Quality of Life section in *OurWinnipeg*). It would be interesting to dive deeper into this process; how could creativity be legislated, or should this be left to less formal but equally authoritative forms of community consent? This would take operationalizing creativity to a completely new level.

Another approach to researching creative city-making in Winnipeg would be to “truth-test” the information presented in the analysis chapter of this thesis. The policy statements presented and analyzed were (at this time of writing) created five years ago. How well is the city living up to its goals? How much progress has been made? Future research could also build off the work of this thesis by engaging with community members, a variety of different cultural groups, City officials, planners and branding professionals to garner a different perspective on what creative city-making looks like “on the ground”, or in practice. It could be considered to involve prospecting a neo-civics, appropriate to our times. Lastly, a comparative analysis approach could be taken with a literature review focusing specifically on contrasting Florida and Landry, followed by two or three case studies examining what other cities have done, followed by a close look at Winnipeg’s major plans and other data to assess what could be applied.

What is it that planners are working to make? To what extent do they consider themselves “makers”? Do they see themselves as being in the great-place-making business, in partnership with the people-in-place? Building on these questions and a recommendation made in 4.6, further research should engage the diverse range of people in Winnipeg to garner an understanding of their perspectives on both participation and creativity, and on their operative world-views. How does creative city-making work from an intercultural perspective? This work would enrich our knowledge base and provide insight into further developing an integrated urban branding model. Additional research could also explore the feasibility of any of the recommendations for Winnipeg in section 4.6, to continue building the City’s creative identity. Lastly, another angle on this topic/project could focus specifically on the exploration of “creative governance” and/or ‘creative bureaucracy’.

This subject may allow for a different perspective and analysis of municipal planning documents by focusing specifically on the creative identity and governance model of the city itself.

5.4 Future Research Questions

Identify & Nurture Creativity

- How does creative city-making work from an intercultural perspective?
- How can we work better together to creatively co-create the places in which we live?

Harness & Employ Creativity

- How can marketing be better integrated into city planning?
- How can we better utilize our collective understanding of creativity?

Enable & Support Creativity

- How can policymaking continue to become a creative activity in-and-of-itself?
- How could an internal branding process support the city's creative identity?

Live & Express Creativity

- How can planners become more creative in the act of making cities?
- How can we integrate soft infrastructure into planning policy?

5.5 In Closing

This thesis project was essentially an exploratory exercise. The research centered on a desire to better understand if and how planning could enrich and expand the dialogue

around the Creative City brand. The Creative City offered rich and fertile ground on which to engage. It is my hope that the research inspires others to pull back the veil over creativity in their own selves, and in their own cities, and work towards making creative communities that are sustainable, inclusive and collaborative - because in the end the great places that are made will sell themselves; they will be a brand unto themselves – as places of creators, creating, exuding truth, goodness and beauty – the three classical virtues.

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APPENDIX A: DOCUMENT SELECTION MATRIX

The following chart illustrates the document selection process adopted for this thesis. See Section 2.2, Data Sources.

