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Masters Thesis

**Culture and creativity as instruments for local development.
A study of practices in smaller European cities.**

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Abstract

The work aims at understanding how smaller cities use culture and creativity (C&C) as a tool for local economic development. The study seeks to contribute to filling the gap in research on ways of inscribing C&C into the context of smaller cities' development. It studies and systematises different theories and discourses on the role of C&C in territorial development, elaborating an *analytical model* (typology) for analysing the multiplicity of approaches to C&C-led local development. On the basis of this analytical model, it studies what are C&C-led approaches pursued *in practice*, relying on two distinct types of empirical analysis. The first one (a broad survey) identifies and analyses 30 cases belonging to different conceptual categories of C&C-led approaches and, generalising the results of case-by-case studies, discusses the practical manifestations of pursuing the different types of C&C-led approaches. The second one (an in-depth case study) seeks to understand how the different approaches interact within the C&C-led policy of one town. It studies the C&C-led strategy of the Portuguese town Óbidos, which combines features of all the categories of C&C-led approaches, and analyses their elements and synergies. The work thus demonstrates and discusses the variety of ways in which smaller cities use C&C as an instrument for local development.

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List of Abbreviations Used

CCL – Culture and Creativity-Led

LD – Local Development

CCLLD – Culture and Creativity-Led Local Development

C&C – Culture and Creativity (Cultural and Creative)

C/C – Culture or Creativity (Cultural or Creative)

CI – Creative Industries

CrCI – Creative Class

CT – Creative Tourism

EE – Experience Economy

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Figure 1. Analytical model

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1. Introduction.

1.1. Research problem.

In the European context, lately there has been an increasing recognition of an important role of culture and creativity (C&C) in the context of economic development of territories, in both analytical and practical terms – a trend emphasised by a wide range of researchers (to mention just a few, e.g., Kunzmann 2004, García 2004, Lazzeretti 2008, Christopherson 2004, Lorentzen 2011, Richards&Wilson 2006; Ray 1998, Bayliss 2004, Bassett 1993, Lorentzen&van Heur 2012; Binns 2005, Scott 2004, Volkerling 2001; among many others). Although the interlinkages between culture, creativity and local development (LD) for a long time had not been an important issue of interest and focus in the academic and policy debate (being, as Kunzmann (2004) puts it, “a widely neglected subject” (p.383)), with the course of time various factors conditioned increasing interest towards the role of C&C as significant contributors to LD, such recognition being a gradual process. The initially dominating understanding of the role of culture primarily in terms of *social* relevance has gradually shifted towards focus on culture as essential driver of *economic* development, convergence between economic and cultural discourses strengthening (García 2004; Bianchini 1993). The expanding conceptualisation of culture as a significant economic resource, as compared to the traditionally prevalent understanding of it being a predominantly ‘welfare category’, has been later complemented by the consonant discourse on creativity, seen as a crucial territorial economic development factor. Both notions have been largely rethought, which marked a peculiar paradigm shift, in both the academic and policy debate (Lorentzen 2011, García 2004, Christopherson 2004, Lazzeretti 2008). Thus, in *theoretical terms*, the prism through which C&C started to be analysed substantially changed, an increasing number of studies seeking to conceive the role of C&C with regards to LD. Withal, in the *policy context*, an increasing number of localities started to prioritise various types of culture and creativity-led (CCL) policies and activities in search of economic vibrancy, urban regeneration and other LD objectives (Ray 1998, Bayliss 2004, Richards&Wilson 2006), C&C becoming among “key concepts on the agenda of city managers, development agents and planners” (Kunzmann 2004,p.384).

However, even though “creativity-led planning and culture-based initiatives” have been increasingly promoted in pursuit of LD (Costa 2008,p.188) and analytical attention towards C&C has been increasing, a number of *problems* persist.

In *analytical terms*, the existing variety of *theoretical elaborations* (conceptual theories/discourses/concepts as such) relating to different aspects of CCL local development (CCLLD) are considerably *dispersed* and *non-systematic*. There is no *comprehensive* way of conceptualising its various dimensions, which weakens the analytical basis for comprehending different ways of integrating C&C into the context of LD. Suggestion of ways of conceiving the variety of relevant theoretical elaborations in a structured and comprehensive manner would potentially contribute to addressing the existing analytical weakness.

Also, the variety of *real-life approaches* to CCLLD pursued by localities have hardly been studied in a *systematic* way. There have been few efforts at generalising and systematising various practical alternatives of capitalising on C&C in the interest of economic development, and comprehensive *typologies* of such alternatives are largely absent. This impedes conceptualisation of the multiplicity of practical approaches to CCLLD. Withal, certain systematisation of “the different strategies that are being implemented by the local governments” could be useful in terms of generating “knowledge and information to support decision-making processes” (INTELI 2011,p.99) and informing or inspiring practical approaches to CCLLD, as well as enriching our understanding of ways in which places can capitalise on C&C in reality.

Moreover, research on the topic of C&C in the context of LD is characterised by a considerable ‘*metropolitan bias*’, which is also transferred into the policy domain (as noted by a range of authors: Van Heur 2012, Selada et al.2011&2012, Lewis&Donald 2009;

Fernandes&Gama 2012; among others). Most of the existing studies on CCL approaches focus mainly on larger cities (e.g., Bassett 1993; García 2004; Hospers 2003; Vanolo 2008; Plaza 1999; among many others). Lack of studies on how C&C can be inscribed into the context of smaller cities' development represents a *research gap* that this work aims at filling.

It can be argued that CCLLD can be pursued in all types of urban territories, the theory generally not suggesting foundations for excluding smaller cities from the analysis. Moreover, the field of C&C "is gaining importance in most cities today in planning, production and consumption" (Lorentzen&van Heur 2012,p.1), irrespectively of the cities type. However, such essential shifts have predominantly been the focus of analysis concentrating on large metropolitan centres, while smaller cities and their CCL approaches "have largely been ignored" (ibid). The literature generally seems as "not recognising the potential of smaller towns to modify their trajectories of development" (Selada et al.2012,p.43) by embarking on CCL approaches.

The wide-spread emphasis on the importance of agglomeration advantages by most recent work in economic geography, whereas bigger cities are advocated to benefit from both location and urbanisation economies (Lorentzen&van Heur 2012), appears to implicitly underline the disadvantages of smaller cities in the context of CCLLD (Lorentzen 2012). Some studies emphasise the dominance of bigger urban areas in the CIs field (e.g. Power&Nielsen 2010). Some others notice that in the context of the 'creative cities' discourse, measurement techniques and indicators utilised and resulting rankings of creative cities underline the prevalence of big cities, which further perpetuates the dichotomy between 'large and creative' versus 'small and disadvantaged' cities (Lewis&Donald 2009). Even though most discourses on CCLLD are not dependent on a spatial scale dimension and arguably may apply to all types of urban territories, some theoretical perspectives are characterised by certain "metropolitan bias" (e.g., creative class theory).

In its turn, such spatial bias of *research* on creative economy leads to a bias of creative economy *policy* (Van Heur 2010). Policy narratives in smaller cities often become "shaped by *metropolitan imaginaries*", potentially creating "a discursive disadvantage" for them (Van Heur 2012,p.26). In this case smaller cities, under the influence of proliferating studies on bigger cities' strategies, adopt approaches typical of larger cities in ways not specifically adjusted to their specificities (e.g., Hall&Donald 2012; Selada et al.2012).

Overall, such bias may disadvantage smaller cities in analytical and practical terms, or even discourage them from pursuing CCL approaches. Lack of theoretical, statistical and empirical research on smaller cities and C&C in the European context is noted as an essential weakness characterising the existing state of the art in the domain (Van Heur 2012; INTELI 2011b). Broader analytical coverage of smaller cities might appear important for demonstrating available alternatives and the potential of C&C for them, and for opening up new perspectives on ways of expanding our understanding of C&C-related dynamics in the economic development of smaller cities.

Withal, it should be noted that in recent years, a "small cities *research agenda*" with regards to CCLLD has started to emerge (Lorentzen&van Heur 2012). A number of authors highlight the importance of analytical focus on smaller cities, and the significant potential that they possess in terms of capitalising upon C&C in their economic development (e.g., Duxbury&Campbell 2011; Christopherson 2004; Bell&Jayne 2010; etc.). Some *policy initiatives* and publications have also started to focus on smaller cities, noting their potential in CCLLD¹.

¹ For instance, the URBACT project "Creative Clusters in Low Density Urban Areas" project concentrates on unfolding the potential of creative clusters in smaller towns; CSES (2010) study emphasises that C&C-based interventions are not restricted to large urban centres; some INTERREG projects focus upon smaller cities (see, e.g. INTERREG IVC 2013); OECD (2005) study suggests an explicit advocacy of smaller cities' strong potential in the cultural economy.

This academic and discursive shift has also been accompanied by *practical* developments wherein some smaller cities seek “to demonstrate that they have a role to play in the creative economy” (Selada et al.2012,p.44) and that they are able to become “flourishing sites of cultural economic development” (Scott 2004,p.466), as evidenced by OECD (2005), Van Heur (2012), etc. Contributing to the emerging research agenda in this respect has been one of the intentions.

These major considerations have been at the heart of the decision to carry out the current study. Its relevance in analytical and practical terms is conditioned by the fact that it demonstrates one of possible perspectives on studying CCL approaches in the context of smaller cities systematically, seeking to make a certain contribution to thinking of ways of addressing some of the above-mentioned pressing issues.

1.2. The aim of the study.

In the light of the problems presented, the overarching ***objective***, which the thesis seeks to achieve, has been formulated: to identify and analyse real-life examples of smaller cities pursuing CCL approaches to LD.

In order to structure the analysis and achieve the posed objective, a number of ***research questions*** have been put at the basis of the study. Receiving an answer to each of such questions may be considered specific aims of the analysis, embraced by the overall objective.

The *overarching research question*, guiding the analysis, is:

- How do smaller cities use C&C as a tool for local economic development?

The overarching research question may be broken down into a number of the following *sub-questions*:

- How can different theories and discourses on the role of C&C in the context of local economic development be systematised?
- What are the major policy implications in each category of CCL approaches?
- What are the CCL approaches pursued in practice by smaller cities?
- How do the different approaches interact within the CCL policy of one town?

It should be emphasised that the work aims at studying the behaviour of places in the context of CCLLD. The major question may be conceived as “What are places doing?”, not “Why are they doing it?” or “What are the impacts of their activities?”. Neither causal, nor evaluative perspectives are thus applied. The work does not apply an evolutionary perspective either, studying CCL approaches to LD pursued by places at the *current* stage.

2. Theoretical framework.

Culture and creativity in territorial economic development.

This part sets a theoretical context for analysing CCL approaches to territorial development.

It presents and systematises different views on how C&C can be capitalised on in the interest of economic development of territories, by discussing them in relation to the associated discourses, concepts, conceptual theories and resultant policy approaches – thus, embracing both the academic and policy contexts.

The literature review has demonstrated that the broad topic of C&C in the context of territorial development relies predominantly on a large variety of *discourses* and associated *concepts*, in some cases – *conceptual theories*, stringent relevant *theories* however being largely absent. This has conditioned inability of building the analysis by applying a specific theoretical perspective, instead, showing the necessity of discussing the CC-associated general discourses. In its turn, the overarching aim of the study – that of analysing a *multiplicity* of real-life approaches to CCLLD – made it obvious that selection of a specific CC-related discourse or a limited group of discourses for setting the theoretical basis of analysis would *not* be *suitable*. The exploration of a *wide variety* of CCL approaches *requires an overview of multiple discourses* on the role of C&C in LD, relating to various dimensions of the phenomenon.

The theoretical discussion is presented irrespectively of a particular geographical context. Withal, two aspects are implicit in the discussion. First, it should be assumed that different notions used throughout the text in relation to “territory”/“locality” or other possible spatial designations are implicitly understood in the sense of “*place*” – a limited territorial unit. The related implicit assumption is that the *urban context* is at the core of all the relevant discourses. It is predominantly an urban milieu, as an environment where cultural activities tend to cluster, where cultural resources, seen an important factor of LD, are ‘consolidated’ and capitalised upon. Also, the role of agglomeration effects, clearly associated with urban space, is of particular importance in the development of C&C activities (see, Costa 2008; Flew 2005; etc.).

2.1. Two discursive lines.

An extensive literature review has allowed to discern a great variety of discourses, concepts and conceptual theories relating to CCLLD. The first resulting impression might be that they are highly diverse, dispersed among various narratives, heterogeneous to an extent that cannot be embraced by a common logic or conceived comprehensively. However, their closer examination allows to discern several major discursive lines, united by a kindred logic, and relate the various concepts/theories to them. It allows to conceive them in a more systematic way. Thus, it has been deduced that the different narratives, concepts and conceptual theories largely evolve around *two major discursive lines*:

1. ‘Culture’ – ‘Creativity’;
2. CC-related ‘Consumption’ – ‘Production’

These two lines are naturally interrelated, but for the purpose of a structured theoretical discussion, they will be presented separately, the synergies shown later.

This part presents these discursive lines and the narratives specific of each, partly reflecting their evolution over time. It also discerns the concepts and conceptual theories relating predominantly to one or another discourse.

It should be underlined that *making strict delineation* between the different discourses is a *challenging* analytical task. They are to a considerable extent intertwined, and in many instances, several perspectives “can be possible and even complementary” (Costa 2008,p.191), the high

degree of imprecision of the very concepts at the core of the discussion contributing to the complexity of analysis. Withal, adoption of a specific set of *criteria* for delineating the different discourses appears essential in this context.

2.1.1. 'Culture' – 'Creativity'.

There is no universally recognised delineation differentiating between the discourse on 'culture' from that on 'creativity' in the context of LD. Both are characterised by a high degree of abstractedness, conceptual vagueness and absence of strict definitions (see, e.g., Kunzmann 2004, Cooke 2008, Van Heur 2012, Richards 1996; Tomlinson 1991; etc.). Therefore, the work does not depart from any *definitions*. Instead, it adopts specific *criteria* that allow to classify the different narratives. The elaborated and adopted set of *criteria* (attributes) is further applied to the presentation of the related concepts, theories and approaches.

Many studies on C&C use the terms 'cultural' and 'creative' "interchangeably" (Cooke& Lazzeretti 2008,p.1). This, although the two discourses are indeed highly interrelated, might be considered not quite an adequate approach since it does not recognise the important differences in both conceptual and practical terms.

One of the popular perspectives builds the delineation primarily upon the criterion of 'commercialisation'/'profit' (e.g., Cooke& Lazzeretti 2008; Volkerling 2001; Bell&Jayne 2010). Here, an approach that does not associate culture with commercial capitalisation on its potential and conceives it primarily as a *public/welfare good*, "failed by the market" (Cooke& Lazzeretti 2008) and possessing predominantly an *aesthetic value*, relates to the discourse on 'culture'. Conversely, an approach where economic capitalisation on cultural assets and resultant 'profit-making' are *present*, the related activities are conceptualised as largely "*commercially-driven*" (Volkerling 2001) and the relevant actors – as "*business-economic entities*" (Oort 2008), relates to the discourse on 'creativity'.

However, such approach, though possessing some useful elements, might be considered inadequate for the delineation of the two discourses, and solely the criterion of 'profit'-related or non-related status of cultural activities appears insufficient.

First, clear delineation between activities the primary goal of which is to generate profit and those that have a 'purely aesthetic' value is a challenging methodological task in itself. E.g., relating fields such as performing arts/heritage/visual arts strictly to one or the other category appears difficult, and a broader context should be taken into account. Also, understanding 'culture' as a purely welfare/public good is a rather narrow approach. As shown further, 'culture' can be viewed from different perspectives, one of which regards 'culture' an important asset on which a territory can capitalise in economic terms.

While some of the elements of the above mentioned perspective are taken into account, the *approach* to such delineation, *adopted in the work*, resulting from the literature analysis, can be briefly presented as follows.

The discourse on '*culture*' is relevant in the following cases:

- links with *local* endogenous cultural assets/resources/traditions are explicit, culture understood as being anchored in a peculiar identity and history of a place and closely associated with the "idiosyncratic" resources notion (Kunzmann 2004;Ray 1998;OECD 2005);
- explicit links with local endogenous cultural assets/resources/traditions are absent, but the phenomena concerned are cultural in their essence (might relate to the manifestations of *global/exogenous* culture rather than *local* culture) (Møller et al.2012;Van Heur 2012).

The 'culture'-associated discourse may thus relate to cultural manifestations of both "*local* and *extra-local* sources" (Ray 1998,p.16), and both might be interrelated.

The important criterion for relating phenomena to the 'culture'-related discourse is not presence/absence of commercial capitalisation on cultural assets, but the prevalence of more

“traditional/passive” ways of capitalising on them, as compared to those linked to novelty/innovation/creativity/new ways of exploiting cultural resources.

The discourse on ‘*creativity*’ may be relevant in the context of presence or absence of endogenous cultural assets/resources/traditions:

- capitalisation on endogenous cultural assets by employing novel (‘innovative’/‘creative’) approaches/techniques is present – “active resource deployment” (Richards 2011);

- emergence of *new* cultural forms, implying utilisation of innovativeness/creativity, takes place (particularly in the lack of “any preexisting base of cultural production” (Scott 2004, p.479) or culture-related tradition);

- phenomena/concepts are explicitly related discursively to the ‘creativity’ notion: e.g., ‘creative industries’/‘creative tourism’/‘creative class’/‘creative cities’.

The important criterion here is presence of the element of “newness/innovativeness/novelness”.

‘Culture’.

As suggested by literature, the term ‘culture’ in the context of LD may be conceptualised from two distinct perspectives. One, mostly derived from sociology and anthropology (Richards 1996), is primarily concentrated upon studying the *social dimension/relevance of culture* (Evans 2005), being, as noted by Lorentzen&van Heur (2012), “a more inclusive and less economic approach” (p.2). The other perspective puts more emphasis upon the *economic* dimension of culture-related activities. Due to the work’s focus and the fact that these are mostly economic rather than social concerns that are at the core of the analysis, the current research is predominantly guided by the latter definition.

The work’s perspective primarily takes into account the links of culture with the economic development of territories, which emerge and evolve mostly through *cultural resources* – in tangible (e.g., artistic/historical/built heritage) and intangible (e.g., local artistic tradition/festivals/customs) forms, which may be conceptualised as “raw materials” of the economy (Landry 2000,pp.xxx-9).

The economic potential of culture has not always been recognised though, in analytical and policy terms. The following two categories of ‘culture’-related discourse demonstrate the evolution of the understanding of the role of ‘culture’ in the context of territorial development.

The first discourse relates to the understanding of ‘culture’ as a category lacking any *utilitarian dimension*, possessing mainly *symbolic* and *aesthetic* value, closely related to the notions of ‘(high)art’, regarded from the policy perspective as mainly being a **public good**, part of ‘*welfare* policies’.

Such perspective, regarding ‘culture’ a category separated from the material production and economic domain in general, was dominant in the European context approximately during the period 1940s-1960s, partially carried into the 1970s and 1980s (García 2004; Bianchini 1999). Dominating the *academic debate*, it was translated into the kindred *policy approaches*. Economic potential of cultural resources was largely neglected and cultural policies were mainly associated with the *social* rather than the *economic* agenda, cultural strategies being dominated by the view of art and culture as bearing primary a *social role* (García 2004; Bassett 1993). This contraposition of ‘culture’ and ‘economy’ was also underpinned by the doctrine of “art for art’s sake”: the two dimensions were conceptualised in terms of a strict divide between “functional utility/utilitarian function” representative of the economy domain, and a primarily *aesthetic/symbolic* value, lacking utilitarian dimension, typical of the culture-related one (Bassett 1993; Bianchini 1999; OECD 2005). Since culture was not regarded a means of economic development, cultural initiatives were developing as part of *welfare policies*, provision of access

to artistic/cultural heritage and enhancement of cultural infrastructure being among major concerns (Freestone&Gibson 2006; Bassett 1993; OECD 2006).

A gradual shift in the understanding of ‘culture’ has been associated with the general broadening of the notion and its increasing conceptualisation in *economic terms*. A growing convergence between the cultural and economic discourses in the academic debate prompted new ways of integrating culture in the context of LD also in *policy* terms (Scott 2004; Bassett 1993).

The emerging studies seeking to evaluate economic impacts of culture and arts and demonstrate their economic potential (1980s-1990s) considerably influenced the academic debate (Kunzmann 2004; OECD 2005). Such discursive shift was also associated with the actual phenomenon referred to by Lorentzen&van Heur (2012) as “the culturalisation of the economy as such” (p.2), wherein “culture and capital” have been increasingly “linked strategically”, leading to a growing “commodification” of culture (Lorentzen 2009,p.839). The analytical shift, conversely, exerted further influence upon local *policies*.

The associated shifts have been generally related to the overcoming of the previously existing opposition between the recognition of the predominantly aesthetic value and welfare function of culture, and economic/market capitalisation on cultural assets. Incorporation of cultural activities into the domain of *market* forces, recognition of their strong “*commercial arm*”, role in pursuing essentially *economic* goals and status as part of an economic “growth agenda” in LD generally marked the new understanding of ‘culture’ in the *policy context* (Binns 2005; Volkerling 2001; Van Heur 2012; Bassett 1993).

The growing awareness of close interconnections between the domains of culture and local economic development has been translated in a number of shifting policy priorities, which adopted a broader understanding of culture, covering more activities than before (Bassett 1993; KEA 2012). Increasing focus has been put upon the economic capitalisation on cultural *heritage*, particularly in the context of tourism-associated and the related place-marketing activities (Scott 2004); there has been increasing investment in cultural *production*-oriented infrastructure (Bassett 1993; OECD 2005); moreover, the potential of the arts and culture as a tool for *urban* physical and economic *regeneration*, as well as for increasing attractiveness of territories have also been increasingly recognised (Bassett 1993;KEA 2012).

The two discourses on ‘culture’ thus having been presented, it should be emphasised that the work, analysing approaches to culture-led LD, naturally rests upon the latter discourse, wherein ‘culture’ is seen as possessing strong economic potential. In this context, culture-related assets/resources/products may relate to two major categories: material (tangible forms) and immaterial (intangible categories), capitalised upon in economic terms, activities evolving around them constituting an essential part of the subsequent analysis.

In the context of the work, a number of *narratives and concepts* have been identified as being associated with the discourse on ‘culture’. Among the most recurrent ones it is possible to discern: ‘cultural heritage’, ‘cultural tourism’, ‘art city’ (‘heritage city’/‘city-museum’), ‘high cultural place’/‘high culture cluster/district/local system’, ‘crafts’/‘crafts-related production’.

Overall, with regard to all such narratives/concepts, an essential criterion for relating them to the ‘culture’-associated discourse is the following. Culture is regarded a comparative advantage of territories; capitalisation on cultural resources takes more “conservative”/“passive” forms in the sense that active resource deployment is largely absent – as contrasted to the approaches embraced by the ‘creativity’-related discourse (Richards 2011;OECD 2005).

‘Creativity’.

Although some approaches identified in the literature tend to regard the discourse on ‘culture’ one of the components of a broader ‘creativity’ discourse, or merge of the two concepts

together, the current work delineates them for the analytical purposes, though indeed taking into account their considerable interlinkages.

The literature review has elucidated that recently, a turn towards ‘creativity’ has been apparent in a number of domains, both in academia and society in general. In analytical terms, such ‘*creative turn*’ is noted to have stemmed from the earlier ‘cultural turn’, wherein the notion of ‘culture’, even increasingly broadened, could not any longer embrace the growing complexity of phenomena it sought to explain (Richards&Wilson 2007). “Creativity”, as a concept seeking to conceptualise various cultural activities and their role in LD, started to emerge as a new paradigm at the core of *academic debate* that engaged various disciplines (Lazzeretti et al.2008; Hartley 2005; Richards 2011; Costa 2008). Such turn towards ‘creativity’ in *theoretical* terms has been also apparent in the *policy context* wherein ‘creativity’ has become an appealing policy option, “a *strategy* to be followed by cities and regions in a search for growth” (Richards 2011, p.1227), also having significantly influenced the field of *planning* (Kunzmann 2004). Such turn has led to a situation where discourses and policy approaches related to the ‘creativity’ concept have received the increased attention in analytical and policy terms.

It might appear that the relevant phraseology has changed to an extent that the ‘creativity’ notion has substituted that of ‘culture’ in the discourse on CCLLD. As Richards&Wilson (2006) put it, “arguably ‘creativity’ is now becoming as fundamental as ‘culture’ was in the latter years of the 20th century” (p.1215). Many authors note the essential discursive shift towards the ‘creativity’ notion predominance (e.g., Landry 2000; Scott 2004). However, a deeper insight into the general C&C discourse shows that it is not exactly so. Although the ‘creativity’ notion is very broad and may relate to fields other than ‘culture’ (Costa 2008; Landry 2000; etc.), ‘creativity’ is to a large extent nurtured by cultural activities, and one cannot say that the recently increased “popularity” of the ‘creativity’ discourse has substituted/displaced or “absorbed” that on ‘culture’. The two discourses remain closely interlinked, in many senses. Inter alia, cultural activities are “creative by nature” (Costa 2008,p.188), and various creative activities are largely based on cultural ones. Strong association of the ‘creativity’ discourse with the “cultural resources/assets” notion is underlined by many authors (e.g., Landry 2000; Kunzmann 2004; OECD 2005), wherein such resources are seen as “raw materials” (Landry 2000) for growth, and ‘creativity’ appears as “the method of exploiting these resources and helping them grow” (Landry 2000,p.7) in the interest of LD. ‘Culture’ is seen as a factor exerting a “leverage effect” (OECD 2005,p.16) upon creativity in the economy and as a basis for creative action (Landry 2000,p.174). In the domain of spatial planning, ‘creativity’ is noted by Kunzmann (2004) to have come “with culture as a backpack” (p.384). Moreover, culture can act as an important basis for creative *production* processes. ‘Creativity’ may be associated with the production of cultural objects, using innovative approaches/techniques. Also, culture may be of importance in the production of non-cultural goods associated with the ‘creative economy’: intangible cultural factors may offer various symbolic/artistic/aesthetic references to many economic sectors (OECD 2005), inspiring different elements of creative production. Overall, culture may be considered an essential element within the ‘creativity’ discourse.

Withal, the distinction between the two discourses should be emphasised. The major attributes defining the peculiarity of the ‘creativity’-related discourse as contrasted to ‘culture’-related one may be better conceptualised in the context of practical implications of the two discourses.

The discourse on ‘culture’ is primarily associated with more “passive” forms of capitalising on cultural resources. The one on ‘creativity’ essentially concerns *active resource deployment*, employing creativity, novel methods/approaches, entailing either creative ways of capitalising on the endowed cultural resources, or creation of new culture-related forms with a strong ‘creative’ element. The shift from the ‘culture’ to the ‘creativity’ discourse may be

associated with a shift *from comparative to competitive advantage* (OECD 2009) in the CCL competitiveness of a territory. The *comparative* advantage stems primarily from endowed cultural resources and more “conservative” ways of utilising their potential. The *competitive* advantage is associated with *either* active “resource deployment” (Richards 2011,p.1230), presupposing usage of creativity in managing/marketing/developing the resources concerned (innovative capitalisation on endowed cultural resources), *or* deployment of new CC-related potentials and/or activities (creation of new forms in the absence of endowed cultural resources) (e.g., Landry 2000; Greffe&Pflieger 2003; Richards 2011). It is in this dimension that the ‘creativity’-related discourse may be manifested in practice.

Such approach to singling out the features essentially defining the ‘creativity’ discourse in *practical* terms and distinguishing it from the ‘culture’-related one is substantiated by the *theoretical* debate on the proper *definition* of the term ‘creativity’. The work does not depart from any strict definition, and it would not be feasible as this fuzzy concept might be interpreted from a variety of perspectives (e.g., Lazzarotti et al.2008; Costa 2008; Flew 2005). Withal, the literature analysis has allowed to discern, among a variety of definitions, some overall *essential characteristics*/core features of the ‘creativity’ concept.

Thus, all definitions are common in emphasising the importance of the element of “*newness*”, either in its own right or *added* to the existing forms, whether it is a culture-related or a more general discourse. It implies association with *new* products/activities/forms (Costa 2008; Florida 2002; Richards 2006), as well as with such attributes as ‘*inventive*’/‘*imaginative*’/‘*novel*’, since it stretches “*beyond traditional ways of doing, knowing and making*” (Chartrand 1990,p. 2). A related feature is the close association of the ‘creativity’ concept with the notions of ‘*innovation*’/‘*innovativeness*’/‘*new technologies*’/‘*knowledge*’. ‘Creativity’ is often seen as an important source of innovation, in its various dimensions, and is an essential element within the ‘knowledge economy’ discourse (Lorentzen 2009; Lazzarotti et al.2008; Flew 2005; Christopherson 2004; Costa 2008; Selada et al.2011, etc.). One of the views is that ‘creativity’ is “*found*” where ‘culture’ and ‘(economic) innovation’ meet; in this context, the discourse on ‘creativity’ as compared to that on ‘culture’ is marked by a more ‘*innovative*’ and ‘*entrepreneurial*’ approach to the arts, culture and cultural policy (e.g., Flew 2005; Richards 2011; Lorentzen 2009; KEA 2012).

The ‘creativity’ concept may stretch to a wide variety of areas and embrace a range of phenomena, the focus of the work being put on the ‘creativity’ predominantly in its relation to the cultural dimension.

It has been possible to discern a range of *narratives, concepts and conceptual theories* associated with the ‘creativity’ discourse in the context of LD. A number of authors coincide in marking out three “*leading*” narratives: ‘creative industries’(CIs), ‘creative cities’, and ‘creative class’(CrCl) (see, e.g., Campbell 2011; Lazzarotti et al.2008; Selada et al.2011). However, apart from these discourses, a range of others have been singled out. Overall, they relate to: ‘CrCl’ conceptual theory, ‘cluster’ theory, ‘creative city’/‘creative tourism’/‘CIs’/‘creative clusters’/‘experience economy’ concepts. They will be considered in the subsequent parts.

Overall, the ‘creativity’ discourse in the context of LD exhibits peculiar features distinguishing it from the ‘culture’-related discourse. Withal, in many instances strict delineation of the two discourses presents a challenge, which may relate to the absence of strict definitions of the concepts, relative vagueness of the criteria for their delineation and close interconnectedness of the two discourses. For instance, it is difficult to draw a strict line when ‘creativity’ relates to innovative ways of capitalising on endowed cultural assets: the links with the ‘culture’ dimension are very strong. Such difficulty is acute when innovative production methods in CIs are strongly anchored in the endogenous cultural production tradition. It may be difficult to draw a definite line between C&C production since cultural goods may be conceptualised as being continuously “*updated* to incorporate new references and knowledge”

(OECD 2005,p.104), cultural production involving *experiments* (ibid), more characteristic of the ‘creativity’-related discourse. The discourses are thus highly intertwined, and it appears that importance of each might change depending on the developmental stage.

Considering the methodological difficulties in delineating the two discourses, adoption of basic criteria in the work is deemed the most appropriate option allowing to structure the related narratives.

2.1.2. ‘Consumption’ – ‘Production’.

The second CCLLD-related discursive line discerned through the literature review is the one that differentiates between the discourse on ‘consumption’ and that on ‘production’.

Although strict delineation presents certain challenge here as well, key attributes of the two discourses allowing to draw such a division line can be found in a number of academic works (Binns 2005; Bianchini 1993; Lorentzen&van Heur 2012; Costa 2008; Bassett 1993; OECD 2005, etc.). They generally note that C&C may exert influence upon LD in two major ways: by enhancing the attractiveness of a place and thus, through attracting people to it, stimulating CC-related consumption; or by stimulating production processes anchored in C/C. Accordingly, from the policy perspective, C&C may be integrated into local policies on the basis of a consumption or production-oriented approach (or combination of both).

‘Consumption’.

This discourse in the context of CCLLD is associated with the process of *consumption* of the local C/C offering by various categories of people that are *attracted* to the locality by its specific attributes. Such locally-oriented consumption activities are conceptualised as important contributors to LD, wherein C/C offering may be considered a specific “consumer good” and residents and visitors – its “consumers” (Lorentzen 2012; Markusen 2007). “Consumers” are seen as being attracted to the locality by its C/C-related characteristics, one of local priorities thus being enhancing the C/C offering and, consequently, the place’s *attractiveness* for various categories of people. They may be local residents, tourists, visitors, as well as potential new residents or employees (highly-skilled professionals and creative talent being particularly “desirable” for many territories), regarded “beneficial” to the local economy in various respects (e.g., Markusen 2007; OECD 2005/2006; Duxbury 2011; Smidt-Jensen 2012). Thus, within this discourse, C&C appear as a ‘soft location factor’ (KEA 2012), exerting attracting power upon various kinds of individuals, benefitting the locality in a number of ways.

Places aiming to attract people seek to develop various kinds of their *qualities*, and the definition of what constitutes such qualities, deemed attractive, and what are the elements of strategies for developing them, are the issues at the core of the ‘consumption model’-related discourse. Among key dimensions defining “attractive” qualities of places, C&C are universally recognised to play a particular role, their *attraction power* deemed strong (Richards&Wilson 2006; Smidt-Jensen 2012; Lorentzen 2009/2011/2012; etc.). C&C are considered to have a considerable potential in enhancing territorial image/identity and helping places differentiate themselves from other territories. Along with C&C, role of C&C-related ‘*leisure*’ and ‘*experiences*’ is often emphasised (Lorentzen&van Heur 2012; Lorentzen 2009/2012; Smidt-Jensen 2012; Richards 2011; etc.).

From a *policy perspective*, a number of associated issues are notable. In pursuing cultural consumption-oriented policies, places primarily seek to create/develop a “culturally vibrant image” (Binns 2005, p.4) and C&C-based offering attractive for various groups of people. The main rationale behind strategic cultural planning is thus to create attractive CC-oriented venues/facilities and activities “for individual and collective consumption” (Lorentzen 2009, p.839). Such policies may include investment in ‘hard’ C&C-related infrastructure and in

‘soft’/‘non-physical’ aspects. They may be conceptualised in terms of “selling places”, for visitors, tourists and other types of consumers, and for inward investment (Ray 1998).

The development of the different narratives and approaches to CCLLD inscribed into the consumption-related discourse may be conceptualised in an *evolutionary* perspective. It reflects the emergence and growing/decreasing popularity of the different narratives in the European context over time, embracing the academic debate and policy context.

The predecessor of more “proactive” approaches to consumption-oriented development was a model of more “passive”/“conservative” exploration of cultural resources, with focus primarily put on attracting visitors to “static” cultural assets (e.g., architectural heritage), not implying development of any additional activities “around” them. The associated measures embraced rehabilitation/preservation of cultural heritage, tourism promotion, and “classic investment in culture” (CSES 2010).

The next “generation” of cultural consumption-oriented policies, emerging since the early 1980s, was mainly associated with the notions of *place-marketing*, *place-promotion* and the related concepts and policy initiatives (e.g., Bassett 1993; Scott 2004; García 2004; Bayliss 2004; Richards&Wilson 2006). This discourse, similarly to the previous one, was largely associated with “exploitation of *heritage* for economic gains” (Scott 2004,p.463), particularly in the context of tourism-related activities. Withal, in comparison with earlier approaches, it was characterised by a move from “passive” exploitation of cultural resources to “aspects of *value creation* through *image creation* and advertising” (CSES 2010,p.10). It was achieved by actively *manipulating* “symbolic assets in pursuit of local economic growth” (Scott 2004,p.464), developing additional activities “around” cultural resources, primarily related to their image enhancement though promotion activities. Thus, more “traditional” cultural tourism-oriented activities, seeking to turn cultural assets/traditions/heritage sites into tourist attractions, have been complemented by initiatives aiming to *promote*, *market* and *differentiate* places. They were expected to enhance their image/identity/prestige, attract a broader range of visitors, as well as encourage urban regeneration (Bianchini 1993;Philo&Kearns 1993;García 2004;Scott 2004; Bayliss 2004), this way increasing their competitiveness in “an increasingly crowded global marketplace” (Richards&Wilson 2006,p.1210).

Some of the associated measures, seeking to enhance opportunities for cultural consumption and place-promotion, entailed such developments as launch of *flagship*/iconic cultural/art *projects* or venues and *high-profile cultural events* and festivals (García 2004; Bayliss 2004; Scott 2004). Such ‘flagship’ developments were often regarded not only a way of creating a new attractive *image* of places “from scratch”, but also as an important method of urban ‘*reimagining*’, wherein territories (particularly older industrial cities) sought to reject “negative images of the past” and enhance positive elements of an attractive “consumption-oriented city” (Bassett 1993,p.1779).

Such initiatives, based on the enhancement, valorisation and promotion of places’ unique image and identity, often fostered not only cultural consumption but also *production* processes (Selada et al.2012).

The next stage in the evolution of dominant CC consumption-oriented discourses and approaches was mostly associated with the growing relevance of ‘*city branding*’-related strategies (intensified since the late 1990s) (García 2004;Richards 2011;Evans 2003;Lorentzen 2009;Flew 2005; etc.). The progressive transformation of ‘*city marketing*’ into holistic ‘*city branding*’ approaches is noted to have had important consequences for the uses of C&C (García 2004). The core difference between the two approaches may be presented as follows: while the former discourse was mainly restricted to using selected culture-related elements within promotional campaigns (Ashworth&Voogd 1995), the latter presupposes a “wholesale city

repositioning and place-making” (Evans 2003,p.420) that seeks to reconcile various types of demands in one broad “competitive environment” (Evans 2003). The associated approaches, increasingly used by places pursuing consumption-based growth and regeneration goals, may be conceived as strategies of creation of a *holistic/unified “destination brand”* (Tibbot 2002,p.73). They were sought to be achieved through the promotion of not just separate CC-related elements of a place, but of them all in their complexity, “wrapping up individual attractions and buildings with the infrastructure surrounding them”, C&C-related projects serving as an “emotional ‘fuel’” for the success of such destination brands (ibid). Such forms of C&C-based branding, often combining tangible cultural resources and symbolic assets (Flew 2005), are also deemed crucial for the competitiveness of a place (Richards 2011), wherein it competes with other places to attract consumers by enhancing its “drawing power” (Landry&Wood 2003) through “creating and communicating narratives about its attractions” (Lorentzen 2009,p.842) in a holistic way.

In total, it appears that all the presented approaches to C&C consumption-based LD, although historically evolving, changing emphasis, and generally broadening the scope of elements in focus, are common in that they all essentially rely on the capitalisation on C&C resources of a territory. They are seen important in the sense of promoting the *image* of places, strengthening their *identity*, enhancing the value of space and serving a crucial *attraction* factor, and thus in stimulating further C/C consumption/production processes (Kunzmann 2004).

The notion of endogenous cultural resources appears to be of importance, although place-marketing and city-branding strategies might in principle be pursued in their absence. In this regard, localities lacking endowed cultural assets are seen as able to apply consumption-based approaches by employing ‘creativity’ – innovative action in unfolding territorial potentials or creation of new cultural forms (e.g., Kunzmann 2004;CSES 2010). Implicitly, the ‘creativity’ discourse is also of relevance in the situation when endowed cultural resources are further developed/deployed/capitalised upon by means of creative methods/techniques, often linked to technological, artistic or other type of innovation (e.g., Richards&Wilson 2006;CSES 2010).

Having considered general characteristics of the consumption-related discourse in the context of CCLLD, it appeared possible to discern a number of related concepts/conceptual theories. Major ones have been as follows: ‘CrCI’ conceptual theory; ‘cultural/creative tourism’, ‘cultural heritage’, ‘high cultural place’/‘high culture cluster/district/local system’, ‘art city’ (‘heritage city’/‘city-museum’), ‘experience economy’, ‘fantasy city’, ‘creative city’, ‘place-promotion/marketing/branding’ concepts – which will be considered in the subsequent sections.

Overall, the consumption-related discourse in the context of the work appears to be inseparably linked to the “attraction” dimension, wherein a place aims at attracting different categories of people to come, spend, work and/or live in it, by seeking to enhance and promote its CC-related qualities. Over time, academic and policy focus has been gradually shifting from more “traditional”/“conservative”/ “passive” ways of attracting people as a means of economic development to the focus on new factors and “proactive” approaches (deployment and “manipulation” of cultural/symbolic assets in search for economic growth). The most recent shift has been marked by the increasing links between urban development, culture and creativity – in many instances marking “the extension of culture in a strict sense to the creative economy” (CSES 2010,p.96). Withal, it should be noted that although some discourses/policy approaches have been presented in an *evolutionary perspective*, the fact that certain discourses emerged or were becoming more prominent at different time spans does not necessarily mean that the currently existing approaches to CCLLD, due to temporal factors, are limited by only a specific group of discourses, and that the different discourses should be analysed in a purely historical perspective.

'Production'

Within this discourse, one may note shift of analytical and policy attention to the CC-related *creation/production* dimension and its mechanisms. Focus is put on studying C&C-related activities and products not only from the “demand” perspective but also from the “supply” side (Costa 2008,p.190), C&C’s contribution to LD being conceptualised in terms of the benefits stemming from the creation of CC products.

In temporal terms, recognition of the importance of the production dimension in CCLLD, gaining popularity over the previously prevailing consumption-oriented discourses, has started to grow since the 1980s, when increased focus on the provision of infrastructure for C&C *production* became apparent – a focus that entailed the growth of production-oriented initiatives² (Bassett 1993; Scott 2004). The underlying idea behind such developments was an intention to stimulate CC production processes as a means to overcome dependence upon imports of culture-related products, stimulate local production base (García 2004; OECD 2005), as well as, indirectly, stimulate local economy by attracting individuals/companies involved in the cultural sector that might engender multiplier effects and contribute to “raising the aesthetic value of creative production locations” (Richard&Wilson 2006,p.1213).

Apart from being exported, locally-produced C&C products can be consumed *within* the local territory. However, in this case production is essentially ***'place-bound'***, which means that it is inseparably linked with the consumption side: “the collocation and simultaneity” of production and consumption are required (Lorentzen 2009/2011), and the economic benefit of the territory depends on such “internal” consumption. It might be assumed that in the territory’s approach to the capitalisation on C&C products in this case, the focus will predominantly be put on the consumption rather than the production side, as it is primarily the local consumption of the final outputs that explicitly brings economic benefits to the territory concerned, and without this dimension production would be deprived of economic sense. Therefore, the production-oriented discourse in the context of CCLLD appears to be conceptualised predominantly in terms of the ***'footloose'*** production type, the outputs of which can be consumed in any territorial context since production and consumption are not necessarily collocated (ibid). C&C products *exports outside* the local territory are particularly important in this regard, since it is through exports that C&C predominantly contribute to LD from the production perspective. Withal, in order such exports to bring economic benefit to the territory concerned, it is important that the producing companies have local affiliation and clear ties to this territory (OECD 2005), otherwise the returns and contribution of footloose C&C production to the local economy are likely to be absent/minimal (Flew 2005,p.7).

