



CCCities Culture Creativity

Leveraging culture and creativity
for sustainable urban development
and inclusive growth



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Short summary

Unlocking the power of the cultural and creative industries in cities

Culture and creativity have untapped potential to deliver social, economic, and spatial benefits for cities and communities. Cultural and creative industries are key drivers of the creative economy and represent important sources of employment, economic growth, and innovation, thus contributing to city competitiveness and sustainability. Through their contribution to urban regeneration and sustainable urban development, cultural and creative industries make cities more attractive places for people to live in and for economic activity to develop. Culture and creativity also contribute to social cohesion at the neighborhood level, enable creative networks to form and advance innovation and growth, and create opportunities for those who are often socially and economically excluded.

The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic has had a deep impact on the cultural sector, yet it has also revealed the power of cultural and creative industries as a resource for city recovery and resilience. More generally, cities are hubs of the creative economy and have a critical role to play in harnessing the transformative potential of cultural and creative industries through policies and enabling environments at the local level.

'Cities, Culture, and Creativity' (CCC) provides guiding principles and a CCC Framework, developed by UNESCO and the World Bank, to support cities in unlocking the power of cultural and creative industries for sustainable urban development, city competitiveness, and social inclusion. Drawing from global studies and the experiences of nine diverse cities from across the world, the CCC Framework offers concrete guidance for the range of actors – city, state, and national governments; creative industry and related private-sector organizations; creatives; culture professionals and civil society – to harness culture and creativity with a view to boosting their local creative economies and building resilient, inclusive, and dynamic cities.



Up to **13%**
of city employment
in creative industries in
major cities worldwide.

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Abbreviations

<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Definition</i>
APEGA	National Gastronomic Society (of Peru)
CCC	Cities, Culture, and Creativity
CCI	Cultural and creative industries
DMC	Digital Media City
FIBD	Angoulême International Comic Strip Festival
FRC	Fonds Relance Culture
ICH	Intangible cultural heritage
IFC	International Finance Corporation
ILO	International Labour Organization
MSE	Medium-sized enterprise
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SME	Small and medium-sized enterprises
SODAV	Senegalese Copyright and Related Rights Society
TDLC	Tokyo Development Learning Center
UCCN	UNESCO Creative Cities Network
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
WB	The World Bank

Glossary

Terms in the field of culture and creativity are constantly evolving and have multiple interpretations. In the context of this Position Paper, the following are key definitions and concepts.

Creative cities: Cities that have effectively enabled culture and creativity to contribute to their urban and socio-economic development are creative cities. They are places where culture, arts, cultural and creative industries (CCIs), diverse expressions, and imagination flourish and contribute to sustainable urban development and inclusive growth. These assets serve as a source of innovation and uniqueness; and a range of actors – public and private – within these creative cities takes actions to enable CCIs to contribute the triple benefits of spatial, economic, and social development.

Creativity: Per the United Nation's *Creative Economy Report 2008: The challenge of assessing the creative economy towards informed policy-making*, 'creativity' is associated with originality, imagination, inspiration, ingenuity, and inventiveness. Innate creativity is an inner characteristic of all individuals to be imaginative and to express ideas. Associated with knowledge, these ideas are the essence of intellectual capital. Creativity contributes to a more varied world and to the cultural diversity of humanity and can serve as a basis for sustainable development.

Creative placemaking: A development approach focused on the power of culture and creativity to transform the life of a local community to make a neighborhood attractive for people to live and work. It also involves local community engagement in artistic and cultural experiences, events, creative projects, and, in some cases, community investment and funding.

Creatives: Culture professionals and individuals working in the seven cultural domains encompassed by CCIs for the purpose of this paper.

Cultural capital: Cultural goods serving as capital assets that, in combination with other inputs, contribute to the production of other cultural goods and services, jobs, and overall well-being of local communities.

Cultural and creative industries (CCIs): Industries whose principal purpose is the production or reproduction, promotion, distribution, or commercialization of goods, services, and activities of a cultural, artistic, or heritage value. Building on the 2009 UNESCO Framework of Cultural Statistics and UNESCO's definition of intangible cultural heritage, for the purpose of the Cities, Culture, and Creativity (CCC) Framework, this paper's definition of cultural and creative industries encompasses the following cultural domains: Audio-visual and Interactive Media; Literature and Press; Performing Arts; Visual Arts and Crafts; ICH; Design and Creative Services; and Heritage and Tourism Activities. Since gastronomy is included in some definitions of CCIs, it is taken into consideration in this paper.

Cultural and creative occupations: Occupations that involve creative and artistic production, cultural institutions and heritage collection, preservation, safeguarding and transmission, within the seven cultural domains encompassed by CCIs for the purpose of this paper.

Economic creativity: A dynamic process leading towards innovation in technology, business practices, and marketing, widely considered to be an economic competitive advantage.¹

Innovation: The process of developing new ideas that have practical and useful aspects, have been tested, and have been found to actually work in the real world. It can have economic and social effects that remain in the long term. Creativity and innovation are interrelated. Theodore Levitt coined the famous phrase "Creativity is thinking up new things. Innovation is doing new things." Understanding different types of innovation within CCIs helps decision makers and stakeholders at the local level find appropriate methods and forms to hatch and implement innovative ideas.

Crossover innovation: Innovation that is developed and produced at the intersection of different CCI sub-industries and CCIs and other industries, such as tourism, healthcare, education, infrastructural development, urban planning, and the social environment.

Social innovation: Innovation that brings about new ideas and practices that can help solve existing social, economic, and environmental challenges for the benefit of communities and the planet.² It can empower better use of a region's or a city's cultural resources. It requires shared risk and collaborative strategies, and often results from effective partnerships between diverse stakeholders, organizations, and individuals at the local level.

Social value: Created when resources and processes are combined to generate collective benefits for communities, improving the lives of individuals as well as society as a whole while decreasing damage to the environment. Achieving value for money beyond the benefits for an isolated organization or a single entity, social value encompasses sustainability, well-being, and diversity, and is generally aligned with the specific needs of the local communities.

Intangible cultural heritage: According to the 2003 UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, intangible cultural heritage (ICH), or living heritage, is knowledge, skills, and know-how, such as performing arts, festivals, traditional environmental knowledge, and handicraft transmitted through the generations in communities who recognize it as 'part of their cultural heritage'. ICH practice is dynamic; practitioners evolve their knowledge and adjust their practices and production over time as needs and circumstances change.³ ICH practice is rooted in the history and cultural identity of local communities and practitioner networks, which safeguard the ICH, transmit it, and share knowledge and skills with others through formal and non-formal education pathways.

Foreword

Culture, creativity and cities have all been critical enablers of societal advancement throughout history. From Kyoto, to Seoul, Madaba to Bazzaville, Angoulême to Lima and many cities in between, cultural and creative industries have enabled communities to thrive and heal; and those cities have enabled cultural and creative industries to flourish. Their contribution to social inclusion, poverty alleviation, environmental sustainability, equitable economic growth and local ownership of development processes is instrumental to the achievement of the 17 goals set by the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

The cultural and creative industries are the beating heart of the creative economy. From audiovisual and interactive media, performing arts and intangible cultural heritage, to literature, visual arts and crafts, design and creative services and heritage and tourism activities - these creative fields can stimulate economic vitality in cities, spur innovation and bolster inclusion and diversity of cultural expressions as a means to meet emerging challenges.

In a rapidly urbanizing world, where 7 in 10 people globally will reside in urban areas by 2050, cities are the epicenters of the creative economy. More than 80% of the global economy is generated in cities. This includes a large portion of the creative economy, which prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, contributed annual global revenues that were estimated to have reached US\$2,250 billion and employed more young people than any other sector.

Both cities and the culture and creativity sectors have been hit particularly hard by the current COVID-19 pandemic, with large cities often containing the greatest share of jobs at risk. Cultural institutions have lost large shares of expected revenues and 1 in 8 museums may never reopen again. Artists and culture professionals are struggling to make ends meet and are often without access to social safety nets. Up to 90 percent of World Heritage properties have been shut down during the pandemic, along with halts in intangible cultural heritage practices and a massive drop in global tourism and mobility, with devastating economic consequences for communities whose livelihoods depend on these activities. Yet, COVID-19 has also brought to light the importance of culture as an invaluable resource that can be tapped into to

support the resilience of affected communities, to rebuild societies, to foster economic development and contribute to post-crisis recovery.

To ensure a thriving and resilient creative economy and to enable creative cities to recover from the COVID-19 pandemic, we must take urgent action to support decisionmakers in facilitating their recovery, and enable the cultural and creative industries to continue to make important contributions to cities along the social, economic and spatial dimensions. The United Nations' declaration of the year 2021 as the International Year of the Creative Economy for Sustainable Development provides significant momentum for the global community to promote the creative economy and sustainable urban development towards creating opportunities for inclusive economic growth and for the empowerment of local communities.

This Position Paper articulates a framework for Cities, Culture, and Creativity (CCC), with six enablers to facilitate culture and creativity's contribution to sustainable economic growth, societal wellbeing, and a vibrant urban environment. With the insights in this Position Paper and the CCC Framework, UNESCO and the World Bank aim to support national and local decision-makers in leveraging the important contribution of culture, people (artists and creative talent) and place (cities as hubs of creativity) towards the development of resilient, inclusive and sustainable communities and economies that can help power human development in the decades to come.



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Executive Summary

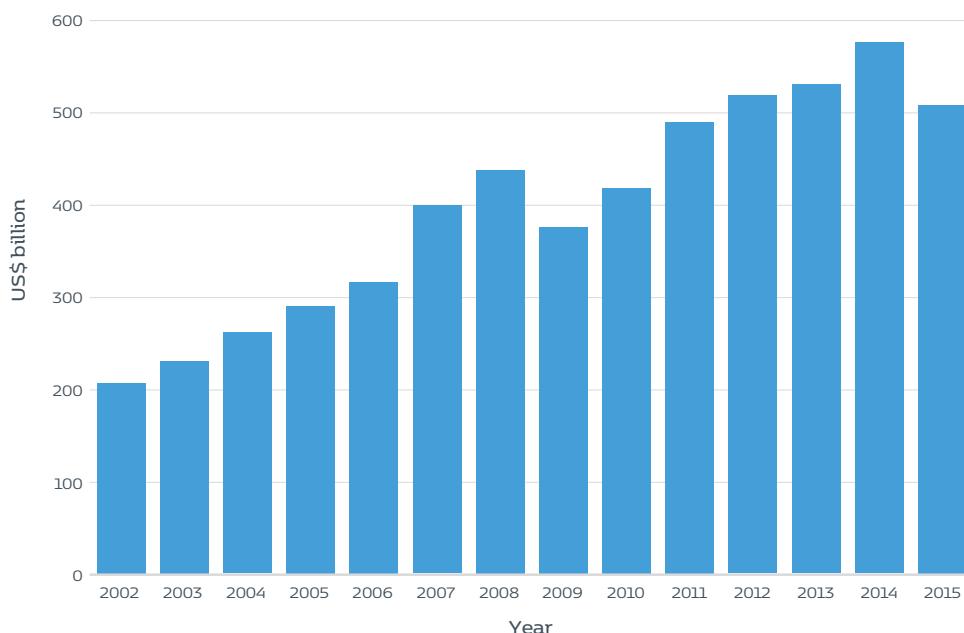


This Position Paper provides guiding principles and a framework (the CCC Framework) for cities to better leverage their cultural and creative industries (CCIs)⁴ for sustainable urban development, city competitiveness, and social inclusion. Many policy makers recognize the contribution that creativity can make to their economies and the quality of life of their citizens—and they seek tools to help them create an enabling environment to develop CCIs and better leverage them to achieve desired objectives. But what does it mean to be a “creative city”? What conditions enable CCIs to develop? What conditions allow cities to leverage their cultural and creative capital to distinguish themselves from peers, spur local economic activity, transform their urban fabric, and enable a better quality of life for all, including poor and marginalized groups? How can they support their creative local economies during crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic and leverage them during recovery? How can they learn from the experiences of other cities around the world, including member cities of UNESCO’s Creative City Network (UCCN)?

Culture and creativity are tremendous assets for local communities. They feed the creative economy, which is one of the fastest-growing sectors of the world economy with respect to income generation, job creation, and export earnings. In fact, global exports of creative goods grew from approximately US\$200 billion to US\$500 billion between 2002-2015 (Figure 1).⁵ In 2013, CCIs contributed approximately US\$2.25 trillion in revenues (3% of global GDP).⁶ CCIs can have a unique and transformative impact on cities. How? Through their ability to improve urban quality of life and amenities; the jobs they generate for urban populations including women, youth, and other marginalized groups; and their impact in terms of social inclusion and social network formation.

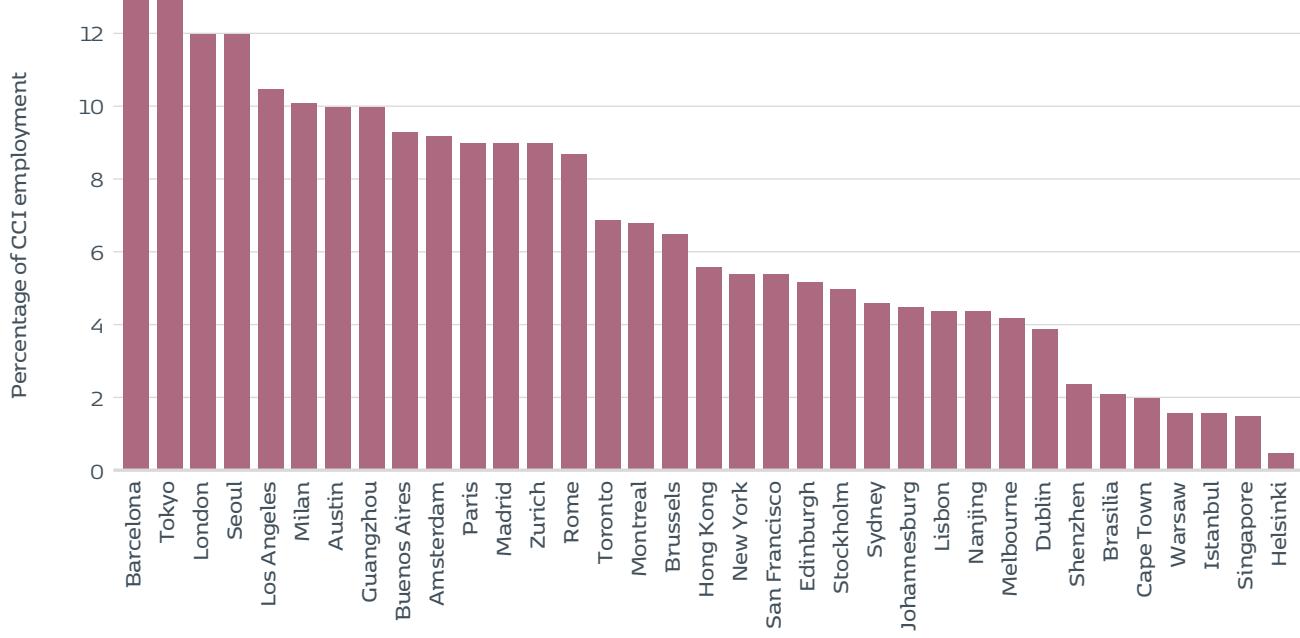
While national policy interventions to enable culture and creativity often get much of the attention, the transformative impact of CCIs will not be fully realized without policies and enabling environments at the local level, complemented by partnerships across levels of government and a range of stakeholders, including the private sector, civil society, and local communities.

Figure 1. Global exports of creative goods, 2000-2015



Source: UNCTADStat database (<https://unctadstat.unctad.org/wds/TableViewer/tableView.aspx?ReportId=14772>).

Figure 2. Share of CCI jobs, selected cities, 2008-2019

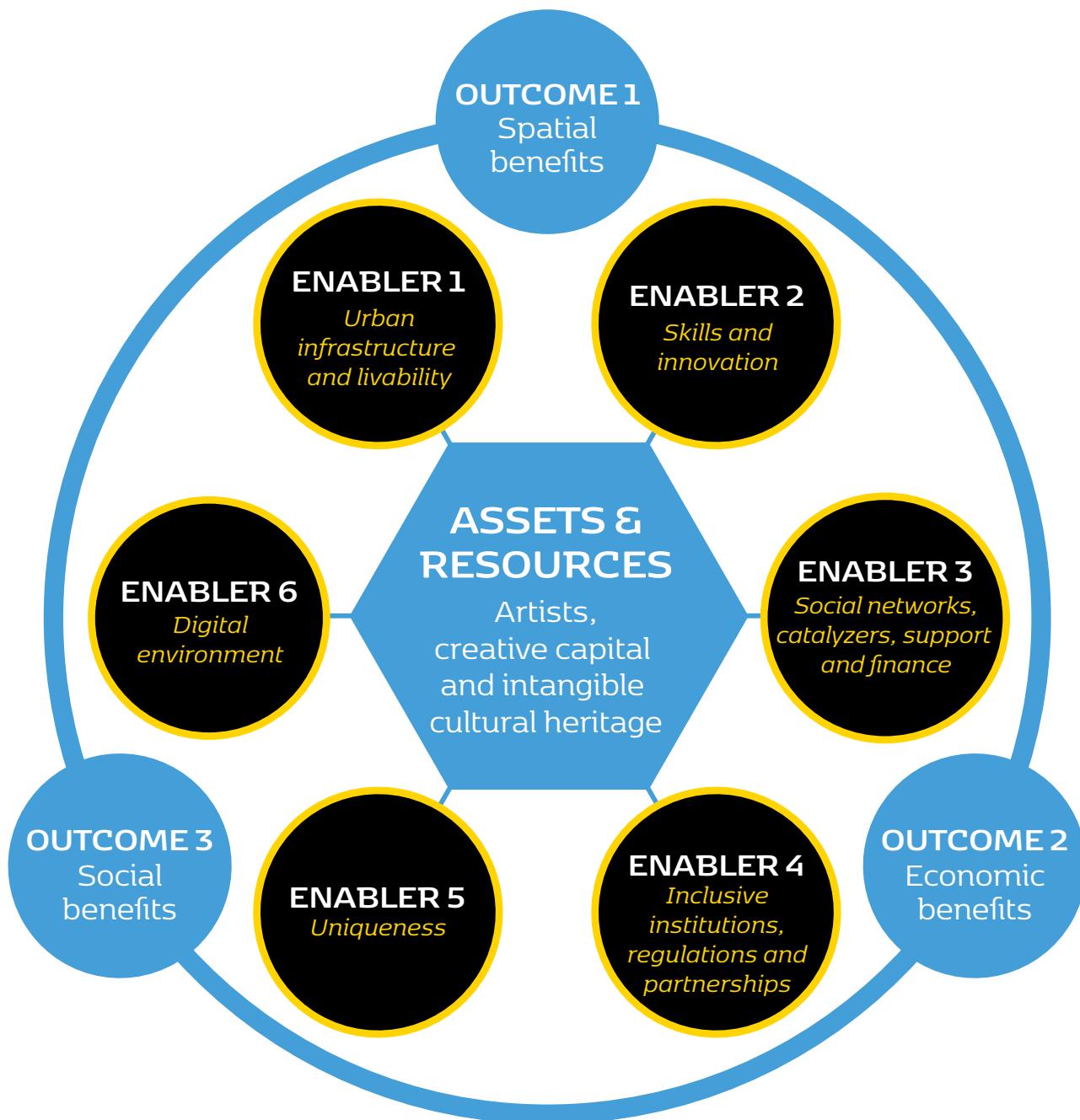


Source: World Cities Culture Forum.

Several cases described in this paper illustrate how the introduction of an enabling city ecosystem transformed CCIs and the cities in which the CCIs have flourished. For example, Lima, Peru has had a long tradition of gastronomic excellence—in terms of its variety of cuisine and influences, fresh and varied ingredients, and traditions around transmission of recipes and methods across generations, among other factors. Yet its gastronomic industry grew tremendously, contributing greatly to national GDP, global prominence, and local identity, once creative chefs and restaurateurs, and local and national governments coordinated efforts to improve Lima’s ecosystem for gastronomy and agribusiness. They offered formal and informal institutions for training, learning, and innovation, developed markets, and launched marketing and promotion campaigns showcasing the uniqueness

of Peruvian cuisine and agricultural produce. These types of interventions represent some of the main enablers of CCI ecosystems observed across many creative cities and are representative of the six enabling environment categories in the framework for action presented in this paper, the Cities, Culture, and Creativity Framework (CCC Framework) (Figure 3). This framework reflects learnings from cross-city research as well as the nine creative city case studies developed for this paper.⁷

Figure 3. Cities, Culture, and Creativity Framework



Enablers

The six categories of creative city enablers that have proven critical to translating culture and creativity into spatial, economic, and social benefits are:

1

Physical and spatial environment: *urban infrastructure and livability*

Creatives need affordable and often adaptable workspaces that offer proximity to a broader creative ecosystem as well as their homes. They often drive or contribute to urban regeneration

of neighborhoods by utilizing abandoned or underused spaces. They also seek environments that offer good quality of life, including basic infrastructure, services, and amenities.

2

Human capital: *skills and innovation*

Creatives and others working in creative ecosystems need opportunities to grow and evolve their skills. They frequently require a combination

of formal learning opportunities, as well as informal opportunities to learn and contribute to the transmission of intangible cultural heritage.

3

Networks and support infrastructure: *social networks, catalyzers, support, and finance*

Important network effects within and between CCIs in creative cities enhance relationships among creatives and CCI participants and contribute to innovation and growth of the intangible economy. Creative individuals seek inspiration from one another and jump from one creative occupation

to another, encouraging growth and development in CCIs. Catalyzers make connections between creatives and other partners. Creatives need business development services and access to finance tailored to the risks associated with their work.

4

Institutional and regulatory environment: *inclusive institutions, regulations, and partnerships*

Creatives, including artists and cultural professionals, need institutions and regulations conducive to safeguarding their practices and their ability to live and produce in creative cities, such as those protecting intellectual property, promoting

diversity and inclusion, and enabling their access to affordable housing. The types of interventions needed for a CCI-conducive environment typically require partnerships between a range of public and private actors.

5

Uniqueness

A city's unique combination of intrinsic and related features allows it to generate value and attract and

cultivate creative talent and the audiences that will enjoy and consume what they produce.

6

Digital environment

Digitalization contributes to the development of methods and tools that can increase the efficiency of the entire value chain of some CCIs.

Case studies in this paper illustrate the importance of this combination of enablers.

Cases include:

Lima, Peru, which tapped into its culinary traditions to unlock economic growth potential and improve neighborhoods, resulting in more jobs and opportunities for marginalized social groups.

Kyoto, Japan, which leveraged its rich cultural heritage legacy by utilizing new technology to build a new dynamic part of the urban economy while enhancing social inclusion. The success of the new creative and art clusters helped transform the city's physical space and solidified its position as a globally renowned creative city.

Kobe, Japan, a UNESCO Creative City of Design that leveraged its unique cultural and creative traditions to 'build back better' after a catastrophic earthquake and develop a stronger city identity anchored in the local culture and history.

Seoul, Republic of Korea, another UNESCO Creative City of Design, where the government envisioned cultural and creative capital as the major driver for socioeconomic growth and economic diversification, and provided systematic support to creative clusters and local projects, resulting in important benefits in urban regeneration and job creation.

Madaba, Jordan, a small city designated as a UNESCO Creative City of Crafts and Folk Art in 2017, that became a major tourist destination and rejuvenated its urban fabric and economy by preserving and promoting its ancient local craft of mosaic-making.

Brazzaville, Democratic Republic of Congo, a UNESCO Creative City of Music that embraced its unique local-music tradition as an asset and helped rebuild social cohesion through supporting artists and promoting their craft skills.

Santos, Brazil, a UNESCO Creative City in the field of film that has been investing in support of the creative economy to promote social and economic change among the most vulnerable groups.

Angoulême, France, a UNESCO Creative City of Literature that leveraged the comic book industry to drive socio-economic and urban development in the region.

Belgrade, Serbia, where bottom-up creative activities with limited public support led to urban transformation and revitalization of neglected areas.

For example, although Kyoto has a tradition of attracting creative talent, thanks in part to its uniqueness and history as Japan's ancient capital, both the city and the national governments intervened across the set of key enablers to make

the city conducive for CCIs to continue to flourish. The national government moved Japan's Agency for Cultural Affairs to Kyoto in 2017. To signal the priority it placed on CCIs, safeguard ICH, and outline enabling interventions, the local government introduced the Kyoto Culture Art City Creation Plan and the third Kyoto City Traditional Industry Revitalization Promotion Plan. Recently, the local government facilitated regeneration in several neighborhoods, including around Kyoto Station, after observing the grassroots regeneration that was driven in the East Kyoto Station neighborhood by creatives. This included facilitating the relocation of Kyoto City University of Arts to the neighborhood. It then took a more active role in driving regeneration in the West Kyoto Station neighborhood by, for example, establishing a research park and upgrading markets and parks. The city government also extended support to creative spaces and incubators to deepen creative social networks. By enhancing the enabling environment in Kyoto, local and national governments have contributed to an environment in which approximately 16%-18% of all private enterprise is in CCIs, hiring 10%-12% of all employees in Kyoto.⁸

Outcomes

Culture and creativity contribute to spatial, economic, and social outcomes in creative cities.



Spatial outcomes

When they drive regeneration or are leveraged to make cities more attractive and entertaining places to live, they demonstrate an amenity effect, attracting people and sometimes companies to relocate. In fact, high-amenity cities have been observed to grow faster than low amenity cities.⁹ According to a recent study, in the United States the role of amenities in attracting new residents into cities has increased

over time and is a good predictor of urban revival by young populations.¹⁰ And according to a global survey covering Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and Latin America, local amenities, public services, and safety are important determinants for migration.¹⁰



Economic outcomes

When CCIs create jobs—often jobs highly accessible to marginalized and vulnerable communities—and help generate income, they contribute economically to city and national wealth. Large shares of women and youth are employed in the culture sector and in CCIs in particular.¹² Globally, approximately 20% of employed people ages 15-29 work in CCIs, which as a sector is the largest employer of youth. Many CCIs also generate a large number of non-creative jobs. A preliminary calculation using UNESCO data suggests that, overall, for every creative job in a CCI, 1.7 non-creative jobs are created. These jobs often do not require specific qualifications, and therefore provide significant employment opportunities (though a large share of these jobs may not be of high quality).



Social outcomes

By offering individuals and societies ways to express themselves and make connections, CCIs contribute to social capital and network formation, which can enhance innovation and growth. Furthermore, several cases have shown that efforts to rebuild cities leveraging local CCIs and in a participatory manner can contribute to greater social cohesion and greater tolerance across different ethnic groups.

The COVID-19 pandemic has negatively impacted creative cities but has also revealed the capacity of CCIs, when offered an appropriate local enabling environment, to evolve and help mitigate the impacts of such crises.¹³ The impact on creative cities has varied based on the dependency of these cities on the CCIs that have been most hurt by the crisis. But in aggregate, the impact has been considerable. At the height of pandemic lockdowns, about 95% of countries closed their World Heritage properties, and about 90% of museums worldwide were closed, with as many as 1 in 8 not expected to reopen after the pandemic.¹⁴ At the beginning of the second quarter of 2020, the International Labour Organization (ILO) estimated that retail trade; accommodation and food services; and arts, entertainment, and recreation—which rely predominantly on physical proximity—were six of the hardest-hit sectors. The early projected loss of over 100–190 million jobs in the tourism sector alone could lead to a US\$2.7–5.5 trillion decrease in GDP.¹⁵

Despite the negative impact of COVID-19 observed during the first quarters of the pandemic, the crisis demonstrated CCI resilience, triggering innovation in craft, delivery, and expansion of markets. Case studies included in this paper illustrate opportunities for CCIs to provide silver linings amid the global crisis. Some CCI sub-industries proved particularly resilient—predominantly, those accessible electronically such as books and television. Many World Heritage sites and museums, although closed, have opened their doors online. Museums digitized collections and organized numerous webinars, contributing to a 200% increase in museum online usage by April 2020, according to the International Council of Museums. Cities around the world are recognizing the importance of enabling broader access to quality digital infrastructure to enable local artists to access larger markets, as signaled by funding of digital initiatives of creative talent in Buenos Aires, Kobe, and Toronto, among other cities. Many are committing to investing in expansions through their recovery efforts. These efforts could help some creatives continue to access audiences and consumers and expand their markets.

Guiding principles and Recommendations

Cities seeking to enhance the resilience of their CCIs in the short run and their impact on their neighborhoods, communities, and city competitiveness in the long run can rely on the CCC framework to:

- Map their cultural resources and CCIs measuring the size, range, locations, actors, and impacts of these activities, which is key for short- to long-run actions.
- Identify key constraints to the growth and structural change of these industries—such as absence of affordable production spaces and/or limited knowledge to scale-up production—and to their ability to offer spatial and social spillover benefits.
- Prioritize interventions to tackle key constraints impacting the development of CCIs in consultation with key stakeholders as well as a sequencing for implementation.
- Build and empower an effective coalition of policy makers at local and national levels, artists and representatives of cultural institutions, CCI representatives, and local community stakeholders within cities to help better target interventions and amplify the impact of government interventions.

Table 1 outlines how these steps were undertaken in the case study cities included in this paper. →

Ultimately, CCIs can play a critical role in city revitalization and growth. Yet a city's ability to create a CCI enabling environment depends on the responsiveness of local governments and their creative coalitions. Since they offer positive spillovers to city competitiveness, urban development, and social inclusion, CCIs are critical for inclusion in short-term development or recovery plans and long-term development strategies. The framework and case studies presented in this paper offer tools and lessons learned from real-world examples to support decision makers leveraging their creative cities' full potential, as well as to recover from the current COVID-19 crisis.