	Document Titles	Date	CITY Planning Document?	Document Subject / Focus	Author/Additional Notes
1	CentreVenture 2011-2013 Business Plan	2011	N	Strategic Plan for organization focused on downtown economic development	CentreVenture Development Corporation-Business Plan
2	CentreVenture Business Plan (2014-2016)	2014	N	Same as above	Same as above
3	Creative Manitoba: An Economic Development Strategy for the Cultural Sector	2003	N	Province Wide Ec Dev Strategy for Culture/Creative Industries	Arts and Culture Industries Development Team (Province of MB)
4	Downtown North Pre-Plan Assessment	2008	N	Specific area plan for residential development in the downtown	Urban Edge (for the City of Winnipeg)- Planning Study
5	Downtown on the rise	2009	N	Marketing document focused on the downtown	Kelly Gray (for CentreVenture)-
6	Downtown Residential Development Strategy	2011	N	Development Plan for downtown	City of Winnipeg- downtown residential/spatial
7	Downtown trends: Downtown Winnipeg market research (Downtown Winnipeg BIZ)	2010	N	Research document focused on downtown	Developed for the downtown biz-
8	Downtown Winnipeg Biz: 2014-2016 Strategic Plan	2014	N	Strategic (Business Plan)	Downtown Biz- focus on their own organization and relationship with the downtown
9	Encore- revisiting the arts and creative industries in Winnipeg	2014	N	Recap of research project focused on the economic impact of the arts in Winnipeg	Prairie Research Associates for the Winnipeg Arts Council (WAC)- arms length City organization
10	Enhancing Cultural Capital - The Arts and Community Development in Winnipeg	2005	N	Research project exploring the relationship between arts and community development	Institute of urban studies; Michelle Kuly and Etolle Stewart
11	Downtown Winnipeg retail market analysis and general positioning strategy	2009	N	Strategy for recruiting new retailers for downtown Winnipeg	MJB Consulting for the Downtown Biz
12	Ticket to the Future Phase 1: The Economic Impact of the Arts and Creative Industries in Winnipeg	2009	N	Research study on the economic impacts- not a Plan	Prairie Research Associates for the Winnipeg Arts Council (WAC)- arms length City organization
13	Urban Idea White Paper	2013	N	A research report giving information/proposals on "The Urban Idea Centre" in Winnipeg	Matt Carreau for the Winnipeg Arts Council
14	Winnipeg Creative Industries- Growing Brighter, Artistic and Clever	2013	N	Marketing document showcasing Winnipeg's Creative Industries	Economic Development Winnipeg

First round removed 14 research and marketing documents.

	Document Titles	Date	CITY Planning Document?	Document Subject / Focus	Author/Additional Notes
15	CentrePlan Development Framework	1999	Y	Implementation tool for Centreplan-focused on the downtown	City of Winnipeg- Spatial Planning Doc
16	CentrePlan: Working together for Winnipeg's Downtown	1994	Y	City of Winnipeg's Official (and current) Downtown Plan	City of Winnipeg- Comprehensive Downtown Planning Doc
17	Downtown Urban Design Guidelines	2005	Y	Aesthetic guidelines for future development in the downtown core	City of Winnipeg- Spatial Planning Doc

Second round removed three planning documents over 10 years old.

	Document Titles	Date	CITY Planning Document?	Document Subject / Focus	Author/Additional Notes
18	CentrePlan Development Framework	2008	Y	Implementation tool for Centreplan-focused on the downtown	City of Winnipeg- Spatial Planning Doc
19	City of Winnipeg Downtown Residential Development Action Plan 2011-2013	2011	Y	Residential "Action" Plan for downtown	City of Winnipeg- Housing focus
20	City of Winnipeg Economic Development Strategy 2013-2017	2013 (Revised 2015)	Y	City's Official Ec Dev Plan	City of Winnipeg- Citywide Ec Dev
21	Complete Communities	2011	Y	City's Official Spatial Development Plan	City of Winnipeg- Spatial
22	Go to the Waterfront	2014	Y	20 year "Visioning" document for the Winnipeg Waterfront	The Forks & The City of Winnipeg
23	OurWinnipeg	2011	Y	Official (comprehensive) Municipal Development Plan	City of Winnipeg-
24	Sustainable Transportation	2011	Y	Municipal Transportation plan	City of Winnipeg- spatial/infrastructure
25	Sustainable Water and Waste	2011	Y	Water and solid waste management plan for the city	City of Winnipeg- environment/infrastructure
26	Sustainable Winnipeg	2011	Y	Integrated strategy focused on sustainable development	City of Winnipeg- environment
27	The SHED, image for an emerging district	2014	Y	Vision Document for the downtown SHED district	CentreVenture-
28	Ticket to the Future Phase 2: A Cultural Action Plan for Winnipeg	2011	Y	Action Plan built on Phase 1	Dialog for the Winnipeg Arts Council (WAC)- arms length City organization
29	Warehouse District Plan (Draft)	2011	Y	Plan for the Warehouse District in Downtown Winnipeg	City of Winnipeg

Final round reduced short list to five documents best suited to exploring city-scale creativity in a holistic way. Chosen documents indicated in green.