In some instances the specific ***place*** of production may play an important role, even if products are consumed elsewhere. Production may be deeply anchored in, or nurtured by, a specific place identity, which can be particularly relevant in the case of traditional crafts-associated production or CIs stemming from a peculiar local production tradition. Culture-related production is often specifically marked by close interlinkages between the place and production system (Scott 2004), the notion of “idiosyncratic” products being of relevance in this respect (OECD 2005).

Some authors make attempts at classifying ***types*** of CC-related production processes and outputs in the context of LD. One of approaches relates one type to sectors producing goods the symbolic/aesthetic/semiotic content/value of which is higher compared to their “utilitarian purpose”, while the other – to those whose outputs are predominantly *utilitarian*, although noting that in many cases it may be hard to differentiate definitely the two categories (see Scott 2004, p.462; OECD 2005). It might be argued that such approach to delineation is marked by

² investment in cultural production-related facilities and support schemes, planning of production-oriented ‘cultural districts’, focus on CIs and export of local cultural products, etc.

significant ambiguity. Yet another possible classification puts focus on the dominant *production method*, discerning between more “traditional” versus more “advanced” methods. Although criteria for such delineation are also characterised by considerable conceptual vagueness, the general logic behind it might be traced, appearing quite consonant with that underpinning the adopted approach to the delineation of C&C discourses more broadly. Under the C&C production perspective, it associates more “traditional” production methods and outputs mainly with *crafts* and related activities (Kunzmann 2004; OECD 2005), and more “advanced” ones – with the CIs (OECD 2005). The first type is more linked to the ‘culture’ discourse, the second – the ‘creativity’ one, such classification appearing particularly relevant in the context of the work. One may also differentiate between *tangible* and *intangible* forms of CC production.

Combining the identified totality of major *concepts and narratives* associated with the production-oriented discourse in the CCLLD context, the following can be discerned: cluster theory; ‘crafts’, ‘local production system’/‘traditional cultural cluster’/‘cultural/industrial district’, ‘CIs’/‘creative cluster’ notions – which will be considered further.

Overall, it should be emphasised that defining strict boundaries between the two discourses within this line might be a challenge. It specifically concerns the place-bound type of production, but generally may be a characteristic of any urban system. Often “the production system, and the world of the consumer are all so tightly interwoven as to form an indivisible unity” (Scott, p.469). In the policy context, “the promotion of a consumption-based strategy” is “often backed up with some form of investment in production” (Binns 2005, p.4), and the production and consumption milieus of the creative economy largely overlap (Trip 2008). Withal, while delineating the two discourses one should look into the activity that is the central focus of the discourse and policy actions, while assuming the “backing-up” part as an *implicit* element of an economic cycle (where consumption and production are highly interdependent and mutually-conditioning).

All in all, the different discourses and concepts, employed separately or in different combinations, may have particular role in informing/influencing approaches to CCLLD. The connection between the theory and practice may also go in another direction: concepts and theories may serve a way of describing the developments taking place in localities.

It is clear withal that while comprehensively analysing approaches to CCLLD, from both the theoretical and policy perspectives, the two discursive lines should be considered in complex, since they indeed co-exist and may be separated only for analytical purposes. The next analytical step has thus been *combining* the two discursive lines and analysing the resulting *intersections*, which essentially constitute the theoretical foundation for further conceiving various approaches to CCLLD and studying them empirically.

2.2. Analytical Model.

The resulting analytical model is a theoretical construct that demonstrates the possible angles from which approaches to CCLLD can be considered from the *theoretical* point of view. Withal, this framework is further applied to the *empirical* analysis, wherein it serves as a means of classifying, systematising and studying different *real-life* approaches to CCLLD and exhibiting their main features in both discursive and concrete policy terms.

	Consumption	Production
Cultural	Type I	Type II
Creative	Type III	Type IV

Figure 1. Analytical model

The framework allows to analyse the different CCL approaches in a holistic way, wherein each type is characterised by peculiar features inscribed in the characteristics of individual discourses representing each discursive line. These categories indeed present “*ideal types*”, implying that from the theoretical perspective they can be regarded independently, while the assumption is that reality is more complex and real-life approaches would more likely combine elements of different types.

The different approaches to CCLLD will be related to one of the types and their features will be presented, in two main dimensions: the dominant general *discourses* associated with each type (main narratives, concepts and, if applicable, conceptual theories), as well as general *policy implications* primarily associated with the respective types. These aspects have been identified through the literature review and analytically deduced to belong to the different categories on the basis of analysis of the two discursive lines. The deduced characteristics of each type may be considered major criteria for further relating real-life approaches to a particular category.

2.2.1. Type I (Cultural consumption).

The general discursive focus within type I is put on the consumption factors on the basis of predominantly culture-related phenomena. Cultural resources/activities are seen as crucial assets of a place capitalised upon in economic terms, and the attraction of external actors (primarily, visitors) to such resources/activities, entailing their further consumption, is deemed essential.

The following discourses and concepts have been identified as being associated with this category.

1. The ‘*cultural tourism*’ concept, wherein links with both the ‘culture’-related and ‘consumption’-oriented logic are self-evident. Not having a single widely-accepted definition, the notion generally refers to “the consumption of art, heritage, folklore, and a whole range of other cultural manifestations by tourists” (Richards 1996,p.23), or else can be understood as “all movements of persons to specific cultural attractions, such as heritage sites, artistic and cultural manifestations, arts and drama outside their normal place of residence” (ibid,p.24). Such

attractions serve both the attraction factors and consumption objects. One may assume that they can rely on both tangible (e.g., heritage-based) and intangible (e.g., events/festivals-based) forms of cultural manifestations. ‘Heritage tourism’/‘arts tourism’/‘events-based tourism’ are among the associated notions.

2. The related concepts of ‘*cultural district/ quarter*’ within the current discourse may relate to specific areas within a city where various kinds of cultural tourism-related activities are concentrated, such activities generally tending to cluster in response to strong tourist demand. Their emergence is in principle possible even in the absence of endowed cultural resources, and one of the major functions relates to enhancing the city’s image and attractiveness for cultural consumers (OECD 2005).

3. A set of such interrelated concepts as ‘*high cultural place*’/‘*high culture local system*’/‘*high culture cluster/district*’. There are no strict delineations between the concepts, all of them being defined by a common logic. They refer to a specific area characterised by a high *concentration* of cultural assets/facilities, being often associated with endowed idiosyncratic resources (artistic/cultural) that constitute the essential “symbolic capital” (Lazzeretti 2008,p.95) of a place. Such concentration often serves an attraction locus for a range of various culture-related activities. The concept of ‘cultural cluster’ might be regarded as being closely associated with the cluster theory, wherein particular focus is put upon relational and spatial proximity among the various constituting elements. ‘High culture cluster’ appears to be the most commonly used notion, which may be associated with particular units, such as museums clusters/restoration clusters, while the totality of such clusters within a particular area may be characterised as a ‘high culture local system’ (Lazzeretti 2003). Presence of such a system in a city may generally characterise it as a ‘*high cultural place*’. An ‘*art city*’ (and the related concepts of ‘heritage city’/‘city-museum’) might be regarded a specific category (‘ideal type’) of such a place, wherein the concentration and attraction power of artistic and heritage resources is very high and their value is widely recognised (e.g., Lazzeretti 2008; OECD 2005).

The essential characteristics inherent in the concepts, also differentiating them from the previous group of notions, are that ‘*cultural heritage*’, and, generally, *endowed* cultural resources, constitute their essential element, and the focus is put on the “*high culture*” notion, thus discerning it from other possible types of cultural manifestation. It might be assumed withal that economic capitalisation upon ‘culture’ in this sense also stems primarily from cultural tourism-related activities.

With regards to *practical implications* characteristic of this category of CCL approaches, one may note activities aimed at utilising/developing/capitalising upon the potential offered by the place’s cultural assets/activities in an attempt to attract more visitors to the locality, often by employing methods of ‘*place-promotion/marketing/branding*’ applied to what is considered to possess the major cultural attraction potential in the local context. Since the mentioned element of ‘newness’ in capitalising upon cultural assets is weakly pronounced and the focus is put upon predominantly cultural phenomena and the attraction/consumption dimension, the associated activities are inscribed into the ‘cultural consumption’-related category.

2.2.2. Type II (Cultural production).

Discursive focus here is put on the production dimension on the basis of culture-related phenomena, wherein predominance of “*traditional*” *production methods* appears as one of central characteristics.

The major identified narratives and concepts associated with this type of CCL approaches are as follows.

1. *'Crafts-related production'*, also associated with notions such as 'craftsmanship'/'traditional production methods'. Focus here is put on activities capitalising on 'artisan skills', wherein crafts may be positioned at the crossroads between culture and economic valorisation (commodification). They are characterised by possessing a strong symbolic value, often reflecting particular facet of local identity through artistic expression, and by the predominance of more "traditional" methods used in the production process. Close linkages with the *local production tradition*, anchorage in the local history/identity, and absence of largely modernised production techniques are among important characteristics here, which also define the belonging of the discourse to the 'culture'-related category. (e.g., OECD 2005; Bell&Jayne 2010; Kunzmann 2004).

2. A discourse closely associated with the previous one is that on *'local production system'*/*'traditional cultural cluster'*/*'cultural district'*, to certain extent – also *'industrial district'*. Such association with concepts mainly characterising forms of production process organisation relates to the fact that cultural production processes often develop in the conditions of certain spatial *concentration/clusterisation*. Cultural clusters/districts appear as a result of such concentrated production organisation within a specific area (OECD 2005). Such cultural clusters/districts are noted to be normally anchored in long-standing historic traditions ("local know-how and traditional skills" (OECD 2005,p.108)) of production of objects that combine an artistic and a utilitarian dimension and preserve more "traditional" production methods.

To a certain extent, the notion of 'industrial district' may be considered of relevance here. The origins of the analytical concept go back to the work of A.Marshall, generally referring to the phenomenon as "the concentration of specialised industries in particular localities" (1922). Further elaborations were offered by studies in the context of the Italian model, wherein 'industrial districts' have been mainly conceptualised as a model of industrial organisation characterised by small-scale enterprises pursuing traditional forms of spatially-localised production (e.g., Becattini 1990/2002; Bellandi 1989/2007; Sforzi 1989, Dei Ottati 1994; Brusco 1986/1990, etc.). Withal, in the context of the current work the kindred term of a 'traditional cultural district/cluster' appears more relevant. Its key differentiating features are related to a clear association with the 'culture'-related dimension and, as noted by OECD (2005), the fact that, as compared to an 'industrial district', it "displays its own conditions for viability", such as capacities "to renew and maintain product originality" and "to adapt and pass along traditional know-how" (p.93). Characterising such 'districts/clusters', it may be noted that a symbolic/artistic/aesthetic and commercial/utilitarian dimensions are closely intertwined, and the specificities of cultural products and the environment in which they are produced may be legally recognised³ (OECD 2005).

Overall, focus here is put on a particular, spatially-concentrated, form of traditional (tangible) cultural production organisation.

3. One may also assume that discourse on *intangible* forms of cultural production (e.g., 'artistic creation') might be of relevance within this category, as long as the territory capitalises upon such activity in economic terms.

Overall, the discourse is mainly production-oriented, and since focus is put on the association of production processes with the local production tradition and more "traditional" production methods, it predominantly relates to the 'culture' category. Predominance of a footloose production type may be assumed; withal, links of the production system with the place

³ name of the district may be legally protected and used for marketing specific local products, anchored in local traditional skills and know-how and founded on long-standing historic traditions

may be strong, since production is anchored in a specific place identity (Scott 2004; OECD 2005).

Major practical implications in this case relate to various forms of policy support to production processes/dynamics, which may sometimes take forms of legal protection of the activities concerned.

2.2.3. Type III (*Creative consumption*).

This category embraces various discourses united by the common focus upon the *attraction/consumption* dimension in relation to the phenomena that, on the basis of the previously-adopted and described attributes, may be considered inscribed into the logic of the discourse on ‘*creativity*’.

The main discourses, concepts and conceptual theories, identified as being associated with this type of CCL approaches, are as follows.

1. ‘*Creative class*’ (CrCl) conceptual theory. This theoretical elaboration may be considered one of the central elements characterising the so-called “*people-oriented*” approach to analysing the interlinkages between ‘creativity’ and LD, apparent from the literature review. This approach, combined with the “opposing” “*business-oriented*” one, is at the core of the discussion on creativity-led LD.

In contrast to the business-oriented approach, such people-oriented (“occupational”) perspective puts primary focus upon the so-called “*creative consumption milieu*” – the *human factor* and *locational choices of people*, as opposed to the production dimension. The analytical emphasis falls mostly on the concept of the ‘CrCl’ and its members’ locational preferences, in the context of the work associated with C&C consumption. The underlying assumption is that “jobs follow people”: the qualities of the urban environment are an essential factor in attracting qualified labour and creative talent, which, in its turn, attracts businesses to the areas with high concentration of creative professionals and thus contributes to the economic development of territories. Cultural assets and their creative deployment are seen as one of important tools for enhancing such qualities. The approach largely derives from the CrCl theory by Richard Florida (2002&2007), the major ideas being as follows.

Today, global economic competitiveness is becoming increasingly associated with new factors. Rather than the ability to compete in traditional factors such as goods/services/capital, it is the “*competition for people*”, increasingly associated with the ability of places “to *attract, retain and develop creative people*” (Florida&Tinagli 2004,p.5), that is becoming the major determinant of such competitiveness. The core attributes and conditions enabling localities to attract and mobilise more creative assets than others are thus among primary study objects.

In contrast to the business-oriented approach, arguing that people follow industries, moving to localities with more advantages in terms of working conditions, the ‘CrCl’ perspective suggests that these are firms that follow the talent, *locational decisions of the CrCl* thus being a core factor in the context of LD.

“CrCl” is defined as “a fast-growing, highly educated, and well-paid segment of the workforce” (Florida 2002,p.3), one of the essential attributes being their engagement “in work whose function is to create *meaningful new forms*” (ibid,p.4) (thus, the association with the ‘creativity’ discourse). It is understood as the major bearer of creativity, economic power, growth and innovation.

Places that succeed in attracting and retaining CrCl prosper, the main *qualities* of places having such potential being at the core of the perspective. They are mainly associated with the so-called “*three Ts*”, referring to technology, talent and tolerance, economic development thriving primarily in localities where their combination is particularly advantageous. The “*technology*” factor relates to the ‘innovation’ and ‘R&D’ notions; “*talent*”– to creative

occupations and educational attainment measures, while “*tolerance*” is mainly associated with the degree of places’ *openness* to different kinds of people/ideas.

It is argued that people in creative occupations are attracted to places importantly by their ‘creative atmosphere’ – associated with a special (‘edgy’/‘buzzy’) ‘feel’ (Bell&Jayne, 2010) offered by places and their particular *quality*, which may be interpreted in various ways. Among decisive qualities, as noted, ‘*openness*’ and ‘*diversity*’ appear of particular importance, since open, diverse and tolerant communities, with low entry barriers, where differences are welcome and cultural creativity is easily accessed, are more likely to attract creative talents (Florida 2002&2007). Such places, in a similar vein, are also characterised by the ability to offer numerous ‘lifestyle options’, many employment opportunities, numerous outdoor amenities, high concentration of high-tech industry (Florida 2002). Also, high degree of *authenticity/uniqueness/originality* may serve an important attraction factor (ibid). Attractive places are normally diverse and rich in *cultural terms*, also because *culture* is increasingly seen as a ‘device’ (Hall 2000) able to create a new appealing image of a place, and as the “new *glue* in postmodern geography”, since creative people opt for “culture- and amenity-rich environments to reside and work” (Oort 2008,p.237). The role of C&C in this regard is often linked to the notion of CC-related *experiences* deemed particularly valued by CrCl (Florida 2002&2007).

It is also implicit in the approach that the *attraction* of CrCl not only contributes to further consumption and C&C vibrancy of a place, but can also stimulate *production* processes, in domains related or nor to C&C, resulting from concentration of creative professionals and their labour contribution (Florida 2002&2007; Costa 2008; Lorentzen 2011). Withal, the production-related aspect of the perspective may be considered “collateral”, since the discursive and policy focus is predominantly put on the attraction/consumption dimension.

As regards *policy implications*, major LD policies are aimed at enhancing the consumer-related offer and qualities of the urban environment deemed attractive by the CrCl, in the context of the current analysis, using cultural assets/activities and their creative deployment as one of important tools.

Discussing the ‘CrCl’ theory in the context of the work, it appears important to make at least two observations.

First, putting predominant focus upon “imported” creative talents, prompting policies to enhance local qualities for their attraction, it largely overlooks the importance/necessity of *incubating/nurturing* own, ‘exogenous’ creative professionals. This undervalues places’ ability to develop “home-grown” creative talents capable of contributing to the local economy (see, e.g., Flew 2005;Bell&Jayne 2010;Richards&Wilson 2006).

Secondly, one may argue that the ‘CrCl’ theory is characterised by a significant “*metropolitan bias*”, which is particularly important in the context of the current study. Its major assumptions implicitly condition an important reasoning – it is evident that in most cases these are predominantly larger urban centres, as opposed to other types of territories, that are better positioned in the context of this approach. Larger, multi-cultural metropolitan centres are more likely to possess characteristics considered attractive for the CrCl under this perspective⁴ (Florida 2002/2007), which thus allows to deduce ‘centrality’ of creative activities and CrCl concentration with respect to bigger cities (e.g., Fernandes&Gama, 2012;Van Heur 2012).

The recently emerging research agenda of the role of CCLLD in smaller cities allows to discern a number of aspects in which the application of the ‘CrCl’ theory appears to be “adjusted” to the realities of smaller cities – evident mainly in factors on which they capitalise while seeking to attract CrCl. Thus, it is often emphasised that the main advantages of smaller cities in the context of the CrCl perspective are associated with their peculiar *amenities/qualities*, favoured by specific segments of the CrCl. In this regard, two observations should be made.

⁴ in terms of diversity/‘openness’/innovation/concentration of high-tech industry/‘lifestyle options’/thick labour market/‘varied nightlife’, etc.

CrCI is seen as highly heterogeneous, and preferences of its different segments may vary depending on factors such as age, stage of life, lifestyle, personal attitude/circumstances: it is noted that smaller cities attract mostly talented young families, active retired people or midlife career changers, or generally those belonging to a higher age-scale (McGranahan&Wojan 2007; INTELI 2010;Lorentzen 2012).

Notably, importance of an *amenity-based theory* in this regard should be emphasised. It is often argued that these are mainly peculiar *amenities*, unavailable in many bigger cities, that present smaller cities' particular advantage in terms of CrCI attraction (e.g., Lorentzen 2012; Bell&Jayne 2010;Selada et al.2012; Duxbury&Campbell 2011; etc). The suggested lists of such amenities are various, the basic feature being the following: in smaller towns they are predominantly related to the factors of '*quality of life*'/'*quality of place*'/'*liveability*', associated primarily with non-economic factors and serving a means of "strategic differentiation" based on local resources/identity/sense of place (Selada et al.2012;Bell&Jayne 2010). They may relate, inter alia, to aspects such as: '*endogenous resources*', associated with natural/built environment, social/symbolic capital, specific cultural qualities (Selada et al.2012;CSES 2010); "small community 'quality of life'", "appealing landscape" and "existence of in situ aboriginal artistic concentrations" (Duxbury&Campbell 2011,p.116); presence of "local, indigenous cultural systems" (Ray 1998,p.17); slow *pace of life* (McAuley& Fillis 2005); "lower prices of land and housing", "lower degrees of pollution, congestion and crime", "walkability" (Lorentzen&van Heur 2012,p.6), and, generally, more "*human* and thus attractive" qualities of place (Van Heur, p.67); "traditional production", "tranquillity" and "intimacy" (Lorentzen 2009,p.844). The appreciation of such qualities, differing from those that bigger cities are able to suggest, depends on specific tastes of various CrCI segments.

Overall, such deliberations demonstrate attempts at overcoming the explanatory weaknesses of the 'CrCI' theory in what regards the ability/potential of smaller cities to attract creative talents, deemed one of important trajectories which CCLLD may follow.

2. '**Creative tourism**' (CT) discourse, which may be considered in a contrast to the 'cultural tourism' notion (Richards 2011; Richards&Wilson 2006). The 'creative turn' that has influenced a variety of disciplines has also affected the domain of tourism studies, as well as actual tourism developments, wherein the 'creativity' concept has been integrated into tourism-related activities in various forms (Richards 2011). Richards (2011) (specifically studying the tourism domain and its role in LD) argues that the CT development may be understood as "an escape route from the serial reproduction" of culture characterising mass cultural tourism development (p.1225). Its key features may be summarised as follows.

A) CT approach implies importance of the '*co-creation*' of touristic experiences. It involves "the creative *collaboration* in developing tourism practices" (Richards 2011,p.1236) by producers and consumers, as well as *active participation* in the associated *experiences* on the part of the tourist – "a new form and degree of *involvement*" (Richards&Wilson 2006,p.1220). This also implies particular role of tourists' personal creative skills development, since they engage in the process of *learning* through contact with local people, their culture and everyday life (Richards 2011).

B) CT is characterised by a shift from *passive* forms of tourism consumption and focus on *tangible, static* cultural heritage, to active forms, concentrating on *intangible* ('living') culture (ibid). It is argued that CT generates "more engaged", "flexible" and "authentic" forms of experiences (ibid), as compared to 'cultural tourism'-related consumption forms.

C) The CT discourse is associated with an increased attention to the role of *CIs* in developing touristic offer, wherein an "increased creative content" is "integrated into tourism products" (ibid,p.1227). Such forms of tourism as, film-induced/music/literature-based/gastronomic tourism have been receiving more attention in analytical and policy respects (ibid).

D) The concept of ‘creativity’ is interpreted broadly here, embracing various “types of creative activities” (ibid,p.1238), not being limited solely to arts-related ‘creativity’.

The development of ‘creative’ versus ‘cultural’ tourism may be seen as a response to the trend wherein in the race of ‘serial reproduction’ of culture places start losing their peculiar identity, attractive to tourists, and thus reorient towards the CT development patterns. Some authors suggest that ‘cultural tourism’ is gradually being substituted by the CT model, whereas others assume that CT is more “likely to remain as a *niche* within cultural tourism in the foreseeable future” (ibid,p.1243).

The main *policy implications* in this context relate to the enhancement of the presented CT-characterising qualities and development of associated activities in tourist destinations, in terms of tourism-related ‘co-creation’/‘participation’ and visitor’s interaction with ‘living’ culture.

3. **‘Experience economy’ (EE) narrative.** One may argue that the discourse on EE is in some ways linked to that on CT. The core of the concept implies that in order to differentiate the offer, producers (spanning individual businesses to whole cities/regions) seek to transform goods and services into ‘experiences’ “which engage the consumer”, and to “brand themselves into experiences for residents and visitors” (Richards&Wilson 2006,p.1210). One of features defining the EE concept is that an ‘experience product’ presupposes existence of a certain “relationship” between the product and the customer (Lorentzen 2009). Withal, it can be argued that the EE phenomenon is generally broader than that of CT, not being confined only to links with the tourism domain.

The EE concept may be regarded as a new trend in economic development, with ‘culture’, ‘creativity’ and ‘leisure’ consumption being major drivers. Economic capitalisation on experiences, inscribed into the market processes (“marketed experiences”), is the feature defining the EE in the context of the current work (Lorentzen 2009/2011). The EE concept has gained particular popularity in Nordic countries, where many cities have adopted policies combining “culture, tourism and creativity into an overall system of experience production and consumption” (Richards 2011,p.1242) and integrated them into urban development strategies (Lorentzen&van Heur 2012).

Inclusion of the concept into this category appears justified due to the following considerations. ‘Culture’-related activities constitute only a *part* of experience consumption and production. Withal, employment of different forms of *creativity*, *innovative* approaches to the enhancement of places’ attractiveness, and discourse on ‘leisure’ consumption are important characteristics of the EE-related phenomenon (Lorentzen 2009/2012; Richards 2011). Focus is primarily put on the “*innovation* of experience offerings”, whereas the nature (which can be associated with C&C/leisure/entertainment) of the offering as such is of minor importance (Lorentzen 2011). Nevertheless, if experiences are cultural in nature, the narrative is highly interconnected with the ‘culture’-related discourse.

In the current work, the EE notion is related to the *consumption*-related category. Links of the EE phenomenon with the production side appear important (since consumption of ‘experiences’ cannot exist without their prior production). However, the prevailing view (e.g., Lorentzen 2009/2011; Smidt-Jensen 2012; Richards 2011) is that in most cases, EE-related production is *place-bound*, and the need for simultaneity of production and consumption of experiences is strong (Lorentzen 2012), which “ties” both experience production and consumers to a specific place (ibid,p.71). In this regard, the EE-related discussion in the context of CCLLD should particularly focus on the consumption element, since people’s attraction to the ‘experience offering’ and its subsequent consumption are at the core of the perspective.

According to some authors, EE presents a specific ‘window of opportunity’ for *smaller cities*, since both the consumption and production of place-bound experiences may in principle take place in any geographical context (ibid).

Regarding the *policy implications* of applying the EE-related discourse, the following may be noted. As residents, visitors and other categories of people can be regarded “customers”, a crucial task of a city is to provide them “with pleasurable experiences”, developing “experiences in the city and the city as an experience” (ibid,p.67). From the policy perspective, a number of options characteristic of an EE approach can be discerned.

Lorentzen (2012) discerns the following categories in EE-oriented policies’ possible focus: ‘stages&places’, ‘repeated activities’, ‘unique events’, ‘services’, ‘goods’, and ‘symbols’. Smidt-Jensen (2012) distinguishes such types of experience-based strategies as creation of remarkable “cityscapes” through urban design and architecture policy; creation and development of specific spaces/venues/facilities where experiences are consumed; construction of peculiar images/symbols representing the place (among others), which can be implemented separately or in various combinations. Generalising the practical measures deemed particularly remarkable in the context of pursuing EE-related CCL approaches, wherein places seek to develop distinctive C/C/leisure offering and an attractive image, one may emphasise the following.

- ‘*Flagship (hallmark/iconic/emblematic) structures (infrastructure/cultural facilities)*’: wherein places rely on investments into big flagship C/C/leisure-related infrastructure as a means of enhancing the territory’s image and recognisability. The approach entails construction of a landmark that seeks to become “a symbolic shorthand for a city’s or region’s identity” (Richards&Wilson 2006,p.1211), such phenomenon sometimes being denominated as the ‘Bilbao-Guggenheim effect’ (Binns 2005).

- ‘*Flagship events/festivals (‘megaevents’)*’: the notion referring to utilising big events as a means of drawing attention to the city, changing its image, enhancing recognisability, and, as a result, boosting its economy (Richards&Wilson 2006;OECD 2006). It may be linked to the use of internationally known major events, or, where such option is not feasible, staging own place-specific big-scale events of various kinds – which may be deemed particularly relevant in the context of smaller cities.

- ‘*Thematisation*’: implying development of a specific theme around which activities evolve, that may be associated with historical/literary figures, historical facts, particular place-specific products, etc. (Richards&Wilson 2006).

- Some practical activities are also associated with the concept of ‘*fantasy city*’, which may be considered either a constituent of the EE discourse or a highly kindred notion. The term refers to cities that combine cultural functions with *entertainment*-related initiatives, education and tourism, developing large-scale urban recreation and *amusement* facilities, as a means of urban revitalisation. Notions of “edutainment”/“shopertainment”/“eatertainment” and the like are of relevance here, the related strategies often relying on the use of new technologies in the attempt to link culture, knowledge and entertainment (OECD 2005).

- Additionally, the ‘*heritage mining*’ notion should be mentioned. It may be regarded as a peculiar practical component of the EE approach, or as a separate category, in any case being inscribed into the ‘creative consumption’ discourse in the work’s context. Generally, it envisages revalorisation of cultural (primarily built) heritage, bearing on the employment of a strong *creative* element in capitalising on raw ‘cultural capital’, since often implies usage of “increasingly sophisticated technology” to deploy the potentials of static heritage⁵ (Richards&Wilson 2006,p.1211). This thus links it to the ‘creativity’ discourse – the case serving a bright example of *active resource deployment*.

Overall, one may argue that the EE discourse essentially relies upon the attraction/consumption dimension in relation to C&C activities (often also embracing leisure/entertainment) wherein places seek to attract various categories of “consumers”.

⁵ animation/light shows/virtual reality, etc.

4. ***'Creative city' notion.*** The broad notion of 'creative city' suggests a peculiar view on the links between culture, creativity and LD, presenting a specific theoretical framework for analysing creative processes and a reference for policy intervention in cities. The approach explicitly associates 'creativity' with an urban milieu, noting the importance of the positive agglomeration effects (Landry 2000; Flew 2005; etc.). It may be argued that the applicability of the perspective is associated predominantly with larger cities. Elaborations on its essence may be found in the works of Landry (2000), Hall (2000), Hospers (2003), Flew (2005), Costa (2008), among others. One may assert that the location of the perspective within the debate along the dichotomic line of the 'business-oriented' – 'people-oriented' approaches cannot be precisely defined; withal, it appears possible to argue that its association with the consumption dimension is relatively stronger (see, e.g., Landry 2000; Hospers 2003).

Overall, the discursive and practical focus within this category of CCL approaches is put on consumption (attraction-related) factors on the basis of creativity-related phenomena, which may be more or less directly linked to the 'culture' dimension. Enhancement of the territory's qualities/image/recognisability/identity is seen crucial for attracting various categories of people, regarded as "consumers" and contributors to the local economy.

2.2.4. Type IV (Creative production).

A specific perspective may be considered as underpinning the whole variety of discourses inscribed into this type of CCL approaches – the ***'business-oriented'*** ('CIs'/'traditional cluster') perspective, as one of cornerstone perspectives conceptualising links between the 'creativity' dimension and LD.

As opposed to the previously presented 'people-oriented' perspective, this approach concentrates upon the *"creative production milieu"*. Emphasis is put predominantly on the *production* dimension, notably, 'CIs' and 'creative clusters' as major contributors to innovation processes and factors of LD, and the role of companies and their constellations. The approach is essentially founded on the *clusters* literature, dating back to the work of A. Marshall (1919/1922) on industrial districts, followed by authors such as Becattini (1990/2002) and Porter (1990/1998). The underlying assumption is that "people follow jobs" (Storper&Scott 2009), which thus determines the prevailing importance of locational decisions of *firms* and puts the *production* processes and dynamics at the forefront of the analysis. *Policy* focus is mostly laid on conditions and measures favourable for creative businesses as producers of jobs and wealth. The following cornerstone discourses are herewith discerned.

1. The ***cluster theory*** and ***'creative clusters'*** concept. In the context of the work, the *cluster theory* is seen specifically relevant as it underpins the deliberations on the role of agglomeration and spatial proximity for C&C-related industries. It generally constitutes the core theoretical elaboration underlying the business-oriented perspective to analysing CCLLD, which pays particular attention to the production dimension, departing from the supposition that CIs tend to cluster geographically, and thus analyses how creative businesses cluster together benefitting from locational proximity (e.g., Scott 2004; Richards 2011; Selada et al. 2012; Lorentzen&van Heur 2012).

The cluster theory generally focuses on analysis of spatially and functionally-concentrated units of economic activities, characterised by peculiar inner development logic, studying their dynamics. Emphasis is put on the phenomena of spatial and relational *'proximity'* of the elements of such units and the benefits of *'agglomeration'* of economic activity. *Proximity* implies that economic actors enjoy limited physical distance and good accessibility within the unit, which facilitates interaction, and share a range of common aspects, vital for the functioning of the unit.

The concept of '*cluster*', introduced and popularised by M.Porter, generally relates to "geographic concentrations of interconnected companies and institutions in a particular field", which "encompass an array of linked industries and other entities important to competition" (Porter 1998,p.78). The proximity of the cluster's elements in one location fosters coordination and encourages exchanges (ibid). Cluster firms are characterised by a high degree of specialisation and complementarity, clusters promoting both competition and cooperation (ibid). *On the whole*, the impact of clustering effects upon business opportunities and performance of firms appears to be manifest in a wide range of aspects, cluster constituents enjoying economic benefits of various types of positive location externalities (Ramos&Fonseca 2010,p.5).

This is from this perspective that the role of agglomeration in the context of C&C-related industries should be studied. Withal, some studies note the importance of recognising specific features of '*creative clusters*' as compared to all other types of clusters. It is noted that apart from benefiting from agglomeration effects, CIs also benefit urbanisation economies, and such features should be studied from an individual, 'creative clusters'-specific perspective (Selada et al.2012; FORA 2010), for which, however, a theoretical base is largely absent.

Nevertheless, whatever approach is applied, all authors emphasise the role of agglomeration and spatial proximity for the production processes in C&C-related industries and apply the essential elements of the cluster theory to their analysis, suggesting evidence that CIs cluster geographically (e.g., Scott 2004; Lazzeretti et al.2008; OECD 2005; Selada et al.2012; etc.). Various aspects are highlighted in the literature on creative production that demonstrate in what ways the cluster theory has underpinned the discourse on 'creative clusters' and CIs. Among them, e.g.: CIs' propensity towards locational agglomeration, which enhances economic efficiency and positive synergies and serves a peculiar response to strong competitive pressures by other CIs firms (Scott 2004); factors of 'variety', 'diversity' and 'novelty' that condition the necessity in clustering by CIs (Lazzeretti et al.2008); factors such as "constantly shifting production and uncertainty" (OECD 2005, p.106) as characteristics of CC-related goods that define the need for spatial concentration (ibid).

The major *practical implications* in this context embrace activities aimed at cluster development stimulation, mostly associated with material incentives and support schemes (Binns 2005, Scott 2004, FORA 2010, Bell&Jayne 2010; etc.)

2. '*Creative industries*' (CIs) *notion*. The 'creative clusters' concept and cluster theory are inseparably connected with the CIs discourse and serve as its analytical basis. The CIs approach is noted to lean significantly on "traditional economic about the effects of production clustering" (Richards 2011,p.1232), inter alia studying "how creative companies and branches cluster together with the benefits from locating in the same place" (FORA 2010,p.18).

The 'CIs' discourse puts focus mainly on the *production* dimension and regards the CIs an important engine of economic development and innovation, having profoundly shaped the debate on CCLLD (Lorentzen&van Heur 2012). The perspective springs from *industrial economics*-related debate (as opposed to the cultural economics tradition), and culture-related activities "are analysed in economic terms, but focusing on the creative component" (Costa 2008,p.189-190). The discourse is at the basis of the 'business-oriented' approach to conceptualising the role of 'creativity' in LD.

The key step for understanding the essence of the CIs debate would be capturing what the term basically comprises, even though giving a precise *definition* of what constitutes the CIs appears a problematic task and is a persisting issue for debate (Lorentzen&van Heur 2012). It is also complicated by the existence of considerable confusion over the kindred concepts of 'creative' and 'cultural' industries. *Cultural&creative industries* can be considered as synonymous terms, although many authors coincide on acknowledging a number of essential differences. Some approaches relate *cultural industries* to more "traditional sectors", while referring to *CIs* as those comprising "new sectors", associated with new technologies/digital economy (Lazzeretti et al.2008; Binns 2005). Despite the existing ambiguity, the approach

adopted in the work departs from a common notion of 'CIs' embracing both cultural&creative industries, wherein the two concepts can be used interchangeably. Relevance of such perspective is underpinned by its advocacy as appropriate by a number of studies (e.g., Landry 2000; Power&Nielsen 2010; Bell&Jayne 2010; Oakley 2004; etc.). The CIs term may be conceptualised as including a variety of industries, characterised by "creative working and by the intellectual property they create" (Power&Nielsen 2010,p.18) and dependence of economic activities "on art and culture and cross-over industries" (FORA 2010,p.4), or as "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" (DCMS 2001,p.3).

The links of the CIs discourse with that on 'culture' are apparent in various respects. E.g., "the economic value of a product in the CIs is dependent upon its 'cultural value'" (Oakley 2004, p.75), since culture-related references significantly nurture the CIs production.

Importantly, CIs and manufactured C&C-related products are considered to be mostly *footloose* – "their products can be sold to customers on the global market without any particular requirement to the location of consumption" (Lorentzen 2009,p.833), relevance of exports thus being recognised. It constitutes an essential characteristic conditioning the inclusion of the discourse in this category

With regards to *policy implications* of applying the CIs-related perspective to CCLLD, in most cases creativity-related production is sustained by measures supporting the CIs development, associated primarily with various kinds of incentives and support measures aiming the *production* milieu (Binns 2005, Bell&Jayne 2010, Scott 2004, FORA 2010, etc.). The major trend in policy-making is emphasis on measures strengthening the *economic* base of CIs, whereas non-economic priorities and people-oriented initiatives are not the primary focus (INTERREG IVC 2013). The importance of spatial agglomerations of CIs is taken into account through measures facilitating clustering processes (FORA 2010). Discussing practical approaches to CIs development, many authors note the importance of avoiding a '*cookie-cutter*' *approach* wherein "overly genericised CIs policies" (Flew 2005,p.8) are applied that try "to replicate a single CIs model" (ibid), pursuing a number of most common types of interventions, without considering the specificities of the territory in question (Oakley 2004).

Overall, the current category is essentially related to the production/'business-oriented' approach to conceptualising the interlinkages between creativity and LD.

All in all, this theoretical elaboration serves basis for further empirical analysis of different approaches to CCLLD, existing in practice. Different real-life approaches are systematised and discussed in relation to the conceptual categories elaborated here, as well as to the discourses/concepts/conceptual theories identified as essential within each conceptual group. The belonging of individual real-life CCL approaches to a specific category is deduced on the basis of the nature and focus of the *dominant* discourses in the local context and their correspondence to the discourses defined as characteristic of the various conceptual types.

3. Methodology.

3.1. Study object.

The *study object* in the work is a “smaller city” wherein ‘culture’ and/or ‘creativity’ play(s) an important role in the context of LD. Such importance is deduced relying on a number of factors, of which either one or several of the following dimensions are of significance:

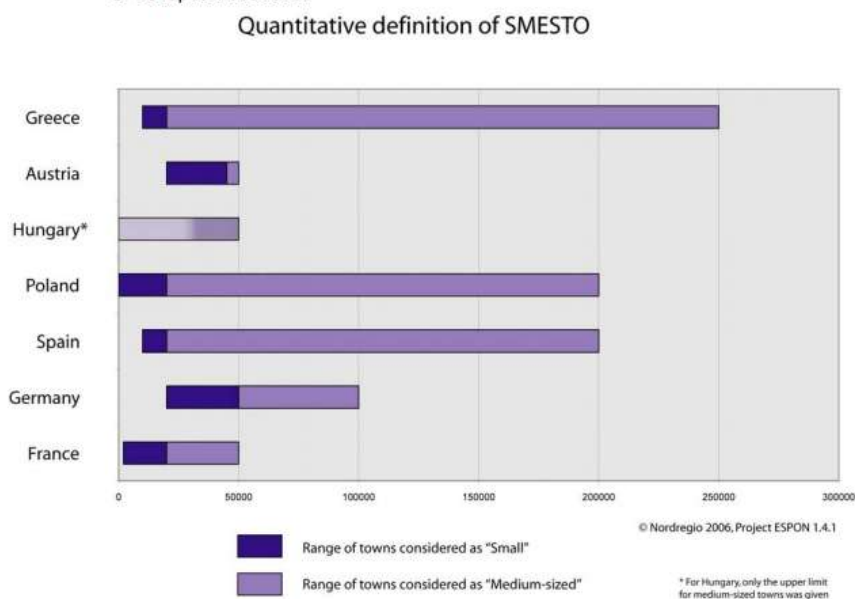
- a *C/CL strategy* of LD is present (i.e. C/C explicitly and formally recognised as a crucial development factor);
- C/C is an important *policy* line/priority or is recognised as having a significant potential for LD (as confirmed by local policy documents and/or statements);
- C/C is an important component of local *activities* (e.g., as shown by a significant share of C/CL activities in the economic structure of the locality, or existence of specific activities prioritising C/C-related developments).

Although there does not exist a universally accepted *definition* a “*smaller city*”, the approach adopted in the work departs from the following considerations.

Two main approaches to referring cities to the category of ‘small’, ‘medium-sized’ or ‘big’ can be generally discerned. The *qualitative* definition refers to the different functions (economic/cultural/political/administrative/financial) of a city, whereas the *quantitative* definition relates to the inhabitants number. As noted in the ESPON (2006) study, in most countries, the category of a city is defined by a population comprised between certain threshold values, and the number of inhabitants normally serves the basis for distinguishing ‘small&medium-sized towns’ from larger urban agglomerations. The *quantitative* definition is taken as a major reference point in the work.

With that, it should be noted that the population criterion is a very complex one, as the “quantitative understanding” of cities depends on various variables, primarily the specificities of the national urban system (*ibid*), the benchmarks thus being different in various national contexts. ESPON (2006) demonstrates such high disparity of quantitative definition of small&medium-sized towns by showing how it is applied in a selection of European countries (*ibid*,p.58):

Figure 3 Thresholds used for the definition of small and medium sized towns in a selection of European countries



Source: Data gathered via the questionnaire sent to the ESPON 1.4.1, project's national experts

It might be deduced that the “medium-sized towns” category seems to be a more diffuse one than that of “small towns”, more conformity between various national approaches exhibited in the latter case. However, significant national discrepancies are evident in both, which complicates the potential specification of each of the categories in the pan-European context.

According to Kunzmann (2004) (alluding to various sources), even though definitions of what can be considered a small or a medium-sized town vary, the most common definition is that of a town with a population of 20.000 up to 200.000 being mostly related to the category of ‘medium-sized’ (depending on population density and the national urban system) (Kunzmann 2007,p.4). Another approach that could be used for the delineation defines small and medium-sized cities “negatively”, “as urban entities that do not belong to the category of “large cities and agglomerations” (ESPON 2006,p.60).

Taking all these considerations into account, the work has adopted the following approach. An average (“intermediate”/generalised) threshold of maximum *100.000 inhabitants* has been adopted as allowing to define the type of cities included in the analysis. Such average reference point is considered crucial in the context where there appear to exist very significant inter-country *variations*. A specific *denomination* of the type of places has also been adopted – out of analytical simplification considerations, it has been decided to depart from the “*smaller cities*” notion. Generally, an important assumption is that focus is put on presenting the cases that evidently do not belong to the category of ‘large metropolises’, while the exact categorisation/denomination of a specific case does not act as the most essential factor.

3.2. *Methods.*

In order to address the research questions posed in the work and achieve the respective objectives, it was deemed relevant to carry out *two* distinct *types* of empirical analysis.

A) The first is the so-called ‘web-survey’ – a type of empirical analysis that would allow to identify and study a wide range of relevant cases belonging to different conceptual categories of CCL approaches, and systematise them on the basis of the theoretically-elaborated typology.

Seeking to identify relevant literature referring to the usage of such research method, the author encountered certain difficulties. Thus, references to a ‘web-survey’ method in the understanding adopted in the work – as a method allowing to identify and study a wide range of cases suiting concrete analytical purposes using the web – have not been found. Common understanding of a ‘web-survey’ mostly relates to a particular type of a questionnaire, conducted through the web, being conceptualised as a means of surveying the public (Couper 2000; Kaplowitz et al.2004). Comparison of a ‘web-survey’ with other types of surveys (mail/fax/personal), particularly with regards to response rate, is a recurrent issue in this regard (e.g., Evans&Mathur 2005; Cobanoglu et al.2001; Couper et al.2001; Dillman 2000; Sills et al.2002). Other interpretations, associated with the method adopted in the work, have not been identified. This thus conditioned employment of a certain degree of creativity in applying the selected method, which indeed has been selected upon consideration of possible alternatives (discussed further).