Table 1. Guiding principles for enabling creative cities

Guiding principles	Examples from case studies
Mapping cultural resources and CCIs	<p>Local policy efforts are more likely to succeed when they aim to build on existing cultural and creative assets. Thus, the first step for city officials is to understand what they are. In some cases, creative assets of cities are known and well understood, which was the case of Brazzaville, Madaba, and Angoulême, established cultural centers known for unique art forms. Other cities need to identify creative assets in the local social and cultural fabric. Knowledge of local creative assets is often held by local communities; thus, local governments should seek out such local and indigenous knowledge to inform policy making. There is a spectrum of approaches that can be taken including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - These exercises do not need to be very structured and run in a top-down manner. Experiences of Kyoto and Kobe show that one successful strategy has been to focus on creating an enabling environment for creative communities and initiatives to emerge—then design targeted interventions to support them. In general, support for creativity sometimes entails simply identifying a source and letting it thrive until a specific need for support emerges. - The case of Seoul demonstrates an opposite approach. The Seoul Metropolitan Government undertook a detailed analysis of the market potential of local cultural assets and adopted a government-led approach to develop them. At the national level, the growth of Korean cultural exports was recognized as a development opportunity, and informed policies aimed at improving the ecosystem for culture as an industry. In Seoul, the creative city strategy began with identifying specific CCIs that already exist in the city and that can grow further (broadcasting, game, film/animation, music, and digital education).
Identify key constraints	<p>To maximize the impact of scarce resources, an accurate understanding of constraints on CCIs is critical. The city cases outlined in this paper show a variety of approaches:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Seoul offers an example of a top-down approach to identifying constraints. After the vision of creating a new creative industry hub was formulated by the city, the Digital Media City planning committee was set up through bringing together policy makers, CCI experts, scholars, and international practitioners. Under the supervision of the planning committee, detailed analysis of market opportunities and growth constraints for each of the key CCIs in Seoul was conducted and results informed the design of the new neighborhood. - Kyoto offers an example of a mixed approach that combined learning from bottom-up initiatives with top-down policy action. The city let private-sector initiative drive the development of the East Kyoto Station neighborhood but used the lessons from how the community evolved to better understand the needs of CCIs in a government-driven approach to regenerating the West Kyoto Station neighborhood. - Lima represents a situation where the city and national government enabled the scale-up of a bottom-up culinary revolution. Opportunities and constraints were identified in close collaboration with culinary cluster leaders—chefs and restaurateurs. This led the metropolitan government to launch projects to renovate food markets and establish “Cocina de Ideas”, an incubator and accelerator of new businesses and innovations in gastronomy, which serve as enablers for the industry’s growth.

>> Executive Summary

Guiding principles	Examples from case studies
Prioritize interventions that enhance the resilience of long-term contributions of CCIs	<p>Building resilience of creative communities and CCIs starts with empowering organic creative communities and strengthening institutions and skills that are central to their make-up. These policies help rebuild and develop the core creative and cultural assets that are always the foundation of successful CCIs, and their rebuilding after any shock. The following are examples from city cases in the paper:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Madaba's first steps towards being recognized as a 'City of Mosaics' were related to the establishment of the Madaba Institute for Mosaic Art and Restoration that focused on ensuring the survival and transmission of artisanal skills.- Brazzaville first focused on supporting musicians by creating a residency program that allowed musicians access to facilities, instruments, and technologies needed to enhance their creative process. The city also ran support programs for musicians who had fallen into hardship.- Kobe's ongoing efforts are driven in part by a creative industry chief manager whose functions include maintaining and building the network of creative professionals and ensuring they get contracts and employment opportunities in the local area.
Build and empower an effective coalition	<p>Public-private coalitions are critical for enabling local economic development,¹ and this is no less relevant when it comes to CCIs. Coalitions can function as formal institutions or as informal consultative networks. They should be inclusive and give participants a real chance to influence policy decisions. The following are examples from the case studies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- The Seoul Digital Media City (DMC) planning committee is a formally organized coalition body Seoul established to have a platform through which various stakeholders can come together and shape policy.- Lima's APEGA association of gastronomic professionals, organized by industry leaders themselves, was already established and proven to be extremely efficient at identifying and addressing industry needs. The city saw APEGA as its main partner in advancing and scaling the opportunities of creative city development.- Kobe's local government supports and finances several CCI organizations and employs professionals whose job is focused on maintaining links with the creative community. As a result, interactions between city hall and CCIs goes through multiple formal and informal channels.



Introduction



For centuries, cities have been hubs of innovation and catalysts for progress. They stimulate creativity, create wealth, enhance social development, and harness human and technological resources, resulting in unprecedented economic and social gains. History shows that culture is at the heart of urban development, evidenced through both tangible and intangible cultural heritage, landmarks, historic city cores, and vibrant cultural institutions such as museums, libraries, concert halls, opera houses, etc. These features distinguish cities and make them attractive for both residents and visitors. Without culture, cities as vibrant life-spaces would not exist. At their core, cities have been shaped by human creativity, becoming hubs for ideas, interaction, innovation, and knowledge that bring together people of diverse backgrounds—often through migration and trade—to exchange, innovate, and create.

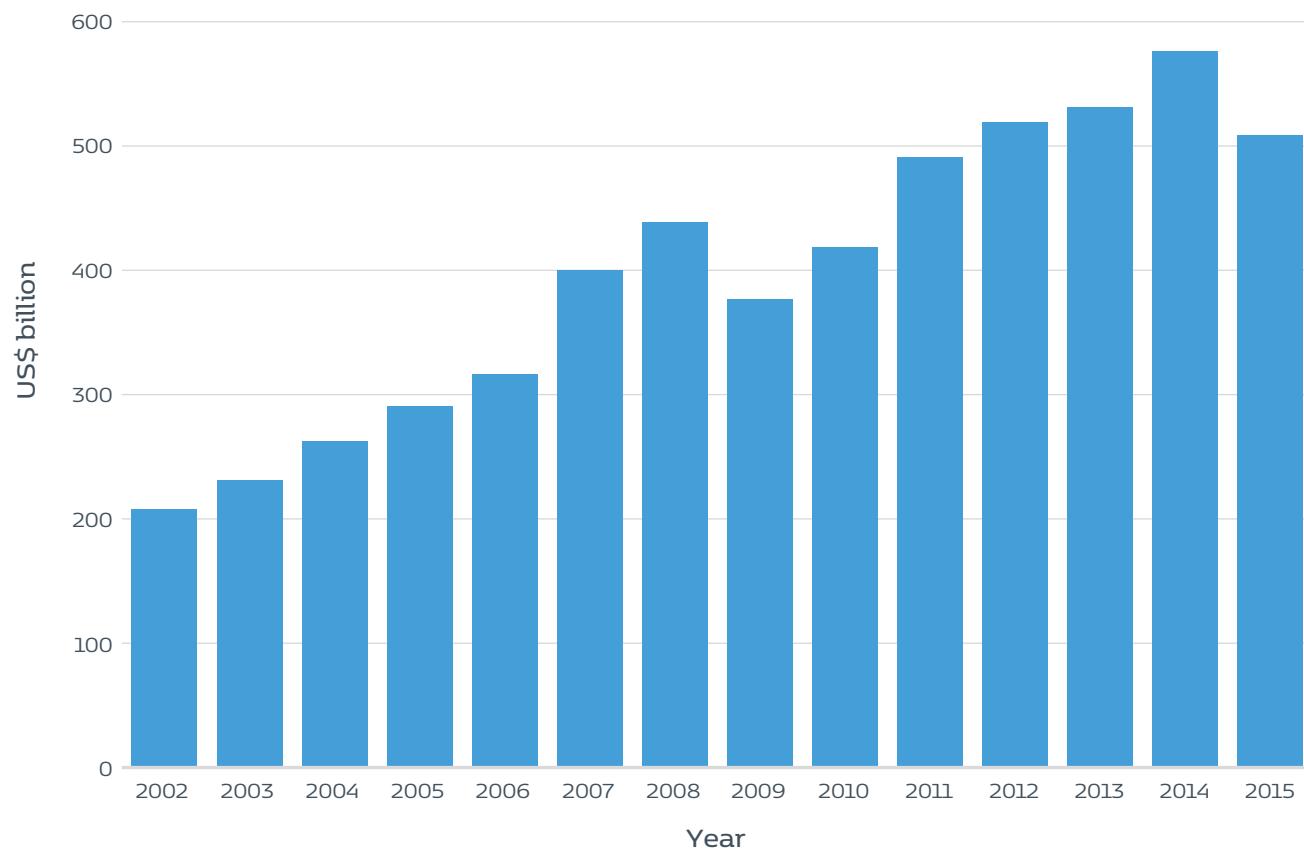
By 2030, approximately 60% of the world's population is projected to live in cities, which will require important investments in planning, infrastructure, service delivery, and local economic development to sustain such important population growth. Culture and creativity provide an important launchpad for cities to better respond to the major challenges with which they are and will be confronted, such as the current global health crisis, economic downturns, climate change and environmental impacts, demographic growth, and social tensions.

The COVID-19 pandemic has brought to light the importance of cities to enable cultural and creative exchanges and production. The pandemic is affecting the entire creative value chain and considerably weakening the economic status of artists and culture professionals worldwide. Cultural institutions and World Heritage sites have been deeply affected by lockdowns and travel restrictions, impacting communities that rely on these places for their livelihoods. Many ICH practices have also been brought to a halt, with important consequences for the social and cultural life of communities around the world. In the face of current global challenges—including sustainably managing increasing urbanization, combatting the climate crisis, promoting economic and social progress, and responding to the COVID-19 pandemic—understanding the power of

CCIs in promoting urban regeneration, unlocking opportunities for local economic development, and enabling social inclusion is key.

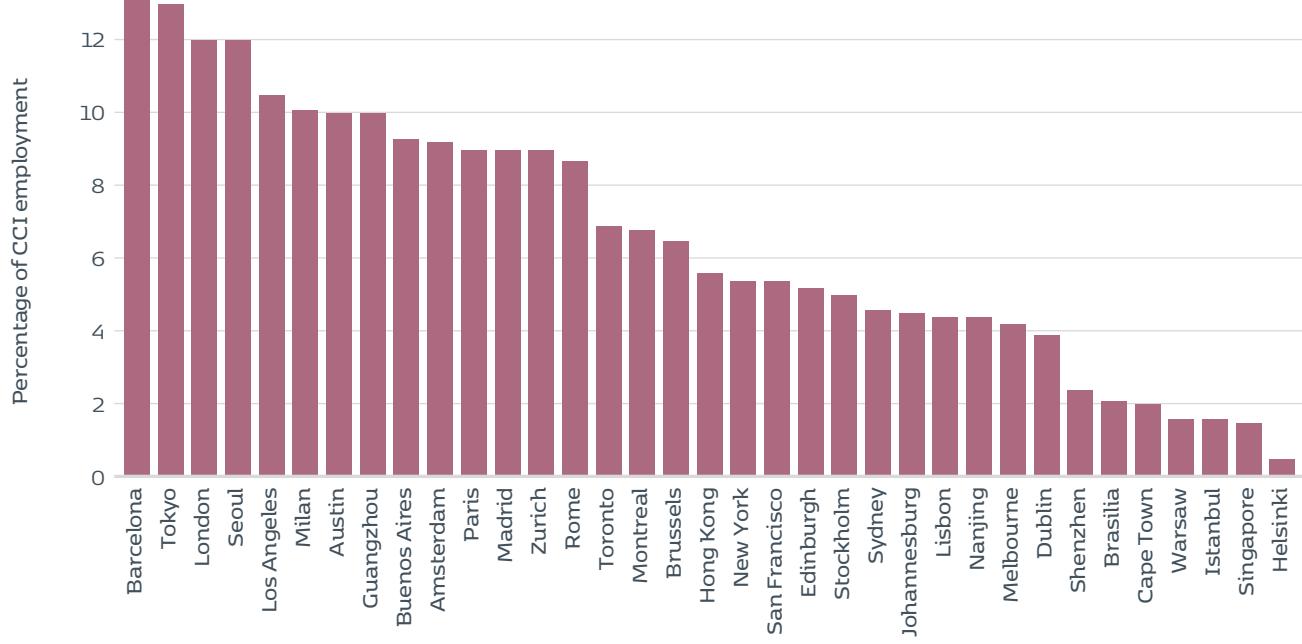
Culture and creativity play a critical role in delivering triple benefits—spatial, economic, and social—to cities. Through their contribution to urban regeneration and sustainable urban development, CCIs make cities more attractive places for people to live and for economic activity to develop. They enable city competitiveness by contributing to innovation and the growth of creative local economies with niche industries and services. It is estimated that global exports of creative goods grew from approximately US\$200 billion to US\$500 billion between 2002-2015 (Figure 4).¹⁶ In 2013, cultural and creative industries (CCIs) contributed approximately US\$2.25 trillion in revenues (3% of global GDP),¹⁷ generating a large number of urban jobs around the world (Figure 5). Socially, culture and creativity bring urban communities together by: (i) enabling social cohesion at the neighborhood level and enabling creative networks to form and advance innovation and growth, in addition to serving as a foundation for post-conflict reconciliation and resilient recovery; and (ii) contributing to inclusion through creating opportunities for those who are often socially and economically excluded.¹⁸ CCIs are also central to strengthening tourism destinations and tourism's economic impact in cities.

Figure 4. Global exports of creative goods, 2000-2015



Source: UNCTADStat database (<https://unctadstat.unctad.org/wds/TableViewer/tableView.aspx?ReportId=14772>).

Figure 5. Share of CCI jobs, selected cities, 2008-2019



Source: World Cities Culture Forum.

Cities that have effectively enabled culture and creativity to contribute to their urban and local socio-economic development are creative cities. They are places where culture, arts, CCIs, diverse expressions, and imagination flourish and contribute to sustainable urban development and inclusive growth. Those assets serve as a source of innovation and uniqueness—and typically comprise an ecosystem of individuals, organizations, and firms that span public and private sectors and include artists, culture professionals, and the value chains of which they are a part.

Global case studies described in this paper, as well as expert consultations, reveal that, while culture and creativity often develop organically, CCIs need an enabling city ecosystem to take root, innovate, and

flourish. There are **six categories of creative city enablers** that have proven to be critical to translating culture and creativity into the above-mentioned triple benefits, in no special order. First, many CCIs need a particular **urban infrastructure and an environment affording good quality of life** to prosper. Many CCI's need affordable workshops, design and production studios, and other workspaces in accessible locations and with minimum spatial and infrastructural characteristics (light, ample space, stable infrastructure, and reliable services). Such spaces—often former industrial and warehousing districts with unique spatial characteristics—are gradually occupied and adapted, and in many cases end up jumpstarting a process of urban regeneration. Other CCIs have spaces such as galleries and restaurants that tend to flourish in neighborhoods with livable urban spaces and reliable infrastructure and

services. Second, they need human resources with **skills, talent, and a capacity to innovate**, and an enabling environment for innovation. Third, CCIs benefit from social **networks, creative catalysts, and technical and financial support** for their activity or business. Fourth, artists and creative communities thrive when given **regulatory support** measures as productive workers, including protection of their intellectual property rights. CCIs need institutions, enabling regulations, and partnerships to safeguard them as they experiment with their production and enable them to advance to scale. Fifth, harnessing and effectively mobilizing cities' diverse cultural resources, as well as their social and cultural infrastructure, can make them vibrant and **unique**, catering to the needs of the local population and attracting visitors and investors. Sixth, to expand their reach beyond their geographically limited spheres of influence, CCIs may also need support in adapting to the digital transition in part through local investments in **digital infrastructure and connectivity**.

Cities that enable a conducive creative environment through these six factors can unlock the potential of CCIs to deliver social, economic, and spatial benefits and transform into creative cities. First, culture and creative capital contributes to spatial benefits through the development of unique places, services, and products. That uniqueness attracts residents and tourists, and generates markets for local products and services, supporting the livelihoods of a range of artists, creative professionals, and small businesses. Second, CCIs contribute to economic benefits through urban development, improving city livability and attracting firms keen to locate in places with creativity and innovation, and where talent lives. Third, cultural institutions and CCIs offer social benefits in the form of job opportunities, especially to young people, women, and marginalized segments of society because CCIs require a wide range of skill levels and thus can support a diversified workforce. For instance, in the gastronomy sector, for every highly skilled restaurateur, there are a larger number of unskilled or less skilled jobs linked to the business, from

food preparation to serving to dish washing, as well as other linked supply chains, including food supply, etc. Furthermore, interactions between creative talent during the process of creation, and between audiences/consumers of CCI products, can foster greater social interaction, contribute to social network formation, and support inclusion and innovation through greater exchange.

Culture and the COVID-19 crisis

COVID-19 has illustrated the importance of culture and creativity for cities and the role they can play in city resilience and recovery. This paper contains a section on emerging lessons in leveraging them for post-pandemic recovery. Because CCIs play an important role in shaping productive and inclusive cities—and due to the intrinsic features of CCI activities, such as social interaction and congregation—they can be vulnerable to crises which impose lockdown and physical distancing, and thus limit economic activities. The COVID-19 pandemic is magnifying those vulnerabilities, accelerating digital transition for some CCIs, as well as offering opportunities for innovation and growth in some sub-industries. The virus has infected millions of people and confined billions to their homes, crippling the global economy and leading to an estimated 400 million job losses globally in the first and second quarters of 2020 alone.¹⁹ While it's clear that the global economy at large has been negatively impacted, many individuals and institutions engaged in CCIs have been disproportionately impacted for several reasons:

- (i) many **rely on physical congregation and social interaction** for production and consumption and are thus impacted by lockdowns and travel restrictions;
- (ii) a larger-than-average share of jobs in the culture and creativity sectors are **precarious, informal, and/or part-time jobs**—the lack of professional status for artists and culture professionals is compounded by a lack of access to a support mechanism or safety net due to their informal status;

- (iii) **widespread job losses and income reductions** are limiting consumer spending on culture and CCIs, which are known to be much more at risk of cuts to disposable income loss compared to other basic necessities such as food, education, and healthcare spending; and
- (iv) in many cities with inadequate infrastructure, the **lack of access to digital technology** and online platforms that could offer an alternative outlet, as well as fair remuneration for artists' work in this environment, has also proven challenging. While the magnitude of the impact of the crisis is still unknown, it is estimated to be devastating, and we offer an illustrative snapshot of the first few months in this paper. In August 2020, the Brookings Institution projected that 2.7 million CCI jobs (about one-third of CCI jobs in the United States) and more than US\$150 billion in CCI sales (about 9% of average annual CCI sales in the United States) would be lost in the United States, with large and medium-sized cities across the country hit hardest by these losses.²⁰

There is a strong case for leveraging and supporting CCIs as part of pandemic recovery efforts and towards a longer-term transformation to enable them to reach their full potential as agents of urban regeneration, local economic development, and social inclusion. This crisis—and predecessors such as the 2008-2009 global financial crisis—have demonstrated the resilience, social impact, and transformation and growth potential of some subfields of culture and CCIs. Those that can be experienced or consumed safely with social distance—such as literature and music—are thriving within the digital environment. A great number of cultural institutions quickly shifted delivery models: musicians and performing artists now offer virtual concerts and shows through alternative platforms, museums offer virtual tours, libraries have adapted their offerings to enable community members to safely access literature, and restaurants offer a wider range of food services and alternative models for delivery. This has helped them expand their reach and experiment with different ways of expressing and sharing their art. Other CCI businesses have

adapted. Many restaurants now cater to take-out service, offer gastronomy classes, and serve new market segments, including food preparation and distribution.

Some cities and countries at various stages of development are prioritizing digital access for all, which could further disrupt—in both positive and potentially harmful ways—the ways we access the arts. And some artistic communities with the ability to shelter in place have taken the time to enhance their skills and advance their creative activities, in anticipation of when they can present their innovations to a post-crisis community. COVID-19 has revealed that demand for cultural and creative experiences and goods, especially those with intangible value, persists—and may even increase—during periods of crisis. It also reveals the capacity within the CCI sector to adapt and transform. But there remains a need to consider how to make that transformation more inclusive of those who might otherwise be left behind (e.g. lower-skilled workers less involved in the CCIs that can adapt to such crises, for instance by going digital in a manner that allows them to sustain their livelihoods).

This paper is comprised of the following sections:

- **Section 1:** Culture and Creativity as City Assets and Resources frames key creative city concepts and the importance of culture and creativity for cities.
- **Section 2:** Creative City Constraints and the CCC Framework presents key enablers for culture and creative assets to be translated into social, economic, and spatial benefits.
- **Section 3:** Learning from Creative Cities and the Impact of COVID-19 offers case studies illustrating how cities have enabled and leveraged culture and CCIs for the triple benefits described above, and describes the expected impact of the current pandemic on creative cities, as well as opportunities for cities to leverage culture and CCIs for recovery.
- **Section 4:** Conclusion and Recommendations outlines policy options for enhancing creative cities.



1. Culture and Creativity as City Assets and Resources





1.1 Cities, Culture, Creativity and the international development agendas

The role of culture and creativity as enablers of sustainable urban development is increasingly recognized at the international level, most notably since the adoption of the 17 UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015, whereby culture was integrated into the international development agenda for the first time. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development acknowledges the integral role of culture across many of the SDGs, including quality education (SDG 4), economic growth and sustainable consumption and production patterns (SDGs 8 and 12), environmental sustainability (SDGs 14 and 15), inclusive and peaceful societies (SDG 16), gender equality (SDG 5), and food security (SDG 2). Culture is explicitly addressed in SDG 11—‘to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable’—which identifies cultural and natural heritage as essential levers for promoting sustainable development (Target 11.4). Attaining SDG 11 requires safeguarding intangible and tangible cultural heritage to ensure city sustainability, inclusivity, and resiliency.²¹

From large metropolises to isolated villages, human settlements have always struggled to develop sustainably. Territorial development can be enhanced when approached in a holistic manner that takes into account the fundamental role of culture in human development. UNESCO’s *Global Report ‘Culture: Urban Future’* (2016) reflects this vision,²² presenting a culture-based approach to sustainable urban development, based on a **3P analytical framework (People, Places, Policies)**, and highlighting that human-centered cities are those that focus on culture to ensure the improvement of the quality of life of its inhabitants, as well as to promote social inclusion, dialogue, and creativity in urban development. The UNESCO report contributed to the New Urban Agenda (NUA), which was adopted at the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) in 2016. The NUA explicitly recognizes the role of culture for the sustainable development of cities. It proposes a new model of sustainable urban development that promotes equity, welfare, and shared prosperity, and places culture and cultural diversity at the core of sustainable development of cities, by promoting civic engagement and fostering active participation in development processes.

1.2 Cities are the epicenter of the creative economy

The creative economy is one of the most rapidly growing sectors of the world economy, not only in terms of income generation but also for job creation and export earnings.²³

The creative economy is defined as the totality of individuals and businesses that produce cultural, artistic, and innovative products and services. It also encompasses spaces where creatives can freely present their works, receive feedback, and exchange ideas. A creative economy gives new life to production,

services, commerce, and entertainment. It changes the environment in which people aspire to live, work, and study, as well as where they think, invent, and create. Though national scale policy interventions are important to enable the creative economy, there is an increasing recognition of the critical role local environments play in enabling the creative economy. Enabling creative economies depends on understanding interactions, specificities, and policies at the local level.²⁴

1. Culture and Creativity as City Assets and Resources

Cities remain at the epicenter of the creative economy. As the role of the creative economy and the development opportunities associated with it in cities get recognized more broadly, more and more cities (as will be shown later in this report) are embracing creativity as a part of their development vision and as a motivation for local interventions, from neighborhood improvement to business cluster development.

A significant challenge for creative cities is the availability of metrics and measures of activity.

Existing census taxonomies and measurement mechanisms can lead to under-counting creative economic activity and over-counting new developments. The rise of digitalization and trade in intellectual property has in many cases bypassed official statistics. Much of a creative economy's value is in the trade of physical products that hold relatively low value as materials, but contain their real value in intellectual property, which is not often recognized by conventional trade measures.²⁵

1.2.1 CCIs at a glance

CCIs are at the heart of the creative economy.

They lie at the intersection of arts, culture, business, and technology. Not only do they foster cultural diversity in the global market and enable cultural participation, but CCIs are also based on the creative capacity of individuals who make up diverse and dynamic organizations and enterprises. In short, CCIs are “those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property”.²⁶

The definition of CCIs used throughout this paper encompasses all the economic sectors that share the key characteristics of the creative economy and incorporates traditional industrial classifications. For the purposes of this paper—and building on the 2009 UNESCO Framework of Cultural Statistics and on UNESCO’s definition of intangible cultural heritage—CCIs include the following cultural domains: Audio-visual and Interactive Media; Literature and Press; Performing Arts; Visual Arts and Crafts; ICH; Design and Creative Services; and Heritage and Tourism Activities (Figure 6). Since

gastronomy is included in some definitions of CCIs, it is taken into consideration in this paper. This definition utilizes standard industry classifications, which is a critical part of any quantitative assessment of CCIs.²⁷

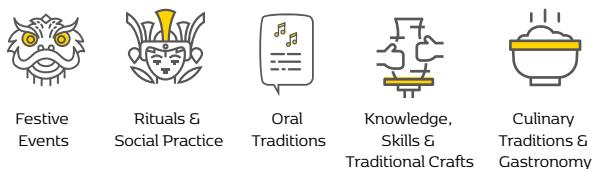
1. Culture and Creativity as City Assets and Resources

Figure 6. Creative and cultural industries and subfields²⁸

1. Audiovisual and Interactive Media



3. Intangible Cultural Heritage



5. Visual Arts and Crafts



7. Heritage and Tourism Activities



2. Performing Arts



4. Literature and Press



6. Design and Creative Services

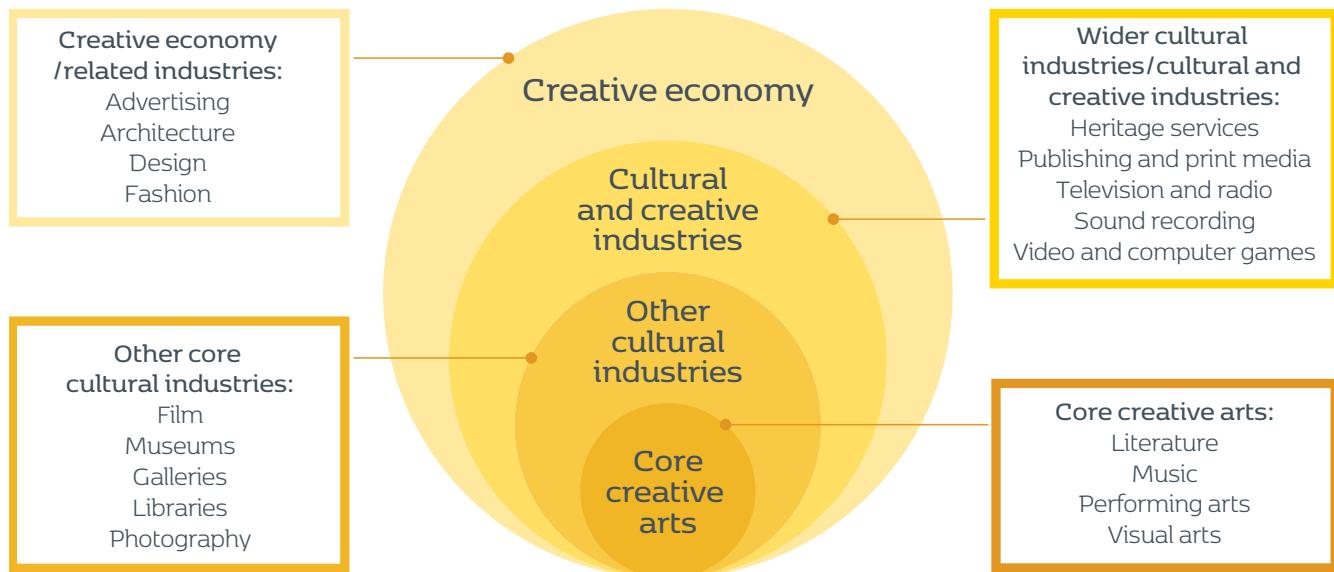


Deeper understanding of CCIs and the conditions that support their growth and contributions to urban development requires looking at the unique characteristics of their economic activities. Early attempts to understand and measure CCIs focused on the attribution of value associated with craft or the manufacture of culture, arguing that cultural values could be produced using industrial means by consumers and audiences. These attempts were built on two important observations made about the nature of these industries: first, that the process of value creation was different across cultural industries and sub-fields (e.g. Publishing, Live Performance, and Audio-Visual); second, that

the process of production was important by itself. One popular and early model developed to capture the activities of the creative economy was known as the ‘concentric circles’ model, with artists at the center, the sole source of innovation and creativity, and various support activities, such as manufacturing and marketing, located in the outer rings (Figure 7).²⁹ This model sought to accommodate a wider ‘breadth’, a cultural sphere that would include both popular and digital culture (via intellectual property rights). However, this view of CCIs did not fully capture the specificity of the production process and of how CCIs truly operated. A new model was thus required.

1. Culture and Creativity as City Assets and Resources

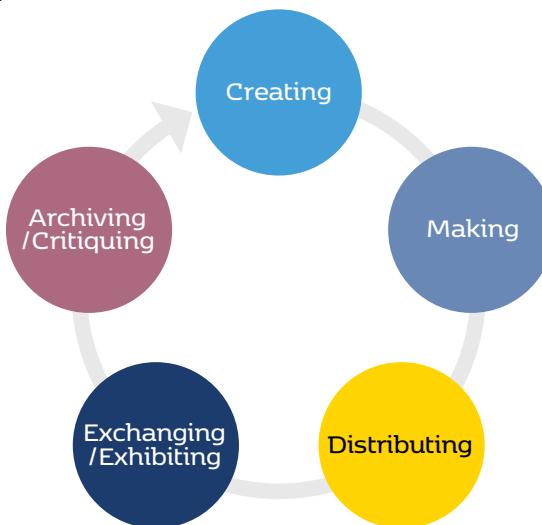
Figure 7. The Concentric Circles Model of the creative economy



1.2.2 The creative economy ecosystem

A model that looks at the creative economy as an ecosystem allows for deeper understanding of CCIs, their specific characteristics, and specific policy needs. This type of approach addresses the strengths and weakness of cultural production chains in social, cultural, and economic terms. Unlike the concentric circles model, it takes into account the role of proximity in facilitating such links. The foundation of the creative economy ecosystem model is the cultural production cycle, which divides the creation of cultural goods into the following steps: creating, making, distributing, exchanging, and archiving (Figure 8). It captures the context in which the production cycle takes place and represents the interdependence of multiple factors across spatial, temporal, and organizational dimensions.