The essential step for carrying out such analysis has been the search and identification of cases suitable for the purposes of the study.

The relevant cases have been identified through a number of search channels:

- In the process of an extensive *literature review*, a range of cases have been identified, noted down, and later more information on them was sought on the web, in order to define if they fit the analytical purposes.

- A web-search of cases has been carried out, on the basis of a wide range of *search words* deemed relevant, in 3 languages (English, Portuguese and French, based on the author’s linguistic abilities). Such search words related either to more generalised guiding words/word-combinations (related to notions such as C/C strategy, C/C in LD, etc.), or to each of the four

conceptual categories ('cultural tourism'/'heritage/art town', etc. for category 1; 'craft'/'cultural district'/'traditional cultural cluster', etc. for category 2; 'experience economy'/'visitor experience'/'creative class'/'creative tourism', etc. for category 3; 'cultural/creative industries'/'creative cluster/district', etc. for category 4, among many others), both in general terms and by adding to the relevant concepts different European countries names.

The suitability of the identified cases has been defined relying on the set of *criteria* elaborated for each conceptual group *at the theoretical level* (which defined the belonging of each case to a particular type). Analysis of each case has allowed to identify the *predominant* discourses at the heart of the local CCL approach, which have been contrasted to the main features deduced for each conceptual category of CCL approaches in theoretical terms. The overall deduction on the correlations between the theoretically-defined features and those identified empirically has served basis for relating a case to a particular category.

The thus identified cases have been further studied upon collecting data available on the web. Two main types of materials have been used:

1. Primary data: relevant local policy documents (strategies, visions, plans, etc. – whenever available); relevant press materials (whenever available); data posted on official city/municipal websites.

2. Secondary data – existing studies carried out on the cases.

The overwhelming majority of the collected materials is in English. A limited number of relevant primary materials (notably some local policy documents and some official websites of localities) are in other languages and have been translated by using an online translation tool.

Such methodological approach has been selected after comparing its actual and potential strengths and weaknesses in the context of the posed objectives and research questions with those of other possible approaches. The main considerations can be briefly presented as follows.

It appeared as allowing to identify and analyse a *wide variety* of different real-life CCL approaches, *categorise* them, show practical manifestations of pursuing a particular approach characterised at the theoretical level, compare the essence of cases belonging to the same category, and on this basis, discuss all the four categories in a way informed by empirical findings.

It has been considered that other possible *alternatives* would not allow to achieve these goals.

One of the alternatives could be not to conduct such a broad overview and limit the empirical analysis to only one or several case studies. It could give more substantiated and detailed results (allowing to collect more primary data (e.g., to conduct interviews or identify more relevant policy/press materials), etc.). However, in this way, the objectives of the study would not be achieved, since one of major goals is to carry out a systematisation and categorisation of a *wide variety* of approaches, which requires to conduct a wide search and analysis of many cases.

Another possible alternative would be to use other methods of data collection, namely, to go beyond the mere web search. In this case, the quality of the data would substantially differ and potentially allow for more competent conclusions. One of the possible methods in this regard could be questionnaires usage (e.g., Kaplowitz et al.2004; Evans&Mathur 2005; Cobanoglu et al. 2001; Couper 2000; etc.). Sending out questionnaires to local authorities of a selected number of municipalities could be one of alternatives. This method was used, e.g., by Bayliss (2004) in his study "Denmark's Creative Potential", where the author carried out an overview of the role of C&C within development strategies in Denmark, analysing a questionnaire survey of Danish local authorities concerning their use of C&C as a tool of LD. Such approach might have given deeper insights into the essence of local CCL approaches. However, there are at least three associated limitations:

1. Since only one source of information is used (opinion of local authorities), the findings might be in some way biased, or not reflect the whole complexity of reality, and other sources of data would be essential. E.g., Bayliss (2004) notes an inherent bias of a questionnaire survey as a

research tool: “some answers can encourage a falsely high response rate because they appear more noble than others” (p.15).

2. The scope of municipalities to which such questionnaires could be sent would be limited (especially compared to the possibilities offered by a web-search) (due to inability to send out such questionnaires to a large number of localities around all Europe, language considerations, etc.).

3. In the current conditions (related to time limitations, the ambition to identify and study as wide range of localities as possible, etc.), it would be hardly feasible to carry out such a research relying on methods other than web-survey (which, upon the identification of relevant cases, allowed to collect the relevant data in a relatively short period of time).

Yet another possible alternative would be to limit the search to a selected country/region/group of countries (instead of all Europe), which would make the search more focused. Withal, such an alternative was rejected since the author sought to reflect as broadly as possible the multiplicity of CCL approaches in the European context, and a variety of countries included in the search could be more relevant in this regard. If the geographic scope was limited to only one region/country, there would be a threat that the identified approaches might be largely homogeneous (due to regional/national specificities, as it was later confirmed by the analysis). Since the extent to which localities cover their CCL activities on the web might be considerably associated with national peculiarities as such (in some countries such coverage is potentially more limited than in others), a choice of a particular country would have to be based on the consideration of national specificities, which, however, would stretch beyond the scope of the current analysis.

Indeed, the selected methodology for data collection and interpretation possesses a number of implicit *limitations*. Among them:

1. It is clear that the application of such methods to cases search cannot embrace all the existing examples of localities pursuing CCL approaches, leaving many interesting cases uncovered. It relates to many factors. Inter alia, the inherent limitations of a ‘web-search’ method in this case are that not all the localities pursuing CCL approaches cover their activities and make available the relevant materials on the web; the language factor has a role to play (the search was carried out in a limited number of languages, materials published in other languages remaining largely non-covered), etc. The analysis of a limited selection of cases does not allow to draw definite conclusions on a number of aspects.

2. The data sources available on the web are considerably limited, which did not allow to cover a broader range of materials.

3. The resulting distribution of cases is biased in terms of both geographical and numerical representativeness for each category, which is also partially explained by the limitations inherent in the ‘web-search’ method. E.g., due to national specificities (general internet coverage/political culture/etc.), presentation of local policies on the web differs in various countries; also, pursuing different approaches naturally envisages different degree of coverage – e.g., places that seek to brand their C/C assets (consumption-based model) naturally allocate more considerable attention to web-presence.

4. Absence of a clear universal “pan-European” concordance on what can be considered a ‘smaller city’ accounts for the fact that cities of various scales (in the context of national urban systems) are included in the analysis, which might make it less systematic.

5. Belonging of each case to a particular category has been deduced on the basis of *general* correspondence to a set of theoretically-elaborated criteria. A ‘criterion-by-criterion’ analysis could not be applied, since, due to the nature of the phenomena studied, the relevant categories are considerably “vague”. Also, the attribution of cases to particular categories cannot be considered absolute, since elements of other approaches are often also present, and the attribution departed from what has been identified as *dominant* elements.

6. The rationale for selecting the cases differed in the sense that the importance of CCL activities in local contexts has been deduced on the basis of different factors (existence of formal strategies in some cases; status of CCL activities being deemed important, without being institutionalised though, in others; etc.).

However, despite such limitations, the selected method has been deemed most suitable for achieving the research goals.

B) The second type of empirical analysis is a case study. It allowed to carry out an in-depth analysis of one particular case in the light of the theoretical discussion and the ‘web-survey’ findings.

The case study method (e.g., Stake 1995/1998; Yin 1981/1984/2003; Gillham 2001) may be defined “as an empirical inquiry” (Yin 1984,p.23) that aims at examining a “contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin 1981,p.59), and in which “multiple sources of evidence are used” (Yin 1984,p.23). It may be argued that the boundaries between the phenomenon in question – existing CCL approach to/strategy of LD – and the context in which it evolves/has been formulated are characterised by considerable vagueness, and the phenomenon arguably could be better conceived relying on a variety of evidence sources – this partially justifying the method selection. Also, according to Baxter&Jack (2008), a case study approach “facilitates exploration of a phenomenon”, ensuring that “the issue is not explored through one lens, but rather a variety of lenses which allows for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood” (p.544). Such definition suits the purpose of the analysis, wherein it is sought to study a complex phenomenon from several perspectives – due to the ambition to analyse different elements of the local CCL strategy *separately*, as well as *in complex*, and, additionally, to conceive the *reasons* underpinning its formulation. Moreover, case selection is noted often to be purposeful, which may stem from the fact that a case is deemed critical, information-rich, revelatory, extreme, or unique (Stake 1995, Patton 1990; Johansson 2003). In the context of the current work the case has been purposefully selected primarily due to its uniqueness. It has been identified during the literature review process, and further readings of relevant materials available on the web have allowed to mark out its uniqueness (the local approach combines elements of the different categories of CCL approaches) and the opportunities that its in-depth analysis could present.

More specifically, carrying out a *detailed* analysis of a case whose CCL approach combines elements of all the four conceptual categories appeared important in the context of the work, as:

- among all the cases identified, this was the only example of such a complex approach;
- since elements of all the four categories are present, the elaborated theoretical framework and ‘web-survey’ results suggested a suitable way of carrying out its complex analysis. Every group of elements could be studied *individually*, by relating them to the different conceptual categories (on the same basis as cases in the ‘web-survey’). Further, the *synergies* between the different elements could be analysed. Both types of analysis could be undertaken in the light of the theoretical discussion and ‘web-survey’ findings (which thus allowed to make the analysis more informed).

A case study approach provided an opportunity of conducting a more in-depth analysis of a local CCL approach than that possible through a ‘web-survey’.

The case has been further studied by collecting several kinds of data:

1. Primary data:

- semi-structured interviews (3) with the representatives of the local administration (Câmara Municipal de Óbidos – Óbidos Town Hall) involved in the implementation and communication of different elements of the local strategy of CCL development (‘Óbidos Criativa’), conducted in the Portuguese and English languages. The interview guide is provided in an Annex.

- relevant local policy documents (in Portuguese);
- other relevant documents, e.g., those elaborated in the process of the town's participation in an URBACT project (in English/Portuguese);
- relevant press materials (including those containing interviews given by the town authorities), in Portuguese/English.

2. Secondary data: existing studies on the case (limited).

The data sources selection has been justified by the following considerations. A combination of primary and secondary sources could potentially widen the angles from which the local approach can be understood (as compared, e.g., to exclusive use of primary data). Such kinds of primary sources as policy documents and interviews with the local officials were deemed most suitable due to the nature of the research questions. Since it is the essence of the local CCL strategy that is sought to be understood, the local officials directly involved in its implementation were considered the most relevant type of actors to be interviewed (as compared to other possible types), and policy documents were expected to elucidate the formal aspects of the local approach. The selected number of interviews (3) was deemed adequate due to the scope aspect (the town has 3300 inhabitants) and the fact that the team responsible for the implementation of the creative strategy is small (according to the information received, 2-3 people are substantially involved (*Interviewee 1*)). Conducting interviews, in addition to studying local policy papers, appeared important to widen the local strategy understanding and to conceive the *reasons* underlying the formulation of the pursued approach. The range of the local officials selected for the interview (representatives of the local authority responsible for the 'Óbidos Criativa' strategy implementation and communication) was intended to reflect different dimensions of the strategy (see the guide).

It has been considered that other possible *alternatives* would provide less opportunities for achieving the research goals. Inter alia:

- Exclusion of a case study would not allow to carry out a profound analysis as opposed to less "in-depth" analyses of the 'web-survey', which would narrow the research boundaries.

- A comparative analysis between this case and another case from the 'web-survey' would not be suitable for the research purposes. The two cases could hardly be compared since in the Óbidos case the strategy combines elements of all the four categories, and any other case (out of the identified ones) relies predominantly on elements of one particular category. Also, in order to make comparative conclusions, comparison of relevant national specificities could be useful, which however would stretch beyond the analysis scope.

- The option of carrying out a larger amount of case studies was not selected also due to time limitations: adding more cases would naturally reduce the effort put on case study 1, making the resulting analysis less "in-depth". Also, a combination of a 'web-survey' and a case study was considered an original and interesting way of addressing the work's objectives.

Indeed, the selected methodology for data collection and interpretation possesses a number of implicit *limitations*. Among the major ones:

- The group of selected interviewees can be considered limited, and one may assume that a larger number of interviewees would expand the analysis' findings. However, as noted, interviewing more people was not relevant due to the small size of the "team" (*Interviewee 1*) involved into the strategy implementation. Also, the nature of the issues addressed in the interviews cannot be considered largely controversial, which makes it possible to assume that a potentially larger number of interviews would not allow to receive substantially novel insights into the nature of the local strategy.

- Some of the studied documents have been produced in the process of the town's participation in an URBACT project, which may bear a threat of the content being partially "flawed" by a certain degree of "declarativeness" and presence of policy rhetoric as compared to objective facts. The way to address such potential flaw was to use the information carefully, by verifying it by other sources.

- The usage of secondary material has been quite limited since there is no large number of studies produced on the case (which may be partially explained by the fact that the local creative strategy is quite recent).

Overall, the application of the described methods to data collection and interpretation for both categories of empirical research has allowed to carry out qualitative analysis of two distinct but interconnected types, relying on the adopted theoretical framework.

4. Culture and creativity-led approaches in European cities.

The main aims of this part of the empirical analysis have been to identify and analyse real-life examples of smaller cities pursuing CCL approaches to LD, systematise them with regards to the four categories of approaches elaborated at the theoretical level and, generalising the results of case-by-case studies, make common observations on practical manifestations of having a propensity for a particular approach by places, interpreting the findings in the light of the theoretical discussion.

The research work has allowed to identify a number of cases illustrating each of the four conceptual categories of approaches to CCLLD. Each case has been placed in the cell according to its belonging principally to one of the categories. Such attribution has been made on the basis of the discussion carried out in the theoretical part wherein the main features and elements of the different discursive categories have been described and generalised.

The results of the so-called ‘web-survey’ cases selection look as follows:

	Consumption	Production
Cultural	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dubrovnik (Croatia) 2. Ravello (Italy) 3. Glastonbury (England) 4. Kotor (Montenegro) 5. Spoleto (Italy) 6. Jüterbog (Germany) 7. Kuldīga (Latvia) 8. Ávila (Spain) 9. Lappeenranta (Finland) 10. Wexford (Ireland) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Faenza (Italy) 2. Olot (Spain) 3. Miravet (Spain) 4. La Bisbal d’Empordà (Spain) 5. Limoges (France) 6. Cremona (Italy) 7. Tàrrega (Spain)
Creative	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Frederikshavn (Denmark) 2. Holstebro (Denmark) 3. Margate (England) 4. Vejle (Denmark) 5. Randers (Denmark) 6. Horsens (Denmark) 7. St. Helens (England) 8. Sitges (Spain) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Paredes (Portugal) 2. Barnsley (England) 3. Klagenfurt (Austria) 4. Kortrijk (Belgium) 5. Scarborough (England)

Figure 2. ‘Web-survey’ cases

One of general observations with regards to the herewith presented cases selection concerns the apparent uneven *distribution of cases* among the different categories, both in numerical and geographical terms. The patterns of the “unevenness” of the *numerical* representation of the cases generally reflect the situation encountered during the case searches. Namely, the generally bigger number of cases representative of the ‘consumption’-oriented discursive line reflects the relatively “easier” process of identification of ‘consumption’-oriented cases (as compared to the ‘production’-oriented ones); the small number of cases in the ‘creative production’ category shows the difficulty encountered in identifying examples representative of this approach; the relatively biggest number of cases in the ‘cultural consumption’ category reflects the relatively easier process of cases search, etc. In the *geographical* sense, the

“unevenness” of cases distribution is also evident. E.g., Danish cases prevail in the ‘creative consumption’ category, there is considerable representation of Spanish cases in the ‘cultural production’ one, generally weak representation of Southern European countries in the ‘creativity’-related discursive categories, and of Eastern European countries in all the categories (apart from the ‘cultural consumption’ one). Generally, the ‘cultural consumption’ category has exhibited the most diverse geographical representation. Possible interpretations of such “unevenness” are given in the relevant sections of the analysis.

The major generalised findings of analysis for each group of approaches are presented here, with details on each case available in the respective **Annex**.

4.1. Cultural consumption.

The process of search and selection of cases illustrating this type has proved to be the “easiest” one, compared to searches of examples for the other three categories. The search criteria have allowed to find examples comparatively faster than in the other cases, and it can be assumed that further thorough searches would allow to find not few other examples illustrating this category. Also, the examples thus found turned out to have relatively even/diverse *geographical representation*: this has turned to be the only category where cases from Eastern European countries have been identified, Southern and Northern European countries also being represented. These factors allow to assume that the cultural consumption-oriented approach to LD may in practice be the most widely pursued one, compared to other approaches. Although the *theoretical* discussion has presented a gradual evolution of the related discourses over time and the gradual shift of focus from the culture-related to the creativity-related discourse, the empirical analysis has not exhibited actual prevalence of creativity-based strategies. Many places keep on relying on predominantly cultural phenomena and resources in pursuing their economic development goals. It may be explained by the fact that such resources are more easily identifiable and conceivable, models of capitalising on such assets are widely available, putting culture at the core of LD efforts may appear a politically more “feasible” option, and other factors. At the same time, it may be assumed that the cultural consumption-oriented model is regarded more favourable to places possessing endowed cultural assets, naturally encouraging them to capitalise on them, while in their absence places would more likely opt for a creativity-oriented approach. Only one case out of the selection of 10 cases in this category has demonstrated willingness to capitalise on cultural phenomena in the absence of endowed cultural resources. It should be noted however that the analysis of a small selection of cases, which indeed does not embrace all the existing examples, does not allow to draw definite conclusions on the prevalence of a particular approach in practice or on other relevant aspects. Withal, such a selection may be representative of the reality more broadly.

All the cases have been found to be largely united by a **common** logic, in a number of aspects. Focus is put on economic capitalisation on *cultural resources* (although in different forms), wherein such resources are primarily considered a crucial *attraction* factor – an asset that has a potential of attracting external visitors to the territory and thus stimulating the consumption of its cultural offering. The importance of the *cultural tourism* dimension in its different forms is thus evident in all the cases under study, demonstrating that the attraction power of cultural assets can be capitalised upon for stimulating the economy of a locality. In almost all cases, cultural resources are regarded crucial factors for strengthening the place *identity*, improving its *image* and enhancing *visibility*, *place-promoting/marketing/branding* activities playing particular role since they help to further unfold the resources’ potential.

Certain commonalities therefore can be found in the prevailing *discourses* defining the places’ approaches to culture-led development. Thus, the notions of ‘cultural tourism’, ‘territorial marketing/branding’ are pervasive, while the concepts of ‘event-based tourism’ (Glastonbury, Kotor, Spoleto, Ávila, Lappeenranta, Wexford), ‘heritage-based tourism’ and

‘heritage preservation/maintenance’ (Dubrovnik, Kotor, Jüterbog, Kuldīga, Ávila) are found as essential in many cases. Withal, some notions are found only in few cases⁶. This may be explained by the universality and thus broader applicability of some discourses and specificity of some others.

At the same time, the cases *differ* in a number of crucial ways, which shows that belonging of an approach to the same general category does not condition the homogeneity of practical methods employed by localities and demonstrates diversity of possible developmental paths.

Thus, some places focus on *tangible* cultural assets as a cornerstone development factor, while others – on *intangible* cultural forms, while some others – on the combination of both types, with a different degree of priority given to each. In many cases the choice of the predominant cultural resource is defined by the initial conditions – more specifically, presence or absence of tangible cultural assets.

Places possessing considerable *tangible* cultural assets opt for capitalising on their attraction power, thus largely relying on *heritage tourism*. Kuldīga puts major focus on the preservation and maintenance of the historic urban area, rich in built heritage, in order to strengthen local identity, improve the city image and attract more tourists. Jüterbog also primarily draws on the attraction power of its built heritage, focus being put on the protection and revitalisation of the historic centre.

This is sometimes complemented by or *combined* with *intangible* forms. It may take the form of events organisation, cultural venues development. Kotor combines heritage-based tourism (particularly boosted by the attractiveness of its medieval old town, which is one of the best preserved in the Adriatic and enlisted as a UNESCO world heritage site), and event-based tourism (the Boka Night, Summer Carnival). Ávila similarly combines heritage-based tourism and events organisation. Dubrovnik relies on the combination of heritage-driven tourism (particularly due to the specific heritage value of the Old City, classified as World Heritage), rich cultural events provision, and various cultural venues/facilities development. Alternatively, it may take the form of utilising built heritage as a venue for cultural performances. In Spoleto, the Spoleto Festival’s performances take place at the town’s historical sites, which allows to create unique synergies between the tangible and intangible cultural forms and enhance the value and attraction power of the cultural offer.

Withal, absence of such tangible assets encourages localities to focus primarily on ‘*soft*’ cultural factors. Lappeenranta, in the absence of built cultural heritage, mainly focuses on *events* organisation and provision of cultural services. At the same time, focus on intangible cultural forms may also take place in the presence of significant built heritage. Ravello and Wexford are two illustrating examples. Apart from that, in some instances the choice of the predominant cultural resource is defined by the presence of a particular cultural tradition, evolving over time. The Wexford Opera Festival, one of the major attraction factors of Wexford, boasting considerable international prestige, and Ravello Festival of Performing Arts, the most significant product of Ravello’s cultural offer, have been developing since mid-20th century.

Another core difference is evident in the *status* of culture-based activities in the cases. Thus, some localities (although few) rely in their development on formalised integrated culture-led *strategies*, implicitly emphasising culture as a key LD driver. In Ravello, the priority of capitalising on the plethora of cultural resources and through this fostering the tourism sector

⁶ Glastonbury has been the only example of a place having status as an important centre for *religious tourism* and pilgrimage, primarily due to the historical and symbolic importance of the Glastonbury Abbey and association of the place with various myths and legends of a mystic and religious character

advancement has been formalised by a distinct culture-based strategy of integrated LD. In other cases such strategies are absent, but the cultural dimension is inscribed into other types of policy documents, thus being an integral part of local *policies*. This relates, to Kotor, whose “Development programme on culture” is part of the broader LD strategies; Ávila and Lappeenranta, where tourism and culture-related policies are integrated into the general policies of the local administration; Wexford, where the local economic strategy emphasises the importance of the cultural domain. In some instances, cultural resources simply constitute an important part of the local economy and thus of local *activities*, even though their role is not formally recognised through fixation in official policy documents (Glastonbury). The different status of culture-based activities might possibly be explained by the different perceptions of local authorities of the evolving culture-related activities. In those cases when they are largely institutionalised one may assume higher degree of awareness of their potential in the context of LD and thus stronger role of political will/deliberate steering of the activities concerned.

4.2. Cultural production.

Overall, the seven cases illustrating this category have proved to be more difficult to find compared to the examples of the ‘cultural consumption’-based approach, which may be explained by less widespread embarkment on this approach in practice and its close association with the elements of other discourses. Also, in terms of geographical representation, an interesting pattern has been noted. The cases have turned to be concentrated mostly in South European countries. One of possible assumptions in this respect might be that relevance of ‘cultural production’ discourse in the North European countries context can be smaller, more traditional activities being largely preserved in the countries/regions with generally more “traditional”, less modernised economies. Withal, any kinds of such assumptions are not underpinned by evidence here.

The cases are *united* by the predominance of a particular group of *discourses*/concepts, defining the major characteristics of the cultural production-based approach. The dominant discourses in this regard are related to the notions of: ‘craft’/‘craftsmanship’/‘local production system’/‘traditional cultural cluster’/‘cultural/industrial district’/‘traditional production methods’ (primary relevant for tangible forms of cultural production), ‘artistic creation’ (for intangible ones). The discourses thus are mainly related to the methods and forms of production process organisation, and are largely consonant with the theoretical discussion: focus is put on the links of production with the local cultural *tradition* and more traditional methods, the production process often developing in spatially *clustered* units and being a constituent of the local production system. Only one case related to the intangible form of cultural production has been present (Tàrraga), which may testify to practical prevalence of instances of capitalisation on tangible forms.

Another feature is that cultural *production forms* and the *status* of activities *in* the local *economy differ*. Thus, in some places (particularly smaller towns) the role of more traditional production methods is strong, which defines a more “conservative” approach to activities: the discourse here is more related to the traditional ‘craftsmanship’ notion and production methods are not largely modernised/industrialised. In Olot the production of religious imagery, deeply rooted in the town’s cultural tradition, largely relies on traditional techniques. Miravet has preserved its ancient clay pottery production tradition, and eight workshops currently working in the town use traditional methods, making pieces by hand. La Bisbal, relying on a centuries-long ceramist tradition, also continues to employ traditional techniques in its pottery production. Production in some of such cases is predominantly place-bound, and exports are minimal (La Bisbal) or absent (Miravet), the production and internal consumption of the product thus being highly interrelated, and the *status* of the activity in the local economy in this case may be associated primarily with a specific “tribute” to the local tradition rather than as an important contributor to the local economy (Miravet). Yet *another type* of activities relates to instances

where the production process combines traditional knowledge with more *modernised* methods, being in most cases industrialised, which mostly takes place in bigger cities. The production in these cases may be largely *footloose*, the exports outside the territory in question playing particular role. The status of the activity here is often associated with its considerable contribution to the local economy. Limoges and Faenza serve main illustrations here. Faenza's ceramics production constitutes an important element of the local production system and is believed to offer considerable possibility of economic growth due to its export potential, whereas in Limoges the ceramics industry, while managing to preserve the long tradition, has largely modernised the production process, employing today 4000 people in the Limoges area, distributed among 70 firms, and exporting 30% of its overall output.

Also, it is notable that analysing cases from this group, we find a *mixture* of the cultural production approach elements with elements of other discourses – notably the *attraction/consumption* dimension. It turned out to be impossible to find “pure” cases, having elements of the cultural production approach without their dependence on/links with the consumption dimension. Such situation may be explained by the fact that traditional cultural production is unlikely to be a self-sustaining and autonomous contributor to the local economy (unless it is highly industrialised), without relying on the attraction elements and the products consumption within the local territory. The degree of such “reliance” may be to a large extent conditioned by the production type. In those cases where production is essentially place-bound (Miravet, Tàrrega), production and consumption domains are mutually-dependent; in those cases where *both* types of production are present (export-oriented footloose and place-bound for local consumption), as in Olot, La Bisbal, and to a lesser extent – Faenza, Limoges, the intensity of links between production and consumption differs. Withal, almost all the cases have demonstrated that local approaches to culture-based development rely on close interlinkages between the cultural production and *attraction/consumption* dimension. The production tradition and its products as such are in many cases used as an object of (tourist) attraction, and the immediate consumption of products (within the local territory) is often essential for the local economy. In La Bisbal, pottery products are partially sold in the area's shops and may to certain extent be considered a tourist attraction factor. In Miravet, the presence of the craft activity serves an important factor for visitors attraction. In Faenza, ceramics production has a significant role from the attraction/consumption perspective, manifested in the presence of dedicated city museums (including the International Museum of Ceramics), ceramics-related events, or the applications of ceramics in architecture. In Cremona, the tangible (instrument-making) and intangible musical production tradition is closely linked to the attraction/consumption dimension, manifested in the fact that the city possesses museums connected with the musical theme and Cremona is an important centre of musical events and artistic production in the form of musical concerts, dance/theatre performances and festivals, musical tourism being a fast growing sector. Limoges serves an exception in this respect, since association with the attraction dimension may be regarded minimal: it is not generally regarded a tourist destination and the ceramics production does not serve a major attraction factor (OECD 2005). The links between the production and *attraction/consumption* dimension are the strongest in the case of *intangible* cultural production. Thus, in Tàrrega, the ‘event’-related discourse is inextricably linked with the production-related one, since the major focus of its Fira Tàrrega festival is put on the *production* dimension – in terms of supporting and promoting artistic *creation*, notably in the performing arts. All this illustrates that the cultural production model on its own often cannot be pursued in isolation from some elements of other approaches.

The role of spatial *concentration* of production activities has been identified as being significant in many cases. Thus, in La Bisbal, the local craft system may be considered the outcome of spatial clustering and the production organisation within a specific area, allowing to relate its production system to a particular category of a cultural district; in Faenza the ceramics production largely evolves in the form of a traditional cultural cluster (Nonni&Darchini 2008). Limoges is referred to by Greffe&Pflieger (2003a) as being home to one of the most important

cultural arts clusters in Europe. In Miravet, since all the pottery workshops are concentrated in one quarter, in their totality they may be considered a peculiar ‘cultural district’, pursuing the same specialisation. The importance of clustering for traditional cultural production activities, elucidated in theoretical terms, has thus been underpinned by some actual illustrations.

Moreover, in most instances the *place* of production has essential influence upon the nature of production as such, due to the rootedness of the production process in the cultural tradition of the territory, and the place defines a particular *identity* of the product, which is often fixed through a specific *brand* creation/emergence (‘majolicas of Faenza’ (faience), ‘Limoges porcelain’, ‘Cremona violins’). This is particularly consonant with the observations deduced at the theoretical level – where the specific importance of the *place* in the case of traditional crafts-associated production, due to its anchorage in a specific place identity, has been emphasised, and the fact that such types of production can become legally protected has been elucidated.⁷

Finally, the cultural production tradition of places is in most cases not *institutionalised* in the sense of not being included into formal local strategies as the economy driver. However, it is often mentioned in official documents as an important *component* of the local production system or a manifestation of the local culture/tradition.

4.3. Creative consumption.

In the overwhelming majority of 8 cases in this category the focus of both policy narrative and activities is associated with the ‘*experience economy*’ (EE) discourse. Crucial elements characterising the EE narrative have been found in most cases, with the emphasis put on the measures aiming at creating and enhancing C&C-induced *experiences* in order to increase the places’ *attractiveness*. With the nature of such experiences differing among places, the common feature in all the cases is focus upon provision of *attendance-based experiences*, wherein experience *production* is a *place-bound* activity, meaning that the production and consumption dimensions are largely merged and mutually-dependent. The local approaches put primary emphasis on the *attraction&consumption* dimension, whereas the production one may be considered implicit, not being major focus of policies. In this context, experience provision is seen as the primary element able to make the cities ‘*spectacular*’ and thus attractive for different categories of people. In those few cases where the approach is not associated with the EE discourse, it is still related to the *attraction&consumption* dimension (in the case of Sitges, increasingly prioritising the practical application of the ‘CT’ concept). Attractiveness of place is generally seen by all localities as the necessary precondition for bringing in economic dynamism to a place, due to the resulting inflow of external actors. The dominant *discourses* characterising the LD approaches pursued by most studied localities are thus related to the concepts of ‘experience consumption’/‘culture, leisure and experience offerings’/‘experience city’/‘experience-oriented facilities’.

Focus on the EE discourse is differently pronounced in the different localities. In some cases it is more explicit (Frederikshavn, Vejle, Randers, Horsens); in others – less explicit, but rather influential (Holstebro, Margate, St.Helens). In a similar vein, some localities possess an explicit EE-associated local strategy. Frederikshavn embarks on a cultural and experiential consumption-based strategy, formulated politically and defining the major initiatives aimed at the creation of an ‘experience city’; Vejle has formulated its ‘micropole’ strategy with a strong EE element; Margate has a cultural strategy of a similar nature.

The *cultural* element is of particular importance in all the cases under study, however, the degree of its significance differs. In most cases, ‘culture’ is one of the primary elements in focus, along with such notions as ‘leisure’, ‘entertainment’ and ‘experiences’ more generally. Withal,

⁷ In La Bisbal, the local craft became an EU-protected brand name (“Ceràmica de la Bisbal”), the purpose of which is to individualise and stimulate recognition for the products manufactured in La Bisbal and the surrounding territory

the cultural element in this case is characterised by strong association with the discourse on ‘*creativity*’, since the activities pursued by the localities prioritise *creative* approach to cultural resource deployment, or utilisation of novel/creative forms, more or less directly related to culture. Thus, two main illustrations of this statement have been identified in the case studies: either art and culture are capitalised upon in economic sense by relying on “experimental” and “technologically innovative” forms (Bayliss 2004; Skot-Hansen 1998), or creation of *new* forms is prioritised. As the analysis has shown, the preference of one of these two options is mostly dictated by presence or absence of endowed cultural assets. Thus, in Margate, where some elements of cultural heritage have been preserved, development trajectory is associated with a *combination* of traditional and innovative resources and assets. Withal, in most cities under study, rich endowed cultural resources are absent, which has served an impulse for novel developments, modern constructs and *experimentation*, involving modern architecture, innovative art forms, creation of “new urban experiences” (Smidt-Jensen 2012) (Vejle, Frederikshavn, Holstebro). Overall, the interrelated concepts of C&C are seen crucial drivers of urban regeneration, positive image change and local economic development more generally.

Despite the importance of the *cultural and artistic element* in the development strategies of the localities, degree of its significance differs. Thus, in some localities the experience offering is primarily associated with the *art and culture* forms (Holstebro, Margate, St.Helens, Randers). Holstebro has always prioritised the discourse on ‘arts’ and ‘culture’ in the policies pursued: major initiatives have been related to the development of novel and experimental *art* forms, cultural projects, and generally the use of culture for city re-imaging. St.Helens has similarly prioritised arts and culture development, whereas art, capitalised upon in creative ways, is seen a crucial element in *place-making* activities, and support to arts has been stipulated by a series of arts and cultural strategies. Margate, similarly, associates its primary city regeneration ambitions with the creative capitalisation on an art-related phenomenon – the Turner Contemporary art gallery, and the projects evolving around it are considered the cornerstone elements contributing to local image enhancement and economic development. Randers is another example of a locality putting major focus upon the cultural element, regarded to be at the core of the city’s attractiveness. On the other hand, in some other cases the role of the cultural and artistic dimension as a separate factor of development is less pronounced, and the cultural element appears more interrelated with the *leisure and entertainment* dimension (often also involving educational or other functions). Thus, in the cases of Frederikshavn, Horsens, Vejle, the provision and enhancement of culture, leisure and entertainment are considered in a very close interlinkage. Such interlinkages are also present in the cases of Randers, Margate and St.Helens, most cases thus exhibiting focus upon the creation of new and pleasurable experiences through the combination of different elements.

The *attraction* of people being the primary goal in all the localities, the cities prioritise the attraction of different categories of external actors. Thus, some places put focus mainly on the attraction of *visitors*, pursuing ‘visitor economy’ development goals: St.Helens – focusing on ‘tourism-based economic development’; Sitges – developing ‘*creative tourism*’ offering, seeking to complement the “traditional” list of tourism offerings with more “innovative and context-related activities” (Binkhorst 2007,p.132), that would provide visitors with the opportunity to receive “learning experiences”, engage into cultural phenomena rather than passively observe them, “participate” in the ‘experiences’ offered (e.g., related to experiences in gastronomy/“active sightseeing”) (ibid)). Withal, most of the places seek to attract *more diverse* types of individuals, such as tourists, visitors, highly educated individuals, potential employees and potential future citizens (Frederikshavn, Holstebro, Margate, Randers, Vejle). Importantly in the context of the analysis, it has been found that many places are significantly influenced by the ‘*CrCI*’-related discourse: acknowledging the benefits of relying on qualified creative professionals, they put considerable focus upon the attraction of this category of people. Thus, Horsens sees the ‘experiences’ generated by the locality the primary means of attracting creative professionals to the city. Margate similarly seeks to increase the attractiveness of the urban

milieu primarily for *creative talents*: one of the declared goals is to turn Margate into “a sticky point for creative work”, by attracting and retaining creative talent and creative entrepreneurs that would live and work in Margate, and it is primarily through the *in-migration* of creative talent that it is hoped to stimulate creative business development. The ‘CrCI’ discourse has been particularly influential in the case of Vejle, wherein the goal of attracting creative people is highly prioritised in the local context, a visit by Richard Florida being one of the factors demonstrating the attention given to the ‘CrCI’ theory ideas.

The currently dominant features of local approaches to CCLLD, which allow to relate the cases to the ‘creative consumption’ model, have indeed been *evolving* in different ways in each place. Generalising, it is possible to note that in some of them the related initiatives have started rather spontaneously, in an “uncoordinated and experiential way” (Lorentzen 2012), with no comprehensive policy or theoretical foundation behind (Frederikshavn, Holstebro, Horsens, St.Helens), while in others a more comprehensive and purposeful vision has been present from the outset (Vejle, Randers).

The places also differ in the nature of *methods* perceived principal in enhancing city attractiveness. Thus, some put major focus upon *physical structures* and projects: Vejle, with its emphasis on built environment, and Randers, where physical conversion of the harbour area is seen an essential element of renewal. Other localities mainly concentrate on *intangible* elements, such as, event organisation (Horsens) or CT development (Sitges). Withal, most of the localities use a mixed approach, where a combination of physical and immaterial experiences is at the core of initiatives (Frederikshavn – focus on physical “stages and places”, as well as activities and events; Holstebro – physical projects combined with arts developments; Margate – physical modifications accompanied by events organisation and art-related activities).

All the localities utilise C&C and the associated activities for increasing place attractiveness mainly by *enhancing* its *image*. Analysis has shown that in a number of cities the ‘creative consumption’-related initiatives have emerged as part of an effort to *change* the previously existing negative *image* of localities, often associated with their status as “dull” places suffering from decline in industrial base and structural problems (St.Helens, Frederikshavn, Holstebro, Randers, Horsens)⁸. In many cases, *place-promoting* and *branding* activities have been of particular importance in enhancing the newly emerging positive image of the locality (Vejle, Horsens, Randers).

As part of the efforts to re-image the place, to imbue it with new symbolic meaning, and also as an important component of the EE-related policies more generally, efforts to create new *symbols* have been of prominence in many cities. Such efforts have primarily been associated with the construction of *iconic (flagship) structures* – buildings, art works and/or facilities. For instance, Frederikshavn’s Palm Beach project, Holstebro’s sculpture ‘Woman on a Cart’ by Giacometti, Margate’s Turner Contemporary art gallery, Randers’ Wonder project and Rainforest venue, St.Helens’ ‘Dream’ (a high profile artwork) and ‘World of Glass’ project are examples of such flagship structures. Flagship initiatives have also been found in their intangible forms (Frederikshavn’s Tordenskiold Days festival, Horsens’ concerts by international celebrities and the Middle Ages festival). All these initiatives are seen crucial elements of the policies aimed at enhancing the place image, increasing attractiveness, and thus components contributing to local economic dynamism.

Finally, an important observation concerns the uneven *geographical representation* of the cases. Thus, Danish cities are in the current analysis in majority when it comes to the ‘creative

⁸ St.Helens – seeking to overcome its “dull” image; Frederikshavn – the initiatives being a specific response to the challenges posed by the crisis of the old industrial paradigm; Holstebro – trying to improve its negative image of a declining provincial town; Randers – seeking to overcome the “identity crisis”, Horsens – hoping to change its image of a “sad industrial town with a state prison” (Lorentzen 2012).

consumption' discourse, only three cases being representative of other countries. This may relate to several factors. Such spatial representation might be the result of the methodological limitations. In its turn, it may be related to the fact that more studies have already been carried out on Danish cases as compared to others, or that the appearance of Danish cases on the web is more prominent compared to cases representative of other nations. Withal, such results might also be illustrative of an important feature reflecting the real state of affairs: the discourse on EE and the associated policy initiatives have recently been extremely prominent in the Danish context. The notion of EE has strongly influenced approaches to strategic urban planning at local and regional levels in this country, and this influence has been fostered by relevant national policies favouring exploitation of the EE potential for increasing place image, competitiveness and dynamism (Lorentzen 2009, Smidt-Jensen 2012). No examples from Southern or Eastern Europe have been found, which may relate to weaker relevance of the EE discourse in those regions more generally. Although the EE discourse is indeed present in other national contexts, it appears from the analysis that it has had the strongest influence upon the LD strategies in Denmark, or at least that Danish cases have more prominence in terms of their analytical reflection and web-representation.

Overall, all the cases in this category put focus on increasing the attractiveness of the place, by improving the *qualities of the urban environment*, relying on C&C and provision of culture, leisure and entertainment-related *experience* offering – to enhance the place image and attract external actors, expected to stimulate LD.

4.4. Creative production.

Generally, the *commonalities* have been found in the overall logic underpinning the approach to CCLLD in each case – namely, focus on the *production* dimension of *creativity*-related activities. More specifically, this implied that in all the five cases the phenomena constituting the object of policies under study are associated with the discourse on 'creativity', since in all the localities they relate to the 'CIs' concept. With that, the relevant practical measures, as well as policy discourses underpinning them, have proved to be mostly *production* side-oriented – aimed at creating favourable conditions for stimulating production processes.

Thus, the discourse on the 'CIs' is present in all the cases, its status though differing in the various locations. In some, the importance of the discourse stems from the fact that CI(s) constitute the major economic activity of the place, being the main determinant of the local production system (Paredes). In others, CIs appear significant in the local context due to the fact that they constitute an important, and/or rapidly growing, economic activity, not being the leading one though (Kortrijk, Barnsley, Scarborough, Klagenfurt). Overall, the analysis has demonstrated that in the majority of cases the CIs-related activities do not constitute the primary basis of local economic activities, the CIs-associated discourse being indeed of relevance but not the leading one in the local context. Such feature defines certain similarity of the cases belonging to this category with the ones relating to the 'cultural production' category, wherein the 'cultural production'-related discourse is also of relevance in the local conditions but does not normally constitute the discursive *basis* upon which most of local activities evolve. It, however, differs from a number of cases highlighted in the consumption-related categories, wherein C&C-associated discourses in some instances form the *major* discursive basis for local actions.

The difference in the practical manifestations of reliance on the CIs-related discourse became evident also in the fact that while some localities rely on the development of *one* particular CIs branch, possessing a strong specialisation in it⁹, in some others *several* types of

⁹ Paredes' exceptional focus on furniture design, Kortrijk's primary emphasis upon design-related activities.

CIs evolve and constitute a significant economic activity¹⁰. Thus some places have a more diversified CIs basis, while others are more narrowly specialised. In some cases it may be explained by a historically-formed specialisation, deeply rooted in the local history and production tradition¹¹; in others – by a consciously taken decision to prioritise the development of a particular branch¹². In some localities the explicit reasons underlying the currently existing CIs presence could not be identified.

An interesting observation concerns the ability to track a *shift* of the CCL approach to LD from one category to another over time. Even though it has proved to be possible only in one case, and although the context of the work does not imply the usage of the evolutionary analytical perspective, noting this fact is of some interest. Thus, in the case of Paredes, it was clearly possible to identify a shift from the previous belonging mostly to the ‘cultural production’-related to the ‘creative production’-related model. Such evidence of rethinking local economic base and shifting to a new development paradigm is of interest, allowing to assume that other cases may also provide similar examples of shifting over the CCL development categories over time. Withal, the scope (and focus) of the analysis does not allow (nor require) to apply the evolutionary perspective to analysing cases, therefore such potentially existing shifts have not been identified, and/or emphasised and analysed in other cases.