Figure 8. The cultural and creative cycle of production

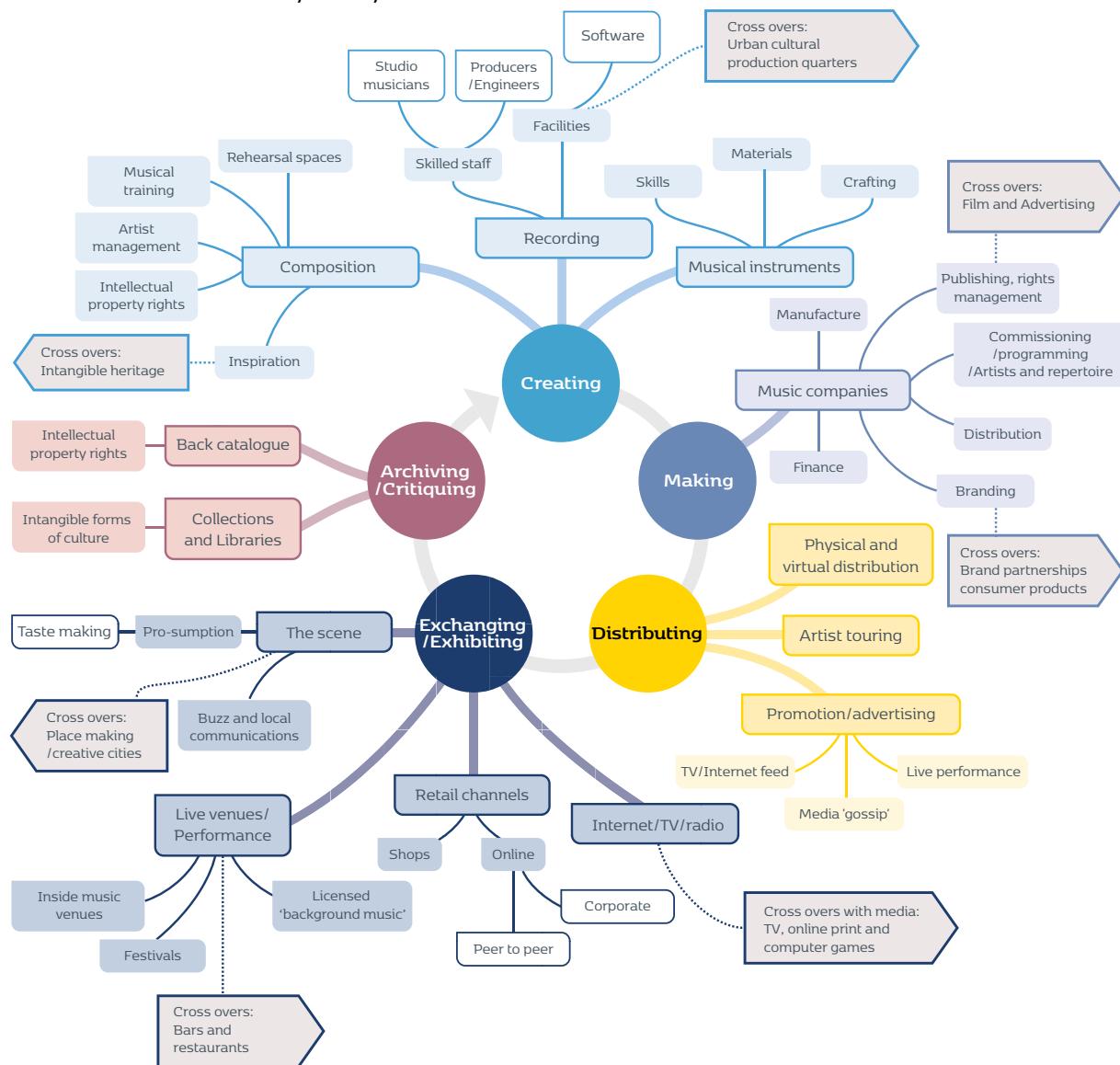


1. Culture and Creativity as City Assets and Resources

The Music industry ecosystem is an example of what the culture and creative production cycle looks like in practice (Figure 9). The cycle of production is iterative and includes feedback and crossover between the processes that feed into the cycle and the conditions that affect it. This can be illustrated by exploring the activities associated with each of the phases of music production. For instance, the creation phase includes necessary activities such as composition, recording, and musical instruments. Each of these activities has several specific sub-activities. Further, these activities can

'cross over' (intersect) with other cultural forms as well as other industries, sectors, and aspects of the broader economy and society. Importantly, unlike the concentric circles model, none of the activities that feed into the stages of the music production cycles are peripheral; they are all essential. Thus, the ecosystem model stresses the notion of co-dependency between various cultural activities and the importance of relevant conditions that affect the cultural production cycle.

Figure 9. The Music industry ecosystem



Source: Developed for this paper by Andy Pratt.

1. Culture and Creativity as City Assets and Resources

The ecosystem model looks beyond organizational and institutional structures and incorporates the importance of space and proximity. It is important to note that the ecosystem model does not offer an a priori distinction or exclusion between for-profit and not-for-profit, formal and informal, commercial and state funding, or indigenous and mainstream cultural products. It is accepted that the system is a blend, where some characteristics will be dominant in particular locations and at particular times. In addition, these networks among creative economy activities can exist in one company or organization, or they can be spread across multiple companies and organizations. This demonstrates how spatial clustering can be used to improve the essential feedback and communication of tacit knowledge that is so important to the cultural field and the creative economy.

The ecosystem model helps identify CCI needs and design adequate policy solutions. The value of such a model is that by envisaging a production system and its activities, local characteristics—as well as the specific strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats to the resilience and sustainability of a particular urban system of (say) music—can more readily be assessed. This model also enables learning about the characteristics of a cultural production system—especially in comparison to others—and the capacities, training needs, and potential outcomes that might be expected. In fact, the ecosystem model has been used recently by London to identify the lack of practice venues and the loss of small music venues as a result of rent increases and regulation changes. This example shows how loss of venues can have larger, unintended consequences and a dramatic long-term effect on resilience and survival of the music ecosystem. It also explains how a sole focus on flagship venues can neglect the necessary ‘ladder of opportunity’ to build audiences and experience that smaller venues enable. An ecosystem-informed policy approach is a more holistic one.

1.2.3 The specificities of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) in creative cities

Intangible cultural heritage or living heritage (ICH), as defined in the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the ICH, refers to the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, and skills—as well as the associated instruments, objects, artifacts, and cultural spaces—that communities, groups, and individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. ICH is transmitted from generation to generation and constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature, and their history. It provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.

CCIs and ICH play a vital role in the urban cultural ecosystem. Apart from providing ‘creative capital’ for innovation, ICH enables the transmission of knowledge and thus the continued viability of CCIs in cities, by maintaining networks of creatives who educate those who come after them. ICH practices and transmission mechanisms create networks of practitioners, students, audiences, and customers who can function as springboards for innovation. This is not just a one-way transfer of ideas: innovation in ICH is informed by new ideas from CCIs and vice versa; ICH and CCIs are mutually reinforcing.³⁰

ICH is often associated with specific places where people linked by their cultural heritage and social practices come together to form a community and create spaces for exchange and innovation, promoting social cohesion and contributing to sustainable urban development. Culturally significant and geographically localized ICH knowledge, skills, and know-how attract creative talent, innovators, and investors to places.³¹ ICH thus typically plays an important role in the formation of creative cities. ICH knowledge and skills are built up, adapted, and reproduced over time within networks of creative practitioners who develop locally specific

1. Culture and Creativity as City Assets and Resources

infrastructures, associations, and systems.³² ICH also shapes the existing fabric of cities because traditional techniques and skills can help to build and repair historic buildings in cities, and because of the ongoing requirement for workshops, production, and warehouse facilities, as well as for spaces for carrying out living heritage practices such as festivals and performances.



Photo: AlGraChe/Flickr.com³³, Maha Kumbh Mela (Mauni Amawasya) – Allahabad, February 2013

Box 1. Kumbh Mela contributes to local economies

India's Kumbh Mela (the Festival of the Sacred Pitcher), inscribed in the UNESCO Representative List of ICH of Humanity, is a religious event attracting millions of people to the cities of Allahabad (Sangam city, Prayagraj), Haridwar, Ujjain, and Nasik every four years by rotation. In 2019, the Confederation of Indian Industry expected the Kumbh Mela in Sangam city, Prayagraj to generate around US\$16.8 billion in indirect income from visitors to the area and create employment for over 600,000 workers across various sectors. In 2013, the festival in the same city brought in US\$2.2 billion on an investment of around US\$220 million, creating 650,000 jobs. Recent research on the similar economic impact of ICH in West Bengal, India suggests that festival organizers for its Durga Puja Festival (2019) earn a significant proportion of their annual income during the festival.

ICH can generate income for creative practitioners. While some ICH is sacred, or simply not intended for commercial use,³³ other types do have potential commercial value and can thus generate income directly or indirectly,³⁴ should communities concerned be interested in doing so. Much ICH practice has historically been sustained through

forms of patronage or payments in kind. ICH may also generate income from crafts that are sold in markets; practitioners charge for performances, advice, or medical services based on ICH. Indeed, ICH can contribute substantially to inclusive economic development by supporting the livelihoods of poor and vulnerable groups.³⁵

ICH in cities encourages the cultural diversity, innovation, and resilience of migrant communities to better sustain their livelihoods. Economic and social migrations generate CCIs where bearers of ICH expressions and traditional knowledge are the main drivers. Migrant communities in cities can survive in urban areas using their living heritage practices transmitted by their ancestors in their place of origin as a primary skill. ICH for migrants can be the main resource for resiliency standing up in the urban cultural ecosystem.

It is important to manage against ‘over-commercialization’ and ‘commercial misappropriation’, which can destroy or negatively affect the value of ICH for communities.³⁶ Some of the factors that could lead to this include inappropriate mechanization or over-production, manufacture outside the community, and loss of cultural value or meaning associated with the specific ICH practice. While some communities disagree on what constitutes ‘inappropriate’ commercialization, they often lack the bargaining power to resist commercial overtures by third parties. A key concern of the ICH Convention’s Ethical Principles is whether these communities, groups, and individuals can retain control over the scale, nature, and meaning of ICH in the market and gain appropriately from commercialization.³⁷

Appropriate commercialization, combined with the protection of intellectual property rights (or patents) held by the producing community, can help safeguard ICH. While not all ICH is prone to or should be directly commercialized, non-commercialized practices (e.g. ceremonies and festivals) do often generate income and indirect economic benefits that can support community livelihoods.³⁸ When ICH practice represents a source of income within a creative ecosystem it can become

1. Culture and Creativity as City Assets and Resources

sustainable if over-commercialization is avoided. Many forms of ICH produce marketable products or services, generating direct and indirect revenue. ‘Traditional’ products, for example, often command higher prices because of their cultural value and locally relevant meaning. Under-commercialization, however, is a risk and can threaten safeguarding if practitioners depend on income from sales.³⁹ Crafting safeguarding measures needs the strong participation of ICH communities.

How ICH is conceptualized and measured affects the type of interventions made to support ICH and creative economic activities. In urban planning and heritage management models, where ICH is more of a recent phenomenon—e.g. in the UNESCO Historic Urban Landscapes Recommendation (2011)—ICH is still understood primarily in relation to the built environment and conceptualized as ‘spirit of place’ (community values

associated with built heritage) or as traditional skills for maintaining or reconstructing historic buildings. This has favored a focus on built environment conservation over support for continued ICH practice and transmission in planning interventions. At the same time, urban planning in cities frequently does not include living heritage practices in planning and managing public spaces and other spatial dynamics, such as historic preservation or the assignment of landmark status.

ICH has often been neglected when mapping CCIs. ICH-related products are generally not disaggregated from other CCIs in data, partly because it is difficult to differentiate between handicrafts that follow traditional methods of production and those that constitute new artistic creations. Likewise, creative initiatives based on ICH practices are sometimes present only in the informal economy, making them difficult to acknowledge when mapping CCIs. Furthermore, cultural identity and social cohesion are challenging concepts to measure quantitatively.



Photo: Secretaría de Cultura Medellín/Flickr.com*, FESTIVAL MÚSICA VIVA, 20 Years of the Network of Music Schools of Medellín

Box 2. Promoting urban ICH in Colombia

The Heritage Division of the Ministry of Culture of Colombia promotes the ICH in Urban Contexts Program, which is tasked with integrating ICH into sustainable development and urban planning frameworks to enhance the quality of life for communities in cities. Three strategies have been established: i) Identifying living heritage processes and relations is now compulsory when building any Master Plan for cities or Special Management Plans for Historic towns; ii) The World Charter for the Right to The City was introduced as a framework to link ICH and city management and planning; and iii) Guidelines and a Methodological Toolbox for the identification of ICH in the urban context were created, empowering local governments to include living heritage patterns when managing cities.

Box 3. In Marrakesh and Toronto, culture goes beyond the tangible

Less attention has been paid to identifying ways to support traditional storytellers and traders in Jemaa el-Fna Square in Marrakesh, Morocco, than to protect the built fabric of the souk and related structures in the town. Similarly, Toronto’s ‘Music City’ initiative focuses on protecting conventional and iconic historical music venues such as the Silver Dollar Room, where blues, jazz and bluegrass music have been played since the late 1950s, rather than supporting contemporary musician networks, musicians’ education, and other sites for music.

Photo: Kazuo Ota/Unsplash.com



1. Culture and Creativity as City Assets and Resources

Indirect and spillover effects of investment are seldom measured in assessing cultural value.⁴⁰ Thus, it is rare that the contribution of ICH to CCIs and urban development is measured, quantified, or even fully recognized.



Photo: Stuart Reeves, Kingston Creative

Box 4. Kingston, Jamaica as an ICH pilot project

Kingston was designated a Creative City of Music by UNESCO in 2015 and is home to ‘Reggae music of Jamaica’, which was inscribed in 2018 on the Representative List of the ICH of Humanity. The first phase of the project will ‘identify and better understand the key issues related to ICH safeguarding in urban contexts, develop appropriate inventory methodologies and materials for urban contexts, as well as formulate possible recommendations for policy makers and practitioners.’

Living heritage is identified and valued because it provides communities and groups ‘with a sense of identity and continuity’.⁴¹ Concerned communities and individuals play a prominent role in deciding how to represent, use, and safeguard their heritage in cities. Some ICH knowledge and practices may involve restrictions on the use or knowledge of sacred information, while others may be protected as ‘trade secrets’, just as CCIs sometimes depend on secrecy for commercial advantage. In some cases, people may not wish their living heritage to become the focus of a creative city’s programs if this would attract too many tourists to small local venues and erode the sense of place. Ideally, the use of ICH would foster inclusivity as much as possible precisely because of the strong link between ICH practice and community identity.

Box 5. ICH in Florence and London

The 14th century Piazza del Carmine in Florence (Italy) was transformed from an open-air car park into a square described by the city’s mayor as “a place for living and making a living.” Ancient buildings in the area were repurposed as cafes and restaurants, revitalizing craft workshops of ceramicists, jewelers, papermakers, and leather craftspeople. ICH plays a role in placemaking in cities: place names associated with specific crafts exist in many historic centers. The Spitalfields area of London was, for example, formerly the center of Huguenot silk production.

Photo: Spitalfields_E1/Flickr.com, Spitalfields arts market

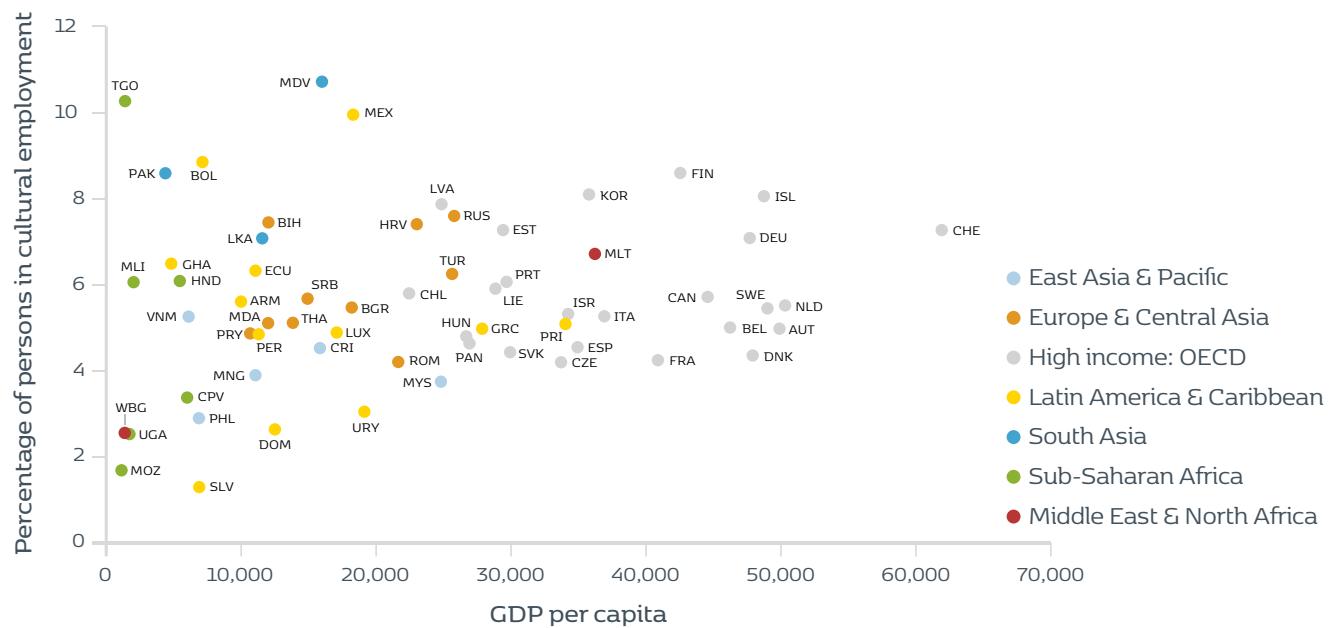


1.2.4 Cities as the breeding grounds of CCIs for economic growth and employment

CCIs have an increasingly large economic role across cities and countries of different income levels. According to a recent study by the World Bank,⁴² using data from UNESCO and the ILO, CCIs today account for a substantial part of total employment in countries across the world, including developing countries. Figure 10 shows that, while the overall share of creative jobs ranges from 1%-10 % in different countries, high-income countries don’t necessarily come out on top. Bolivia, Pakistan, and Togo are among the countries where CCIs make the largest contribution to employment, suggesting that these industries can make substantial economic contributions in all world regions and in different geographic, historic, and cultural contexts.

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Figure 10. Share of CCI employment, selected countries and income levels



Source: World Bank. 2020. *Orange Economy: As a Driver of Jobs for Youth: Thematic Note, Issue 1*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Evidence from different regions of the world confirms the prominent and growing role of CCIs across a range of economic metrics. In China, creative sectors created over 27 million jobs in 2018, a number that has grown by more than 30% since 2013.⁴³ In the United Kingdom, CCIs contribute 5.2% of total Gross Value Added (GVA), and as recently as 2013, they recorded a growth of 9% in a single year, far exceeding growth of the overall economy.⁴⁴ The Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism of the Republic of Korea estimates that CCIs (defined more narrowly than in this report, and in Figure 10) account for 667,000 jobs (2.4% of total employment), and create US\$23 billion of added value, which translates to 2.6% of GDP, a larger share than in employment. They also contribute more than 1.5% of exports, which is significant for a group of industries that are often associated with non-tradable services.⁴⁵ Data from Vietnam suggests that CCIs contribute 8.9% of national GDP, with the largest shares coming from

cultural tourism, gastronomy, and advertising.^{46,47} CCI economic contributions can grow quickly. For instance, since its 2013 designation as a UNESCO Creative City of Crafts and Folk Art in the United States, Paducah has generated an additional US\$30 million in gross revenue and the creation of over 3,000 job opportunities.⁴⁸

CCIs can contribute to economic growth in cities. Cities are the epicenters of creative economies.⁴⁹ Economic literature has presented a substantial amount of evidence demonstrating that CCIs tend to gravitate to large cities.⁵⁰ A number of studies have shown that this trend has been growing in recent decades, and that creative clusters have been concentrating in the largest urban agglomerations. This suggests that the location and quality of places have grown more pivotal for production of cultural and creative goods and services.⁵¹ Research has also demonstrated that success of a city's creative economy breeds further success. Over time, CCI activity in large

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urban agglomerations tends to grow and diversify into new sub-sectors. Research suggests that this might be through agglomeration economies that enhance firm learning and knowledge-exchange, enhancing innovation and productivity.⁵² These studies tend to focus on the importance of localization economies, driven by co-location with similar firms, clients, and workforces,⁵³ and the pivotal role of urbanization economies derived from proximity to urban amenities, infrastructure, and a diverse range of industries.⁵⁴

The role of cities as the centers of the creative economy holds across countries with different levels of development and different sizes of CCIs. London accounts for 40% of all creative jobs in the United Kingdom,⁵⁵ and Seoul captures

an even larger share (54%) of CCI employment in the Republic of Korea,⁵⁶ suggesting the particular importance of *primary* cities as hubs of creativity. However, even in less-developed countries where, overall, the role of CCIs is somewhat smaller, the opportunities associated with these sectors tend to concentrate in urban areas. Results of Labor Force Surveys from the Philippines and India show that the contribution of the creative sectors is closely correlated with the level of urbanization of regions and territories (Figure 11, Figure 12). While this evidence does not imply causality, it may suggest that creative sectors present an opportunity for economic development and welfare gains that are relevant for cities, while cities have a role to play in nurturing these economic activities that advance

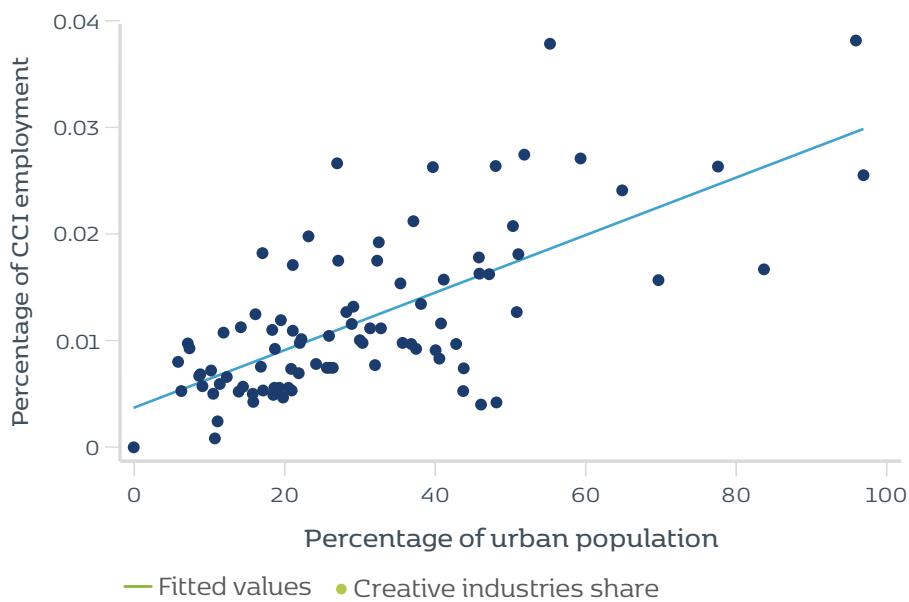
Figure 11. Correlation between urbanization level and share of CCI employment in selected regions of the Philippines



Source: Philippine Statistic Authority. 2020. Labor Force Survey, July 2019 and January 2020.

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Figure 12. Correlation between urbanization level and share of CCI employment in small regional areas of India



Source: Government of India Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation. 2019. Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS).

the well-being of the country—both of which suggest that the development of CCIs in cities presents an important opportunity.

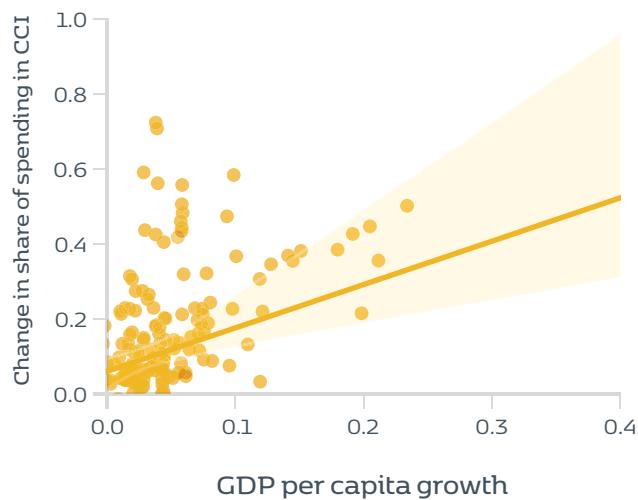
Cities in lower-income countries demonstrate a stronger link between economic growth and spending on products of CCIs. This conclusion emerges from analysis of global data at the city level (Figure 13). While it doesn't suggest causality, it does provide a hypothesis for further investigation: Does GDP growth drive higher growth in spending on cultural and creative goods and services in lower-income countries, suggesting greater propensity to increase cultural consumption as incomes rise above the levels of subsistence? Or is there a chance that growth in cultural consumption in less-advanced economies may have a broader impact on the economy, including contributing to the rise in GDP? While we cannot support any of

these hypotheses based on the data available, both suggest that CCIs play a particularly important role and present great development opportunities in the cities of lower-income countries, but that there is also a need for a deeper study to better understand this role, specifically in developing country contexts.

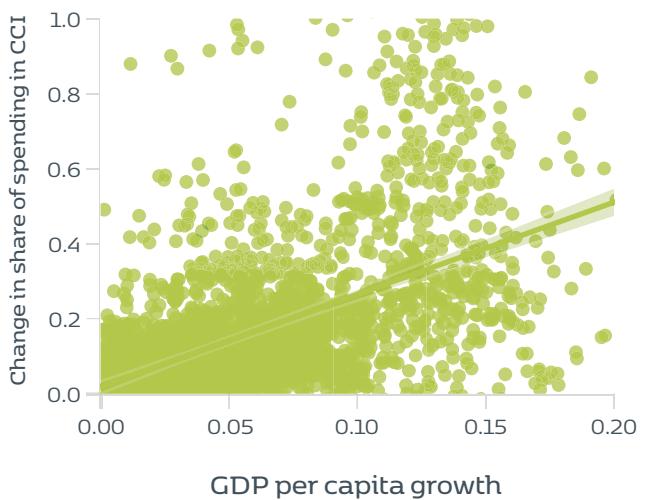
1. Culture and Creativity as City Assets and Resources

Figure 13. Correlation between GDP growth and increase in the share of cities' CCI spending, by country income level, 2000-2015

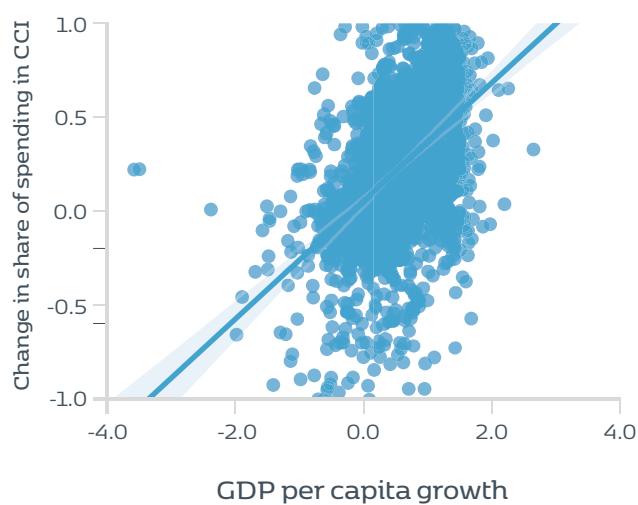
a) Low income



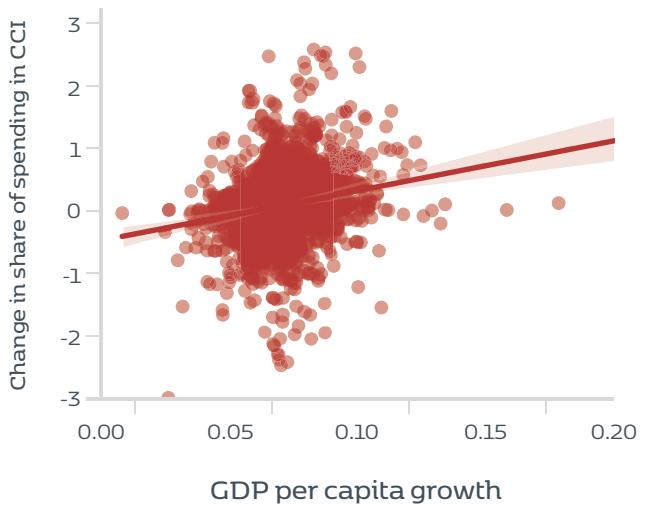
b) Lower-middle income



c) Upper-middle income



d) Upper income



Source: Oxford Economics Global Cities database,
<https://www.oxforeconomics.com/microsites/cities>.

1.3 The role of CCIs in delivering spatial benefits

CCIs contribute to and in some cases catalyze urban regeneration and redevelopment efforts. As was the case of Greene Street in New York City⁵⁷ or in countless other neighborhoods around the world, creatives often move to depressed neighborhoods in otherwise highly appealing locations. Many such neighborhoods are former industrial centers containing spaces ideal for workshops and galleries. The presence of these revised spaces has contributed to making these neighborhoods desirable, and often feeds a dynamic of revitalization of the neighborhood through an expansion of the community. Critically, this can also take place through an investment in redeveloping the neighborhood physically, upgrading neglected, dilapidated, or deteriorating areas by repurposing the existing urban spaces and infrastructure. Experiences around the world demonstrate cases in which CCIs have initiated or fostered downtown revitalization or become a focal instrument for brownfield redevelopment.

Community revitalization can lead to further development of creative neighborhoods. As creative actors move into these neighborhoods and develop social networks, they spur even further revitalization of the neighborhood. In La Floresta, Ecuador, creative professionals started settling in the declining old historic neighborhood. Gradually, creatives from different parts of the country were drawn to the neighborhood and opened up galleries, studios, theaters, and local eateries. The creative talent mutually reinforced the creative dynamics in the area and helped the local businesses flourish by actively engaging with them, collectively transforming the neighborhood as a cultural hub. The example of Greene Street in New York City also demonstrates how an area was transformed, driven by dynamic creative and economic forces, evolving from a garment manufacturing center to a rundown residential area to a cultural hub of artists and then to a wealthy residential and shopping district.⁵⁸ In particular, as artists leveraged the neglected large industrial spaces at low rents for exhibitions and imbued the area with a certain artistic character, they gave an impetus to the revival of

the neighborhood, attracting more residents and tourists. Evolving creative ecosystems in certain neighborhoods with unique amenities and livability can attract additional talent and knowledge and induce new creative entrepreneurship,^{59,60} giving rise to agglomeration and cluster effects. Further, the geographical proximity of different CCIs can spur crossover innovation, collaboration, and competition,⁶¹ leveraging various advantages, including knowledge spillover, pooling of skilled labor, and access to complementary networks and markets.

Creative talent also physically influences placemaking through different forms of art and craft. As previously outlined, some cities and countries are increasingly incorporating culture into their urban planning instruments. Efforts in Colombia's cities (Box 2) and Marrakesh and Toronto (Box 3) reveal how these cities have or are increasingly inclined to incorporate considerations regarding ICH as well as tangible cultural heritage into their urban plans and management. Experiences around the world illustrate how art in public spaces and tangible heritage can be used as an ingredient for urban regeneration, contributing to creating a new visual landmark and strengthening collective identity in the area. Valparaiso, Chile, once a major port, experienced a sharp economic decline after earthquakes and the opening of the Panama Canal, as well as due to the global economic decline in the early 20th century. The population dynamics of the city changed, as wealthy residents fled, and the area attracted squatters and artists. Over time, artists, communities, and city officials came together to revitalize the urban setting through murals, transforming the city into an open-air gallery with creative expressions. The colorful and vibrant urban scene has revitalized the dilapidated neighborhood and attracted a new generation of creative talent and tourists to the area.

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While most successful CCI-enabled neighborhood revitalization starts from the bottom up, there are some examples of public authorities regenerating neighborhoods to support specific CCIs. For example, in seeking to redevelop a brownfield former landfill site, the Government of Seoul chose to orient that development around creating a new digital media entertainment cluster. It transformed the once abandoned land into infrastructure and amenities oriented toward developing the largest media hub

in the Republic of Korea, housing more than 550 CCIs. While this may have been seen as a risky bet, market research conducted by authorities suggested that the demand from cultural industries would outweigh the risk of limited occupancy in the newly developed neighborhood.