Association of local narratives with the CIs discourse has conditioned the importance of *practical measures* aimed at stimulating the CIs development. Overall, all such practical measures have been common in that they concentrate mainly on *production* side-oriented support: they are generally inscribed into the logic of a “*business-oriented*” approach to economic development wherein core measures are focused on improving the business environment for the *production* activities concerned. Major focus is thus put on the *production* rather than the consumption dimension, and such goals as the attraction of creative talents and the place attractiveness enhancement (if present) are seen mainly as a means of further boosting the CIs-related production activities.

The associated measures have exhibited significant similarity in all the locations. They generally relate to two main categories of actions: those dealing with the creation and provision of supportive *physical* infrastructure and those relating to ‘soft’/‘*intangible*’ forms of support.

The provision of supportive *physical* infrastructure has proved to be essential in all the cases. Such measures mostly relate to the provision of physical venues/facilities for creative companies and professionals, such as “innovation hubs”, “incubators”, (incubation)workspaces, creative studios and workshops, cultural spaces, new urban facilities and venues for CIs, etc. – concepts generally common within the ‘creative production’-oriented discourse. Their primary goals relate to promoting the development of creative companies through creating favourable physical conditions for networking, ideas and product development. Examples include facilities such as co-working spaces for the creative companies’ cooperation where they can develop, test and validate creative solutions and applications in the furniture design domain in Paredes; a facility offering business and incubation services and meeting spaces to its tenants, and venues comprising exhibition spaces and workspaces for local entrepreneurs in Barnsley; co-working space offering creative professionals and entrepreneurs business-support facilities in Klagenfurt; an innovation-hub oriented towards the design sector, and an exchange platform for actors in creative activities in Kortrijk; dedicated centres of support to CIs providing relevant

¹⁰ Design, visual&digital fashion, software&computer services in Barnsley; design/architecture/music industry/publishing&media/software&games/advertising in Klagenfurt; web&graphic design, commercial photography/film and printing in Scarborough.

¹¹ Paredes’ specialisation in furniture design based on the long specialisation in furniture manufacturing

¹² In Kortrijk, it has been deliberately decided to put *design* at the core of economic activities that would ensure the necessary shift “from classic production to higher-value output” (Blatter&Kuhfuß 2010).

infrastructures and meeting/training/workshop facilities in Scarborough. This thus shows importance commonly allocated to the provision of physical facilities/infrastructure for creative companies – an inherent feature of all CIs development-related measures.

Withal, the other category of CIs support-oriented measures also appeared important in most localities. It relates to ‘*soft*’ measures such as provision of various *support schemes*, activities and services for creative professionals and businesses, such as business advising/mentoring/organisation of networking or other CIs-related events. Focus on the provision of *networking* opportunities for creative businesses has appeared to be the most prioritised activity in this category. Stemming from the business and cluster development-related discourses, such initiatives recognise the crucial importance of relational proximity of businesses in CIs and their interactions. They find different manifestations in various localities, though generally being united by a common logic. In Barnsley, focus is put upon “Creative Business Networking Events”, aimed at the development of local creative networks, through events and digital media tools; in Kortrijk, upon the organisation of networking events, such as Buda Libre, to stimulate cross-linkages among people active in the CIs and to incubate new ideas and projects, as well as organisation of design-oriented events contributing to the growing recognition of the role of design in the local economic development.

Thus, a combination of both *physical and ‘soft’* support measures for CIs is deemed important by many localities. Overall, the incentives for CIs development are mainly associated with the support for the production side, wherein focus is put on developing an environment facilitating the creation and growth of companies in CIs and creating favourable conditions for *product development*. In this context, focus on the production side is closely related to the significance of the ‘*cluster*’ development discourse in most localities. Thus, proximity among entities and actors in the CIs, in both spatial and relational terms, is deemed important, and support for clustering activities is prioritised in many cases. In Barnsley the dominant policy rhetoric relates to the development of a cluster around CIs, the initiatives intending to stimulate cluster development; in Paredes spatial proximity of the design-related entities is also of special importance, particularly due to the “smallness” of the locality.

Importantly, the CIs production in all the cases is not place-bound, since the products do not necessarily have to be consumed within the local territory. This is both an essential criterion for the inclusion of cases into this category, and an important feature of most CIs production systems.

Regarding the fixation of the importance of CIs-related activities in local policy documents/statements, in some localities specific strategies targeting the CIs-based development exist (Paredes), in others the strategic importance of CIs for the local economy is emphasised in certain policy documents (Barnsley, Kortrijk, Scarborough), while in others such emphasis has not been identified (Klagenfurt). The status of the CIs thus considerably differs among localities.

The final observation concerns the *sample* of the cases as such. In the process of search of cases representative of this category, the most considerable difficulties have been encountered, as compared to searches for other categories. Only five cases have finally been identified as fitting the criteria for inclusion in this category, and it turned out to be problematic to find more suitable examples. Since in all of the cases deemed relevant the CIs-related discourse is of major importance, efforts to find other localities considerably relying upon the CIs development have been taken. Inability to find more cases of this type allows to make the following assumptions. On the one hand, it is possible that the scarcity of examples of smaller cities relying on the CIs development is explained by the existing analytical, or data bias – reflection of the ‘metropolitan bias’ of the existing studies, focusing attention mainly on bigger cities. However, for the other categories relevant cases have been found, which thus may suggest that the ‘metropolitan bias’ of studies is not the primary reason. Another explanation may relate to the fact that CIs are actually not actively employed by smaller cities as important LD drivers, the discourse on CIs being mostly relevant in the context of bigger cities. Such supposition may be supported by the fact that conditions deemed important for CIs development are more favourable in bigger cities,

which may account for the prevalence of CIs in this category of places. Country reports and various national and EU policy papers studied in the course of the analysis primarily highlight bigger metropolises in the CIs-related context, barely mentioning the positioning of smaller cities in the creative economy; likewise, national/supra-national programmes, projects and networks, aiming to stimulate CIs development, also primarily target larger urban areas. It has also turned out easier to find CIs-related strategies for spatial units other than smaller cities (big metropolises, regions or nation-states). Moreover, it has been found that CIs-related activities are often concentrated in areas adjacent to bigger cities, such territories though being parts of metropolitan areas rather than smaller cities on their own. All this may suggest that the presence of CIs “is a reality” that affects large “urban agglomerations to the greatest extent” (García et al. 2012,p.64).

However, it is difficult to make this kind of assumptions, since the work’s scope is limited to the study of local situations and does not envisage analysis of broader national or ultra-local (regional/interregional/etc.) specificities of CIs dynamics. The fact that few cases on smaller ones have been identified does not necessarily testify to the insignificance of CIs-related strategies in them. The primary goals of the empirical analysis though relate not to the interpretation of the cases’ representativeness, but to the illustration of practical manifestations of the different discourses on CCLLD.

4.5. Closing remarks.

Overall, the ‘web-survey’ analysis has allowed to illustrate the different types of approaches to CCLLD with real-life examples, demonstrating practical manifestations of applying the elements of various approaches. Each of the cases has been related to one of the four categories in the analytical model, on the basis of the criteria/features described in the methodological/theoretical parts. Indeed, in reality many localities combine elements of different approaches to CCLLD. Moreover, the locality may shift from one category to another one over time. However, in the current analysis, those cases have been included where it appeared feasible to discern the *predominant* category of discourses at the *current* stage of the place’s development.

First general observation concerns the issue elucidated at the beginning of this section – the resulting uneven *distribution of cases* among the categories, in numerical and geographical terms. The conducted analysis allows to deliberate further on possible ways of explaining it and suggest possible interpretations.

Thus, it may generally relate to the methodological weaknesses of the research. Moreover, it may relate to the fact that different spatial contexts have different degrees of “coverage” in terms of the analytical works carried out and other types of materials available on them. This can also relate to the different degree of attention given by different localities to the presentation/reflection of their CCL activities on the web – while some places actively publish their CCL activities-related materials, which allows to identify them more easily, others do not. Uneven geographical distribution of cases might be explained by different degree of web-maturity in European countries/regions, or national differences in the culture of internet usage. Withal, the “unevenness” of cases representation may also relate to the fact that it is often *representative* of the actual state of affairs. Otherwise, it may be *partially representative* of the actual state of affairs, but indeed still not being able to embrace the whole variety of local contexts across Europe and reflect the whole complexity of reality.

On the other hand, one of possible explanations takes into account the nature of approaches and links it to the fact that the cases were sought through the web. It thus allows to assume that in the cases of *consumption-oriented* approaches places’ activities are more likely to be represented on the web, since the policies’ focus is put upon attracting various kinds of individuals to the local territory, place-promoting activities playing a particular role – web

representation appearing an important tool of communicating the place's qualities potentially attractive to people and making it visible. This thus might possibly explain the more significant number of identified cases representative of *consumption*-oriented approaches. Conversely, it might be assumed that pursuit of production-oriented approaches does not make web-representation such an important factor, attraction aspect being largely absent, which might explain the "poorer" representation of this category of approaches.

The second observation concerns the *status* of the discourses inscribed into the different categories within local contexts. Even though such status differs in each individual case, a general feature allowing comparison between the categories may be identified. It relates to the fact that in cases belonging to the '*consumption*'-related categories (C&C) the respective discourses often constitute a significant basis upon which the whole pattern of LD relies. Thus, the whole local economic profile, the predominant policy narratives and priorities are in these cases directly associated with the overarching discourse on C/C consumption. It is common to find dedicated strategies, relying on such discourses, or associate the economic profile and/or the overall image of the city with the embarkment on such a discourse¹³ – the facts that testify to the positioning of the relevant discourses at the heart of LD approaches (in many cases). On the other hand, the analysis has shown that in the overwhelming majority of cases belonging to the '*production*'-related categories the respective discourses do not constitute a critical basis upon which the LD features predominantly rely. Here, the C&C production-related activities act as important elements of the local production system, constitute a considerable economic activity of the locality, and are generally prioritised among other dimensions in policy terms. However, localities normally never concentrate all their efforts on the development of such activities, combining them with the focus on other developmental priorities. Dedicated strategies in these cases are often absent, the relevant lines of action normally just being mentioned/emphasised as an important component of LD in more generic local policy documents/strategies/statements. The status of the cultural production activity as just one of the many elements of the local economic system has proved to be particularly evident. This observation may be interpreted as showing that embarkment on C&C consumption-oriented models can in principle be a self-sustaining and autonomous approach to LD, whereas embarkment on C&C production-oriented models elements normally cannot serve a self-sufficient basis of the LD approach, being complemented by elements of other approaches. Such suppositions were not self-evident from the theoretical discussion, rationale for their deduction emerging only as a result of the empirical analysis.

The third observation relates to the interrelation between the *discourses* prevailing in practice and those that inform the theoretical discussion on each of the discursive categories. Generally, the correspondence between them has proved to be high, although the empirical analysis has exhibited prevalence of some of the discourses discussed in the theoretical part and less significant relevance of others.

Thus, in the 'cultural consumption' category, the most prevalent discourse has proved to be that on 'cultural tourism', and tangible and intangible cultural assets as visitors attraction factors, whereas discourse on 'high culture local system'/'high culture cluster', or 'cultural quarters/districts' has been mostly absent. This might relate to the relevance of the latter group of discourses particularly in the context of bigger cities possessing rich cultural endowments and having a prominent role in the global history of cultural development. Or else, this might be explained by the general prevalence of embarkment on the 'cultural tourism'-related discourse by places EU-wide, which makes it more feasible to find the application of this discourse in

¹³ Ravello as a 'City of Music'; Ávila as a 'Heritage City' or a 'City to visit'; Frederikshavn as an 'experience city'; Margate as a 'seaside town of experimentation'; Randers as a 'trade-city full of experiences'

practice compared to others. Also, the ‘cultural tourism’-related discourse may be considered the cornerstone one in this category, since even presence of other discourses in local contexts would most probably be combined with it, as long as generation of economic benefit for the territory mainly stems from cultural tourism-related activities.

In the ‘cultural production’ category, the most prevalent discourses have related to ‘crafts’/‘craftsmanship’, and ‘traditional cultural districts’, whereas ‘cultural arts districts’-related discourse has hardly been identified, explained by the prevalence of cases relying on cultural production in its tangible form, where focus upon traditional production methods and links with local production traditions have been pervasive.

In the ‘creative consumption’ category, the ‘EE’ discourse has clearly prevailed, and the “practical methods” associated with it have proved to be commonly employed. The prevalence of the EE-based approaches to LD has been consonant with the assumption that EE presents a specifically favourable ‘window of opportunity’ for smaller cities since their scope/size does not serve an obstacle for capitalising on EE elements. Withal, discourses on ‘creative city’ and ‘fantasy city’ have been much less prominent in reality, with the ‘experience city’ discourse (although kindred to the other two) being dominant. ‘Heritage mining’ discourse has also been poorly represented, which relates to the focus put by most localities on creating *new* cultural forms rather than deploying the existing heritage resources, such focus logically being absolute in case of their absence. The ‘CT’ concept application has been identified only in one case, clear prevalence of the ‘cultural tourism’ model being revealed. Finally, the discourse on ‘CrCI’ has not been of prominence in all the cases. While some of them explicitly lay emphasis upon the CrCI attraction, other localities consider it just one of a number of elements at the core of local policy priorities. However, the importance of attracting *permanent* residents to the locality, along with temporal visitors, is emphasised by all the localities. This constitutes an essential feature distinguishing the places embarking on the ‘creative consumption’-related approach from those applying the ‘cultural consumption’-related one, where *temporal* visitors are the primary target group.

Finally, in the ‘creative production’ category, ‘CIs’ discourse prevails, while the ‘creative clusters’ and ‘creative districts’ ones, although being of importance, proved to be relatively less prominent. This shows that the CIs concept is generally widely-spread among localities and is “popular” in policy statements, priorities and documents, withal, the importance of clusterisation for the CIs development is not always taken into account or emphasised in policy terms.

Overall, the features of the different categories and the related discourses presented in the theoretical part, as well as the associated practical measures, their commonalities and possible variations existing within the same category have been demonstrated relying on real-life cases.

5. The Case: Óbidos.

This section presents the results of the analysis of the Portuguese town of Óbidos.

It results from the intention to study one specific locality pursuing a CCL approach in more details as compared to the ‘web-survey’ cases, in order to:

- identify the main *discourses* and *concepts* at the core of the local CCL approach, and the associated *practical measures*,
- discuss them in relation to the theoretical framework and the ‘web-survey’ results, by *systematising* different elements of the local approach relying on the adopted delineation and analysing their *synergies*, also understanding reasons underlying the formulation of the currently pursued CCL approach.

5.1. The choice of case.

Several reasons underpin the choice of this case for in-depth analysis.

First, the overview of a large number of cases, through the ‘web-survey’-oriented search, has allowed to realise that the Óbidos case stands out from the range of the other cases identified. It exhibits embarkment on a complex approach to CCLLD, which, as figured out, combines elements of *all* the categories of approaches and thus a wide range of discourses studied in the work. This complexity and seeming “ambitiousness” of the approach, combined with the fact that the town size is relatively small, has conditioned the interest in studying how the different elements are combined in one locality, interact with each other and are addressed in practice.

Secondly, the fact that there has *not* been yet *much* academic *research/analysis* carried out on the case, and the materials available mostly embrace various policy documents, has influenced the decision to carry out an analysis relying on a specific theoretical framework and underpinned by the conducted ‘web-survey’.

Thirdly, the linguistic considerations have been of importance. Since the author knows the Portuguese language, studying a Portuguese case appeared favourable out of methodological considerations. It not only allowed to rely on a substantially wider range of secondary materials in the analysis, but also was essential in the acquisition of primary empirical data – particularly in conducting the interviews, studying local policy documents (some of them being unavailable in other languages) and press materials. Last but not least, personal interest of the author has not been unimportant: the author had visited the locality before and has been enthusiastic about studying this case after becoming aware of the existence of a CCL strategy there.

5.2. The case.

Óbidos is a small town with around 3300 inhabitants and seat of the municipality (of approximately 11700 inhabitants) with the same name. It is situated in the Central region of Portugal within the Leiria district, 80 kilometres north of Lisbon, with a relatively good physical connectivity with metropolitan areas such as Coimbra and Lisbon.

As regards the economic structure, half of the working population is employed in the tertiary sector, with tourism playing particular role, being currently one of the main economic activities. Provision of a wide range of services (particularly related to tourism development – hotels/restaurants/residential tourism/golf projects, etc.) is of importance. Food processing, construction and furniture are the most significant industrial activities, horticulture and fruit cultivation presenting the main primary sector activities.

The locality possesses a number of considerable natural, cultural and symbolic *amenities*. In natural terms, the surrounding area possesses diversified geomorphological features (the ‘Várzea da Rainha’ natural landscape, the ‘Lagoa de Óbidos’ lagoon, connected to the sea, proximity of the Atlantic coastline with numerous beaches and international resorts). In cultural and built heritage terms, the town possesses a historic core of recognised heritage value, serving

one of the major components of tourism-oriented activities, comprising a number of significant heritage landmarks¹⁴. Intangible cultural assets are connected with its strong iconic image as a medieval walled town, particularly recognised in tourism-related terms, rich cultural offer¹⁵, as well as a specific identity rooted in the town's peculiar historical role¹⁶.

The *reasons* underpinning the formulation of the current CCL strategy by Óbidos were among the issues the work sought to understand, in order to form a more comprehensive and informed insight into the nature of the local CCL approach. The analysis has allowed to discern a number of factors that have had influence upon the strategy formulation.

First, the *initial conditions* within the territory have largely defined embarkment on a CCL strategy. Considerable cultural amenities and peculiar local identity have been among important factors.

Relying on its cultural resources, the locality has long been prioritising tourism-led development, which is nowadays evident in its economic structure. The earlier tourism-related activities were primarily associated with the traditional 'cultural tourism' notion, tourists being primarily attracted to the existing cultural-historic heritage sites. In this way, the links between culture, tourism and economy have long been cultivated and strengthened, such an approach though not being largely institutionalised.

At a later stage however (since 2002), the local authorities opted for embarking on a dedicated development strategy, similarly relying on the interlinkages between culture, tourism and economy that would be at the heart of the local economy diversification. The central feature of such strategy, apart from the generally retained focus upon 'cultural tourism'-related development model, has become its anchorage in a powerful *marketing* and *branding* strategy – the 'Creative Óbidos' ('Óbidos Criativa') brand. The traditional 'cultural tourism'-oriented activities have thus been supplemented by a strong line of promotional activities, which aimed at enhancing the town's image and increasing its recognisability. The central element of the newly-pursued approach has been the provision of a diverse *events* agenda, aiming at attracting more visitors to the historical town. The initial results of the implementation of such strategy have been considered successful since the organisation of events in addition to the traditional heritage offering and the related support activities have been assessed as having drastically changed the image of the traditional 'museum town' and stimulated the development of a number of local domains that embrace creativity¹⁷ (Selada et al.2011; URBACT2011). Also, in the framework of this approach, the municipality started to develop policies aimed at the creation of favourable conditions for the emergence of a creative economy, primarily oriented towards sectors such as arts, architecture, design, digital technologies (Selada et al.2011/12). Such developments have served a significant impetus for the current strategy formulation. The intention to link the existent culture-related and touristic activities, as well as the potential of the Art and Design School, to creative business development has been influential.

Participation in the URBACT project "Creative Clusters in Low-Density Urban Areas" (2008-2011) (with Óbidos as the lead partner) has given further impulses to the local creative strategy development. This participation is reported to have helped to refine and consolidate the already existing strategic lines, get inspired with new ideas on ways to improve the ongoing creative strategy (through cooperation with other partners), and adjust it to the specificities of a "low density area" (Interviewee1/3; LAP 2011;URBACT2008/2011; Faria 2009). The

¹⁴ the medieval castle, the aqueduct, various types of religious architecture, medieval wall fully surrounding the old town, old narrow streets, town gate, among others

¹⁵ relating to music, dance, theatre, painting, large events

¹⁶ inter alia, as a frequent refuge place for many royal families, or its historical status as the "House of Queens" – since Kings used to give this land to their brides as a wedding present, Queens managing it for a lifetime period – a tradition lasting for almost seven centuries

¹⁷ content production, artistic creation, marketing&advertising, entertainment&acting, music, graphic design, etc.

formulation of the current strategy and participation in the project have been proceeding simultaneously, which also allowed to complement the local vision with documents like the URBACT Local Action Plan (containing concrete measures envisaged for pursuing CC-related goals). During the project implementation phase (2009-2010), Óbidos elaborated a ‘Target Plan’ that set the foundation for the overarching strategy of LD – ‘*Óbidos Criativa*’, a CCL strategy that currently defines the key priorities and lines of action for the LD.

Governance factors have also had a role to play in the strategy formulation. The decision to embark on ‘creativity’ was essentially top-down, driven by the local administration (responsible for the project concept) and largely influenced by the strong leadership of the Mayor (Telmo Faria), considered the “mentor and executor of the Creative Óbidos Strategy” and the main “agent of change” that has made his “powerful vision for Óbidos as a creative city” start being implemented (INTELI2011b; Selada et al.2011/2012; URBACT2008; Interviewee 1/3).

The *broader conjuncture*, at the national and EU scales, has also been of importance. The conditions of the economic crisis and lack of state funding, along with the emerging and strengthening nation and EU-wide discourse on ‘creativity’ and ‘creative economy’ are reported to have been influential. The depressive economic climate as a result of the crisis is noted to have been a strong impetus to embark on creativity, since in the lack of support measures from the central state the locality realised that a “drastic change” was required, which should be realised only relying on its own resources and capacities (LAP 2011; Faria 2009). Such resources have primarily been associated with its endogenous cultural amenities, which became the first dimension to be capitalised upon in economic terms, development of a ‘creative economy’ that largely embarked upon cultural resources being seen as a way forward.

The C&C-related *discourses* evolving and growing in importance in various policy contexts have also influenced the local strategy formulation¹⁸. The analysis has allowed to note that various C&C-related discourses at the *theoretical* level (the ‘CrCI’ theory, clusters theory, ‘creative city’ notion, CIs-related discourse, etc.) have also significantly influenced the local strategy.

Finally, an important characteristic of the formulation of the local approach to CCL is related to the fact that most of the innovative local actions were departing from the basic belief – “*It is Possible*” – to induce change, embark on the new concept of ‘creative economy’, to create, to capitalise on the differentiation of the territory, etc., as well as from the idea “Why not?” – trying new ways of doing things, relying on the place’s “capacity of reinvention” (On the basis of Interview 1; LAP 2011; Faria 2009a).

5.3. The local CCL strategy.

Overall, the resulting formal strategy puts the overarching goals of turning Óbidos into a creative town, attractive to live and work in, with a dynamic economy and high life quality. The main priorities relate to the *attraction* and qualification of talents, including creative professionals, visitors attraction, cultural and creative *production* stimulation, job creation, wealth growth and improvement of quality of life. The creative strategy embraces not only the built central village but also the whole surrounding area (the Óbidos municipality).

On the whole, the current strategy exhibits a shift from the previously existing exceptional focus upon tourism-related activities (cultural consumption-related discourse) to a broader approach envisaging strong emphasis on the concept of ‘creativity’ and *creative*

¹⁸ E.g., importance of EU strategic policy documents on C&C (“The Economy of Culture in Europe”, the “European Agenda for Culture in a Globalized World”, the “Green Paper for Creativity”, etc.) and the “European Year of Creativity and Innovation” rhetoric (2009) is emphasised, as well as of the CCL discourses in other regions (e.g., CIs agenda in UK and its strategic document ‘Creative Britain’, etc.).

production more specifically, with ‘innovation’, ‘CrCl’, ‘CIs’ being among its core concepts. Apart from focus upon ‘creativity’-related discourse, the strategy also retained culture-oriented priorities (such as provision of rich cultural agenda, cultural tourism development, respective place-branding activities, etc.). Largely due to the refinement of the strategy during the participation in the URBACT project, its adjustment to the specificities of a smaller town (or a low density territory) is particularly remarkable.

The strategy significantly relies on an elaborate conceptual foundation – the so-called ‘*creative ecosystem*’ model. The concept, elaborated by the Portuguese think tank on spatial development INTELI, generally presents “an environment of excellence focused on creativity” (INTELI2011b, URBACT2008). The model relies upon three interconnected elements: ‘*creative people*’ (CrCl and entrepreneurs), ‘*creative places*’ (creative districts and spaces) and ‘*creative economy*’ (CIs and clusters), thus embracing both the consumption and production dimensions – in their complex supported by specific creativity-oriented policies.

The various elements of the ‘creative ecosystem’, as well as other constituents of the local CCL approach are deemed to be addressed in complex, and the strategy does not explicitly separate such different elements, which makes it difficult to discern and categorise them upon a general overview. However, detailed analysis of the local strategy has allowed to relate its various elements to different discursive categories, and thus present and analyse them in a systematic way, tracing links to the theoretical context, which will be further done.

5.4. Óbidos approach to CCL development.

The Óbidos approach to CCLLD may be looked upon from the perspective that differentiates between the two discursive lines – those of ‘culture – creativity’ and ‘consumption – production’. The currently pursued approach in Óbidos exhibits features that may be related to each element of these two lines, and although the evolutionary perspective is not applied to the analysis, the study of the case has allowed to emphasise some features of gradual discursive shifts over time.

The current local approach may be considered to be positioned at the intersection of the discourses on ‘**culture**’ and ‘**creativity**’, since both elements are at the heart of the local strategy (even though the first impression might be that the locality puts exceptional focus upon the ‘creativity’ dimension, which stems from the rhetoric of the strategic documents and the key concept of the ‘creative ecosystem’ as such). As shown, the strategy started its formation in the conditions of an exceptional practical emphasis upon the *cultural* dimension, wherein the capitalisation on local cultural resources was inscribed into the cultural tourism development logic. Thus, the discourse on ‘culture’ in the local context has long been associated with the awareness of its economic value, ‘culture’ being understood as an important *economic resource*, wherein “the exploitation of heritage for economic gains” (Scott 2004,p.463) has been one of key lines of local actions. The concept of ‘culture’ has long been associated with local endogenous cultural resources, such association still largely prevalent today. Gradually, a new discourse – that on ‘creativity’ – started to be integrated into the strategy. It finally complemented the local discourse and even took the central position in the local policy rhetoric, however, not substituting the cultural dimension, neither in the policy discourse nor in practice, but rather *extending* it. Today, despite the focus of policy rhetoric upon the ‘creativity’ notion, ‘culture’ is a crucial dimension, cultural phenomena as such and ‘culture’-induced forms of ‘creativity’ playing an essential role in the local context. Such factors as that the “central role and perfect integration of culture” within the ‘Óbidos Criativa’ strategy is emphasised by policy documents (e.g.,URBACT2011), investment in culture is considerable (14% of the total municipal budget compared to less than 5% of the central state budget (ibid)), the current economic structure shows that Óbidos can still be largely characterised as a visitor economy, wherein culture plays the primary role, and other factors are illustrative of the pivotal role of the

cultural dimension in the LD, both in terms of actual status and policy priorities. This dimension is of relevance in both the ‘consumption’ and ‘production’ terms – with the previously existing focus upon the cultural assets-based attraction and consumption being retained, at a later stage the efforts to stimulate culture-related creativity induced an increase in the cultural production activities.

In its turn, the discourse on ‘creativity’ in the local context in both policy narrative and practical activities is broadly understood and can be associated with several dimensions. One relates more directly to ‘culture’ and presupposes active resource deployment, envisaging creative capitalisation on the existing cultural resources or new forms of the cultural offering consumption. Examples include Experience Museums (local history-related), events in creative ways capitalising upon the local history and identity (Medieval Fair, Óbidos Christmas Village, etc.), ‘CT’ development-related initiatives, and other initiatives associated with the posed goal of transforming Óbidos from a ‘museum town’ in its traditional understanding into “a place to be experienced” (INTELI2011a), with the focus upon the ‘creative’ element. Another dimension primarily associates with the knowledge economy and notions such as ‘technological innovation’/‘new technologies’. This category of ‘creativity’-related narratives is essentially inscribed into the discourse on ‘CIs’, actively cultivated and promoted in the local context, where ‘creativity’ is seen an important characteristic of local production. Moreover, the ‘creativity’ concept is closely associated with the ‘CrCI’ discourse, one among those at the heart of the local CCL approach. It is possible to argue that the discourse relating to the former dimension was first to emerge and develop in the local context, while the latter dimensions evolved later (mainly in relation to the emerging CIs agenda). Other dimensions of the ‘creativity’ concept will be shown further (e.g., related to ‘creative education’).

The analysis has shown that today, the local approach to CCLLD combines both the CCL ***consumption and production*** dimensions, although it has not always been characterised by such combination. Thus, the initially prevailing discourse, as shown, was related to the tourist attraction and thus *consumption* aspect, wherein the focus of local actions was put on the cultural offer provision, general enhancement of the town’s attractiveness for tourists and, later, place-branding activities. Later, the approach turned towards the inclusion of some C&C *production*-oriented measures, recently focus upon the CCL ‘production’ becoming one of the leading themes in the local agenda. Some policy documents refer to this trend as a shift from cultural consumption to CCL production (INTELI2011a). However, the analysis allows to affirm that the embarkment by the local approach on the production dimension has been not a substitution but rather an extension, as it has been in the other discursive line. Attraction of external actors to the locality is still deemed crucial, while the economic base has started to change its profile, since the embarkment on the ‘cultural production’ and ‘CIs’ phenomena has contributed to its gradual diversification. The locality also counts on the presence of both place-bound (production of culture-related ‘experiences’, some forms of tangible and intangible cultural production) and footloose (mainly CIs-related) forms of CCL production, which also accounts for the relevance of both the consumption and production-oriented discourses in the local context.

Thereby, both the ‘culture’ – ‘creativity’ and ‘consumption’ – ‘production’ discursive lines are present in the Óbidos CCL approach to LD, which is seen in both the stated policy priorities and actual activities. The range of the contexts in which they are employed in the local policies is substantially wide, which will be shown further.

5.4.1. Cultural consumption.

The predominant *discourse* here still relates to the overarching ‘*cultural tourism*’ notion, which is one of the core elements of the local economy, with significant growth rates, and an essential line of local policies. The associated discourses mainly relate to the notions of ‘cultural

and historic heritage’/‘cultural offering’/‘events and festivities’ (‘event-based tourism’), as well as ‘place-promotion/marketing/branding’.

The *practical measures* in this domain are related to the dominant discourses and thus policy priorities of the strategy. They involve the following elements.

1. Heritage tourism development.

Important focus of local policies is put upon the preservation, maintenance and promotion of the town’s built heritage resources, which are among the major attraction factors. The historic core of recognised heritage value (with a set of historical, religious monuments and traditional architecture houses of different periods and styles) is the central element in this respect, and the local strategy emphasises the importance of capitalisation on the tourism-related potential that it offers in the context of LD.

2. Culture-related events organisation.

Although the embarkment on a rich cultural events agenda has been a result of a deliberate local decision, the events programme has been evolving over time, the main goal being increasing the attractiveness of the town for external actors. Today events are organised through the whole year and attract considerable amount of people. The Opera Festival, June Contemporary Art Month, Baroque May Music Festival, Harpsichord Season, International Piano Week, Theatre Festival, Medieval Fair historic animation event, Óbidos Christmas Village, Holy Week traditional celebrations, as well as a number of music concerts and exhibitions by various artists are parts of the rich local event agenda. The organisation of such events and the related support activities are reported to serve an important factor for stimulating the generation of the associated activities in a number of artistic fields (Selada et al.2011/2012, URBACT2011; Interviewee 1), that further contribute to the consolidation of the local cultural offering and thus stimulate cultural consumption.

Policy focus upon ‘event-based tourism’ is a feature that has also been noted as being important in a number of other studied cases. In this regard, the event attendance is deemed beneficial for the local economy through visitors’ spending directly and indirectly related to the events activities.

3. Cultural institutions and networks.

The local strategy also considers important the diversification of other types of the local cultural offering. Main practical measures are associated with further development of the local network of museums and galleries and other cultural facilities and infrastructures (including the promotion of the existing ones, creation of new, etc.). The existing network includes, inter alia, the Municipal Museum of Óbidos, Parish Museum, Abílio Matos e Silva Museum with two contemporary art galleries (Casa do Pelourinho Gallery and Nova Ogiva Gallery), Interior Design Centre, Casa do Arco exhibition space, the Municipal Auditorium Casa da Música, Casa das Rainhas (Óbidos Story Centre), São Tiago Bookshop, a number of other exhibition spaces and cultural facilities being under construction. Apart from these built amenities, the town possesses a strong cultural offer in forms such as dance, theatre, music, painting, sculpture (related or not to the large events). In the context of the LD strategy, such cultural provision is deemed significant primarily not in terms of the access to cultural artefacts by the local population (the ‘welfare’ function of culture), but mainly in terms of the enhancement of Óbidos’ attractiveness for various categories of people, which is expected to increase visitors inflows and thus stimulate the local economy (understanding of culture as an ‘economic asset’) (INTELI2011a).

4. Place-promotion/marketing/branding activities.

Place-promoting activities are seen an important factor contributing to the enhancement of the town’s image and recognisability. Being put at the core of the first comprehensive development strategy for the town, prioritising tourism development, place-marketing activities currently pursue broader goals. Today they not only intend to promote the town’s cultural assets to reach potential new visitors. They also generally promote the ‘Óbidos Criativa’ brand that is

intended to serve a peculiar ‘quality mark’ of the town’s various developmental dimensions – stretching from the rich cultural agenda to the favourable conditions for carrying out business in creative branches to the general quality of life in the town, relying on cultural, natural, built and symbolic amenities, – thus seeking to attract a wider range of people stretching beyond merely the tourists target group. Such marketing is nevertheless also important for further deployment of cultural consumption-oriented activities.

Generally, it is possible to deduce that the nature of the ‘cultural consumption’-oriented element of the Óbidos CCL approach is quite kindred with the nature of approaches pursued by the other analysed cases related to this category, similarities being found in both the prevailing discourses and the associated policy measures. Thus, the ‘*cultural tourism*’ discourse similarly turns out to be the cornerstone, or the overarching one, while the associated discourses (‘cultural offering’/‘cultural facilities’/‘event-based tourism’, etc.) embrace the phenomena also found to be of importance in most of the studied cases. The concepts of ‘cultural heritage’, ‘heritage tourism’ and ‘heritage preservation/maintenance’ are also of relevance in the local context, as in several other analysed cases, due to the presence of tangible cultural heritage. Cultural resources similarly serve a crucial *attraction* factor, wherein the inflow of tourists entails the consumption of the cultural offering, which in its turn contributes to the local economy. Cultural assets are seen important factors for place identity affirmation and image enhancement, *place-promoting/marketing/branding* activities playing particular role in enhancing their visibility. Such similarities may be explained by the fact that potential alternatives to the capitalisation on ‘cultural tourism’, and thus to the associated practical activities, are not numerous and are normally confined to a standard list of measures (heritage-related offering/events organisation/etc.).

On the other hand, the *specificity* of the Óbidos case as compared to the other analysed cases is that the components of the ‘cultural tourism’ offering are relatively more diverse, since the locality capitalises on both *tangible* cultural assets (mainly related to built heritage) and *intangible* culture-related forms (rich cultural events programme). The two offerings are often interrelated: e.g., built heritage is used as a venue for a number of culture-related events (the Medieval Fair and Christmas Festival held within the castle walls; June for Arts held within the built heritage setting – old buildings/churches/squares) or other types of cultural activities (e.g., arts exhibitions) are held in buildings classified historical heritage. Such diversity of cultural offering may be partially explained by the initial conditions – namely, endowment of the place with considerable tangible cultural resources, which allows to base a wide range of activities on their presence and attractive power (which was not feasible for all the other studied cases). The focus put upon intangible forms of cultural offering in Óbidos considerably relates to the deliberately taken decision to enhance the town’s image by organising (and promoting) various events – contrasted to the way the type of intangible cultural offering was being defined over time in places such as, e.g., Wexford or Ravello, following a long cultural tradition. Another difference is seen in the fact that while in most studied cases, putting emphasis upon events organisation, the number of events is generally “correlated” with the city size¹⁹, or only one event serves the major landmark (Spoleto/Glastonbury), Óbidos (where the factors of scale and population size should be taken into account) pursues a very rich cultural events agenda with around 10 festivals organised throughout the year, which testifies to the ambitiousness of the local strategy and partly to the significance of the capacities involved and/or available. Only the Ravello case may be relatively commensurable with the Óbidos one, but taking into account the reliance of the Ravello strategy exclusively upon the cultural consumption-oriented approach, the ambitiousness of the Óbidos approach is still remarkable.

¹⁹ e.g., Dubrovnik’s or Ávila’s broad festivals programme, less “ambitious” events programme in smaller towns

Overall, the Óbidos case is distinguished from the other analysed cases in a number of ways, the general logic behind the set of discourses and policies in this category being largely common.

5.4.2. Cultural production.

This dimension in the Óbidos case manifests itself in two main forms.

The *tangible* form is associated with the existence of some activities related to crafts – the relevant discourse thus being that of ‘traditional production’/‘craftsmanship’, and the practical measures being aimed at keeping such traditional production “alive”. However, the crafts activities in the town have a relatively limited scope and are predominantly related to tourism, since the objects produced are mainly those that have a “souvenir” character (pottery items/towels/decorative tiles) and are instantly consumed by visitors. Such production is thus predominantly place-bound (products not being exported and being consumed within the local territory) and appears as a phenomenon “accompanying” the tourism-oriented activities. The production dimension here is highly interrelated with the consumption one. Moreover, the scope of such activities does not allow to consider it as a self-sufficient contributor to the local economy, also taking into account that often the craft production does not pass the whole cycle within the local territory, since some elements (raw materials/components/etc.) come from outside the locality. In this case, the discourse on a ‘local/industrial production system’/‘traditional cultural cluster’ or ‘cultural/industrial district’ is substantially absent in the local context, which discerns the Óbidos case from most of the studied cases and also marks it out in the light of the theoretical discussion. The similarity with most cases however consists in that the production is predominantly place-bound, and production and consumption dimensions are largely interconnected, traditional cultural production not being a self-sustaining contributor to the local economy, relying on the (tourist) attraction element and the immediate consumption of products within the local territory. The status of such activity within the local economy here, similarly to many studied cases, might be associated with a peculiar “tribute” to the local tradition.

In its *intangible* form, cultural production is mainly associated with the ‘artistic creation’-related discourse and practical measures, concerning primarily the activities accompanying the staging of events and generally those accompanying the visitors-oriented cultural offering. Such artistic creation²⁰ is similarly characterised by strong interlinkages with the attraction/consumption dimension, since the intangible “products” of such creation are essentially place-bound and are consumed within the local territory, being an important factor of attraction of external visitors to the locality. The interconnection of the production and consumption dimension here is a feature defining the similarity of the Óbidos case with the case of an intangible cultural production studied within the web-survey, wherein such interconnection has proved to be the strongest. This also complies with the theoretical discussion marking that place-bound types of cultural production have direct association with the consumption-related discourse.

It should also be noted that some elements of cultural production have recently shifted into the CIs category, whereas the ‘cultural’ dimension of creation has been increasingly interlinked with the commercial one, the concepts of ‘creative entrepreneurship’ and ‘cultural and creative industries’ playing particular role (to be shown further).

Overall, certain features of LD exhibit presence of elements that may be related to the ‘cultural production’ category, both in tangible and intangible forms. The local activities inscribed into this category exhibit similarities with most other studied cases in that the cultural production model on its own is not pursued in isolation from elements of other approaches, the cultural production and attraction/consumption dimensions being highly interrelated. The

²⁰ related to the areas of music, acting, dancing, painting, scenography (URBACT2011)

tangible form of local cultural production is similarly associated with the ‘craft’ notion. However, the specificities of the local production process discern the case from the other ones in that the discourses on a ‘traditional cultural cluster/‘industrial production system’/‘cultural/industrial district’ are essentially irrelevant in the local context.

5.4.3. *Creative consumption.*

The elements of this category have been found in two major dimensions. The first one relates to the ‘creative’ element of the offering developed for attracting people to the territory, and the other one – predominantly to the ‘CrCI’ discourse.

Such two dimensions within the ‘creative consumption’ category logic generally have been apparent in both the theoretical framework itself and the ‘web-survey’ results, however, in most cases being substantially *blended*. Notably, in the Óbidos case it appeared possible to differentiate them more clearly.

The *first* dimension relates to ‘creative’ forms of capitalising on the existing resources (cultural or not) in order to increase the attractiveness of place for different types of external actors (stretching from tourists to new residents and creative professionals). The discourse here relates to ‘active resource deployment’ or creation of new forms, which help enhance the ‘*experiences*’ of consumers – consonant with the goal of transforming Óbidos from a traditional ‘museum town’ into “a place to be *experienced*” (INTELI2011a), wherein the ‘creative’ element is crucial. The policy objective of “promoting *creative attractiveness*” of the locality, mixing “the medieval citadel with a creative town” (ibid) and “combining heritage and innovation” (Óbidos2009) is particularly relevant in this context.

In practical terms, it manifests in measures partially associated with the EE discourse and generally the notion of ‘experiences’. The opening of the so-called “Experience Museums” (Peninsular War, the Story Centre ‘House of Queens’²¹), organisation of events-accompanying activities that in creative ways capitalise upon the local identity and allow visitors to “engage” (Medieval Fair, or International Chocolate Festival²²), “edutainment”-related initiatives (Chocolate Factory and Museum combining entertainment and education functions (URBACT2008)), mega-events, or other similar initiatives are examples of ‘creative consumption’-related actions in this category.

Currently developed initiatives in relation to tourism forms other than traditional ‘cultural tourism’ (resorts/golf/equestrian/rural and particularly ‘creative’ tourism) are another feature in this respect. ‘CT’ development-related activities are specifically prominent: the associated discourse is recently emerging (Santos 2012; URBACT2008). The “Creative Breaks” project is one of the initiatives in this field, aiming at enhancing synergies between tourism and CIs activities (in the fields of art/design/architecture/etc.), introducing ‘learning’ and ‘participative’ element into local touristic activities, and turning Óbidos into a ‘CT’ destination (Santos 2012).

The *second* dimension is particularly associated with the ‘CrCI’ discourse and theory – the one among those at the heart of the local CCL approach.

The local discourse here is associated with the ‘people-oriented’ approach to CCLLD, wherein focus is put upon the human factor, the attraction of creative professionals, potentially able to contribute to the local economy, being at the heart of policy initiatives. Herewith, emphasis is explicitly put on the ‘CrCI’ and the attraction and retention-oriented measures. Thus, local policy documents and statements affirm that apart from developing policies attracting and meeting the needs of economic sectors and *companies*, it is necessary to “concentrate on the

²¹ offering visitors more “interactive” ways of getting to know the local history

²² where people engage in ‘experience’-based activities, e.g. related to chocolate-making (Faria 2009a)

needs of *people*”, making particular emphasis upon the attraction of the CrCl (creative professionals and entrepreneurs), to live and work in Óbidos (LAP 2011; Faria 2009), by providing favourable environment and facilities (Selada et al.2011/2012; Interview 1). Such focus is explained by the economic potential this category of people is believed to bear (in terms of creative capacities/power of initiative/etc. (LAP 2011)). Such attraction, in both discursive and policy terms, is associated with two main dimensions.