Photo: Travelmag.com/Flickr.com, Heads installation near Seoul Digital Media City in Mapo

2. The CCC Framework: Addressing Creative City Constraints



2. Creative City Constraints and the CCC Framework

2.1 Identifying constraints to creative city development

Cities with the potential to be ‘creative cities’—those that have CCIs, a pool of talent, and an enabling environment for them to grow, create jobs, and transform urban spaces—often have to overcome several constraints to their ability to attract and retain CCIs, and to support the development of a critical mass of creative talent and CCIs, to create a viable creative ecosystem and a competitive advantage.

Arguably, the most important structural constraint to a city’s ability to create an enabling environment for cultural and creative activities is its initial endowment of cultural and creative assets, along with the available resources at its disposal. While it is possible for a city to attract talent and cultivate culture and creative activities, there are major trade-offs associated with allocating scarce public resources for this purpose, when there are limited initial foundations to build on and when there are other more pressing basic service delivery needs. Most cities that develop strong identities and economies linked to their CCIs are those that have enabled what was already present and emerging in their territories—a sort of path dependency.

One of the biggest constraints to the enabling environment for the development and retention of CCIs and creative talent is the high cost of living. This is largely related to a shortage of adequate and affordable workspaces and housing, which can limit the ability of creatives to live and work in cities.⁶² Creatives need spaces equipped for their respective crafts. Given the limited and irregular income of many creatives, they seek such spaces in neighborhoods that are affordable to them. Cities that have expensive housing and commercial space without neighborhoods that are more affordable limit the types of creative talent that can live and thrive in them. Further, many creatives seek to locate near other creatives—within their creative field or in others—to help them advance their craft and engage in a community. Preferences may include spaces that allow them

to physically convene as well as co-locate near one another, as well as those that attract a broad range of artists and creatives, and thus have the infrastructure and services they seek including for example large (former) industrial spaces that can be converted into workshops and spaces in mixed use neighborhoods with vibrant street life. Such spaces allow creative communities to grow, and they allow for crossover innovation. Further, such neighborhoods can serve as “canvases” for their creative endeavors, enabling further cultivation of contemporary cultural and creative niches.

Even when affordable, well-configured and well-situated neighborhoods exist at a point in time. They can become expensive in part because of a flourishing creative environment and thus price out creatives.⁶³ Gentrification can emerge when neighborhoods become more attractive because of the emergence of cultural and creative amenities without the appropriate enabling environment for accessible housing for a range of income groups. It can lead to the displacement and exclusion of residents, especially those of lower income, and can potentially dilute the authenticity and cultural and creative potential of vibrant neighborhoods.

If housing and workspaces are not configured with the infrastructure and services necessary for production and collaboration, CCIs cannot flourish. The absence of accessible and good quality transportation infrastructure and services and limited walkability can make a city unattractive for creatives and CCIs. Access to electricity, water, and good health and educational services are critical for everyone, including creatives and individuals engaged in CCIs. Increasingly sound digital infrastructure in particular is critical for the competitiveness of CCIs.⁶⁴

Beyond gentrification, the presence of national and local policies, regulations, and institutions that curb the freedom of creative expression or do not protect the production process and intellectual property rights can limit cities’ ability to be a hub for CCIs. A large

2. Creative City Constraints and the CCC Framework

share of creative jobs and jobs in CCIs are informal and precarious in nature, especially in developing countries. The absence or limitation of safety nets in cities and countries can make it challenging for creatives and those working in CCIs to pursue their crafts for fear they may face periods of limited income or personal setbacks. Creatives and CCIs that push the boundaries of what is considered mainstream within their communities may not be willing to practice their craft where they do not have appropriate protections, such as laws protecting free artistic expression and their enforcement. Environments in which piracy is rife and intellectual property weakly protected may discourage creative production. Regulations that restrict the ability of creatives to transform their built environment for the purpose of exhibiting or performing their arts and crafts—e.g. painting murals, informally converting public spaces to accommodate performances, street performances and art, etc.—may also limit the attractiveness of neighborhoods and cities to creative talent and CCIs. In a sense, the optimal set of regulations for creatives is neither too much (which would curb creativity) nor too little (which could restrict protection of intellectual property rights).

Intolerance and lack of diversity can limit the desire of creatives to locate in certain cities and thus affect the growth of CCIs.⁶⁵ Many artists and creatives thrive in environments with diverse views and talents—and those are typically environments that house and/or attract a diverse set of creative talent and inhabitants. When many creatives create, they need relative freedom to innovate and experiment within and outside their crafts. As such, the presence and size of CCIs in cities is positively correlated with proxy measures for tolerance within those cities. One example of a proxy is the share of minority groups present within the city.⁶⁶ Environments that are *intolerant* may limit social cohesion and the ability for creatives and contributors to CCIs to thrive.

The absence of facilitators to enable creatives to advance their skills and innovate in their craft can constrain their growth.⁶⁷ Limited opportunities to acquire and advance skills in

the absence of institutions—such as universities and a range of formal and informal vocational training centers and opportunities—as well as co-working spaces and the presence of a range of support industries can restrict the expression and development of talent.

Cities with restrictive ecosystems that limit interpersonal connections can stymy creativity. Many creatives advance their craft when they interact with, learn from, and collaborate with others in their field and in other fields of relevance. Social networks in their home cities become critical enablers of their craft, and when those networks are weak or non-existent, they limit the growth potential of creative endeavors. Catalysts can play an especially critical role in cultivating and enriching social networks among creatives—and their absence can limit CCI growth potential. For example, in the case of Lima’s culinary renaissance, the chefs that excelled in gastronomy and invested in developing talent across the entire value chain of gastronomy catalyzed the growth of the industry. In Kobe, the businessman who pitched Kobe joining the UCCN catalyzed a new (creative) direction in the city’s development.

Environments constrained by the availability of finance for creatives may not realize their potential. For some cultural and creative activities, finance is critical upfront as well as throughout the production process, due to the variety of challenges associated with internalizing all the positive externalities associated with the activity. Cities that lack sources of financing critical for their CCIs may experience less creative and cultural activity than would otherwise be feasible given their population and cultural assets. The type of financing that is critical depends on the industry, stage of development, and scale of activity, among other considerations. It includes the need for pre-seed and seed capital; equity and debt financing for start-ups through more mature stages of development; and grant support from philanthropies, high-net worth individuals, and/or government for activities that are more difficult to monetize.⁶⁸ In all cases, what is critical is for the financing ecosystem to recognize the

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greater risk often associated with CCIs and the challenges creatives face when trying to access sufficient financing throughout the value chain of production.⁶⁹

Even if technical and financial support is available, the absence of a thriving cluster offering input and output markets can limit the growth of CCIs.⁷⁰ Creatives and firms within CCIs may rely on certain inputs for their production, such as the work of other creatives or other services that allow them to produce, e.g. local agribusinesses that can reliably provide quality ingredients to chefs and restauranteurs. Ultimately, the value chain for CCIs will be weakened if some of its critical upstream or downstream inputs or

corollary functions are not effectively and reliably delivered.

Lack of information on creatives and creative activities limits decision makers' ability to enable them.⁷¹ Decision makers may have the will to identify challenges constraining creatives and CCIs, but if they do not have access to information on those constraints and opportunities, it is difficult for them to design evidence-based policies and interventions. While relevant data does not need to and often is not generated and maintained by local governments, the absence of appropriately disaggregated data of relevance across local ecosystems leads to, at best, weakly informed decision-making.

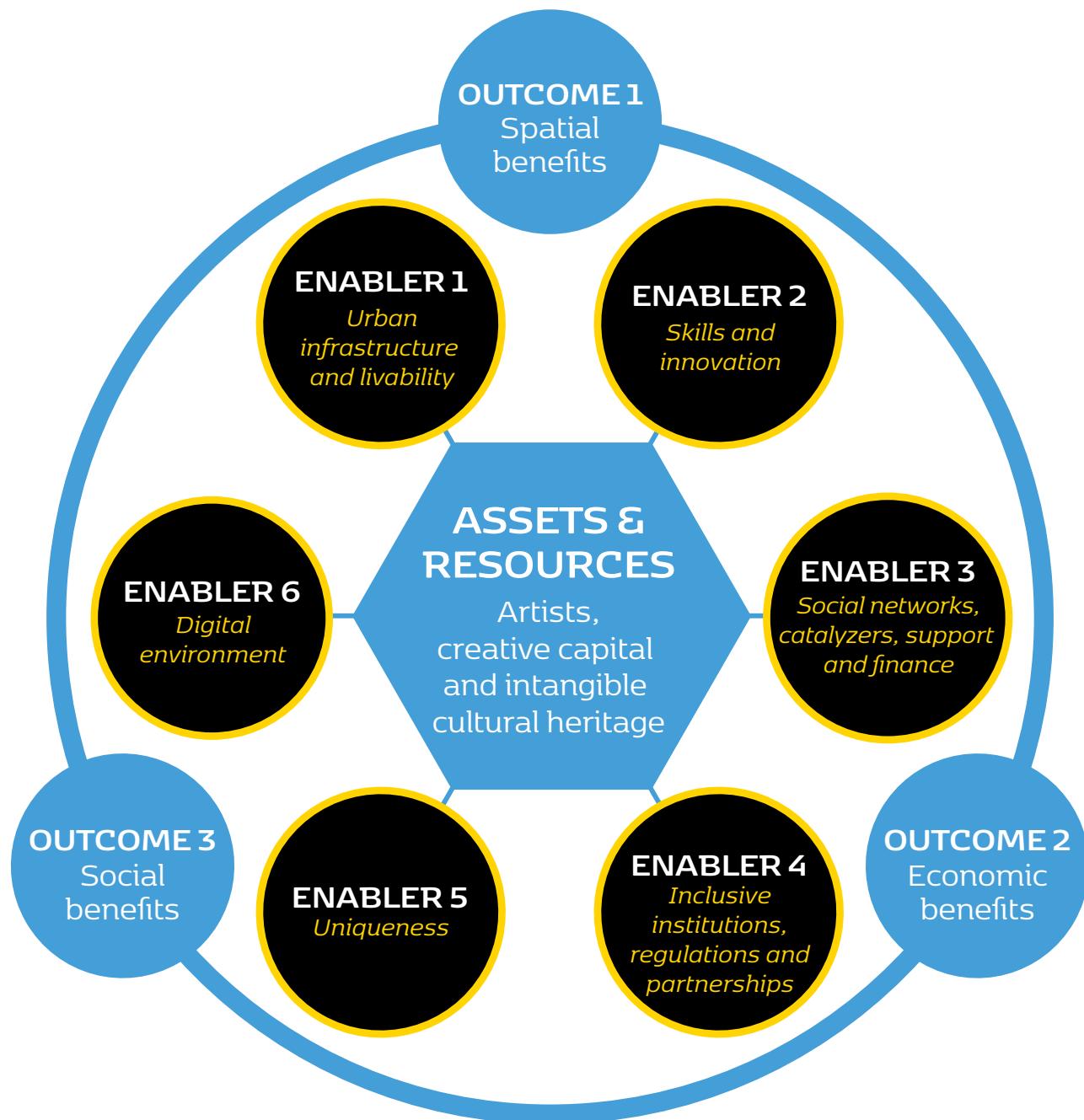
2.2 Implementing the CCC Framework: enabling culture and creativity in cities

Drawing on the knowledge generated on what constrains creative cities and what could enable them to achieve the triple benefits of spatial, economic, and social development, this paper identifies six enablers of creative cities. These enablers also draw from findings from several initiatives, including the Competitive Cities and Urban Startup Ecosystem initiatives of the World Bank, insights from UNESCO's Culture Conventions, and the analytical work on cultural heritage and sustainable tourism conducted by both UNESCO and the World Bank. One key finding from across these initiatives is the importance of introducing complementary interventions to address key constraints that impede the triple benefits of culture and CCIs on cities. As such, the six enablers in the Cities, Culture, and Creativity (CCC) Framework consist of complimentary enabling factors for the making of creative cities (see Figure 14).

While a given creative city will likely need multiple complementary interventions, these interventions can be carefully sequenced and bundled to avoid premature loadbearing,⁷² which can erode administrative capacities and to allow time to observe the impacts of different interventions. We describe each enabler below and illustrate in section 3 how several cities combined and sequenced interventions to enhance their creative potential.

2. Creative City Constraints and the CCC Framework

Figure 14. Cities, Culture, and Creativity Framework



2. Creative City Constraints and the CCC Framework

2.2.1 ENABLER 1

Physical and spatial environment: urban infrastructure and livability

A creative city is one where people want to live and creatives have appropriate spaces to create—therefore, livability, urban spaces, and infrastructure are key for its success. Livability is driven by a combination of affordable and well-located housing, amenities, good quality services, and infrastructure. These amenities and infrastructure often incorporate local culture and creative elements. Urban spaces and infrastructure critical for creative cities include—in addition to the basic infrastructure needed in any productive city, such as roads, electricity, and digital connectivity—production spaces (e.g. recording studios, rehearsal spaces, artistic residencies); market places, including ones conducive for pop-ups; and public access to cultural venues such as concert halls, cinemas, libraries, media libraries, and public spaces such as parks. Services that are critical include good quality transport services and educational and health services. Creativity is a strong catalyst for fostering local identities of cities and city branding/rebranding, particularly when it comes to abandoned and unused spaces and buildings. Culture- and creativity-led urban regeneration policies are closely connected with planning and building regulations that need to have a certain element of flexibility to allow local governments and creativity ecosystems to appropriate and adapt spaces for CCIs. These spaces include cultural centers, creative hubs, incubators, and/or accelerators for creative ideas.

The types of infrastructure, urban space, and livability interventions instrumental to enabling creative cities usually reflect a combination of the specific needs of local creatives and the overall needs of residents and local entrepreneurs. For example, during a period of urban regeneration in the neighborhoods of Maboneng and Braamfontein in Johannesburg, South Africa, artists, artisans, and food producers searched for low-cost space to sell goods. The city

offered them old warehouses and unused parking lots for use for weekend arts, crafts, and food markets. These markets helped catalyze a new art and food culture within the city and played important roles in catalyzing urban regeneration. This urban regeneration comprised physical investments in improved sidewalks, street lighting, and other interventions in what were previously neglected and dangerous neighborhoods within the city. These earlier transformations consequently catalyzed the growth of other food markets in different parts of the city (e.g. northern Fourways Food Market).

2.2.2 ENABLER 2

Human capital: skills and innovation

The vibrancy of a creative city is driven by the skills and talents that contribute to culture and creative endeavors within it. A study in the United Kingdom has found that formal skills are an important predictor of getting a job in a creative sector: those qualified to degree-level or above are 5.5 times as likely to secure a creative role than those who lack qualification.⁷³ This signals that CCIs—at least those in the United Kingdom—value the skills that are transmitted or reinforced through the educational system. Indeed, the vibrancy of a creative city is kept alive through opportunities for constant skill acquisition and talent evolution opportunities for artists, other creative actors, and others involved in CCI activities.

Arts, culture, and creativity should therefore be embedded into programs at all stages of learning and mastery, beginning with primary and secondary schooling, universities, and/or various craft and vocational training institutions (e.g. music, film, and culinary centers). Such programs are important not just for talent cultivation but also for audience development. Efforts to cultivate “thinking outside the box”, or even “thinking without a box” among youth is a way to enhance innovation and creative capacity from an early age. Therefore, creative entrepreneurship is best developed not only for artists and creative professionals in arts schools

2. Creative City Constraints and the CCC Framework

and academies, but also as part of a primary and secondary educational curriculum. Providing broader access to learning opportunities in a creative way for all citizens, including online, is an important ingredient of a city's well-thought-out educational and cultural strategy. Knowledge-sharing platforms and spaces online and offline, for both emerging and established culture professionals, are one way to enable improving competencies and skills in the culture and creative sectors at the local level.

The transmission of ICH is itself a form of informal education that happens organically within communities. ICH embraces a specific knowledge that corresponds to the cultural, social, and economic particularities of each local context, and becomes the main channel for traditional knowledge to be transmitted within formal and non-formal education systems, including through non-educational transmission mechanisms. Modes and methods of transmission recognized by communities can be part of formal education systems—such as programs in primary, secondary, and post-secondary schools—and/or non-formal education structures. Non-educational transmission mechanisms have been the main means for strengthening traditional knowledge transmission, reinforcing cultural diversity, empowering communities, and providing a space for communities and individuals to find a source of income and self-employment through creative activities.

Increasingly, creatives foster skills and know-how to evolve their craft through hands-on learning and doing opportunities such as those enabled by incubators, accelerators, and workforce development NGOs. Such organizations offer not only a suite of support services typically tailored to the specific needs of the member entrepreneur; they also offer opportunities to learn from peers and deepen their networks. Their models range from onboarding “classes” of entrepreneurs to serve in cohorts to offering brief bootcamps that provide creatives with opportunities to develop specific skills they need to advance their craft or their business

acumen. For example, maker spaces such as the fablabs in Kyoto outlined in section 3 offer spaces for communities of artisans to meet, observe one another, and learn from the practice of those within and outside their field, thus advancing crossover innovation. Many such organizations facilitate apprenticeships—a means of knowledge transmission and skill acquisition that can occur in low- and high-resource environments alike.

Regardless of the nature of learning and training opportunities for CCIs, creative cities benefit most from programs to enhance skills and cultivate talent that accommodate the demands of creative and cultural markets. Examples abound of interventions, often driven by non-government actors, that serve to enhance skills and cultivate talent in creative cities. For example, in La Plata, Argentina, UNESCO funded a project by Fundación Teatro Argentino de La Plata that trained 610 unemployed youth and adults for performing-arts jobs through a one-year course in stage management, costume design, and creative writing, which resulted in the creation of a vibrant performing arts ecosystem.⁷⁴ Madaba, Jordan, a UNESCO Creative City of Crafts and Folk Art, leveraged its heritage as “the city of mosaics” (it houses the excavation site of the world’s largest number of mosaics to have been discovered in their original location) to create the Madaba Institute for Mosaic Art and Restoration, the only institute in the Middle East specializing in teaching mosaic conservation and production techniques. The protection, restoration, and maintenance of these mosaics have become important to both residents and local authorities, leading to the revival of mosaic art and crafts and a large mobilization of local craftspeople and artists. In fact, mosaic art is now one of the main drivers of the local economy and has created 800 jobs and 150 workshops.⁷⁵ Such educational institutions become places of reference at local and regional levels and add to the attractions that draw creatives to (re)locate to creative cities.

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2.2.3 ENABLER 3

Networks and support infrastructure: social networks, catalyzers, technical support, and finance

In addition to conducive spaces and skills, creatives need nurturing social networks, catalyzers, and technical and financial support to help their businesses and arts thrive. These forms of social capital are the “soft” complements to the physical and spatial infrastructure and human capital requirements of creatives and CCIs captured by enablers 1 and 2.

Access to financing and business development services tailored to the distinct needs and challenges of artists and creative professionals is essential to ensure quality production and distribution. This support would likely be tailored in different ways to target different segments of CCIs and the evolving needs of creatives at different stages of production. Financial and technical support for creatives is most often offered by for-profit and non-profit organizations, but local governments can also play a role when there are market or coordination failures. One example is Kingston, Jamaica. The city has a dense network of musicians, agents, songwriters, and recording studios around Orange Street, which has allowed musical innovations to spread rapidly among performers and recording studios. However, the absence of an institutional structure to protect copyright and collect royalties has led many Jamaican artists to record and produce most of their work in North America and Europe. In 2015, the year in which the city was designated a UNESCO Creative City of Music, Kingston introduced and implemented substantial amendments to the Copyright Act, adding a clause on the protection of digital works.⁷⁶ The city determined that, given the historical perception of poor copyright protections, it would benefit from pairing this reform with financial incentives for more music production in Kingston. The local government offered incentives to investors, including duty-free importation of musical instruments and equipment, tax-free

profits from overseas film and video releases for nine years, and duty-free and tax-free concessions on equipment, machinery, and materials for building studios and support facilities.⁷⁷ While such interventions can have a positive impact when they help address market or coordination failures—including important spillover effects from a greater concentration of artists and musicians (which attracts visitors and results in increased spending)—decisions to introduce them must be made with care to avoid the risk of capture or large opportunity costs associated with diverting resources from other initiatives that could better generate shared prosperity. Likewise, depending on the CCI and specific activities within it, creatives may benefit from training, management, and product and audience development support, among other types of technical support.

Social networks are instrumental to enabling creatives to grow and evolve. Within creative cities, they can bring together various stakeholders that create a catalytic environment for culture and creative production. Social networks often emerge organically and may be catalyzed by NGOs or for-profit organizations that form part of creative and start-up ecosystems. But local governments can also play a role in enabling them. For instance, in Brazzaville, Democratic Republic of Congo, a UNESCO Creative City of Music, the municipal government launched a Music, Local Development and Social Cohesion program to leverage the historical position Brazzaville has held as the capital of African music—including serving as home to the African branch of the International Council of Music and to the biannual Pan-African Music Festival, which brings together about 3,000 artists and 150 journalists from around the world—to benefit the local community and further nurture its musical talents.⁷⁸ Through this program, the municipality has offered physical spaces and programming for residents to engage in music production and consumption.

Stepwise changes in the arts and/or the scale-up of culture and creative activities are often driven by an individual or an institution able to catalyze the creation of organic creative

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communities. Catalysts are highly connected, driven individuals or institutions that serve as role models for others and create a flagship business or networking asset for the creative community, generating one of its most central clusters.

2.2.4 ENABLER 4

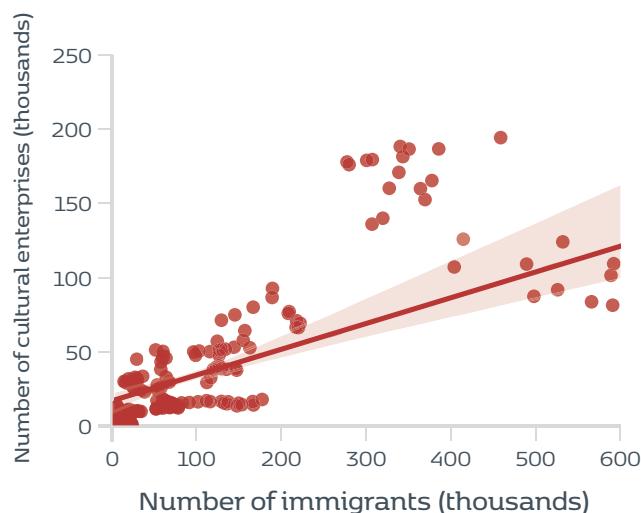
Institutional and regulatory environment: inclusive institutions, regulations, and partnerships

For a creative city to thrive it is critical for its local government and other stakeholders, including national governments, to establish governance systems, institutions, and regulations that enable CCIs to grow and prosper. Institutions and regulations are threatened by environments that do not foster or protect diversity, freedom of expression, the ability for artists and heritage community members to appropriate their creativity and culture, and safety nets to protect gig and informal workers. Rules, regulations, and policies—including those related to intellectual property rights' legislation, digital connectivity, freedom of expression and association, and protection for precarious labor—are often necessary for CCIs to flourish in cities. Further, it is critical that cities mitigate against forces such as gentrification that would make it impossible for creatives to continue living and practicing their art within that city. Enhancing creativity within the overall framework of city development strategies can be highly beneficial. This can be accomplished by initiating cross-departmental working groups across education, economic development, urban regeneration, labor policy, arts, and culture to look for effective changes in the regulatory environment. Regulations and incentives to protect and promote the creative sector may introduce problematic distortions unless focused on market failures that constrain the development of creative goods and services and considerations of their importance for economic development.

Diversity is influenced by institutions and policies and can be a driver of creativity and innovation, attracting other creatives to cities and neighborhoods. Mounting economic research has shown that diversity empowers innovation both in firms and cities. Cities that are inclusive of diverse backgrounds, including immigrants, have a creative advantage resulting from their capacity to attract diversity.⁷⁹ Moreover, there is evidence that creatives and innovators relocate to cities that are already diverse, which further drives innovation and growth (See Figure 16).⁸⁰ Figure 15 shows a positive correlation between migration to European countries and the number of enterprises in cultural sectors in those countries.

Given the multiplicity of stakeholders needed to enable a creative city, partnerships between local governments, creatives, and other key contributors to creative economies, including the private sector and national governments, are key for enabling a thriving creative ecosystem. Mayors and local governments can begin by identifying how they can play an effective role in their creative city ecosystems, starting with policy

Figure 15. Correlation between European migration and cultural enterprises, 2010-2017



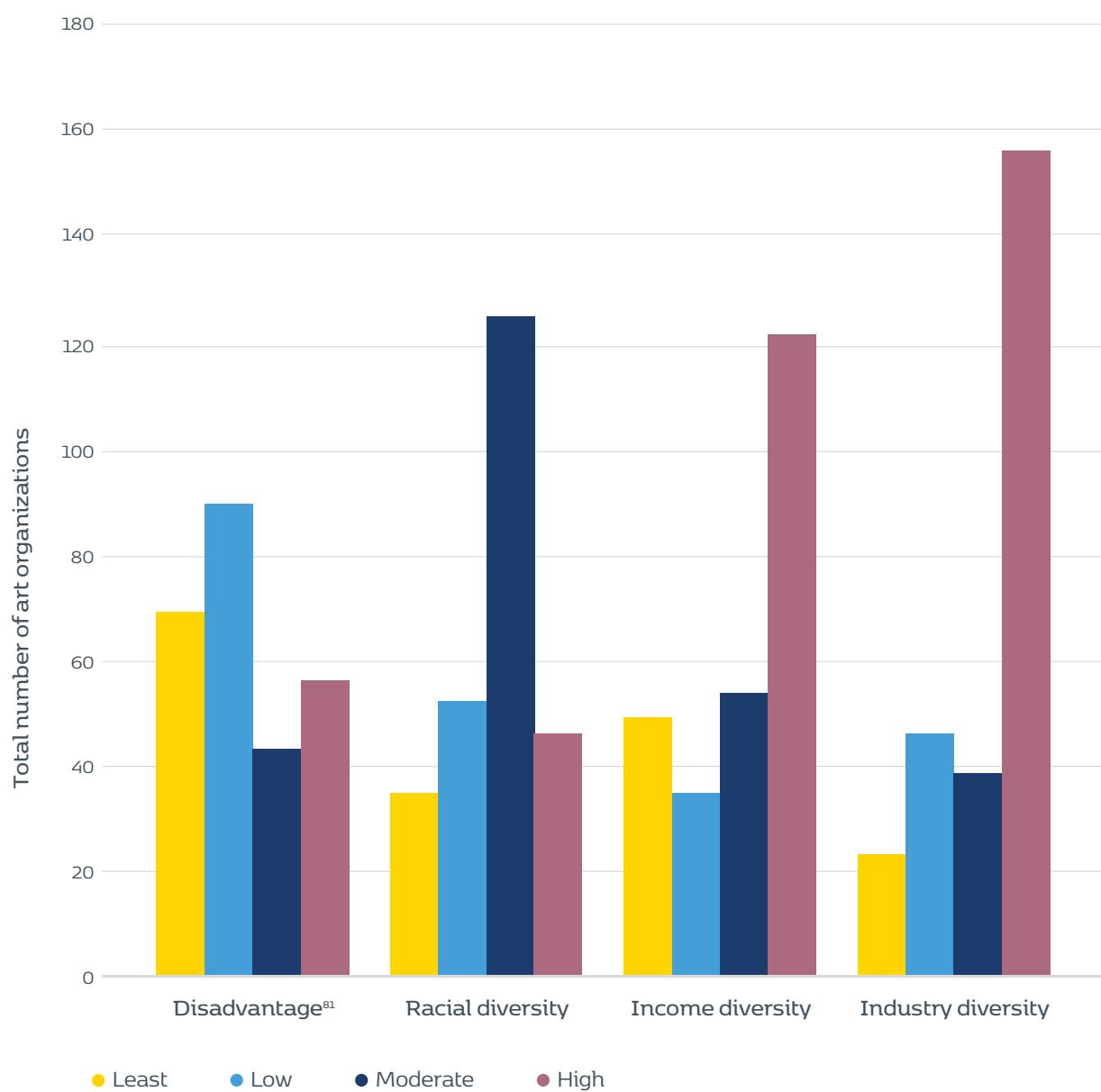
Source: Eurostat, own calculations.

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levers at their disposal that can effect change, such as urban planning and service delivery (called the mayor's wedge).⁸² This could include collaborations within city government departments and agencies to leverage diverse city strengths. They also need

productive partnerships with artists and the range of stakeholders within their creative ecosystems to implement complementary interventions to enhance their cities. Such a local creative coalition could benefit from cooperation with the national government and

Figure 16. Location of new arts organizations in New York City, by diversity level



Source: Foster, Nicole, Carl Grodach, and James Murdoch III.

"Neighborhood Diversity, Economic Health, and the Role of the Arts." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 38.5 (2016): 623-642.

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with networks of cities such as the UCCN. Further, partnerships within creative and cultural subsectors of and across creative cities could include different artists, enterprises, and other sub-sector stakeholders working together (e.g. small enterprises, that focus on

creative production, and large enterprises distributing creative products and services by leveraging their distribution networks).



Photo: April Killingsworth/Flickr.com, Sculpture made out of cars in Newtown, South Africa.

Box 6. Newtown enables cross-racial networks in South Africa

Newtown in Johannesburg, South Africa, provides an example of how cultural and creative capital can be leveraged for urban development and enabling a cohesive community. This historically artistic neighborhood offered an avenue for intermingling across racial lines during apartheid through the first Johannesburg flea market; the iconic Market Theatre, which played progressive-minded productions; and the Kippies Jazz club, which was a space for music and cultural exchange across racial lines. More recently, Newtown then became crime-ridden, and some of its historical art features like the wooden face sculptures—representing the diversity of people coming into Johannesburg for a better life—were vandalized, stolen, or left unmaintained. To bring the community together and rejuvenate Newtown to its historical artistic flair, the Johannesburg Development Agency established the Newtown Now Festival, bringing together city

agencies, big corporate tenants of the precinct, and creative individuals to develop a new vision for the city and reattract people to its outdoor public spaces. The festival currently attracts around 5,000 annual attendees.¹ Since then Newtown has evolved into a far safer, more vibrant, cleaner, and more friendly environment, with tourism increasing yearly. In 2012, 450,000 visitors attended events in Newtown.²

1. The Newtown Bee. 2020. “Newtown Arts Festival Canceled.” June 8, 2020. <https://www.newtownbee.com/06082020/2020-newtown-arts-festival-canceled/>.

2. Mbhiza, Magic and Kevin Mearns. 2014. “Newtown Cultural Precinct Driving Tourism Led Urban Regeneration within the Johannesburg Inner-City.” *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure* 3(2): 3–4.