One of them relates mainly to *non-economic* factors – creation of framework conditions/general “*atmosphere*” attractive to the CrCl. It may relate to diverse factors, such as rich cultural offer, ‘quality of life’ and ‘quality of place’ (presence of various natural/symbolic/built amenities), outdoor facilities, etc. In this context, particular focus in the local context is being put upon the development of “a new generation” of tourist and golf resorts and outdoor facilities in the surrounding area²³. Also, it is of importance that ‘*cultural consumption*’-related measures (aimed at cultural offer development) are not oriented exclusively at tourists, but also play a significant role in the CrCl attraction, since the quality and diversity of cultural offering is deemed a crucial attraction factor. Here the ‘*cultural consumption*’ discourse is thus closely associated with the ‘*creative consumption*’ one.

The other dimension relates to more “*tangible*”, or economic, factors: development of a range of *facilities, infrastructures* and *services*, oriented at creative professionals and entrepreneurs, as well as focus on “*space*”, attractive and “*interesting for creative people*” (LAP 2011). Focus on *space* is manifested in the development of various types of creative ‘*places*’ and ‘*spaces*’, such as ateliers/studios/co-working spaces/live-work houses, deemed important for creative people to carry out their activities. E.g., development of the so-called “*Creative Housing*” is among local anchor projects for the attraction of talent, wherein “*flexible spaces to live and work, erected through the regeneration of derelict and disabled buildings*” for artists, designers and other types of creative professionals (INTELI2011; Faria 2009a; CSES 2010) are created. A “*new generation of facilities to creative entrepreneurs*”, as well as a dedicated financial and advising support package (URBACT2011; INTELI2011a; Interview 1) are also among pursued measures.

Overall, the complex of measures within this dimension is aimed at creating favourable environment and conditions for attracting and retaining creative talent, through various means, related or not to culture.

In the light of the *theoretical discussion* and the ‘*web-survey*’ results, the following should be noted.

First, the two dimensions of the ‘*creative consumption*’ category are apparent in the Óbidos case, one relating to the ‘*creativity*’ in attracting various types of individuals to the territory, the other one associated with the ‘*CrCl*’ discourse. Such clear delineation, however, was not present in most of the studied cases, the two dimensions being largely merged (the attraction of the CrCl being in most cases addressed through the EE development prism). The Óbidos case, per contra, has exhibited their quite “*traceable*” delineation, with the ‘*CrCl*’ discourse generally being one of the cornerstone discourses in the local context.

The first dimension, in both Óbidos and other cases, relates to ‘*creativity-led*’ enhancement of territory attractiveness for different categories of people, which is inscribed into the general theoretical discussion. However, if in most studied cases the EE discourse prevails, the Óbidos one does not explicitly prioritise the EE development. Some EE-related measures are indeed present in Óbidos (such as focus on ‘*creative*’ ways of capitalising on the existing heritage, or on the provision of ‘*experiences*’), but many important features of the EE discourse

²³ among them, Bom Sucesso Resort, Royal Óbidos Golf Resort, Praia D’el Rei Resort and Open Air Cinema, offering a range of leisure services, Equestrian Tourism farms, Rei Cortiço Beach

(e.g., focus on ‘flagship’ structures/projects) are absent. Unlike most of the cases, Óbidos has exhibited recent (although embryonic) prioritisation of the ‘CT’-related measures.

The second dimension proved to be more significantly pronounced and prioritised in Óbidos (unlike in most of the studied cases). This dimension is generally inscribed into the theoretical discussion on ‘CrCI’, with focus upon the attraction and retention of creative people by a wide variety of means. The scope of such means is a characteristic discerning Óbidos from the other studied cases: the Óbidos approach is broad and concerns various domains, aiming at generating “an attractive and liveable environment” (Selada et al.2012) for talents to come, stay, live and work. It is intended to attract and (notably) retain CrCI not just by relying on the provision of culture, leisure and entertainment-related and ‘experience’ offering, but also through the creation of favourable economic conditions, specifically oriented at the *working environment* – provision of the necessary spaces/facilities/infrastructures, financial support for creative entrepreneurs, etc. Such attraction factors also aim to ensure that the attracted talents *stay* in the locality and continue working there. This relates to the fact that ‘people-oriented’ attraction measures are highly interrelated with ‘business-oriented’ support policies (provision of facilities for companies), with the ‘creative production’ dimension. Thereby, the ‘CrCI’ and ‘business’ perspectives are largely blended in the local context, which is the case’s peculiarity.

Finally, an important feature characterising the Óbidos approach is that, being largely influenced by the general ‘CrCI’ discourse, implying that creative talent is attracted to places characterised by diversity/vibrant cultural life/density and critical mass in terms of economic and cultural activities, the locality has significantly adapted such discourse to the specificities of a ‘*smaller town*’, as discussed in the theoretical part. Thus, apart from commonly recognised attraction factors for the CrCI, the town has particularly prioritised those that relate to the so-called ‘*amenities*’ – various characteristics defining the ‘quality of life’ and ‘quality of place’, deemed particularly important in the context of smaller cities, since it is these amenities that the CrCI often appears to seek (incl.Interviews 1/2). Óbidos valorises its endogenous resources-associated cultural, historical, natural, symbolic, built amenities, emphasising them as a *differentiating* factor of the place attracting the CrCI.

5.4.4. Creative production.

Within the ‘creative ecosystem’ model, at the heart of the local strategy, the ‘creative economy’ is one of the cornerstone elements. It relates to ‘CIs’ and ‘clusters’, wherein ‘creative business’ is understood “as a result of the entrepreneurial spirit of *creative talents* and *clustering phenomenon*” (INTELI2011a), links with the ‘creative consumption’ dimension (CrCI) thus being emphasised. Despite the importance of these links, the production dimension as such can be distinguished and is discussed here.

The current discourse is in practice associated with pursuing policies aimed at creating favourable conditions for the emergence and development of CIs, in a number of sectors²⁴.

Historically, a significant impulse for the CIs development in the local context has been given by the activities supporting the cultural events organisation and entertainment provision and by the creation of dedicated artistic and technical teams²⁵, also stimulating various areas embracing creativity²⁶. Such initial impulse was complemented by furthering interlinkages between the cultural and commercial domains, the notion of ‘creative entrepreneurship’ gaining particular importance. The “Óbidos Charter” document proclaims that the town assumes “the

²⁴ among the most prominent ones currently in the local context, one may note architecture, design, arts, digital technologies, web-design&multimedia (Selada et al.2012; Pinho 2011)

²⁵ particularly in the areas of music/design/sculpture/painting/acting/entertainment

²⁶ content production/multimedia/marketing&advertising/graphic design (INTELI2011; URBACT2011)

concept of *creative entrepreneurship* as a key element for creativity policies that promote not only cultural consumption, but *especially production*” (Óbidos 2009). The policy priority of fostering the CIs development relates not only to the goal of stimulating “new emergent clusters in CIs”, but also using ‘creativity’ to “re-think some mature local industries” to give them new growth impulses (INTELI2011a; URBACT2011; Faria 2009a; Interview 2).

The *practical measures* relevant in this context relate principally to the creation of a favourable business environment – by providing “adequate infrastructures” (Óbidos 2009) and other types of creative business-oriented facilities and services, in both tangible and intangible forms.

The *tangible* form concerns the provision of physical *facilities* and *infrastructures*, creative workspaces and start-up *spaces* for creative companies. One of them is the *Technology Park*, developed by the local agency Óbidos Requalifica, in cooperation with other companies, business associations and educational institutions, specifically oriented to sectors linked to the creative economy. It provides a range of facilities and infrastructures for creative companies, including equipment for collective use, service and support activities, auditorium, restaurants, green areas, etc., and offers material advantages (tax incentives/micro-credit). The park is noted to be important for the attraction to Óbidos of creative companies and emergence of start-ups. It has also initiated networking with universities²⁷ in order to stimulate the R&D component through innovation centres (Faria 2009a; URBACT2008; Selada et al. 2012).

Another example is the *ABC-Óbidos*, a non-profit incubator developed within a technological park structure. Opened in 2009, it hosts creative businesses in a converted convent, assisting the creation of companies and their development during the first years of growth. Currently it integrates more than ten companies in the areas of web-design&multimedia/IT services/fashion design/ jewellery/editing&publishing (Pinho 2011; Selada et al. 2012).

Other relevant infrastructures include the Interior Design Centre – Maria José Salavisa, a space for small exhibitions and the development of Design Projects, or the Cinema Village project under construction (aiming at providing working conditions for the movie industry and technically equipped studios). Some other facilities are currently planned/refined for the future, among them: EPIC – Space for Innovation and Creativity; Creative Spaces of Rua Nova; Digital made, supporting creative-based and digital businesses; Fab Lab, as an instrument for the materialisation of ideas for local creative people and companies (LAP 2011; URBACT2011).

The *intangible* form of support for creative companies is primarily associated with risk capital and sponsorship provision, and ‘Óbidos Tax Free’ for creative activities (an integrated package of tax benefits for local creative enterprises) (LAP2011, INTELI 2010/2011).

The CIs discourse in the local context is also closely associated with the discourse on ‘creative cluster’, in both the policy rhetoric and actual developments. Thus, ‘creative cluster’ is a notion closely related to the ‘creative ecosystem’ concept (though interpreted very broadly, as embracing both the consumption and production dimensions). The pattern of CIs development in the local context is significantly inscribed into the ‘creative cluster’ logic, since presupposes a grouping of CIs firms and complementing activities concentrated in spatial and relational terms.

The specificity of the ‘CIs’ and ‘creative clusters’-related discourse in the Óbidos case is that the links between the business- and people-oriented dimensions are very strong. Attraction and retaining of CrCI and provision of favourable conditions for their work, as well as support to creative companies, are deemed equally essential for developing the creative economy (Interviewee 1; URBACT2011, INTELI2011a).

Peculiar characteristics of the local ‘creative production’ dimension also relate to the specificity of the local production milieu of Óbidos as a *small town* compared to the conditions potentially existing in bigger cities. Thus, the interview with a representative of the municipal authority responsible for the creative strategy implementation (Interviewee 1) elucidated that the

²⁷ Universidade de Coimbra, Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, Instituto Politécnico de Leiria

local production milieu has such favourable conditions as, inter alia, “*flexibility*” that it offers (openness to new developments/tailored approach to addressing the needs of businesses/flexibility of relevant formal regulations), favourable conditions for *co-working* for individuals and businesses due to the *proximity* benefits (as compared to larger cities, where companies often work “in isolation” from each other).

Overall, the features of the ‘creative production’ dimension in the Óbidos case are largely inscribed into the relevant theoretical discussion and considerably consonant with the ‘web-survey’ results. In theoretical terms, the local discourse is associated with that on the ‘creative production milieu’, where analytical emphasis is put predominantly on the *production* dimension, specifically ‘CIs’ and creative companies as contributors to LD – the approach thus being essentially ‘*business-oriented*’. The predominantly footloose form of CCL production is also of relevance in this respect. In the light of the ‘web-survey’ results, the Óbidos case exhibits substantial similarities in that the main discourse and practical measures are associated with the support to CIs emergence and development – the *production* side-oriented support. It similarly relates to two categories of actions – those providing supportive *physical* infrastructure or relating to ‘*soft*’ forms of support. Association of the CIs discourse with that on the ‘*cluster*’ development is also traceable, where proximity among actors in the CIs is deemed important. Withal, the main peculiarity of the Óbidos case is apparent in the close interlinkage between the business- and people-oriented dimensions, in both discursive and policy terms.

5.4.5. Synergies between the discursive categories.

As the local documents show, the strategy has been formed in an ambition “to link tourism and cultural (and creative) consumption to cultural (and creative) production” (INTELI2010; LAP2011), thus linking together all the four dimensions.

Such interconnection is apparent in the nature of the strategy, policy priorities and practical measures pursued, as well as in the ‘creative ecosystem’ concept at the heart of the local CCL approach. The locality recognises the importance of “generating synergies beyond a simple sum of projects” between the various dimensions (URBACT2011; Interviews 1/2/3).

The interlinkages between the four categories, as partly shown, are manifested in the following aspects.

The ‘cultural consumption’ dimension is closely interlinked with the ‘creative consumption’ one. First, the (tourist-oriented) provision of cultural offering serves also an important factor for the CrCI attraction, rich cultural offer thus seen in the context of not only attracting tourists, but also making the town attractive for creative talents. Secondly, many ‘creative consumption’-related activities (related to ‘experiences’ creation/‘creative’ resource deployment) have an anchorage in cultural phenomena, associated with the ‘cultural consumption’-oriented discourse (creative events/experience museums/etc.).

Moreover, cultural production and consumption-related developments (e.g., events organisation) have largely informed the CIs development, since support activities for the cultural events and entertainment provision have stimulated a number of areas embracing creativity. The town itself sees “culture and cultural life” (including events and cultural agenda) as “key framework conditions for addressing the creative city” (INTELI2011a), the cultural dimension thus being emphasised as an essential basis for the creative economy development.

In addition, the production and consumption dimensions are inextricably interlinked in the ‘cultural production’ category, due to the mostly ‘place-bound’ production type.

Finally, the creative consumption and production dimensions evolve in close interrelation. Development of a creative economy is unimaginable without the combination of two elements – people (particularly CrCI) and companies (particularly in CIs), the policy measures being directed towards both dimensions, which thus accounts for the combination of the ‘business-oriented’ and ‘people-oriented’ approaches in the local discourse and actions. The

attraction of talent through the improvement of the town's qualities and provision of favourable conditions for their work is seen crucial for stimulating creative business, which, also requiring dedicated (production side-oriented) supports policies, further attracts creative talents and companies.

The synergies are also apparent in the '*creative ecosystem*' concept largely informing the local strategy (proposed by INTELI as a conceptual model for stimulating a creative economy in a low density urban area). Its core elements – people (creative talent and entrepreneurs), economy (CIs), and space/place (ranging in scales from creative-oriented facilities to creative districts and the creative city) imply the significance of the different dimensions, both people/business-, consumption/production-related. Dedicated policies are also seen a crucial element for the system's development, being "at the crossroads" between various domains (including industrial and SMEs policies, cultural policies, urban planning, etc.) (URBACT 2008/2011; also on the basis of Interviews).

The different elements and the associated policy measures (targeting "culture, cultural facilities and events agenda"/"tourism"/"built heritage"/"natural environment"/"creative entrepreneurs and talented people: attraction & retaining"/ "CIs and CrCI-oriented facilities and infrastructures"/"support measures for creative entrepreneurs"/"branding and communicating the creative place", as well as "creative education environment") are intended to be addressed *in complex* (URBACT2008; INTELI2010/2011;Interviews), which allows to deduce the priority given to the respective synergies. C&C and "innovation" appear interrelated. Focus is put on the combination of endogenous amenities and "new competitive factors" (INTELI2011; Santos 2012), capitalisation on the local cultural assets (keeping "traditions and the symbolic and immaterial capital of the town, linking heritage, knowledge and innovation" (Selada et al.2012)), to give impetus to 'creativity'-related development.

An important aspect should be emphasised here. Apart from pursuing goals and policies generally inscribed in the logic of the four discursive categories, one dimension deemed crucial in the local context stands out – the **education** aspect, considered by the locality one of the cornerstone dimensions for stimulating the creative economy development.

Thus, the case is discerned by the fact that, apart from putting focus upon the attraction and retention of creative talents from outside the territory, it recognises crucial importance of breeding its *own* talents – developing "talents that are hidden in those who live in this municipality" (Faria 2009) (which, taking into account the scale/size aspect appears particularly notable). This is a feature distinguishing the case from most of the other studied cases (and the CrCI theory as such), which prioritise the in-migration of creative talent.

Innovative education policies are seen an engine factor for the local creative ecosystem development. According to the representative of the education department of the municipality (Interview 3), they have been put at the basis of the implementation of the 'Óbidos Criativa' strategy, the essence being building a "creativity-friendly local education system" (INTELI2011). Two dimensions are of importance here.

The first one relates to the whole network of educational institutions in the locality and the surrounding area²⁸, the intention being to increase the relevant synergies.

The other one puts emphasis upon the development of a creative local education system, principally at primary and secondary levels. By *promoting creativity in education*, it is intended to launch a virtuous circle of creativity at all levels, spanning higher education and further

²⁸ the already existing specialised education institutions and training centres comprise, inter alia, Tourism and Hotel School of the West – Óbidos, Óbidos School of Advanced Studies of Tourism, Pontinha Food Training Centre, Art and Design School of Caldas da Rainha (5 km from Óbidos)

business activities. Here, there has been large investment²⁹ in the construction of new well-equipped school complexes, and the introduction of new courses and projects into the school curricula³⁰, based on concepts linked to creative and open-minded education (Interview 3; Selada et al.2012). The “discover your talent” project³¹, the Creative Factory project³², the “my idea – my solution” project³³, the “Music 100%” and “Think Colourful” projects, among others, are practical manifestations of the efforts to stimulate creative education, wherein children are not only encouraged to generate and discuss interesting ideas but also to receive support for their realisation (Interviewee 3; URBACT2008). The initiatives planned for the future envisage strengthening links along the line “creative primary&secondary education – university education – business” (Interviewee 3), thus stimulating the full creativity-related cycle.

In this respect, it is apparent that the concept of ‘creativity’ is understood broadly in the local context and is seen a crucial element in relation to the development of various domains, not only the CCL consumption and production ones, but also those related to the *social sphere*. Bringing creativity into the social policies domain (Faria 2009a), particularly with regard to education, is seen crucial for pursuing the local creative strategy. The vision of the town (Interviewee 3) is that education is one of the core and initial dimensions at the heart of LD (“start”), which, through C&C (“in the middle”) contributes to economic growth (“end”, understood as the goal).

Overall, the analysis has shown that the synergies among the different discursive and practical elements belonging to various categories of CCL approaches are significant. ‘Creativity’ may be considered a pervasive concept, embracing both the consumption and production dimensions, also being increasingly integrated into other societal domains, and often being anchored in the cultural dimension (although stretching beyond it).

The local approach may be considered rather comprehensive, particularly compared to the other studied cases. The INTELI (2011) study similarly relates the Óbidos approach to the “integrated” category of its “typology of creative-based strategies”, its CCL strategy encompassing a broad variety of domains (including cultural, economic, social, entrepreneurial, physical). With regards to the categorisation elaborated in the current work, the Óbidos approach may be characterised as one combining “*creative/cultural consumption and production with creative education*” – the essential observation resulting from the analysis and also confirmed by the wording used by the INTELI (2011) study, demonstrating that apart from relying on the elements inscribed into the four adopted categories, the local approach comprises an additional dimension related to the social sphere. The interviews with the representatives of the municipal authority have also confirmed these finding. It has been elucidated that the measures are taken “in package” (Interviewee 1), focus upon one particular dimension (culture or creativity, consumption or production) being surpassed, which allows to address all the elements together (Interviews 1/2/3). According to Interviewee 1, the town “wants them all”, and “connecting all the dots” is crucial for the development to progress efficiently.

²⁹ mainly through “Escolas d’Óbidos” programme, launched in 2008, formally as part of the local creative strategy

³⁰ particularly aiming at developing competences related to ‘creativity’ and ‘entrepreneurship’

³¹ providing cultural training, complementary to school programme

³² where students have a chance to generate, exchange innovative ideas and make them realise

³³ giving students a chance to make their creative ideas be materially realised

5.5. Closing remarks.

It is possible to discern in the local approach to CCLLD elements related to all the four categories of approaches, elaborated in the work, in both discursive and practical terms, which is a peculiarity of the case, distinguishing it from all the other studied cases and making it quite unique. The analysis has shown that the elements belonging to various categories are essentially interlinked and in practice are sought to be addressed in complex. The ‘creative ecosystem’ concept, at the heart of the local strategy, is particularly illustrative of a high degree of complexity of the local approach and the interdependence of its constituents. The cultural and creative, consumption and production-related dimensions, business and people-oriented approaches, find themselves closely interrelated.

The concept of ‘creativity’ is understood broadly in the local context, being a pervasive notion for addressing various LD dimensions. The specificity of the case (as compared to the other cases) is that the ‘creativity’ concept is seen an important element in relation not only to CCL consumption and production-associated dynamics, but also to the *social sphere* (particularly with regards to education).

In this respect, a peculiar characteristic of the Óbidos approach is its adaptation of the ‘CrCl’ theory’s essential ideas to the specificities of the locality. Thus, recognising the crucial importance of creative professionals for the dynamic development of a creative economy, Óbidos puts focus not only on the attraction of creative talents from outside the territory, but also on breeding its own talents, primarily through the development of a “creative educational environment”, as well as on creating favourable conditions for their work (in terms of physical and ‘soft’ support measures). Also, taking into account the scale aspect, Óbidos, apart from commonly recognised attraction factors for the CrCl, has particularly prioritised those that relate to ‘amenities’ (‘quality of life’ & ‘quality of place’-defining factors), recognised to be specifically important for the CrCl attraction and retention in smaller localities. A number of other features, showing peculiarities of a CCL approach in the context of a smaller town, have also been identified (such as flexibility of local activities, favourable conditions for co-working of individuals and businesses due to the proximity benefits, etc.).

A number of factors proved to be influential for the formation of the current strategy, among them, historical, institutional, discursive, economic, etc. The strategy formation has been essentially driven by an ambition to make ‘creativity’ (and, as shown, ‘culture’) the driving force for LD.

The case of Óbidos has demonstrated that C&C can be put at the core of a comprehensive/integrated LD strategy of a smaller city. Although analysing the impact of the implementation of the pursued strategy upon LD has not been envisaged by the work, the results of the analysis may be of value for demonstrating the scope of opportunities potentially available for smaller towns in embarking on C&C in their development trajectories. Óbidos emphasises that in formulating its CCL approach it sought for a model “alternative” (LAP 2011) to those pursued by most big cities, and notes that “being small makes you think bigger” (LAP 2011; Interviewee 1). In this sense, the analysis, showing how the elements of the different models are manifested in practice and interact in the context of a smaller town, what practical measures can be taken to manage such a complex system in such conditions, might be of inspiration for other smaller cities.

6. General conclusions.

Overall, seeking to address the overarching research question – *how do smaller cities use C&C as a tool for local economic development?* – the work has shown that a wide variety of approaches are employed. It has been revealed that the general discourse on C&C in the context of LD is extremely broad, covering a variety of aspects relating to places' ability to capitalise upon C&C. The different associated discourses, in theoretical terms, proved to exist mostly at the level of general *concepts* or *narratives*, and only in few cases – *conceptual theories*, virtually with the absence of *theories* (in a strict sense) underpinning the discussion on C&C. This overall makes the C&C-related discourse considerably complex, non-structured and to some extent “vague”. Such analytical/conceptual vagueness might be partially associated with the considerable vagueness of the basic notions/phenomena of C&C as such. Notably, it might also mean that the possibilities for interpretation of these notions and the associated discourses in the policy context are extremely broad, which thus accounts for the complexity of real-life approaches to CCLLD. This observation, *inter alia*, conditioned the necessity to “search” for different relevant “pieces” of the general discourse along various discursive lines in order to form a more comprehensive view on the role of C&C in LD.

By “collecting” different “pieces” of the general discourse through a literature review, it appeared feasible to build the discussion in a more structured way (by this addressing the research question “*How can different theories/discourses on the role of C&C in territorial development be systematised?*”), in two dimensions:

- upon discerning *two major discursive lines* (differentiating between ‘culture–creativity’ and ‘consumption–production’);

- upon combining these lines and studying the discourses at their *intersection*, this way elaborating a peculiar *typology*, comprising four categories (“ideal types”).

One may argue that such categorisation is to a certain extent “flawed” by the conceptual “vagueness” of the mere notions, or that other criteria might be applied for undertaking the relevant differentiation. Withal, it should be taken into account that any kind of conceptual categorisation implies considerable simplification of reality for analytical purposes. The work has shown one of possible ways of making such a categorisation, while other ways can indeed exist.

The literature review elucidated the fact that, in theoretical terms, the relative “popularity” of different discourses has been gradually *shifting over time*, the main trend being a shift from the discourse on ‘culture’ to that on ‘creativity’, and from CC-related ‘consumption’ to ‘production’. Withal, the empirical analysis has demonstrated that in reality it might not be necessarily the case. It has revealed that, currently, more places pursue *consumption*-related approaches, and *culture*-related consumption&production ones. This might possibly imply that the theoretically-identified discursive shift over time does not find general reflection in reality. Withal, it might relate to at least two factors:

- The theoretical discourse is “geographically-neutral”; in reality, it is possible that the cited discursive shift has actually been prominent in the context of *bigger* cities, not largely affecting smaller ones (which might possibly be more “conservative”/resistant to changes).

- Embarking upon *consumption*-related approaches can naturally envisage more focus upon branding/marketing element (due to close association with the attraction dimension and ambition to enhance the place visibility, as contrasted to production-related approaches) – which, due to the search methods employed, might account for the higher representation of consumption-related approaches in the analysis.

Also, different concepts have often been presented in a historical perspective, while the empirical analysis generally demonstrated that almost all of the concepts discussed theoretically can be found within *current* approaches to CCLLD of various places. It might be assumed then that their over-time evolution does not lead to complete disappearance of some and absolute prevalence of others among policy-makers, the matter of fashion still possibly playing a role

though. Overall, there are potentially many ways of interpreting the resulting representation of the different discourses, the current analysis not allowing to make definite qualified conclusions in this respect. Other methodological approaches and analysis types would be necessary for conceiving discursive shifts over time.

Generally, in search of answers to the interrelated research questions “*What are the major policy implications in each category of CCL approaches?*” and “*What are the CCL approaches pursued in practice?*”, it has been revealed that in practical terms, discourses dominating actual policy initiatives in each category are considerably consonant with the discourses and policy implications identified as relating to each category in theoretical terms. Withal, some differences have been identified.

- In the cultural consumption-related category – as empirical analysis has demonstrated, major policy focus is put upon ‘cultural tourism’-related activities and the associated ‘place-marketing/promotion’, focus upon some other concepts (‘art city’/‘high culture cluster’/‘high culture local system’), elucidated as important in the theoretical discussion, being largely absent. This might relate to the fact that the latter concepts are more prominent in the context of bigger cities, where relatively more significant concentrations of (high)art heritage are located and capitalised upon.

- In the cultural production category, the empirical analysis has revealed the predominance of ‘crafts’-associated policy discourse, while discourse on ‘cultural (arts) districts/clusters’, identified as being important in theoretical terms, is not present in all cases, which might suggest larger importance of disdistrictisation/clusterisation in the context of bigger cities. Another important difference is that if the importance of a footloose production type has been highlighted in theoretical terms, the empirical analysis has revealed predominance of the place-bound type and thus strength of links with the consumption dimension. This might relate to a less significant cultural production-related export potential of smaller cities.

- In the creative consumption category, the EE-related policy discourse has been revealed to prevail in practice, while the theoretically-identified discourses on ‘CT’/‘creative city’ or ‘CrCI’ have been of minor importance. While minor prominence of the ‘CrCI’-associated discourse might relate to the discussed ‘metropolitan bias’ inherent in the perspective, it might be assumed that ‘creative city’-related policy initiatives may be more relevant in the context of bigger cities, and ‘CT’-related ones, due to the relative novelty of the concept, are not widely spread in practice yet.

- In the creative production category – the CIs policy discourse prevailed in practice, the theoretically-identified discourse on ‘creative clusters/districts’ being of less prominence, which might relate to actually greater importance of agglomeration-related processes in places of bigger scale. Withal, while the theoretical discussion shows that lately the CIs-related discourse has been increasingly proliferating, not many examples of smaller cities relying on CIs development have been identified, which might possibly mean the discourse’s higher prominence in bigger cities.

Overall, if in the theoretical discussion different policy discourses are covered more evenly, in reality some practically-pursued discourses prevail, while others receive substantially less attention in smaller cities’ policies.

The analysis has also shown that most of CC-related discourses/theories seem to be quite “geographically-neutral”. The ‘CrCI’ perspective appeared to be the only one characterised by an inherent ‘*metropolitan bias*’, which was confirmed at the empirical level: many smaller cities proved to apply the elements of this discourse in a specific way. The main features of other discourses appeared to be more “consonant” in practical and theoretical terms. This, however, should not exclude the possibility of potentially broad interpretation of the various discourses/notions in different policy contexts, especially those not covered by the analysis – suggested by the complexity and “vagueness” of most concepts.

Interestingly, it proved to be feasible to relate all (but one) cases to one of the categories, by discerning elements of the discursive type *predominant* in the local context. Withal, *interlinkages* between the prevailing type and elements of other ones have been found to be present, or even strong, in many cases, being particularly prominent in the following aspects:

- close interlinkage with the consumption dimension in the case of place-bound CC production;

- close links of the cultural production dimension with consumption *in practice*; which allows to assume that, in the context of smaller cities, preservation of traditional production activities serves a strong attraction factor, and benefit stemming from immediate consumption of related products is larger than that from potential exports;

- frequent association of the creative consumption dimension with cultural consumption, due to the attractiveness of cultural resources for CrCl and anchorage of many ‘creative consumption’-related activities in cultural phenomena.

All this suggests that while discussing “ideal types” or applying them to the empirical analysis, it is necessary to be aware that in reality there will always be certain kinds of interlinkages between different categories, not evolving in isolation from each other.

Such interlinkages have also proved to be significant in the locality pursuing a CCL approach combining elements of all the categories (case study), which partially addressed the research question “*How do the different approaches interact within the CCL policy of one town?*”. In such case the interlinkages between elements of different categories have been discovered to follow lines similar to those in theoretical/discursive terms or in other real-life cases. The only clear specificity of the case study has been the strong interlinkage between the creative consumption and production dimensions, and thus the mix between the ‘business-oriented’-‘people-oriented’ approaches, in the local discourse and policies. Since in other cases these two dimensions proved to be largely separated, and theory also makes a clear differentiation between them, one may assume that while the interactions between elements of some discourses are inherent and commonly-encountered, those between others may take place only under special circumstances.

Opportunities for smaller cities in capitalising upon C&C have generally been discovered to be diverse: they may rely predominantly on one approach or explicitly combine elements of several. Nevertheless, since most of the places exhibited propensity towards one particular approach, one may assume that in reality combination of several is not deemed feasible or desirable, probably due to the scale/capacities matter. Withal, an interesting feature revealed is that a *city’s size* (within the ‘smaller cities’ category though) does not directly relate to a larger/lesser diversity of approaches pursued. Óbidos, with only 3300 inhabitants, combines elements of all four, while Lappeenranta (73000 inhabitants) embarks predominantly on one.

Another observation resulting from the analysis is that, in many cases, in order to conceive the real nature of the local approach, one should look *beyond* the mere *policy rhetoric*, which may sometimes put focus upon factors/concepts/“labels” that *in the actual local policies/activities* are less relevant/important than some others. In the Óbidos case, the clear focus of policy rhetoric upon the ‘*creativity*’ concept may create an impression that the local strategy is exclusively ‘creativity’-oriented; withal, a more detailed analysis of the local strategy and its elements allows to understand that the dimension of ‘culture’ is virtually as important as that of ‘creativity’. This may show that sometimes localities “*label*” their activities with concepts following certain *fashion* in the relevant discourses, without trying to conceive them in actual theoretical terms. This shows the importance of going beyond the mere policy rhetoric/“labels” prevailing in the local context while studying local CCL approaches. It indeed might be difficult to see all the dimensions of a particular approach and how it functions in reality, but less “superficial” analysis of available material is essential.

Also, the analysis has suggested that prevalence of particular type of CCL approaches in localities might be partially associated with *national specificities*. Prevalence of the EE-related discourse in Danish cities, underpinned by the studies stating that this discourse has lately been increasingly prominent in Denmark, suggests that it might be important to take into account/study national specificities with regards to CCL policies to receive better understanding of the specificities of approaches pursued in places.

Moreover, the analysis has revealed that importance of *endogenous cultural resources* is in practice particularly prominent in the context of cultural consumption-related approaches (and partially, cultural production). In other cases, their absence does not disadvantage localities, often opening horizons for elaborating/applying innovative ways of attracting people or producing CC-related offer, such places more probably pursuing creativity-related approaches. Withal, examples of places embarking upon cultural activities in the absence of endogenous cultural resources have also been revealed, which thus shows that both C&C-based activities may sometimes evolve in the conditions when endowed cultural assets are largely absent.

More general considerations resulting from the analysis might relate to various aspects.

Inter alia, one may consider the interlinkages between the theoretical/conceptual and policy dimensions. *On the one hand*, theories and general discourses at the conceptual level may be conceived as *describing* reality – comprehending the actual processes and structuring our knowledge on their dynamics. In this case, applicably to the current analysis, one may assume that places even should not be necessarily aware of the CC-related developments within their territory or conceive them in strict conceptual terms; CC-associated processes may evolve in a largely “uncontrolled” manner, in policy terms. In some other cases theories/discourses might describe CC-related activities pursued by a locality in a more “deliberate”/“conscious”/theoretically-informed manner, in any case the interrelation between theory and practice characterised here by the status of theory as a “descriptor” of reality. *On the other hand*, though, theories/general discourses may have a more “proactive role” – *exerting influence* upon actual CC-related developments in places, by informing/inspiring local approaches, offering new perspectives on ways of capitalising on C&C. Such discursive influence may also take place when localities are inspired/encouraged to act in specific ways by looking at other places. One may talk here about the importance of ‘economic imaginaries’ that dominate CC-related discourses and may potentially influence real-life CCL approaches. It is closely associated with certain *fashion* in CC-associated narratives/policies, changing over time, which may serve a considerable factor of CCLLD. Certain role of fashion has been noted in several instances in the analysis. The generally growing popularity of the ‘EE’ notion in the Danish context has largely influenced CCL strategies in a number of Danish cities; the increasing relevance of discourse on ‘creativity’ as a LD factor in the UK and EU context has exerted certain influence upon the formulation of the Óbidos creative strategy; the ‘CrCI’ proliferating discourse (supported by Florida’s visit) has influenced the Vejle CCL strategy. In this context, assuming the generally growing prominence, currently, of the ‘creativity’ discourse and the importance of *fashion* in influencing places’ CCL approaches, one may expect increasing homogeneity of approaches and practical methods around localities. A significant potential threat thus becomes apparent: such trend might overlook the importance of taking into account specificities of local conditions while elaborating ways of capitalising upon C&C. One may however argue that consideration of the local context is crucial for adopting a specific CCL approach. Many of the studied cases have demonstrated the importance of basing CC activities upon such consideration. In most of them, CCL approaches have been historically evolving, based on specific local conditions, and even in those places where embarkment on a particular approach has been more a result of a deliberate political decision (e.g., Óbidos/Kortrijk), such a decision appears to have been based on the consideration of local specificities. In this respect, even though the nature of the analysis and the perspective applied do not allow to deduce any kinds of *recommendations* oriented towards the behaviour of places with regards to capitalising

on C&C in LD, considerations resulting from the analysis suggest relevance of assuming that simple replication of approaches applied in one locality by others or “blind” following of “fashionable” discourses would unlikely be a wise policy option. Formulation of a specific approach would ideally consider local context and timing for embarking on one or another CC-related discourse. One may also argue that “fashion” in the CCLLD domain often emerges/evolves in the context of bigger cities, and thus taking into account specificities of smaller towns might appear important for defining and implementing local CCL approaches, in order to avoid simple replication of ‘metropolitan imaginaries’, and possibly experimenting with novel strategies.

One may also make certain suppositions regarding the different status of CCL activities in localities. As shown, such status differs significantly, from being highly institutionalised through fixation in dedicated strategies/visions to simply constituting a pursued activity. It can be assumed that the differences may partially reflect the attitude of local authorities towards CC-related activities. High degree of institutionalisation might imply that the authorities are well aware of the potential offered by C/C in LD, role of political will and deliberate actions, associated with steering/influencing the relevant developments, is significant, and the current status of CC-related activities may imply that the traditionally evolving CC-related dynamics have been deliberately institutionalised, or CC policies emerged in the absence of such tradition, as a result of a conscious political decision. Conversely, absence of such institutionalisation might mean that local authorities are not necessarily aware of the potential of C/C in LD or of ways of consciously capitalising upon it, or, even in the case of such awareness, a passive policy approach is pursued, wherein the CC-related activities evolve primarily due to a peculiar historically-conditioned tradition, and relevant policy actions do not deliberately target C/C aspects or, targeting them, do it in an uncoordinated way, lacking a comprehensive integrated approach/vision. These remarks offer some food for thoughts on the role of political will and conscious policy actions in unfolding the potential of C&C.

The associated aspect concerns the scope of policy options for pursuing CC-related activities. The analysis has allowed to discern between two distinct ways in which CC policies may be pursued. One relates to targeting a limited number of CC-related aspects, wherein policies are largely *focused*, directed towards particular elements and comprise a concrete set of measures. Such way, mostly associated with pursuit of one specific approach to CCLLD, envisages clear prioritisation and focus, and implies that CC-related policies are just one of elements of a complex set of local policies, which may not necessarily be substantially interrelated. Such “sectoral” approach may potentially hide a risk of overlooking essential interlinkages among the different elements of a complex local economic system, if it isolates C/C initiatives from other policies. Withal, another way associates with a more *integrated* policy, wherein the development of the whole local space is considered through the prism of CCL dynamics. C&C, put at the core of an integrated spatial vision/strategy, may in this case be interpreted in broader terms and embrace various domains of LD. One may assume that such option is potentially feasible mostly in the context of smaller cities, since the high complexity of bigger cities’ economic structure is less likely to make it possible to put C&C at the core of all urban development dimensions. One may also assume that such way of pursuing CC policies may require strong political leadership/determination. Overall, these deliberations demonstrate the scope of options for integrating C&C into LD policies.

Naturally, the work has left behind the scope of its analysis a number of important aspects and is characterised by a number of considerable *limitations*. Many of them are associated with the previously-described *methodological limitations*. One of the consequences is that on the basis of the resulting presentation and distribution of cases one cannot make definite conclusions on trends characterising the different categories, or their representativeness in geographical or numerical terms, or on a number of other important aspects. Some patterns can

be seen, but far-reaching deductions cannot be made. More studies or application of other research methods would be needed for addressing some of such limitations.

A related limitation is that places with *different status* of CCL activities have been studied, with the rationale behind the cases selection not being largely “homogeneous”, which might potentially weaken the analytical value. One of the related difficulties encountered in the process has been to elaborate a common rationale for establishing the importance of a CCL activity in the local context, which could be systematically applied to all the cases.

Also, a set of factors have contributed to a number of analytical limitations. Inter alia, lack of stringent CC-related theories, the mentioned vagueness of the mere C&C concepts and absence of a common point of view on how one can differentiate between them contributed to the limitations of the categorisation elaborated in the thesis – which can be related to a “*simplification of reality*” phenomenon. The resulting distribution of real-life cases in the relevant categories might also be conceptualised in these terms. Withal, as noted, such “simplification of reality” is an inherent feature of any analytical process, and in this case was deemed justified.

Moreover, since an evaluative, or evolutionary, or other potential perspectives have not been applied, many potentially interesting dimensions have been omitted from the analysis. However, this has been an initial intention – conditioned by the necessity to self-impose limits to the analysis scope.

In addition, only two general types of cases have been presented – those primarily relying upon one particular approach, and one – combining all. No “intermediate” cases have been shown, which potentially could demonstrate synergies among different approaches’ elements from other angles. Withal, other kinds of cases have not been identified, which made the Óbidos case quite unique, on the example of which different perspectives have been presented.

The analysis has allowed to identify a number of interesting and important dimensions in which the role of C&C in LD could be further studied – revealing what could be potentially crucial **further research** trajectories. The following considerations might be regarded as peculiar recommendations for praxis of carrying out further research.

Thus, a number of *different perspectives* could be applied to the analysis of ways in which places use C&C as a tool of LD, opening up new angles.

Inter alia, application of an *evolutionary perspective* could potentially reveal the trends characterising shifts of CCL discourses and policy priorities in various localities over specific time spans, which could widen our understanding of CC-related narratives in *dynamic* terms.

Application of an *evaluative perspective* could go beyond mere studying of places’ behaviour, seeking to conceive various kinds of impacts that the application of different types of CCL approaches engenders for various places.

Systematic application of a *causal perspective* could be one of analytical options, helping conceive the *reasons* underpinning the formulation/adoption/dominance of specific kinds of approaches in various localities. Application of such perspective could seek to analyse why certain concepts/narratives/discourses become prioritised and retained in the local context and integrated into local strategies, while other alternatives are excluded. Even though some studies of this kind seem to allocate significant role to the power of decision/political will/deliberate action in the context of CCL approaches formulation, it appears an interesting perspective able to bring in new insights into the topic.

Also, other types of cities could be a study object. With that, an interesting perspective might be adding a *comparative* element in the analysis, by studying peculiarities of applying various types of approaches in the context of *bigger* cities as compared to *smaller* ones. This could potentially demonstrate how the general discourses at the theoretical level are projected in reality in the context of smaller and bigger cities and thus allow to trace relevant similarities and differences.

Country-by-country, category-by-category, or discourse-by-discourse analysis might also be an interesting way of looking into the various aspects related to CCLLD.

Elaboration of *other possible categorisations* of CCL approaches in theoretical terms could potentially form new bases for analysis, allowing to study them from new angles. This could also depart from deliberating on other possible ways of understanding the mere concepts of C&C and delineating them, which could suggest new perspectives on studying CCL approaches.

Application of *other methodological approaches* could indeed be a promising trajectory. Options in this regard are quite broad. One could, e.g., base studies on a larger amount of case studies, thus carrying out more in-depth analyses; a broad survey could be not web-based, one of possible options being using a questionnaire survey sent out to a number of localities; addition of other languages to the cases search and data collection could identify and study more cases, etc.

Systematic identification and analysis of potentially-existing memberships of places pursuing CCL approaches in certain kinds of relevant *networks* could be important for identifying examples of possible policy-transfers.

Application of a *human* (social)-oriented perspective, or other types of perspectives stretching beyond the purely economic one, could also enrich the insights on the issue.

Also, a comparative analysis of *national or regional specificities* in pursuing various CCL approaches could render interesting insights into the spatial aspect of CCL discourses.

Overall, as shown, the topic of C&C in the context of local economic development is an extremely broad one, offering a wide variety of trajectories for further research. The fact that the agenda on the role of C&C in the context of smaller cities has just recently started to emerge makes it particularly topical to further investigate various aspects of CCL development in this category of localities, which, however, does not exclude other important research options.

It is hoped that the work managed to provide some meaningful and interesting insights in the exciting field of culture and creativity-led local development.

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<http://www.pt-obidos.com/> (Parque Tecnológico de Óbidos – Óbidos Technology Park)

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Official local documents retrieved from / available at the website of the Óbidos Municipality: <http://www.cm-obidos.pt/downloads/>

Inter alia:

Óbidos1. Parque Tecnológico de Óbidos, Regulamento de obras. (Regulation on the Óbidos Technology Park)

Óbidos2. Parque Tecnológico de Óbidos, Newsletter. (Óbidos Technology Park)

Óbidos3. Parque Tecnológico de Óbidos. Regulamento de concurso. (Óbidos Technology Park)

Óbidos4. Parque Tecnológico de Óbidos. Objectivos e Funcionamento. (Óbidos Technology Park. Objectives and Functioning)

Óbidos5. Regulamento Do Programa ABC – Apoio de Base à Criatividade. (Regulation on the ABC incubation centre).

Óbidos6. Agenda Cultural 2011. Óbidos Patrimonium, E.E.M.Cultural Agenda

Óbidos7. 2012. Programa Oficinas Criativas de Verão 2012. (Oficinas Criativas Programme)

Óbidos8. Revista – Maio Criativo – 2012. (Creative May)

Óbidos9. Regulamento do concurso nacional de ideias “Cidades Criativas, reflexão sobre o futuro das cidades Portuguesas”. 2007/2008. (Regulation on the national competition of ideas on “creative cities”)

The documents elaborated in the process of the town's participation in the URBACT Creative Clusters project retrieved from / available at the website: <http://urbact.eu/en/projects/innovation-creativity/creative-clusters/homepage/>

2.2. Web-survey

<https://www.dubrovnik.hr/>

<http://www.irmo.hr/hr/projekti/izrada-strategije-kulturnog-razvoja-grad-dubrovnika/>

(Making Strategy of cultural development of the city of **Dubrovnik**)

<http://www.comune.ravello.sa.it/>

<http://www.ravellofestival.com/>

<http://www.glastonburyfestivals.co.uk/history/> (**Glastonbury** Festivals. History)

<http://www.glastonbury.gov.uk/home.html>

<http://www.glastonbury.co.uk/pages/>

<http://www.glastonburyfestivals.co.uk/information/educational-resources/>

<http://www.glastonburyabbey.com/>

<http://kotor.me/me>

<http://www.expeditio.org/> (**kotor**) (Centre for Sustainable Spatial Development,

Montenegro)

<http://www.comunespoletto.gov.it/>

<http://www.festivaldispoletto.com/>

<http://www.jueterbog.de>

<http://www.kuldiga.lv/lv/>

<http://www.kuldiga.lv/lv/kultura>

<http://www.kuldiga.lv/lv/attistiba/projekti/uzsakti>

<http://www.avila.es/>

<http://www.avilaturismo.com/en/>

<http://www.lappeenranta.fi/>

<http://www.lappeenranta.fi/Suomeksi/Palvelut/Kulttuuri> (Cultural services)

<http://www.lappeenranta.fi/Suomeksi/Hallinto/Kaupunkiorganisaatio/Kulttuuritoimi>

(Cultural development - mission statement)

<http://www.wexford.ie/>

<http://www.wexford.ie/wex/>

<http://wexfordopera.com/>

<http://www.comune.faenza.ra.it/>

<http://www.micfaenza.org/it/> (Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche in Faenza (MIC))

<http://www.olot.cat>

<http://www.turismeolot.com/>

www.elartecristiano.com (**olot** crafts)

www.artcarre.com (**olot** crafts)

<http://www.miravet.altanet.org/>

<http://www.miravet.altanet.org/turisme/turismeceramica.php> (Ceràmica de Miravet)

<http://www.gencat.cat/> (**miravet**)

<http://terrisseriapedrola.com/> (**miravet** crafts)

<http://www.jordibalart.com/> (**miravet** crafts)

<http://www.labisbal.cat/>

<http://www.labisbal.cat/index.php?pagina=29> (Capital de la Ceràmica)

<http://www.visitlabisbal.cat/>

<http://www.visitlabisbal.cat/capital-ceramica.php?idioma=en> (La Bisbal Ceramics)

www.gencat.cat (**la bisbal**)

<http://www.ville-limoges.fr/>

<http://www.ville-limoges.fr/index.php/en/economy-a-employment/excellence-in-ceramics>

(Ceramics in Limoges)

<http://www.limoges-tourisme.com/fr>
<http://www.cremonacitta.it/>
<http://www.comune.cremona.it/>
<http://www.cr.camcom.it/> (Camera di commercio di Cremona)
<http://www.cremonamondomusica.it/> (Cremona Mondomusica)
<http://www.turismo.comune.cremona.it/>
www.unesco.org (<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/RL/00719>: Traditional violin craftsmanship in Cremona)
<http://www.tarrega.cat/>
<http://www.firatarrega.cat/> (Fira Tàrrega Festival)
www.uoc.edu (Universitat Oberta de Catalunya)
<http://frederikshavn.dk> (Frederikshavn Municipality)
<http://www.visitjoerring.dk/ln-int/north-jutland/history/days-tordenskiold> (Days of Tordenskiold Festival, Frederikshavn)
<http://www.visitfrederikshavn.dk> (Website presenting the rich cultural/leisure/entertainment offering of Frederikshavn)
<http://www.holstebro.dk/>
<http://www.visitholstebro.dk/holstebro/turist-i-holstebro> (Website presenting the cultural/leisure/entertainment offering of Holstebro)
<http://thanet.gov.uk/> (Margate)
<http://www.visitthanet.co.uk/> (Margate)
<http://www.turnercontemporary.org/> (Turner Contemporary, Margate)
<http://www.vejle.dk/>
<http://www.vejle.dk/page39032.aspx> (Culture and Leisure in Vejle)
<http://www.visitvejle.com/ln-int/denmark/vejle-tourist> (Website presenting the cultural/leisure/entertainment offering of Vejle)
<http://www.visitvejle.com/ln-int/vejle/art-and-architecture>
<http://www.randers.dk>
<http://www.visitranders.com/ln-int/randers/visitranders> (Website presenting the cultural/leisure/entertainment offering of Randers)
<http://workandlive.randers.dk>
<http://www.regnskoven.dk/> (Randers Rainforest)
<http://www.horsenskom.dk/>
<http://www.visithorsens.dk/horsens/din-guide-24-timer-i-doenet> (Website presenting the cultural/leisure/entertainment offering of Horsens)
<http://www.middelalderfestival.dk/> (Middle Age Days festival, Horsens)
<http://www.sthelens.gov.uk/> (St.Helens Council)
<http://www.sthelens.gov.uk/arts> (Creative St.Helens)
<http://www.sthelenschamber.com/> (St.Helens Chamber of Commerce)
<http://www.dreamsthelens.com/> (“Dream” Project, St.Helens)
<http://www.sitges.cat/>
<http://www.visitsitges.com>
<http://www.cm-paredes.pt>
<http://www.artonchairs.com/pt/index> (Art on Chairs evento internacional que promove o design e a criatividade contemporânea – Art on Chairs international event promoting contemporary design and creativity). Second edition realised in Paredes and Lisbon.
<https://www.barnsley.gov.uk/services/environment-and-planning/planning/local-development-framework-local-plan> (Repository of Local Development Documents, Barnsley)
<https://www.barnsley.gov.uk/>
<http://www.brchamber.co.uk/> (Barnsley and Rotherham Chamber of Commerce)
<http://www.barnsleydevelopmentagency.co.uk/> (Barnsley Development Agency)
<http://www.klagenfurt.at>

<http://www.kreativwirtschaft-klagenfurt.at/kreativwirtschaft> (A service portal of Klagenfurt am Wörthersee in Klagenfurt for the creative industries)

<http://www.kreativwirtschaft-klagenfurt.at/hafen11-coworking-space-klagenfurt/> (Hafen11 – CoWorking Space, Klagenfurt)

<http://www.kreativwirtschaft-klagenfurt.at/anlegestelle-coworking-space-2> (Anlegestelle - CoWorking Space #2, Klagenfurt)

<http://www.kortrijk.be/>

<http://www.interieur.be/> (Biennale Interieur design event, Kortrijk)

<http://www.designregio-kortrijk.be/> (DesignRegio Kortrijk)

<http://www.proudeurope.eu/> (PROUD project financed by Interreg IVB, with Kortrijk as a partner)

<http://democracy.scarborough.gov.uk> (Scarborough Borough Council; relevant local documents available at the website)

<http://www.scarborough.co.uk/>

www.woodendcreative.co.uk (Woodend facility for creative and digital businesses, Scarborough)

www.cipartnerships.co.uk (Creative Industries Centre, Scarborough)

Annexes

Annex 1. Cases covered by the 'Web-survey'.

A. Cultural consumption.

1. Dubrovnik (Croatia)

The city (about 43.000 people) possesses a comprehensive cultural infrastructure, a distinctive cultural image and rich cultural heritage, in economic terms largely relying on cultural tourism. The importance of cultural tourism and of the cultural sector more generally for the attraction of visitors to the locality and the local economic development is illustrated by various policy statements (e.g., those appearing at the official website of the city, the Mayor's speech, etc.), the economic profile of the city, as well as by the existing studies on the case (e.g., Žuvela 2007, Bušnja 2006, Vierda 1998).

The cultural infrastructure and cultural service sector of Dubrovnik are quite comprehensive (Žuvela 2007, Bušnja 2006). For instance, it has several public cultural institutions (Dubrovnik Symphony Orchestra, Marin Držić Theater, Dubrovnik Museums, Museum of Modern Art, Folklore Ensemble Lindo, Dubrovnik Libraries, Dubrovnik Cinemas), over 30 arts organisations that are active throughout the year, and 12 festivals (cultural events) taking place on an annual basis (Žuvela 2007). A relatively significant share of inhabitants is involved in the culture sector (e.g., more than 220 individuals are employed in the culture sector full time, while over 1000 – seasonally, 10% of inhabitants are involved as amateurs in work of a cultural institution and the city's arts organisations, etc.) (Žuvela 2007, Bušnja 2006). A considerable share of the overall City's budget is invested in culture (over 10%) (Bušnja 2006, Žuvela 2007).

Culture has been cited in policy statements and the Mayor's public interventions as "the city's comparative and competitive advantage", specifically in terms of the tourist industry development (Žuvela 2007). The City of Dubrovnik's official web page (<http://www.dubrovnik.hr>) refers to culture as "an item of heritage" and "an attractive accessory to the city's key development interest", as well as a crucial factor making Dubrovnik an attractive tourist destination (Žuvela 2007). This thus allows to deduce that the contribution of culture to LD is primarily associated with its role for the tourism industry growth due to its attraction qualities, mainly manifested in the cultural heritage elements. Tourism has been cited by the Mayor as being "Dubrovnik's main industry" (Bušnja 2006, Žuvela 2007), and its development is closely associated with the cultural heritage element and the place's distinctive cultural image.

In the City of Dubrovnik's Program of Public Needs in Culture for several years, according to Žuvela (2007), special priority was given to projects and programs which would enhance Dubrovnik's image as an attractive tourist centre throughout the whole year. The major objectives of the city's development and planning are targeted towards expanding facilities crucial for the tourist industry, and such elements as cultural events (festivals), cultural venues and facilities (museums, orchestras, etc.) are considered important "tourist consumer products" in this regard (Žuvela 2007).

Cultural heritage is considered the most crucial element in this sense, wherein its value is recognised "both in the sense of aesthetic and historical significance and as a resource for the tourist industry" (ibid). In this context, the inclusion of the Old City in the register of World Heritage in 1979 may be considered an important landmark, having had a positive influence upon the image enhancement of the city. Heritage restoration and protection, especially since then, have been evolving as an important activity in the city (Vierda 1998).

These factors allow to relate the case to the 'cultural consumption' category in terms of its approach to LD, taking into account the role attached to culture in the local context.

At the same time, despite the importance of the cultural sector for the local economy, a culture-led approach to LD has not been institutionalised. Culture has been incorporated into the LD priorities primarily *through* its association with tourism, but also not in institutionalised terms. Culture is still not included in any of the LD agendas, and by now the city's intervention in culture has been relying on "regular reactive actions" (Žuvela 2007), while a clear proactive strategy at this point is absent. At the same time, an "imperative need for a strategy for cultural development in the City of Dubrovnik" and for a plan of action that would "ensure a more active position for culture in the current local government's engagements" and position culture as "a leading means of development" in the local context have been recognised by a number of local actors (ibid). Since there have been no initiatives from the city itself for elaborating such a vision, the relevant initiative has been undertaken by an NGO – the Art Workshop Lazareti – an independent arts organisation, known for bringing contemporary trends in arts and culture to Dubrovnik (ibid). Trying to engage all relevant actors, it launched a series of debates in order to contribute to the formulation of a long term cultural strategy of the City of Dubrovnik, the project being undergoing.

Overall, the discourses that largely characterise policy priorities in the city and the prevailing narratives in the local context relate to the following concepts (as also illustrated by the relevant studies, e.g., Žuvela 2007, Bušnja 2006, Vierda 1998): 'cultural heritage', 'cultural tourism', 'culture as an attraction factor', 'image enhancement', 'tourist consumer products' and the kindred. Culture and, more specifically, cultural heritage, are regarded as the city's major comparative and competitive advantage, especially "for the tourist industry" (Žuvela 2007). In this context, the appreciation of culture, mainly through heritage, is associated primarily with its attraction power in terms of tourism development. The notions of 'culture' and 'tourism' are thus largely interlinked, and their combination is seen as an important driver of the local economy. This thus allows to relate the approach pursued by the city to the 'cultural consumption' category: in policy terms, focus on capitalising on the place's inherent cultural assets (cultural heritage) and using them as a strong attraction factor for external visitors (tourism development driver), attention given to initiatives aiming at enhancing the cultural offer of the city (cultural events, cultural facilities and venues, etc.), also serving as a means of the image enhancement (and thus a place promotion tool), as well as evolving activities in the field of the heritage restoration and protection are the factors that condition such a categorisation.

2. Ravello (Italy)

The small southern Italian town Ravello (approximately 2.500 people), situated on the Amalfi coast, is characterised by significant resource heterogeneity, wherein tangible and intangible cultural assets, as well as a picturesque landscape and attractive natural amenities are important features of the locality. Its *tangible* cultural assets are primarily associated with built heritage (such as valuable palaces, a Romanic church, villas, other historical sites) and natural assets (remarkable landscape), whereas the *intangible* capital is related to the town's long tradition of hospitality and rich events programme, where the Ravello Festival is particularly remarkable. Simeon and Buonincontri (2011) specifically mark out the importance of Ravello's links to its history, traditions, and culture and the uniqueness of its resources as important endowed factors which constitute the competitive advantage of Ravello and upon which the territory seeks to capitalise in economic terms.

The local economy mostly relies upon the cultural *tourism* sector development (since in its tourism system, the town is associated primarily with its cultural offer (Lorenzini 2011)) and organisation of *events* (as an integral part of the tourism promotion strategy). Therefore, tourism development and cultural activities are inseparably interconnected (Lorenzini 2011; Simeon&Buonincontri 2011; Ravello 2012), both as policy priorities and dominant activities pursued in the local context.

Among the important features of local culture-led development one may note the presence of an ‘Auditorium’ designed by Oscar Niemeyer, which constitutes a tourist attraction as such but also allows the programming of the cultural offer to be realised throughout the whole year (Lorenzini 2011), as well as the fact that the town hosts a school of arts and culture management and the European University Centre for Cultural Heritage, thanks to which the town’s distinct specialisation in cultural events management and associated services is proliferating in the region (ibid).

This specialisation in the organisation of cultural *events* is a crucial characteristic of the locality, which also accounts for the fact that Ravello is widely known as a ‘City of Music’. Cultural events are seen as factors helping to strengthen the local image, identity and attractiveness, and are utilised as an important territorial marketing tool. In this regard, in the context of Ravello one may talk about the importance of the so-called ‘*event-based tourism*’ - tourism focused on the creation of events, whereas events are seen as important factors of place differentiation and place promotion (Simeon&Buonincontri 2011).

The Ravello Festival of Performing Arts (known just as the ‘*Ravello Festival*’) is the most significant product of Ravello’s cultural offer (www.ravellofestival.com), used as the most powerful tool of territorial marketing and branding and serving the fundamental element of the Ravello “tourist destination product” (Simeon&Buonincontri 2011), being a successful example of event-based tourism. The Festival began in 1953. In 2002 the Ravello Foundation (Fondazione Ravello) was established in order to promote, coordinate, manage and improve the quality level of this event, as well as to enhance historical and artistic assets of the town and coordinate its cultural events more generally. The foundation has also established ‘Ravello Relais’, a network of national and international personalities that aim to protect the culture and identity of Ravello (ibid).

Among the most remarkable elements of the Festival, Simeon&Buonincontri (2011) name its theme, duration and sections. The Festival’s theme changes every year so that the event could be renewed, and the themes are developed every year in several forms (music, dance, cinema, design, visual arts, scientific and literary reflection). The duration of the festival has been increasingly extended, with the goal being to reach 365 days a year (e.g., the 2008 edition was the first to last 127 days, which allowed the festival to be considered the largest event of 2008 in Europe) (ibid). In a similar vein, the Festival has had an increasing number of sections and events every year (e.g., the 2008 edition realised 9 sections (symphonic music, chamber music, cinemusic, visual arts, training, trends, science and literature, special events, and dance) and 190 events (ibid; www.ravellofestival.com).

Simeon&Buonincontri (2011) see the Festival as an integrated supply system consisting of a number of activities (related to musical entertainment), but also products and services offered to visitors, being defined by the author as “a set of aesthetic and cultural factors of *attraction*” (p.392).

The Festival has adopted a consistent territorial marketing strategy, and generally seeks to maintain and strengthen its status as the main tool to promote the area and strengthen local identity, as well as a means of indirectly enhancing simultaneously all the cultural resources of the locality (ibid). The identity of the Ravello Festival is also characterised by existence of a particular brand, which is defined by such crucial elements as ‘personality’ (referring to its emotional and symbolic elements), ‘name’, ‘logos and symbols’ (ibid).

Due to the significance of the event for the attraction of visitors to the town and for local economy more generally, the event branding is thus inseparably connected with the overall place-branding and image enhancement.

On the whole, since the Ravello Festival is evidently the main attraction element and thus the key marketing tool for the locality, it can be considered one of the cornerstones of the local culture-led approach to territorial development.

In the Ravello case, this approach has been institutionalised, since the priority of capitalising on the plethora of local cultural resources and through this fostering the tourism sector advancement has been formalised by a distinct culture-based *strategy* of integrated LD (Simeon&Buonincontri 2011; Lorenzini 2011), generally consonant with the Ravello Festival strategic actions (Simeon&Buonincontri 2011), wherein the cultural attraction and consumption element is the cornerstone. In general terms, the strategy puts focus on the valorisation of culture-based goods and services linked to the local history or traditional local amenities (Lorenzini 2011) and on the development of the cultural and touristic sector (considered in a close interlinkage). The strategy aims to “improve the culture and economy of the territory affirming Ravello in the world as a ‘City of Music’, promoting the high-quality tourism market and improving job opportunities in the cultural industry”, as well as developing the town’s ability to attract more visitors and tourists (Simeon&Buonincontri 2011). The strategy is supported by public policies, such as the LD plan, PIT (integrated territorial project) ‘Ravello City of Music’ (2003) (wherein the PIT major purpose is to stimulate a quality cultural supply, “based on passion for music, territorial enhancement, and the desire to maintain links with tradition” (ibid)).

Overall, the good integration that exists between the culture and tourism development domains – more specifically, between cultural activities and the tourism service sector, and the fact that culture is seen and utilised as a crucial resource upon which the town capitalises and foresees to capitalise in the future, demonstrates that culture is seen as a key driver of local economic development. In the Ravello case its economic potential is primarily associated with its attraction power, which in its turn stimulates cultural consumption. The key elements of the strategy, and therefore of the overall discourse on the culture-led development in the local context thus relate to ‘cultural tourism’, ‘place-marketing’, ‘place-imaging’ (as a ‘City of Music’), ‘cultural assets’, ‘cultural events’, the notion of ‘event-based tourism’ being of particular prominence.

On the whole, three elements are discerned as crucial for pursuing the strategy: culture (specifically related to a number of historical sites, and generally resources linked to its history and traditions), cultural events (in the first instance the major event – Ravello Festival), and landscape and nature (due to a very picturesque coastal location of the town). Valorisation of cultural assets and tourism development are considered in a very close interlinkage (Lorenzini 2011; Ravello 2012), as constituting a specific cluster of activities. The image enhancement of the place is primarily associated with the strengthening of the town’s image as a ‘City of Music’ and of the cultural events programme more generally. A set of specific marketing and branding tools (thus making place marketing and branding particularly important activities in the local context) are important instruments of such image enhancement. The Ravello Festival is seen as the central element of the strategy and local actions and as the primary territorial marketing tool and attraction factor (Simeon&Buonincontri 2011; www.comune.ravello.sa.it). All these features demonstrate clear association of the approach adopted by the locality with the ‘cultural consumption’ model, wherein major discourses and policy measures and priorities are clearly related to the cultural attraction and consumption-oriented logic.

3. Glastonbury (England)

The analysis of the case has allowed to conclude that in its economic development the town (about 8.900 inhabitants) largely relies on two elements inscribed into the logic of the cultural consumption-oriented approach (even though such an approach is not institutionalised in terms of existence of a formal vision or strategy that would explicitly advocate the importance of a culture-led development model for the town): religious tourism and event-based tourism.

The first one, associated with the town’s status as an important centre for *religious tourism* and pilgrimage (as a peculiar form of cultural tourism), stems mainly from two sources. First, Glastonbury Abbey is one of the most important abbeys in England, in historical and

symbolic terms. Its ruins attract pilgrims and visitors from all over Western Europe, which makes a significant contribution to the local economy. Secondly, Glastonbury is notable for a number of myths and legends of a mystic religious nature, associated with such characters as Joseph of Arimathea, King Arthur (and the Holy Grail), that are also connected to the history of the Glastonbury Abbey. This explains the fact that, as Digance&Cusack (2002) put it, “contemporary literature on the quest for a magico-religious experience almost invariably refers to Glastonbury as a much sought after sacred destination” (p.263). At the same time, the town also offers tourist attractions of a more laic character, which accounts for its “double role – as a modern tourist town and as a pilgrimage centre” simultaneously. Serving a significant “spiritual magnet” (Molyneaux 1995, in Digance&Cusack 2002); “draw for pilgrims” (Digance&Cusack 2002), the place also offers a range of other tourist-oriented experiences, which makes it a considerable centre of mass tourism (ibid).

The second element relates to *event-based tourism*, since a significant factor of LD is the organisation of the Glastonbury Festival of Contemporary Performing Arts, which is held in the nearby village of Pilton and takes its name from the town. Having grown “from humble beginnings into one of the largest greenfield music and performing arts festivals in the world” (McKay 2000, in Flinn&Frew 2013,p.3), the Festival has largely contributed to the creation of a peculiar brand identity of Glastonbury (Flinn&Frew 2013). The festival is widely known for its iconic musical performances, although it features a wide range of other contemporary art forms including comedy, dance, theatre, circus, cabaret and others (Flinn&Frew 2013). The attendance of the event is quite significant (e.g., lately constituting around 150000 – 175000 people).

Since the reliance of these two phenomena on the *cultural* dimension is evident and the major benefit for the town stems from the *attraction* of external visitors to two categories of cultural sites (religious sites and a musical venue), the approach to LD in reality is partly associated with a cultural consumption-oriented model.

The relevant *discourses* in this context are inscribed in the logic of this model and relate to two major categories of notions. The first one is associated with ‘religious tourism’, ‘religious experience’, status/image as a ‘sacred destination’, ‘spiritual magnet’, ‘draw for pilgrims and tourists’, and stems from Glastonbury’s role as an important pilgrimage centre. The second one embraces notions of ‘event-based tourism’, ‘cultural event’, ‘festivity’, and derives from the importance of the Glastonbury Festival and its role in the creation of a peculiar brand identity (Flinn&Frew 2013) of Glastonbury in the domain of cultural events. The two dimensions may be considered important ‘activities’ in the local context, not being largely institutionalised in policy terms.

Overall, the considerable reliance of the local economy on these two elements of the cultural consumption-based model (e.g., Flinn&Frew (2013) referred to Glastonbury as “a modern cathedral of consumption” (p.1)) have allowed to include the case into the current analysis and present the relevant discourses as being illustrative of the cultural consumption logic.

4. Kotor (Montenegro)

The town of Kotor (around 13.500 inhabitants), whose main economic activity relates to the development of tourism, largely relies on its cultural resources in attracting visitors. Kotor has been related to by Naef (2011) as a town that “is emerging as one of the main tourist attractions of the country, and even of south-east Europe, attracting both tourists and investors” (p.48). Two main categories of its cultural resources may be discerned (Kotor 2012; Naef 2011; Kotor).

1. The first relates to its significant *tangible cultural heritage*. Kotor possess one of the best preserved medieval old towns in the Adriatic, enlisted as a UNESCO world heritage site. More generally, the region of Kotor and the adjacent Bay of Risan are also listed as protected cultural and natural heritage sites by UNESCO. The Municipality of Kotor is considered to

contain “40% of Montenegro’s cultural heritage, in terms of buildings” (including churches, under-water ruins, mosaics) (Kotor, July 2006, in Naef 2011), which makes it a major heritage attraction for the Montenegrin state (Naef 2011).

The UNESCO label is an important tool for achieving the town’s ambition to create a peculiar identity that would differentiate it from the rest of the country and its other tourist destinations by highlighting its particular cultural assets, and serves an important marketing instrument.

The heritage preservation and tourism promotion activities are thus largely interlinked, and the notions of ‘cultural / heritage tourism’ and ‘cultural heritage conservation’ are of importance in the local discourse.

2. The second element relates to the organisation of several *events*, which allows the town to draw also on event-based tourism in its economic development. The two most important and best known events are the Boka Night and the Summer Carnival; another significant event is a winter carnival honouring St. Tryphon, the patron saint of Kotor. The Boka Night (Bokeljska Noć) is the biggest summer event in the whole country, attracting around 30.000 people. Recognition of the great attraction power of this festival allows Naef (2011) to talk about a peculiar ‘Bokelian Identity’ that adds to the distinct identity of the town more generally.

Overall, many features of LD allow to relate the Kotor case to the category of cultural consumption-oriented localities. Cultural heritage is seen as a crucial resource for promoting tourism and “as something that is “consumed” by tourists” (Naef 2011, p.52). One of the major policy priorities in the local context is the creation of a distinct *identity* and building Kotor ‘as a unique cultural product’ (Podgorica, July 2006, in Naef 2011), drawing on its distinct cultural resources, and therefore place-marketing, place-branding and image enhancement activities are of particular importance. Achieving such “cultural distinction” and developing a peculiar identity that would differentiate it on the map of the Montenegrin tourist towns are seen as a crucial factor of local economic development (Naef 2011). The usage of the ‘UNESCO’ label is seen as serving one of central elements in the realisation of this ambition, helping to strengthen the image of the Kotor tourism ‘product’ as one possessing a strong cultural orientation (Naef 2011).

As for the *institutionalisation* of the importance of culture in the context of LD, even though elaboration of a Local Cultural Strategy of Kotor (<http://www.expeditio.org> – Centre for Sustainable Spatial Development, Montenegro) or adoption of a long term vision incorporating culture as the basic element (Podgorica, August 2006, in Naef 2011) are regarded important by some local actors, they are absent, the town not possessing a dedicated culture-based strategy or a long-term vision. At the same time, LD is largely driven by a set of documents that mention culture as an important developmental factor: the “Strategic Development Plan of the municipality of Kotor 2013-2017” (containing a section dedicated to the preservation of cultural and natural heritage) and the “Development programme for culture 2013-2017” (setting main directions of local cultural policies, including in the cultural tourism domain). The two documents are withal not merged into an integrated strategic vision placing a culture-led approach at the basis of LD.

Overall, the notions such as ‘cultural / heritage tourism’, ‘cultural heritage conservation and promotion’, ‘place-branding’ and ‘place-imaging’ are the ones that have a particular importance in the local context. The cultural heritage and tourism are inseparably connected categories. All this allows to relate the case to the category of localities possessing features of a cultural consumption-oriented model of LD.

5. Spoleto (Italy)

The tourism sector constitutes one of the major economic activities in Spoleto (around 38.000 inhabitants), the main tourist attraction factor being connected with its cultural offer, in the first instance the organisation of a particular event – Festival of the Two Worlds. The prevailing discourse in this regard is thus that of ‘cultural tourism’, and more specifically,

‘event-based tourism’. The town is one of the leading tourist centres of Umbria and is distinguished by the presence of considerable historical, artistic, cultural and natural assets.

Even though the Spoleto Festival appears the main attraction factor in the context of the tourism development for the locality, its organisation does not stand in isolation from the rest of the place’s rich cultural offer and its attraction power is intensified thanks to its synergies with other, tangible cultural forms. Thus, the Festival presents a unique example of an event blending its cultural activities with historical monuments, as the performances take place at the town’s historical sites (such as Roman theatres, Roman churches, medieval squares), this allowing to create unique synergies between the tangible and intangible cultural forms and enhance the value and attraction power of the cultural offer. Such an approach is part of the local ambition to recreate, promote and strengthen the interlinkages between culture, history and tourism, and is a way to valorise the historic and cultural heritage of the town (Formica&Uysal 1998; Spoleto 2001), at the same time using it as a basis for creating peculiar visitor experience (particularly for the Festival attendees) and thus capitalising on it in economic terms.

The Festival of the Two Worlds (Festival dei Due Mondi, www.festivaldispoleto.com) is, as noted, the cornerstone element of the local tourist development. It was founded in 1958 and now is held annually in late June-early July. Over time it has evolved into one of the most important cultural manifestations in Italy, featuring classical music, theatre and dance performances. It is attended by about 50000 people and involves more than 570 artists each year. Due to its mentioned links with the peculiar cultural resources of the locality, in their turn closely linked to the local history and historical heritage, it may be considered a ‘cultural-historical event’, incorporated into the local economic and cultural fabric. Apart from establishing links with the local cultural heritage, the Festival has also served an important factor encouraging local residents to reopen authentic medieval shops, which represent one of the characteristic symbols of the event (Formica&Uysal 1998).

Even though the town’s culture-related developments are not underpinned by an integrated culture-based strategy, the local government, according to OECD (2005), “has made great efforts to mobilise the region’s artistic resources as the basis for job creation” (p.80), wherein two broad approaches were adopted: the first involving the networking of the region’s museums, refurbishing existing ones and opening new ones; the second – seeking to maximise the spin-off effects of the Festival (OECD 2005) (the two priorities though being pursued separately).

Overall, in its economic development, the town, even in the absence of an integrated culture-based strategy or a single vision for cultural development, relies on a number of elements characteristic of the cultural consumption-oriented model, wherein the discourses on ‘cultural tourism’, ‘cultural event’, ‘event-based tourism’, ‘cultural heritage’ are of particular importance, and wherein tangible and, notably, intangible cultural forms are capitalised upon in pursuit of tourism development goals and, therefore, local economic development goals more generally.

6. Jüterbog (Germany)

In Jüterbog (about 12.100 inhabitants) cultural policy is closely linked to the revitalisation of historic town centre as a means of enhancing the place’s identity and overall image and thus attracting more visitors (stimulating tourism development). Since the town possesses remarkable and well preserved historic buildings and ensembles (Sonntag&Tenz 2005; www.jueterbog.de), the political and administrative strategies focus on its historic centre and the town’s *built* culture more generally, which are considered to be the most important elements in the current urban regeneration process and LD in general. Cultural policies are thus strongly oriented towards built culture and heritage maintenance, restoration and preservation, as well as promotion – activities seen as measures of the highest priority (Sonntag&Tenz 2005; Smidt-Jensen 2005). The key goal is the transformation of the town into a centre for *culture and tourism* (Sonntag&Tenz 2005), and in this context the protection of the historic area is believed

to serve the goals of strengthening the *place identity*, enhancing its *visibility* and attracting visitors and cultural tourists to the town. *Place-promoting* and *marketing* activities play an important role in pursuing such goals: as noted by Mr. Katterwe, Head of Culture Department of the City of Jüterbog, “today, marketing is a decisive factor” in the LD (in Smidt-Jensen 2005), especially in the context where Jüterbog aims to successfully bid for cultural tourism campaigns that are set up by regional bodies (ibid).

As noted by Sonntag&Tenz (2005) and Smidt-Jensen (2005), the town, in pursuing its preservation strategy, presents an example of project oriented development, since most financial resources are concentrated on one particular cultural project, which is seen central in serving the key goals. This project is associated with the renovation of the Franciscan Convent and Monks’ Church, as well as the related focus on the development of the Monchenkirche Cultural Centre – a complex bringing together various important institutions, such as a theatre-hall, concert halls, the local museum, meeting rooms, the town library, conference facilities, and local historical archives. By concentrating a number of such institutions in Monchenkirche, the town seeks to establish a cultural venue of wide-reaching importance and promote itself as an important cultural centre.

A dedicated association (“Friends of the Monks Church Cultural Quarter”) was founded to support the project and sustain the institution, as well as, more broadly, to stimulate cultural life in the city and increase the attractiveness of local cultural offerings. The association supports networks among local actors related to the Cultural Quarter, promotes its activities and organises cultural events.

Overall, the association of the town’s approach to LD with the cultural consumption-oriented model is explained by its focus on strengthening the *place identity* as a cultural centre and thus enhancing its *visibility*, primarily drawing on the attraction power of its built *heritage*, by pursuing built cultural *heritage preservation*, revitalisation and promotion activities, which also aim at stimulating *cultural tourism* development. These activities are seen as an important factor of local economic development, and, as noted by Smidt-Jensen (2005), the relationship between culture and economy in this respect is being fortified, in order to attract people to the town by capitalising on its cultural assets, *place-promoting* and *marketing* activities also playing important role in the local context (Sonntag&Tenz 2005; Smidt-Jensen 2005; www.jueterbog.de).

7. Kuldīga (Latvia)

The approach pursued by Kuldīga, an ancient town in western Latvia (approximately 13.000 inhabitants), is very alike with that of Jüterbog: major focus is put on the preservation and maintenance of the historic urban area (rich in built heritage) in order to strengthen local identity, improve the city image and attract more tourists, primarily cultural tourists. Place-promoting and marketing activities play an important role, the key notions in the local discourse relating to ‘cultural tourism’, ‘architecture and heritage preservation’, ‘place-promotion/marketing’, ‘image enhancement’.

Thus, Kuldīga possesses unique and well preserved architecture, and the approach to LD is thus very much associated with the capitalisation on this *tangible* cultural resource. In this context, main focus of local policies is put on the maintenance, restoration, preservation and promotion of the historic buildings and ensembles – the activities placed at the top of the municipal agenda (Sonntag&Tenz 2005; Smidt-Jensen 2005; Kuldīga). It is considered that the historic building stock in the inner city centre serves the major driver for urban development, due to its significant attraction power. Drawing on this resource, it is expected to attract more tourists to the locality, which is expected to revitalise the local economy (<http://www.kuldiga.lv/lv/>). And the preservation of the historic urban area is seen as the major tool for maintaining and strengthening the identity and image of the place and as an important instrument of marketing the town for visitors and cultural tourists. In this context, the town lays considerable expectations

on the success of its application for the historic area to be awarded the World Heritage Status by UNESCO, which the city has submitted, in the hope that it would stimulate the development of cultural tourism.

Other elements of a cultural consumption-oriented model are not present in the town (e.g., according to Smidt-Jensen (2005), there is a limited cultural offer), the major activities of the town thus being pointed predominantly towards the development and preservation of the built cultural heritage and place-promoting activities. As noted by Sonntag&Tenz (2005), such strategy generally corresponds to the cultural policy of Latvia in that it makes the preservation of the national cultural heritage a priority.

The features of the local approach to capitalising on cultural assets allow to relate it to the category of the cultural consumption model.

8. Ávila (Spain)

Generally, Ávila's (about 59.000 inhabitants) economy largely relies on the tourism sector, and activities are targeted towards the valorisation of the city's rich cultural heritage and the diversification of the cultural offer, primarily in order to stimulate cultural tourism. The dominant discourses defining its cultural policy relate to 'heritage preservation', its status as a 'Heritage City', 'cultural events', 'marketing, communication and promotion activities', transformation of its exceptional built heritage into a strong tourist resource seen the major determinant of the actions.

More specifically, Ávila, relying on its rich cultural resources, aims to increase its status as an important centre of cultural tourism in Spain. Tourism constitutes one of the cornerstones of its economy, the city possessing considerable historical and cultural resources, the fact that accounts for its status as a 'Heritage City' or a 'City to visit' (a rough translation from the Spanish 'ciudad de excursión'). In attracting tourists, it relies on various kinds of cultural offer (including museums, exhibitions, etc.), though primarily concentrating on its built heritage and the organisation of events.

The "tourism vocation" of the city has been developing over a long time, since the 20th century, and in 1985, following a further growth of tourism, Ávila was included in the list of World Heritage Cities (Brouard&Fernandez 2007). The ambition to transform its exceptional built heritage into a powerful tourist resource defined the consistent line of actions pursued by local authorities since 1999 – the adoption of the so-called 'Excellence Plan' (Plan de Excelencia), the major goals of which were the improvement and diversification of the tourist offer, relying on the cultural assets. Major activities pursued in accordance with the strategic goals of the Plan have been the restoration or upgrading of old buildings (e.g., their transformation into venues for cultural acts), the restoration of façades and the improvement of the downtown streets, the lightning of built heritage (e.g. the Cathedral and the ancient Walls), creation of special products related to the city's historical heritage (e.g., Storytelling and theatre performances on the Walls), improvement of the tourist signposts and of cultural infrastructures, as well as marketing, communication and promotion activities (Brouard&Fernandez 2007; Dumont 2007). Organisation of various *events* is also considered an important component of local activities (e.g., the "Medieval Market", "Arteávila", "Festival of Street Theatre and Circus Arts", "Ávila en tapas" (a gastronomic contest between bars and restaurants of the town), the "Ronda de Leyendas" (story-telling on the Walls), "Festival of the Ancient Book", etc.).

The strategic objectives currently pursued by the locality are still largely defined by the previously adopted Plan (even though an integrated strategy of culture-based development is absent). Overall, the tourism policies are integrated into the general policies of the local administration (Brouard&Fernandez 2007). A dedicated institution – Tourism Observatory – has been inaugurated in 2002 in order to monitor and evaluate the evolution of tourism in the city (AA.VV 2002).

On the whole, reliance of the city on important elements of the cultural consumption-oriented model (such as cultural tourism development and capitalisation on the cultural heritage in the economic interest) allow to include the case into the current analysis.

9. Lappeenranta (Finland)

Lappeenranta (about 73.000 inhabitants) relies on peculiar elements of a culture-based approach, distinguishing it from the previously presented cases: the city also prioritises economic capitalisation on cultural assets, however, not possessing built cultural heritage (a large and intact historic city centre area), it mainly focuses on the organisation of *events* and festivals and provision of certain cultural services (e.g., through local cultural facilities and museums) in order to enhance its image and attract visitors. Its natural amenities are also an important factor of attraction, however, in the recent process of redefining the focus of LD policies, cultural factors have been gaining increasing importance (Sonntag&Tenz 2005). The cultural marketing and event-oriented strategy, linked to tourism objectives, is thus at the core of the local approach to culture-led development and is expected to improve the image of the city and increase its attractiveness in touristic terms (Sonntag&Tenz 2005; Lappeenranta 2012).

Currently, major tourist attractions, apart from natural amenities, are the local cultural facilities and museums and a number of events, such as, e.g., ‘the Night of the Fortress’ (a two-day cultural festival held in August), ‘the Lappeenranta Ballet Gala’, the annual ‘Lappeenranta National Singing Contest’, etc. Today Lappeenranta is one of the most visited cities in Finland, although its touristic attractiveness is mostly associated with the summer season.

The local cultural strategy is seen as an integral part of the LD strategy that seeks to further promote Lappeenranta as an attractive place, wherein cultural factors are seen as a crucial resource (Sonntag&Tenz 2005; Lappeenranta 2012; <http://www.lappeenranta.fi>). According to Sonntag&Tenz (2005), the city lays considerable expectations on culture, as an identity-bearing element, in contributing to the city’s recognition as a cultural centre of the region of South Karelia and Finland.

Since the attraction of visitors to the locality, mainly through capitalisation on the resources of cultural nature, and the subsequent consumption of the cultural offer, is seen as an important factor of LD, the case may be related to the category of the cultural consumption approach.

10. Wexford (Ireland)

Generally, in its economic development Wexford (around 20.000 inhabitants) relies to a significant extent on cultural factors, wherein primary focus is put not on tangible forms (like built heritage) but predominantly on *intangible* cultural resources, associated with the town’s vibrant cultural life and cultural tradition.

Thus, Wexford possesses a vibrant cultural life and quite a rich cultural offer, mainly related to the fact that the city hosts a number of cultural events (such as exhibitions, theatre, music and dance events and festivals) and has a range of music and drama venues (e.g., Wexford Opera House, the Dun Mhuire Theatre, Wexford Arts Centre) for their realisation, being the home of many theatre groups and overall an important centre of attraction of visitors seeking cultural experiences.

The Wexford Opera Festival is one of the major attraction factors of the locality: it boasts considerable international prestige and is an important contributor to the local economy in terms of tourism-induced revenues, since the festival attracts a significant flow of foreign tourists to Wexford and to Ireland more generally (OECD 2005; Wexford 2010; <http://wexfordopera.com/>). The Wexford Opera Theatre, hosting the event, is considered to boost

the image of the festival, as well as, more broadly, enriching the cultural offer of the city (due to its multi-purpose use) (Wexford 2010).

The local *economic strategy* (“Positioning Wexford for the Upturn – Towards Sustainable Growth and Development”), drawn up with the engagement of local stakeholders, emphasises the importance of cultural factors for the development of the local economy. Thus, it marks out among the major ‘positive attributes’ of Wexford, inter alia, its rich culture and attractiveness of its tourism product, and the fact that the city is “steeped in tradition and culture”, wherein art, music and theatre are the main drivers of the local cultural life and important factor of the city’s development (Wexford 2010/2011). Main opportunities in terms of further economic development are largely associated with the enhancement of the city’s reputation as a “centre for cultural excellence” (mainly through further support to the cultural events that it holds), improvement of its image among cultural tourists, as well as generally the strengthening of linkages between culture, tourism and business interests (Wexford 2010; www.wexford.ie).

Overall, capitalisation by the city on intangible cultural aspects in the economic interest, by stimulating attraction of visitors to the locality and thus consumption of its cultural offering, is the feature defining the belonging of the case to the cultural consumption-oriented category in the context of the current work.

B. Cultural production.

1. Faenza (Italy)

Faenza (around 58.000 inhabitants) is an important centre of *ceramics* production – a traditional activity with a strong cultural element, due to its rootedness in the local history and identity.

The ceramics (notably, majolicas) production in Faenza rests upon a long historical tradition and continues to play “a leading role as an expression of *craftsmanship* and industry in the local *culture and economy*” even today (Faenza 2008). The tradition evolved historically, being born from a convergence of favourable conditions (inter alia, such as abundance of the necessary raw material; stimulating commercial relations with Tuscany, etc.). Numerous ceramics workshops and studios can be found in the city, and this historical craft, being an example of a *traditional cultural cluster*, is recognised throughout the world as one of excellent examples of artistic creativity expressed in ceramics (Faenza 2008). This traditional activity is not regarded as a relict and backward-looking manifestation of the local cultural and production tradition – on the contrary, it is believed to offer possibility of growth, due to its export potential, as well as its potential in terms of attraction.