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2.2.5 ENABLER 5

The benefits of uniqueness

In a globalizing world where homogeneity threatens to become the norm, many cities seek to stand out and to have a ‘Unique Value Proposition’ that will appeal to locals and attract visitors and investors alike. A city’s built heritage can offer such a value proposition. However, novel attractions such as museums and landmarks, or festivals or global events such as



Photo: art_inthecity/Flickr.com, Daily tous les jours, McLaren, 2014

Box 7. Montreal's institutions and regulations to safeguard ICH and nurture creative capital linked to design

Montreal, Canada is a UNESCO Creative City of Design, with over 25,000 professionals working in design, a field responsible for 34% of its cultural sector. The government of Montreal was the first in North America to create the position of Design Commissioner, dedicated exclusively to the development and promotion of design and to raise awareness among private- and public-sector stakeholders of the benefits of good design. The city developed several strategies to enhance its position in design, such as better recognition of designers, improving their access to public commissions, marketing the talents of its designers and architects, and developing their markets. Efforts to broaden the use of design and architecture competitions resulted in multiple calls to creative practitioners aimed at increasing design quality for buildings and public spaces.¹

1. For more about Montreal as a UNESCO Creative City, see: <https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/montreal>.

sporting tournaments, can also emerge over time and become drivers of such uniqueness. In this way, cities attract innovation and creativity, not just as sites of consumption but also as sites of new cultural production. Both intrinsic and relational uniqueness make cities vibrant.

A city’s intrinsic uniqueness includes its spatial resources: archives, libraries, museums, heritage, neighborhoods, and places. Cities benefit from open and public spaces that are not predefined in their function: this is the creative potential of space. These spaces and places are both attractors to visitors and a resource



Photo: Mateo Krössler/Unsplash.com

Box 8. Berlin benefits from effective creative city partnerships

Since Germany’s reunification in the 1990s, the local government and businesses began promoting Berlin as the city of design and fashion, popular music, theatre, and art. Together, they partnered to convert abandoned buildings, former factories, and warehouses to public spaces, restaurants, art galleries, and fashion shops.¹ In 2005, Berlin joined the UCCN as a Creative City of Design. Projekt Zukunft, originating in the Berlin Senate Department for Economics, Technology and Research, has notably had a key role in enabling the creative economy. Projekt Zukunft develops strategies for Berlin as a center for the arts; builds platforms for cultural exchanges; initiates networks for the digital and creative economy; organizes exchanges with businesses; develops new communication instruments; compiles studies; and implements innovative projects.

1. Hietala, Marjatta and Peter Clark. 2013. “Creative Cities.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, edited by P. Clark. Oxford: Oxford University Press, page 6.

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for creative talent. What do we often think of when we consider the highlights of any particular city? The scope and depth of cultural resources available in a city are reflected in how they are used by the population. Likewise, the diversity of the population of a city—as mentioned in the preceding section—is a massive resource for exchange, innovation, and creativity, and creates linkages between external, local new, and old knowledge. Research by the World



Photo: Amy Gatenby/Unsplash.com

Box 9. Seville, Spain's unique offering as the home of flamenco

Seville joined the UCCN in 2006 for the historical and continuing role of music and dance to its culture and economy. Flamenco, a cultural music, dance, and performance style developed in southern Spain, is a central element of the music industry in Seville and was inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the ICH of Humanity in 2010. In Seville, the practice of flamenco contributes to the diversity of opportunities and economic development of the music sector. This includes the presence of flamenco schools, theaters, daily shows, and festivals such as the Bienal de Flamenco held every two years, when Seville celebrates its most famous music festival as the 'World Capital of Flamenco'. In its 2016 UNESCO Creative Cities Monitoring Report, Seville noted that this event creates direct ticket income of over €864,000, and more than 400 jobs. Seville also features flamenco in its city branding strategy and supports innovation and development of the craft.

Cities Cultural Forum (WCCF) shows that the most diverse cities, as shown by the number of languages spoken, are the most creative and resilient.⁸³

A city's 'relational' uniqueness is its social and cultural infrastructure—its potential to mobilize physical resources and the capability to reveal its particularity. While physical aspects of place clearly signal a city's uniqueness, the relational aspects are often overlooked. There is a new movement among cities to re-value their social infrastructure. Cities that have invested in supporting and mobilizing their social and cultural networks find they are more able to sustain a rich sense of the unique. **Combined, the intrinsic and relational aspects of uniqueness constitute place and identity by bringing together and mobilizing resources in a unique way.** This combined uniqueness can be difficult to achieve as it requires working across spaces, populations, networks, and institutions. Enabling collaborative endeavor that seek to promote creative cities, such as the UNESCO Creative Cities Network, is therefore critical.

One of the biggest challenges to the uniqueness of a city is business interests that seek to reproduce commercially viable developments and in doing so produce homogenous urban experiences. The awareness of the multiple components that are needed to build and sustain a place and its peoples is rooted in respect for difference. Monopoly interests that favor serial reproduction of urban experiences (resulting in homogeneity) is one that governments would ideally challenge via regulation of design and planning, as well as the maintenance of the tangible and intangible cultural infrastructures. Developing a cultural infrastructure plan is an initiative that several cities have deployed to recognize and value their collective cultural resources.

2.2.6 ENABLER 6

Digital environment

The creative economy is becoming increasingly digitalized. Digital technologies are integrated into city policies, CCI practices, and everyday city life, transforming

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the way in which cultural expressions conveyed by cultural goods and services are created, produced, distributed, and accessed. Digitalization has brought numerous benefits. It promotes innovation and creativity in all areas of life, reduces the costs of sharing information, allows an ongoing connectivity, saves time, increases accessibility, and lowers the barriers to information. It also offers diverse entertainment options for citizens and boosts their access to public services. CCIs have become a key driver of the digital economy, contributing to over US\$200 billion in global digital sales in 2015.⁸⁴ Economic effects of digitalization like these, as well as opportunities for ongoing interaction and the freedom of choice act as catalysts for cities to internationalize and increase their global presence.

Digitalization adds new methods and tools to the way that CCIs operate, affecting the entire value chain, from production to consumption and access. With digitalization, artists become more independent from “middle-people” and intermediary structures, and arts markets shift towards e-commerce and online sales. Boundaries between “real” and “virtual” become blurred with the help of new technologies like artificial intelligence and virtual, augmented, and immersive realities. Yet creatives require new digital skills and competencies to adapt to this new environment. Artists and culture professionals and practitioners use digital technologies in five main ways: i) for online cultural production; ii) for digital marketing and dissemination of digital cultural goods and services, including ICH transmission; iii) to offer and sell digital cultural goods and services online and in digital format; iv) to generate revenue through diverse online methods, such as crowdfunding, donations, new business models and others; and v) curating cultural production in a virtual collaborative way by engaging online users.

The COVID-19 pandemic has spurred this digital transition and enabled immersive experiences for cultural audiences through virtual and augmented realities. At the outbreak of the crisis, massive access to and production of digital cultural products were the only viable options for the public and for artists. In response, public and private institutions have launched numerous digital initiatives, including raising funding for digitalization and creating platforms to bring together the plentiful and diverse resources made available by cultural institutions in their

cities and countries. Similarly, if the rise of digital infrastructure is poised to enable a larger share of jobs to be conducted online through telework, then digital technology is likely to affect real estate market dynamics within existing cities. In cities with high land and housing prices, such changes will reduce the premium of living close to work and will likely improve affordability and/or increase the range of available housing options.

COVID-19 has also revealed the extent of the digital divide. Forty-six percent of the global population remains offline, mainly in developing countries. This growing digital divide further aggravates the already existing difficulties of vulnerable groups, including women and indigenous peoples, to access culture through technology. Today, 95% of the app economy is concentrated in just 10 countries, mainly in the northern hemisphere. Global platforms are increasingly contributing to market concentration with no guarantee that their systems will be adapted to local contexts. At the same time, there is a growing imbalance between the volume of creative work available online and the amount returned to creative talent, who are often unfairly remunerated for their works distributed online.⁸⁵

Increased digitalization can lead to job replacement, diminished security, and other risks. Some creative jobs are put at risk due to machine and robot replacement and implementation of new technologies such as artificial intelligence. A massive shift toward online communication at the expense of in-person interaction, such as in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, can diminish social skills and can affect mental and physical health. Lastly, the digitalization trend also brings about risks related to cyber-security, data privacy, and cyber-attacks. Creative cities would benefit from shifting from the immediate response to the COVID-19 threat to long-term sustainable strategies towards digitalization of CCIs, taking into account that what works for one city may not work for another.

2.3 Spatial, economic, and social outcomes associated with the CCC Framework

Culture and creativity contribute to inclusive growth and resilience and help achieve spatial, economic, and social outcomes. When they drive regeneration or are leveraged to make cities more attractive and entertaining places to live, they demonstrate an amenity effect—attracting people and sometimes companies to cities. When CCIs create many jobs that are highly accessible to marginalized and vulnerable communities, and help generate income, they contribute economically to cities and national wealth. By offering individuals and societies ways to express themselves and to make social connections, they contribute to social capital and network formation that has positive spillover benefits to innovation and growth.



Spatial outcomes

High-amenity cities grow faster than low-amenity cities. Urban amenities usually include: (1) variety of cultural services such as art galleries, theaters, live music, and museums, as well as consumer goods such as manufactured goods; (2) aesthetics and physical settings, which include green and open spaces, and quality architecture; (3) quality public services like schools, libraries, parks, community centers, and basic infrastructure and services, where cultural activities can be undertaken; and (4) speed and ease of mobility. Diversity is often an undervalued urban amenity, yet it can lead to innovation in cultural offerings and diverse cultural contents in activity programming, thereby attracting a more diverse range of residents and talent to relocate. In this regard, it is important to protect and promote the distinctive nature of cultural goods, services, and activities as vehicles of a city's identity, values, and meaning. These have tangible economic effects, too. Over the last decade, cities with more amenities saw higher increases in wages in the United States and Europe.⁸⁶

The attractiveness of a city to residents and tourists is associated with the quality of its amenities and endowments. Cities with more vibrant cultural and creative institutions tend to be enjoyed by their residents and sought after by possible new ones. In the United States and Europe since the 1990s, young adults have continued to migrate to cities. They are less likely to move into suburbs than previous generations as they search for areas of livable density that foster social interaction and knowledge spillovers, access to reliable transit, and high-quality amenities and public spaces.⁸⁷ According to one recent study, in the United States the role of amenities in attracting new residents to cities has increased over time and is a good predictor of urban revival by young populations.⁸⁸ According to a global survey covering Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and Latin America, local amenities, public services, and safety are important determinants for migration.⁸⁹ Amenities are also good predictors of future growth. For example, live performance venues and gastronomic offerings significantly predicted later growth at a county level in the United States.⁹⁰

Innovative industries tend to move into neighborhoods with cultural amenities and an environment of tolerance.⁹¹ Employers take notice of worker's demand for locational amenities when deciding on where to locate or to expand their footprints. Consequently, the presence of a vibrant cultural and creative environment often means more jobs in the cultural and creative sectors and helps attract other residents and enterprises to the city, helping increase and diversify jobs. Urban economist Richard Florida's Bohemian Index measures the number of writers, designers, musicians, actors, directors, dancers, and other creative occupations in a region. A high number of creative occupations is a strong predictor of a region's high-tech industry concentration, density, and employment growth. Eleven of the most innovative regions on the Bohemian Index are also among the top 20 regions on the Bohemian Index, showcasing the relationship between creative environments and

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city growth.⁹² This illustrates the link between a local culture open to diversity—‘bohemian’—and city growth.



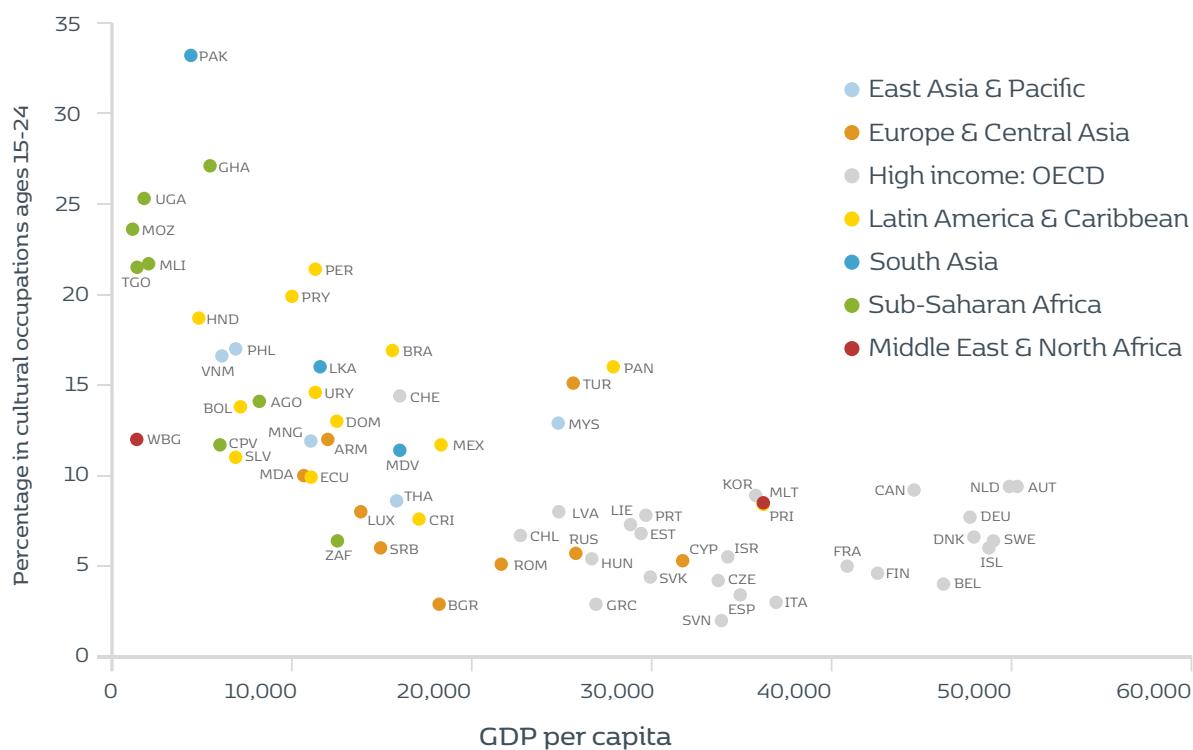
Economic outcomes

In addition to contributing to job creation more generally, CCIs provide employment opportunities for the parts of the population that often get very few. This often occurs in cities shaped by institutions and regulations, as well as other factors, that enable a broader set of individuals to participate fairly in the creative economy. It is important to note that jobs in culture and CCIs comprise both creative occupations and non-creative

occupations that are needed for the sector to thrive. These include skilled jobs such as technicians working in galleries and museums, and musical instrument makers and unskilled jobs such as back-office workers and support staff in restaurants. Many *non-creative* occupation jobs are also generated within a given CCI. For example, in Honduras in 2015 for every creative job, there were approximately four non-creative jobs within CCIs.⁹³ A preliminary calculation using UNESCO data suggests that, overall, for every creative job in a CCI, 1.7 non-creative jobs are created. These jobs often do not require specific qualifications and therefore provide significant employment opportunities.

Several subfields of culture and sub-sectors of CCIs promote inclusiveness of marginalized groups. Large shares of women and youth are employed in the culture sector and CCIs in particular.⁹⁴

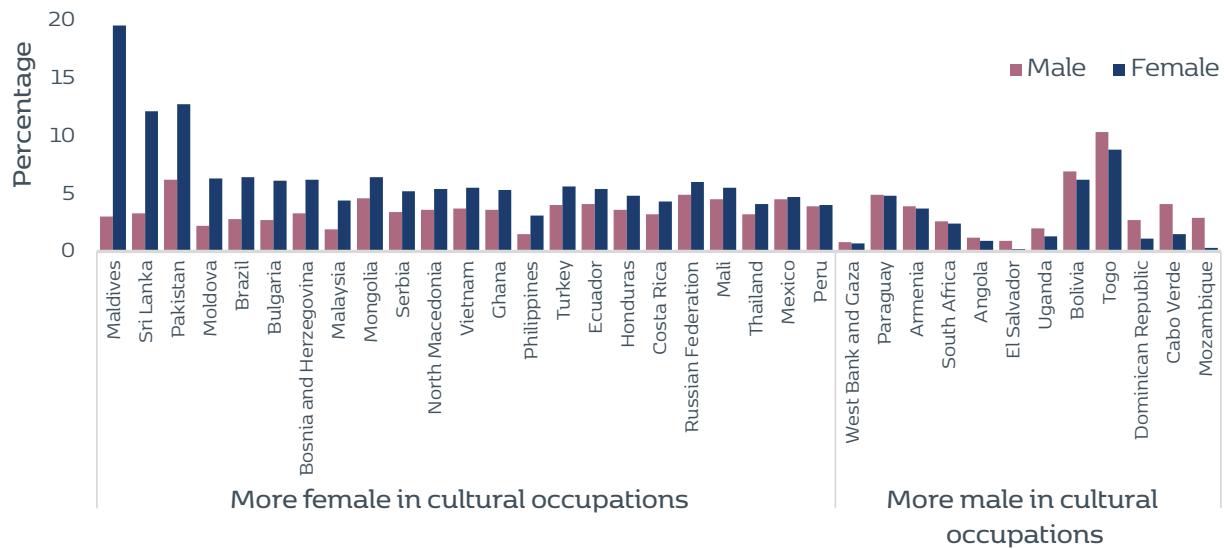
Figure 17. Percentage employed, ages 15-24, in CCI by per capita GDP (PPP), 2015 or latest year available



Source: World Bank. 2020. *Orange Economy: As a Driver of Jobs for Youth: Thematic Note, Issue 1*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

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Figure 18. Percentage employed, by gender, in CCIs in low- and middle-income countries, 2015 or latest year available



Source: World Bank. 2020. *Orange Economy: As a Driver of Jobs for Youth: Thematic Note, Issue 1*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Disabled individuals, and those with societal restrictions on their labor force participation (e.g. women in socially conservative societies), have found opportunities engaging in the production of culture and CCIs within workplaces that are comfortable for and accessible to them. On average, 45% of workers in cultural occupations are women, and they represent the majority of those employed in CCIs in many developing countries (Figure 18).⁹⁵ For example, in Latvia and Lithuania, the share of women in CCI jobs was 60%, while in the same year the share of female employment in total employment was slightly more than 50%, indicating greater representation of women in this sector.⁹⁶ However, this relatively high participation of women in CCIs should be treated with caution. According to the 2018 UNESCO Global Report: *Re-Shaping Cultural Policies*, women continue to be under-represented in key creative roles and decision-making positions, and they have less access to resources and face substantial pay gaps.

A relatively large share of youth is employed in CCIs, and a relatively large share of employees in CCIs is young. Globally, approximately 20% of employed people ages 15-29 work in CCIs, which is the largest employer of youth (Figure 17).⁹⁷ In Costa Rica and Colombia, people ages 15-24 represent 26% and 23%, respectively, of people employed in cultural occupations. In comparison, in non-creative industries this group only represents 14% of workers in Costa Rica and 17% in Colombia.⁹⁸

Due to their close links to the community, CCIs can offer opportunities for urban migrants looking for jobs and business prospects in cities. CCIs can promote the use, protection, and transmission of traditional knowledge by migrant communities, and nurture further development and dispersion of such knowledge through innovation and trade that may contribute positively to a sense of identity and direction both for the individual and the society—particularly if these community knowledge

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Photo: Aaron Greenwood/Unsplash.com, Silk Road Show

Box 10. Gansu revitalization and innovation¹

Gansu ranks 5th among China's provinces with respect to its richness and uniqueness of endowments, human skills, and variety of CCIs, e.g., crafts and folk arts, music, gastronomy, and Silk Road-related literature and manuscripts. This gives it a unique competitive edge and comparative advantage to further develop its service sector, including creative industries, as part of the overall provincial strategy of economic transformation, poverty reduction, and shared prosperity. Gansu has recently undergone a major economic transformation toward a service-based economy, which demonstrates potential to stimulate economic growth and sustainable development. The rapidly growing services and creative sectors have been widely recognized as green and sustainable development sectors.

Yet, Gansu underutilizes its cultural endowments, undercutting its potential for growth. The province faces four main challenges. First, it is the poorest province in China, and faces severe development challenges and significantly lags behind other provinces in most economic and social indicators. Gansu's per capita income is less than half of the national average, and a mere 23% of leading provinces. Measured by per capita disposable income, access, and quality of infrastructure, Gansu ranks last among all provinces. Second, while several towns and villages in Gansu have CCIs or natural endowments, they need significant investments in regeneration and income-generating opportunities. Third, Gansu lacks strong sectoral and financial institutions to leverage its CCI endowments for economic development. Institutional capacity for managing and promoting endowments is also poor in Gansu. Finally, the provincial government does not have much experience in working with the private sector in leveraging resources and managing public assets. Public-private partnerships in financing and operating municipal assets is still at a nascent stage.

The World Bank, International Finance Corporation (IFC), UNESCO, and World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) have partnered with the Gansu provincial government and the Government of China to design and implement a large investment program in support of Gansu's CCIs. The program (World Bank: US\$ 180 million, IFC: US\$ 50 million) is the first of its kind among World Bank operations to support CCIs at a large scale. Program design benefited from the proposed CCC framework preparation and aims to foster CCIs to increase income-generating

opportunities, improve living conditions in the project areas, and strengthen institutional capacity of participating entities. It focuses on reducing the last pockets of poverty in participating counties through critical improvements to local infrastructure required for CCI productivity and the development of CCI small and micro enterprises to connect to the growing service economy and address underlying institutional and market weaknesses. The program adopts an integrated approach of using local endowments, human capital, and traditional/artisan skills as drivers for local economic development and job creation. The project is comprised of three components: (a) Increased Access to Financial Services for medium-sized enterprises (MSEs), leveraging funds from provincial financial institutions and participating financial institutions to support MSE start-up and expansion; (b) Urban-Rural Regeneration, to improve the living conditions of the bottom 40% of income groups and provide residents with income-generating opportunities; and (c) Institutional Strengthening, Skills Development and Global Knowledge Transfer, to strengthen national-level reforms at the provincial level, subsequent to the merger of the ministries of culture and tourism, that incentivize private investments and seek to improve planning, policies, and regulations so that the business environment for the private sector can grow in an equitable and sustainable manner. The total project beneficiaries are 6,155,600, including about 40% considered to be among the bottom 40% in income level.

This program provides a global model of how small towns along major infrastructure networks can leverage their existing CCI endowments to benefit from, and contribute to, economic growth. The project demonstrates how pockets of poverty can be reduced by enabling CCI MSEs to connect to the growing service economy. Provinces across China with similar challenges, as well as other developing countries with similar CCIs, will learn from this example how to address such challenges effectively.

1. For further reference, see World Bank. 2019. "New World Bank Loan Leverages Cultural Assets to Boost Private Sector Development in China's Poorest Province." Press Release, June 4, 2019. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2019/06/04/new-world-bank-loan-leverages-cultural-assets-to-boost-private-sector-development-in-chinas-poorest-province>.

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resources are protected under intellectual property rights.

While CCI jobs often attract and are filled by marginalized groups, a large share of these jobs may not be of high quality. Many CCI jobs are in informal, temporary, and low-paying markets. Even in formal settings, these jobs are sometimes badly paid. Women working in CCIs are more likely to have more than one job, with 10% holding a second job compared to 7% of women in non-CCIs.⁹⁹ Because many workers in CCIs are self-employed, they tend to have lower access to social protection. Globally, 33% of people working in creative occupations are self-employed, and around 8% of them have more than one job.¹⁰⁰ The number of self-employed surpasses 50% in developing countries such as Costa Rica, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and Mali.¹⁰¹ But this is also true in industrialized countries. In the cities of the 27 EU countries, self-employment in cultural employment is higher than for other types of employment—approximately 32% of jobs vs. 14% of jobs in other fields.¹⁰² In 2018 in Europe, 31% of the 11 million freelancers were in marketing and communication and 18% were in arts, entertainment, and recreation. In one survey, about 89% of freelancers mentioned they did not have enough social security coverage, which prevents them from smoothing income shocks.¹⁰³



Social outcomes

By improving quality of life and fostering greater social cohesion, creative cities can improve social outcomes. Physical regeneration and revitalization of neighborhoods that can be driven by creative city evolution can improve the quality of life of residents and visitors. Residents and visitors who consume CCI outputs—attending music concerts and viewing and purchasing works of art, etc.—can experience improvements in the qualities of their lives.

There are important network effects within and between CCIs in creative cities that enhance

relationships among creatives and CCI participants and contribute to innovation and growth of the intangible economy. As Figure 19 shows, there is a high positive correlation between employment across CCIs. Creatives seek inspiration among one another, transition from one creative occupation to the next, and in that way, encourage growth and development in CCIs. For example, interconnectedness between literature, music, and film industries has been observed for some time. Many filmmakers have found inspiration in books they have read and are even writers themselves.¹⁰⁴ In the United States in the last decade among 5.6% of graphic designers became web developers, 2.2% became marketing managers, 6% are now art directors, and around 3% became fine artists. All of these occupations were among the top 10 occupations where designers transition.¹⁰⁵ As such, cities often naturally house co-locating clusters of CCIs. Variation in crossover innovation across cities may be in part linked to variation in structures and support mechanisms that enable idea crossover.

Network effects between creative and non-creative industries also influence relationships, ideation, and production more broadly in cities. Based on a recent study, creative businesses in the United Kingdom offered spillover benefits to other business with whom they co-locate.¹⁰⁶ “Locations that saw their neighbors being more specialized in IT, software, and computer services were 80% more likely to become more specialized in that sub-sector too”. In addition, “companies in non-creative industries operating in creative clusters tend to be more creative too”, where creativity is imbedded in other sectors in more than 66% of locations specializing in creative industries compared to 23% of places without this specialization. Relatedly, as business neighbors grow, creative businesses also seem to grow. In some cases, this finding is statistically significant.

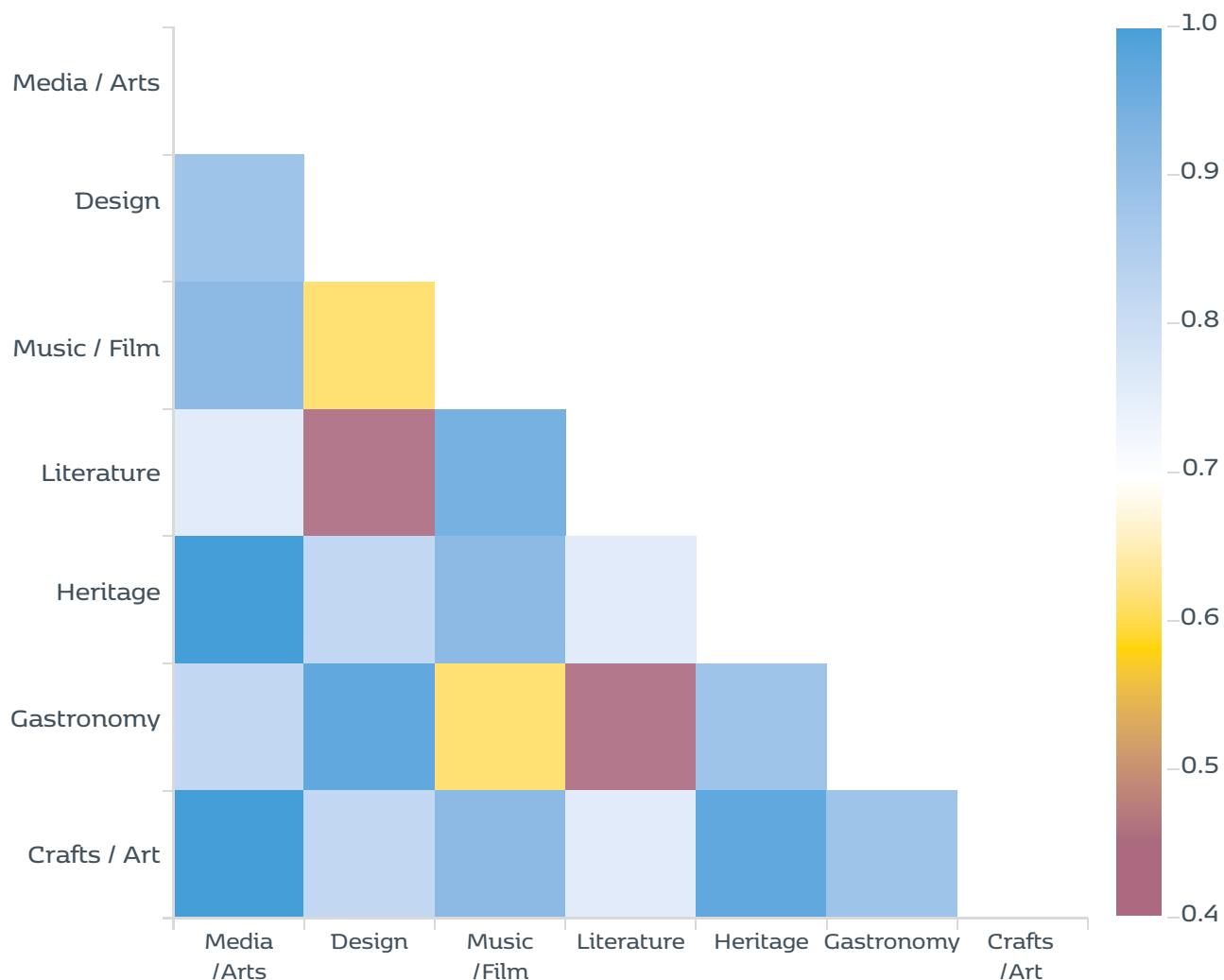
CCIs can help foster social cohesion including in post-conflict and fragile contexts. Experiences have shown that efforts to rebuild cities leveraging local CCIs and in a participatory manner can contribute to greater social cohesion and greater tolerance across different ethnic groups. One example is in Timbuktu, Mali. After a period of violent conflict in 2012, the

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local mason corporation and communities restored their heritage assets collectively, based on traditional knowledge, skills, and communal ceremonies.¹⁰⁷ Such a process and approach helped rebuild not only the physical assets but also the fabric of the community and cultural identities. Another example is Banda Aceh, Indonesia, in which CCIs played a key role in the reconstruction and peacebuilding processes following the decades of separatist conflict and catastrophic natural disasters. To foster social interaction and

promote community dialogue after the crises, local theater groups, troupes, and officials collaborated to develop and perform plays on the theme of recovery at refugee shelters and the Banda Aceh Cultural Park.¹⁰⁸ This creative “forum theater” strategy helped engage local communities, especially the most vulnerable groups such as refugees, while also providing an important venue and outlet to exchange information and ideas on the city’s reconstruction and recovery pathways.

Figure 19. Employment correlation among creative industries



Source: International Labor Organization. (2020). *ILOSTAT* database.
Available from <https://ilo.org/data/>, own calculations.