Thus, apart from constituting an important element of the local *production* system, the ceramics production also has a very significant role from the *attraction/consumption* perspective. Among other things, enumerating the most significant “attractions in the Historic District” of the city, the ‘Strategic Plan for the Historic City Centre’ cites, inter alia: ceramics (including workshops and studios); the ceramic production process as such, as an activity “to be safeguarded”; city museums (including the International Museum of Ceramics); events (including international ceramics-related events), as well as the applications of ceramics in architecture (Faenza 2008; Faenza (a)).

One of the factors that links the production and attraction dimensions in this respect is that the ceramics workshops, located mostly in the historic district, serve an important tourist attraction element, offering visitors the opportunity to learn about the history of ceramics. The International *Museum of Ceramics* (www.micfaenza.org/it), one of the most significant in the world in this domain, exhibits ceramics collections from a variety of epochs and nations, as well as hosts ceramics-related exhibitions (e.g., exhibitions of ancient Italian and foreign ceramics, exhibitions of contemporary ceramics, etc.). Also, the city organises a number of contemporary and classical art *events* related to the ceramic art, attracting considerable numbers of majolica

amateurs, collectors and artists (e.g., from June to October the so-called Ceramics Summer takes place, featuring show-market of artistic crafts, exhibition and sale of the production of Faenza ceramicists, etc.). The vast potential of Faenza's ceramics is also valorised through *urban furnishings* – applications of ceramics in architecture – the historic centre being embellished with a wide variety of ceramics (such as architectural ornaments, tablets and inscriptions, toponymic and devotional plaques, sculptures) (Faenza 2008; www.comune.faenza.ra.it).

Overall, in the Faenza context important focus is put on the cultural production dimension as an element of the LD, expressed in the maintenance of a traditional craft – preserved majolicas production. At the same time, the production dimension in this respect is closely interlinked with the attraction/consumption one, since many aspects related to this traditional craft serve an important attraction factor, and the ceramics products, apart from being exported, are also consumed within the local territory.

2. Olot (Spain)

The wealth of the Catalan city of Olot (around 34.000 inhabitants) has historically been based on the production of religious imagery – statuary and painting, this craft, deeply rooted in the town's cultural tradition, today constituting one of important traditional economic activities. The images and, especially, sculptures of saints traditionally produced in Olot are famous throughout the world, and a number of religious imagery workshops still pursue this craft activity. The first commercial production centre of religious imagery was founded in the 19th century, and the town has been long associated with this peculiar craft activity. The activity has been growing over time, turning into an important local business, pursued by a number of local companies (up to 20 factories at the beginning of the 20th century) exporting their products outside the local territory and to other countries, as well as selling them within it, some of which still function nowadays, enjoying a far reaching reputation (e.g., www.elartecristiano.com, www.artcarre.com, etc.).

Related to this local production tradition is the status of the city as a peculiar artistic centre of Catalonia. E.g., a design and arts school (Escola d'Art i Superior de Disseny d'Olot), offering official teaching of applied arts and crafts, is based in the city; the Drawing Festival (Fira del Dibuix) is celebrated annually in Olot, bringing together many local artists that sell their works directly to the public (www.olot.cat; www.turismeolot.com).

Overall, even though this artistic tradition does not constitute the cornerstone of the local economy and is not institutionalised, it presents a certain part of the city's production system, and being anchored in the place's cultural tradition, serves an example of a phenomenon characteristic of the cultural production model in the context of LD.

3. Miravet (Spain)

Miravet, a small village with 180 inhabitants, has preserved its ancient clay pottery production tradition, ceramics being its oldest and most prominent traditional craft – being the locality's peculiar characteristic allowing to relate the case to the cultural production category.

This activity is linked to the distinct history of cultural and artistic development of the territory (notably to a Muslim tradition in the region, as these were the Arabs who brought the necessary knowledge for developing and enhancing the ceramics production – a popular craft in Iberian times) (www.gencat.cat). The craft has been preserved till today, and eight workshops (numbering a very small group of producers – no more than 50 people), using traditional methods and making pieces by hand, are currently working in the town (e.g., <http://terrisseriapedrola.com/>; <http://www.jordibalart.com/>). Since all the workshops are concentrated in one quarter, in their totality they may be considered a peculiar '*cultural district*', pursuing the same specialisation. In 2000, the Catalan Government, with the support from the 'Crafts from Catalonia organisation', recognised this activity as an 'Arts and Crafts Area of

Interest', thus encouraging the preservation and further development of this traditional craft (www.miravet.altanet.org; www.gencat.cat/).

Its links with the *consumption* dimension are also of importance: pottery sales contribute to the local economy (the production is essentially place-bound), and also, presence of such a unique activity in the locality serves an important factor for the attraction of visitors, who can see the process of pottery production and consequently buy the products.

Preservation of the traditional methods in the production process evolving over time and linked to the cultural and artistic history of the locality are the characteristics defining the selection of this case for the analysis. Even though the activity is not institutionalised, it presents an important characteristic of the place, representative of the cultural production discourse.

4. La Bisbal d'Empordà (Spain)

La Bisbal d'Empordà (La Bisbal del Ampurdán, or just La Bisbal) (around 10.800 inhabitants) is one of the leading pottery centres in Catalonia, relying on a centuries-long ceramist and potter tradition. Pottery is and has been one of the main economic activities in the town, at least since the 18th century. Nowadays, it is still one of the mainstays of the local economy, and its production is well diversified. Apart from the production of pottery items, the town also possesses an important sector applying pottery to construction and another that produces decorative pottery (www.gencat.cat), which makes the pottery a significant local production system. It constitutes part of the bigger regional production system – “Decorative ceramics in the southern counties of Girona province”, which is concentrated primarily in La Bisbal, but also in some other localities of the surrounding territory (e.g., Breda (Selva County) and the immediately surrounding area) (Gascón et al. 2005; www.labisbal.cat). This production system dates back to the Middle Ages, and, apart from the producing companies as such is complemented by nearby suppliers of raw materials, industries that supply tools and machinery, as well as is supported by a network of shops selling the products. This makes the activity cover wide production and marketing possibilities for pottery products (www.gencat.cat). The craft relies on skilled labour that is abundant in the area with a centuries-old tradition of working in this field (Gascón et al. 2005; www.labisbal.cat) and that continues to employ traditional techniques in the production.

The pottery production in La Bisbal is also closely linked to the *attraction and consumption* dimension. Apart from being sold outside the local territory (through wholesalers, which distribute the products to specialised shops, buying chains, food companies, etc.), part of the products are sold in the area's shops (some of which are owned by manufacturers) (Gascón et al. 2005), many shops being focussed on marketing the different pottery products and visitors being attracted by the possibility to buy them. Withal, Gascón et al. (2005) note that the local production system's export level is not very high; at the same time, it is considered a *traded* local production system because it exports indirectly by selling products to tourists and also competes with imported products, making a contribution to the local economy.

The production activity is also complemented by the actions of some other institutions, e.g., School of Pottery carrying out educational activities, the Terracotta Museum (having a cultural and educational function and being the only institution of its kind in the region of Girona, pursuing the goals of preserving and disseminating the material and cultural heritage linked to pottery) (www.gencat.cat; www.labisbal.cat).

The local craft is an EU-*protected brand name* (“Ceràmica de la Bisbal”), the purpose of which is to individualise and stimulate recognition for the products manufactured in La Bisbal and the surrounding territory. Serving as a guarantee of authenticity and quality of the products, the brand name is engraved or stamped by local producers on all types of ceramic items. A dedicated Regulatory Council comprising municipal and entrepreneurial representatives supervises the correct use of the brand name and thus the quality of the products protected. This feature, and the fact that the local craft system may be considered the result of geographical

clustering and the production organisation within a specific area (OECD 2005, p.107), allow to relate La Bisbal production system to a particular category of a cultural district, discerned by OECD (2005) and defined by it as a type of district directly connected “with the legal recognition of the specific features of cultural products and of the environment in which they are produced”, in which case the name of the district is legally protected and can be used for marketing the specific local products, that are “rooted in local know-how and traditional skills” (OECD 2005,p.108).

Overall, the features of La Bisbal production system, deeply rooted in the history of the locality and possessing a strong cultural dimension (indeed combined with a utilitarian function) allow to include the case into the current analysis in order to demonstrate the practical manifestations of a situation when traditional craft activity constitutes an important part of the local economy.

5. Limoges (France)

Limoges (although having a population of 139.000 people, included into the analysis as an exception, due to the interest the case presents) is home to one of the most important *cultural arts clusters* in Europe, with a long tradition of enamelware and porcelain production (Grefe& Pflieger, 2003a; www.ville-limoges.fr).

Limoges has been a centre of the *enamel* industry for several centuries, the local specialty being the glazing of copper. The Limousin region’s enamels established Limoges’ reputation in Europe since medieval times, enamel experiencing a revival during the 19th century. Apart from the enamels, the city is known for its *porcelain* production tradition, constituting one of its significant economic sectors. Porcelain factories have multiplied in Limoges since the second half of the 18th century, thanks to the presence of the necessary raw materials in the area, being accompanied by the creation of fine-art and applied-arts schools and museums. The industry saw considerable artistic expansion in the 19th century. A minor activity, that of *stained glass* making, emerged in the Middle Ages, and later managed to upgrade the production methods.

The ceramics activities have managed to preserve the tradition, some factories indeed largely modernising the production process. Today, the ceramics industry employs 4000 people in the Limoges area, distributed among 70 firms and exporting 30% of its overall output; porcelain alone accounts for 2200 jobs (OECD 2005,p.96-97). The reputation of Limoges porcelain remains unrivalled to this day, and the city is widely known as the “*City of Porcelain*”. Some factories (e.g., Bernardaud, Royal Limoges, Haviland) are today international luxury brands.

OECD (2005) notes that the activity has managed to survive competition from around the world mainly thanks to “the constant link that has existed between *artistic and economic activities*, whereby artistic creativity has been allied with technological innovations to keep the Limoges industry steadily in the lead” (OECD 2005,p.96-97). OECD emphasises the emergence of an entire economic fabric around the porcelain industry of Limoges, that applies its know-how to activities with higher value-added (e.g. the supply of raw materials, equipment making, etc.), wherein technology transfer has also given rise to innovative SMEs (making things like orthopaedic implants and ceramic printing rollers) (ibid). Limoges has also become the leading independent research centre in industrial ceramics and surface treatments (ibid).

At the same time, apart from big factories, utilising modern production technologies and employing big amounts of people, there also function around a dozen smaller establishments of 25 to 75 employees, as well as more than 100 independent *craft shops* making unique handpainted decorative porcelain objects, relying on more traditional, over-time preserved methods.

Limoges is a member (and a developer) of the UNIC Network – the Urban Network for Innovation in Ceramics – an EU-funded programme uniting a number of European ceramic-producing cities. In the framework of this programme, the city has elaborated a dedicated Local

Action Plan (LAP), where it sets a number of objectives aimed at the support for the local ceramic production activity. Enumerating the most significant local economic sectors, the document mentions ceramics on the second place, noting that in this domain the city “has managed to preserve its ceramics industry heritage and has successfully networked it with the research and technological services and facilities” (Limoges 2010). It puts the aim of protecting the name “Porcelaine de Limoges”, which stands for the high quality of the product, to increase the efficiency of the marketing activities aimed at higher recognition of its image, and also proposes to enhance the potential of ceramic materials in the urban environment (consonant with the case of Faenza, where, though, such a potential has already been largely capitalised upon).

An interesting idea is also expressed in the Plan. Thus, it poses the goal of converting Limoges from the ‘City of Porcelain’, “which is an image anchored in the past”, into the ‘City of Innovation’ in advanced ceramics – the image with a projection in the future (Limoges 2010). This formula suggests that the currently existing ceramic industry is regarded a “backward-looking” activity, mainly associated with the past, the history and tradition of the locality, rather than being a promising domain upon which the local economy may successfully capitalise in the long-term perspective. The modernisation of the production is proposed, which means that the potential of the currently prevailing approach to the industry development is not deemed promising enough in the context of the modern economy. This is an important feature of the cultural production-associated discourse more generally, wherein the production primarily relying on more traditional methods is in many cases not considered a leading economic activity possessing strong economic potential, and often exists due to the historical reasons, being a specific tribute to the tradition and being accompanied by the elements of other discourses (e.g., the attraction-related one).

Withal, in the Limoges case, association with the *attraction* dimension is minimal. As noted by OECD (2005), Limoges is not generally regarded as an art centre or tourist destination (p.96-97) and the ceramics production does not serve a major attraction factor. In this regard, the LAP poses the goal of increasing the ceramics attraction potential, proposing to “elaborate a tourism development strategy that emphasizes ... artistic creation using ceramics and firecrafts” and “improve the usage of its network of museums, factory ateliers and shops ... in order to enhance tourism attraction” on the basis of the ceramics activity (Limoges 2010).

Overall, in the Limoges context, the cultural production-oriented approach has minimal interconnections with the attraction element, the case presenting an interesting example, wherein production of objects combining the aesthetic and utilitarian dimensions is an important feature of the local economy.

6. Cremona (Italy)

The history of Cremona (around 70.000 inhabitants) has been inseparably connected with *music* for the last five centuries. Its long musical tradition explains its current widely-known image as a ‘City of Art and Music’. It was the birthplace of famous luthiers such as Stradivari, Amati and Guarneri and has long been one of Italy’s leading centres for musical artistic *production*, in both tangible and intangible forms, and keeps this status nowadays.

The most distinctive manifestation of the tangible musical production tradition is the stringed *instrument making* one, notably the violin making, which, according to the Cremona Chamber of Commerce, presents a ‘consolidated production tradition’ (Camera di commercio di Cremona). The violin craftsmanship of the city relies on the traditional process of fashioning and restoring violins, violas, cellos and contrabasses, transmitted from generation to generation, through apprenticeship as well as formal education, and the traditional violin-making, promoted by two violin-makers’ associations of Cremona, is considered fundamental to the city’s identity and image (www.unesco.org; www.cremonacitta.it).

At the same time, the tangible musical production tradition of Cremona is closely linked to the *intangible production* forms, as well as to the *attraction and consumption* dimension.

Thus, Cremona is an important centre of musical *events* and artistic production in the form of musical concerts, dance, theatre performances and festivals. Various cultural institutions offer a rich musical programme involving notable musicians and associations from the world of music, and the city possesses museums connected with the musical theme. *Musical tourism* is a fast growing sector (Camera di commercio di Cremona; www.cremonacitta.it), tourists being attracted by Cremona's distinguished musical history and traditions. The status of the city as a 'City of Art and Music' may be considered a peculiar *brand* that emerged thanks to its music-related tradition and supports further consumption of its cultural offer. Gjorgon (2008), commenting on the role of the musical tradition in Cremona's case, states that it may be considered one of the core elements of urban development, wherein the approach "relies on the historic, cultural and artistic traditions of the place" and "is based on a historically rooted ... process" (p.73).

Overall, the case may be considered an illustration of several approaches discussed in the work, which means that the city relies on a combination of elements representative of the different discourses. Its inclusion into the cultural production-related category is explained by the fact that the musical artistic production tradition became rooted in the city comparatively earlier than the locality started to enjoy the status of an attractive event-based and musical tourism city: in fact, the attraction dimension evolved on the basis of the city's rich production tradition. The notions of 'craftsmanship', 'traditional production process', 'consolidated production tradition', 'artistic production' are particularly important in this regard and largely characterise the discourse on the place's approach to LD.

7. Tàrrega (Spain)

The Catalonian town of Tàrrega (around 16.700 inhabitants) is mostly notable for its international performing arts festival – Fira Tàrrega. The 'event', or 'festival'-related discourse may naturally seem to be relevant for the consumption-related discourse rather than the production-related one, however, the festival possesses some peculiar features that explain its inclusion into the current category.

Thus, the major focus of the festival, according to its proclaimed goals and the official description at the website, is put on the *production* dimension – in terms of supporting, encouraging and promoting artistic *creation*, notably in the sphere of performing arts (with special emphasis on street arts, visual and unconventional shows) (www.firatarrega.cat; EU 2012, Viladot 1989; www.uoc.edu; www.tarrega.cat). More specifically, the declared objectives of the festival are related to the "accompaniment and promotion of *creations* by emergent artists, encouraging *training*, focused on artistic *creation*", as well as "on generating strategic alliances to develop *transnational* street art circuits or *productions*" (www.firatarrega.cat). By this it is generally hoped to help boost the performing arts market, "opening the door to the internationalisation of the companies" (www.firatarrega.cat). In this vein, presenting itself as a "permanent dynamic structure that works all year to support the arts and artists contributing to the creation of new markets for street arts", the festival has elaborated a dedicated *support platform for artistic creation*. Such platform is constituted by special infrastructures and services intended to support artistic production. As the official website of the event states, "the whole structure and all the services of Fira Tàrrega are put at the service of the artists that stay in Tàrrega to create their performances" (www.firatarrega.cat), and the festival has developed into a wide-ranging project encompassing an artist-in-residence programme and support for creation (www.uoc.edu). Among other things, it includes dedicated 'Creation Laboratories' (presenting annual competitions having the objective of encouraging the production of street performances), 'Creative Residences' (special residences offering to companies their infrastructure so they can carry out their creations in suitable conditions and receive logistical, technical, counselling and promotional support), and support for transnational productions (encouraging the participation of

Catalan artists in transnational creation projects, strengthening the relevant networks) (www.firatarrega.cat).

Thus, priority of the cultural *production* dimension is explicitly emphasised by the event itself, and the main value and role of the festival in the local context is seen predominantly in this respect. At the same, it is evident that the production dimension in this case is inseparably interrelated with the *attraction/consumption* one. Thus, the approach clearly relies on two crucial elements representative of the attraction/consumption discourse. First, in that it relies on the attraction of creative professionals to the territory, who in their turn are able to contribute to the production activities. Secondly, the visitor attraction element is obviously important: the product – the event performances – attracts and is consumed by considerable amount of people (over 100000 visitors and 800 professionals a year), being an attractive “showcase for the contemporary performing arts” (EU 2012,p.36).

At the same time, even though the attraction and consumption element is an inherent characteristic of the festival, attraction of spectators and creative professionals may be considered an accompanying goal, since major focus of local activities is put on the support to cultural *production*. Consumption of the resulting cultural products may be viewed as an implicit consequence, and not the primary goal of the local actions. Attraction of cultural professionals may also be regarded as a means to boost cultural production. However, it is possible to assume that the major economic benefit for the territory stems from the attraction and consumption of the offer produced there. It may be explained by the fact that the production in this case is *place-bound* – therefore the production and consumption dimensions are closely interconnected and mutually defining.

Overall, the case presents a combination of elements representative of several culture-led development-related discourses. The discourse generally relates to a phenomenon that is *cultural* in its essence (although indeed a strong *creative* element is also present), and to culture in its *intangible* form (performing arts). The production and consumption dimensions are closely interrelated, although in the local context particular emphasis is put on the production element.

C. Creative consumption.

1. Frederikshavn (Denmark)

In the context of the work the case of the Danish city of Frederikshavn (about 23.150 inhabitants) is particularly notable due to its reliance on the ‘*experience economy*’ approach in pursuing LD goals (frederikshavn.dk; Frederikshavn 2008; Lorentzen&Krogh 2009). The city has embarked on a cultural and experiential consumption-based strategy, which gradually emerged from a number of various local initiatives associated with new cultural events, new urban design, and construction of new buildings for culture and sport (Lorentzen 2012). The relevant strategy was formulated politically, and now defines the major initiatives aimed at the creation of an ‘experience city’ (frederikshavn.dk; Frederikshavn 2008).

The ideas leading to the adoption of initiatives inscribed into the logic of an ‘EE’ approach emerged as a specific response to the challenges posed by the crisis of the old industrial paradigm (characterised by crisis in the traditional leading economic sectors, such as ship-building and related industries, fisheries and tourism) (Lorentzen 2012; Lorentzen&Krogh 2009). Such initiatives, launching innovative projects, started to be taken “in a rather uncoordinated and experiential way” (Lorentzen 2012), and were associated with changes in the cultural and leisure activities offered by the city, in the built environment and symbolic representations (Lorentzen 2012), all of them being largely united by the logic of creating new and pleasurable experiences that would attract and be consumed by people, particularly external visitors. These initiatives gradually assumed a more structured character, constituting the basis of the city’s approach to CCL urban development.

Such an approach generally puts focus on the provision and enhancement of culture, leisure and experience offerings (considered in a close interlinkage – an approach characteristic of the EE discourse) in order to “enhance the pleasurable *consumption* opportunities of the city” (Lorentzen 2012). It prioritises public investments in urban public spaces and *experience-oriented* cultural, sports and leisure facilities, activities and building projects (Therkildsen et al. 2009; Lorentzen 2012). As noted by Therkildsen et al. (2009), in the local context traditional approach to culture and the urban planning shifted from “being mostly part of a welfare providing agenda to becoming increasingly part of an urban growth and business development strategy” (p.938) – thus regarding culture and creativity as essential drivers of local economic development, their economic potential becoming mostly associated with the offering of ‘experiences’ to “external” actors – the city’s “guests, visitors, tourists and potential future citizens” (ibid) rather than the offering intended for the wellbeing of local residents. The major actions are related to several categories of initiatives, referred to by Lorentzen (2012) as:

- ‘*stages and places*’ (relating to physical projects, built structures aimed at enhancing ‘experiences’ and attractiveness of the place, e.g., investments in two big stadiums and a House of Arts, in venues for the organisation of events; urban refurbishments, such as, e.g., new maritime design of streets and squares, special effects in the pedestrian zone, renovation and new uses of historic sites; projects creating new attractive venues/places in the city (e.g., the Palm Beach project on the city beach);

- ‘*activities*’ as such (focus on the launch of new experience activities, e.g., an annual historic festival (the Days of Tordenskiold), the Festival of Lights (with the city being decorated with illumination), Rock in Frederikshavn festival, Nordic Film Festival, a number of sports events, etc.);

- ‘*goods and services*’ (those that accompany/enhance the consumption of experiences, e.g., a theme hotel, a wellness hotel, theme restaurants, etc.);

- ‘*symbols*’ (flagship projects serving a specific local landmark and a symbol of the change, e.g., the Palm Beach project or the Tordenskiold Days).

Overall, the narratives dominant in the local context are those characteristic of the EE-related discourse more generally and are associated with the notions such as ‘experience consumption’, ‘leisure and experience offerings’, ‘experience city’, ‘experience-oriented facilities’, ‘flagship built projects’, etc. The local approach puts primary focus on the attraction and consumption dimension (the experience *production* being a place-bound activity in this case, thus merged with the experience consumption); ‘culture’ is one of the elements in focus, along with leisure and experiences more generally, and the creative dimension is of particular importance since creation of new forms is prioritised, which thus allows to study the case as being illustrative of the creative consumption-oriented model.

2. Holstebro (Denmark)

Holstebro (34.800 inhabitants) is another example of a Danish town pursuing an EE-associated approach. However, the case is unique since Holstebro may be considered a pioneer in recognising the *economic* value of capitalising on culture-related resources, as well as more specifically in unfolding the potential of the EE (Skot-Hansen 1998; Holstebro 2007; www.holstebro.dk; Holstebro 2013).

More specifically, Holstebro, seeking to improve its negative image of a declining provincial town, at the beginning of the 1960s embarked on an approach leaning on culture and creativity, using culture as an investment (Skot-Hansen 1998) and an urban development factor. It was first among Danish cities in adopting such a view on culture and art as crucial development drivers possessing strong economic potential, thus pioneering in “the instrumentalization of culture” and investing in culture “before others did” (Skot-Hansen 1998). It thus pursued an active cultural policy, relying on highly innovative initiatives, and as early as the 1960s, “pioneered the use of culture for *re-imagining* and development purposes through the

development of a mix of international, *experimental* and *technologically innovative* art forms” (Bayliss 2004, p.828; Skot-Hansen 1998; Holstebro 2007).

It started from deliberately using *modern sculpture* in public places as a means of changing the image of the city and increasing its attractiveness; the purchase of Giacometti’s sculpture ‘Woman on a Cart’ in 1965 was particularly remarkable in this respect, further attracting other international works of art (Lorentzen 2012; Skot-Hansen 1998). This first initiative was followed by a rapid increase in local spending on culture (Skot-Hansen 1998), where specific focus was put on culture-oriented facilities (e.g. inauguration of the new Holstebro Hall, which provided a well equipped performing space attracting touring theatres and concerts and internationally famous artists; opening of a new modern art museum; later reconstruction of the Holstebro Hall as the new Congress and Cultural Centre (1991), with multi-purpose functions, as a flagship project of the 1990s, etc.). Development of *modern architectural forms* was one of the features of the urban developments: post-modern architecture became the landmark of the town and filled it with “a big city atmosphere” (Skot-Hansen 1998). Cultural developments were combined with the use of *new technologies*, aimed at enhancing the experiences offered by the city and serving as an attraction factor (e.g., in 1989, the first laser sculpture in Denmark – *Chaos Temple* – was inaugurated in Holstebro). All these developments (embarkment on post-modern architecture, developments of novel art forms, usage of technological innovations applicably to cultural projects, etc.) may be considered a peculiar symbol of turn from culture to creativity, or at least a combination of both, since they rely on a strong element of ‘newness’ and culture-related innovation. The concept of ‘creativity’ has featured in the Municipal Plan for the town, where the values of culture, furthering identity and creativity have been emphasised (Skot-Hansen 1998; Holstebro 2007).

One of the major objectives pursued by the town has been the attraction of visitors as well as highly educated individuals (Skot-Hansen 1998; www.holstebro.dk), elements of the ‘creative class’ approach thus being present. Such features of the town’s development as its gradual transformation from “a sleepy provincial small town to a metropolised city, recognisable by its international and global signals” (Skot-Hansen 1998,p.164), its “big city” and cosmopolitan cultural atmosphere, rich and varied cultural life may be considered elements particularly attractive for the creative class representatives.

The *Cultural Model Holstebro*, as Skot-Hansen (1998) puts it, has influenced and has been adopted by many other towns that seek to “promote themselves by way of *creativity*, communication, knowledge and culture” (Skot-Hansen 1998,p.166).

Overall, the model pursued by Holstebro, being based on cultural and strong creative elements in reimagining the city and enhancing its attractiveness, is characterised by the importance of discourses characteristic of the ‘creative consumption’- (more broadly) and the ‘experience economy’- (more specifically) related discourse, and has inspired the approaches pursued by many other localities.

3. Margate (England)

Putting culture and creativity at the core of urban regeneration, Margate’s (57.000 inhabitants) approach to LD is largely inscribed into the creative consumption-oriented model, possessing a number of features of an ‘experience economy’ approach. A dedicated *strategic document* – ‘Cultural Vision for Margate’ – refers to culture and creativity as “major existing assets” and “powerful drivers of change” in the LD (Cultural Vision), central to the renaissance of the city. It sets the goals of affirming and enhancing the *image* of Margate as a “seaside town of *experimentation*” and an important centre of *creativity* and creative expression (Cultural Vision). The rhetoric (prevailing discourses and narratives) of the strategic guidelines and their practical implications (in actual urban developments) demonstrate that the city largely follows the EE-related imaginaries, as well as bases its vision on the crucial assumptions of the creative class theory.

Thus, it develops activities and facilities that act as “providers of contemporary cultural *experience*”, and recognises that the existing creative expression “requires a new, creative role”, thus pursuing a proactive approach to the cultural resource deployment. Consonantly with the creative class theory ideas, it seeks to increase the image and attractiveness of the urban milieu not only for temporal visitors but also for *creative talents*, by providing rich cultural and experience-related offering. Thus, one of the declared goals is to turn Margate into “a sticky point for creative work”, by attracting and retaining creative talent and creative entrepreneurs (“artists and other creative practitioners”) that would live and work in Margate. It is primarily through the *in-migration* of creative talent (rather than “through ‘bottom-up’ development from people already based in Margate”) that it is hoped to stimulate creative business development, main focus thus being put on the *attraction* dimension.

A number of elements are considered important *attraction factors* in this respect, among them, the attractiveness of the coastline and new physical developments in that area, events, the maritime heritage, listed buildings (Cultural Vision; Cultural Strategy; Margate C; thanet.gov.uk), apart from various cultural venues and facilities (the city’s cultural infrastructure, e.g., museums, theatre, etc.). The potential of a growing creative quarter in the Old Town is noted, as well as the attracting power of the growing local sector of festivals and *events* (e.g., Margate Rocks, the festival that “projects Margate to a wider public” and “re-imagines it through art and creativity” (Cultural Vision)).

One of the key attraction elements, and definitely the landmark, or “the star attraction”, of the territory, presenting “an *experience* in itself”, is the Turner Contemporary art gallery, which was intended as a crucial contributor to the urban regeneration, apart from a venue serving its main artistic function. Its creation owes to the links existing between Margate and the creative work of the painter J.M. William Turner. The Turner Contemporary presents a bright example of an *iconic (flagship) physical structure* that aims to enhance and promote the image of the city. ‘Cultural Vision for Margate’ notes that the development of Turner Contemporary is conceptualised as being “at the heart of the regeneration and economic development plans” for the city (Cultural Vision), since it is viewed as “a catalyst for renewal” (Dryburgh 2010), playing a pivotal role in the redevelopment of the whole surrounding area (Eastern Seafront of Margate) and in redefining the image of Margate (Cultural Vision; thanet.gov.uk).

Overall, the city sees its development trajectory in association with a combination of old and new, innovative and traditional resources and assets (e.g. new developments around the existing heritage), in affirming itself as a “Dreamland” for creativity and cultural consumption, as well as the related cultural production (since the experience economy products in this case are essentially place-bound), and as “a place of *experiences* and sensibilities” (Cultural Vision), this showing particular relevance of the ‘experience economy’-related discourse. Since the focus is mostly put on the image enhancement and attraction of external visitors to the locality, and the cultural and creative elements are both present, the case is related to the current category.

4. Vejle (Denmark)

The development of the Danish city of Vejle (around 53.200 inhabitants) has been largely influenced by the so-called “micropole strategy”, wherein the notions of ‘*creativity*’, the ‘*creative class*’ and the ‘*experience economy*’ have been put at the core. According to Smidt-Jensen (2012), Vejle is “one of the frontrunners in Denmark when it comes to exploring the potential of the experience economy for medium-sized cities” (p.113).

Pursuing the goal of becoming an attractive city for creative people and investment in the creative branches, Vejle put primary focus on built environment – *constructed amenities*, wherein new architecture as “a highly attractive experience” in itself has been intended to serve the major attraction factor and an object of ‘consumption’ by visitors, new citizens and new employees (Lorentzen&van Heur 2012; Lorentzen 2012; Smidt-Jensen 2012). In accordance with these goals an ambitious *architectural policy* has been launched (Smidt-Jensen 2012). More

broadly, the local initiatives were largely influenced by the ‘*experience economy*’-related discourse, since the ‘micropole’ strategy sought to turn the central part of the city into a sort of ‘experience’ in itself – an ‘attraction’ for visitors and potential new citizens. The majority of projects concentrated in the central part, viewed as an area that would serve as the locomotive for the development of the entire city, primarily relating to the creation of new spectacular buildings, high-rise housing projects and rebuilding of old complexes (e.g., the strategy also envisaging regeneration of a former industrial complex in central Vejle) “for *attendance-based experiences*” (Smidt-Jensen 2012).

Creation of experiences, however, has been associated with a broader array of initiatives than just those focusing on built environment. Since, as noted by Smidt-Jensen (2012), there has been a growing interest in the ‘*creative city*’ formula more generally, the strategy has envisaged a broad approach to urban development wherein initiatives have been shaped by policies and approaches from various policy fields, such as cultural policy, business development policy, tourism (Smidt-Jensen 2012; Smidt-Jensen et al.2009). In this vein, the strategy has covered initiatives, inter alia, associated with cultural policy (with particular focus on the organisation of cultural events), public health (new sports complex in the central area), tourism, entertainment, design, retail (focus on the “shopertainment” function of the city and organisation of more ‘events’ in the pedestrian zones), etc. (Smidt-Jensen 2012; www.vejle.dk).

Place promotion and place branding activities have also been of particular importance in the local context; thus, according to the slogan, the city has been trying to make itself ‘visible from the moon’ (Vejle Kommune 2008, in Lorentzen 2012). Special importance has been attached to the attraction of ‘creative class’. In this context, a visit by Richard Florida, that aimed to convince the local community to support the strategy (Smidt-Jensen 2012), can be considered of specific relevance here. On the one hand, it had “great branding value for Vejle” in general (Smidt-Jensen 2012,p.121); on the other hand, it has demonstrated adherence of the city to the ‘creative class’ theory ideas: the fact that creative talent attraction, as a goal, and measures aimed at making the city attractive for this segment of society, as a means, are highly prioritised in the local context.

Focus on new, novel developments (modern architecture, innovative projects in retail and entertainment area, etc.), rather than on more traditional ways of capitalising on the existing resources, may be partially explained by the absence of rich endowed cultural resources (such as a historical core, e.g.). As noted by Smidt-Jensen (2012), in the absence of such assets, there was a need in new, modern constructs and experimentation: “it had become clear that for the city centre to become an asset as it is for other cities, there had to be *new exciting architecture and new urban experiences* (Development director, Municipality of Vejle, interviewed August 2008, in Smidt-Jensen 2012,p.117).

Overall, the city is an example of a locality that embarked on a strategy largely shaped by the ‘experience economy’, ‘creative city’ and ‘creative class’-related discourses. Trying to make itself attractive primarily for the creative class, the city adopted an “experientisation” (Smidt-Jensen 2012) strategy seeking to develop “the city as attraction”, relying on a number of attendance-based experience-oriented initiatives, wherein entertainment and experiences have been seen the core elements able to make the city ‘spectacular’ (Smidt-Jensen 2012; Smidt-Jensen et al.2009) and attractive.

5. Randers (Denmark)

Randers (about 61.050 inhabitants) also puts considerable focus upon provision of *attendance-based experiences* in order to attract people, as well as puts significant effort into *branding* activities, seeking to promote itself as an attractive place to visit, live and work (Smidt-Jensen 2005/2012; Randers 2008; www.randers.dk).

In doing so, it seeks to overcome the identity crisis, moving away from its historically-formed industrial image as well as the old reputation as a city plagued by violence and scandals,

and strengthen the new identity, creating a profile of a “trade-city full of *experiences*” (Smidt-Jensen 2005). In this vein, a new symbol for the city has been created, as one of the elements necessary for the re-imaging.

Physical developments are also of high priority for enhancing the city’s image: e.g., conversion of large parts of the harbour area through the creation of new “spectacular harbour-front housing areas” has been used as “another way to attract attention” (Smidt-Jensen 2012, p.117). It has been intended to use such conversion for further developing the new city brand (Smidt-Jensen 2005; Randers 2008).

Launch of *flagship projects* is of particular relevance in the local context. Thus, e.g., the Wonder project has created an area in the city dedicated to education facilities and exhibition spaces (Ghilardi 2003,p.17); Randers Rainforest venue (a privately run indoor tropical zoo) presents an example of a venue with the “edutainment” function: being a place of edutainment where families can learn about the rainforest, it offers various sensory experiences attractive to visitors (Christensen et al.2007,pp.136-137); the “water culture house” lighthouse project also intends to attract people by the experience-oriented facilities it offers (inter alia, wellness facilities, play-areas for children, etc.) (Sonntag&Tenz 2005).

Generally, most of the projects put major focus upon the *cultural* element, seen as being at the core of the place’s attractiveness. According to Ghilardi (2003), culture has been “used as a motor for regeneration” of the city (p.17) and “as an identity and image bearing element” (Sonntag&Tenz 2005,p.181), and in order to attract visitors and new inhabitants cultural issues and the quality of local cultural services and events were put at the centre of many initiatives (Sonntag&Tenz 2005). In this respect Sonntag&Tenz (2005) note that “it is not only through lighthouse projects”, but also “through small-scale cultural activities” and generally the provision of cultural offering “that Randers tries to become known as a cultural city throughout Denmark and be rid of its negative image as an old industrial and violent city” (Sonntag&Tenz 2005,p.180). In this regard, the Underværket project is of particular importance, wherein a covered square and part of a block have been transformed into a cultural meeting place with shops, cafes, education facilities and events. Also, the city seeks to attract people to the city centre by creating synergies between cultural institutions as well as with retailers and restaurants, promoting convergence of arts and culture with commerce and industry (Sonntag&Tenz 2005; Randers 2008). Strong potential of culture as a location factor being recognised, the city also pursues the strategy of creating special “cultural areas” within its territory (Sonntag&Tenz 2005).

Overall, the city is another example of a locality pursuing an attraction and consumption-oriented approach in its development, particularly focusing on the creation and provision of experiences that would enhance the attractiveness of the place for visitors, potential employees and residents.

6. Horsens (Denmark)

Horsens (around 55.900 inhabitants) is another Danish city that has put the concept of the ‘experience economy’ at the heart of its development strategy, wherein the notion of ‘creativity’ and the attraction element constitute the cornerstones. The municipality has prioritised an overall target of generating and maintaining “sustainable growth through *creativity* and innovation” (Møller et al. 2012 p.21), and the major focus has been put on culture- and creativity-induced ‘experiences’, which are seen crucial in turning Horsens into “the city of the future” – “the city of experiences” (Møller et al. 2012). According to Lorentzen (2012), Horsens was the first city in Denmark to embark on the *experience economy*, the first initiatives (1990s) being related to the organisation of *mega events* in the city. The *events* included concerts by international celebrities (e.g., Paul McCartney, Madonna and others), as well as national competitions, a regular annual children’s theatre festival, the town’s jubilee, the festival of the Middle Ages, among others (Møller et al. 2012; www.horsenskom.dk). These first initiatives helped in

changing the image of the city “from a sad industrial town with a state prison into a lively and welcoming city with very positive demographic development” (Statistikbanken, in Lorentzen 2012, pp.69-70), and made Horsens one of Denmark’s leaders among cities with an impressive annual events calendar (Møller et al. 2012).

Focus on the provision of ‘experiences’ of various kinds (which went beyond the emphasis on hosting mega events, but still leaving the event organisation the cornerstone of local actions), has been pervasive in the local actions. The ‘experience economy’ discourse has been closely connected with the ‘creative class’ one, since the ‘experiences’ generated by the locality have been considered the primary means of attracting visitors and new citizens to the city, including creative professionals. The ‘experience’-creation activities have been accompanied by marketing and branding ones. As noted by Møller et al. (2012), the city council has been viewing “cultural *branding* and *experiences* as important strategies for attracting new citizens to the town” (p.27). Experience ‘creation’ has been associated with such initiatives as, e.g., transformation of a former state prison into a new *experience centre* (which converted the place into a “‘living’ and ‘*experience-rich*’ prison museum” (Møller et al. 2012,p.26), the building of ‘Forum Horsens’ to host concerts with international artists (Smidt-Jensen 2012), organisation of the so-called “crime fairs” (or crime festivals – an event for literary crime, and mysteries) and Stoneass Festival (music and art festival), organisation of the above-mentioned Middle Age Days festival (a theme event circulating in the city and attracting 200000 people from Denmark and Europe, possessing a rich programme related to culture, entertainment and shopping), and other initiatives.

Overall, the ‘experience economy’-related discourse has been particularly influential in the city’s policies, wherein major focus has been put on the creation of experiences, primarily in the form of events organisation, as a means of attracting visitors, new inhabitants and talented professionals to the city.

7. St.Helens (England)

The features of the approach to urban development adopted by St.Helens (having a population of around 103.000, the case is included in the analysis due to the interest it presents) comprise elements characteristic of the ‘creative consumption’ model.

Such features are mainly associated with the development of initiatives seeking to change the city’s *image* as a “dull” place suffering from decline in industrial bases into a dynamic locality, *attractive* for external actors, by primarily relying on creativity-induced activities. More specifically, the city has been seeking to create a new identity and increase its attractiveness, mainly in order to stimulate tourism, relying on modern arts development and flagship projects realisation. Discourses on ‘tourism-based economic development’, ‘visitor economy strategies’, ‘visitor attraction’, ‘public art in place-making’, ‘arts development’, ‘arts and cultural strategies’, ‘flagship structure’, ‘creative economy’ (Gilmore 2012; www.sthelens.gov.uk) have been considerably influential in the local context.

Thus, inter alia, the *arts* development in the city has witnessed a resurgence in recent years, and the dedicated body – St.Helens Council’s Arts Service – supports various art forms such as music, visual and public art, dance, drama, new media, etc. (St.Helens Council: <http://www.sthelens.gov.uk/arts>). *Arts*, developed and capitalised upon in creative ways, are seen as an important element in *place-making* activities, which are believed to contribute to the general attractiveness of the place to external visitors. The role of arts is recognised also in the context of *cultural and creative industries* development: the influence of the discourse on ‘creative industry’ has been considerable in the local context, which is exemplified by the fact that the role of CIs has been repeatedly emphasised in the local policy documents, where strategic development of “creative economies” is seen as an important line of action (Gilmore 2012). In this regard, the creation of a *cultural quarter* in the city (with some dedicated creative industries workspace) has been one of the initiatives illustrating the significance of the CI-related

discourse (Gilmore 2012). Withal, it also testifies to some relevance of the ‘creative production’ discourse in the St.Helens case more generally, although its prominence is comparatively less pronounced.

One of the landmarks of the cultural quarter, as well as one of the key elements of the city’s ‘creative consumption’-associated approach to LD, is the *high profile* public commissioning project “Dream” – the *flagship* artwork that is the city’s crucial symbol (www.dreamsthelens.com). The realisation of the project (2009) focused on the creation of an *iconic structure* is largely inscribed into the logic of the ‘creative consumption’ model, and has been associated with the desire to “put St.Helens on the map” by creating a “forward-looking symbol” of the city’s “regeneration and *new-found identity*” (Gilmore 2012). In order to “develop the legacy of the project further” and enhance its influence upon the local economic development, other initiatives have been taken, such as the creation of a visitor centre close to the artwork, providing a number of visitors-oriented facilities and amenities (related to retail, entertainment, etc.) (Gilmore 2012; www.sthelens.gov.uk). The project has been considered an important catalyst of LD, as well as a “mechanism of tourism-based economic development” (Gilmore 2012,p.7).

Another *flagship* project relates to the creation of the so-called “World of Glass” – a landmark *visitor attraction* that provides interpretation of the glass making industry in the region and its history, as well as an education and exhibition space (Gilmore 2012).

Overall, focus on the creation of landmark structures or art works and creative usage of arts in place-making are the main elements that characterise the city’s approach to LD as having strong association with the ‘creative consumption’ model. Such initiatives have been seen crucial in increasing the place’s attractiveness for external visitors and thus stimulating tourism development. The more recent attention to events organisation, as well as to further tourism development-oriented initiatives (Gilmore 2012; www.sthelens.gov.uk), also testifies to the importance of a consumption-related approach in the local context. The fact that there has been successive elaboration of arts and cultural strategies, but with a strong emphasis on the creative element, wherein the CIs discourse has been of importance (Gilmore 2012), allows to include the case into analysis in the current category.