3. Learning from Creative Cities and the Impact of COVID-19



3.1 A glimpse into creative cities' experiences

Creative cities can pursue different pathways to leverage culture and CCIs to contribute to spatial, economic, and social development. In this section, we share insights from nine case studies which show different pathways cities took to promote the development and growth of CCIs to achieve substantial outcomes for their residents, creatives, and societies more broadly—as well as the various policy tools and circumstances that enabled this growth. The cases illustrate the diversity of creative activities and assets that can be leveraged for the benefits of local development, the breadth of results that a city can achieve through cultivating culture and creativity, and the various roles that local and national policies can play in different circumstances.

Cases include:

- **Lima, Peru**, which tapped into its culinary traditions to unlock economic growth potential and improve neighborhoods, resulting in more jobs and opportunities for marginalized social groups.
- **Kyoto, Japan**, which leveraged its rich cultural heritage legacy by utilizing new technology to build a new dynamic part of the urban economy while enhancing social inclusion. The success of the new creative and art clusters helped transform the city's physical space and solidified its position as a globally renowned creative city.
- **Kobe, Japan**, a UNESCO Creative City of Design that leveraged its unique cultural and creative traditions to 'build back better' after a catastrophic earthquake and develop a stronger city identity anchored in the local culture and history.
- **Seoul, Republic of Korea**, another UNESCO Creative City of Design, where the government envisioned cultural and creative capital as the major driver for socioeconomic growth and economic diversification, and provided systematic support to creative clusters and local projects, resulting in important benefits in urban regeneration and job creation.
- **Madaba, Jordan**, a small city designated as a UNESCO Creative City of Crafts and Folk Art in 2017, that became a major tourist destination and rejuvenated its urban fabric and economy by preserving and promoting its ancient local craft of mosaic-making.
- **Brazzaville, Democratic Republic of Congo**, a UNESCO Creative City of Music that embraced its unique local-music tradition as an asset and helped rebuild social cohesion through supporting artists and promoting their craft skills.
- **Santos, Brazil**, a UNESCO Creative City in the field of film that has been investing in support of the creative economy to promote social and economic change among the most vulnerable groups.
- **Angoulême, France**, a UNESCO Creative City of Literature that leveraged the comic book industry to drive socio-economic and urban development in the region.
- **Belgrade, Serbia**, where bottom-up creative activities with limited public support led to urban transformation and revitalization of neglected areas.

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The cases reviewed in this section were selected with the objective of representing a diverse set of creative city applications, approaches, and outcomes in a diverse set of contexts. They range from primary cities and national capitals (Lima, Seoul, Brazzaville, Belgrade) to secondary cities (Santos, Angoulême, Madaba, Kobe, and Kyoto—although once the capital of Japan) and have a wide range of populations (from 40,000 in Angoulême to over 10 million in Lima). While the specific case studies were identified through an organic consultative process involving the World Bank, UNESCO, and other partners, the selection was geared towards highlighting several key types of how to apply creative city approaches to urban development, as well as demonstrating the diversity of contexts in which they can be used. The key types are:

1 Cases where creative city development is closely associated with a specific industry/sector, and development of an industry is at the core of the creative city process, often the target of policy interventions and the source of various local development gains. These include Lima, Madaba, Brazzaville, and Angoulême. Their selection highlights applicability of this approach both to primary and secondary cities at various stages of development (from low to middle to upper-middle income).

2 Cases where creative city interventions and transformations are driven by or associated with transformations of urban space (bottom-up or top-down). These examples—Seoul, Kyoto, and Belgrade—are mostly comprised of relatively large cities with a distinctive urban fabric and a vibrant population with skills and talent, which has led to a virtuous cycle between urban space and creativity. Seoul offers an example of large-scale, top-down (led by city and national government) urban regeneration. Kyoto is an example of urban transformation where local government support helped scale up community-based grassroots-led efforts. Belgrade encompasses a set of small-scale, bottom-up neighborhood

level initiatives that can eventually scale up. This model is also applicable to smaller cities.

3

The last group of cases offers examples where creative assets that exist in local communities are leveraged by the city for the purpose of addressing broad challenges of social development, community-building, and inclusion, whether long standing—like inequality and segregation in Santos—or resulting in the aftermath of a disaster, like the earthquake that hit Kobe. This category is meant to represent a breadth of potential associated with creative cities and a diversity of local development challenges that creativity can help address.

This section offers the main lessons from the case studies outlined above. A summary of the cases is presented in Table 2 →

Table 2. Summaries of creative cities case studies – *What has been done to support creativity? How has it been done?*

Synopsis and key achievement	Background context	Assets: The foundation of creativity	Livability, urban spaces, and infrastructure	Skills, talent, and innovation	Social networks, catalyzers, and technical and financial support	Institutions, regulations, and partnerships	Key catalyzers – individuals, events, etc.	Lessons learned	
Lima	Over the last two decades, Lima has emerged as the home of a world-renowned gastronomic cluster. This resulted from a private initiative—started by visionary chefs that understood the potential of Peruvian cuisine—and wide-ranging support from the government. Today, Lima's gastronomic industry and its supply chain represent about 11.2% of the national economy. The contribution of restaurants to Lima's economy more than doubled between 2009 and 2018, creating jobs for marginalized groups and people with lower levels of education, and paving new avenues for vertical mobility. It contributed to the revitalization of neighborhoods around the city, including Callao.	A long period of social conflict and economic instability left Lima in a state of despair. Recovery efforts after decades of turmoil attracted some expatriate Peruvians—including chefs—back to the country and created the conditions for re-engaging with the cultural and culinary heritage, integrating foreign practices.	Unique culinary tradition of the country inspired by diversity of natural ecosystems and diversity of cultural traditions brought by immigrants from all over the world.	The metropolitan and district governments within the city took proactive steps to promote and revitalize traditional markets. Bottom-up neighborhood revitalization was driven in part by the rise of the gastronomy cluster and enabled in part by regulatory changes by local governments.	Cohort of chefs (made possible by cessation of conflict, macroeconomic and political stability, and business environment reforms) returned to Peru, after having acquired experience and skills abroad, and invested heavily in an ecosystem to train and enable the next generation of talent. In addition to privately provided vocational training, the Metropolitan Government of Lima launched "Cocina de Ideas" to support skill development in gastronomy as part of its tourism development strategy.	The National Gastronomic Society (APEGA) brought together like-minded chefs that believed in the potential of Peruvian food. APEGA formed alliances with farmers, the International Potato Center, chambers of commerce, and Agrarian University to coordinate work in promotion of Peru's gastronomy.	The National Center for Strategic Development (CEPLAN) led government support for promoting national gastronomy. This resulted in the development of industry guidelines, promotion campaigns, and the establishment of an international food fair. There was no master plan but, instead, a combination of enabling factors and an alignment between public and private actors. Over time, dialogue deepened between CEPLAN, APEGA, and the Metropolitan Government of Lima.	Gaston Acurio and other chefs who became public figures and attracted attention of the world to phenomenon of Peruvian cuisine. Gaston's TV show and government-sponsored marketing campaign were the critical components that increased the recognition of Peruvian cuisine within and outside the country. The association and cooking school founded by the chefs became the critical vehicle for scaling a culinary industry boom.	A critical success factor was the close collaboration between the private actors and networks and government agencies. The national government played a key role signaling support for the sector at the start of its period of transformation by prioritizing it as a pillar of national development in development plans following the period of civil strife. It also developed several national gastronomy, tourism, and agribusiness promotion campaigns and engaged in gastronomy diplomacy. Lima's metropolitan government took a more active role over time, focusing on both enabling the growth of gastrotourism—in part through partnering with APEGA—and spreading the benefits of the industry to poor and marginalized groups. Actions included: (i) upgrading and expanding street markets; (ii) rolling back restrictions on street vendors; and (iii) offering a skill development program called "Cocina de Ideas".
Kyoto	Kyoto has leveraged its rich history, cultural legacy, and cultural activities and used them as the foundation for the growth of a new creative community focused on technology-enabled art and entrepreneurship. Today, Kyoto's creative industry comprises approximately 16%-18% of all private enterprises, and 10%-12% of all employees in the city (compared to 4.4% and 3.2%, respectively, in Japan on average).	Kyoto boasts 1,200 years of history as the ancient capital of Japan. Modern-day Kyoto is a fusion of rich cultural traditions, cutting-edge artists, and creative communities with modern technology industries.	Tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the old capital city of Japan and a community culture of embracing tradition, but also applying traditional values to inspire creativity.	Kyoto's government implemented many regeneration initiatives and played different roles in them: from enabler (in the East Kyoto station neighborhood), to leader (in the West Kyoto station neighborhood). Its efforts ranged from small, urban projects to large neighborhood-wide schemes. A flexible approach and focus on creative community engagement were the key features that led to wide-ranging urban transformation.	The city partnered with universities to integrate them into the creative communities, enriching them in the process. For example, the city helped Kyoto City University open a new campus in the East Kyoto station neighborhood.	The creative community has been held together and nurtured through the presence of multiple anchor creative spaces and institutions. Many of these anchors received support from Kyoto's government, which recognized their role.	City planners had an understanding of the potential of creative sectors and promoted this vision through policies in different areas: urban regeneration, education, and industrial policy. There was no one single plan or strategy, but this vision was pursued in multiple sectoral documents simultaneously, and always in consultation and collaboration with creative communities and critical actors.	Multiple small creative spaces: FabCafe, Makers Garage (KMG), etc.	Kyoto demonstrates the powerful potential of creative communities and their ability to transform small (sometimes abandoned) urban spaces and contribute to strengthening the urban economy. Public interventions in Kyoto managed to support growth of the artists and creative community through multiple interventions, from safeguarding the cultural heritage legacy of the city to revitalization to direct support. But while public participation took different forms, the key feature of all of them was engaging the creative community and ensuring broader social inclusion.

Synopsis and key achievement	Background context	Assets: The foundation of creativity	Livability, urban spaces, and infrastructure	Skills, talent, and innovation	Social networks, catalyzers, and technical and financial support	Institutions, regulations, and partnerships	Key catalyzers – individuals, events, etc.	Lessons learned	
Kobe	For Kobe, the creative city vision became an organizing framework for reconstruction after the devastating 1995 earthquake. The city needed to give hope and meaning to its traumatized community and rebuild the foundations of the local economy. Declaring the creative city as the vector of development unlocked a lot of innovation in public policy, charitable work, and the private sector.	Following the 1995 earthquake, Kobe lost over 4,500 residents and suffered severe damage to infrastructure and core industries. The creative city vision (inspired by UNESCO) helped the city reimagine itself and create a new catalyst for community life and economic progress.	Legacy as the country's first open port in the 1800s and the tradition of tolerance and combining cultural influences, as well as the power of local community and local identity, which was further strengthened as the city came together to recover from the tragedy of the 1995 earthquake.	Urban regeneration projects were a large part of earthquake recovery and were based on strong citizen engagement and aimed to strengthen the sense of community and the image of the city as one to live in, not just to work.	The city tried to project an image for artists and creative workers to live in. The city administration runs programs that aim to instill creative thinking and practices in school curricula and public sector activities.	The city supports artists and creative communities by incentivizing local businesses to hire local designers with subsidies.	The city relies on supporting key institutions and individuals that promote the creative agenda: KITO, city creative directors, and a creative industries chief manager. Close collaboration between the private sector and NGOs allowed the city to support and scale up relevant private initiatives, such as the 'gastropolis'—a set of support initiatives to scale the local farm-to-table gastronomy movement, which originated from a private initiative to open farmers markets in the city and got scaled up with support from the city.	Post-earthquake/long-run rebuilding imperatives galvanized the community unification that became the foundation of rediscovery of cultural and creative heritage. Engagement with UNESCO, led by a local business leader and supported by the chamber of commerce, resulted in a proposal to the mayor to join the UNESCO Creative Cities Network, which led to adoption of a creative city policy vision.	While Kobe recognizes "UNESCO Creative City of Design" as its core identity and has established institutions to aid creativity, there has never been a detailed action plan. Kobe has been successful in creating an organizing framework and an environment that has enabled multiple initiatives that contribute to the vision emerging from within the public and private sectors.

Synopsis and key achievement	Background context	Assets: The foundation of creativity	Livability, urban spaces, and infrastructure	Skills, talent, and innovation	Social networks, catalyzers, and technical and financial support	Institutions, regulations, and partnerships	Key catalyzers – individuals, events, etc.	Lessons learned
Seoul	To meet different urban challenges and diversify the economy, Seoul decided to leverage cultural and creative capital to drive economic growth and spatial development. It implemented a series of initiatives based on long-term planning and comprehensive studies, including the Digital Media City (DMC), a high-end Media and Entertainment and IT Industrial Cluster developed in a former landfill site. DMC has become the largest media hub in the Republic of Korea, housing more than 550 firms and with a 94.2% occupancy rate as of December 2019. Seoul also sought culture-based urban regeneration by supporting local creative projects through the Seoul Urban Regeneration Center. From 2017 to 2019, it supported 71 projects in 60 different sites.	In recent years, the Republic of Korea recognized the potential of CCIs as a new source of growth that could contribute toward diversification away from a manufacturing-focused growth model. Seoul leadership recognized that CCIs can be major contributors to the new development path and provided systematic support to nurture CCIs.	Seoul is the economic, social, creative, and cultural hub of the country, with a critical mass of creative professionals. There are 34,725 CCI companies operating in Seoul, accounting for about one-third of all CCI companies in the Republic of Korea. The sector employs 340,363 people. Seoul also joined the UNESCO Creative Cities Network as a "Creative City of Design" in 2010.	Seoul supported the development of DMC to serve as the new future-oriented digital media entertainment cluster neighborhood. The spaces and facilities were designed and established through industry analysis led by the city. It was developed in a strategic location that offers great accessibility to major business districts and academic institutions, as well as good connections to major airports and railways. Seoul is also putting culture and creativity at the heart of its regeneration efforts. One example is culture-based, people-centered urban regeneration projects to enhance the quality of life for residents, particularly for marginalized or vulnerable groups. This agenda is carried out by a dedicated institution, Seoul Urban Regeneration Center.	Government is implementing a broader strategy of supporting creative sectors, which includes training and skills development programs. DMC offers technical trainings by industry experts on the newest technology, marketing, and talent acquisition, especially targeting entrepreneurs. The Seoul Urban Regeneration Center also provides capacity-building programs and workshops for locals.	DMC tenants receive technical and financial support (such as matching funds, tax breaks, and incentives) from the government, and participate in networking and idea commercialization events. DMC has also ensured that the housed tenants complement and reinforce functions of each other, while those tenants are attractive enough to draw other businesses to the area for the spillover effects. The Seoul Urban Regeneration Center provides the project funding and facilitates meetings and networking among the local communities, public administrative bodies, and industry experts.	DMC promotes strong networks among the different CCI actors and agents throughout the value chain, from the government, academia, and R&D institutions to the private sector. The Seoul Urban Regeneration Center established formal partnerships with different government bodies (Seoul Housing & Communities Corporation, Seoul Research Institute, and the Seoul Office of Education) to maximize the synergies. Seoul also developed the Seoul Urban Regeneration Center to provide the platform where communities can come together to discuss regeneration ideas for their own neighborhoods and implement them.	Seoul shows that sound market assessment and carefully coordinated interventions enable governments to play an effective role in developing CCI ecosystems using a top-down approach (which often fail if they don't understand the demand). These policy initiatives were accompanied by adequate legal frameworks of support; specialized agencies, and cross-cutting institutional mechanisms, value-added networks and dynamics among various actors and agents; physical infrastructure for collaboration; and a tailored support system, ranging from training to financial and legal services to marketing.
Madaba	This relatively small city known for its mosaics invested in protecting this traditional craft and managed to build a tourism economy around it, which has contributed to Madaba's designation as a UNESCO Creative City of Crafts and Folk Art.	Ancient mosaics were excavated in the area throughout the 20th century, but the art form had not yet been fully embraced as the core of local identity.	The tradition of mosaics and the opportunity to rebuild the craft of mosaic-making and develop related art.	Mosaics served to make the city's public spaces and urban fabric more attractive.	The school of mosaic-making became the core catalyst of the industry.	A partnership with Middle Eastern University was critical for initiating the Mosaic Festival—the main tourist draw of the year.	Madaba Institute for Mosaic Art and Restoration (MIMAR) was established in 1992 and opened school for craftspeople. Government recognition and support for the establishment of mosaic-making workshops were critical for the rebirth of the mosaic-making tradition.	Madaba Institute for Mosaic Art and Restoration (MIMAR) served as a catalyst. Madaba became a creative city of crafts and folk art under the UNESCO Creative Cities Network in 2017, which helped draw even more attention to the mosaic cluster in Madaba. The Madaba story shows that creating an institution that is focused on the protection of heritage can unlock economic opportunities.
Brazzaville	Brazzaville has been renowned in Africa for its musical tradition and made music a force for economic growth and community cohesion, with local government leading the way.	Congolese music has long been renowned around Africa and the world, yet this was not having an impact on Brazzaville's development.	Unique musical tradition, and evolving style of local musicians that take in multiple influences and produce unique sounds. This has earned the city the designation of UNESCO Creative City of Music.	The local government created physical event spaces where music could be performed and shared. This was a critical part of the program that also contributed to community cohesion.	The city government provided instruments and equipment and supported training of young artists. The local government supported efforts to boost managerial skills in the industry.	The local government's effort to promote the musical scene and its history played a critical role in increasing the city's tourist attractiveness.	The city supports the organization of major events such as the world-renowned Pan-African Music Festival (FESPAM), held biannually, and the FEUX DE BRAZZA Festival.	The Brazzaville experience shows that a local government can invest in strengthening the foundations for the continued development of CCIs. In Brazzaville this included supporting the creative process through provision of instruments and artist residencies, aiding distribution by creating spaces and events for music to be performed, focusing on professionalization and commercialization of the creative product.

Synopsis and key achievement	Background context	Assets: The foundation of creativity	Livability, urban spaces, and infrastructure	Skills, talent, and innovation	Social networks, catalyzers, and technical and financial support	Institutions, regulations, and partnerships	Key catalyzers – individuals, events, etc.	Lessons learned	
Santos	In response to growing social and economic inequality, Santos sought changes by leveraging the power of the creative economy, especially in the most vulnerable neighborhoods. Supported by the collaborative works of the public and private sectors, civil society, NGOs, and educational institutions, different initiatives—such as the Creative Villages initiatives and Creative Eco Factory—provided opportunities to more than 5,000 people of all ages to be part of cultural activities and brought them together around shared interests, evoking a sense of belonging.	The Government of Santos sought to foster economic opportunities and social inclusion in the most vulnerable neighborhoods—including places where drug dealing, prostitution, and poor housing conditions prevail—by facilitating cultural activities and professional training in the CCI sector connected to an array of cultural activities rooted locally: cinema, gastronomy, crafts (furniture), and fashion.	Despite the challenging conditions, the communities of Santos demonstrated potential in creative and cultural activities, from dancing, to gastronomy to crafts.	The municipality established nine Creative Villages, small-scale interventions in vulnerable districts that also serve as public spaces for creative and social activities.	The Government of Santos implemented programs through the creative villages to engage locals in training and cultural activities. It also supported the Creative Eco Factory initiative which provides carpentry training using recycled wood collected locally. The innovative initiative won a Social Impact Prize in 2017.	The project was carried out under the management of the Santos Municipality in collaboration with civil society organizations and education institutions, while the Brazilian Support Service for Micro and Small Businesses (SEBRAE), Centro Paula Souza institution (CPS), and the people's bank (Banco do Povo) provided technical and financial assistance to encourage social entrepreneurship in the creative economy sector.	Collaboration between the public and private sectors, civil society, NGOs, and educational institutions was key to the success of the project. Under the guidance of the municipal government, NGOs promoted different cultural programs and capacity-building, while financial institutions and support agencies provided technical and financial support.	Different cultural activities and training launched by the Creative Villages promoted the integration of teachers, staff, participants, and community members. It also strengthened community identities and provided access to cultural and economic opportunities.	The municipality utilized the power of culture and the creative economy to achieve social and economic changes in this challenging context. Effective collaboration between the public and private sectors, non-profits, and financial institutions was instrumental in realizing the change.
Angoulême	As Angoulême, known for its paper industry and rich literary tradition, faced economic decline, it leveraged and nurtured the comic book industry to drive socio-economic and urban development in the region, following a successful comic strip festival in 1974. Today there are nearly 200 authors/artists and 30 different companies directly linked to the comic book industry (e.g. publishers, distributors, etc.), as well as 75 companies dedicated to animation, digital creation, and multimedia based in the region.	For the past 25 years, the French comic book industry has experienced a strong period of artistic vitality driven by the diversification of forms and genres and has become the second-most dynamic segment of the French book market. Following the success of the Angoulême International Comic Strip Festival (FIBD), it has continued to strengthen the ecosystem linked to the comic industry.	Angoulême has been nationally known for its paper industry since the 16th century, as well as for its rich literary tradition. In addition to the FIBD, Angoulême hosts several international and national cultural events, and many creative professionals and agents linked to the CCI are based in the region. In 2019 Angoulême joined the UCCN as a Creative City of Literature, due to its unique literary focus on comics.	There are specialized cultural facilities (Cité Internationale de la Bande Dessinée et de l'Image (CIBDI), Médiathèque L'Alpha, etc.) to support and promote the comic book industry. In addition to the cultural establishments, Angoulême's image as the place for comics and "images" has also attracted creative professionals around the world who took up residence at the Maison des auteurs.	The city established the Image Campus with 12 higher education schools to foster talent and facilitate interaction among students, authors, and companies. The schools provide training in comics, cinema, animated films, documentaries, and video games, with courses ranging from preparatory to doctoral studies.	The Ligue des Auteurs Professionnels (League of Professional Authors) was created to enhance socio-economic protections for creative professionals. Local authorities also provide significant financial and logistical support by financing different festivals and providing support for primary and higher education as well as access to art and culture.	An economic development center (Pôle Image Magelis) was created to support and strengthen the comic book industry, as well as the development of animation, filming, and video games. The national Association Des Auteurs de BD (adaBD) was also set up in Angoulême to collaborate with public authorities for administrative and legal support.	The Angoulême International Comic Strip Festival (FIBD) organized in 1974, attracted cultural professionals to the region and provided a foundation for the development of the comic book industry ecosystem. Since then, different festivals have made the region more renowned as a place for comic strips, animations, and "images." The communities of author/artists, as well as organizations like the CIBDI, continued to help enhance and strengthen the overall ecosystem of the CCI.	Different CCI actors and city officials collaborated to strengthen the industry. Acknowledging the socio-economic vulnerabilities of creative professionals, city officials worked with them to integrate their proposals and recommendations into public policies to address the issues and improve the CCI's overall ecosystem.

Synopsis and key achievement	Background context	Assets: The foundation of creativity	Livability, urban spaces, and infrastructure	Skills, talent, and innovation	Social networks, catalyzers, and technical and financial support	Institutions, regulations, and partnerships	Key catalyzers – individuals, events, etc.	Lessons learned
Belgrade CCIs have emerged as a dynamic part of Belgrade's economy, contributing to its tourist attractions and serving as a catalyst of urban regeneration and social engagement. However, the opportunities that CCIs present have not been integrated and leveraged in public policies. A number of bottom-up initiatives—including Savamala District (that disappeared after a thriving period due to new urban investment in the Belgrade Waterfront), Belgrade Design District (Choomich), Cetinjska Street and Dorćol Platz—led by creative professionals and entrepreneurs, helped establish creative districts that are leading future transformation of these neighborhoods. Such bottom-up initiatives drew the local authorities' attention and new urbanistic plans are seen as vital for the future privatization of former public properties. The city has, however, not invested directly in more substantial reconstruction of infrastructure such as to leverage such initiatives.	In post-communist Europe, the development potential of culture for local economies has been underrecognized. Yet innovative bottom-up activities in Belgrade have contributed to the creation of several unique creative clusters around the city, enhanced urban regeneration, and provided economic opportunities for the young creative professionals.	As the capital of Serbia, Belgrade is the center of the country's creative and artistic life. More than 65% of Serbia's cultural infrastructure and about 60% of its CCIs are located in Belgrade. In 2018, Belgrade CCIs accounted for around 14,000 enterprises and organizations. More than 43,000 people are employed in core creative industry domains, which accounts for 6% of total employment in Belgrade. For every 1,000 inhabitants, 30 of them are engaged in some form of creative entrepreneurship.	Local creative professionals came together and shared the resources and space for creative work and entrepreneurship in unused, neglected buildings, resulting in their revitalization and better inclusion in urban life. Exemplary cases include the Belgrade Design District (Choomich), a neglected shopping center that was transformed into an art and design district; Cetinjska Street, where a brewery and surrounding warehouses have been converted into a nightlife and restaurant area; and the Dorćol Platz, a cultural and creative activities hub housed in a reconstructed hangar.	The Belgrade Design District mobilized so-called "mode d'auteur" activists, a design movement that offers an innovative approach to fashion that doesn't belong to "haute couture" nor to mass production. It offers a differentiated and individualized approach to fashion. They exchange ideas and develop cultural activities together within their association. The process for new entrepreneurs to join the association is quite selective.	The initiatives evolved organically as a result of interaction and synergies between creative professionals in the fashion industry. This allowed other entrepreneurs and a few restaurant and bar owners to continue their activities without creating a common organization (each entrepreneur rents its space from the municipality). Entrepreneurs of Cetinjska Street moved there after their renting contracts in Savamala district were cancelled due to gentrification. They continued a hybrid program, organizing cultural events (such as poetry readings) in their bars and restaurants. Journalists and other creative professionals that carried out their activities in abandoned buildings in Dorćol Platz planned their initiatives as a hybrid of commercial and non-commercial activities, including theater production and performances, street art initiatives, children animation programs, etc. None of these initiatives received any public support as such, except for very few artistic and educational projects, led by artistic collectives.	The informal artist and small business networks and organizations have been at the center of Belgrade's bottom-up CCI development. A representative example is the "Dorćol Platz" initiative—a creative space that was found by the Art Comuna—an association founded by artists.	The creative activities evolved organically, driven by the interaction between creative entrepreneurs, artists, and local entrepreneurs. The Belgrade Design District (Choomich) was created by 20 fashion designers who envisioned a new meeting place for young artists, designers, fashion lovers and customers, while the Dorćol Platz was also established by artists, as well as journalists and entrepreneurs who aimed to create a space and conditions to endorse artistic creativity, promote its production and dissemination, support networking and economic empowerment of artists and creative entrepreneurs, and foster the creation of a free "public" space open for critical debates and gatherings, as well as art events.	Creative entrepreneurship and organic creative communities, if linked with other social forces (journalists, others in media, the academic community) have an important role in creating bottom-up cultural policies, promoting innovation in the creative sector. These bottom-up policies and activities have significant potential and can be catalysts for more vibrant cultural life, contributing to urban transformation of neglected (for the most part public) buildings while creating a new identity for once abandoned or neglected industrial neighborhoods. The Belgrade experience proves resilience, but also highlights the limits of bottom-up initiatives and their vulnerability to capture as in the case of Savamala District. When the area became attractive the public authorities saw its economic potential and offered the area to investors without any concern for the future of the creative entrepreneurs that would have to leave. In this newly gentrified neighborhood there is, for instance, no longer a place for the Mixer House, one of the central areas for the creative community, that had to rely on its own resources to find a new location space for its festival (moving to Sarajevo and back to Dorćol and finally in 2020 to a village near Belgrade). However, if connected in associations and networks, creative entrepreneurs (Belgrade Design District) might advocate with some success to public officials as in the case of the efforts undertaken to create a Task Force for the Belgrade District of Design (Choomich).

3.2 Lessons learned on leveraging culture and creativity for sustainable urban development and inclusive growth

Successful creative cities map their cultural and creative assets, create conditions to enable leveraging these assets, and identify and address the constraints to their growth and development. Good examples of prosperous CCIs are those that leverage unique local assets, culture, or traditions. Many cities start with understanding their assets and comparative advantages. In some cities, like Madaba, these assets are clearly defined (mosaics). In other cities, like Kobe, the aftermath of a disaster can create circumstances to revisit and rediscover their unique culture. Some cities leverage and reshape their unique assets: Angoulême, for instance, where its renowned paper industry and rich literary tradition paved the path to nurture a new sector (comic books and graphic design). Cities like Seoul might make bets on forming a creative cluster, based on understanding of favorable local conditions and the potential of specific CCIs. While it is not always necessary, industry and market assessment can help to develop baselines and targets for growth opportunities. Whatever the local situation, gaining deeper understanding of local creative and cultural assets is an important starting point for any policy making.

Once stakeholders understand local assets and their potential, it is important to look at the constraints affecting them. Global experience shows that constraints can vary, so support needs to be differentiated. Barriers to CCI growth—as outlined in section 2.1—vary by city but include predominance of informality, lack of managerial skills (like in Brazzaville’s music industry), absence of catalyzing institutions or actors (like in the case of Lima’s culinary industry), and lack of affordability and gentrification, which prices out creatives. The Cities, Culture, and Creativity Framework can be used to assess constraints and inform the development of relevant policy responses and support.

Examples of successful creative cities present a diversity of options when it comes

to the different roles of stakeholders. In Lima, the initial phase of development of the gastronomy cluster was jumpstarted by a handful of chefs (including Gastón Acurio) who returned to the city after obtaining training and experience abroad. The transformation of the East Kyoto station neighborhood is associated with several local institutions (e.g. FabCafe) that were largely formed within the creative community and catalyzed the transformation of the area. In Belgrade, groups of creative professionals led “urban creative recycling” initiatives, turning dilapidated buildings or neglected areas into unique and creative spaces—such as Savamala District, BIGZ, and Inex Film—and gave new cultural identities to the neighborhoods. In Seoul, however, investment in the creative economy was mainly a government-led initiative based on market and sector analysis. All these examples, while they differed in origin, the level of government support, and their development trajectory, resulted in successful outcomes, suggesting that there is no unique formula for stakeholder participation and roles that work.

Most successful creative city initiatives rely on collaboration of public and private actors. In Peru, the national government recognized the potential of Lima’s gastronomy and put resources toward promoting it, which helped the sector scale up. In Seoul, the DMC was a success not just because of the large investment and support by the government, but also because of the carefully crafted ecosystem involving different actors and agents throughout the value chain. Synergies that emerged produced spillover effects—they attracted more creative entrepreneurs and more amenities to the area, making DMC the largest media hub in the Republic of Korea. In Santos, collaboration between the public and private sectors, civil society, NGOs, and educational institutions was also key to success. Under the guidance of the municipal government, NGOs promoted different cultural programs and capacity-building, while financial institutions and a variety of agencies

3. Learning from Creative Cities and the Impact of COVID-19

provided technical and financial support. And in Kobe, a loose creative city vision adopted by the city provided a framework within which public and private initiatives would emerge and grow through continuous collaboration.

A people-centered approach is essential to successful efforts to enable CCIs and the sustainability of creative cities. Brazzaville emerged as a center of music on the African continent partially due to the help musicians received from the government. Government support targeted various phases of the production cycle, from skills development and provision of instruments, to composition and recording, to distribution through performance spaces. In Madaba and Lima, growth of the mosaic and gastronomy activities were closely associated with establishing education and skills development programs that nurtured the craft and made it accessible to larger groups of people. The government of Brazzaville also took steps towards the professionalization of its CCIs when it offered management training to people in the music business. In Santos, the city focused on investing in the power of the creative economy to promote social and economic change among the most vulnerable groups, providing them professional training or the opportunities to be part of cultural activities and to unlock their creative potential.

Professionalization of the creative economy is an important step toward economic sustainability of creative assets. To help generate an enabling environment, creative actors must be engaged in consultations to help the government understand their needs and thus put in place support measures to improve their business practices and their creative environment. In Kobe, assistance to communities included subsidies to local businesses when hiring local designers so that they gain professional experience. In Angoulême, the city recognized the socioeconomic vulnerabilities of creative professionals and integrated recommendations from a wide range of CCI actors/agents into public policies. Among these recommendations were easier access to housing and more legal, social, and professional

support. Such steps are critical for advancing the economy and for ensuring sustainability of the creative community and the creative assets that it represents.

Urban placemaking for creative city development and community building is important. In Seoul, the Digital Media City project was focused on creating an attractive and well-equipped space to accommodate creativity, choosing a strategic location to enable the CCI environment while also repurposing a former landfill site into an environmental and urban amenity. Further, the Seoul Regeneration Center aimed to leverage neighborhood upgrading initiatives to galvanize community building. Moreover, **CCIs can also help reshape urban spaces, contributing to other dimensions of sustainable development.** Kyoto's East Kyoto station neighborhood was transformed through gradual growth of creative spaces and arts and small businesses in related fields. This resulted in increased real estate prices, which attracted further investment into the area, improving its overall quality and comfort. Although it has not happened in the East Kyoto station neighborhood, growing real estate values raise a risk of gentrification, pricing many within the creative community out of the neighborhood in the future, posing another critical challenge for policy makers. Similarly, success of restaurants in the Lima neighborhoods of Callao, Miraflores, and Barranco paved the way to further urban regeneration, with the opening of more galleries and museums.

While economic growth may not be the core motivation for creative development, it can bring substantial results. CCIs contribute three times more employment density in Kyoto city than in Japan as a whole. In Seoul they employ more than 340,000 people, a sizeable share in a city of almost 10 million. The gastronomy industry in Lima, together with its associated industries, makes up more than 10% of the national economy of Peru. In Belgrade, CCIs encompass some 14,000 enterprises and organizations, and more than 43,000 are employed in core creative industry domains, which accounts for 6% of Belgrade's

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total employment. For every 1,000 inhabitants, 30 of them are engaged in some form of creative entrepreneurship. This offers evidence of the substantial economic potential of creative sectors, an important consideration regardless of whether creativity is valued for its economic potential.

Creativity can also become a binding force that helps rebuild community ties. A vision of city development based around creativity of local communities allowed Kobe to help heal the wounds of a terrible earthquake and to reinvent its identity and its economic development path. In Brazzaville, music was a big part of strengthening social cohesion of an otherwise ethnically fragmented mosaic and engaging the community in shared activities. In Kyoto, Lima, and Madaba, CCIs reshaped local identities and created a new sense of local pride. In Santos, creative and cultural activities played a fundamental role in bringing people together around shared interests, strengthening bonds and evoking a sense of belonging, especially for the most vulnerable groups. The power of creative activities extends beyond economic potential to include a range of intangible positive outcomes.

Though the case studies outlined in this paper do not analyze in depth the issue of gentrification, decision makers should consider its adverse effects on the city's affordability and its ability to retain creative talent. Gentrification can take place when neighborhoods become more attractive due to the emergence of cultural and creative amenities without the appropriate support measures for making housing affordable for a range of income groups. It can lead to the displacement and exclusion of existing residents, especially lower-income groups, and can potentially dilute the authenticity and cultural and creative potential of vibrant and diverse neighborhoods. Inclusion-oriented policies—such as reforming zoning laws, enhancing urban transit, and enabling the development of affordable housing—can mitigate gentrification dynamics.

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Table 3. Guiding principles for enabling creative cities

Guiding principles	Examples from case studies
Mapping cultural resources and CCIs	<p>Local policy efforts supporting creative deepening are more likely to succeed when they aim to build on existing cultural and creative assets. Thus, the first step for city officials is to understand what they are. Creative assets of cities are often known and well understood, as in the cases of Brazzaville, Madaba, and Angoulême, which are established cultural centers known for particular art forms. In other cities, there was a need to identify creative assets in the local social and cultural fabric. Knowledge of local creative assets are often held by local communities, and thus the role of local governments is to seek out such indigenous knowledge to inform policy making. There is a spectrum of approaches that can be taken including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mapping exercises do not need to be very structured and run in a top-down manner. Kyoto and Kobe show that one strategy is to focus on creating an enabling environment for creative communities and initiatives to emerge, and then to design targeted interventions to support them. In general, support for creativity may entail simply identifying a source and letting it thrive until specific need for support emerges. - The case of Seoul demonstrates an opposite approach. The Seoul Metropolitan Government undertook a detailed analysis of the market potential of local cultural assets and adopted a government-led approach to develop them. At the national level, the growth of Korean cultural exports was recognized as a development opportunity, and informed policies aimed at improving the ecosystem for culture as an industry. Seoul's creative city strategy started with identifying specific CCIs that already exist and can grow in the city (broadcasting, game, film/animation, music, and digital education).
Identify key constraints	<p>To maximize the impact of scarce resources, an accurate understanding of constraints to CCIs is critical. The approach to identifying constraints can vary depending on data availability and resources. The city cases outlined in this Paper show a variety of approaches including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Seoul offers an example of a top-down approach to identifying constraints. After the vision of creating a new CCI hub was formulated by the city, the Digital Media City planning committee was set up by bringing together policy makers, CCI experts, scholars, and international practitioners. Under the supervision of the planning committee, detailed analysis of market opportunities and growth constraints for each of the key CCIs in Seoul was conducted and results informed the design of the new neighborhood. - Angoulême also benefited from a top-down review of the comic book industry that was commissioned by the Ministry of Culture and identified key fragilities of the industry. - Kyoto offers an example of a mixed approach combining learning from bottom-up initiatives with top-down policy action. This is best illustrated by how the city encouraged private initiative to drive development of the East Kyoto Station neighborhood, then used lessons from how that community evolved to better understand the needs of CCIs, which was then reflected in a government-driven approach to regenerating the West Kyoto Station neighborhood. - Lima represents a situation where both the city and the national government enabled the scale-up of a bottom-up culinary revolution. Opportunities and constraints were identified in close collaboration with the culinary cluster leaders—chefs and restaurateurs. This led the metropolitan government to launch projects to renovate food markets and establish “Cocina de Ideas”—an incubator and accelerator of new businesses and innovations in gastronomy—which serve as enablers for the industry’s growth.

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Prioritize interventions to enhance the resilience of long-term contributions of their CCIs	<p>Building resilience of creative communities and CCIs begins with empowering the organic creative communities and strengthening the institutions and skills that are central to them. These policies help rebuild and develop the core creative and cultural assets that are always the foundation of success for CCIs, and their rebuilding after any shock. The following are examples from city cases in the paper:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Madaba's first steps towards being recognized as a City of Mosaics were related to the establishment of the Madaba Institute for Mosaic Art and Restoration that focused on ensuring that artisanal skills get retained.- Brazzaville first focused on supporting musicians, for example through creating a residency program, which allowed them access to facilities, instruments, and technologies needed to enhance their creative process. The city also ran support programs for musicians that had fallen into hardship.- Kobe's efforts have been driven in part by a creative industry chief manager, whose functions include maintaining and building the network of creative professionals and ensuring that they get contracts and employment opportunities in the local area.
Build and empower an effective coalition	<p>Public-private coalitions are critical for enabling local economic development,¹ and no less relevant when it comes to CCIs. It is well known that coalitions can function as formal institutions or as informal consultative networks. What is important is that they are inclusive and give participants a real chance to influence policy decisions. The following are examples from the case studies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- The Seoul Digital Media City planning committee is an example of a formally organized coalition body that Seoul established to have a platform through which various stakeholders can come together and shape policy.- Lima did not have to create a special platform for consultation with the gastronomic industry as the APEGA association of gastronomic professionals was organized by industry leaders themselves and was proven to be extremely efficient at identifying and addressing the needs of the industry. The city saw APEGA as its main partner in advancing and scaling up the opportunities of creative city development.- Kobe offers an example of a more flexible, organic structure for creative community engagement. The local government supports and finances several CCI organizations and employs professionals whose job is focused on maintaining links with the creative community. As a result, the interactions between city hall and the CCIs goes through multiple formal and informal channels.

3.3 The negative shock of COVID-19 on creative cities

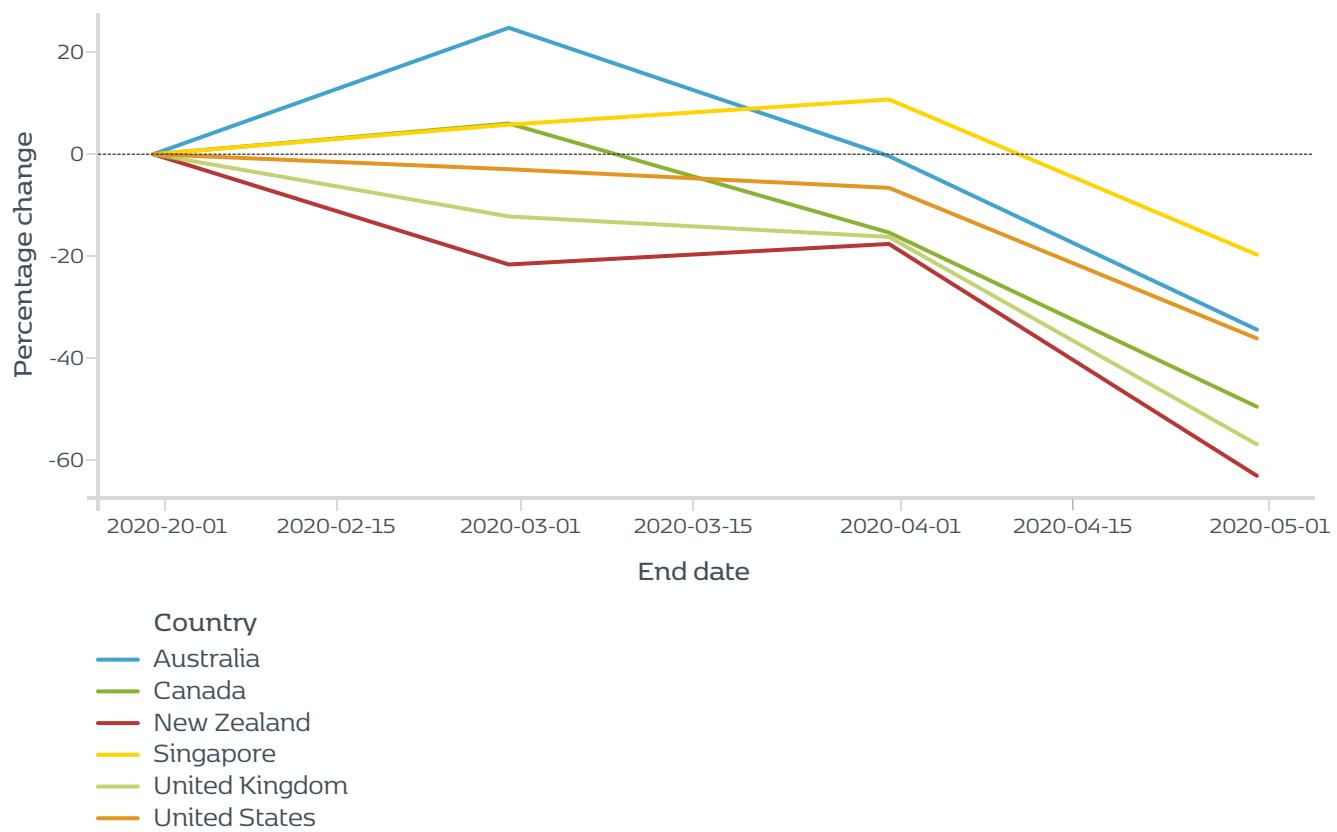
The COVID-19 pandemic has negatively impacted creative cities. While in times of prosperity, CCIs contribute to the triple (social, economic, and spatial) benefits in cities, the pandemic has required physical distancing and closure of cultural venues, hitting CCIs particularly hard, causing ripple effects across these three dimensions. COVID-19 has revealed the pre-existing vulnerability of the culture sector, as well as its close links with the global economy. The pandemic is affecting the entire creative value chain and considerably weakening the professional, social, and economic status of artists and cultural professionals. While some countries have taken mitigating steps, such as wage and training support for creatives,¹⁰⁹ culture is often forgotten in recovery plans and strategies, leaving many CCI workers in a precarious state.¹¹⁰ Cultural institutions have closed, let staff go, and lost millions in revenue. Upkeep of closed World Heritage sites has been neglected, while many ICH practices have been brought to a halt, with important consequences for the social and cultural life of communities around the world.

COVID-19's impact on creative cities has varied based on their dependency on CCIs. Yet in aggregate, in the first quarters of the pandemic the impact has been considerable across the board.¹¹¹ In the United States in August 2020, the Brookings Institution projected that 2.7 million CCI jobs (about one-third of CCI jobs in the country) and more than US\$150 billion in CCI sales (about 9% of average annual CCI sales in the United States) would be lost in the United States, with large and medium-sized cities across the country hit hardest.¹¹² Cities more reliant on CCI jobs such as Bologna, Florence, and Venice in Italy or Weimar and Mainz in Germany—where 9%-12% of jobs are associated with CCIs—are more vulnerable to negative impacts on their cities than those with more diversified job markets such as Paris, Copenhagen, Helsinki, Tallinn, and Vilnius, where cultural employment represents 5%-8%.

Some CCIs are among the hardest-hit sectors worldwide for several reasons. Production, consumption, and other types of engagement in many of these industries—whether art, film or music—have heavily relied on physical proximity and congregation. As most cities worldwide have introduced prolonged periods of physical distancing, entire CCI segments have been forced to temporarily or permanently close or operate using alternative methods that may not allow for the same level of engagement. Uncertainty persisted through the first quarters of the pandemic in most cities as to when they could fully remove physical distancing requirements. At the beginning of the second quarter of 2020, the International Labour Organization (ILO) estimated that retail trade; accommodation and food services; and arts, entertainment, and recreation—which rely predominantly on physical proximity—were among the six hardest-hit sectors. The early projected loss of over 100-190 million jobs in the tourism sector alone could lead to a US\$2.7-5.5 trillion decrease in GDP.¹¹³ Ninety-five percent of countries closed their museums to the public, while by July 2020 eight of 10 countries had shut down World Heritage sites even after easing lockdowns. Many ICH practices were suspended, affecting communities socially and economically. Creative job postings decreased by over 20% in Australia, Canada, Singapore, New Zealand, United Kingdom, and United States from early February to the beginning of May 2020 (see Figure 20).

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Figure 20. Change in postings of creative jobs, selected cities, February-May 2020



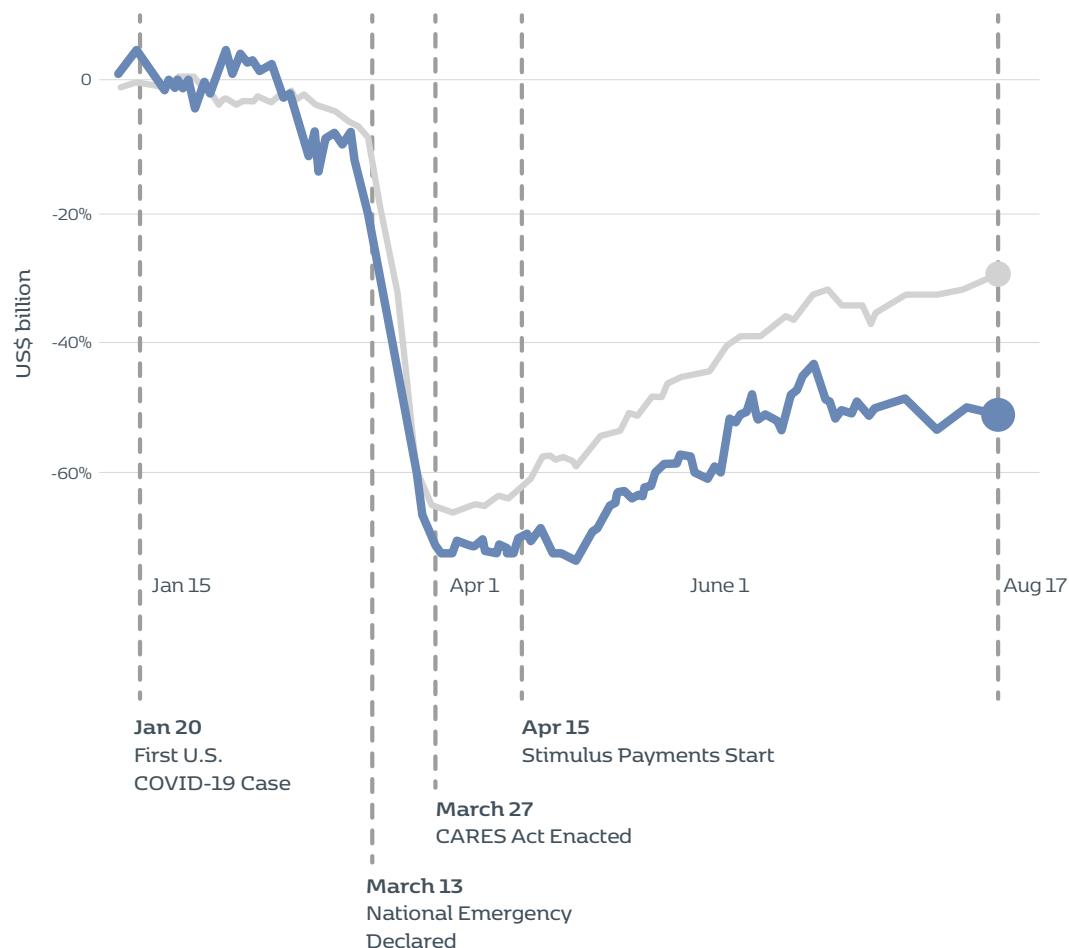
Source: Burning Glass, own calculations.

Many CCI jobs are precarious to begin with. A large share of CCI jobs are in the informal sector and rely on self-employment. Many countries lack legislation affording artists and culture professionals' legal status. Most of the 2.2 billion workers in the informal economy worldwide¹¹⁴ have been significantly impacted by lockdowns, and many work in the hardest-hit sectors of the economy, including CCIs. More than 75% of these workers have suffered economic losses; in fact, they experienced a 60% average drop in income during the first phase of the pandemic.¹¹⁵ While some national governments expanded support for small enterprises and self-employed workers, little of this support covered informal and temporary

workers.¹¹⁶ Through a number of UNESCO ResiliArt debates organized around the world, artists and cultural professionals called on governments to create legislation establishing the legal status of artists to provide them with better social protection.¹¹⁷

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Figure 21. Percentage change in consumer spending, United States, January-August 2020



Source: Opportunity Insights Economic Tracker, Opportunity Insights, Harvard University, Cambridge, M.A., <https://tracktherecover.org/>.

Demand for CCI services and goods typically declines during crises and economic downturns even if it is typically robust in the long run. While there has been growth in consumption of CCI goods and services over time, the growth and level of that consumption varies by per capita income across cities and countries.¹¹⁸ The generally positive correlation between average incomes and consumption of CCI goods and services implies that consumption grows with income and, likewise, that it decreases with income. During the 2008-2009 Global Financial Crisis, consumption of CCI goods and services in cities declined more than consumption of other

categories of goods and services, but it recovered thereafter. This suggests that, while during the first quarters of the pandemic consumption in arts, entertainment, travel, and food services saw reductions of over 30%, it is possible that there will be a recovery once the health crisis is resolved.¹¹⁹ In the United States, spending on entertainment and recreation dropped by 75% as of March 2020, but recovered by about 30 percentage points by July 2020.¹²⁰ However, due to the nature and depth of this crisis, the recovery trajectory may differ from the 2008-2009 Global Financial Crisis.

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Physical impact on cities has been palpable, with ‘vibrancy’ drastically lower in the first quarters of the pandemic. Images of neighborhoods that “never sleep” devoid of human life for extended periods of time became the norm during the lockdown (see Figure 22). Despite evidence that density alone is not a determinant of pandemic outcomes,¹²¹ there are some popular concerns about the future vibrancy of creative cities if residents and firms consider living in less dense cities in the future.

COVID-19 has negatively affected the socio-emotional well-being of urban communities by limiting congregation and face-to-face engagement in CCI activities. Some short-term indicators of social health have declined across cities worldwide. Domestic violence has risen across the world for both women and children, as evidenced by an increase in the number of emergency calls for domestic violence—40% in a sample of countries reviewed around the world.¹²² Fear, anxiety, stress, social isolation, and alcohol consumption have also increased during the pandemic. Indeed, during the global lockdown,

music, films, books, and other cultural goods and services have constituted an important coping mechanism for many people, and arts and culture have been given a renewed recognition for their social value.

Figure 22. Empty cities around the world during strict COVID-19 lockdowns

Budapest



Photo: Linda Gerbec/Unsplash.com,
Budapest, Hungary

Mexico City



Photo: Eneas de Troya/Flickr.com,
Mexico City, Mexico

Bangalore

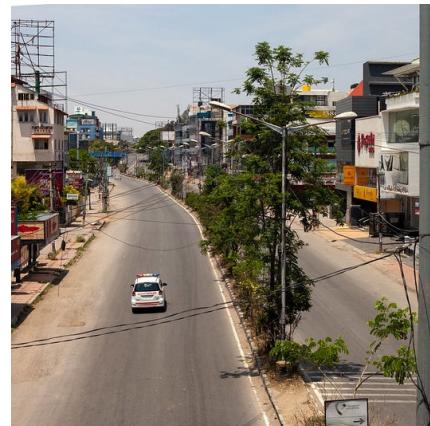


Photo: Nicolas Mirquet/Flickr.com*,
Bangalore, India

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3.4 Silver linings to the crisis—creativity and innovation signal a coming renaissance

The COVID-19 pandemic has magnified existing vulnerabilities of the CCI sector, yet it is also shedding light on the need for structural changes: offering opportunities for democratizing culture and arts, using new technologies to expand access to culture, and innovation and growth in some subfields. A wider set of creators have taken advantage of the lockdown period to focus on enhancing their skills, experimenting, and developing new offerings for the ‘new normal’, or for a full return to physical proximity. At the same time, a range of local and

national governments as well as NGOs have facilitated distance learning programs during this period to allow creators and others in the field to advance their skills while on full or partial hiatus. The European Union established the “Creatives Unite” platform, which enables creatives to share resources and collaborate to find solutions.¹²³ The gastronomy community in Lima, Peru has offered mentorship and technical support to enable a wide range of actors in the sector to use the time to explore their craft and develop new recipes and concepts.¹²⁴

Table 4. Impact of COVID-19: challenges and opportunities across CCIs

Creative industry	Overview
Arts/Crafts	<p>Artists are often self-employed and rely on art festivals and markets to display and sell their crafts, making this one of the hardest-hit CCI domains.</p> <p>Silver linings: With these events cancelled due in part to the pandemic, artists, museums, and galleries have moved to innovative digital exhibitions and video studio tours, offsetting some of their losses and in some cases dramatically augmenting their audience/market reach.¹</p> <p>Remaining challenges: The challenge/opportunity for these artists and institutions will be monetizing these shifts. But, for less established artists, those without access to digital means for sales, or those whose clients are now struggling financially—particularly in developing countries—their livelihood is still vulnerable. Ensuring fair remuneration for artists in online platforms is also a major challenge.</p> <p>Evidence from some regions: In Costa Rica, the Ministry of Culture found that 12.3% of artists were already living in poverty, making them more vulnerable to economic shock.² And in the United States, losses in Fine and Performing Arts are estimated to have reached \$42 billion in sales and over 1 million jobs.³ The theater community in Peru reported more than 450 cancelled performances at the end of March 2020 alone.</p>
Design	<p>The impact of COVID-19 on design occupations has varied in part based on the extent to which designers can continue their craft observing distance requirements and sell their products digitally.</p> <p>Silver linings: The pandemic has allowed some designers to offer their products directly to consumers through new online platforms and has encouraged new partnerships with online retailers such as Amazon.⁴</p> <p>Remaining challenges: The reduction of consumer spending has put pressure on furniture, apparel, jewelry, and other purchases. This affects designers, artisans, and even advertisers.</p> <p>Evidence from some regions: In the first quarters of the pandemic, Italian fashion artists saw a decline in orders by 80%. Italy’s fashion sector, which relies on small networks of designers and manufacturers, is likely to contract by 40% due to the pandemic.⁵ Fifty-one percent of Ugandan designers affected by the pandemic work freelance.</p>

3. Learning from Creative Cities and the Impact of COVID-19

Film	<p>Some segments of the film industry have suffered under COVID-19 while others have thrived. By April 2020 the International Cinematographers Guild declared that 120,000 film industry workers lost their jobs.⁶ Production crews, most of them freelancers, were fired without any type of relief or compensation, and the absence of safety nets for self-employed/informal workers has been especially detrimental to their livelihoods.⁷</p> <p>Silver linings: Some losses in film studios may be offset by the release of films directly through streaming services. For example, "Trolls" brought in over US\$100 million in revenue, a record in streaming services, reinforcing the trend towards these types of services.⁸</p> <p>Remaining challenges: Even as film production resumes, movie theaters may struggle to reopen. Early estimates suggested losses of \$17 billion by the end of May 2020.⁹</p> <p>Evidence from some regions: In Nigeria, some filmmakers experimented with filming remote movies and organized drive-in movie theaters to battle losses. Yet by June 2020 the sector faced losses of \$9 million and over 50,000 jobs were under threat.¹⁰ In the United States, despite that employment is more limited compared to generated revenues than in the developing world, an estimated 250,000 actors, art directors, producers, and directors lost their jobs by the end of July 2020.¹¹ It is also estimated that European cinemas lost around 75% of their income during the first quarters of the pandemic.¹²</p>
Gastronomy	<p>Globally, almost all restaurants closed to in-person dining for extended periods. According to global consumer surveys, consumers were on track to decreasing their consumption in restaurants by over 20% in 2020 compared to 2019.¹³</p> <p>Silver linings: The gastronomy industry is experimenting with its craft and new business models, e.g. delivery and food halls, which could facilitate recovery.¹⁴</p> <p>Remaining challenges: Job losses in gastronomy are likely to continue even with delivery. Many restaurants are small businesses with insufficient cash reserves to support a sustained shock, especially in the event of multiple lockdown phases.¹⁵</p> <p>Evidence from some regions: In the United States at the beginning of 2020, the National Restaurant Association estimated \$899 billion in sales, a contribution of 4% of GDP.¹⁶ In their second quarter report it predicted \$240 billion less in annual sales relative to the initial estimate. In Hong Kong and Jakarta, where a great part of the Michelin star food scene is informal, street vendor earnings declined by 80% even including take-out.¹⁷ In Mexico, 65% of restaurants are at risk of not surviving the pandemic with the loss of more than 300,000 jobs in the industry.¹⁸</p>
Literature	<p>While publishing activities and bookstores have suffered in places affected by lockdowns, e-book sales have actually increased.</p> <p>Evidence from some regions: In Sweden by June 2020 physical book sales had declined 27% with respect to 2019 while online book sales increased by 50%, with the combined result of a net increase of 14.8%.¹⁹ In the United States, 252,820 publishing jobs had been lost by the end of July.²⁰</p>
Media Arts	<p>Demand for audiovisual content and digital arts has increased during the crisis, yet there is a serious need to address the digital skills shortages, content distribution, and market imbalances and unfair remuneration.</p> <p>Silver linings: Massive digitalization coupled with emerging technologies, such as virtual and augmented realities, can create new forms of cultural experience, dissemination, and business models with market potential.</p> <p>Remaining challenges: There is a need to support the development of digital skills in CCIs and ensure that artists are fairly remunerated for their work and digital technologies become more accessible for all.</p>

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Music	<p>Recent music industry trends are apparent in this crisis. Most live performances, which constitute over 50% of total global music revenues and 75% of artists' income, were cancelled worldwide.²¹ By the end of May 2020, physical and digital sales declined by one-third and 11%, respectively.²²</p> <p>Silver linings: Streaming services subscriptions increased, and many artists are experimenting with different modes for live performances, including digital.</p> <p>Remaining challenges: Given the rapid migration to digital platforms, it is essential for governments to revise their copyright legislations to adapt their regulatory frameworks to the digital environment to enable fair remuneration for musicians and other creators.</p> <p>Evidence from some regions: More than 8,100 cancellations of music events in Brazil directly affected more than 8 million spectators. Eighty-seven percent of British musicians face financial difficulties as they come to the end of income support programs. In China, Tencent Music Entertainment saw an increase of 70% in subscription revenues in the first quarter of 2020.²³ Similarly, Spotify experienced a 22% increase in global revenue and gained 31% more premium subscribers during the first quarter of 2020.²⁴ Live-stream performances increased on platforms like Twitch in which viewers of "Music and Performance Arts" rose by 524% in March.²⁵ According to a study commissioned by the European Grouping of Societies of Authors and Composers, in Europe physical and digital sales declined by 35% and 8%, respectively.²⁶</p>
Heritage and Cultural Institutions	<p>Heritage activities such as museums, galleries, heritage sites, and tourism have been deeply affected by lockdowns and travel restrictions. During the peak of the crisis, 90% of World Heritage sites were totally or partially closed, impacting communities who rely on these places for their livelihoods and social and cultural life. Almost 90% of countries fully or partially closed their World Heritage properties during the pandemic. Ninety percent of the world's 104,000 museums closed as a result of lockdown measures due to COVID-19,²⁷ and nearly 13% of them may never reopen again.²⁸ According to the UNWTO barometer update in January 2021, international tourist arrivals (overnight visitors) plunged by 74% in 2020 over the previous year due to widespread travel restrictions and a massive drop in demand. Collapse in international travel represents an estimated loss of US\$1.3 trillion in export revenues—more than 11 times the loss recorded during the 2009 global economic crisis.</p> <p>Silver linings: Many World Heritage sites and museums, though closed, have opened their doors online. Museums digitized collections and organized numerous webinars, contributing to the 200% increase in museum online usage by April 2020, according to the International Council of Museums. At World Heritage sites, the use of new technologies, such as virtual tours, have allowed people to remain connected to their heritage. The current downturn in global travel also represents an occasion to reimagine current approaches to transform tourism to become more resilient and inclusive: supporting communities, creating jobs, promoting culture, and protecting heritage and its transmission.</p> <p>Remaining challenges: To avoid collapse, many cultural institutions and venues would benefit from resuming operation with appropriate safety measures in place. Some institutions are constrained in their ability to digitize cultural content and improve the protection of intellectual property in the digital space, as well as to promote access to culture for communities that have limited access to the internet.²⁹</p> <p>Evidence from some regions: COVID-19 has revealed and deepened the digital divide, with only 5% of museums in Africa and Small Developing Island States able to offer online content during the crisis.³⁰</p>

3. Learning from Creative Cities and the Impact of COVID-19

Many city officials have quickly responded to the constraints imposed by the pandemic and have transformed their city spaces to allow safe experience of outdoor public spaces and socially distanced mobility. They have done this through tactical urbanism—expansions of sidewalks and bike lanes through the expansion of road right-of-ways, road closures, conversion of unused parking spaces into temporary public spaces and urban parks, changing regulations to allow for safer engagement in retail, and outdoor eating in restaurants and entertainment. Some cities have introduced outdoor mobile concerts, where musicians perform on moving trucks or at specific neighborhood locations where residents can enjoy music from porches, balconies, and lawns—socializing safely from a distance. For example, in Athens the local government organized a travelling concert around the city.¹²⁵ In Vilnius, Lithuania International Airport partnered with the Vilnius International Film Festival to launch ‘Aerocinema’, the first airport drive-in movie theater in the world. In Bologna, a UNESCO Creative City of Music in Italy, the MAMbo museum has reconfigured its space to allow artists affected by the pandemic to live in and produce in the space.