8. Sitges (Spain)

Although the approach to LD pursued by Sitges (around 29.100 inhabitants) does not rely completely upon a ‘creative consumption’-oriented model and elements of other approaches are present (particularly ‘cultural consumption’, since the local economy largely relies upon tourism development and culture offering), presence of some elements characteristic of the ‘creative consumption’ approach allows to analyse the case in the current category. Absence of other cases in the web survey wherein ‘creative tourism’ discourse would be of considerable importance (obviously, due to the methodological limitations rather than their absence in reality) explains the inclusion of the current example into the study, wherein the intention to demonstrate practical manifestations of a ‘*creative tourism*’ discourse has been the leading consideration.

In this vein, focus in the current analysis has primarily been put on the evolving initiatives associated with the ‘creative tourism’ discourse. The following should however be noted. These initiatives do not constitute a core element upon which LD strategies rely. The place is primarily known as “a sun and beach holiday destination” (Binkhorst 2007; www.sitges.cat; www.visitsitges.com), wherein cultural tourism plays a minor role as compared to other forms of tourism. However, a number of the place’s visitor attractions are associated with cultural phenomena, among them, e.g., the Sitges Film Festival (the major event held in the locality) or the Carnival celebrations. With this in account, another emerging feature is of importance: recently, an increasing attention has been given to initiatives that promote the development of ‘*creative tourism*’-related offering, on the basis of both the cultural and natural assets of the locality. Such initiatives have been closely associated with the notions of

'experiences' provision, 'participation', 'engagement' and 'co-creation' – the concepts generally characteristic of the 'CT'-related discourse outlined in the theoretical discussion. An important observation should be made here: these initiatives are of certain importance in the local context predominantly in the *supply*-related sense, but not in the demand-associated one. Thus, 'CT'-oriented activities have been increasingly developed by service-providers, while demand on them still remains quite low (Binkhorst 2007). Therefore, the case is included in the analysis on the basis of the fact that the discourse on 'CT' has been gradually gaining importance in the local context mainly from the supply side, the analysis thus focusing on the *initiatives* being taken and intentions pursued rather than actual consequences of such intentions. Thus, as noted by Binkhorst (2007), looking at the supply side, there is an increasing number of cultural and creative-related tourism experiences on offer and "there is an increase in alternatives to the core of *sol y playa*" ("sun and beach"-related form of tourism), and since "they are not very well known yet, at least not among summer tourists", in the local context "creativity is seen as a *supply-driven* affair" (p.142).

Thus, according to Binkhorst (2007), evidence suggests that there have been increasing efforts at promoting CT, with the city taking some initiatives illustrative of its ambitions to develop Sitges as a creative destination, wherein cultural and natural heritage would be "utilised and communicated to visitors in a more *engaging* way" (p.142). Attempts have been made to "fight" (or complement) the traditional tourism development patterns (primarily associated with beach tourism), and there has been growing focus on the offering of culture- and nature-related 'experiences', which would allow to discover the "other side of the beach" (Binkhorst 2007, pp.132-144). In this context, the 'CT'-oriented initiatives relate to the ideas of providing visitors with the opportunity to receive "learning experiences", to *engage* into cultural or natural phenomena rather than passively observe them, to "participate" in the 'experiences' offered (Binkhorst 2007). Thus, a dedicated plan of tourism development – *Plan of Excellence* – has complemented the "traditional" list of tourism offerings with more "innovative and context-related activities" (Binkhorst 2007, p.132). Among them, apart from activities associated with "standard" forms of cultural heritage- and events-related consumption (presupposing more passive experience receipt), the envisaged initiatives also include such forms of *active participation*-oriented offering as those related to tourist experiences in gastronomy (namely, active participation in wineries and other food- and drink-related settings), in the sense of culture and nature-related experiences (e.g., "active sightseeing" wherein focus is put on the concepts of "active participation" and involvement). Thus, e.g., as Binkhorst (2007) notes, "the area of gastronomy is being exploited more than ever before in the creation of cultural tourism experiences", and since "the senses of taste and smell are explicitly involved in gastronomy, it is a very valuable resource for creating meaningful experiences" (p.134); at the same time, the author notes that the participation of visitors is "still limited to seeing, listening, smelling and tasting" (p.135), with the principle of 'co-creation' thus having here a limited application in practice. Withal, other examples of 'CT'-driven initiatives include, e.g., the Vallgrasa experimental centre for the arts, "based on both the natural surroundings of the Garraf National Park and the Mediterranean cultural identity" (p.136), wherein various activities and workshops envisage the provision of peculiar senses-related 'experiences' to visitors, calling for "more participative ways" (p.136) of consuming those experiences. Other examples include the offering of experiences that have both an entertainment and educational function, as well as generally envisage the same principle of "more participative ways" of experience consumption (Binkhorst 2007).

Overall, as noted, even though such initiatives have been growing in importance in the local context, they are mainly supply-driven and are not complemented by active demand. However, the presence and growing relevance of the 'CT'-associated discourse in the locality is an interesting phenomenon, which has conditioned the decision to include the case into the current analysis. It has shown that in practice, as it has been argued at the theoretical level, the 'creative tourism'-related activities are mainly based on their opposition to more "traditional",

“passive” forms of tourism offering consumption, and focus is thus put on the notions of ‘active participation’, ‘involvement’, ‘engaging / participative experience consumption’.

D. Creative production.

1. Paredes (Portugal)

Paredes (around 12.400 inhabitants) largely relies on a creative production-oriented approach in its economic development. The major discourse in the local context is that on ‘creativity’ and ‘creative industry’, since the town seeks to affirm itself as a “design city”, by developing the design-related activities. The local approach is inscribed into the ‘creative production’-related logic, since major focus is put on the production dimension and a particular type of a ‘creative industry’ – design. Withal, it should be noted that the town presents an interesting case since the grounds to include it into this category have emerged quite recently, due to the fact that the place has made an effort to rethink its economic base and shift to a new development paradigm.

Thus, the city has long been associated with the development of a traditional *industrial district* – that in furniture manufacturing. Furniture manufacturing has long been its primary economic activity and specialisation (accounting for 44% of all the local employment at the beginning of 2000s). It has long been a strong export-oriented industry, and the importance of the activity for the local economy has conditioned the fact that the town has been referred to as a “furniture city”. The development model of the locality has thus long been associated with the ‘culture-related production’ model, since furniture making has been deeply rooted in the local history and production tradition and has been an important component of the local identity. The prevailing discourse has long been predominantly related to the ‘traditional industrial district’ notion.

Recently, however, the town has embarked on a new strategy of economic development, wherein a creative activity deployment on the basis of the traditional economic strength has become the cornerstone of recent initiatives. Thus, the core idea relates to the development of design-oriented activities on the basis of the strong local specialisation and expertise in furniture manufacturing. The new creative-based strategy relies on a specific vision which envisages the transformation of the town into “the creative city of furniture design”. The core ideas of the vision relate to the ambition of turning the developing domain of design into a driver for the LD, as well as through design development attract creative talents to the territory, which in their turn are expected to further stimulate the development of design-related creative activities and companies. Major focus is thus put on the *production* dimension rather than the consumption one, since the attraction of creative talents is seen mainly as a means of further boosting the design-associated production activities.

Since the design development in the locality relies on the strong furniture making tradition, it is intended to capitalise upon the expertise already gained and specialisation affirmed. Thus, in developing new creative production activities it is intended to merge “tradition and innovation” and “blend history and creativity”, by developing design-related activities upon the existing industrial tradition. Capitalisation on endogenous assets and exogenous resources is expected to be mutually reinforcing, while preservation of the local identity (“genius loci”, or the place-specific symbolic capital) is considered crucial, in order to underline the “differentiation factors of the territory” and develop a peculiar and place-specific production activity, rather than imitate models imported from outside the territory. Design is generally seen as an anchor for the development of Paredes. The currently prevailing discourses thus relate to the concepts of ‘business creativity’, ‘design as a creative industry’, ‘design as an anchor of business competitiveness’. Design is seen as a driver of the furniture industry competitiveness, since the association of the design activity with the discourse on ‘creativity’ and thus ‘innovation’ in the production methods is the factor that is believed to add to the competitiveness of the traditional

industry. Design is understood as “a *creative industry* producing goods, services and solutions with a high symbolic content” (INTELI 2009,p.11; www.cm-paredes.pt), and the practical measures aimed at stimulating design activities thus are directly linked to the ‘creative production’ discourse.

Thus, main lines of policy intervention in the Paredes case are highly illustrative of commonly used methods for boosting development of various types of CIs in the production-oriented sense. They are related to the general characteristics of the kindred approaches as being primarily “*business-oriented*”, core measures thus being focused mainly on improving the business environment for the *production* activities in question. Thus, in Paredes, “anchor projects” include, inter alia, Incubator for Furniture Design – an incubator focused on furniture design and decorative arts with the goal of promoting the development of creative companies (the ‘creative incubator’ concept being generally common in creative production development-oriented measures), or the so-called Design Hub – an open and innovative space for the cooperation in the “conception, development, production and testing/validation of creative applications and solutions in the area of furniture design (urban design and business design)” (INTELI 2009,p.23; INTELI2011b). Spatial proximity of the design-related entities in the local context, particularly due to the “smallness” of the locality, is also of importance in this case from the production perspective. At the same time, it should be noted that, apart from business-oriented activities, certain focus is also put on the measures enhancing the attractiveness of the locality for the creative class (such as, e.g., the Live Work Houses project creating houses where designers can work, learn and live, or the integration of design in public spaces, which intends to enhance a “creative atmosphere” of the city through design and thus increase its appeal for creative workers). Withal, such initiatives are primarily seen from the prism of production-oriented priorities, as the attraction of creative professionals is regarded a means of boosting the production processes.

Overall, the place considers one of the crucial factors of its “success” the “privilege” of culture and creativity-related *production* “and not only cultural consumption” (INTELI 2009, p.25) – the focus on the production dimension is thus evident. Emphasis of the initiatives on a ‘creativity’-related phenomenon is seen through the prioritisation of the development of design as a creative industry. Withal, the current situation has evolved on the basis of the long specialisation of the locality in furniture manufacturing, and the relevant discourse has thus only recently shifted from more ‘cultural production’-related to the ‘creative production’ category. The currently employed methods aimed at stimulating design development are characteristic of the ‘business-oriented’ approach, since primary focus is put upon support of production processes.

2. Barnsley (England)

The discourse on ‘creative industries’ has been considerably influential in the case of Barnsley (around 74.000 inhabitants). Seeking to overcome the consequences of the economic depression and convert from a declining coal mining town into a dynamic place with modern economic base, the city has prioritised the creative industries-driven development. CIs are in this context seen as an important driver of both economic restructuring and urban regeneration (Barnsley 2011; URBACT 2011). Indeed, policy initiatives have been related to a number of other priorities, since the overall vision implies focus on a wide range of domains. It is expected that the overall goal of improving “the economic prosperity and vitality” of Barnsley (Barnsley 2011; URBACT 2011) can be achieved by means of such developments as, inter alia, the image enhancement, encouragement of a creative and enterprising culture, enhancement of the cultural offering of the town through the organisation of festivals and new cultural facilities provision, etc. With that, the development of a *cluster around creative industries* is seen as one of the central priorities. Ambitions to produce a long-term vision for the town have resulted in the “Re-making Barnsley regeneration strategy”, wherein the core vision has been that of Barnsley

becoming a “21st Century Market Town” “at the heart of an enterprising and innovative local economy” (Barnsley 2011; URBACT 2011, INTELI2011; Ball 2012). In the framework of the programme, CIs are seen as a considerable element possessing strong potential to contribute to the local economic development. Withal, the efforts have been made to link the CIs development to the local visitor economy (Barnsley 2011; URBACT 2011; www.barnsley.gov.uk), the interlinkages between the production and consumption dimensions thus sought to be strengthened. However, the *production* dimension may be considered the primary focus of CIs-related policy initiatives, while the attraction and consumption ones, though being important, are largely seen through the prism of production-oriented priorities.

Nowadays, CIs are growing more quickly than the local economy as a whole (Ball 2012), and CIs employ a considerable number of people (around 8% of the working population) and constitute an important part of the local economy. Major strengths of the locality in the CIs are associated with the domains of design, visual and digital fashion, and software and computer services. The main development potential is seen in the *new media* sector, and a number of initiatives aim at further unfolding its potential.

Measures targeting the stimulation of CIs development are diverse, particular focus being put on the creation of *supportive infrastructure* (in both physical and intangible forms), including (incubation) workspaces, creative studios and workshops, cultural spaces, new urban facilities and venues for culture and creative industries, as well as various *support schemes* and activities (financial and non-financial) for creative professionals and businesses, such as business advising, organisation of creative networking events, etc. Focus is thus put on creating *favourable production conditions*, by providing relevant infrastructure and encouraging networking relations among actors involved in the CIs. Proximity among entities and actors in the CIs, in both spatial and relational terms, is in this regard deemed important, the discourse on CIs in the local context being closely associated with the ‘*creative cluster*’ notion. The dominant policy rhetoric relates to the development of a *cluster* around CIs, and the initiatives taken intend to stimulate cluster development.

In this context, it is important to note the participation of Barnsley in the so-called Creativity Works/Creative Networks programme, inspired by *cluster* development initiatives – a programme (2003-2007) specifically designed to support the development of a creative and digital industries cluster (CDI) in the South Yorkshire coalfield area (comprising Barnsley, Doncaster and Rotherham). The programme was managed by Barnsley Development Agency and focused on a number of support schemes for the cluster, including, e.g., the Creative Business Grant Scheme (offering grants for projects development), the Creative Sector Business Advisers (dedicated mentors assisting CDI-related businesses), Creative Business Networking Events (aimed at the development of local creative networks, through events and digital media tools), etc. It is of particular importance that the activities that emerged in the framework of the Creative Works Programme have lately constituted a pillar of Barnsley’s own strategy towards the CDI cluster development, the focus being put on intensifying *interrelations* and *collaboration* among the various actors in the sector (a crucial element of a cluster development). The programme has served an important contributor to building business support infrastructure for the local CIs (Barnsley 2011; URBACT 2011).

A range of *physical facilities* have been created in order to support CIs development, referred to in the URBACT (2011) as a “new generation of creative-based facilities”. Among them, the *Digital Media Centre* is particularly remarkable. The venue presents a type of an incubation facility, offering business and incubation services to its tenants, providing virtual offices for home-based businesses and offices and meeting spaces for businesses and entrepreneurs in the media sector. The Elsecar Heritage Centre and the Civic are other examples of “creative-based” venues comprising exhibition spaces and workspaces for local entrepreneurs. The local CIs-oriented policies also put focus on improving interconnections among the various creative environments and facilities, enhancing the positive synergies of their interlinkages. In the context of CIs development stimulation, Barnsley is also notable for such innovative

approaches to urban space usage as, e.g., combining newly-developed contemporary buildings and renovated old industrial sites (Barnsley 2011; URBACT 2011, INTELI2011), or re-using old industrial sites for creative activities.

Overall, developing the creative sector by providing *support facilities and schemes* for the CIs possessing considerable growth potential in the locality is an important line of local actions, considered a factor able to contribute to the posed goals of “the economic prosperity and vitality” of Barnsley (Barnsley 2011). Incentives for CIs development are mainly related to the support for the *production* side, and are characterised by association with the discourse on ‘creative industries’ more generally and ‘creative clusters’ more specifically. In this regard, measures relate primarily to the provision of relevant infrastructure and support schemes for creative businesses, where focus is put on creating favourable conditions for networking and product development.

3. Klagenfurt (Austria)

Klagenfurt (Klagenfurt am Wörthersee) (about 95.400 inhabitants) puts considerable emphasis on the promotion of creative industries in its local economic development actions. Even though CIs do not constitute the primary economic activity in the locality, they have a relatively considerable share in the local economy. Thus, according to Power & Nielsén (2010), Klagenfurt has been one of the EU regions with the highest average annual growth in CCI employment during 2001-2006 period, the CCI growth constituting 6,13%. Also, recently there has been growing attention to initiatives seeking to stimulate the CIs development, such initiatives being largely inscribed into the logic of the ‘creative production’-related discourse.

Focus upon support for the development of CIs in Klagenfurt, comprising a set of dedicated measures, has been intensifying since 2010 (<http://www.kreativwirtschaft-klagenfurt.at/kreativwirtschaft>; www.klagenfurt.at). CIs have been increasingly seen as an important factor of LD. Major emphasis has been put on improving the *networking* of the existing creative enterprises and enhancing the resulting synergies, and on providing the *facilities* necessary for creative production processes. The range of creative enterprises located in the city is quite wide, spanning sectors such as design, architecture, music industry, publishing and media, software and games, advertising, among others (<http://www.kreativwirtschaft-klagenfurt.at/kreativwirtschaft>).

Main support measures have been related to the creation of the so-called CoWorking Spaces, which provide both physical facilities and infrastructure, and networking opportunities for creative businesses.

The Hafen11 pilot project is particularly remarkable in this respect. Focusing on CIs, this co-working space offers creative professionals and entrepreneurs opportunities to work in a creative centre with financial support (www.klagenfurt.at; Hafen11; Wirtschaftsservice Klagenfurt). The co-working space Hafen11 offers a number of creative business-support facilities in a 200m² large office loft. Another co-working space project, Pier Space CoWorking, also presents a space offering facilities for creative companies. The Technology Park Klagenfurt is also a considerable element of support facilities for creative industries, among other types of industries. It mainly “hosts” companies in the domain of telematics, computer science, network technology and new media, offering business facilities and offering various kinds of business services. The Business Park Klagenfurt providing opportunities for companies to rent working space is another element of the support system (Klagenfurt 2013).

The creativity-related discourse is thus mainly associated with the CIs notion, being of significance in the local context. The CIs support measures generally relate to the provision of facilities (co-working spaces and the related services) necessary for the functioning of creative companies in close proximity to each other, the importance of both spatial and relational proximity being recognised. Such measures are mainly associated with the *production* side

stimulation, the discourse thus being largely inscribed into the ‘creative production’-related category.

4. Kortrijk (Belgium)

Kortrijk (around 75.600 inhabitants) puts considerable focus upon the development of creative industries, particularly the design domain. In parallel to its strong industrial sector, Kortrijk has also developed a strong hold in the CIs sector. It seeks to develop into a “hub of design and creativity”, prioritising the development of design and design-related creative activities. This ambition is inscribed into the wider goal set by the Kortrijk region – to position itself as “an innovative region with regard to design and product development – both on the Flemish and on the cross-border level”, wherein the broader aims include the integration the design culture in the industrial activity of the region (Blatter&Kuhfuß 2010, p.16). The goals pursued by the city are thus largely inscribed into the logic of such ambitions.

According to Blatter&Kuhfuß (2010), recently local decision makers have realised that a “shift from classic production to higher-value output” (p.16) is crucial for the long-term development of the locality, and it has been decided to put *design* at the core of new economic activities, implementing it in the economic value chain and introducing “design thinking” in the economic activity of the place (Blatter&Kuhfuß 2010). Nowadays, Kortrijk hosts a wide range of companies active in the field of design, and this sector may be considered one of the main creative clusters in the Kortrijk region, being also recognised such both on the local and regional levels: currently, innovation, creativity and design are set as priorities in several policy documents for both the city and the Kortrijk region more broadly, thus providing a solid basis for the deployment of the relevant support measures (Blatter&Kuhfuß 2010; www.kortrijk.be; www.designregio-kortrijk.be).

The initiative *Designregio Kortrijk* launched in 2005 has been one of the major initiatives in the context of design development stimulation. It presents a joint venture of several partners, representative of the “triple helix” model: the city of Kortrijk, Leiedal, VOKA (chamber of commerce establishing links with the companies), HOWEST (university college and leading Flemish educational institute in the field of product design and multimedia) and the Interieur Foundation (organising the “Interior Biennial” design-related event). A number of other important stakeholders in the CIs domain are involved in the project (among them, education institutions and innovation support centres) (Blatter&Kuhfuß 2010, OECD 2005; www.designregio-kortrijk.be). Aiming at positioning Kortrijk and the Kortrijk region as a locality leveraging design use for business and public sector development, DesignRegio seeks to develop its activities in a close network with other European design cities and regions. It pursues strategic objectives related, inter alia, to: raising awareness of design and product development in the business world, sensitising the city and region in the field of product design and development, positioning Kortrijk as an innovative place using design as the motor of LD, strengthening courses on product design, etc. (OECD 2005; www.designregio-kortrijk.be). It organises exhibitions, workshops with companies and design students, and specific design-related events. The DesignRegio Kortrijk has participated in the INTERREG IVB NWE project PROUD, focusing on the employment of design as a driver for innovation, economic growth and sustainable development (OECD 2005, www.proudeurope.eu). In the framework of this project, DesignRegio Kortrijk set up a business incubator for design companies, located at the arts and business centre Buda Fabric.

The *Buda Fabric* centre as such is an important element of the local CIs-oriented support and production system. It hosts an exchange platform, inviting designers, companies, artists, product developers, research institutes, researchers and students to meet and exchange knowledge on CIs-related products, materials and innovative applications development (OECD 2005; KEA, 2012), as well as hosts an *innovation hub* (or “design incubator”) specifically oriented towards the design sector, which provides fablab facilities and facilities to meet and

work. One of the goals pursued by the centre is the encouragement of spill-over effects between culture-based creativity and other economic sectors (OECD 2005). It is intended to achieve these goals through such activities, e.g., as the organisation of *networking events*, for instance, Buda Libre –informal meetings organised in order to gather companies and artists from different fields, the main aim being to enable cross-linkages between people active in the CIs and to incubate new ideas and creative projects (Blatter&Kuhfuß 2010, OECD 2005).

The launch of this facility is seen one of the essential elements in the complex of initiatives aimed at stimulating entrepreneurship in the CIs-related domain and to develop an environment facilitating the creation and growth of companies in CIs (KEA 2012a; OECD 2005).

The complex of measures supporting CIs (particularly design) development in the local context is not confined exclusively to the provision of *physical* venues and facilities for creative companies and professionals, but also comprises some initiatives of a more “*intangible*” character. This primarily relates to the organisation of design-oriented *events*, contributing to the growing recognition of the role of design in the local economic development. Thus, e.g., to demonstrate the strengths of the city and region in design, in 1968 the first Design Biennale Interieur was organised in Kortrijk, which has become today a top event in the world of interior, product and service design and has given further momentum to the design development in Kortrijk (PRO INNO Europe 2011; www.interieur.be). The Innovation Festival Kortrijk has also helped to further promote and stimulate design dynamism in the city, helping “to put Kortrijk more strongly on the map of design hotspots in Europe” (PRO INNO Europe 2011, p.1; www.interieur.be). Measures aimed at the enhancement of the *educational* offering related to the design activities have also been prominent in the local context. Thus, following the ambition to create a “biotope of excellence for design” (PRO INNO Europe 2011,p.1), the city has promoted the development of advanced design education in order to nurture the local economy with competent human resources.

Overall, today the CIs, particularly the design field, are considered crucial factors of local economic development and are integrated into the city’s development and promotion strategy (OECD 2005; www.kortrijk.be). The support for CIs development mainly targets the *production* dimension: the initiatives taken aim primarily to stimulate the design production and develop an environment facilitating the creation and growth of companies in CIs, through a variety of measures. Analysis has shown that the design-supportive *physical* environment and infrastructure-related initiatives (provision of facilities, physical infrastructure for creative businesses) are accompanied by ‘softer’ measures, inter alia aimed at enhancing *networking* among companies and actors involved in creative sectors (Buda Libre networking event, e.g.) and enhancing the *status* of design activities in the local context (Design Biennale Interieur, Innovation Festival Kortrijk, etc.), all of the initiatives generally being mainly production side-oriented.

5. Scarborough (England)

The development of the creative industries sector is an important factor of Scarborough’s (around 50.000 inhabitants) economic development.

The CIs are seen as a significant factor of urban regeneration and economic dynamism, and have a considerable share in the local economy (according to Scarborough Council, almost 20%) (www.scarborough.co.uk). The CIs employ such professionals as designers, writers, artists, film-makers, web-developers and those representing other creative domains, and the city has an ambition of becoming an important hub for digital and creative industries (Staples 2011; Scarborough 2002). Feasibility Study for Scarborough Creative Industries & Media Center (Scarborough 2005) particularly marks out among Scarborough’s creative industry businesses such domains as web design, graphic design, commercial photography/film and printing. The importance of CIs in the local economy is also confirmed by the fact that the city is part of the

so-called 'Creative Coast' network formed in collaboration with several other nearby towns, where the prominence of CIs is currently growing.

A number of local documents and policy statements put emphasis upon the importance of the CIs sector development for the local economy dynamism, as well as mark out the necessity of providing the relevant support measures for the CIs development. Thus, e.g., according to the Feasibility Study for Scarborough Creative Industries & Media Center (Scarborough 2005), support across the CI sector in the town and surrounding area (manifested, inter alia, in the development of a Creative Industries Centre, support for clustering activities, provision of creative business-oriented space and facilities, etc.) already exists, but withal should be further enhanced. It is noted in the document that CIs-oriented support should not be restricted exclusively to physical interventions (such as provision of workspaces and relevant facilities), but also should comprise broader initiatives ("a wider development and partnership strategy") that would stimulate networking and ensure the provision of vital services. Creation and promotion of various types of partnerships, networks and business development and support services are seen as particularly crucial in this regard.

In this vein, a number of CIs supportive initiatives can be marked out. Such facilities as Woodend and Creative Industries Centre are particularly remarkable. Woodend is a venue that provides a range of contemporary office units for creative and digital businesses (www.woodendcreative.co.uk), and the Creative Industries Centre presents a dedicated centre to support the creative industries sector in the area by providing relevant infrastructures (www.cipartnerships.co.uk), both venues offering various types of meeting, training and workshop facilities for creative businesses. According to the Woodend Creative Workspace Business Plan, the venue aims at becoming a hub of creativity activity in Scarborough and "the central force behind creative development" in the city (Woodend 2012, p.2), as well as seeks to enhance cross-sectoral interlinkages by developing links with non-creative businesses.

A number of other support measures for the CIs have been launched and promoted in the locality, which have largely been consonant with the discourse on the importance of the CIs sector for the local economy evident in a number of local policy and economic development-oriented documents. Among them, apart from the above-mentioned "Feasibility Study for Scarborough Creative Industries & Media Center", one may note the Scarborough Renaissance Charter – a document setting out the principles of the urban renaissance and defining a long-term strategy for LD, which mentions the importance of the CIs-related sectors for further city development. The Charter is accompanied by other documents, making a similar mentioning (Scarborough 2002; Scarborough 2002a; Scarborough 2005; <http://democracy.scarborough.gov.uk>).

Overall, the CIs development plays a considerable role in the economic development of Scarborough, and main support measures in this context are primarily associated with the production side stimulation, wherein production-oriented support venues, facilities and services, as well as support for clustering activities are prioritised.

Annex 2. Interview Guide.

For the case study (Óbidos), three interviews have been conducted.

The interviewed persons are representatives of the local administration – Câmara Municipal de Óbidos (Óbidos Town Hall) – involved in the implementation and communication of the ‘Óbidos Criativa’ (‘Creative Óbidos’) local strategy. The interviewees preferred to be referred to as “member of the team” / “representative of Câmara Municipal”, arguing that they represent the opinion of the town and the municipality.

Even though the “team”, substantially involved in the implementation of the local creative strategy, is rather small, the intention of the author has been to receive opinions of people having different “specialisation”. Thus, Interviewee 1 is involved in the general supervision of the strategy implementation, Interviewee 2 is involved in the communication activities, and Interviewee 3 represents the education department, being particularly involved in the activities associated with “creative education” development. The range of the local officials selected for the interview intended to reflect different dimensions of the strategy implementation.

Interviews were semi-structured. The questions differed from case to case, depending on the specialisation of the person interviewed. Initial questions were prepared, which in the process of the conversation were slightly modified / complemented by new ones. The author conducted the interviews by Skype and phone, the first one lasting around 1 hour, the second one – around 30 minutes, the third one – around 45 minutes. The author opted for not recording the conversations, in order to encourage more “open” dialogue and also due to the fact that the information received (due to the nature of the topic and questions, which were rather broad and did not presuppose precise answers that would need to be fixed word-for-word) could be easily fixed through taking notes on paper. The brief notes taken during the interviews (reflecting the key points of the answers) were later expanded relying on memory.

Such notes are presented here.

1. Interview 1.

Q. Óbidos has chosen “creativity” as the core of its strategy of development. Why “creativity”?

One of our initial ideas was to use creativity in order promote new concepts of local development, new business ideas. We wanted to use creativity as a promoter of different sectors of society – those that had nothing in common with each other before. Our aim was to connect them through a creative process, and also to promote new strategies for business and enterprises.

For instance, we already had a university of design. We thought that it would be a good idea to use it to foster interactions between more traditional businesses and creative businesses, also using education in creative spheres as an important linking element. Also, we already had a rich cultural events programme. We wanted to extend the already existing cultural agenda to encourage new, creative projects and attract creative enterprises, to open new perspectives for their cooperation. It would also make our approach to the development of cultural activities in some way more entrepreneurial. All this would allow us to open up new perspectives for local development – new opportunities that we did not see before.

Q. Who “decided” that it is “creativity” that should be put at the core of the local strategy? Were other alternative visions/concepts considered?

It was the local administration – Câmara Municipal (Óbidos Town Hall) – that clearly defined this priority. More specifically, its President has had the greatest influence upon such decision – to link culture to creativity. The decision was quite straightforward, and other options

were not on the agenda, they were not considered. It was clear that it is the concept of ‘creativity’ that the locality sees as the core element of its development.

Q. Where did Óbidos get the inspiration from for the formulation of its strategy?

Several factors have been of importance. The existence of our cultural agenda showed us that we can further develop it. The artist community in the town was already quite strong. We wanted to promote it further. But also, we thought that we could promote connections between this community and other types of people – students, entrepreneurs. We wanted to make them all talk to each other. Creativity could be a thing that could link them all together.

Also, we were engaged in a European network – an URBACT project on creative clusters. This participation served our main inspiration.

Q. Was the strategy formulation taking place simultaneously with the participation of the town in this project?

Yes, it was happening at the same time – the strategy formulation and our participation. Through collaboration with other partners we were receiving new ideas, and getting more inspiration.

Q. What would you personally define as the main concept(s) at the heart of your strategy?

One of the main concepts at the core of the strategy is the idea that in our conditions, in a low density area, *it is possible* to induce change. It is possible to think and do things in different ways, differently from what big cities do, and do them well and “internationally”. We want the people in our town – students, entrepreneurs, etc. – to realise that it is possible to induce change, to create, to make ideas come true.

Q. It appears that the strategy is significantly influenced by the ideas of the ‘creative class’ theory. Do you think it is possible for Óbidos to attract a lot of creative people?

Yes, we want to attract talent, creative people to our town. But we do not have an intention to compete with the “major league”. We want to show that we have some qualities that big cities do not have. Our advantages are in our *identity* and *quality of life*. But also in our human resources and entrepreneurs. We possess many qualities that are attractive for people, and we have many advantages. We have good quality of life, a university, good schools, very good geographical position – we are close to Lisbon and close to the Atlantic coast. Also, we have a rich cultural agenda.

Also, we are flexible. It means that we are open to different views. We can execute different projects depending on different goals and needs. In this way, we are more flexible than big cities. We are more flexible, than, for example, Lisbon. We can be customised to the particular needs of different people and businesses. Moreover, we offer good conditions for co-work. In big cities people often find themselves isolated. Here, we offer companies special conditions for co-work. They can find special workshops, many other companies, support to business. Also, what companies want, is to have good human resources. Here they can have this. They also have good support structure. It does not mean only physical infrastructure. It means support in *all* aspects. From physical and financial support to good quality of life, diverse cultural life and other things.

We offer to creative firms excellent facilities. For example, they have special facilities to create their own prototypes. It means that they can develop their ideas, convert very initial ideas into holistic business plans. But we have more than just that. So, people want to come.

Q. Do you think that the small size of the town is an advantage or rather a disadvantage for its development?

It is a good question [*laugh*]. On the one hand, we are not far from Lisbon, and it may be considered as an advantage. And since we are small, it is good. Because if we were bigger, we would compete with it. But it would be impossible for us to win in such a competition. So that is why we focus on alternative, different competitive advantages. We are different from big cities in a number of ways. Here it is easier to connect. In bigger cities, like Lisbon or Porto, it is more difficult to build a network, to connect. Also, they are normally too “closed”. They are “choked” in many ways. They have very closed formal structures, and the role of formal decisions and regulations is big. We are much more flexible.

Q. Your strategy, as I see it, may be considered very comprehensive. It includes focus on the development of culture, but also of creativity; it seeks to develop both consumption and production dimensions, associated with cultural and creative development. Why is the strategy so complex? And can you say that some dimensions are more “important” than some others in your strategy? Or are they all equally “important”?

You are right, our strategy is very complex. It includes many different elements. And we believe that we can achieve all objectives. We want to address all dimensions *in complex*. Because if we want to have success, we have to “go big”, and for this we should “*think big*”. It means that we should realise that all dimensions are possible. But we want to “think big” not only in terms of quantity of things we are doing, but also of quality.

We want to connect the different elements with each other to have better quality. For example, we want to introduce new curriculum in schools, and connect it with creative education in universities. It will help develop creative business.

We want to develop different elements in *complex* – we are like an *ecosystem*. We address various dimensions in a *package* – all together. Our focus is on developing a network. That means focus on more than just one dimension. It is more than just culture, or more than just creativity. We cannot focus only on production and exclude consumption, and vice versa. Culture, creativity, their production and consumption, but also environment, development of human resources, education, good housing – all this is developed together. Creativity is important in all these dimensions. It is at the core of all the developments. Culture is also important. But *we want them all*, all together. Without all of them we cannot have an efficient system. We need to consider all perspectives and connect all the dots. We need to build collaborations, work together in an ecosystem.

And it is very important that we constantly continue to develop. We do not want to be like a “comet”, when we shine short and then stop. We need to develop in a circle, all the time take new steps and move on. We need to give people new reasons and new tools to come and stay in our locality. And we are very enthusiastic about our future.

Interpretation. The interview has thus shown that creativity is seen by the place as a crucial element for linking together the different dimensions of local development. By putting creativity at the core of the local strategy it was initially hoped to strengthen synergies among different sectors, some of which had not previously interacted. The decision to embark on creativity has been a deliberate one. However, various factors have influenced the formulation and refinement of the local strategy (among them, already existing activities, participation in the URBACT project). It has been emphasised that the town possesses a number of characteristics that are attractive for people who might come to stay and work in it. These characteristics differentiate the town from bigger cities, and are associated with several aspects (among them, the “quality of life” that it offers, also, relative flexibility of the town with regards to the needs of

people and businesses, etc.). The “smallness” of the town is thus not generally seen as a disadvantage for its development. The town seeks to develop the different dimensions (including culture, creativity, consumption and production, as well as other important dimensions) in a close interlinkage, in complex. It appears difficult to mark out one particular dimension as “dominant”, since they all are sought to be addressed “in a package”.

2. Interview 2.

Q. What is the role of ‘creativity’ in the strategy of local development?

We see creativity as the basis of our activities. We develop different sides, but creativity unites them. It helps to connect, for example, our economy with our people, it is the basis of our economic activities, but also of other policies.

Q. Are some other concepts/dimensions as important as ‘creativity’? What can you say, for example, about the role of culture?

We want to develop everything in connection. And we will not succeed if we do just one thing. We focus on different things. We develop culture. We have a very rich cultural life – many events, performances, also we have rich historical heritage. So we develop tourism – there are a lot of visitors coming to our town. Also, we want to attract other people. Not only tourists, but also people who will live here and work here. So we need to make the town attractive for them. Culture is of course attractive for them as well, but we also develop other dimensions. For example, special infrastructures for people who work in creative sectors, special type of houses for them, a technological park, and other things. We also develop educational system, at different levels. We want to have good human resources. So we have started to implement several creative projects that involve students. And we put big focus on the idea of creativity in education – we believe that creative education is beneficial for students and for society in general.

We want to connect all this. For example, we had, for a long time, a rich cultural programme, and also we produced some traditional things – like wines, ceramics. They are all connected with the identity of our town, with its history. But we also want to look forward, in the future. So we need to connect them with more creative ways of working. That is why we develop creative production. But is it still connected with our culture.

Q. So you cannot say that you concentrate mainly on attracting people to the town, more than on cultural and creative production, or vice versa? Both production and attraction are equally important?

Exactly, we work in both ways. We attract people. People who come help us to produce. We also produce. And it attracts people. And culture and creativity are very important here. Also, it is very important that we keep on developing the connections among all these parts.

Q. Have you managed to attract a lot of creative businesses/people?

Yes, we have managed to attract people and companies. We have what creative industries and companies want. They want good quality of life, they want to live and work in a beautiful and pleasant place, they want to go biking, they want an open atmosphere, they want good conditions to do their work. And that is why people and companies want to come here. They realise that they do not need a big city to have good conditions. Our good schools and our cultural life are also attractive to them. We started to implement our strategy not very long time

ago, so by now we cannot really judge on its effects, but already our first steps show that we are moving in a right direction. The important thing is not to stop moving.

Q. Will you continue moving in the same direction, following the same basic ideas that underpin your strategy now? Or do you intend to modify it somehow, refine?

It is for sure that creativity will stay at the heart of all our actions. Also, our culture and identity will remain very important. We will aim to attract people, and to develop good conditions for our residents, and develop creative business, and tourism, and cultural agenda, and our education. But we may do some things differently, and we will of course work on new projects. We will, for example, expand our projects in the sphere of education, we will build new infrastructures for creative businesses, we will work on our agenda of events. But as always, we will ensure that everything is working together.

Interpretation. It has thus been shown that the synergies among the various elements of the local strategy are strong, and the town intends to prioritise the development of such synergies in the future as well. It sees creativity as an element at the heart of all the activities, as a pervasive phenomenon. Creativity is linked to culture, as well as to both the consumption and production dimensions. The town regards the attraction of creative people important, and considers that the conditions that it offers to them are favourable, in a number of aspects.

3. Interview 3.

Q. What is the role of the education in the local creative strategy?

From the very beginning of the formulation of our strategy, we thought that education must be our base. Our mayor thought that we should put creativity as a basis of all our activities including education. And creativity was seen as a new way of *intelligence*. And we wanted to start with it. We wanted to make connections between education and business, to link, for example, our technology park with students. Our idea was that, when the students finish school or university they should be able to find a place in our town to start business. So we wanted our town to give them good conditions to start business. That is why it was important to start with education.

Q. What is the role of creativity in the educational system?

Our educational system is very traditional. We decided to put creativity at the basis of our educational system and make creative education one of central elements of our creative strategy. We wanted to bring changes in our education. We wanted to give students possibilities to work with their ideas and help them realise these ideas. We wanted to make our education based on children, not on teachers. It is important, for example, that students learn to work in groups. Group work is the basis of work in business. By this we wanted to prepare students for successful business activity. For example, in Óbidos we have a Co-lab – a facility where companies can meet and discuss their ideas in groups. It is very important for our creative business. So if children learn to work in groups in school they will be better prepared for group work in business.

Q. What are the most important projects aimed at the development of creative education?

We have several projects. For example, one of them is the project “Creative Factory”. It helps students make their ideas come true, and teachers help them with that.

Another project is “animation movie”. Children learn techniques to make animation movies, and teachers from universities come to Óbidos to teach them how to do that. These courses were integrated into the general curriculum and all students have a chance to learn animation movie techniques.

Another project is a “Story centre”. Our idea was to make an exhibition centre out of our Creative Factory. This way we could enlarge our target group and teach not only students but also our visitors. In the story centre tourists can learn about our history and identity, and students can contribute to the development of the Story centre.

Another project is called “my idea, my solution”. We want to develop it in cooperation between the Technology park, schools and universities. The idea is that students who have interesting ideas, have special equipment to help them make those ideas real. They can, for example, make 3D models of their prototypes. They will have support from the university to make these ideas realise. With this project, way we want to promote connection between schools, university and business. This project is upcoming, we want to launch it next year.

Also, next year we want to have new building for our creative factory. This way we also want to strengthen links between schools, university and companies.

Q. If we look at the strategy of Óbidos we see that culture and creativity are its core elements. How would you define the position of education in the strategy?

Education is one of the important elements of our strategy. We can say that we see education as the beginning of our vision but all elements are connected, there is nothing more important or less important. But we can see it like this: education is the beginning of our creative circle, economic development is the end, the goal. Culture is in the middle and creativity is an element of all.

Q. Did you get any inspiration from outside (other cities, or other projects, or somewhere else) that influenced your decision to put creativity at the core of educational projects?

Our mayor had a very strong vision where creativity and innovation were central elements. And we thought that it was important to put the creativity in the centre of education as well. In 2008 we started to build new schools. But it was very important for us to search for partners in education to get new ideas. We established cooperation with partners from the “URBACT project”, and between 2011 and 2013 we were working together. From this cooperation, with partners in the UK and Italy, we received inspiration for some of our projects. For example, for our creative factory and the “my idea, my solution” project. Today we work in several networks at local, national and European levels and some of them are dedicated specifically to education. This cooperation is very important for us.

Q. Óbidos puts focus on cultivating its own talents. But it also tries to attract talents from outside. What do you give the priority to?

We think that both elements are important and we develop them together. Also, the quality of our educational system is attractive for people who come to work here. Their children have a chance to go to good schools, and it is important. So, we cannot say that one is more important than the other.

Interpretation. The town sees education as a crucial element of the local creative strategy, one of its core components. The town not only seeks to attract talents from outside of its

territory, but also considers that it is essential to breed its own talents, through a good-quality education system. It is regarded that creativity should be an important component integrated into the educational process. A number of projects aimed at encouraging creativity in education have been launched. Some of them seek to develop qualities among students that can be important for their future work in business (e.g. ability to work in a group). One of the intentions is to stimulate the interlinkages between different levels of education (school and university) and business. Cooperation with other cities has been noted to be important for inspiring the different projects on creative education.

Overall, all the interviewees have confirmed the complexity and comprehensiveness of the local creative strategy. It has been emphasised that the different elements of the strategy are sought to be addressed together, in complex. All the elements are noted to be working in an *ecosystem* – meaning that all of them are deemed equally important and crucial for the overall functioning of the system. Creativity is understood very broadly, as an overarching concept at the basis of all dimensions, including economy and education. Culture is seen as a crucial element of the local creative strategy, since it inspires and nurtures creativity, attracts people by making the place more vibrant and interesting. Consumption and production, with regards to culture and creativity, are seen as being inextricably interlinked, and one cannot exist without the other. It has become clear, however, that creativity is understood as being at the core of not only consumption and production-related processes, but also of other domains. Education has been specifically noted in this sense, since creativity in education is seen as one of the crucial elements of success of the overall creative strategy.