Governments, international organizations, and civil society have mobilized not only to assess the impact of the crisis on CCIs but also to provide relief efforts. By July 2020 more than 20 countries implemented policies to help self-employed workers and small enterprises, which are highly represented in CCIs.¹²⁶ Allowing self-employed workers to access government aid can be a path to increasing coverage in social protection schemes for the self-employed.¹²⁷ At the national level, ministries of culture in Chile, Colombia, Norway, and Singapore were some of the earliest to announce support packages for CCIs within their cities. In other countries such as Mexico, Ireland, Poland, Switzerland, France, and Luxembourg, independent artists receive social security payments to offset loss of revenues. In the Republic of Korea and Spain, artists have preferential access to low-interest loans. Early in the pandemic in Germany, the government allocated US\$55 billion to independent entrepreneurs

and small businesses, including in CCIs. The Senegalese Copyright and Related Rights Society (SODAV) set up a fund for US\$200,000 to support culture in Senegal, while Tunisia set up the Culture Recovery Fund (Fonds Relance Culture – FRC) to support culture professionals.

Some cities are already including support to CCIs as part of their response and recovery. Since the Spring of 2020, some cities are offering technical resources to help members of these sectors access national resources. They are supplementing financial support through targeted transfers to creative professionals and businesses. For instance, the Berlin Senate during the first quarters of the pandemic released \$110 million in grants for freelancers and small businesses in their CCIs.¹²⁸ Cities are also catalyzing innovation through competitions, such as Groningen, Netherlands’ call for proposals to re-think culture and tourism. Socially, they are introducing a range of short-term measures to improve the quality of life of residents leveraging CCIs, such as introducing digital library services (e.g. Turin) and balcony plays (e.g. Prague).

3. Learning from Creative Cities and the Impact of COVID-19

Table 5. Support for CCIs during the initial stages of the pandemic

City	Local interventions	Federal interventions
Kobe ¹	<p>Kobe City Government</p> <p>Video production support for artists: short video project - “Stay Home, Stay Creative” - provided ¥20,000 for each video that Kobe-based artists and performers produced and posted on a city channel as entertainment for residents.²</p> <p>Donations: Hometown Tax Donation Program offered to match donations to areas of donors’ choosing: Area #2 is “supporting art, culture, and entertainment”.³</p> <p>Remote work promotion support for designers: up to ¥750,000 for local companies for expenses for work contracts such as website/flyer production, product development, and other promotional activities.⁴</p> <p>Prefecture interventions (Hyogo Prefecture Government)⁵</p> <p>Improvement of health monitoring and safety in public facilities: installed facilities such as thermography as infection countermeasures to public art and cultural facilities (total budget: ¥158 million).</p> <p>Video streaming project: ¥500,000 to each of the eight prefectoral art and cultural facilities for broadcasting free online cultural courses.</p> <p>Dissemination activities for museums: ¥3 million facility to produce and broadcast videos for promotion of art activities of local artists, and to develop multilingual vocal guides for art installations.</p> <p>Opportunity-making for appreciation and experience of art and culture (post-COVID-19): total budget ¥18 million to support individual artists and cultural organizations planning cultural events such as concerts and performances.</p> <p>Support to restart art and cultural performances (post-COVID-19): offered half of the venue rental fee (up to a total of ¥500,000 for one event/day).</p>	<p>Agency of Cultural Affairs⁶</p> <p>Emergency response benefit: up to ¥200,000 for self-employed artists and up to ¥1.5 million for small art organizations directly affected by COVID-19.</p> <p>Tax relief for donation of ticket refund value for canceled concerts: for over 700 events that have been cancelled, when an audience member donated the ticket amount instead of receiving a refund, the government offered 40% of the amount to be deducted (up to ¥2,000) from property taxes.</p>

3. Learning from Creative Cities and the Impact of COVID-19

City	Local interventions	Federal interventions
Vienna	<p>Work grants: one-time work grants up to a maximum of €3,000 for independent artists living in Vienna.⁷</p> <p>Vouchers: €50 to every resident family to spend in local restaurants and cafes as they began to reopen in mid-May 2020.⁸</p> <p>Opera online: Vienna's Opera House is streaming its opera program free of charge on its website.⁹</p>	<p>Hardship fund: €1,000 per month for up to 6 months to self-employed workers and micro enterprises.¹⁰</p> <p>COVID-19 short-term work: regulation allowing work schedule to be reduced by 10% while employees receive full compensation.</p> <p>COVID-19 fund for artists: grants of €2,000 per month for up to 3 months for artists and cultural educators who are ineligible for the hardship fund.</p> <p>Bridge funding for artists: starting in July 2020, freelance artists were eligible to receive bridge financing for €1,000/month for up to 6 months.</p> <p>Voucher for cancelled events: event organizers allowed to offer vouchers instead of refunds in order to ensure the liquidity of event organizers.</p> <p>Costs of film: €25 million fund to be allocated to producers of films, TV shows, and commercials that have been cancelled due to COVID-19. Producers can receive up to 75% of default costs.</p>
Toronto	<p>Music and artists grants: Toronto has been a UNESCO Creative City of Media Arts since 2017, and the Arts Council, together with the Arts Foundation, established grants of Can\$1,000 for self-employed artists whose jobs have been affected.</p>	<p>#CanadaPerforms: The National Arts Centre launched a platform for livestreams of performing artists and offers artistic grants of Can\$1,000.¹¹</p> <p>Writers' Trust of Canada and The Writers' Union of Canada: Can\$150,000 to distribute grants of Can\$1,500 to writers that lost income.¹²</p> <p>Digital Originals Initiative: Canada Council of Arts and Radio Canada offered Can\$5,000 grants for micro innovation and selected projects received additional Can\$1,000.¹³</p>
Buenos Aires	<p>Extraordinary fund for artists: artists and creators could apply for subsidies to maintain operation of cultural spaces.¹⁴</p> <p>"Culture at Home": online platform of digitalized theater, museum, music offerings, and workshops,¹⁵ and linked with a similar one in Mexico City allowing citizens from both these UNESCO Creative Cities of Design to access each other's cultural offerings.¹⁶</p> <p>Banco Ciudad loan program: local public bank launched a new loan program with reduced interest rates to help SMEs with their payrolls.¹⁷</p>	<p>Fund for cultural centers: up to 200,000 pesos to aid cultural spaces for art, dance, theater, and music.</p> <p>National Fund for the Arts: up to 30,000 pesos of extraordinary funds for artists and cultural workers.</p> <p>Subsidy for libraries: budgeted additional 25 million pesos for public libraries.</p> <p>Subsidy for film industry: 6 million pesos for April-June 2020.</p> <p>Emergency subsidy for affected workers: transfer of 50% of wages for workers in companies that were impacted by the pandemic.</p> <p>Loans for self-employed: zero-interest loans for small enterprises and self-employed people.</p> <p>Argentinian Culture at Home Event: 15,000 pesos to 300 artists—puppeteers, musicians, acrobats, and artisans—who presented their content through a digital platform.¹⁸</p>

3. Learning from Creative Cities and the Impact of COVID-19

City	Local interventions	Regional interventions (Euskadi)	Federal interventions
Bilbao	<p>Assistance services for SMEs: The city, which joined the UCCN as Creative City of Design in 2014, established a telephone and online assistance service for entrepreneurs and small retailers.¹⁹</p> <p>Map of open shops: city council and BILBAO DENDAK, the tourist and commercial association, created a map of shops that were open and that offered home delivery.²⁰</p> <p>Online access to the Guggenheim Museum collection: in partnership with Google, the city council and the museum created a compendium of high-definition images that can be accessed online.²¹</p>	<p>Subsidies for the cultural sector: €2.645 million in subsidies: €2 million in benefits were offered to SMEs in the sector and the rest was allocated to: editorial production, illustration, film, plastic arts, and digitalization of music heritage.²²</p> <p>Subsidies for tourism sector: €15.5 million directed to workers in tourism.²³</p> <p>Loans for self-employed and SMEs: €25 million in zero-interest loans.²⁴</p> <p>Inplantalariak: Program adjusted to offer free services to help self-employed and small companies use technology to continue providing services.²⁵</p>	<p>Public guarantee loans: €100 billion in loans to help businesses maintain their liquidity.</p> <p>Financing line for tourism sector: €400 million for companies and self-employed workers in the tourism sector and related activities.</p> <p>Deferral of tax payment: SMEs that have been affected by the pandemic can defer their tax payment for six months without interest.</p> <p>Benefit for self-employed: self-employed workers whose activity and income has been reduced by 75% can apply for benefits for the duration of the state of emergency.</p> <p>Flexibility in payments: For SMEs and self-employed there is additional flexibility in loan and social security payments.</p> <p>Unemployment benefits: benefits for workers that have not been able to work during the pandemic and an exceptional subsidy for temporary workers.</p>



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4.1 Conclusion

Cities around the world that have effectively enabled the development of creative and cultural industries (CCIs) have achieved important outcomes in terms of urban regeneration, economic growth, and social inclusion. First, when linked to *urban development* processes and placemaking, culture and CCIs have helped create attractive, safe, inclusive, and resilient cities for residents and tourists alike. CCIs also serve as an important driver of these cities' economies, contributing significantly to the employment of women and youth, and facilitating a better quality of life for all residents, including vulnerable groups. Second, creative cities can provide ecosystems for innovation and scale-up of creative activities that increase *city competitiveness*, propel local economies, and offer jobs for a diverse set of residents including marginalized groups. Third, culture and CCIs can serve to connect communities, expanding their horizons and tolerance, strengthening social cohesion, and helping unite people post-conflict and during difficult times of crisis.

Creative city decision makers have responded quickly to the COVID-19 crisis—recognizing the vulnerability of their cultural and creative activities during times of crisis and their potential outsized contributions to recovery, resilience, and long-run vibrancy. Yet many countries and cities, particularly in developing countries, have yet to sustain and fully enable their CCIs through this pandemic and beyond. This may reflect the extremely difficult situation they find themselves in managing the health crisis, with respect to both fiscal pressures and human resource availability. It could also be due to an absence of dedicated institutions within them to manage their creative economies. Regardless of the reason, inaction now could hurt their cities, societies, and economies.

Placing people and inclusion at the heart of development efforts is critical. The sustainability and social impact of creative city initiatives rely on their inclusivity, their promotion of the freedom of cultural and artistic expression,

and grounding in local arts and community creativity. Artists and creative communities are the cornerstone of any CCI and any city that aims to be a creative city. Concentration or rapid growth of the creative economy generates positive outcomes in terms of urban regeneration and social inclusion, but if such growth is not managed well, negative externalities such as gentrification and over-commercialization may impede new ideas and can harm or displace local communities. The well-being of all communities must be given due consideration and protected.

Cities seeking to enhance the resilience of their culture and CCIs in the short run and their impact on their neighborhoods, city competitiveness, and communities in the long run can do the following:

- Map their cultural resources and CCIs: measuring the size, range, locations, actors, and impacts of these activities is key for short- and long-run actions.
- Identify key constraints to the growth and structural change of these industries—such as absence of affordable production spaces and/or limited knowledge to scale-up production—and to their ability to offer spatial and social spillover benefits.
- Prioritize interventions to tackle the key constraints impacting the development of CCIs in consultation with key stakeholders as well as a sequencing for implementation.
- Build and empower an effective coalition of policy makers at the local and national level, artists and representatives of cultural institutions, and CCIs across public, private, and local community stakeholders within cities to help better target interventions and amplify the impact of government interventions.

Supporting and promoting CCIs requires collaborative work from different levels of government. Constraints to growth of CCIs may stem from multiple policy arenas, not all of which

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are necessarily under the realm of city government. Local authorities are clearly better-positioned to lead the dialogue with the community and address specific municipal infrastructure and public-space issues, including access to physical premises and other forms of support to creative talent. Yet the national government could take the lead in developing and improving the regulatory framework governing creative industries: by strengthening copyright protections as well as other legal protections stemming from labor regulations and financial support, including through subsidies and tax relief. But many other policies could require joint work and close collaboration. Education and skills development initiatives combine support from local government as well

as national universities and cultural institutions and networks. International partnership and promotion activities often require support from foreign trade and investment promotion agencies at the national level. Cities interested in supporting CCIs would do well to understand that they need support from other levels of governance, and thus seek ways to expand their area of influence through making the most of relevant national level initiatives, partnering with other local governments to exchange experience and resources, negotiating with national authorities, and even lobbying. Similarly, there is an important role for the private sector and philanthropy to play in support of artists and creative talent, including through commissioning work and sponsorships.

4.2 Recommendations based on the CCC Framework

Based on the six enablers of the CCC Framework, the following recommendations reflect the main findings of this paper and can help cities achieve social, economic, and spatial outcomes.

1

Livability, urban spaces, and infrastructure

1.1 Leveraging CCIs, including both tangible and ICH, is essential to urban development and placemaking. Recognizing how the configuration of urban and public space—and infrastructure and land, housing, and real estate markets—fluence the evolution of CCIs and cities' ability to retain them is critical. Urban development, management, and governance can be powerful tools for promoting different aspects of creativity, while tangible and intangible cultural heritage add a strong influence on city identity and international branding.

1.2 Investing in public spaces, facilitating adaptive reuse of structures and public spaces, and promoting urban regeneration have the potential to enable creative activities to spur and flourish. Integrating culture into urban regeneration policies has the potential to increase their impact. City neighborhoods with open spaces, unoccupied buildings, and depressed real

estate prices provide possible opportunities for urban transformation into creative hubs, innovative spaces for co-creation, and for cultural centers to increase participation, especially of youth.

1.3 Reshaping urban spaces to enable CCIs can unlock opportunities for other sectors of the economy, yet this comes at the risk of gentrification. As creative activities reshape urban spaces, this can become a driver for other forms of creativity and/or other types of economic activity. However, one danger of a creative city's success is gentrification, which should be addressed during the planning and implementation phases through proactive policies to ensure affordable housing and maintain a stock of productive spaces for artists at affordable rents.

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1.4 Access to good quality urban infrastructure and basic services is important for all cities, including creative cities, to attend to residents' needs and attract talent and investment. While creative actors seek environments

with features that enable them to innovate, create, and thrive, they also need the basics to work well in any city. This includes access to energy, ICT, water and sanitation, a sound road network, and public transit, among other services.

2

Skills, talent, and innovation

2.1 Professionalizing the status of creative and cultural sector workers is essential to ensure the economic sustainability of creative assets. The COVID-19 pandemic has shone a spotlight on the precarious nature of a wide range of CCI jobs. Efforts to enhance safety nets for creatives, as well as their resilience, are critical to ensure their economic security.

2.2 Widening access to learning opportunities that encourage talent and innovation can deliver dividends. Such opportunities need not only occur through formal educational institutions and skills development channels; they can also encompass informal forums for learning and knowledge-sharing. These can deliver returns locally if greater skills lead to greater creative production, as well as by attracting and retaining talent keen to locate

in a city signaling the availability of growth opportunities.

2.3 Creative cities can play a critical role in enabling crossover innovations—connecting CCIs with other sectors. While creative cities involve various types of activities, it is important to acknowledge that ideas and innovations, especially across different creative sectors, form the foundation of creative cities. In enabling creators to cross-pollinate, creative cities can enable sparks of creativity and innovation that allow for novel reconfigurations and offerings, such as new creative cluster development. One potential avenue for encouraging such cross-pollination is to offer incentives for collaborative projects that span multiple creative sectors, such as preferential access to public funds or performance venues.

3

Social networks, catalyzers, and technical and financial support

3.1 Interventions to enable creative communities to thrive can help sustain and advance creative cities. Creative cities provide technical and financial support for key initiatives that help foster creative communities and make these cities attractive to creatives. Further, they learn to identify and enable catalyzers—whether individuals or institutions—that organically emerge as change agents, advancing CCIs within them.

3.2 Support for creative entrepreneurship can help advance CCI development. This

could entail enabling access to incubators, accelerators and/or other physical, infrastructural, or financial resources that combine the range of support needed to help creatives create, scale, and sustain their operations. Focus on enabling institutions to offer such support at relative scale for the greatest impact.

3.3 Financial support mechanisms to artists and culture professionals, including grants, subsidized loans, and tax deferments, can help CCI growth and

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creative city evolution. Many creative cities offer diverse direct public schemes for support of creative ideas, spaces, organizations, and

networks. They also provide indirect support through legislative activities that allow individuals and organizations to invest in CCIs.

4

Institutions, regulations, and partnerships

4.1 Encouraging strategic partnerships, including between the public and private sectors, in creative ecosystems is fundamental to the promotion of CCIs.

Creative cities support partnerships among a range of local stakeholders and collaborations between local artists and creatives worldwide. While some creative city initiatives are organic and emerge through a bottoms-up approach, and others are rather driven by the public sector through top-down approaches, most combine government enabling support and a creative community spark.

of movement; to freedom of association; to protection of social and economic rights; and to participate in cultural life. Absent these, the creativity of artists is stifled or at the very least not permitted to achieve its full potential.

4.2 Guaranteeing the legal, social, and economic status and artistic freedom of artists and creators is key to supporting the creative community.

A creative city is one where artistic freedom embodies the following bundle of rights protected under international law: to create without censorship or intimidation; to have artistic work supported, distributed, and remunerated; to freedom

4.3 A participatory approach to policymaking in cities enables productive dialogue with artists, creatives, creative communities, and ICH practitioners. To create an enabling environment, artists, creative actors, and ICH practitioners must consult together to discover their needs and help improve their business practices and their creative environment.

4.4 Regulations to address the challenges and opportunities of creative cities are critical. This comprises policies to limit the negative impact of gentrification and regulations to address issues of equity and access to ICT and other critical basic services and infrastructure.

5

Uniqueness

5.1 Preserving the uniqueness of cultural and creative offerings can contribute to greater presence and production of creatives as well as greater sustainable tourism.

Cultural diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up a given city. By protecting and safeguarding cultural heritage and the diversity of cultural expressions as unique resources, CCIs can prosper within a city, contribute to economic growth, and help create employment.

5.2 The value of ICH for communities must be protected from over-commercialization and ‘commercial misappropriation’.

Inappropriate mechanization or over-production, manufacture or reproduction outside the community, and loss of cultural value or meaning associated with an ICH practice can lead to such threats. For this reason, it is important for the communities, groups, and individuals concerned to retain control over the scale, nature, and meaning of ICH as well as efforts at marketing, commercialization, and gain.

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5.3 A mapping and review of the urban cultural ecosystem can highlight hidden or forgotten treasures and deeply engrained cultural traditions and resources. Moreover, a mapping can identify the barriers to new cultural and creative forms. Institutional capacity-building is the first step to planning for a more resilient and sustainable local cultural ecosystem.

5.4 Understanding the relationship between cultural production and consumption is key to leveraging the uniqueness of CCIs and promoting their sustainable growth. Promoting creative ecosystems by balancing cultural consumption and production, cultural niche tourism and large touristic attractions, and environmental sustainability and creative employment generation can help foster holistic local development.

6

Digital environment

6.1. Given the importance of a flourishing digital environment for many forms of CCI production and dissemination, it is increasingly important for cities to invest in digital infrastructures and enabling environments. In addition, creative cities are increasingly using digital technologies to integrate creativity and culture professionals in online city branding. A strong city brand can contribute to fostering sustainability, increasing economic growth by attracting foreign investments, and increasing the appeal for people to live and work in the city.

6.2. Greater access to digital networks can enable innovation and expanding markets beyond city boundaries. Creative cities can enable online network connectivity between culture professionals, artists, and their communities. They can invest in digital infrastructure that supports creative clusters in all their forms—incubators, hubs, accelerators, mega-districts, creative neighbourhoods, and others.

6.3 Revisit digital royalty and compensation mechanisms. To address issues of fair remuneration for artists and technical and administrative teams involved in the production of creative content made available and consumed online, national and other tiers of government may be able to intervene through regulations.

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4.3 Way forward

Which policies, programs, and investments could contribute to helping cities nurture their CCIs and enable long-term vibrancy and urban and socio-economic regeneration of their populations? The needs of each city vary, but based on the conclusions and recommendations in the previous sections, cities with a range of

characteristics may find the interventions and reforms outlined in Table 6 helpful in recovering from the pandemic and resulting economic crisis, and creating a CCI enabling environment to thrive in the long run.

Table 6. CCI interventions for a way forward

CCC Framework enabler	Short-run interventions	Long-run interventions
1 <i>Livability, infrastructure, and public spaces</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reconfigure public spaces to enable safe face-to-face interaction through collaborations with local creatives - Offer access to appropriate unutilized or under-utilized public buildings to artists and creatives for their artistic creation, housing, and/or modular/pop-up markets - Sponsor public CCI events to allow residents to safely congregate and experience a creative release 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improve basic services, infrastructure, and access to affordable housing and workplaces throughout creative cities - Better leverage CCIs in urban development and placemaking efforts, introducing the type of infrastructure that enables them to produce and thrive within cities
2 <i>Skills, talent, and innovation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Facilitate continued learning and experimentation for local artists and creatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Enable skill development and talent attraction, with a particular focus on catalysts within the local creative community (e.g. creator residency programs) - Create or reinforce arts education in school curricula and support other forms of knowledge and skill transfer, such as apprenticeship programs
3 <i>Social networks, technical and financial support</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Finance public arts initiatives to support city residents' socio-emotionally, seed innovation and expand audiences - Offer technical support to artists, creatives, and CCI enterprises navigating this difficult period and adapting their offerings - Offer direct and/or indirect financial support (direct grants, subsidized loans, and tax deferments) to CCIs of importance to the city in a transparent, fair, and efficient manner 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Catalyze networking assets and fund mechanisms (e.g. competitions, grants, private-sector funds) - Reform art and culture taxes to incentivize innovation and support a greater diversity of artists and creators - Enable marketing campaigns that expand markets for local CCIs and help brand cities

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<p>4</p> <p><i>Institutions, regulations, and partnerships</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- For cities with significant participation in the CCI sector, designate an accountable institution or team within city government to facilitate and coordinate cross-institutional recovery efforts- Launch and/or leverage a coalition adapted to the needs and capacities of the city- Work with CCI representatives to identify regulatory measures—temporary and permanent—that would enable CCIs to continue operating in the crisis period and beyond- Launch and/or leverage a coalition or partnership to enhance the creative city- Introduce a platform that allows for evidence-based decision-making when it comes to enabling and leveraging CCIs- When expanding digital access, ensure issues of equity of coverage- Introduce regulations to safeguard against gentrification in neighborhoods undergoing creative revitalization- Ensure legislative frameworks guaranteeing freedom of expression and artistic freedom- Support online platforms that would guarantee fair remuneration to artists and diversity of cultural contents- Improve advocacy and policymaking for creative ecosystems, facilitate market access and expansion, address sustainability and monetization challenges associated with evolving business models and regulatory regimes, improve creator conditions and worker protections in the sector, and address issues of fragmentation—for efficiency and better offer- Join international city networks, programs, and/or collaboration mechanisms, such as the UCCN, that leverage the power of culture and creativity
<p>5</p> <p><i>Uniqueness</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Conduct a mapping and review of the urban cultural ecosystem to gain a full understanding of the city's cultural resources, including challenges and opportunities related to their safeguarding and promotion- Implement measures to protect the diversity of cultural expressions, including their contents- Elaborate local strategies and programs for the promotion and development of CCIs that support their uniqueness and business development- Ensure participatory processes, collaborating closely with communities and individual creatives to avoid 'over-commercialization' and 'commercial misappropriation' of ICH
<p>6</p> <p><i>Digital environment</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Proactively propose training on digital transition and digital skills development to artists and creatives- Enhance digital connectivity, including infrastructure, access regulations, and tackle digital divide- Support efforts to improve monetization for creatives shifting to digital mediums- Improve regulations regarding digital royalty and compensation mechanisms to address issues of fair remuneration for artists and creatives

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Some of these interventions fall under the remit of local governments; others, under regional or national government; and others will need to draw on the private sector, philanthropy, and community stakeholders. For the most part, these interventions will be hybrid in nature or be implemented through inter-city, inter-stakeholder collaboration.

Ultimately, CCIs can play a critical role in revitalizing cities, recovering economies, and re-knitting communities affected by the COVID-19 pandemic as well as future crises or disasters. Yet the ability of cities to create an enabling environment for CCIs to flourish

will depend on the responsiveness of local governments and their creative coalitions. Since CCIs offer positive spillovers to social, economic, and spatial outcomes, they are critical for inclusion in short-term recovery plans and long-term city development strategies. The policy framework and case studies presented in this paper offer tools and lessons learned from experience to support decision makers as they strive to face this and future crises and leverage their creative cities to their full potential.

Notes

1. UNCTAD and UNDP, *Creative Economy Report 2010: A Feasible Development Option*, 32.
2. Definition provided by the Centre for Social Innovation, Canada: <https://socialinnovation.org/>.
3. UNESCO *2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, articles 2.1 and 2.2.
4. This paper adopts a definition of cultural and creative industries (CCIs) that attempts to capture the economic sectors that share the key characteristics of the creative economy. Thus, building on the 2009 UNESCO Framework of Cultural Statistics and on UNESCO's definition of intangible cultural heritage, CCIs encompass the following cultural domains: Audio-Visual and Interactive Media; Literature and Press; Performing Arts; Visual Arts and Crafts; Intangible Cultural Heritage (including gastronomy); Design and Creative Services; and Heritage and Tourism Activities. This definition also incorporates standard industry classification, which is critical for any quantitative assessment of CCIs.
5. UNESCO and EY, *Cultural Times: The First Global Map of Cultural and Creative Industries*.
6. Ibid, p. 8.
7. The nine cities represent a diverse set of creative city applications, approaches, and outcomes in a diverse set of contexts, ranging from primary cities and national capitals (Lima, Seoul, Brazzaville, Belgrade) to secondary cities (Santos, Angoulême, Madaba, Kobe and Kyoto – although once the capital of Japan) and with a wide range of populations (from 40,000 in Angoulême, to over 10 million in Lima).
8. The study takes into account UNESCO's definition of creative fields, which comprise gastronomy, literature, music, design, crafts and folk arts, film, and media arts, as well as the creative industry study done by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, using national economic census data from 2009, 2014, and 2016.
9. Glaeser, Kolko, and Saiz, "Consumer City."
10. Florida, "Young People's Love of Cities Isn't a Passing Fad," and Lee, Lee, and Shubho, "Urban revival by Millennials?".
11. Dustmann and Okatenko, "Out-Migration, Wealth constraints, and the Quality of Local Amenities."
12. UNESCO and EY, *Cultural Times: The First Global Map of Cultural and Creative Industries*.
13. For further analysis on the impact of COVID-19 on CCIs in OECD countries see: OECD, *Culture Shock: COVID-19 and the Cultural and Creative Sectors*.
14. UNESCO, *Museums Around the World in the Face of COVID-19*.
15. World Travel and Tourism Council. "Recovery Scenarios 2020 & Economic Impact from COVID-19." <https://wttc.org/Research/Economic-Impact/Recovery-Scenarios-2020-Economic-Impact-from-COVID-19> , accessed July 2020, and World Travel and Tourism Council, *WTTC Now Estimates Over 100 Million Job Losses in the Travel & Tourism Sector*.
16. UNESCO and EY, *Cultural Times: The First Global Map of Cultural and Creative Industries*.
17. Ibid, 8.
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Figure notes

Figure 1

In this figure, 'creative goods' are goods and services produced in the following industries: Arts and Crafts, Audiovisuals, Design, New Media, Performing Arts, Publishing, and Visual Arts.

Figure 2

Data ranges from 2008-2019 depending on country availability, and definition may vary depending on country reporting frameworks.

Figure 4

In this figure, 'creative goods' are goods and services produced in the following industries: Arts and Crafts, Audiovisuals, Design, New Media, Performing Arts, Publishing, and Visual Arts.d=y.

Figure 5

Data ranges from 2008-2019 depending on country availability, and definition may vary depending on country reporting frameworks.

Figure 12

Each observation represents an NSS region, a geographical entity created for statistical purposes only, not an administrative unit.

Figure 16

Data derived from 34 countries: Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany (until 1990, former territory of the FRG), Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Norway, North Macedonia, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and United Kingdom.

Figure 19

National level data ranges from 2008-2019 depending on country availability. Classification of industries is based on ISIC 4. Media Arts includes computer programming, consultancy, and related activities; programming and broadcasting activities; printing; and reproduction of recorded media. Design includes advertising and market research and architectural and engineering activities. Music and Film includes motion picture, video and television program production, sound recording, and music publishing activities. Literature includes publishing activities. Heritage activities encompass sports activities and amusement and recreation activities; travel agency, tour operator, reservation service and related activities; accommodation; and libraries, archives, museums ,and other cultural activities. Gastronomy includes food and beverage service activities and Craft/Arts includes creative arts and entertainment activities.

Figure 20

Due to data limitations, CCI jobs are in Accommodation and Food Services, Arts and Recreation Services, and Information Media and Telecommunications.

Table notes

Table 1

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Table 3

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Table 4

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Cities Culture Creativity

Leveraging culture and creativity
for sustainable urban development
and inclusive growth

Culture and creativity have untapped potential to deliver social, economic, and spatial benefits for cities and communities. As hubs of the creative economy, cities have a critical role to play in harnessing the transformative potential of cultural and creative industries through policies and enabling environments at the local level.

Drawing from global studies and the experiences of nine diverse cities from across the world, '**Cities, Culture, and Creativity**' (CCC) provides guiding principles and a CCC Framework, developed by UNESCO and the World Bank, to support cities in unlocking the power of cultural and creative industries for sustainable urban development, city competitiveness, and social inclusion.

